A THEMATIC MĀORI HERITAGE STUDY FOR DUNEDIN

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INTRODUCTION

Executive Statement

The Thematic Heritage Study for Dunedin City[1] identified a range of tangible and intangible heritage values and items including built and modified landscapes, places, structures, and features that define Dunedin as a unique place within New Zealand. The study was inclusive of all the values which represent the cultural diversity of Dunedin, but noted that a separate project focusing on Māori Heritage was required.

The Dunedin City Council approached KTKO Consultancy Ltd to undertake the Māori Heritage Study.

Purpose and Scope

The Dunedin City Council brief was to prepare a Thematic Māori Heritage Study for the City which would form the basis for a review and future update of the heritage schedules in the District Plan. Thematic frameworks are used overseas and increasingly in New Zealand to focus on an area as a 'cultural landscape', a concept that is used to understand historic heritage in its widest context.

Simon Schama argues that people construct a landscape through cultural perceptions or 'cultural design'. Specifically, landscape traditions are "built from a rich deposit of myths, memories, and obsessions" that act to construct histories and give weight to memories of significant places, of homelands as well as national identity.[2] For Māori in general and Kāi Tahu in particular, a key aspect of this 'cultural design' described by Schama includes spiritual connections to a place as embodied in myth and tradition, as well as waiata or song, and place names.

Māori have lived in the vicinity of present day Dunedin for centuries, and some occupation sites date back to approximately 1,000 AD. The wider Dunedin area was of singular importance to the Waitaha, Kāti Mamoe, and Kāi Tahu people as a source of mahika kai and mahika kaimoana, a place of settlement, a burial place, and ultimately as a cultural landscape that embodied the ancestral, spiritual and religious traditions of all the generations prior to European settlement.

The purpose of this report is to explore this rich cultural landscape through a focus on seven key themes, respectively:

[1] Dunedin Contextual Thematic History (2009), prepared for the Dunedin City Council by Michael Findlay, with support from Southern Archaeology, Endangered Gardens and Salmond Reed Architects.

[2] Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, (London, HarperCollins, 1995), pp. 14-15.

- Sites and Landforms
- Peopling of Dunedin
- Prehistory
- Historical
- Utilising the environment
- European Influences; and
- Modern Institutions

Authorship

The Study was undertaken for KTKO Consultancy, with initial research undertaken by Anna Sinelnikova, and completion by Tahu Potiki.

Tahu's grandfather was Sydney Karetai who was born and lived at Ōtākou, and was a direct descendant of Karetai who signed the Treaty of Waitangi and was the principal chief at Pukekura during his later adult years. His grandmother was Mawera Taiaroa who was also born and lived at Ōtākou. Mawera was the granddaughter of Hori Kerei Taiaroa and the great granddaughter of the fighting chief Taiaroa who lived all of his adult and senior years at Ōtākou.

Tahu is an active member of Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou, and is a recognised expert in local Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Mamoe tradition, history and language

Acknowledgement

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The front cover image is *Port Otago (Nouvelle Zélande),* 1840, Louis Le Breton (1818-1866), Léon Jean-Baptiste Sabatier (d. 1887, Lithographer). Part of: Journal of the Astrolabe, reproduced from the Hocken Pictorial Collections - 91/41 http://digital.otago.ac.nz/detail.php?uid=a10402.

THEME 1: SITES AND LANDFORMS

1. Creation Stories

Creation is a fundamental story across cultures, religions and landscapes. All of human society has found a way to explain how the natural elements, mankind, values and beliefs came to be and Māori in the southern most outpost of Polynesia were no different. The southern Māori account of creation is recognisable as an Eastern Polynesian story that incorporates the activities of the gods such as Raki (the Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother) and their myriad offspring who created and shaped the natural world that make up the earthly environment, the heavens and mankind themselves.

The southern people are fortunate that very early missionary interaction meant that oral records were kept quite intact. Of particular interest are the teachings of Matiaha Tiramorehu recorded by the Reverend Charles Creed during the 1840s while he was responsible for the Methodist Mission based at Waikouaiti (modern Karitāne). A comprehensive account has been preserved that has been pored over by some of the most prolific scholars of Māori tradition. It explains the origins of the mountains the winds, outer space, life, death, stellar bodies, flora and fauna, as well as core human values.

The first specific reference to the Dunedin region is in regards to the Te Waka o Aoraki tradition.

2. Waka o Aoraki and Tūterakiwhanoa

Aoraki was one of the senior progeny from Raki's first marriage to Pokohāruatepo. Raki's second marriage was to Papatūānuku. Aoraki and his brothers were interested in Raki's new wife and descended from the heavens in their canoe (waka) to greet Papatūānuku. The meeting appears to have been amicable but when Aoraki attempted to once again ascend to their celestial home a mistake was made in the requisite prayers and the canoe began to list. Aoraki and his crew scrambled to the high ground but were caught by the sun's rays and were turned to granite becoming the highest peaks of the Southern Alps.

It was the nephew of Aoraki, Tūterakiwhanoa, who was charged with the responsibility to determine the whereabouts of his uncles and he discovered that they and their waka had become an island in the vast ocean. After a period of grieving he grasped his great adze, Te Hamo, and set about shaping the canoe and its inhabitants so that it could be an inhabitable land mass.

He carved out the sounds in Fiordland and Marlborough and also formed the peninsulas along the eastern seaboard including Otago Peninsula, Huriawa Peninsula and the Moeraki Peninsula. He left guardians in place namely Kahukura and Rokonuiatau. These atua kaitiaki remained in place right up until the time the old religion was abandoned and Christianity was adopted.

After the entire South Island had been shaped fit for habitation Tūterakiwhanoa returned to Piopiotahi or Milford Sound. It was brought to his attention that the Sound was so beautiful that those who saw it would never move on. His relation, the goddess Hinenuitepō, left behind the small namunamu, or sandfly, to ensure that nobody would stay put in the area for too long.

3. Matamata

This is a very localised tradition and it relates to a guardian taniwha known as Matamata. Matamata himself appears in many traditions in the South Island from as far north as Marlborough to the Hokonui Hills. He is an ancestor of the Kāti Māmoe tribe and the local chief Karetai was his descendant. Below is an account recorded by the Rev. Thomas Pybus:

Regarding their legends, the Māori people of Ōtākou used to speak about taniwhas and fabulous monsters which performed extraordinary deeds. Hoani Karetai, the paramount chief of Ōtākou, used to speak about a taniwha which was the guardian of the spirit of a famous Kāti Māmoe chief. This taniwha lost its master and set out in search of him. From Silverstream near the base of Whare Flat, it journeyed as far as the present Mosgiel. Then it took its course down the Taieri River and wriggling, caused all the sharp bends and twists in the river. The same taniwha scooped out the Otago Harbour. The monster now lies solidified in the Saddle Hill. The humps of the hill are named Pukemakamaka and Turimakamaka.[3]

[3] Rev. Thomas Pybus (1954a) *The South Island Māoris.*

Figure 1: Otago Peninsula. Source: GNS Science. Photographer: Lloyd Homer www.gns.cri.nz

4. Waka Tipua

Canoe (waka) traditions abound throughout Polynesia as the mode of transportation of everything from gods to fanciful beings to actual ancestors who traversed the oceans. A waka tipua is one that is associated with those beings that were from a mythological realm but were not actually gods or people. There were several early mythical canoes that visited the shores of Otago. Of note were Te Waka Huruhuru Manu and Te Waka A Raki who were responsible for transporting ogre like characters to Te Wai Pounamu including Kopuwai, who became the Obelisk on the Old Man Range, Pouakai, a gigantic man-eating bird, and Kārara-hua-rau, a deceitful lizard who lured unwitting spouses to their death.

Te Waka A Raki was under the captaincy of Taiehu who cleaved the seas apart with his axe and who is remembered in the small rocky peaked hill immediately east of the Ōtākou Marae, Te Atua o Taiehu.

5. Araiteuru

The story of the Araiteuru canoe is well known and most often associated with the Te Kai Hinaki beach below Hampden village where the Moeraki Boulders are to be found. The story, though, is much more comprehensive than the simple tale of a wrecked canoe that is most often recounted.

Araiteuru was one of two canoes that were built from a log discovered on the beach by an ancestor called Roko-i-tua. He had just introduced a local tribe to the pleasures of dried kumara

and they sailed two canoes to Hawaiki to collect some of the seed kumara to bring back to Aotearoa. Unfortunately the crew of the sister canoe, Manuka, did not perform the appropriate rituals and their precious cargo rotted. Meanwhile the Araiteuru made landfall on the North Island's east coast and planted the seed kumara thus introducing it to Aotearoa.

The Araiteuru continued sailing south until it struck a storm somewhere around the Kaikoura coast. The first of the crew to fall over board was Te Tapuaenuku who became the famous mountain of the same name that overlooks eastern Marlborough.

There is then a plethora of place names bestowed upon the landscape in apparent remembrance of each crew member or passenger who fell overboard. There are several names on Banks Peninsula and up the Waitaki Valley, including Kohurau (Kurow) and Aoraki, until Araiteuru finally capsized at Matakaea (Shag Point).

It seems that parties of survivors then travelled inland and as a result there are a number of Dunedin landscape placenames associated with Araiteuru as each of the survivors were turned to stone and became mountains, hills or coastal rocks.

One particular story tells of Pakihiwitahi, a senior crew member, who sent his servant girl, Puketapu, to collect firewood following the wreck. She travelled as far as Southland to gather the wood and was carrying it back tied Māori style to her back when some of the firewood fell off at the Ōwheo (Leith River). A clump of forest immediately sprang up at the point the wood fell to the ground becoming the bush around Ōtepoti. Other firewood fell at Waitete (Waitati), Puketeraki, Kā Iwi-O-Te-Weka (Mount Baldie) and Ōwhata (Goodwood). Eventually the sun caught Puketapu just before she returned to her master. Puketapu is now known as the conical hill that overlooks Palmerston whilst Pakihiwitahi is the one-shouldered hill that State Highway 1 cuts through at the southernmost point of the Katiki straight.

Today if one stands at Matakaea (Shag Point) and looks to the rocky reefs immediately adjacent to the shore there are stone remnants of the wreck including a large pillar known as Hipo (the canoe's captain), a large flat rock representing the sails and a sea battered reef that is Araiteuru itself.

Figure 2: Waikouaiti Hills Hocken Library - c/nE5649/8A

6. Maui

Maui is one of Polynesia's best known mythological figures and he is generally associated with great accomplishments that span the world of gods and mankind. The standard Maui stories are well known from his beginnings as a discarded foetus, his rivalry with the older siblings he meets later in life, securing fire from his ancestor, capturing the sun and forcing it to slow down, turning his brother-in-law into a dog, fishing up the North Island and ultimately failing to overcome Hine-nui-te-pō.

In southern New Zealand the major distinction regarding the traditions of Maui are that he is also an ocean adventurer and explorer and he is the captain of his own waka, Māhūnui or Mahutūkiteraki.

While travelling the Pacific Ocean he sights land from a distance but thinks it is simply an ocean mirage, Kā Tiritiri o te Moana – the poetical name for the Southern Alps. Maui made land fall at Bruce Bay, Te Tauraka Waka o Maui, and then headed south to Piopiotahi, or Milford Sound, which is named after his pet piopio bird.

Maui continued his journey along the southern coast, leaving his name upon the landscape. Maui is a great sandstone column jutting out of the sea on Puketeraki Beach, Ōmaui is a small settlement south west of Invercargill and Pukekura, at the mouth of the Otago Harbour, is the place where Maui repaired the sail of his famous canoe after it was ripped by the wind.

7. Tākitimu

The Tākitimu canoe is an important migration canoe that is associated with many different iwi throughout the North and South Islands. There are several variations of the tradition, some of which suggest the waka took alternative routes. In addition, there is more than one waka called Tākitimu and several different final resting places.

The southern version has Tamatea as the captain of the waka. Following landfall in the North Island, the canoe carried on to the South Island travelling along the east coast and eventually being wrecked in Southland. The canoe became the mountain range still known to this day as the Tākitimu Mountains.

The association with Dunedin is minimal although it is suggested that a series of placenames north of Warrington recall part of Tamatea's northward journey to Canterbury on foot. The most significant Tākitimu association is the wharenui (meeting house) at Ōtākou Marae that is named Tamatea after the captain of the waka. This is discussed in greater detail below.

8. Rākaihautu

Rākaihautu is associated with the Uruao canoe and the Waitaha people. There are several different versions of the journey but the storyline recounts Rākaihautu leading the people away from war on a small island in the Pacific. Their canoe made landfall in Marlborough and then the party split up. Rokohouia, Rākaihautu's son, took the canoe and explored the coastline of the South Island while Rākaihautu led the exploration of the land on foot.

With the help of a mighty digging stick Rākaihautu discovered, named and dug out nearly all the significant freshwater lakes in the South Island. He started at Rotoiti and continued his inland journey through the McKenzie Country and Central Otago, discovering all of the interior, glacial fed lakes.

Eventually Rākaihautu circled through Southland and while heading north he came upon, and dug out, Lake Waihola. Rākaihautu and his party then stopped at the mouth of a river to eat,

close to modern Dunedin Their food was a recently killed seabird known as a karae so this particular location and the river was called Kai-karae. This is now the well known Kaikorai Stream.

Figure 3: Kaikorai Estuary 1926. Hocken Library - c/nE2402/6

Both parties of travellers met up at the Waihao stream north of the Waitaki and made their way to Akaroa where they established the first South Island settlement. Although alternative versions of this story often include different groups of people such as Rapuwai, Maeroero and Kāti Hawea they are generally remembered as the Waitaha people.

THEME 2: PEOPLING OF DUNEDIN

1. Waitaha

The first people thought to have occupied the South Island are the Waitaha and their affiliate sub-tribe groups. Despite comprehensive traditional narratives covering the travel and discovery phase there is very little other Waitaha tradition associated with the greater Dunedin area. There are brief snippets of historical information and some Waitaha associated placenames but there are no other substantive traditions.

That is not to say there was no early occupation in this area as there is significant archaeological evidence proving that Māori were here very early. But the traditions associated with these first settlers have not survived intact through to modern times.

It has been asserted that Poho, from whom Ōpoho is named, was a Waitaha ancestor and that the Yellow Bluff that the railway cuts through immediately above Puketeraki was also named Te Pa Hawea after an early Waitaha occupation but there is very little other evidence to support such assertions.

2. Kāti Mamoe and Kāi Tahu Migration

Once again little is known about the Kāti Māmoe traditions until Kāi Tahu arrived in Otago. We know from the stories outlined below that Kāti Māmoe were certainly present and settled here in some numbers. Te Rakitauneke was a very transient Kāti Māmoe chief and he appears to have resided on the Otago Peninsula for a period of time. It seems there was at least one permanent Kāti Māmoe settlement near Papanui Inlet and eventually also at Rakipipikao opposite Taiaroa Head. Apart from that the records of Kāti Māmoe settlement and traditions are sparse.

Once the Kāi Tahu migration arrives there is a much more complete and unbroken set of traditions associated with Dunedin area.

2.1 Waitai

The first significant account that can be tracked to occupation in the Dunedin area is in regards to Waitai and a party of his followers who settled briefly at the mouth of the Otago Harbour.

The story begins soon after the Kāi Tahu sub-tribe Kāti Kurī moved across to the South Island from the Wellington region. In the midst of a battle with the resident tribe, Ngāi Tara, a significant captive, Rapa-a-te-kurī, was presented to the Kāti Kurī chief Maru. All expected that Maru would execute Rapa-a-te-kurī in revenge for the death of his own father Pūraho but instead Maru saved him from death and kept him as a slave to carry water for his children.

Such leniency incensed Maru's relation, Waitai, who departed for the south with several followers stating that their paths will never cross again. His first stop when travelling south is said to be Pukekura (Taiaroa Head), which is the first time it features in Kāi Tahu traditions as a pā site.

Most versions refer to an alliance that is forged between Te Rakitauneke of Kāti Māmoe and Waitai and that they then set about attacking local Otago based Waitaha settlements until Waitai eventually moves to the far south and settles just outside of Bluff. He met his demise one

morning when his pa was overrun by the local Kāti Māmoe led by Te Rakitauneke's own grandson Tūtemākohu and his cousin Marakai.

The defeat was so comprehensive that there were only four survivors. Two of the survivors, Tamakino and Kaiapu, travelled overland to Kaikoura to report the defeat and during the course of their report they described the landscape they encountered as they travelled home. This allowed the young chiefs who were listening to their tales to claim kāika and mahika kai under the tikanga of tapatapa or naming.

The other two survivors, Rerewhakaupoko and Poutama, remained in the south marrying local women. There are now two Muttonbird Islands named after them.

2.2 Tarewai

Meanwhile back at Pukekura Waitai had left his relations in command of the pā under the leadership of two brothers Maru and Te Aparangi and their nephew Tarewai. There was tension now between the new arrivals and the more established Kāti Māmoe and a feud broke out over access to certain fishing grounds.

The Kāti Māmoe invited Tarewai and some of his men to visit them at their settlement by the Pyramids next to Papanui inlet, close to modern day Victory Beach. The invitation was on the premise of assisting them to build a new house.

When the day's work was completed a feast was prepared. Following the meal games were played and when Tarewai was least suspecting it the people dived on him and held him to the ground. Tarewai was reportedly of enormous stature so as the Kāti Māmoe set to slicing his belly open he was able to throw off his captors and race into the bush leaving behind his prized mere pounamu.

He took refuge in a cave on Hereweka (Harbour Cone) and cauterised his wounds using hot rocks to heat the oil from weka he managed to capture. Once Tarewai had recovered his health he planned to retrieve his mere pounamu. Under the cover of night he entered the village and discovered several of the villagers admiring and handling his stolen weapon. He feigned a speech impediment that he knew one of the villagers suffered and asked to hold the mere pounamu. Once it was back in his hand Tarewai cried out that his bravery had returned and then he disappeared into the night.

For several months afterwards Tarewai tormented his enemies by hiding in the bush near the creeks used for drinking water and as the Kāti Māmoe came to collect water he would attack and kill them dragging their bodies back into the forest.

Eventually Tarewai decided to return to Pukekura but by this time the Kāti Māmoe had established themselves immediately opposite Pukekura in a pa called Rakipipikao. He managed to position himself high on the ridge above the pa and signalled to his relations that they should cause a diversion. This they did by performing a haka so only the tops of their heads could be seen above the palisades. This so intrigued the enemy that they did not see Tarewai racing along Takiharuru (Pilots Beach) until it was too late. Those that gave chase never managed to catch him as he swung his mere pounamu around a small bush and pulled himself to safety at the place known as Te Rereka o Tarewai – Tarewai's Leap.[4]

Tarewai and his uncles then set about exacting revenge upon the Kāti Māmoe, pursuing them as far south as Fiordland, where Tarewai was put to death by Kāti Māmoe near Preservation Inlet.

2.3 Tukiauau

Back in Kaikoura an unfortunate series of events had led to a young Kāti Māmoe chief by the name of Tukiauau having to leave the district with several followers. It is likely he fled soon after Waitai and perhaps benefited from his beachhead settlement at Pukekura, as well as from his own family connections to Rakitauneke.

He had grave concerns that he was being pursued by the Kāti Kurī so his relation, Tūwiriroa, agreed to provide sanctuary for him and his people. Tūwiriroa had a pa at the mouth of the Taieri River and Tukiauau was able to take shelter up the gorge and in the lake system that was the Taieri Plains of the time.

As fate would have it the son of Tukiauau, Korokiwhiti, fell in love with Hākitekura, the daughter of Tūwiriroa. The romance was in full blossom when Tukiauau received word that an avenging war party was heading to the Taieri whereupon he made arrangements to depart immediately. Unfortunately Korokiwhiti had no time to inform his lover of their plans and when the flotilla of canoes passed below the pa at the mouth of the Taieri River Hākitekura was distressed at being left behind. She raced to the edge of the cliff and dived in to the river at the place now known

[4] This is no longer visible as the site was extensively quarried during the development of the defence site in the 19th century

as Te Rereka o Hākitekura (The Leap of Hākitekura). But her judgement was poor and Hākitekura fell on to the rocky banks of the river and was killed.

Tukiauau and his people ended up at Rakiura until Hākitekura's grieving father attacked their village killing all apart from two small boys, Hapetuakiwhiti and Tuokioki, the children of Hākitekura and Korokiwhiti who he then raised back at his village on the Taieri River.

2.4 Tārere-ki-whenua-uta

The two boys were raised by Tūwiriroa and, in accordance with Māori custom, he also taught them the story of their father's death as a constant reminder of the revenge that must one day be sought. As soon as the boys were old enough they travelled north to gather support for an attack. They recruited the fighting chief Tūparitaniwha who travelled south with a band of warriors, planning to attack Kāti Māmoe who were then living at Ōmoua directly above Taieri Ferry. Tūparitaniwha decided the site was too well defended so established his own pa at Te Āmoka further along the Taieri Gorge.

After a time Tūparitaniwha invited the people of Ōmoua to a feast at his village. Not surprisingly the invitation was merely a ploy to entrap the Kāti Māmoe and mid feast they were set upon by Tūparitaniwha and his people. At the time a well connected Kāi Tahu chief by the name of Tūhōkairangi was staying at Ōmoua and when he realised there was trouble he headed for the river. Standing high on the cliff he dived to escape pursuers but was fatally speared as he jumped. This spot became known as Te Rereka o Tūhōkairangi or The Māori Leap.

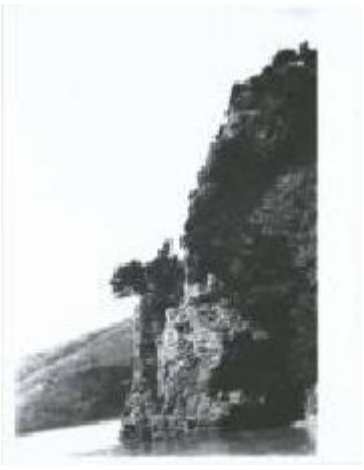

Figure 4: Maori Leap Hocken Library - c/nE1665/19

The death of Tūhōkairangi provided an excuse for Kāi Tahu from further north to seek revenge and to attack the people of the Taieri. A large contingent of Kāi Tahu from Kaikoura and Kaiapoi

descended upon Tūparitaniwha and the remaining Kāti Māmoe in a battle known as Tārerekiwhenuauta.

This battle became well known due to some important marriages between the conquerors and the defeated. One of particular note was between Hinetūtūnāwai who was living with her Kāti Māmoe relations but was also a descendant of the great Kāti Kurī chief Maru. She was married to Tūkitaharaki the eldest son of Moki who was now the leading chief of Pukekura pā.

2.5 Moki, Taoka, Te Wera

When Tarewai, Maru and Te Aparangi left Pukekura to pursue the Kāti Māmoe Moki was put in charge of the pā. Moki who was married to Hineraki, the daughter or Te Aparangi, was also the son of the important Kāti Kurī chief Te Ruahikihiki. Te Ruahikihiki had moved south from Kaikoura and settled on the shores of Waihora (Lake Ellesmere) where he and Moki both built pā. Moki was then invited by the people of Pukekura to move even further south thus embedding the Kāti Kurī presence and strengthening the coastal network south of Banks Peninsula.

Following the expulsion of the Kāti Māmoe from Papanui and the battles on the Taieri many years passed in apparent peace. Moki now had grandchildren from his son Tūkitaharaki and Hinetūtūnāwai whilst another son, Te Pahi, had married Hākuiao who belonged to the original people of the district, the Rapuwai. Despite these victories, the strategic marriages, and the period of occupation, the rights to this new territory were not yet fully established.

Just north of Pukekura the chief Te Wera, who was a nephew of Te Ruahikihiki, had built a pā on the small peninsula, Huriawa, at the mouth of the Waikouaiti River. Tensions had begun to grow between the two hapū when Tūkitaharaki was taken ill and passed away.

On his death bed he told his brothers not to avenge his death as he believed his illness to be a natural one and not brought on by sorcery. But Kāpō, Tūkitaharaki's younger brother, paid no attention and believed that Te Wera, his father's first cousin, was responsible for the death. He immediately set out to capture Te Wera and found him at Pūrākaunui in the house of his brother-in-law. Kāpō and his men surrounded the house and a spear was thrown that killed the brother-in-law but Te Wera managed to escape and swam back to Huriawa where he gathered his own war party and headed back to the Otago Harbour.

Te Wera found a young woman gathering flax on the beach at Te Rauone and immediately had her killed. He then sailed up to the pā at Pukekura and brought the boat close in by the cliffs. When he had the attention of Moki's people in the pā he exposed the body of the young woman indicating that this death was payment for his relation killed at Pūrākaunui and all things were now even. This was not to be the case.

Tension remained high so Te Wera invited his cousin, Taoka, to try and broker peace between the two parties. Taoka was a half brother to Moki so with such close relationships there was hope an arrangement could be reached. But Taoka travelled south and chose to only visit his brother and ignored Te Wera's request. This led Te Wera to send his own people to kill Taoka's son, Rokomaraeroa, at Pukeuri. He then marched on Pukekura.

Te Wera's initial intention was to try and make peace but the incident quickly got out of control and a skirmish within the pā led to a full battle. There were many casualties including Moki and his son Kāpō who was pursued over the ridge behind Pukekura with a bleeding backside and subsequently the cliffs were named Kumukumuwhero. He ran down on to the Papanui flats and into the lagoon itself where he was disembowelled on the small island which is now named after him.

The win was comprehensive and Moki's people were defeated. Te Wera returned to Huriawa but it was not long before Taoka heard the news and he, in turn, marched on Te Wera. He set up camp on the sand spit across from Te Wera's pā, as he discovered that he was unable to penetrate the defences and that they were well supplied with food and water within the palisades. But equally Te Wera was unable to move beyond the confines of the peninsula and after six months he made his escape.

They headed south in canoes until, unfortunately, one of the vessels hit the cliffs south of Blueskin Bay. Te Wera and his people set up a pā at Māpoutahi on Pūrākaunui beach. Taoka was in pursuit and although Te Wera made good his escape, Taoka placed Māpoutahi under siege.

One stormy night the guards within the pā attempted to fool Taoka by setting up dummies to look like real guards. A scout from Taoka's party climbed down to the pā, saw that the guards were being blown around by the wind and discovered the trickery. Taoka attacked the pā and all the inhabitants were killed and thrown into the sea. In the morning the bodies were washed

onto the beach and they appeared as if they were logs piled up. This is how Pūrākaunui got its name.[5]

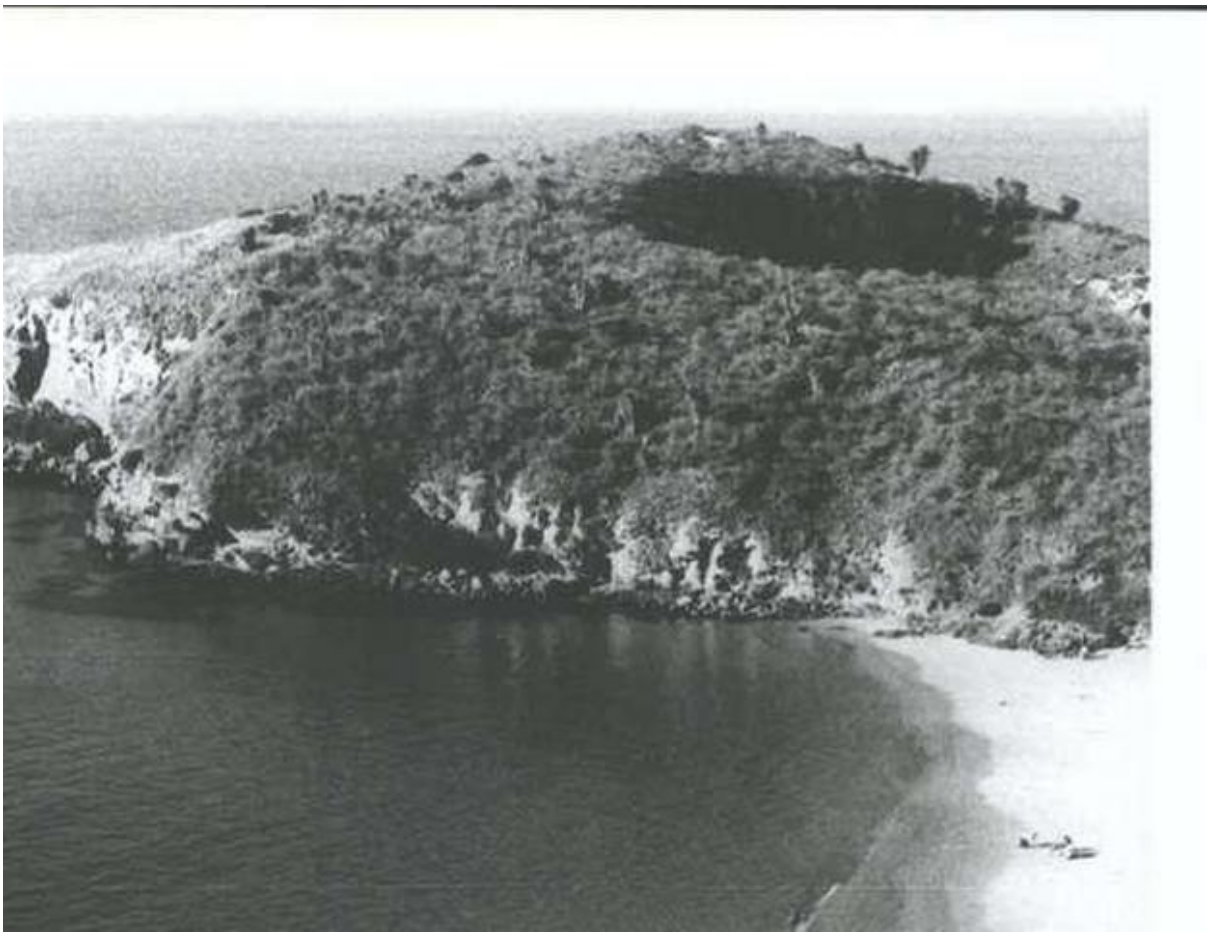

Figure 5 Mapoutahi -Hocken Library c/nE5017/22

Te Wera made it safely to Rakiura (Stewart Island) and Taoka reinstated Moki's family as the possessors of Pukekura and the surrounding lands. In fact he particularly acknowledged his great nephew, Taikawa, and placed him in charge.

Taoka continued to run raids into the South Otago region ultimately clearing up nearly all of the remaining resistance from earlier inhabitants.

2.6 Rakīhia and Poupoutunoa

The next several years saw minor exchanges between Kāi Tahu and Kāti Māmoe but they were not large scale. Relationships between Kāi Tahu in Canterbury and Otago strengthened as many travelled south for muttonbirds, the pathways to pounamu on the west coast were opened up

[5] Pū is a pile and rākau is wood whilst nui means large.

and the central South Island areas were frequented as a traveller's highway and for food gathering.

Although times were relatively peaceful there remained some tension between the descendants of Te Rakitauneke, who were now considered the leadership of Kāti Māmoe, and the senior families of Kāi Tahu. There were particular events that remained unresolved and one Kāti Māmoe chief, Rakīhia, left Ōtākou and travelled to Kaiapoi to begin peace negotiations with the Kāi Tahu chief Te Hautapunuiotū.

The result was a series of marriages that were intended to give finality to the feuding that had now spanned several generations. Rakīhia himself married Te Hau's cousin and subsequently remained in Kaiapoi until the birth of their first child. Other marriages included Honekai, the son of Te Hau, marrying Kohuwai, the daughter of Taikawa from Pukekura. Honekai and Kohuwai were the grandparents of the renowned southern chief Tūhawaiki.

Following the birth of their baby Rakīhia, accompanied by Te Hau and others from Kaiapoi, returned to Ōtākou to discover his sister had been working like a common women because one of the local men had taken her slave as a wife. This so incensed Rakīhia that he killed the slave woman. This in turn led to Rakīhia being stabbed by the woman's husband. Rakīhia was not killed outright but the wound did become infected which led to his death. He was buried on a ridge east of Lookout Point known as Te Uruka a Te Raki. [6]

On his death bed Rakīhia spoke to Te Hau and instructed him to kill his younger brothers as they would not support the peace making. Te Hau followed these instructions and after a series of events the brothers were killed and the peace was cemented.

Symbolically it was decided that some of Rakīhia's people would settle at the mouth of the Clutha River and inland from there is a hill called Poupoutūnoa for a post that was erected identifying boundaries and in remembrance of peace proclaimed.

2.7 Discussion

The series of events associated with the Kāi Tahu migration in effect set the settlement patterns for the greater Dunedin area through until the 19th century. It is unclear whether the fortified headlands of Huriawa Peninsula, Māpoutahi and Pukekura were ever occupied or utilised again

[6] Many variations of this placename are in print including one used below Korakiarukateraki

as defensive settlements following the battles between Kāti Kurī and Te Wera but there were several village sites established in the area immediately surrounding each of these traditional pā. Karitāne and Puketeraki, Pūrakaunui, Ōtākou, Taieri River Mouth and Henley were also the primary locations for the 19th century Māori reserve allocations as the majority of Kāi Tahu living in the Dunedin area were based in these villages.

There are several other sites of occupation that have been identified as a result of archaeological discovery and investigation that have no correlation whatsoever to Māori tradition or to settlement patterns in the early post -European period.

Equally there are extensive traditions in the Dunedin city area although little other evidence to suggest any permanent occupation. Ōtepoti observations are discussed below but there are also several placenames and associated traditions in other parts of Dunedin.

One very solid tradition recalls the death of a great Kāti Mamoe chief Wharawhara-te-raki who lived up in the Halfway Bush region. When he passed away his body was elevated on a platform and was thus held up for all the mourners to view him. To hold up to view is to whakaari which is how the suburb Wakari (a corruption of whakaari) received its name.

The body was then carried down to the tidal flats near present day Logan Park and once again held up to view on a platform. This site was traditionally known as Te Iriiri o Wharawhara-te-raki or the place where Wharawhara-te-raki was suspended in the air.

There are also a series of placenames that run up the ridge line from Carisbrook to the top of Māori Hill that are quite descriptive but also recount ancestor names. Te Rara, which ran as high as Stafford Street, means the rib but may also be a Waitaha ancestor. Carrying on from Te Rara was Pokohiwi, which means the shoulder but is also an important chief who was the grandfather of Karetai. Te Au, which means the mists or clouds, is also a nephew of Pokohiwi and is a placename bestowed upon the highest parts of Māori Hill.

With more obscure traditions such as those outlined above it is less clear whether they are drawn from historical events or if the tradition and the placename have evolved alongside each other. Whichever is the case they have become a part of legitimate Māori nomenclature and can be traced back to credible sources.

THEME 3: PREHISTORY

1. Moa Hunter Sites

The moa made up part of the diet from the time Māori arrived in Otago until moa were hunted to extinction a few hundred years later. The latest studies indicate that at one point there were 8 species of Moa, ranging from the smallest species of 15-30 kg, up to the largest of 125-230 kg. They lived in mixed shrub and forest and were hunted not only for their meat (taken mostly from leg joints), which was then preserved in fat or dried, but also for moa eggs. In addition, fish hooks and awls were made from the solid moa bones.

By the 14th century large moa and the larger seals were becoming scarce, and all species of moa were rare by the mid-15th century. It is hard to pinpoint exactly when moa became extinct, but evidence from coastal Canterbury and Otago indicates that no moa were hunted past 1700 AD.

Hamel (2001) identified approximately 30 moa hunter sites within the Dunedin area. They include:

- Tumai
- Waikouaiti
- Seacliff
- Ross's Rocks
- Ōmimi
- Warrington
- Doctor's Point
- Waitati Mouth
- Pūrakaunui
- Long Beach
- Murdering Beach
- Kaikai's Beach
- Waiparapara
- Harwood
- Pipikaretu
- Papanui Inlet North
- Little Papanui
- Hoopers Inlet
- Allans Beach
- Sandfly Bay
- Andersons Bay
- St Kilda
- St Clair
- Kaikorai Estuary

- Ōtokia
- Taieri Mouth
- Taieri Cave
- Millers Flat
- Deep Stream

The most significant sites identified, in terms of the extent of archaeological evidence of activity and occupation, were Warrington, Harwood, Little Papanui and Kaikorai Estuary. Papanui Inlet was also a significant moa hunter site, which covered a large area, had burials, dwellings, various artefacts, middens and was close to seal colonies. The Papanui Inlet site was probably a village that was occupied year round for a few years.

Little Papanui (near Cape Saunders) was intensively excavated and identified as an important moa site, as well as a small village. Anderson (1989), quoting from Teviotdale, wrote that the lower layer "contained many fragments of moa bones, but all were from bones suitable for manufacture. Many of the fragments were of large size". Another major moa hunter site was located at Harwood, excavated by Knight in the 1950s, but poorly documented. Moa bones were collected from the Harwood dunes in the 1870s and sold and the moa bone middens were spread out across 8 hectares.

Excavations at Long Beach found a predominance of fish middens, but moa bones were encountered in an area of Māori burials close by.

Moa hunter sites have also been found in the now urban areas of St Kilda and St Clair. Excavation by Teviotdale in 1932 near the Salt Water Pools, and an excavation in 2008 at 24 The Esplanade found remains of moa and other animals.

2. Mineral Resources

Before hard metals became available in the early 19th century Kāi Tahu were adept at crafting tools and taoka ornaments from various mineral resources, which were either crafted on site or taken back to the coastal settlements and worked on there.
Kāi Tahu developed an in depth knowledge of minerals and quarry sites throughout the region, which were well exploited and highly valued in pre-European times. Ochre (maukoroa), notably from Huriawa peninsula, was also used to paint objects and as a trade item.

Minerals were derived from three main geological forms—sedimentary, igneous and metamorphic rocks. According to Jill Hamel (2001) rock types suitable for flaking into sharp tools

generally occur in small, hard-to-find outcrops. “Prehistoric Otago was relatively rich in flakeable stone sources, especially porcellanite, silcrete, basalt, chalcedony, chert and argillites (or meta-argillites). More widespread rocks, such as schist, sandstone, siltstone, basalt and greywacke, were made into files, saws, grindstones, ulu, and hammer stones. (…) Silcrete and porcellanite were particularly important to moa-hunters, making up the bulk of their cutting tools.” Obsidian was imported to Otago from the northern half of the North Island, argillites from Southland, and nephrite from the West Coast. Cape Saunders is one example of a quarry site where opalline rock was mined for adzes.

According to Atholl Anderson (1983) the main techniques used by the early Māori were flaking, hammering, sawing, filing, grinding, and drilling. Basalt from the Otago Peninsula and argillites from the north shore of Foveaux Strait were used to make adzes, for which hard and non-brittle stone was needed. Large cleavers and knives were made out of silcrete or quartzite. Other sources state that basalt was the most readily available stone resource, found in the lower reaches of the Waikouaiti and the mouth of Whaitiripaku, Carey’s Creek.

3. Gold

Māori knew of the existence of gold prior to the arrival of Europeans, but did not exploit it as it was not a hard material. Māori guides, such as Haimona Rakiraki, originally brought early colonists to the gold fields. Dacker (1994) retells the story of Rakiraki in 1851 informing James Crane, a settler from Waihola, of gold in the Molyneux (Clutha) River. Māori also joined the search for gold after fields were discovered in Gabriel’s Gully around 1860 with some being very successful.

4. Pounamu/Nephrite

The Dunedin area was prolific for working greenstone into tools and ornaments, although there was no local source of pounamu (the closest being the Dart River site). In the wider Otago district nephrite was worked at sites such as Tarewai Point, Whareakeake (Murdering Beach), Long Beach, Pūrakaunui, and Warrington.

It appears that in the early 19th century these sites may have served as manufacturing centres for objects of trade with Europeans. Some sources (Entwistle 1998; Anderson 1982) indicate that Whareakeake held the largest concentration of worked nephrite and semi-nephrite in Otago and that the population, conservatively estimated at 500 people, was maintained by the processing of greenstone on a large scale.

In 1842 at Waikouaiti, Shortland saw chief Koroko and another old man grinding greenstone, using traditional methods in Korako's house which was set up as a stone-working shop (Shortland 1851). Tunuku Karetai of Ōtākou also remembered seeing the old men from his village at Otago Heads working greenstone when he was still a boy (1860s).

During the late 19th and early 20th century several Otago village sites were subject to curio hunting which was a common activity of the time. Several thousand greenstone artefacts were discovered at places like Pilots Beach, Murdering Beach and Long Beach. Skinner (1959) argued that this was a strong indicator that these villages were heavily occupied during what Roger Duff called the greenstone phase of Māori culture. Duff was of the view that Māori were only just beginning to fully utilise the pounamu available to them when they began to interact with Europeans and, therefore, where there are sites with a proliferation of greenstone implements this is indicative of the last phase of independent Māori culture. Most of the settlements where large amounts of greenstone have been found in the Dunedin area would fit within this period.

Figure 6: Maori implements, 1910. Most of the implements are from Murdering and Kaikai beaches. Hocken Library c/nE2973/40

5. Pā Sites

Most of the events described in the section on Kāi Tahu migration refer to the Huriawa, Māpoutahi and Pukekura pā sites and they are the most commonly referred to as fortified sites in the Dunedin area. The archaeologist Jill Hamel (2001) states that although there are

references to other pā sites, we cannot assume that they were established forts. “Some sites of battles on the coast, such as Henley Hill, Te Pā a Tūparitaniwha on the Taieri River north of Henley, and Ram Island - Lake Waipori, are described as pā, and although they are defensible sites there are no accounts of sieges or physical signs of defences.”

Atholl Anderson (1983) wrote that fortifications in the South Island were more rare and simple than those in the North Island. Some of the reasons for this are that “the southern Māori had no reserves of kumara to protect, one of the primary functions of the northern pā, or it may have been that their warfare, according to traditional evidence, was oriented less towards siege tactics than to mobile raiding.” Since the south was less populated Māori could “employ the tactical retreat more readily than in the populous north.”

The main features of the southern pā sites included terraces for houses and ditch and bank defences. The archaeologist Teviotdale discovered three terraces on the south side of the creek and one or two huts on each terrace at Little Papanui. Similarly, the cluster of huts at Tarewai Point may have been on a terrace above Pilots Beach.

Ditching, which was typical in North Island pā sites, was found only at Karitāne and Māpoutahi and, according to Allingham and Ellison (unpublished) possibly at Pukekura. The wooden palisade built on a prepared terrace seems to have been the major defence element of southern pā. Palisade post-hole markings have been found at Karitāne, Māpoutahi and Murdering Beach (Atholl Anderson 1983).

Other sites, such as Whareakeake, were actually built in flat swampy areas and as discussed below could be considered swamp pa. These were not uncommon within Kāi Tahu and significant pa such as Kaiapoi and Waiateruati (both of which were still occupied in the early 19th century) were fortified swamp pa built on the flat close to coastal swamp systems.

Recorded pā sites in the Dunedin area include:

- Pā a Te Wera/Huriawa (Karitāne)
- Māpoutahi (Pūrakaunui)
- Whareakeake (Murdering Beach)
- Puketai (Andersons Bay)
- Pukekura (Taiaroa Head)
- Papanui
- Te Amoka (Taieri)

- Ōmoua (Taieri)
- Maitapapa (Taieri)

6. Kāika

Kāika can be described as permanent peacetime settlements as opposed to pā sites which were used during times of unrest. The word kāika is a dialect form of kāinga or kaainga, kaa referring to "the cooking fires always kept alight in a permanent settlement." Atholl Anderson (1983) describes early settlements around the 13th century as "sites at which several hundred people were in residence during part of the year but perhaps only ten or twenty, including the elderly and ill, at other times."

The location for a kāika site was often determined by its proximity to mahika areas, which facilitated hunting, fishing and other food gathering activities. Not surprisingly when kāika sites were excavated, evidence of other related activities were often on hand, including urupā (burial sites), quarry sites, tauraka waka, tauraka ika and umu-tī.

Numerous kāika existed in and around Dunedin and the list below is taken primarily from Anderson (1998) but also includes details from other sources where available.

- Waikouaiti (Waipipikāika, Maraekura, Makuku – discussed below).
- Ōmimi: A kāika south of Seacliff.
- Warrington/Blueskin Bay: This area appears to have been more significantly occupied prior to European contact when the Warrington/Blueskin Bay area contained many areas of occupation. In the general locality there is evidence of various dwelling sites, food gathering and oven middens. Although most of these sites were abandoned by the time of European occupation, Thomson mentions a Māori village at Warrington and there are several references to Blueskin (Kahuti) himself living at Doctor's Point.
- Pūrakaunui: This kāika appears to have been occupied in one form or another from the earliest settlement periods and, at one time, would have been an important mahika kai site supplying the Māpoutahi pa. The kāika most likely swelled in population following the refugee movement south during the Kai Huaka and Te Rauparaha conflicts in Canterbury. During the 1840s there were up to 50 people residing there. Shortland (1851) observed the village in 1844 and stated that, "here was abundance of everything the New Zealanders required. There was plenty of wood, a rich soil, and the sea close at hand to supply them with fish. Nor did there seem much

chance of their being disturbed, for the space of level land was too small to attract the attention of the European settler, and there was too many lofty hills surrounding it. The number of residents here I found to be men 10, women 9, children 13, total 32."

- Whareakeake: This site is discussed in detail below.

- Te Waiparapara: A kāika that was located on the spit at Aramoana. It was here that the Canterbury chief Kaikoareare lived, until he was offered land on the other side of the harbour (Anderson 1998). It appears on the early harbour maps and Watkins stayed in the village in 1841 but by the 1850s this village was no longer occupied.

- Ōtawhiroko (Otafelo): A small settlement site on the northern side of Otago Harbour that was associated with Taiaroa or his son. Watkins visited there in 1842, as did Tuckett on April 23rd, 1844 where he discovered those living there were literate and kept their own books. (Pybus 1954b).

- Otaheiti/Acheron's Head: This was likely settled in the late 1830s by refugees from Te Rauparaha's raids in North Canterbury, who were given sites on the less favoured western shores of the Lower Harbour by their southern kin. Literature sources state that in the 1840s Taiaroa had a Kāika on the side of what is now Acheron Head until he shifted it across towards Wellers station (Entwistle 1998). Other sources state that Taiaroa's son Matapura had a European style house there in 1842, but when the ship Deborah arrived in 1844 the place was deserted. Ledgerwood (2006) suggests that "the abandonment of Otaheiti probably happened some time after 1842 when Taiaroa strangled his cousin, Chief Kohi, from Koputai."

  When the sale of the Ōtākou block was taking place Taiaroa's sister asked that Otaheiti be included in the Māori reserve, but Tuckett did not agree to have any reserves on the west side of harbour. (ibid)

- Koputai: Although this was certainly the site of a settlement in ancient times including a burial site and an altar for worship, records of later occupation are sketchy. Shortland (1851) has Kohi and his family residing there in the early 1840s but shortly after it is considered to be abandoned (Anderson 1998).

- Ōtepoti: Although a controversial site in later years there is little evidence to suggest that it was an important settlement site in pre-European times. It was certainly a landing spot and a point

from which the Ōtākou based Māori would hunt in the surrounding bush but the only observed residents living at Ōtepoti appear to have been European.

- Turnbull Bay: This site was identified by Hamel (2005d) as one of the larger inner harbour sites and most likely a contact period settlement. Interestingly this village does not feature in traditions or oral history.

- Parihaumia. This site, now known as Lower Portobello, appears to have been well occupied right through until the contact period. (Hamel 2005c) Though there is little traditional evidence that recounts any type of Māori settlement on the spot, as with Turnbull Bay.

- Kokomuka/Harwood: Hamel (2005d) states, "Harwood Flat is one of the most continually occupied places since the arrival of human beings in New Zealand. Massive quantities of moa bone were dug from a section owned by Octavius Harwood... ...and among the numerous Archaic artefacts from the area were four cowrie shells of two tropical species. The whole of the Harwood Flat and adjacent shorelines should be considered to be of the greatest cultural significance."

- Ōtākou: This includes the principle villages of Ōhinetu, Ōmate, Tahakopa, Te Ruatitiko and Te Rauone. These were the primary harbour settlements during the early 19th century and various population estimates have suggested up to 2,000 people residing there. Many maps capture their location and modern settlements exist in their place today. Observations of these villages are discussed in detail below.

- Pilots Beach/Tarewai Point: In his excavations Teviotdale (1935) discovered a small Māori encampment that overlooks Pilot's Beach, although nowadays a road to the lighthouse at Taiaroa Head runs through it. There was a hut site at the western end, then a pyre and an umu site. Māori contact with the Europeans was evident as beads, bowls of tobacco pipes and pieces of iron were found at the site. Pounamu ornaments and fragments of a soapstone ipu (bowl) were also found.

  Teviotdale also found what he believed was evidence of cremation that was "occasionally practiced in order to stay the spread of disease." He also noted that this was a post-contact site and is likely to be the village identified on early maps sitting immediately west of Taiaroa Head. It has also been surmised that this was the village that Tahatu resided in when visited by

Haberfield in the early 1830s. Tahatu was dying of one of the introduced illnesses and it is possible that the village was burnt or abandoned following the death of a big chief such as this.

At a later date Karetai lived on the brow of the hill above Pilot's Beach and his son, Korako, occupied a site adjacent to the beach itself.

- Waiari Kāika: This was a small settlement located below Te Tihi o Waiari at the Otago Heads. The kāika was also associated with the Karetai family and mentioned by the chief Karetai as one of his primary family settlements allocated to his children, which remained the residence of Alice Karetai until the 1920s.

- Papanui/Ōkia: A Report to NZ Historic Places Trust (1980) stated that there are 19 recorded archaeological sites at Ōkia flat, and 17 relate to Māori occupation of the area. Papanui Inlet was first settled in archaic (moa hunter) times and was occupied until the late pre-European period. The site was an excellent mahika kai for shell and flounder (Teviotdale 1929; Entwistle 1998).

  Little Pyramid Cave (S164/81) is known to have been occupied in the early proto-historic period and excavation showed evidence of human bones scattered on bedding and, near the entrance to the cave, fish bones, cockle and mussel shells, a wooden figure, pig and bird bones were found. Ellis (1940) excavated the site noting that "…this cave is particularly tapu... ...The finding of the broken bones and the absence of many larger bones all point to the fact that the victims suffered indignity of being eaten by Te Wera and his men." Many other burial sites have also been found within the Ōkia reserve.

  The area, as Ellis correctly points out, was not only the location of well known villages but also the scene of at least two famous southern skirmishes among local Māori residents. Firstly the capture of Tarewai occurred in this area and then secondly the final encounter between Moki and Te Wera spilled over from Pukekura to the Papanui / Hoopers Inlet area resulting in the death of certain significant chiefs.

- Pikiwhara/Sandymount and Sandfly Bay: This area is the site of three middens and features in traditions, the most notable being that of Taikawa, the son of Te Pahi, who was buried at Sandymount. Anderson (1998) also identifies this area as a place that Kahuti and Kurukuru resided for cultivation purposes in the early 1840s.

- Mataipapa: This settlement is is discussed in detail below.

THEME 4: HISTORICAL

1. Contact Period Kāika

The earliest recorded observations of human activity on the Otago coastline are well documented and often contradictory. Anderson (1998) and Church (2009) have the most comprehensive analysis of the different observations including population estimates, early mapping and accounts of interaction and trade. The records from this contact period are notoriously unreliable when it comes to population numbers as the details tend to differ from ship record to record. Despite that there are some commonalties which suggest more reliability particularly when it comes to the location of the early 19th century villages.

Before 1830 the predominance of recorded observations in the Otago area were at the mouth of the harbour, in the harbour and the areas immediately north of the harbour. It is easy to assume that this is where the greatest population was also concentrated but it is possible that there were large populations elsewhere in the district that were not easily observed from the coastal vessels.

Anderson identifies the occupied sites as Waikouaiti, Waipipikāika, Pūrakaunui, Wharauwerawera (Long Beach), Whareakeake (Murdering Beach), Kaikai's Beach, Ōtākou which included villages such as the Lower Kāik' (Pilots Beach), Ruatitiko, Tahakopa and Ōmate.

The observations from 1810 to 1840 paint a picture of a densely populated coastline from Pūrakaunui south to the Otago Harbour mouth then along the eastern inner coast of the harbour as far as present day Harwood. This included a few, smaller settlements on the western shore down as far as Koputai (Port Chalmers). Some estimates have suggested that population numbers were as high as 5,000 but this is unlikely and more reliable assessments consider a population of 2,000 to be realistic.

There are also several accounts confirming that this was an unpredictable community. Similar to accounts from the Bay of Islands during the same period a picture is painted of a sometime hospitable and productive people who were equally capable of acts of extreme violence to each other and towards others.

By 1840 the communities were living a form of bicultural existence with family make up and the physical appearance of dwellings and the villages themselves a reflection of both Māori and Pakeha culture.

2. North of Dunedin

The main Māori settlement north of Dunedin by the mid 19th century was generally known as Waikouaiti, although the individual kāika were known as Waipipikāika, Maraekura and Makuku. The Waikouaiti settlement was named after the river of the same name and the villages were clustered around the estuary and river mouth. [7] Little is known about the settlement following the abandonment of the pa by Te Wera and the arrival of the first whalers there in 1837 although there is reference to the nearby Mata-inaka lagoon being used as a food gathering area as well as a timber resource but not as a permanent settlement.

In fact by this time it appears that there was a considerable concentration of the Māori population living closer to the Otago Harbour and Edward Shortland, who visited the community in early 1844, tends to confirm this view when he made the following observation:

"I found that the natives and Europeans lived on very good terms, as, in fact, appears to be the case at all these stations. The latter had small cultivation grounds, but did not advance any claim to be proprietors of the soil. On the first establishment of the station, very few natives, by all accounts, resided at Waikouaiti; but they soon increased in number, coming from other parts of the country for the sake of the tobacco, clothing, etc."

By this time there were several marriages between whalers and local Māori women that had been formalised by Rev. James Watkins who had been living at the settlement since early 1840. At the time of Edward Shortland's visit in 1844 the Māori population of Waikouaiti was only 101 including 14 half-caste children and he commented that many of the Māori men had travelled long distances to reside there for work opportunities.

[7] This is the site of present day Karitane

Figure 7: Karitane Bay. Hocken Library

During his time at Waikouaiti Shortland drew a rough map (above) which shows Māori and Pakeha were still living apart in quite separate villages although only by a few hundred metres. The Māori village was adjacent to the foreshore immediately in front of the mission station and somewhat distant from the current settled areas. Shortland also noted that the Māori house construction was quite different to Māori houses he had seen in the North Island and that they "had a door opening with a wooden hinge, not sliding forward and back in a groove like the lid of a box" as was common in the north.

They were also furnished and had beds "built like a stage, about ten inches from the ground." These beds were known as rara from the kindling type twigs that were used to construct them.

Once the whaling ceased in the early 1840s the community continued and when 1800 acres of Māori reserve was set aside at the time of the Kemps purchase in 1848 a permanent settlement was established on the site. It seems that around 1875 the settlement became known as Karitāne while the Māori settlement further up the hill to the south was known as Puketeraki.

By 1878 the township was endowed with nearly 3000 acres of native reserve land most of which was being used for growing crops or pasture for sheep. Reports of the time suggest that under the leadership of Tame Parata the community was flourishing as an agricultural centre, trading post and reconstituted whaling station (ODT 1878).

The school was formally opened in 1851 and a church and whare rūnanga were built on the hill at Puketeraki in the late 1800s. By the beginning of the 20th century Karitāne was, in many respects, indistinguishable from other small Otago settlements apart from the obvious Māori presence at Puketeraki which has persisted through to modern times.

3. Otago Peninsula and Harbour

Following the fall of Pukekura it is appears that the actual headland site was never reoccupied. There are no further traditions that refer to the pa specifically as in the earlier stories of Tarewai and Moki. It is almost certain the site was abandoned following its downfall at the hands of Te Wera as this was a common response to such a defeat and was appropriate according to tikanga Māori.[8] There are no reliable European observations that I am aware of that identify any of the traditional headland pā in an occupied or fortified state indicating that they had been abandoned for at least a generation. This is consistent with the archaeological evidence. Hamel (2001) notes that radio carbon dating on the headland fortified sites date to the 18th century.

The areas that were heavily occupied during the early 19th century were adjacent to Pukekura both to the north and west of the harbour mouth. It seems that an alternative form of fortification was utilised and that coastal communities, such as Murdering Beach (Whareakeake) and Long Beach (Wharauwerawera), were able to rely on steep cliffs behind and fortifications on the beach front or in swampy, low lying ground as opposed to jutting peninsulas with defendable sea cliffs (Hamel 2001).

The first European contact was almost certainly with sealing crews and Church (2009) has now covered the period extensively in his recent publication. William Tucker may have been the first European to live among Otago Māori and he was actively engaged in formal trade seemingly travelling back and forwards from Otago to Sydney. He was also involved in the events that led to the fracas that caused Murdering Beach to be named as it was (as outlined above).

During this period tension fluctuated between Māori and the new Pakeha arrivals. In 1832 the Weller brothers established their whaling station at Ōtākou and many of the whalers married into local Māori.

[8] If a village is abandoned it is considered to hold the residual tapu of the previous residents particularly if deaths occurred at the time of abandonment. Because of that tapu the site was avoided by all and any remaining residents would need to relocate to a new village site.

But this was also a time of conflict between the Kāi Tahu of the south and Te Rauparaha and his allies further north. There were large war parties of several hundred men regularly passing through Ōtākou and they were often in a heightened state either preparing for or returning from battle. This in turn led to conflict between the European settlers and local Māori as they boarded vessels and plundered European supplies at will. At one point the local chief Karetai was held against his will in Sydney for several months as a means of moderating local Māori behaviour. (Church 2008)

Durville visited the harbour in 1840 and discovered a very active port and his official artist, Le Breton, painted the village of Ruatitiko (below). According to local people this village had a church built from punga and raupo and the houses were a combination of European and Māori style. As is obvious on the Le Breton image the beach was strewn with both traditional double hulled canoes and modern open whaling boats. By this time most of the important chiefs also owned fleets of schooners and other European style vessels that they used to travel and trade up and down the coast and across to Australia.

Figure 8: Louis Le Breton, Port Otago (Nouvelle Zélande), Dessiné par L. Le Breton. Lith. par Sabatier. Imp. par Lemercier à Paris. Gide Editeur. Voyage au Pôle Sud et dans l'Océanie. Atlas pittoresque. pl. 180 [1846] hand coloured lithograph, 277 x 421mm; on pa

Eventually a number of influences smoothed the relationships and by 1844, when Shortland visited Ōtākou, it appeared to him to be reasonably civilised from a European perspective. Just as in Puketeraki whaling had waned and the Wellers had left the district although many marriages had led to a myriad of halfcaste children who, over time, became beneficiaries of both cultures.

In May 1849 this observation was reported in the *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*

The number of natives in the Otago district are very inconsiderable, and the majority of them intellectual and in a state of semi-civilisation. They are extremely useful in assisting the settlers to build mud houses, to fence in the sections, and to bring firewood from the adjoining bush. By far the greater number reside on the native reserve, near the entrance of the harbour, and cultivate potatoes for the supply of the town, which, with fishing, forms their principal occupation. Perfect concord exists between them and the settlers"

Governor Grey also visited the small community in 1859 and almost certainly spent time at the Ruatitiko village. The Otago Witness reported the visit and described the scene. *"The natives... ... were, to the number of about 100, assembled on the grass in front of the old Wesleyan Chapel. Several of them were well and respectably clad, but the greater number presented an appearance, both in dress and in their looks, which unmistakably indicated much need of elevation in their condition. They welcomed the party with loud cheering. His Excellency had a seat prepared for him under the shade of a kaio tree, and a semicircle was formed round him by the visitors; the Māories being seated opposite at a sufficient distance to leave a clear amphitheatre, within which native orators could deliver their speeches. Judging from the violent gesticulations and salutatory feats of some, the speeches were made as much by the aid of the legs as by the organ of speech."*

The fact that they were in front of a Wesleyan church indicates they were at Ruatitiko as Rev. Riemenschneider did not build the Ōtākou church at Ōmate until after 1860 and the only other recorded existence of a church was at this village.[9] Pybus (1954) described the church as standing on the slope overlooking the harbour and the Spit surrounded by shrubs and a neat flower plot. The church bell was an old gun barrel that was struck with an iron bar to ring notice of service.

[9] Although it has been recorded that Hoani Wetere Korako used his house at Tahakopa as a church

The church was ultimately claimed by the sand drifts that also consumed the entire village. This was most likely caused by the rapid deforestation of the lands surrounding the upper harbour. The land became known as the Sand Block, or Te Rauone, (A Multitude of Sands), which was allocated to several elders to be held in trust for all descendants of Ōtākou.

Just a kilometre south of this village was the Wellers settlement that was known as Ōtākou, which is the genesis of the modern provincial name 'Otago'. In fact Ōtākou is not the site of that village but is instead the name of the harbour channel that runs from the harbour mouth to Harwood Township. The place that the Wellers resided was known as Ōmate and the site of their shore whaling activities, Wellers Rock, was called Te Umu Kuri.

In earlier years archaeological evidence shows that many of the sheltered bays were settled on both sides of the harbour as well as the inlets and the southern shores of the peninsula but by the time of European contact nearly all of those settlements had been abandoned in favour of settlement in the lower harbour villages. There were villages noted at Otaheiti and Koputai on the northern side of the harbour and there were also a few huts right in the upper harbour on the site of Ōtepoti at the corner of modern day Rattray and Princes Streets.

Evidence is conflicted as to whether the Ōtepoti village was European or Māori with Matiu Te Hu Erueti stating that in the early days "there were some Māori whares about where the city of Dunedin now stands" (O.W. 1 July 1897). Whereas Shortland (1851) found the place unoccupied but frequented by the local Māori to harvest pigs as it was treated as their upper harbour pig run. Shortland noted that there were "great numbers" of pigs running freely through the bush but the local Māori had deliberately placed them here to keep them distant from their cultivations which the pigs would inevitably root up.

The New Zealand Company, as outlined in more detail below, selected the Ōtepoti site for the Dunedin settlement and set aside significant reserves in the lower harbour surrounding the Ōtākou villages. Once cleared much of the land was arable and was put to productive use by the Māori population who continued to reside in the Ōtākou, Harington Point and Taiaroa Head villages.

4. Whareakeake /Murdering Beach

Whareakeake is located between Pūrakaunui and Aramoana and at the beginning of the 19th century a large settlement existed there with an estimated population of around 500 (Entwistle

1998). This is supported by evidence of a palisaded settlement in a bay lying on swampy flats amidst steep hills, which was found upon excavation in the 1950s. In addition, a foundation of adzed posts was uncovered that marked a palisade along the swampy edge of a creek. The movement of sand from the beach "could have created quite a sufficient swamp for this late village to have been a small swamp pā" (Hamel 2001).

In Behold the Moon, Peter Entwisle wrote that Murdering Beach got its name from the following story. In December 1817 the ship Sophia stopped off the Whareakeake beach and Captain Kelly came ashore with his men. Among them was William Tucker and the Māori identified him as a trader in Māori heads. Hence, they killed him and two others. Pakeha retaliated by burning a Māori village of 600 houses. Incidents related to these events continued from 1810 to 1823, and approximately 155 people, Māori and Pakeha, were killed.

However, upon conducting further research Entwisle revised the story in 2007. He discovered that the feud was indeed a continuing one, but the cause was not Tucker's trade in Māori heads. The actual cause was a theft by the Māori chief Te Wāhia of a few items from the sealing ship Sydney Cove in 1810. "This was ruthlessly avenged with a cutlass resulting in Te Wāhia's death, and the feud went on from there." William Tucker was actually a friend of the Māori—he lived at Whareakeake around 1815-1816 and had a Māori "wife." He left for a time and returned in 1817 to settle with other Pakeha, but it did not go well that time. Korako, the chief of Otago Harbour, refused to ferry the Whareakeake Māori across to get a share in the first distribution of the returnee's gifts. When Captain Kelly and Mr Tucker rowed round to Whareakeake a few days later this is what caused Te Matehaere, a chief there, to fall on the captain and his men.

5. Taieri

The original Taieri settlements were Te Pa o Tuwiriroa at the mouth of the Taieri River and Tukiauau's temporary pa at Whakaraupuka or Ram Island. The Taieri battles, as discussed earlier, also gave rise to the Ōmoua and Te Amoka pa sites. It does not appear that these settlements survived beyond the Tārere-ki-whenua-uta events and that seasonal occupation was the primary form of settlement through until the early 19th century. Two major events subsequently influenced human occupation upon the Taieri, respectively the wars with Ngāti Toa and the establishment of a whaling station at the mouth of the river.

Following the fall of Kaiapoi pa in 1831 several refugees headed south. The refugees were integrated into existing villages, or settled in areas that had either been abandoned or were

temporary sites that had not been heavily populated before their arrival. The details of the Taieri occupation are sparse but most accounts agree that many of those who moved to Maitapapa were originally from Canterbury. Another cohort of residents were attracted there due to the whaling station established by the Wellers in the 1830s at the mouth of the river at Moturata. Whaling and a subsequent timber industry allowed some economic opportunity for local Māori.

The Moturata Island whaling station was only operational for a few years and by 1841 it was found to be abandoned by Shortland (1851) when he passed through. It was briefly reopened by Johnny Jones but it never again flourished and several of the whalers dispersed whilst others moved up river to Maitapapa.

As Wanhalla (2004) notes' "By 1849 a small community had developed at Maitapapa, comprised of former whalers, their Kāi Tahu wives and mixed descent children, living alongside a Kāi Tahu population consisting of 'refugees' from the Kai Huaka feud and the Ngāti Toa raids on Kaiapoi and Banks Peninsula."

Shortland (1851) visited the village in 1844 and noted, "a few huts by the water side. The place had been selected for the convenience of eel-fishing, owing to its vicinity to some lakes, where they were caught of a large size, and very delicate flavour." He also observed that, "this small party of natives consisted of four men, six women, and nine children."

In 1844 when reserves were set aside for Kāi Tahu residing in Otago a large reserve of 2310 acres was made on the north bank of the Taieri River extending from the mouth right through to the Maitapapa settlement. Although large parts of the reserve were set aside for Kāi Tahu resident at Ōtākou, Ruapuke and Canterbury, the actual Maitapapa site was allocated to residents. As Shortland notes one attraction of the site was its proximity to the inland lakes Tatawai, Potaka and Maramatetaha, as well as other mahika kai.

The village was observed again in 1851 by Kettle (cited in Wanhalla 2004) who stated that they were but a small party who had lived in isolation for many years and, therefore, did not display the industry that he had observed elsewhere. "And not having had the same facility as the natives of Otago and Waikouaiti for supplying Dunedin with potatoes, so as to acquire the habits of traffick and by turning the proceeds of their sales into cattle, their ideas of doing anything for themselves scarcely extend beyond the cultivation of a few potatoes for their own consumption."

Over time the community did flourish and maintained a role in major Kāi Tahu discussions regarding land claims and were regularly represented at important cultural gatherings. The Māori presence was still significant enough in the late 19th century to justify the establishment of two native schools in 1876, one at Taieri Mouth and one at Henley Ferry, both with rolls of 15 students. Even after the turn of the century the population was strong enough to support the construction of the Māori Hall, "Te Waipounamu", which was opened at Taieri Ferry by Henare Karetai on April 9 1901 (Dacker 1994).

6. Ara Tawhito – Māori Trails

Perhaps the most comprehensive source on original Māori tracks in the Otago region is Murray Thomson.[10] Thomson arrived here as a young boy in the early 1860s and lived at Ōtākou. He developed an interest in Māori history and ethnology and gathered information, including details about the original Māori tracks and trails. Much of what he says is corroborated by other early settlers. Other early sources for Māori trails include Edward Shortland and David Monro, who both travelled extensively through Otago in early 1844.

Thomson states that "the principal Māori travel routes either hugged the coast or followed an approximately parallel course not far inland." This seems sensible and along this brief section of the coastline this was apparently achievable most of the time. Shortland suggests that the ancient walking tracks were falling into disuse by the time he was exploring the Otago area because of the superior marine technology that had been employed by Māori over the previous forty years. The whaling boat proved to be a vastly improved mode of transport from the carved single or double hulled Māori vessels that dominated sea transport until the arrival of the European.

6.1 South of Dunedin

Travel to the Taieri Plains was an important journey as the vast Taieri wetland system was an abundant source of food. To get to the Taieri plains you needed to travel by sea in the first instance. A trip along the open coast past Cape Saunders was an option but for those living within the Otago Harbour it was much easier, and much safer, to sail up the harbour and then use the narrow dunes near present day St Clair as a portage and continue the journey.

Alternatively there was one Māori track that ran close to the coast and another that climbed a pass inland of Saddle Hill and re-entered the upper harbour via present day Halfway Bush.

[10] From the book written by Alfred Eccles (1944) *A Pakeha's Recollections*

In 1844 two famous travellers used these routes.

Dr David Monro had travelled to Otago with the surveyor Tuckett who was on New Zealand company business to determine the site for the Ōtākou purchase. At that time Monro was resident in Nelson and had travelled with Tuckett purely for the adventure. His published account of the journey is articulate and detailed and while in Otago he travelled south via the Taieri Plain (Monro 1844).

On the 29th of April Tuckett and Monro rowed to the head of Otago Harbour where they camped overnight before heading on their journey. They were accompanied by at least one local Kāi Tahu guide. They headed south-west to the summit of some rounded hills from where they could see the Taieri Plain "stretching away to the southward for at least twenty miles."
This is most likely somewhere in the Whakaari (Wakari) Range, as from this point Monro states that they descended rapidly to the plain.

Perhaps here they departed from a traditional Māori track as the Māori guides began to lag behind. Eventually Monro asked them why the going was so difficult and queried where the pathway was. They indicated towards the river and answered "There was their highway." They further suggested that no one in their right mind would attempt to walk across such difficult terrain. In fact the only time they visited the area was for seasonal food gathering purposes or for shooting pigs in the bush otherwise "no one ever attempts to walk."

Thomson reported a track that was further towards the coast, which he had traced from the south end of the Green Island Beach.[11] He claimed it ran over the Blackhead area through to Cargill's Castle and then down to St Kilda. From there it apparently ran past the Tomahawk lagoon, on to Sandfly Bay, down to Sandymount and from there to Hooper's and Papanui Inlet. From there it was a short trip, via the current Allens Beach road route, to the tidal flats and on to the Ōtākou settlements. Monro appears to have travelled some of this route on his return trip. He states, *"From the mouth of the Taiari (sic) river, we proceeded northward by the beach. Long ridges descend to the water's edge here, with steep intervening wooded gullies. The land seems fertile, but its surface is rather uneven. We left the beach at the mouth of a stream named the Kaikarai, from which a walk of about six miles brought us to the head of Otago harbour."*

[11] This was most likely the beach at the mouth of the Kaikorai Stream

Edward Shortland, who also travelled the district in 1844, appears to have taken this same coastal route. They drew their boat up above the tide in the area currently occupied by Dunedin's southern suburbs and then set off on foot *"along a beach of fine white sand, of such dazzling brightness that it was extremely painful to keep the eyes open."*

It seems, though, that the trail had already fallen into disuse as once Shortland and his party reached the first bush clad spur they got lost. Shortland goes on to explain that , *"the natives have, however, ceased to travel by land, if they can avoid it, since they have so generally obtained possession of whaling and sealing boats; for these are easily managed, and by few hands. The large double canoes they formerly had were too valuable a property to be possessed by any but the wealthy, and required a more numerous crew for their management than a boat does; so that a great part of the population were then, as they are at the present day in the North Island, obliged to travel by land."*

After a difficult night they found their way to Taieri Mouth whereupon they attempted to walk to the Māori village on the plain via the north bank. This proved impossible due to the steep cliffs and native bush that surrounded the river so the Māori guides constructed a mokihi which was floated up to the village to alert the local chief, Te Raki, who sent down canoes to collect the visitors.

After a short stay they travelled further up stream to the Owhiro (Silverstream) following it as far as the canoes would allow. They then walked, unimpeded by scrub, in a nor-easterly direction and easily ascended a low hill. Shortland identified the low hill as part of the Saddle Hill range from which they travelled through bush to the site of present day Dunedin. It is most likely that the route they followed was close to the route of our modern motorway meaning that Shortland would have entered the harbour basin via Caversham Valley.

It is a matter of interest that, at the end point of his journey, Shortland encountered a party of Māoris from Ōtākou who were harvesting pigs from their "forest estates" that lay at the head of the harbour. These estates are now the hill and valley suburbs of Dunedin that were utilised to run pigs, as they were a great distance from the cultivated crops.

It can be seen from these contemporary accounts that there were trails following the coast and the natural features of the landscape until the introduction of more reliable sea transport. The remnants of the trails were evident when the European settlers arrived. It is quite likely that the early roads and their modern counterparts follow the same routes as the early trails.

The other Māori track worthy of note was the one that followed the Taieri River up into the Māniototo district. Records of this particular trail are not as good and there are none that I am aware of that include a full post-contact account from someone who actually travelled the route. Beattie (1944) relies on several informants who appear to have first or second hand knowledge of the trail but there is no full description. Anderson (1982) also provides an archaeological map that shows a proliferation of sites alongside the Taieri River somewhat corroborating the information from Beattie's oral sources.

The primary reason for travelling inland was for food gathering particularly weka, kanakana and eels. Apparently the river was navigable by canoe only as far as the Outram Glen whereupon travel was on foot for the rest of the journey. Beyond that details are sketchy although there are several placenames recorded along the river's route that testify to a degree of traffic. Many of the places are identified as food gathering or camp sites and apart from one set of rapids the return journey was navigable by raft.

6.2 North of Dunedin

Thomson is also the most detailed source for the northern coastal track which at one time was apparently the most popular way to travel from Ōtākou to Waikouaiti (Karitāne) and beyond. First you had to travel across the harbour to the vicinity of Aramoana and walk along the beach until the first obstacle was encountered at a steep cliff. This cliff had to be scaled by following a winding path with an equally steep descent to Kaikai's Beach on the other side. The track then followed the beach line until it climbed Purehurehu and dropped down to Murdering Beach (Whareakeake). The track then climbed up over Pilot Point and along Long Beach (Wharauwerawera) as far as the mouth of the creek, before heading towards the cliffs. At a natural break in the cliffs the track ascended the brow of the hill and dropped down again into Pūrakaunui Bay.

Heading west off the flat the track used to pass through some bush and then ascended the ridge towards Mopanui and then down into the Orokonui valley which descended quickly to Waitati and Blueskin Bay. The track then followed the shoreline all the way to Warrington Beach and from there it "followed the present railway track to Brinn's Point at Puketeraki."

This last stretch, from Warrington to Puketeraki, was by far the most difficult. Rev. Christie (1929) states that it was overgrown, full of obstacles such as fallen logs and was hazardous for

any European particularly any attempting to navigate it on horseback. Both sources agree that the track was destroyed once the railway was put in.

The track obviously continued north of Karitāne as this is the route employed by Shortland on his journey to Akaroa. Rev. Creed (Pybus 1954) also discusses walking this route while travelling to the northern settlements to minister to the natives and settlers.

The descriptions of the path that the trail followed are not overly detailed although it seems you crossed the river mouth at Karitāne and followed the beach around to Matanaka in the vicinity of Johnny Jones' farm. The trail then appears to have followed the inland route past Flag Swamp, across the Pleasant River (Hakapupu) past Mount Royal and Puketapu until reaching the coast again at Kātiki Beach.

From varying accounts it seems that the route from Waikouaiti to Moeraki was good enough to travel by horse so long as the weather was reasonable otherwise the path was subject to becoming a muddy quagmire.

6.3 Snowy Mountain Track

The Snowy Mountain trail is often considered to be a traditional Māori trail although the evidence is not overwhelming. There is a mountain track in this vicinity that is referred to in Māori traditions when Tūtemākohu chases down his wife's kidnapper Tūtakahikura. The traditions variously state that a showdown occurred in the Taieri, Halfway Bush or Waitati area and that Tūtemākohu caught his foe on the trail so it could well be this particular track. There are also some interesting Māori placenames along the Snowy Mountain route such as Tapu-taki-inoi which indicates a place of worship. It literally translates as Sacred-recite-prayer. Thomson does not identify it as a one of his known Māori trails and Christie (1929) implies it was opened up by settlers as the Māori tracks were not suitable for horse and cart transport.

This trail ran from Flagstaff to Swampy Summit and then along the ridge until the south branch of the Waikouaiti River. From here it descended to the river junction south of Cherry Farm and the river could then be followed to the coastal settlements of Port Waikouaiti (Karitāne) or to Matanaka. It was notorious route and several travellers were lost forever at night, most often when snow overcame them on their journey.

6.4 Discussion

There were no doubt several other Māori tracks in the region for more specific routes. Both Pybus and Thomson suggest smaller tracks on both sides of the harbour joining settlements to each other or to safe landing places for their canoes. It is important to once again note Shortland's comments that the use of superior whaleboats had caused many of the tracks to fall into disuse, and to also note that whaleboats had been in common use since at least the 1820s (Begg & Begg 1979; Bathgate 1969). Other original Māori routes were either overtaken by modern horse and cart tracks and then by roads or railroads, or they disappeared as deforestation rendered the previously hard won trails no longer necessary.

7. Urupā and Wāhi Tapu

Not surprisingly there are several sites in the Dunedin area that are recognised as burial grounds (urupā), religious altars, (tuahu), locations for sacred rituals such as baptism, initiation ceremonies and other seasonal rituals (wāhi tapu).
The modern convention is that these sites are not disclosed even though several have been well publicised over the years and are well known to those who care to research such matters.

There are more formal urupā such as the Hautekapakapa burial ground above the reserve at Karitāne and the urupā adjacent to Huiterangiora church at Puketeraki. There are burial grounds at Pūrakaunui and at Ōtākou behind the marae and in the dunes in front of the marae. There is also a Māori urupā at Henley.

These burial sites are of huge significance to local Kāi Tahu as those that rest there are among the most important leaders of South Island Māori during the 19th and 20th centuries.

We also have well publicised sites such as Waiwhakaheketūpāpaku at Pukekura, Korakiarukateraki at Lookout Point and Taikawa's resting place at Sandymount but on the whole some discretion is observed around sacred sites. Hence, there are protocols in place relating to the protection, access, use and management of such areas which are in turn determined by cultural values and customs that are of utmost significance to Kāi Tahu, Kati Mamoe and Waitaha people of this generation. Information relating to urupā may be held by particular whānau or hapū, or even individually.

THEME 5: UTILISING THE ENVIRONMENT

1. Mahika kai

Mahika kai is an all encompassing term that literally means “food workings” and refers to food gathering or sources of food but also embodies the traditions, customs and collection methods. Mahika kai practices are central to traditional Kāi Tahu culture, as much of the environmental knowledge that was built up during their occupation of the district centred on food gathering. The seasonal migrations to important food gathering areas were an important aspect of southern Māori culture and this still survives through to modern times. Although much of the mahika kai activity that once occurred locally has ceased as traditional gathering areas and resources have been destroyed or altered and access to new food resources has meant that the ancient practices were redundant.

Despite that in the interests of maintaining our culture and traditions certain mahika kai practices do continue through to modern times therefore emphasis continues to be placed on environmental values.

2. Tikanga

Areas set aside for food gathering were controlled by a number of factors. Firstly they were most likely dedicated to a protective deity, or atua, who had responsibility for protecting the abundance of the resource. This required certain considerations from those who gathered food in that area including appropriate rituals when entering the area, first fruit harvesting sacrifices and adherence to the correct seasons for harvesting.

It is also important to note that rights to harvest were hapū and whānau based. Not anybody could enter all food gathering areas and simply begin to collect food. Gathering areas were generally divided into wakawaka which is a term that means a furrow in a garden. Each of these furrows was assigned to a family who could work that area exclusively.

Sometimes the wakawaka were named such as those on the muttonbird islands. Each wakawaka is called a manu and has a specific geographical definition, is named and is recognised by the Māori Land Court. The rights to collect muttonbirds are exclusive to certain families and restricted to their allocated manu (Wilson 1979).

Elsdon Best (1986) recorded 19th century accounts of Kāi Tahu food gathering practices in the South Island and particular note was made of the access rights. Originally recorded in Māori (my translation) the account states that each hapū would make their way to exclusive gathering grounds and that one hapū would never stray to another's grounds. [12] The only time this was acceptable was if the chief invited another chief and his hapū to assist in working the food. This was known as an ohu and was like a communal work practice. If this occurred an amount of the harvest would be made available to the supporting hapū.

The time of year that areas were accessed was also critical. Although observances such as hapū rights and seasons may have differed in times of dire need, or when travelling through areas that were deemed 'shared areas', generally such things were strictly adhered to. Generations of experience showed that the certain plants, birds, freshwater and ocean fish could be best harvested at different times of the year. To access them outside of the set seasons could lead to a disrupted breeding cycle, abandonment of hunting grounds, or depleted resources when time came to preserve food for the winter. The belief was that such behaviour angered the protective gods causing less food to be available.

Tohunga, or priests, also played an important role in the management of hunting and gathering grounds. Often a hunting reserve, once dedicated to a particular god, also had a mauri, or life force talisman, placed upon the site. This was believed to hold the spiritual presence of the god and the reserve should remain healthy so long as the mauri is intact and undamaged. If a food or hunting reserve was found to be depleted or unhealthy then this was attributed to a human offence against the gods causing the mauri to be damaged or the god to be offended thus abandoning the site.

Any foods gathered were consumed immediately, preserved for lean times or set aside for trade. Traditional trading occurred internally among the different hapū of Kāi Tahu but also externally with other tribes. Many southern resources were abundant and prized further north and trade was one means by which these precious resources could be accessed. Trading activities were often accompanied by elaborate rituals such as the kai-hau-kai which was a form of ritual feasting. A feast might also be held to celebrate a union, for peace making or to exchange seasonal foods.

[12] "Ka tika tonu a ia hapu ki tona wahi mahinga, a ia hapu ki to tetahi hapu whenua mahinga. E kore e pokanoa tetahi hapu ki runga ki to tetahi hapu whenua mahi ai; he ritenga nui rawa ki te Māori… …Engari ki te puta he ritenga a tetahi rangatira o tera hapu kia karangatia ki nga rangatira o era atu hapu kia mahia mai… …mana te take e puta ai nga ritenga penei" Best (1979:390).

3. Fisheries

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), pāua, yellow foot paua (koeo), pipi, periwinkles (pupu), roroa (a type of clam), different species of mussels (kuku, pukanikani and toretore), whākai-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 at coastal sites.

Karetai also cited many fish species such as blue cod (rāwaru), red cod (hoka), rock cod (patutuki), trumpeter (koekohe), tarakihi, greenbone (marare), crayfish (koura) and seals (pākake), which provided a mainstay of sustenance for many generations of Kāi Tahu. He also stated that the most abundant species were the barracouta (makā) and groper (hapuku).

The barracouta fishery was well documented and an obvious staple for Māori within the Otago Harbour. In 1827 a sealer, John Boultbee, observed Kāi Tahu fishermen catching barracoutta 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 (Begg and Begg 1979).

Once caught the roe was eaten immediately while the flesh was dried on racks thus preserving it for the winter months. The barracoutta season extended from September to April with March being the best fishing month making the timing perfect for storing winter supplies. (Anderson 1981) According to archaeological evidence from classic period midden sites on the Otago coast over 50% of fauna protein was derived from fish and that the predominant species (over 50%) was barracoutta. [13] The dried form of barracouta was a key trade item during the 1830s and was also the most prominent fish supplied to Dunedin's settlers during their lean, early years. This

[13] The Classic Period: The period from 1450 to 1800 when Māori culture had established itself and was unaffected by outside influences

was also the species that underpinned the early establishment of the Māori fishing business, Ōtākou Fisheries, which flourished from the 1940s.

4. Forests

The coastal hills on Otago's east coast and those of the Peninsula were completely clothed in mature native bush providing a myriad of resources, including edible plants and roots, medicinal plants, weaving resources for clothing and daily accessories, firewood, materials for daily hunting and fishing purposes or for whare and waka construction. The broadleaf-podocarp forest supported bird life that provided an important source of food and cultural materials for clothing and decorative purposes. Early European observations of the forested harbour surrounds were graphic and very complimentary. Monro (1844) noted:

The weather, while we lay in Otago, was most beautiful. 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. It completely agreed with Captain Cook's description of the music of the wooded banks of Queen Charlotte's Sound.

During this fine weather, we amused ourselves by boating about and visiting different parts of the harbour. Though everywhere beautiful, its scenery is all alike — steep wooded banks, with projecting rocky promontories, enclosing those beautiful little bays with sandy beaches so characteristic of New Zealand.

During Tunuku Karetai's interview with Beattie (mentioned above) he also provided a list of some local flora foods that were gathered in Otago. Common eating berries were mako, supplejack (kareao), fuchsia (kotukutuku), native mistletoe (pikiraki), miro, mikimiki (mingimingi), rimu, matai, snowberry (papatotara) as well the koareare which was the edible part of the raupo.

He said there was no karaka, mamaku or kiekie to be found this far south but the edible plants in most abundance were the bracken fern (rauaruhe) and the cabbage tree (ti-kouka). Both required a form of preparation before they were in their most consumable state.

Only the root of the bracken fern was eaten. It was gathered from prime, sunny growing areas and then dried. Once dry they were roasted on hot coals and then beaten to break away the tough skin and to extract very coarse fibres that were found in the pulp. This was then able to be eaten providing a valuable carbohydrate to the diet. It was considered one of the most important foods particularly in areas where kumara could not be grown.

The ti-kouka was also an important supply of energy as, once part of the root was cooked, it produced a form of saccharine. Preparation, though, was a major task and to adequately process sufficient amounts it often required the entire hapū to work collectively.

Elsdon Best (1986) recorded details about the gathering and processing of ti-kouka.

Around September or October of each year the cabbage tree was ready for harvesting. The juvenile plants up to two metres tall were cropped leaving some of the tap root still in the ground to regrow. The crown of leaves at the top was also cut off leaving a section of trunk which was tied into bundles with several other trunks. These bundles were either prepared, or transported to, a place abundant in firewood. Large ovens (umu-tī) several feet in diameter were then dug by the hapū members. Also known as puna these ovens were generally circular although some were also rectangular but all were very deep and many were dug to the same depth as a grown man.[14]

The oven was filled with several rocks and covered in firewood. At dawn the fire was lit and by midday the rocks should have been hot enough. Large leaves were placed on the rocks and then the bundles were placed on the foliage. More leaves and grasses were put on top of the bundles of trunks and the whole thing was covered in soil (Best 1979). It is likely that there was significant amounts of water poured into the oven as well but Best's informant does not mention this.

The Otago Peninsula appears to have been particularly prolific when it comes to umu-tī. Hardwicke Knight (1966) investigated several umu-tī sites on the Peninsula and he identified many similar characteristics. They were generally circular, from six to nine metres in diameter, and nearly two metres deep. He asserts that the ovens were built in areas where there was ready access to broadleaf, kowhai, lancewood and fuchsia perhaps because they had a particular burning quality suited to processing the cabbage tree. He also believes that in areas which were originally thick with totara or native pine there was no sign of umu-tī. They were also in close

[14] Kia ngaro atu te tangata mehemea ka tu i roto i te puna

vicinity to large stands of cabbage tree, were generally dug into clay, near running water and in areas that faced the sun.

In the greater Dunedin area umu-tī sites are quite widespread and are located near old stream banks or ancient river terraces, on low spurs or ridges, and sometimes close to other features, such as quarries. In particular, umu-tī have been found inland in higher country tussock lands of Stoneburn through to Nenthorn. Clusters of ovens have been found at Hummocky Runs Road near Middlemarch and Basalt Hill, with 12 ovens each (Hamel 2001). Other research has suggested that ovens were located in North Taieri, Salisbury, in Argyle St, Mosgiel by the old Owhiro Creek, and the Ōtokia and Henley regions. On the Otago peninsula, a high density of ovens have been excavated east of Hoopers Inlet, McArthurs Hill, Lower Portobello Bay – 48 sites in total, with 66 sites in the rest of the Dunedin area.

5. Wetlands and waterways

There were several wetland areas in the Dunedin vicinity although the largest by far was the Taieri wetland system which included the shallow lakes Waihola, Waipori and Tatawai. Many informants, including Tunuku Karetai, identified this as an important food gathering area particularly for eels and moulting ducks.

One Pakeha informant of Beattie's (1920) noted that he *"was invited by the Māori at Henley to take part in a "duck drive" on Lake Waihola. They started out at daybreak in canoes and dug-outs, and rounded up great numbers of young and moulting paradise ducks unable to fly. They ran these maunu into a corner and slew them with waddies. They returned in triumph to the "Kāik" with six or seven hundred birds, cleaned them, and hung them up in rows, to be subsequently stored in the whata (food-storehouses)."*

Another significant mahika kai wetland system was Mata-inaka lagoon which now sits well within the boundaries of the Waikouaiti Township. This lagoon is named after two stages of the whitebait lifecycle. Mata being the tiny whitebait that we are familiar with in fish shops and the inaka is the more mature minnow sized fish that was also a delicacy.

Freshwater resources were also subject to a seasonal calendar with eels (tuna) being caught between September and March, lamprey eels (kanakana) were collected at the same time as whitebait from August to October. Moulting ducks were captured during November using a fair bit of manpower and large nets. There were several native species of freshwater fishes that

grew to medium size (paraki, panako, kokopu) and these were captured during the early autumn.

6. Mahika Kai Locations

6.1 Dunedin Area

Mahika kai resources and reserves were abundant in the greater Dunedin area with the coast, land and wetlands all providing rich hunting grounds. These areas of mahika kai were considered so important they were meant to be set aside as a condition of the 1848 Canterbury (Kemp's) Purchase. This was the land sale agreement that extended from Kaiapoi to Heyward Point immediately north of the Otago Harbour. The fact that these reserves were not set aside led to one of the major grievances underpinning the Kāi Tahu claim. Subsequently during the 19th century much evidence was gathered regarding the nature and extent of mahika kai practices and resources.

In February 1880 several elders met in Karitāne where they discussed and recorded the mahika kai areas between Waitati and the Otago Harbour (Beattie 1944). They counted forty places where mahika kai was gathered, including fern root (aruhe), tui, pigeons (kereru), eels (tuna), paua, groper, seals (pakake), frostfish (para), flax stems (korari), minnow (inaka), flounders (pātiki), mullet (aua), pipi, cockles (tuaki), limpets (whetiko), and flax for fibre (whitau).

The list describes and names each small bay, settlement, stream or lagoon as a mahika kai. These spots were the supermarket of old and many would have been visited daily during the appropriate seasons. Local knowledge associated with each geographical area was important for obvious reasons but seasonal knowledge and best hunting techniques would also have been critical to success.

There were numerous locations that were used for the gathering of food throughout the Dunedin area, and some of these areas are discussed below.

6.2 Karitāne/Waikouaiti

For the past 1000 years Kāi Tahu and Kāti Māmoe have inhabited the land surrounding the Karitāne/Waikouaiti River area and the waterways and wetlands remain important to their descendants. The abundance of mahika kai from the surrounding landscape made the area attractive as a settlement location. Landscapes of importance include Mataīnaka (Hawkesbury Lagoon), Huriawa Peninsula, Waikouaiti River, Waimātaitai Lagoon (Goodwood), and Mount

Watkin/Hikaroroa, all of which are intricately linked to each other. These areas are described in more detail below:

6.3 Waikouaiti River

The Waikouaiti River was an abundant source of tuna, pātiki, shellfish and whitebait. The native bush that extended from where the Rūnaka Hall now stands at Puketeraki to Evansdale was believed to be one of the richest bird hunting areas in East Otago.

6.4 Matainaka (Hawkesbury Lagoon)

Matainaka, as stated above, refers to two stages of development of the native whitebait and accordingly the lagoon is considered to be a very important spawning area for whitebait. The spawn was laid on the lagoon edges by the minnow, washed out to sea and then returned in the form of whitebait, which were caught in great numbers. Today the lagoon and surrounding wetlands have decreased to approximately a third. This was caused by drainage to enhance a nearby racecourse, create farmland and to establish the township over a number of years.

6.5 Hikaroroa/Mount Watkin

The mountain Hikaroroa is located west of Waikouaiti, and dominates the surrounding landscape. Originally named after a Kāti Māmoe tupuna the people of Puketeraki changed the name to Mt Watkins in honour of the Rev. James Watkins, the first missionary to arrive in the South Island in 1840.

Like the other surrounding foothills it was well covered in native forest housing many species of plant and bird life critical to the seasonal food gathering cycle of local Māori. On the lower slopes there were kirimoko scrublands, tussock grasslands and fields of basalt boulders. Where the hills began to level and meet the Waikouaiti River species such as harakeke, aruhe and raupō were available.

6.6 Huriawa

The Huriawa peninsula is located at the mouth of the Waikouaiti River and was a significant source of mahika kai such as paua, mussels, crayfish, and reef fish (cod, groper). Archaeological excavations carried out on the peninsula revealed that besides fish, early inhabitants supplemented their diet with dog (kurī) sea mammals and birds, including weka, koreke and kākā.

Red ochre (maukoroa) was found in high quality deposits on Huriawa peninsula and was a valuable trade item. The clay would be dried and then mixed with shark liver oil whereupon it was used as a red paint traditionally seen on carved houses and canoes. The Huriawa source is of such quality that some was used on the Ngāti Raukawa church Rangiātea at Otaki. Recently it was used on the carvings of the new gateway to Huriawa, Kaitiakitaka.

Huriawa Peninsula was also the site of Te Wera's pa. The Peninsula was extremely defensible not only because of the formation of the headland but also because there was a permanent fresh water supply (Te Puna a Te Wera spring) and abundant food supplies. In fact when under siege Te Wera called out to his enemies that he could never be forced out of his pā by a war party of men but only by a war party of hunger or thirst. This statement is now considered the epitome of self sufficiency.

6.7 Pūrakaunui

Pūrakaunui was one of the primary mahika kai sites identified by the elders during their 1880 meeting at Karitāne. They identified that the available foods were flounders, mullet, eels, pipi, paua and cockles and that tui and pigeons could be snared in the surrounding bush.
Shortland (1851) also noted the obvious merits of the site for food gathering stating that it was, "delightfully placed by the side of a river, deep enough to admit a boat, which entered it with the flood tide. Here was abundance of everything the New Zealanders required. There was plenty of wood, a rich soil, and the sea close at hand to supply them with fish."

6.8 St. Clair/Whakahekerau

References to the St Clair area are scarce but until the settlement of Europeans in the 1840s the area was a low-lying and swampy marshland. Like most wetland areas it provided access to certain species of birds and fish. This area was also where Māori would moor their canoes while they went on their eel fishing trips to the Taieri. There were apparently camping sites at the head of Moreau Street and adzes, a spearhead, a chert saw and large whalebone implements have been found in archaeological investigations adjacent to St Clair Beach.

Further excavation in 2008 revealed a midden layer with shell, moa, and sea mammal remains, as well as a few artefacts. Most of the site has been destroyed in the last 100 years and hence the finding of this site has high archaeological significance.

6.9 Pipikaretu Beach

This beach within the Ōtākou Māori Reserve boundaries has long been used for food gathering. Pipikaretu Beach provided access to many kai moana and kai mātaitai such as paua, mussels, crayfish, and groper, and the dunes were once completely covered in the yellow pikao grass that was used for weaving. The beach is named after the native karetu grass which was used to call (pipi) the weka by imitating its distress cry.

6.10 Papanui and Hoopers Inlet

Both local tradition and NZAA Site records indicate that these large inland estuarine areas were well inhabited with evidence of ancient midden, ovens and burials found at this location. It was an ideal area for gathering shellfish and flounders and was well utilised until recent times, with the decline of many species in the lagoons.

The inlet was named after Charles Hooper, Captain Daniel Craig's chief officer on the schooner Unity, who came to Otago Harbour in 1809.

6.11. Kaikarae/Kaikorai Estuary

Kaikorai was occupied in the archaic phase of New Zealand pre-history. Burnt moa bones, adzes, blades, small stone statues, fish hooks, obsidian and nephrite flakes have been recovered from this area. Much of this excavated material is now housed in the Otago Museum. Settlement was centred around sand-dunes on the north side of the Kaikorai stream. Māori in the area lived off shellfish and moa. This area was not occupied at the time of European arrival.

The significance of Kaikarae as a place of mahika kai is referred to above in the Waitaha Rākaihautu traditions. Since that time the area was the site of seasonal and semi-permanent camps. Kāi Tahu utilised the Kaikarae area to supplement their seasonal food supplies, the mouth of the estuary being the favoured camping site. The mahika kai resources included eels, waterfowl, birds and kaimoana.

6.12 Taieri Catchment

Due to the variety of topography and ground cover, the Taieri Catchments supported a diverse range of flora and fauna. There was heavy forest cover throughout the area, and most of the Taieri lowlands were either marshy with rushes, raupō, and harakeke, or threaded with waterways. An abundance of tuna, īnaka, pātiki and other indigenous fish were available. Spearing, setting hinaki and nets, and bobbing for eel were regular activities on the wetlands.

The gathering of young ducks, and the catching of herons, pukeko and other birds supplemented the broad range of kai. Mahika kai was also collected from the Lammermoors, Lammerlaws, Rock and Pillar, Upper Taieri Plains, Strath Taieri and Lower Taieri plain.

Hapū from Ōtākou and Puketeraki made seasonal visits to gather resources across the entire catchment sometimes camping on site for weeks at time. Because of the proximity to Dunedin and the history of use, the Waihola/Waipori wetlands are highly valued. The wetlands were larger and deeper than at present, connected by a labyrinth of waterways, and had a gravel bed which has now been overlaid by silt and mud.

Lake Waipori was central in a line of lakes, with Waihola to the south, Tatawai adjoining immediately north, and Marama Te Taha further north again. These lakes connected with the Taieri River, and were the main access to the sea through the coastal range lining the eastern side of the Taieri lowlands. After the arrival of the settlers, much of the Taieri Plains was developed into agricultural land. The first farms were established in the north end of valley, where land was easy to drain. The 1907 Taieri Land Drainage Act allowed for the drainage of the plain for agriculture. The Drainage Board focused on 2000 acres around Lake Waipori. The lakes Tatawai, Potaka, and Marama Te Taha were fully drained and disappeared without consultation or compensation to Kāi Tahu, resulting in a great loss of mahika kai. Around 70 per cent of the original wetland has now been drained.

THEME 6: EUROPEAN INFLUENCES

1. European Arrival and Early Contacts

The region was first sighted by Captain James Cook in 1779 when he applied the name 'Cape Saunders' to the easternmost point on the peninsula. By 1800 a number of sealers were stationed around the southern coastline, and by 1810 extensive contact had occurred between sealers and the local Kāi Tahu. [15]

Ian Church's recent research has shed considerable light on a number of these early interactions and added detail to what was already known (Church 2008). There were sporadic visits from

[15] The estimates for the Māori population of Otago during this period vary widely with some estimates suggesting up to 5,000 people residing just in the Otago Harbour. Most sources agree, though, that the early 19th century Maori population in the Dunedin area was around 1,000 - 2,000 people. The chief Tuhawaiki recalled a measles epidemic around 1817 that devastated a large settlement on the harbour and there are several reports from whalers who lived there during the 1830s of similar devastation from influenza. This was compounded by the impact of warfare and an influx of war refuges from Canterbury leading to dramatic changes in the population numbers and makeup (Entwistle 1998; Anderson 1998). By 1850 the entire Maori population in Otago was less than 200.

European vessels during the early 19th century and significant moments of conflict with the crew of the Sydney Cove, Matilda and the Sophia.

The first permanent European resident in the Dunedin area was probably William Tucker who arrived in 1814, built a house and settled with sheep and goats at Whareakeake. This may have been a deliberate outpost established to supply sealing vessels (Church, 2008). Tucker left the settlement for a period of time until he returned to Otago in late 1817 with Captain Kelly on the Sophia. Unfortunately Tucker miscalculated the strength of his relationships with the local Māori population. Tucker, Kelly and other Europeans were trading on shore unarmed when they were attacked leading to several deaths on both sides of the fracas. Following this incident, apparently no European vessels re-entered the harbour for six years.

2. First European Settlements

The first specific European settlement in the district was established by the Weller brothers on the sand dunes adjacent to Te Umukuri now more commonly known as Wellers Rock. It was a planned settlement although the early details of the whaling station are not known. We do know that whale catching and processing was underway in 1831 and the first oil exports were recorded in Sydney from early 1832 (Church, 2008).

The relationship with local Māori was not without its challenges. Edward Weller quickly married Pāparu, the daughter of local chief Tahatu and they had one daughter. Pāparu passed away some time after the birth of Pani, or Fanny, and Weller then married Nikuru, the daughter of Taiaroa. They also had one daughter Nani.

The settlement led to a much more sophisticated trading culture and the Wellers were exporting not only whale by-products but also seal skins, spars, flax, salted and dried fish. Not surprisingly this led to employment opportunities for local Māori and the records of the time show that several Māori and Europeans found work at the station. Octavious Harwood had also established a trading post as part of the village and for the first time Māori were able to work for goods such as nails, gunpowder, rum, flour and sugar.

Despite this close association with Māori there were times when the Weller settlement was at great risk of attack from local Māori particularly when the men were preparing for or returning from war. The threat of imminent attack actually led the Wellers to basically abduct Karetai and his wife and hold them against their will in Sydney for over a year.

There are no detailed pre 1840 descriptions of Weller's settlement although there are a number describing the place during the 1840s some years after its abandonment as a viable commercial operation. Hocken (1887) claimed there were 70-80 Europeans employed at the station which does not include the sailors that must have been present aboard the whaling vessels moored in the harbour. So the settlement must have been bustling but Shortland (1851) was less than complimentary when he visited in 1844 some five years after the Wellers left.

"Here we were obliged to remain a month, with very little to do, but to take our daily exercise, pacing up and down the beach, admiring the huge skeletons of whales which lay half-covered by the tide, or moralising over several deserted and ruinous buildings, the evidences of former life and activity, which had only endured for a few years."

The influence of the Ōtākou settlement on the surrounding villages was ultimately quite profound and, as discussed above, led to the bicultural nature of Ruatitiko and 'The Kāik' as it became known to Dunedin residents by the late 19th century.

Following the Weller's Ōtākou based whaling station other whaling stations were established at Pūrakaunui (1836), Moeraki (1836), Waikouaiti (1837), Molyneux (1838) and Taieri Island (1839). Without exception Māori were heavily involved in all whaling activities such as manning the boats, cleaning whale bones, and building houses. In most instances there were crude sale or lease agreements between the occupiers of the land and local chiefs (Anderson 1998; Church 2008).

The Wellers were also responsible for the whaling station at Moturata, Taieri Mouth. It was run by Edwin and William Palmer who also married into the local Māori population. John Jones established a whaling business at the mouth of the Waikouaiti River as well as a small European settlement at Waikouaiti, some distance away from the Māori and whaling settlements at Huriawa Peninsula.

As these settlements grew and trade channels opened up Kāi Tahu continued to prosper on their lands as they cultivated and farmed European crops and vegetables. They were critical in supplying food by growing and selling potatoes, catching fish and providing the labour which allowed the Wellers and others to run viable commercial operations. Equally many of the chiefs owned their own vessels and were trading directly with New South Wales. Although "the Europeans regarded the Māori as a good shearer, a capital hand in the bush with an axe, and

industrious as a cultivator," during this transition period Māori were still determining their own destiny while still continuing to pursue their own traditional practices.

3. Treaty of Waitangi

In 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in the Bay of Islands and then Captain Hobson appointed Major Bunbury to secure the Southern chiefs' signatures. The Kāi Tahu chiefs 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 the Otago Heads on June 13th 1840. Chief John Karetai, as a sign of his fluency in English, signed the Treaty with his own name.

4. The Otago Block

After the signing of the Treaty, Hobson established the Protectors of Aborigines department, who were tasked with overseeing that Māori rights were honoured. In 1841 the British Government ruled that "areas of land should be permanently reserved for Māori use, and that between 15 and 20% of the proceeds of the resale of Māori lands... ... should be set aside to fund the Protectors Department" and to promote the health and education of the Māori (Evison 1987). Edward Shortland and George Clarke acted as Sub Protectors and came up with recommendations as to how to buy land from the Māori. One of their recommendations was the need to survey the boundaries of the land to be purchased with the land owners. In the Otago Block sale the boundaries were surveyed with local chiefs, hence there were no disputes as to where the boundaries were.

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. 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 April 5 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 did not agree and would not proceed with the sale unless the peninsula

was included. Symonds who was supposed to take care of Māori interests did not interfere. Hence, the Māori conceded to accept only the land at the northern end of the Peninsula, lower Taieri Gorge and Te Kāroro in the south, 9,612 acres total. On July 31, 1844 at Koputai 25 chiefs signed the Otago deed (around 400,000 acres) for £2,400. 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. The agreement was not honoured and remained in dispute well into the 20th century (Evison 1997).

Unfortunately following the Ōtākou Purchase Chief Tūhawaiki drowned. As Dacker (1994) notes, "it turned out in the end that the Ōtākou Purchase was the best of a bad bunch of land agreements and it may be that Tūhawaiki's charisma and ability were factors that made it so."

Work on New Edinburgh began in 1846. The organized settlement of the suburban and rural areas of the peninsula began in 1848 and focused on Anderson's Bay and Portobello. The peninsula was divided into farms of about 50 acres which were gradually occupied and supplied a growing Dunedin with food.

5. Princes Street Reserve

Captain Cargill, who was overseeing the settlement, insisted on keeping the foreshore for public use. This upset some settlers that wanted to live by the waterfront. The building of the settlement attracted Māori looking for work and trade, but as sections of the township got taken up by the settlers, the Māori found that they had no land for their own use and had to sleep overnight in their canoes.

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. For Dunedin he proposed a piece of land right by the water. Grey approved both proposals. "This set the stage for a long and stubborn battle. Mantell was one the most outspoken of the Anglican Little Enemy. He openly scorned the narrower attitudes of the Scots Presbyterians … and went out of his way to rile Cargill" (Goodall and Griffiths).

The Otago authorities disputed the allocation of land in Dunedin and felt that Grey was infringing on their right to plan their city. In the 1860s the reserve was leased out, and rents

were put aside in a trust for the Māori. After much dispute between the two sides and a Select Committee of Parliament being set up, the Princes Street Reserve was allocated back to the municipality of Dunedin. This Crown Grant needed Grey's signature and Grey unknowingly signed it in 1866 (Evison 1987). However, the Princes Street Reserve matter was not resolved for many years, and was included in the 1979 Kāi Tahu petition to parliament and the WAI 27 Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal.

6. The Port Chalmers Reserve

The land selected by Mantell at Port Chalmers included:

.. about 1 1/4 acre of land so precipitous that almost the only available part for building is the triangular portion of sections 402 and 403, included by the dotted line on the tracing. I would therefore recommend that section 402 tinted on the Government Surveyor's plan as part of the Church Reserve… ...be made part of the Native Reserve. Section 401 could be purchased at from £20 to £25, and would give the Natives a small frontage for their boats, and a good supply of freshwater. Westward of this the land is almost perpendicular." [16]

The additional section, Section 401, was subsequently purchased and a certified plan of the Koputai Reserve was sent to the Acting Commissioner of Crown Lands in June 1855. The reserve selected by Mantell included Sections 401, 402, 403 and an adjoining unsurveyed portion of land (subsequently Section 412).

But the reserve was never used by Ngāi Tahu and was 'entirely useless' for its purpose, as it had a steep frontage to the beach of considerable elevation. The Port Chalmers Reserve was considered by the Native Land Court in 1868. Sections 401, 403 and 404 were granted to Horomona Pohio, Hoani Wetere Korako, Hori Kerei Taiaroa, and Honi Topi Patuki, and their successors, in trust for all members of Ngāi Tahu south of and including Kaiapoi. The claim to Sections 402 and 412 was not upheld.

The status of Section 412 was considered by a Select Committee of the House of Representatives in 1887. Title in this section was duly vested in Hori Kerei Taiaroa, Hoani Wetere Korako, and Te One Topi Patuki, pursuant to the Native Contracts and Promises Act 1888.

[16] Commissioner of Crown Lands, Otago, to the Civil Secretary, Crown Lands Office, Dunedin, 18th April, 1853, in Mackay (1872 – 1873).

A comprehensive review of the Koputai Reserve was undertaken by the Commission of Inquiry into Māori Reserved Land in 1975. The Commission's report notes that part of the land (Sections 403, 404, part 412) was taken under the Public Works Act for railway purposes and compensation was paid.

The Koputai Reserve is vested in the Māori Trustee, and now constitutes Sections 401 (6 Beach Street) and 412 (4 Beach Street), Town of Port Chalmers.

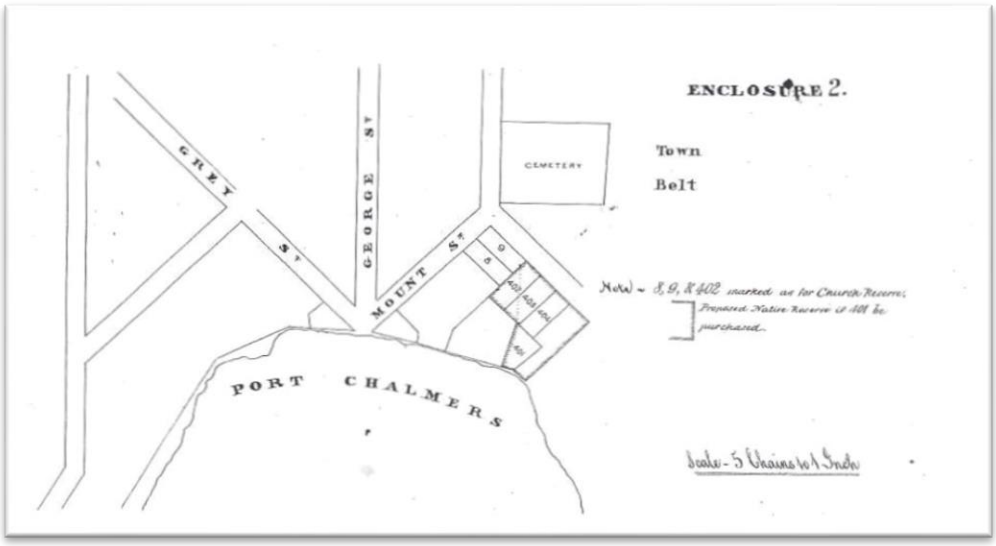

Figure 9: The certified 1855 plan of the Koputai Reserve (excluding the two allotments that directly adjoin Mount Street), Mackay (1872 – 1873).

7. Taranaki - Ōtākou Connections

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".[17] In the 1870s a peaceful movement developed in Taranaki centred on Parihaka and led by Te Whiti-o-Rongomai and Tohu

[17] 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.

Kakahi. 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.

While imprisoned in Dunedin, the prisoners were made to do physical labour. Work undertaken by Māori prisoners included breaking rocks at the Botanic Garden, laying out the recreation ground at Boys High School (now Otago Girls), building the Andersons Bay causeway which opened in 1872, and building what is known today as Māori Road (named after the prisoners) which was an access road through the Town Belt from the end of Arthur Street to the old cattle market then situated just above the present Kaituna bowling green. In addition, Māori prisoners were involved in building the sea wall along the Peninsula road.

The connection between Taranaki prisoners and Dunedin remains to this day. Their remains are buried in Dunedin cemeteries. Some Taranaki men adopted Ngāti Ōtākou for their hapū name, and built a church near Waitotara, called Tutahi (Standing as One), in honour of all the ministers that supported the prisoners in Dunedin. Local Kāi Tahu families have continued their relationships with Taranaki whānau over the years. [18]

In 1987 a memorial to the prisoners was erected adjacent to Portsmouth Drive before it reaches the Andersons Bay causeway. Richard Dingwall (2008) explains the memorial stone Rongo.

"The memorial was proposed after a visit to Otago by Taranaki Māori, among them descendants of the original prisoners, on the hundredth anniversary of the arrival of the first prisoners. The invitation had come from Riki Ellison whose family had historical connections with Taranaki.

After that visit, one Taranaki elder decided that it was important that the dead should have proper commemoration. With support of his local elders, Tom Ngatai conceived a memorial whose simplicity would reflect the humility and peace-loving philosophy of the Taranaki prisoners, many of whom were followers of the prophets Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi who set up the community of Parihaka on the slopes of Mount Taranaki.

The story of the finding the stone has the quality of legend. Tom Ngatai and the great North Island tohunga, Sonny Waru, were searching the coast for a stone when the tohunga's hat flew off in the wind leading the men to a rock that was revealed by the outgoing tide. Its surface was

[18] For a more detailed account refer to *Maori Dunedin* by Goodall and Griffiths and *Ask That Mountain* by Dick Scott

decorated with ancient carving long worn down with the action of the sea. It was clearly the rock they wanted.

The stone was raised from the sea and taken to Hawera where it was inscribed with the single word "Rongo". Te Whiti and Tohu had called their first settlement Te Maunga a Rongo o Te Ikaroa a Maui Tiki Tiki a Taranga which alludes to their hopes for peaceful resolution of conflict. Rongo is the god of peace and cultivation.

The memorial was unveiled on March 22, 1987 by the Governor General Sir Paul Reeves who was himself a descendant of the Taranaki detainees. There were about eighty people from Taranaki and two hundred from Dunedin present during the two-hour ceremony. Two Māori clergymen blessed the monument, one with water from a sacred stream in Taranaki and the other with water from the slopes of Aoraki-Mount Cook."

THEME 7: MODERN INSTITUTIONS

1. Marae

The term marae actually refers to an open air meeting space and is a common concept across Polynesia. Here in New Zealand it is now the commonly accepted term for a complex of buildings and facilities generally including a meeting house, dining room and cemetery. In addition, a marae complex may also include a church, preschool, school and health clinic.

Although the stereotypical idea of a marae includes a carved house there is not a tradition of elaborately carved houses here within Kāi Tahu although there are several records of decorated houses with woven panels, red and black colouration and an ancestral figure featuring upon the gable. These wharenui (large houses) were almost certainly the houses that belonged to the community leaders or chiefs and were larger than other houses and therefore more capable of housing guests. The very complex carvings that we associate with today's wharenui were originally located in a few areas further north.

During the post-colonial period Kāi Tahu maintained a wharenui tradition but one that emerged as a southern style. Community houses were built from the early 1860s and were called whare rūnanga.[19] They all followed a similar European style like a weatherboard community hall. The concept of the communal meeting house was driven by the need for the community to gather for political, social and cultural purposes and these houses fitted the purpose. They still attracted hefty ancestral names like Tutekawa (Tuahiwi) and Huirapa (Puketeraki) or names commemorating the Kāi Tahu Claim like Te Mahi Tamariki (Ōtākou) and Te Hapa o Niu Tireni (Arowhenua).

This style of house was persistently constructed right through until the early twentieth century when Kāi Tahu communities started to slow down and urban migration began to diminish the villages.

The last twenty five years since Kāi Tahu achieved settlement with the Crown has seen a redefining of wharenui style with several fully carved houses being built across the region. Some, such as Maru-kaitatea (Kaikoura) and Tahu Potiki (Bluff), follow a very contemporary style while others have conformed to the northern convention.

[19] A runanga is a community gathering for decision making purposes

There are also several marae complexes that are not constructed with an exclusive tribal foundation. Urban marae are a response to the needs of established Māori communities within urban settings and are common in most cities across New Zealand. They are often much more comprehensive than a wharenui and include multiple facilities and services providing a one-stop gathering place for many, not only Māori.

1.1 Ōtākou Marae

Pybus (1940) recalls the story of Taiaroa, Hoani Wetere Korako and Karetai deciding upon a section of land to build the church at Ōmate, Ōtākou. Following Taiaroa's marriage to his wife Karoraina he decided to build a church that was central to the community. The above named chiefs wandered to the ridge on Ohinetu with the Reverend George Stannard and amongst them agreed to set aside 10 acres in the small glen immediately east of the hill. This remains the site of the Ōtākou Marae complex today.

The church was officially opened on New Year's Day 1865 and was well supported by nearly 500 people. The church was 28 feet by 16 feet and could accommodate about one hundred and twenty persons. The cost of the church was £250 (Pybus 1954).

In 1874 a meeting house was added to the site. It was named Te Mahi Tamariki (Work of the Children) in recognition that the previous generation of elders was passing away and that any ongoing protest regarding land deals with the Crown was now the responsibility of their children. On the day the meeting house opened Hori Kerei Taiaroa made a speech setting out a series of mandates that he would have as the Member of Parliament for Southern Māori in seeking settlement of the Kāi Tahu claim. This declaration was also called Te Mahi Tamariki (Bruce Herald January 1874).

Te Mahi Tamariki was a weatherboard house 62 feet in length, and 18 feet wide. The cost of materials and building was £182 and the local leading families were responsible for funding the entire construction and for the feast on the opening day. Raniera Erihana provided a fat bullock towards the feast, Hori Kerei Taiaroa provided eight sheep and Teone Topi Patuki spent £10 on the lights (Te Waka Māori September 1874).

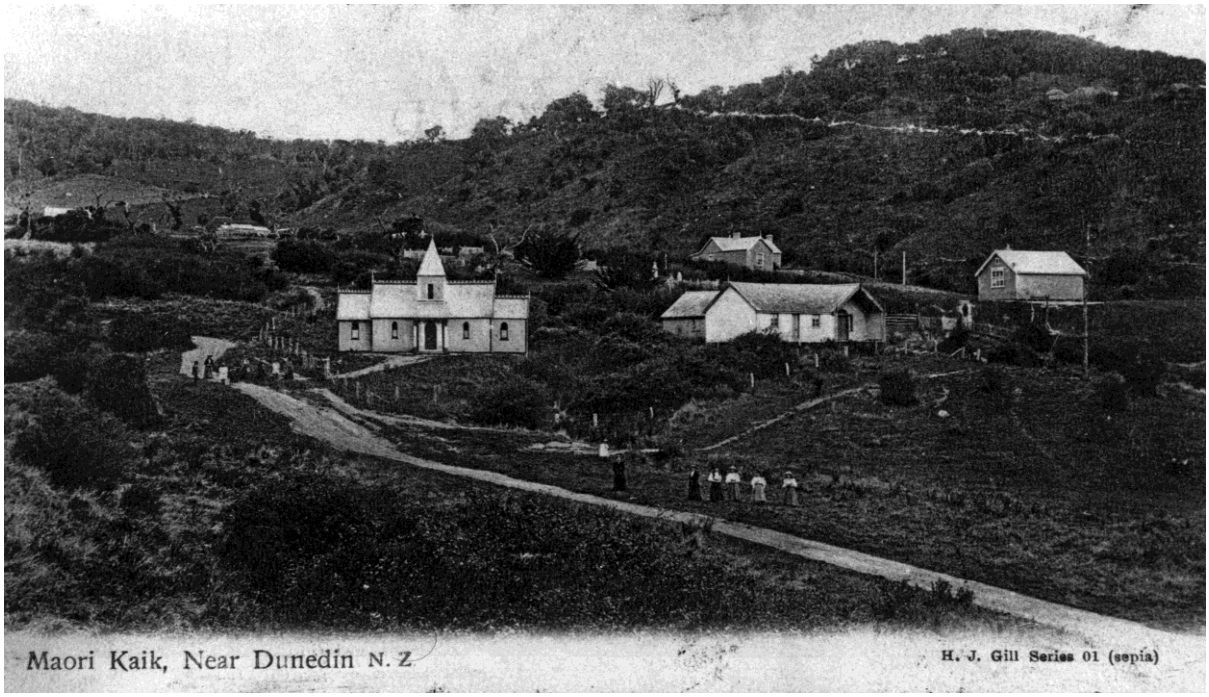

Figure 10 Taken about 1900, this picture shows the property given to the Christian church by Chief Taiaroa, after his conversion to Christianity. Surrounding this is the 600 acre property which is still owned and farmed by the Taiaroa family today.

The house and church served the community well and it was not until Treaty of Waitangi commemorations were being planned in Otago for 1940 that the question of a new church was raised. It was initially led by the Methodist Church and the people of Ōtākou agreed in 1936 that a new church should be built.

The Rev. Thomas Pybus was the secretary and treasurer for the project and he was in charge of collecting funds which were raised from Methodist congregations and Sunday Schools from all around the country. Significant donations were also made by the Harbour Board, Dunedin Savings Bank, the Koputai Māori Trust and various Dunedin public bodies, business firms and individuals who supported the project financially.

The foundation stone of the Ōtākou Māori Centennial Church was laid on February 24th 1940 while the centennial gate was opened on March 30th of the same year. The new church was opened nearly a year later on March 22nd 1941.

The Church is of concrete construction and carvings from the Otago Museum were moulded and then cast in concrete to create the appearance of a fully carved church. It was required to be of a Māori design for the scheme to come under the Government National Centennial group of memorials and therefore be eligible for funding.

In the base of an outside wall is built a stone from the original store of Weller Bros., whalers, dated 1832 and polished pieces of greenstone form a mosaic to a Māori pattern in the floor of the vestibule and in the steps at the entrance. The church bell was originally from the vessel Perseverance a schooner that belonged to Tūhawaiki.

There is a large memorial stained glass window designed by Mr. J. Brock and all the other windows have leadlights in three colours, designed after Māori weaving patterns. The chancel is panelled with tukutuku fibre work from Rotorua and the Communion Altar is the original one from the preceding building which had been newly carved. The pulpit was reconstructed on the lines of the original one (and contains part of the same) built by the Rev. Riemenschneider. Inset in the wall is a brick from the chimney of the manse of the Rev. James Watkin of Waikouaiti. These bricks were originally made in Botany Bay and were the first imported to Otago.
Also inset in the wall is a piece of stone from the Ven. Bede's Church and Monastery of St. Paul, Jarrow, England, bearing the date A.D. 682—the first church in the North of England. [20]

At the rear of the church stands the Sanctuary Museum which contains relics, heirlooms, photographs, historical papers and other family taonga preserving the history of the Ōtākou district.

Te Mahi Tamariki was replaced by the wharenui Tamatea which was completed in 1946. The name comes from the story of Tamatea who sailed along the east coast of Te Waipounamu in the canoe Tākitimu which was destroyed at the mouth of the Waiau River in Southland. On his way back home to the North Island he named many Te Waipounamu landmarks which related to that journey.

This house is also of concrete construction as, once again, national policy tended to insist that a Māori hall be in the style of a Māori carved house.[21] There being no tradition of carved houses, or master carvers, the people originally approached the Māori Purposes Board. They then 'borrowed' carvings from the Otago Museum to take moulds of an East Coast house and used these images to cast concrete and plaster carvings to decorate Tamatea.

Much of the technology used to create the concrete carvings was drawn from art deco construction methods which had been flourishing in the previous decades. The Māori motif was a common feature of New Zealand art deco buildings and Tamatea is, in some respects, the

[20] All of the church opening and construction details are taken from Pybus (1954)
[21] "*the Judge of the Native Land Court wasn't very favourable to [the] present plans of building but suggested a Māori meeting house*." (Ōtākou MB Oct 13 1935)

epitome of concrete and Māori motif buildings of the period (Rau Hoskins pers.com). Interestingly the plaster kowhaiwhai (patterned boards) that feature on the ceiling of Tamatea are also to be found on the ceiling in Napier's ASB building which was constructed shortly after the Napier earthquake.

The architects responsible for building the house, Messrs. Miller and White, claimed that they had developed entirely new methods of mould making to achieve the concrete carvings and there is some suggestion that gelatine was used in the mould making. In discussion with architect Rau Hoskins he suspected that, in modern times, we would struggle to achieve the detail in concrete that was achieved when Tamatea was built.

Also in the house are leadlight windows in tukutuku pattern style. One pattern is patiki (flounder) and they look over Akapatiki Bay. The other style is aramoana and those windows look out across to Aramoana village. There is a stained glass window honouring fallen soldiers with a memorial list of all the local men who saw active service in the Boer War, World War One and World War Two.

The small kitchen that was originally built at the same time as Tamatea was modified in 1990 and has been named Hakuiao after an important maternal ancestor to the people of Ōtākou. The ablutions have also been significantly improved since original construction.

The original complex included a school built in 1869 on the flat area above the current playground. In 1960 a new school was built on a site further up the hill and the building still occupies that site although it is now utilised as an office and meeting space.

Of note are the barge boards that were carved for the new school depicting local Ōtākou history particularly the Māori and whaling heritage. They were carved by Cliff Whiting and Para Matchitt who both went on to become prolific Māori artistic leaders.

1.2 Puketeraki Marae

When the Mission Station was based at the mouth of the Waikouaiti River it was also the site of the main Māori kāika and a gathering spot for most activities. Hautekapakapa hill, upon which Watkin's Mission house stood, was actually described as the Māori assembly place but over time the centre for Māori activity shifted south and up the hill to Puketeraki. This may well be due to the influence of Tame Parata who had built on and farmed Puketeraki land and by the 1870s was

considered to be the most influential and active leader in the village. Alternatively, Puketeraki may have provided better access to the more productive lands.

It is difficult to piece together where and when the different church, hall and school structures were erected that led to the modern marae complex that sits at Puketeraki, and the marae office complex that is located within the Karitāne village itself.

Christie (1929) writing in 1880 states that there was a whare Māori at the kāika that had been standing since about 1860. He said that it was built by a professional native builder and was constructed in semi European style. It was 37 feet long, 18 feet wide and 16 feet with a veranda type projection in front of the house. It utilised a ridge pole construction and reeds and flax were used for thatching. He said it was, "the general meeting house, council chambers and church."

It is not clear whether this was at Puketeraki or in Karitāne village itself. Beattie interviewed a kaumatua by the name of Mrs Martin from Brinn's Point who stated that in about the year 1870 "there was a hall or whare Rūnaka where the Huirapa hall now is." (Beattie MS 582)

It is generally understood that the Huirapa hall was originally constructed in 1873 in the standard southern whare rūnanga style i.e. along the lines of a community hall. It was named Huirapa after an important ancestor who died in battle in the Hawkes Bay while the kitchen was named after his wife Maririhau.

Like other Kāi Tahu whare rūnaka Huirapa has been the scene of many tribal gatherings for political and cultural purposes. After much deliberation and planning the people of Kati Huirapa Rūnaka ki Puketeraki recently rebuilt their house so future generations will also make use of it. The rebuilt house has taken on elements of the weatherboard hall as well as the carved ancestral house and is fit for the 21st century.

The master carver, James York, worked closely with the people to design and create a modern house that enjoys excellent facilities, stunning views of Karitāne and Huriawa Peninsula and allows the iwi to host their visitors, deliberate on important matters, farewell their dead and celebrate their achievements.

Figure 11: Kati Huirapa Rūnaka ki Puketeraki Marae. Photograph by KTKO Ltd

It has been regularly reported that a church may have been built the same year as the rūnanga hall (1873) but the diaries of Rev. Riemenschneider (Oettli 2008) suggests a much earlier date. He noted that, in 1863, local chiefs had secured the services of a German cabinetmaker to build a church. By March 1863 the church building was completed and opened by Riemenschneider himself. This may well be the building described by Christie above and, although he thought the carpenter to be Māori, he may have been mistaken as the German was married to a Māori woman and had been living in New Zealand for some time. It is also possible that this building was destroyed by fire in the early 1880s.

Certainly Bishop Nevill reported in November 1884 that the wood was stacked and ready for the re-erection of a church at the Karitāne kaik (ODT November 1884). The opening dedication for this church, Huiterangiora, took place on May 27 the following year and was presided over by Bishop Nevill. The dedication was well attended and Tame Parata agreed to cover any outstanding debt that the church committee was unable to repay (ODT November 1885).

The Huiterangiora church still stands on the marae reserve site relatively unmodified.

The development of a school seems to be sporadic with Watkin and his wife originally starting lessons during the early 1840s in the mission house. Officially a school was opened at the Waikouaiti/Karitāne village in 1851 although when Riemenschneider visited the community he claims to have found no school in operation. He set about establishing one himself and convinced the German cabinetmaker (who built the church) to take on the task of teacher and

the school opened in March 1863. It was fraught with financial difficulties and it is unclear if it remained open permanently as Tame Parata is credited with the opening of yet another school in 1876.

This particular opening is well documented as it was clearly supported by the Native Department. On the 30th of March the opening was attended by Mr Watt, the Native Officer, and Mr Miller, the builder of the school, and about sixty locals. It rolled over to feasting and a dance and children attended the school for the first time on April the 2nd.

This school site within the Karitāne village itself remains the property of Kati Huirapa Rūnaka ki Puketeraki and now houses the office and administration activities of the Rūnaka. The marae and church are also both in operation some 2kms away at Puketeraki.

1.3 Araiteuru Marae

The Araiteuru Marae has a long history in the city and has its genesis in Māori from further north seeking to establish a venue where certain, unique cultural practices could be exercised away from traditional marae.

The Araiteuru Marae Council was formally established in 1964 and was located on leased land in lower Maitland Street although earlier iterations of the concept existed. The Council had an "unusual and rather advanced philosophy of an all-inclusive multi-tribal urban marae, dedicated to maintaining traditional Māori values in a practical way in a modern city" (Goodall and Griffiths). Representatives of various Māori organisations served as delegates to the Council.

In 1976 the Council moved to bigger land in the Kaikorai valley. A dedication ceremony and hui was held on November 28, 1976, and many Kāi Tahu elders performed the ceremony. Today the Marae occupies a considerable area with a meeting house, dining room, offices and housing for elders.

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