



**Aukaha**  
KIA KAHA, AU KAHA

# Otago Polytechnic Cultural Narrative



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This cultural narrative provides two types of information for the Otago Polytechnic – that which is of a celestial nature and that which is of a historical nature – and it is important to be cognisant of this when using the information with staff and students. This information is from mana whenua, with a focus on Otago and the area the Otago Polytechnic is built on. The bibliography supplied will allow you to follow up on particular references for your staff and students.

It is important to note that our tribal dialect is used in this report. The ng is replaced by the k; for example, “Ranginui” is “Rakinui” in our dialect. We also use words and idioms particular to our tribe.

Macrons are another crucial part of the Māori language. They indicate whether the vowel is long or short. If a word has a macron on a particular vowel, it must be used when naming classrooms or other spaces. This is the official orthographic convention from the Māori Language Commission.

We hope this cultural narrative will be a source of learning and development for your institution. Please get in touch with Aukaha (1997) Ltd if you have any questions.

# The Kāi Tahu tribal area of the South Island

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

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

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



# Introduction to the Kāi Tahu creation story

In our southern Māori history, the creation story is very detailed and somewhat different. The original story itself has been recorded, edited and published in a book that is accessible in most libraries, *Te Waiatanga Mai o nga Atua: South Island Traditions*.<sup>2</sup> The narrative was told by Matiaha Tiramorehu, who was Kāi Tahu and died in 1881. This book could be used in the classroom and is a good place to start if you are interested in the original creation beliefs; it focuses on the tribal narrative of Kāi Tahu.

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

The nephew of Aoraki, Tūterakiwhānoa, was charged with the responsibility of determining the whereabouts of his uncles – 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 formed the peninsulas along the eastern seaboard, including Otago Peninsula, Huriawa Peninsula and the Moeraki Peninsula. He left the atua kaitiaki (guardians) Kahukura and Rokonui-ā-tau in place, and they remained until the time the old religion was abandoned and Christianity was adopted.

After the entire South Island had been shaped fit for habitation, Tūterakiwhānoa returned to Piopiotahi/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 Hine-nui-te-pō, left behind the small namunamu, or sandfly, to ensure that nobody would stay in the area for too long.

# Matamata

Matamata is a taniwha. In our indigenous narrative in Otago, Matamata was a giant creature, similar to a serpent or lizard in shape, who carved out the Otago Harbour and rivers on the Taieri plains of Dunedin. Places are named after his movements, and eventually he solidified in the sun and remains as a distinct hill in Dunedin.

Various narratives are written about Matamata. The main source from an Ōtākou perspective is from Te Iwi Herehere Ellison, who was the informant to Reverend Pybus in the 1940s. Te Iwi Herehere was the son of Raniera Ellison (of Taranaki whakapapa) and Nani Weller (Chief Taiaroa's grandchild).

Tahu Pōtiki is also recorded re-telling the narrative, stating that Matamata carved out the Otago Harbour and the twists and turns in the Taieri River and eventually turned to stone. Many years later, Matamata came back to life and became the protector of Te Rakitauneke. Furthermore, Karetai, the paramount chief of Ōtākou, used to speak about a taniwha that was the guardian of the spirit of a famous Kāti Māmoe chief.

Matamata appears in many traditions in the South Island, from as far north as Marlborough to the Hokonui Hills. Below is an account recorded by the Rev. Thomas Pybus for his book, *The Māoris of the South Island*:

*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.<sup>4</sup>*





“ Ōtākou is the significant name of the area. Ōtākou was originally the name of the waterway that spans the area from Taiaroa Head to Harwood township. Although it is an ocean harbour, it was known as an awa (river) by our old people because of its river-like appearance.

## Otago Peninsula history

The Otago Peninsula has a long history of occupation, beginning with that of Māori, the indigenous people of New Zealand. The origins of how the peninsula was formed have been cemented in southern Māori narratives, as discussed previously. Early occupation of the peninsula was focused at the harbour entrance rather than near the mainland or across the peninsula. This area remains occupied today by the descendants of the first people to live on the peninsula. Muaupoko has recently been adopted by our people as the overarching Māori name for the Otago Peninsula. However, this name's attachment to the peninsula is spurious as there is only one source for it, from Herries Beattie in 1915. The name Muaupoko is also not mentioned in the original Deed of Sale of Otago, which was signed by 23 Māori leaders and two “proxies” on 31 July 1844 at Kōpūtai (Port Chalmers) across the harbour from the Otago Peninsula.

### ŌTĀKOU

Ōtākou is the significant name of the area. Ōtākou was originally the name of the waterway that spans the area from Taiaroa Head to Harwood township. Although it is an ocean harbour, it was known as an awa (river) by our old people because of its river-like appearance. Ōtākou is more widely recognised in the Otago area today as the name for the entire harbour and the settlement at the lower end of the Otago Peninsula. Otago (a modified version of Ōtākou) eventually became the name for the entire southern region. The origins of the meaning are

still somewhat dubious although, as Beattie recorded, the word “kou” in Ōtākou means a jutting point or an end point, which may describe the shape of the area of Ōtākou.

The earliest activity on the Otago Peninsula was two moa butchery sites in the 1150-1300AD period, one at Harwood on the peninsula and one at Andersons Bay on the mainland, according to Anderson.<sup>5</sup> The following waves of people migrated in different phases from the North Island and married into the existing groups of people. Kāti Māmoe were the first in the series of migrations south. The migration that followed Kāti Māmoe were descendants of an ancestor, Tahupōtiki, who lived on the east coast of the North Island around the area now known as Hawke's Bay. The Kāti Tahu tribe is a well-known Māori entity of the South Island today – it takes its name from Tahupōtiki.

A series of events over a relatively short timeframe explains Kāti Tahu's position at the harbour entrance of the Otago Peninsula. The first known arrival of Kāti Tahu to Otago started with the ancestor Waitai, who journeyed south leaving behind his siblings and relations, who were known as Kāti Kurī. They lived in the Wellington area and made their way to the South Island. Waitai made his way south to the fortified village, Pukekura (Taiaroa Head), where he became resident. He married the sister of Te Rakitauneke, a local Kāti Māmoe chief, and an alliance was established. The pair embarked on a number of skirmishes throughout Otago, and Waitai was eventually killed by local Kāti Māmoe.

Another manoeuvre around the same time involved a well-known figure named Tarewai, who was based at Pukekura. While Waitai was gone, he had left the pā (village) in the hands of his two brothers and their nephew, Tarewai. There was tension between the more recent inhabitants like Tarewai and others. The Kāti Māmoe had invited Tarewai and some of his colleagues to a place known today as the Pyramids, near Papanui Inlet on the Otago Peninsula, on the premise that they would help them to build a house. After a day's work and kai (food) they started to play some wrestling type games, and Tarewai was taken by surprise as men held him down and started to cut his stomach open with their weapons. According to accounts, he was a large, strong man and was able to throw off the attackers and make an escape. However, he left behind his mere pounamu (greenstone weapon).

Tarewai hid at Hereweka, where he healed his wounds with the fat of a weka and planned a return to retrieve his mere pounamu. He eventually returned one night to the village of Kāti Māmoe, who were sitting around a fire admiring his mere pounamu. Tarewai pretended to be another villager by feigning their speech impediment, was handed his mere pounamu and took off into the night. Tarewai eventually returned to Pukekura; Kāti Māmoe had established a pā (village) opposite Pukekura named Rakipipikao. Tarewai successfully created a diversion so that he could run along the beach and back into the safety of his pā. The spot where he leapt to his safety is named “Te Rereka o Tarewai”. Tarewai and his uncles then sought revenge on Kāti Māmoe over a period of time, pursuing them into Southland. Tarewai met his demise in Fiordland.

Following the skirmishes at Pukekura and a brief period of asserting dominance, the Ōtākou people enjoyed a relatively settled period with no external threats, during which they formalised peace-making arrangements with sub-tribes to the north. There were a number of significant battles.

The harbour itself (Ōtākou) was a kete filled with kaimoana (seafood). The Kāti Tahu leader, Hori Kerei Taiaroa, wrote in his food-gathering lists in 1880:

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

The translation:

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

# Ara Honohono/Trails and movement

Kāi Tahu were a nomadic people who travelled extensively on land and sea. They travelled from Ōtākou villages up the Otago Harbour and into bays and inlets within the Dunedin area, known as Ōtepoti. This area was a landing spot and a point from which the Ōtākou-based Māori would hunt in the surrounding bush. Māori would drag their waka into estuaries and walk by foot to food-gathering places such as the Taiari (now known as Taiari), which was rich in food sources like birds and eels. Four species of moa roamed the Otago Peninsula, and there were moa hunter sites in Andersons Bay, St Kilda and St Clair.

Māori also followed tracks over the peninsula, around the Lawyers Head area and into the Taiari plain. The lakes and wetland area now known as Te Nohoaka o Tukiauau/Sinclair Wetlands (a fantastic place to visit with students) was teeming with kai, including whitebait, eels, lamprey and birdlife. Shortland suggests that the ancient walking

tracks were falling into disuse by the time he explored the Otago area because of the superior marine technology that Māori had employed over the previous 40 years.<sup>6</sup> The whaling boat proved to be an improved mode of transport from the carved single or double-hulled Māori vessels that dominated sea transport until the arrival of the European. Monro makes his observations about the mouth of the harbour of the peninsula in 1844:

*The sky, a great part of the time, was without a cloud, and not a breeze ruffled the surface of the water, which reflected the surrounding wooded slopes, and every sea-bird that floated upon it, with mirror-like accuracy. For some hours after sunrise, the woods resounded with the rich and infinitely varied notes of thousands of tuis and other songsters. I never heard anything like it before in any part of New Zealand<sup>7</sup>*

# Treaty of Waitangi and the consequent land sales in Dunedin

In 1836, the ship The Sydney Packet arrived at Ōtākou with a few influenza cases on board. The disease immediately attacked Māori and the people died in hundreds, reducing the population to an alarming degree. Following the demise of the Ōtākou Māori population came the loss of land. This began with the Treaty of Waitangi, which was taken by Major Bunbury throughout the Kāi Tahu tribal region to obtain southern Māori signatures. The Treaty had been signed by many iwi (tribes) in the North Island, and Korako and Karetai signed it at Taiaroa Head on 13 June 1840. They were among seven signatures for southern Māori. The premise they accepted in their hearts and minds was that under the Treaty they would retain their lands and have equal protection and rights with British citizens. Political struggle over the total disregard of the promises agreed to in the Treaty of Waitangi would continue for 150 years. After the signing of the Treaty came the most significant contractual breach for Māori on the Otago Peninsula.

Under pressure from the New Zealand Company, the British Crown waived its right of pre-emption as stated in the Treaty of Waitangi, 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 on the mainland 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. In 1844, George Clarke wrote an account of the proceedings in Otago, which included Tuckett, surveyors and local Māori.

They had come to survey the land for a "New Edinburgh, the Dunedin of the future".<sup>8</sup>

Kāi Tahu wanted to keep 21,250 acres of Otago Peninsula land with ancestral sites for themselves. However, the Europeans did not agree and would not proceed with the sale unless the peninsula was included. The Māori conceded to accept only the land at the northern end of the peninsula and a few other areas outside of that, totalling 9,612 acres. On 31 July 1844 at Kōpūtai, 25 chiefs signed the Otago Deed, selling 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 work began on New Edinburgh on the mainland in 1846.

The organised settlement of the suburban and rural areas of the peninsula began in 1848, focusing on Andersons Bay and Portobello. The peninsula was divided into farms of about 50 acres, which were gradually occupied and supplied a growing Dunedin with food. West states that "the sale of the Otago Block to the New Zealand Company in 1844 was by far the most significant event that shifted control over the Peninsula... the Ōtākou Māori were stranded on the northern tip of the Otago Peninsula, confined to meagre portions of their once vast property. The way was thereby opened to the European settlement, and the making of a new environment on the Otago Peninsula."<sup>9</sup>

# Timeline

## Circa 1300

Māori settled in the South Island from Polynesia.

## Circa 1300-1500

Hāwea, Rapuwai and Waitaha people intermarried and adapted to their hostile southern environment.

## Circa 1500-1600

Kāti Māmoe and Kāi Tahu made their way to the South Island at different times after a series of battles on the east coast of the North Island.

## Circa 1700s (early)

A number of battles in the south, on the Otago coast and on the Taiari plains resulted in strategic marriages that set in place particular rakatira of the time.

## 1770

The first European chanced upon the peninsula when Captain Cook sailed past the entrance of the Otago Harbour and a wind pushed the *Endeavour* further out to sea.

## 1790

Sealers were dropped to remote areas in Southland and exported seal skins and timber.

## 1806

European vessels started visiting the Otago Peninsula.

## 1809

Sealers were dropped to Cape Saunders on the Otago Peninsula.

## 1811

William Tucker was one of the first European residents in the Otago Harbour area.

## 1814

The *Matilda* vessel entered the Otago Harbour. The Ōtākou harbour had rapidly become a commercial anchorage where Europeans could purchase pigs, flax, potatoes, fresh water and quality timber for boat repairs.

## 1829-1835

Battles with the northern tribe of Ngāti Toa required muskets and manpower.

## 1830s

*Karetai* travelled back and forth to Sydney – driven to learn to read and write English and attain books and paper.

## 1831

A whaling station was set up at Wellers Rock (Te Umukurī) by Edward and Joseph Weller. Their intermarriage with local Māori women meant that they have many Kāi Tahu descendants today.

## 1836

The *Sydney Packet* ship arrived, bringing influenza, which decimated the local Māori population.

## 1840

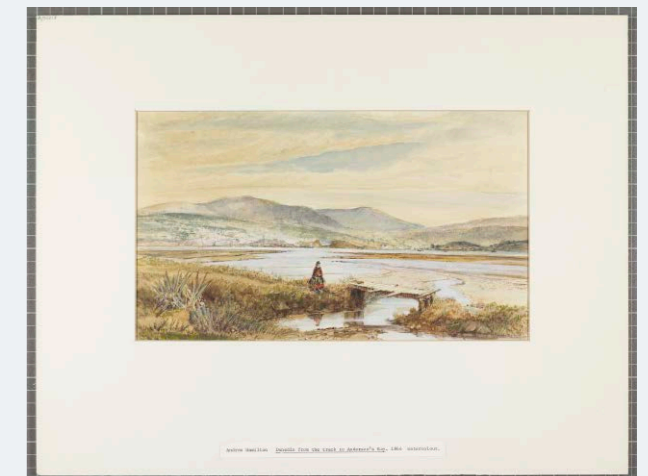
The Treaty of Waitangi was signed by Karetai and Korako at Ōtākou.

## 1844

400,000 acres of Otago were sold (known as the Otago Deed of Sale).

## 1848

The *John Wickliffe* ship brought 97 immigrants from England and the *Phillip Laing* ship brought 247 immigrants from Scotland to Dunedin.



Dunedin From the track to Anderson's Bay<sup>10</sup>



# Taranaki prisoners

This section explains the longstanding relationship between Taranaki and the Ōtākou people. This relationship is built on a long history between Ōtākou (in particular the Ellison whānau) and Taranaki iwi. A hapū in Parihaka (Taranaki) is named Ngāti Ōtākou after this longstanding and important relationship. It is advisable to connect with Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou if you are seeking more information about this connection. If the Otago Polytechnic would like to invest in some visual design representation of this history, ensure that the connection with Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou is made.

*My House in New Zealand*, (Dr Hocken's original pictures)  
The caption on Dr Hocken's picture (above right) states that the house in the image was on the corner of Frederick Street and Leith Street, Dunedin. It was afterwards long occupied by John Hyde Harris. The mountain is Mount Cargill. The water is one of the swampy back waters running into the harbour near Pelichet Bay. Pelichet Bay is now the area commonly known as Logan Park; there was also a Pelichet Bay Road. This area was worked on by the Taranaki prisoners.

Jane Reeves, daughter of Sir Paul Reeves of Taranaki whakapapa, wrote a dissertation through the University of Otago in 1989. (At right) is an excerpt from this where she included the information about the work that was completed by the prisoners.<sup>12</sup> Jane Reeves passed away in 2021, nō reira e te tamiti o Taranaki maunga, haere atu rā, moe mai.

Tahu Pōtiki has written about the connection between Ōtākou and Taranaki:

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

*The second group of prisoners were Te Whiti's "Ploughmen"<sup>14</sup> In the 1870s a peaceful movement developed in Taranaki centred on Parihaka and led by Te Whiti-o-Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi. Their peaceful modes of protest were met with military style aggression. During 1879-1880 the settlers' militia imprisoned hundreds of those from Parihaka, who were arrested illegally and detained without trial. There were 46 prisoners who were shipped to Dunedin.*



My House in New Zealand (Dr Hocken's original pictures)<sup>11</sup>

Maori Prisoners' Labour, 1 April 1870 - 31 March 1871, and the Value of their Labour<sup>2</sup>

MAORIS—	Days' labor at the High School ...	2s. 6d.	
2034	Do. Botanical Gardens ...	254	5 0
2105	Do. embankment at same ...	283	2 6
1738	Do. Anderson's Bay Road ...	22	7 6
419	Do. Rector's residence ...	217	5 0
238	Do. Hospital grounds ...	33	7 6
39	Do. dredging the Harbor ...	29	15 0
796	Do. forming Kaitiaki road... ..	4	17 6
834	do. Pelichet Bay road ...	99	10 0
613	Do. quarrying at Water of Leith ...	104	5 0
259	Do. loading metal and gravel at same ...	76	12 6
14	Do. Police Barracks ...	32	7 6
		1	15 0
		1,158	10 0

Maori Prisoners' Labour, 1 April 1871 - 31 March 1872, and the value of their Labour<sup>3</sup>

MAORIS—	Days' labour at ...	2s. 6d.	
1816	days' labour at Russell street ...	227	0 0
1762	do. Vauxhall Road ...	220	5 0
1431	do. Recreation Ground, Caversham Road, &c. ...	176	17 6
1399	do. Water of Leith ...	174	10 0
984	do. Pelichet Bay Road ...	123	0 0
663	do. Botanical Gardens ...	82	17 6
235	do. Kaitiaki Road ...	29	7 6
146	do. Rector's House ...	18	5 0
132	do. Anderson's Bay Road ...	16	10 0
126	do. Hospital Grounds ...	15	15 0
119	do. as Labourers on Harbour Works ...	14	17 6
75	do. at Otago Reserve ...	9	7 6
63	do. Rattray street Jetty ...	7	17 6
62	do. Loading Gravel and Metal, Water of Leith ...	7	15 0
43	do. High School Grounds ...	5	7 6
36	do. Minor Works—Cleaning Shoot for Dredge, Spreading Metal, the Custom House, North Dunedin Rifle Range, and Bell Hill ...	10	15 0
		£1142	7 6



Pelichet Bay<sup>13</sup>

## Taranaki prisoners cont...

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 Waitōtara, called Tūtahi (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<sup>15</sup>

In 1987, a memorial to the prisoners was erected next to Portsmouth Drive before it reaches the Andersons Bay causeway. Edward Ellison (Upoko ki Ōtākou), who has written widely about the Taranaki prisoners,<sup>16</sup> explained 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 Ngātai 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 Kākahi who set up the community of Parihaka on the slopes of Mount Taranaki.

The story of finding the stone has the quality of legend. Tom Ngātai 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 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 Hāwera 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 Māui 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.

In a larger narrative for all Otago schools,<sup>17</sup> "Māori Hill" has been given a new name Kuru Pereki in consultation with mana whenua.<sup>18</sup> This comes from an old waiata written by the Taranaki prisoners while they were imprisoned in Mount Cook Jail and recorded in the old Ellison family diaries. The Ellison family hails from Ōtākou and Taranaki. "Kuru" means "to break" and "pereki" is "bricks". Breaking bricks refers to the hard labour the prisoners endured. Old newspapers highlight the conditions the prisoners were living in. This letter by "Humanitus" in the Evening Star, 12 February 1872, states that:

*nearly all the Maori prisoners exhibited a tendency for consumption... no doubt the particulars of the kind of work & the Maori may be placed at, will be given on such an occasion. I read the other day that the Maories had been working in the water for a considerable time at Pelichet Bay. I do not think being immersed in water for a number of hours would likely stay its rapid development; and this little Nathan, of all others, looked to my mind, two years ago, least likely to be hurried off by lung disease.*

"Humanitus" also described the prison living conditions:

*Forty-two bunks – in a space 30 x 15 feet, constitute the Maori dormitory in the Old Gaol. These bunks (twenty-one on either side) are divided by a passage so narrow so as not to admit of a moderately stout man walking through it comfortably. The first impression of a visitor, is he is viewing a rabbit warren, yet I have known 42 men to be sleeping in this rabbit warren at one time. The men are compelled to wiggle in, feet first into their bunks, their heads are so close as to appear together; add to this a water closet on the right hand in front, and one immediately behind – the stench from which often compels the window of the New Gaol overlooking Stuart Street to be closed on summer evenings, and we have probably the reason why we have heard so often the inspecting officer of a night give an ugh! And one of relief having reached the door. To my unprofessional mind it has often suggested itself, whether this tendency to consumption is likely to be diminished by inhaling the fetid air and breath of those advanced in tubercular disease, for eleven and half hours in Summer and thirteen and half hours in Winter Months.*

## Pakakohi men 1869-72

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

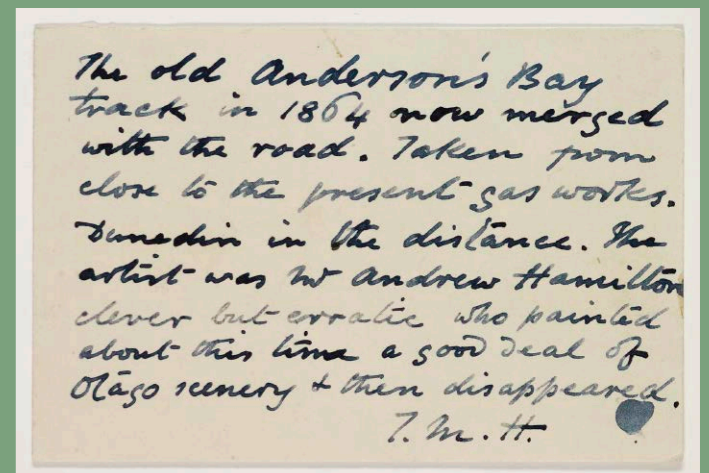
- Labour on the old Botanic Garden (now University of Otago grounds) – 2034 days
- Leith Stream bank stabilisation – 613 days
- Loading rock – 259 days
- Otago Girls' High School grounds – 2034 days
- Andersons Bay Road – 1738 days
- Pelichet Road – 834 days
- Hospital grounds – 238 days
- Harbour dredging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

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

## Parihaka men 1879-81

The Parihaka people began their passive resistance in 1879. In August of that year, 46 ploughmen arrived at Port Chalmers aboard the Hinemoa, and a further 91 prisoners arrived in January 1880. There is no reliable record of the works that the prisoners were engaged in. However, the Otago Witness reported in 1879 on "A letter received by Maori in New Plymouth from the prisoners in Dunedin giving a description of prison life. It complained the climate was very cold and the confinement 'exceedingly irksome to the free born Maoris'.<sup>19</sup> On their release, the Ōtākou chiefs Korako Karetai and Hori Kerei Taiaroa accompanied the Pakakohi men aboard the Luna to Wellington. Chief Karetai later wrote in Waka Maori, a government Māori newspaper (translated): "A word about the prisoners. Their stay in Otago was very good, doing the work of the pakeha. And the pakeha people praised their behaviour, as did we Maori."<sup>20</sup>

“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) ...”



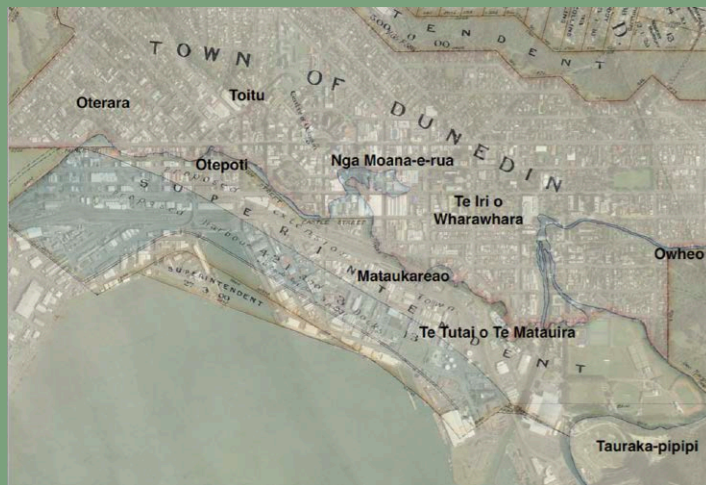
# Kā ikoa wahi (placenames)

## Tapatapa

Tapatapa conveys a manifestation of mana (prestige) through the process of the ancestors naming landscapes. As an example, Rākaihautū, who is associated with the Uruao canoe and the Waitaha people, laid claim to many areas in the South Island through tapatapa. The naming of the Kaikarae Stream, for example, connects Rākaihautū to Ōtepoti as we know it now, through recognition of Rākaihautū feasting on seagulls there. Tapatapa provides opportunities for intergenerational memory, strengthens cultural and place-based identity, and is an expression of mana. Therefore, the naming of buildings should be carefully considered with mana whenua advice and guidance. There is mana in placenames; examples include the placenames that come from the Araiteuru waka and placenames from the earliest migrations and people. These must always be referred to and never replaced with others if the original name is available.

It is best to refrain from attempting to translate names from Māori to English as the meanings are often complex or forgotten. Furthermore, it is unnecessary to attempt to break up Māori words to try to find meaning. This method doesn't follow our processes and creates confusion, fabricating meanings that are incorrect and don't align with our history and whakapapa.

Some definitions and descriptions from different resources are recorded here.



## Tauraka Pīpīpī

Tauraka Pīpīpī is the Māori name for Black Jacks Point (which is opposite the Dunedin stadium and where the quarry is).

Some tūpāpaku (bodies) were elevated and laid on a platform known as Tiara-rakau<sup>21</sup> for people to attend and pay their respects. An example of this concerned Wharawhara o te Raki, a chief of the Otago region, who was elevated onto a platform and dressed in his finest mats, holding in his right hand his taiaha, which had beautiful feathers on it. Roberts wrote:

*The foot of Frederick Street was a tapu spot, known as Te Iri-o-wharawhara te Raki, meaning "the place where Wharawhara te Raki was lifted up." About 150 years ago Wharawhara, a Tangata tapu, or sacred man – that is, a chief and tohunga of very high rank, died there. A post was fixed in the ground, and he was tied to it, dressed in his best mats, with his "taiaha" (a wooden weapon like a sword, the handle being beautifully carved and decorated with a bunch of feathers) in his right hand, so that his tribe could see him, before he was buried, standing in state. Logan's Point was Tau-ranga-pipipi (a landing-place for cockles), or as Mr. Chapman says, Out-kai-wheti, which I am told was a kaika close by.<sup>22</sup>*

Plumes from birds like the kōtuku (white heron) and the huia were used to decorate the heads of deceased chiefs as they lay upon the atamira.<sup>23</sup> Keane comments, "in traditional Māori thought, many birds were seen as chiefly. The feathers of certain birds were used as adornment for high-born people – particularly plumes worn in the hair. Chiefs wore the kahu huruhuru (feather cloak), made from the feathers of the most beautiful birds."<sup>24</sup>

## Ōtepoti

The corner shape of a food-gathering kete made from flax is called a "poti". This could be seen in the corner shape of the harbour coming up to George Street, which does not exist now – visually.

## Kapuketaumahaka/Mihiwaka

These are possible names for Mount Cargill. Kapuketaumahaka has been misspelled and misinterpreted for many years. In recent times, mana whenua have come to a fuller understanding of the name, which is one of an ancestor. Mihiwaka is also the possible name for Mount Cargill, as confirmed by our tūpuna.

## Te Pahure o Te Rangipokiha

Te Pahure o te Rangipokiha is the area known as Ravensbourne today. Ōpoho Creek runs south along the western flank of Te Pahure o te Rangipokiha (Signal Hill) before being diverted through culverts and flowing into Ōwheo (the Water of Leith).

## Kaikarae

Tahu Pōtiki wrote that:

*Rākaihautū is associated with the Uruao canoe and the Waitaha people. There are several different versions of the journey but the storyline recounts Rākaihautū 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, Rākaihautū's son, took the canoe and explored the coastline of the South Island while Rākaihautū led the exploration of the land on foot. With the help of a mighty digging stick Rākaihautū 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 Rākaihautū circled through Southland and while heading north he came upon, and dug out, Lake Waiholā. Rākaihautū 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. Kaikarae 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 Kaikarae stream. Māori in the area lived off shellfish and moa. The significance of Kaikarae as a place of mahika kai is referred to above in the Rākaihautū traditions. 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.*

## Ōtākou

Ōtākou is a very important name. It is a very old name, indicating the long Māori history in the area. Ōtākou is the channel that runs down the eastern side of the Otago Harbour from the mouth to just past the old Ōtākou Fisheries. On a good day, you can see the channel and where it stops. Aramoana is the channel that runs down the western side through to Kōpūtai (Port Chalmers). Tahu Pōtiki states that, "The local Kāi Tahu have an historical association with the harbour and the surrounding areas that no other people can share. It is ancient, mythological, traditional, historical and spiritual."<sup>25</sup>

## Te Tutai o Te Mātāuira

Te Mātāuira was the son of Te Ruahikihiki, a Kāi Tahu chief. The people of Ōtākou are known as Kāi Te Ruahikihiki. Te Ruahikihiki was established at Taumutu (Southbridge, South Canterbury) and declined to settle further south. It was left to his son Taoka and his contemporaries, Moki II, Te Wera, Te Mātāuira and others, to advance permanent settlement of Kāi Tahu into the deeper southern region.<sup>26</sup> Moki II moved south to Pukekura (Taiaroa Head), along with his brother Te Mātāuira. This illustrates that Te Mātāuira occupied the area and undoubtedly travelled over the Dunedin trails and through to the Taiari and beyond. Te Mātāuira travelled distances around the West Coast and down south. Mātāuira Island at Preservation Inlet is named after him.<sup>27</sup>

Two chiefs, Marakai and Tūtemakohu, caused trouble for Kāi Tahu, defeating them in battle in Te Waewae Bay, Warepa and Waipahī. Marakai captured Te Mātāuira at Waipahī but let him go, despite the advice from Tūtemokohu. Marakai paid for this decision, as later Te Mātāuira captured him while he was walking at Ōtaraia (between Clinton and Gore) and killed him. Te Mātāuira met his death near Moeraki in an intertribal conflict.<sup>28</sup>

A whakatauaikī rose out of the conflict in Moeraki: Kai Upoko, kia hari; Kai hiku, kia kakari. Tahu Pōtiki wrote that this is the pēpehā (tribal saying) that was said by Te Ruapapa, who was from Taumutu, when they were making their way from Katiki (Katiki-Moeraki), fighting with Taoka and others. An insult verbalised in Kaikōura then triggered conflict. Beattie wrote:

*Owing to a family squabble at Katiki (Kartigi), Para-kiore, Tu-ahuriri, Te Ruapapa and others came down from North Canterbury and a fight ensued. On the way south, when eels were being distributed for food, Te Ruapapa considered the heads were given to him and his men while the rest enjoyed the tails. During the fight Te Mātāuira, father of Te Hau, was killed by Wheke, a northern man. When the fight began Te Ruapapa shouted, "Kakari kai hiku, kia hari kai upoko" (Fight, you tail eaters, my head eaters retire), and he and his men withdrew, leaving the rest of the northern party to be beaten and pursued.<sup>29</sup>*

Roberts writes that *there was also a kāika on the beach near the mouth of the Water of Leith, as it was in 1848, named Tutai-a-te-Mātāuira, meaning "the spy of Mātāuira" (flashing face).*<sup>30</sup>



# Uarataka/Values

The mana whenua values framework that has been created by Aukaha (1997) Ltd, is used to drill in to mana whenua values of a particular area. This includes the whenua that a building may be built on and the related landmarks and whakapapa of the area.

A values framework was created with mana whenua for the Otago Polytechnic. The four central values for mana whenua are below.

## Mana

Mana ensures that the indigenous authority of mana whenua is recognised and upheld in rebuild, design, social procurement, work and outcomes. The mana of tūpuna is also recognised, honoured and made visible where possible. Mana whenua hold authority within their region. Use of Māori knowledge and reflections of Māori identity are led by mana whenua to ensure all cultural material is correctly represented and proceeds with the approval of mana whenua. Implementing consultative engagement and reciprocal relationships increases the mana of the project, relationship and outcome.

## Whakapapa

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

## Tapu

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

## Mauri

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



# Mahika kai (food gathering)

Many foods would have been available around the Logan Park area and the Otago Polytechnic, particularly as the area had birdlife and estuarine waterways and is right next to the Ōtākou harbour.

Some of these foods include plants such as aruhe, kōrari (flax flower), kāuru (cabbage tree) and kawakawa. Birdlife – such as the various ducks like pūtakitaki, parera, whio – was also a great food source.

## Pātiki (flounder)

E kore te pātiki e hoki ki tōna puehu.

(The flounder does not go back to the mud it has stirred.) Looking at the list of kaimoana in the Ōtākou Harbour (on page 7), your students could study any of these particular seafoods. One of the important kaimoana to mana whenua today is the pātiki (flounder). The shape of the pātiki is depicted in the windows in the meeting house of Tamatea at Ōtākou.

## Pātiki pattern (see photo on right)

There are different types of flounder according to Herries Beattie's informants, who all corroborated that the types included:

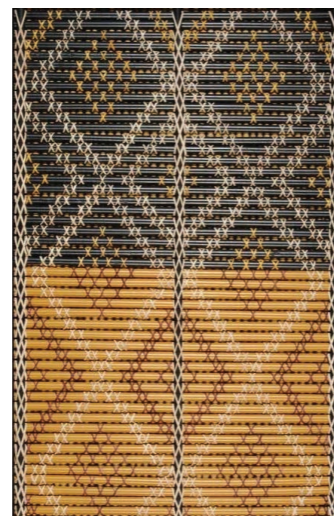
- Poroporo mohoa (spotted)
- Pātiki wai-Māori (freshwater flounder)
- Pātiki horihori
- Pātiki-wai-whai (white-bellied saltwater flounder)
- Pātiki patotara (yellow-bellied flounder)
- Pātiki mohioao raututu

Flounders were speared with a matarau, which had a fork-like prong and a handle called a kauho. The matarau used to be made of mānuka, although today there are various types of spears made of modern materials. Beattie was also shown a hayfork that was used to spear flounder and eels. Spearing was done both during the day and at night with rama (torches that were made of toetoe, flax or bark). Pātiki were dried in the past, but today they are prepared and eaten in a variety of ways.

Here are a few local stories from mana whenua and a recipe:<sup>31</sup>

*Raewyn Harris told stories of how she and her whanau used to go floundering off Te Raunone beach at Ōtākou. A torch made of a rag soaked in kerosene in a syrup tin with a handle and a spear made of a broom handle with a nail on the end were all you needed. Flounder were so plentiful you would be stepping on them, but now you were lucky to find one the size of a hand in the harbour, she said.*

Michelle McDonald comes from a family of fishermen. Her father, Matenga Taiaroa, fished on the West and East coasts and the Chatham Islands, and eats fish every day – he'd had flounder for breakfast that morning. Her brother,



Above: The meeting house of Tamatea at Ōtākou.

and she and her husband, are also commercial fishers, fishing Ngāi Tahu quota with boats based at Ōtākou.

She demonstrated her favourite way of cooking flounder. It's a good choice if you don't want to fillet fish, she said. To cook flounder, clean, and scrape the scales off both sides. Heat a little oil and butter in a pan, dip the whole fish in flour, and fry it, pale side down first. Turn and cook the other side after a few minutes – the time depends on the heat of your pan. The flesh should be cooked but still moist. Use two forks to pull the flesh apart. When you have eaten the flesh on top, the bone frame will lift off easily so you can eat the other side.

Professor Helen Leach stated that:

*studies on the prehistoric Māori diet revealed that they were interested in seafood with the highest oil content and calories – eels, shellfish, muttonbird, barracouta, flounder at a certain time of year. Many of these are still favourites with local Māori.*<sup>32</sup>

# Native flora and fauna around the Otago Polytechnic

This section describes native flora and fauna found locally.

At the point of European contact with Dunedin, the vista that looked out from the Otago Polytechnic would have differed greatly to that of today. According to our people, the bush was so thick in the Dunedin area that when some Europeans ventured in they never returned. Māori had trails and tracks and understood the area.

Monro made his observations about the mouth of the harbour of the peninsula in 1844, as previously written in this document. He followed on to note the "absence of a good site for a town". He mentioned how inhospitable the bush was on the mainland and that whalers had said they never ventured into it.

On his stay at Ōtākou (the Otago Harbour and village at the end of the peninsula) between 1843 and 1844, Edward Shortland wrote in his diary:

*In the morning I woke early; and, as the dawn first peeped forth, was deafened by the sound of bell birds. The woods which were close by seemed to be thronged with them. Never before had I heard so loud a chorus. I called to mind Captain Cook's description of the impression made on him by the singing of these birds, when at anchor near the shore in Queens Charlotte's Sound. He is wrong, however, in saying that they sing at night, like the nightingale. They commence at dawn*

*of day their chime of four notes, which, repeated independently by a thousand throats, creates the strangest melody. But they cease, as by one consent, the moment the sun's first rays are visible; and there is a general silence. Again, at even, they commence, just as the sun's last ray fades, and sing on till dark.*<sup>33</sup>

## Flora

### Ti Kōuka – cabbage tree

The interior part of the tree stem and the roots, called kāuru, were a staple food of the Māori at one time, being steam-cooked in a type of hāngi. The ti trunks collected by Māori were young plants that had germinated from seed dropped by mature plants or from cuttings. Ti take only four years to grow one and half metres tall.<sup>34</sup> Beattie recorded that "A good section of ti – cabbage trees – was called para kāuru. While the soft part of the ti leaves could be cooked at anytime and chewed and eaten to ensure regularity of the bowels."<sup>35</sup>

### Totara

The totara was an incredibly useful plant for southern Māori. The wood was used for housing, canoes, musical instruments and toys, while the bark was used for torches and containers for water, preserved birds and rats, and so on. The totara was seen as a chiefly tree. In the South Island, the muttonbirders would make torches with the bark being interwoven with flax fibre and saturated with muttonbird fat.



# Native flora and fauna cont...

Herries Beattie recorded that:

*to get boiling water the ancient Maori had to resort to a certain amount of ingenuity. As he had no pottery nor metal utensils he had to use a wooden vessel sometimes called a waka but more commonly known as an ipu. This was sometimes a tree trunk hollowed out and sometimes it was a receptacle made of totara bark in such a way that it would hold water. The usual way to make these vessels was to bark a totara tree and lay the bark in strips overlapping each other.*<sup>36</sup>

## Kahikātea

The kahikātea is a tall white pine. This tree provided Māori with wood for weapons and canoes, torches from its bark, and gum resin and soot for tattooing from its heart-wood. White wrote about the tattooing of moko, that the bone of an albatross was carved into a needle for picking out the line. A mix of soot from burnt kauri gum, charcoal from burnt kahikātea and sometimes the milk from women to soften the mixture was used as a type of ink.<sup>37</sup>

## Piripiri – biddybid

Piripiri is a ground creeper with stems bearing little balls of reddish spines that stick to man, beast or bird. Tui were sometimes caught by covering their favourite drinking spot in piripiri, which stuck to the bird.<sup>38</sup>

European settlers changed the name over time from piripiri to biddybid, keeping the guttural sound of the name. Beattie referred to the use of piripiri as a medicine for constipation. Mānuka leaves and the burrs of piripiri were steeped in water and drunk.<sup>39</sup>

## Mānuka

Mānuka wood was once fashioned into canoe deckings, canoe poles, fish hooks, fishing rods, eel pots and other fish traps. It was made into gardening implements and weapons such as spears and clubs. Beattie recorded that the mānuka leaves were boiled and rubbed on a leg itch.<sup>40</sup> An infusion of kōwhai bark and mānuka bark is rubbed on outwardly for pains in the back and side. Edward Shortland commented that the whalers drank so much mānuka tea that it was called the whalers' tea. Beattie recorded that constipation could be cured by steeping mānuka leaves in water and drinking the infusion.<sup>41</sup>

# Ka manu (Birds)

Some of the traditional birdlife in the area would have been:

Kōparapara – bellbird

Tīrairaka – fantail

Tauhou – silver-eye

Kāhu – hawk

Weka – woodhen

Kākāpā – owl parrot

Pūtakitaki – paradise duck

Kererū – wood pigeon Parera – grey duck

This birdlife was mainly relegated to the forest areas. Birdlife was abundant near the ocean and into Ōtākou.



# He toki ki te rika

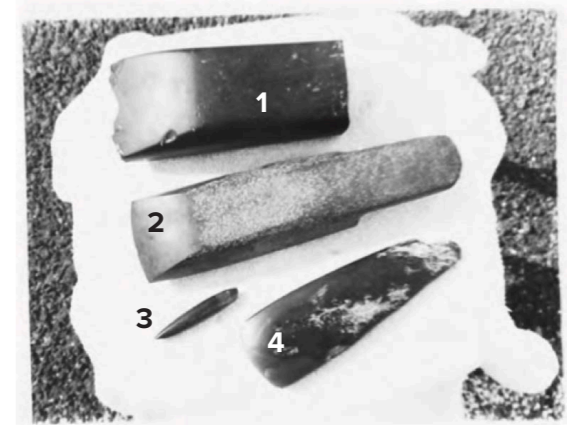
When the contractors were excavating the site for the new Otago Polytechnic building in Harbour Terrace in the mid 1980s, four Māori artifacts were found: two adzes, a toki and a chisel.

1. Lower portion of a large toki made of metamorphosed argillite. Its style suggests that it is the oldest of the four and could have been used during the Archaic (or moa hunter) period of Māori settlement in the south, approximately 1000-1400AD.

2. This toki is also from moa-hunter times and probably dates to around 1500AD. The reduction at the grip indicates it was once bound (with a flax cord) to a wooden handle.

3. Pounamu toki blade. This may once have been attached to an elaborately carved handle. Such toki poutangata were used by high-ranking men on important ceremonial occasions. It probably dates to the period 1600-1800AD.

4. Small pounamu chisel, used for wood carving. A cutting scar made when the chisel was cut from the parent block, is visible down one side. 1600-1800AD.



Ceremonially, toki were used when a great tree was felled to carve or to fashion a grand canoe (waka). Or for the ridgepole of a whare nui of a meeting house. The mauri (the life force) within the felled tree carried the living embodiment of its deity, Tāne Māhuta.

Toki also had a big role in day-to-day tasks. They were used in weaponry to defend one's self, in everyday tasks, such as cutting plant material, and in lesser menial tasks such as gardening. Other forms of toki – spades and garden hoes – were fashioned primarily for the task used. Today, the toki in the context of the "trades school" situates the learner as having the tools or skills to perform a trade of their choice, such as carpentry, engineering, hairdressing, beauty trades, agriculture and horticulture.

*Nā Kare Tipa:* Mana Whenua Board Representative Otago Polytechnic & member for Kōmiti Kāwanataka Otago Polytechnic

*He Toki Kai Te Rika: A Tool For Your Hand*, a name coined for the Trades Training School at Otago Polytechnic in the time of our tipuna (precolonisation), a toki (adze) gave great precedence to its owner. Differing kinds of toki gave effect to status, from the rangatira (chiefly) to the ware (commoner). Toki were used in both informal and formal domains.

## Glossary

Ara honohono – trails

Kai – food

Kākahu – clothing

Kekeno – seal

Kinaki – relish

Kiri – bark

Korowai – cloak

Mere pounamu – greenstone weapon

Mokomoko – lizard/gecko

Pātiki – flounder

Te Waipounamu – South Island

Te Ika-a-Māui – North Island

Wai – water

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# End notes

**1** Atholl Anderson, When All the Moa Ovens Grew Cold, p. 4.

**2** Ray Harlow and M. van Bellekom, Te Waitatanga Mai o nga Atua.

**3** Tahu Pōtiki, "How Otago Harbour Was Formed."

**4** T.A. Pybus, The Maoris of the South Island, p. 33.

**5** Atholl Anderson, When All the Moa Ovens Grew Cold, p. 7.

**6** Edward Shortland, The Southern Districts of New Zealand.

**7** D. Monro, "Notes of a Journey Through a Part of the Middle Island of New Zealand."

**8** "Scottish Settlers Arrive in Otago," New Zealand History.

**9** J. West, The Face of Nature, p. 265.

**10** Andrew Hamilton, "Dunedin From the Track to Anderson’s Bay. 1864.," Dr T. M. Hocken Collection.

**11** Unknown, "My House in New Zealand," Dr. T. M. Hocken Collection.

**12** Jane Reeves, Maori Prisoners in Dunedin, 1869-1872 and 1879-1881, Exiled for a Cause, p. 74.

**13** "What Is Your House Hiding?"

**14** 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.

**15** This is from private writings of Tahu Pōtiki, Ōtākou. For a more detailed account, refer to Maori Dunedin by Goodall and Griffiths and Ask That Mountain by Dick Scott.

**16** Edward Ellison, National Māori Achievement Collaborative Wananga, 2018, unpublished; Edward Ellison, Rongo, Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou, 2017, unpublished.

**17** Written in 2020 with Aukaha Ltd, the Ministry of Education and mana whenua.

**18** The liberty has been taken here to give a name for Māori Hill School. It is a new and unique name based on the recent history of the area that is discussed in this narrative under Taranaki. Māori Hill is a name that Ōtākou believe is directly related to the hard labour the Taranaki prisoners did in the area.

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# Megan Potiki



Megan hails from Ōtākou and is of Kāi Tahu and Te Ātiawa descent. Megan has spent the last several years at the University of Otago as a Lecturer for Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies, now in the Office of Māori Development and working towards completing her PhD. Her research interests are focused on the loss of te reo Māori at Ōtākou and the written Māori archives of the past that have a particular geographical focus on her tribal region of Kāi Tahu in the South Island of New Zealand.



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