

**Aukaha**

KIA KAHA, AU KAHA

# Cultural Narrative *for* Bayfield High School



## Bayfield High School Cultural Narrative

This cultural narrative provides two types of information for Bayfield High School – 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 classes and students. This information is from the Kāi Tahu tribe, with a focus on Otago and the area your school is in. The bibliography supplied will allow you to follow up on particular references for your students, classes and so forth.

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 school. Please get in touch with Aukaha Ltd if you have any questions.

### *What is a cultural narrative?*

A cultural narrative recognises the historical relationship between the area and its mana whenua. It describes what is unique about the place and the people your school is part of, building a common understanding of traditional and spiritual connections, heritage and values.

### *The cultural narrative ensures:*

- the status of iwi and hapū as mana whenua is recognised and respected
- Māori names are celebrated
- mana whenua significant sites and cultural landmarks acknowledged
- our natural environment is protected, restored and enhanced
- iwi/hapū narratives are captured and expressed creatively
- iwi/hapū have a living and enduring presence and are secure and valued within their rohe.

# 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.

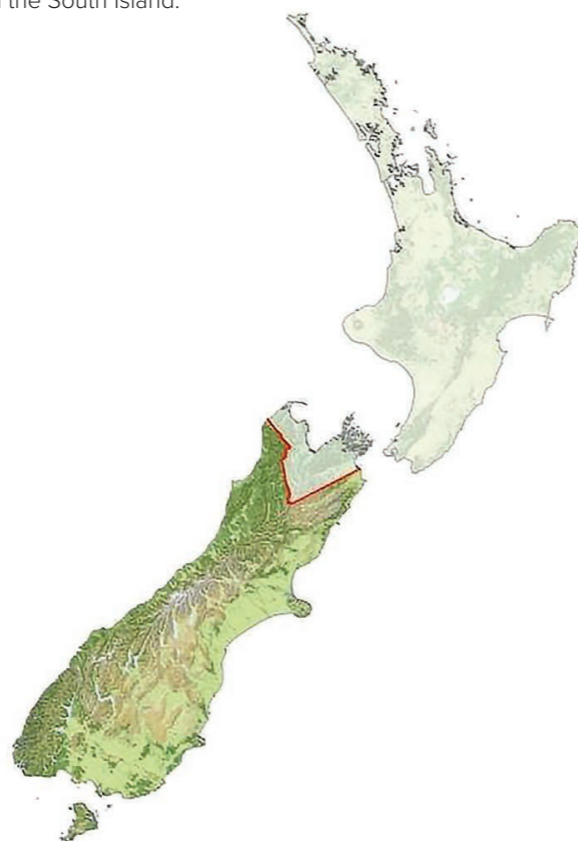
The original inhabitants of the area were known as Kāti Hāwea and Te Rapuwai. Anderson claims that these people were certainly Polynesians and among the ancestors of southern Māori.<sup>1</sup> The following onset of people were the Waitaha, an early group of people who are known to have arrived on the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

The consequent migration and intermarriage of Kāti Māmoe and then Kāi Tahu from the East coast of the North Island to the South Island and in to Waitaha procured a stronghold for Māori in Te Waipounamu. These people migrated in different phases from the North Island and married into existing groups of people. According to many accounts, Kāti Māmoe are descendants of a woman called Hotu Māmoe, who hailed from the North Island area of Napier.

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 Kāi Tahu tribe is a well-known Māori entity of the South Island today and takes its name from Tahupōtiki. According to Anderson, there was considerable continuity in the southern Māori population. Anderson describes the migration as piecemeal and as progressing at a clan and family level with each group consolidating its position by pursuing, in about equal measure, feuding

and intermarriage.<sup>2</sup> The detail about their migration south has remained relatively intact because of the insular biogeography of this most southern indigenous habitat. A clear picture of the migration south has been kept through the passing on of oral traditions and a strong body of written records from missionaries and some key informants from the tribe. These comprehensive historical narratives about Kāi Tahu's migration include the Kāti Māmoe history.

The map below illustrates the large tribal area now associated with Rapuwai, Waitaha, Kāti Māmoe and Kāi Tahu in the South Island.



## Who are mana whenua?

For mana whenua, our stories lay the foundations of our world, teaching us about ourselves and our connection to Papatūānuku (mother earth), Rakinui (sky father), Takaroa (lord of the sea) and to all creatures.

Kāti Moki II, Kāti Tāoka and Kāi Te Pahi are the mana whenua of our takiwā, the area your school is in. Mana whenua denotes those who hold territorial rights and power associated with the area, and mana whenua are considered to be the owners of their takiwā. Ōtākou is the home of Kāti Moki II, Kāti Tāoka and Kāi Te Pahi, and Ōtepoti has a long, important role in Kāi Tahu

history. It is important to understand that the right of mana whenua is traceable and defined by tradition and whakapapa to customary rights that whānau and hapū have inherited through the above tikaka.

The Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act 1996 defines Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou. The takiwā of Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou centres on Ōtākou and extends from Pūrehurehu to Te Mata-au and inland, sharing an interest in the lakes and mountains to the western coast with rūnaka to the north and south. Bayfield High School is in this takiwā and on the doorstep of Ōtākou.

# 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.

The earliest activity on the Otago Peninsula was two moa butchery sites in the 1350AD period, one at Harwood on the peninsula and one at Andersons Bay on the mainland. This area remains occupied today by the descendants of the first people to live on the peninsula. Muaūpoko 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, and it is not mentioned in the original Deed of Sale of Otago.

Ōtākou is the significant name of the area. Ōtākou was originally the name of the waterway that spans the area from Taiaroa Heads 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. Today Ōtākou is more widely recognised in the Otago area 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.

A series of events over a relatively short timeframe explains Kāi Tahu's position at the harbour entrance of the Otago Peninsula. The first known arrival of Kāi Tahu to Otago began with the ancestor Waitai, who journeyed south leaving behind his siblings and relations, who were known as Kāti Kurī. Kāti Kurī lived in the Wellington area and made their way to the South Island. Waitai made his way south to the fortified village, Pukekura (Taiaroa Heads), 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 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, and the Tarewai battle is a useful one to retell for tamariki. The places where he battled or recuperated can be visited, and the imagery of the mere can be illustrated in art work and so forth.

“The earliest activity on the Otago Peninsula was two moa butchery sites in the 1350AD period, one at Harwood on the peninsula and one at Andersons Bay on the mainland. This area remains occupied today by the descendants of the first people to live on the peninsula.”

# Ōtākou Harbour

The Otago harbour has been a significant site for kai for Māori for generations; the cockle or tuaki is still gathered today. Mahika kai includes a range of kaimoana (sea food), sea fishing, eeling and harvest of other freshwater fish in lagoons and rivers, whale meat and seal pups, waterfowl, gathering of sea bird eggs, forest birds, and a variety of plant resources such as harakeke (flax), fern and tī root.

Observations from 1810 to 1840 paint a picture of a densely populated coastline from Pūrākaunui south to the Otago Harbour mouth then along the eastern inner coast of the harbour as far as present-day Harwood. There were a few smaller settlements on the western shore down as far as Kōpūtai (Port Chalmers). Population estimates range from 2,000 to 5,000.

Thomas Shepard wrote his observations of the upper Ōtākou harbour (Dunedin) in 1826:

*When we reached the utmost extent of the harbour we were agreeably surprised – instead of woods on each side as we had all the way up we saw a fine open country chiefly covered with flax plants, fern grass and a few small shrubs which might easily be burnt down and made ready for the plough [the site for future Dunedin].*<sup>3</sup>

Monro made his observations about the mouth of the harbour in 1844:

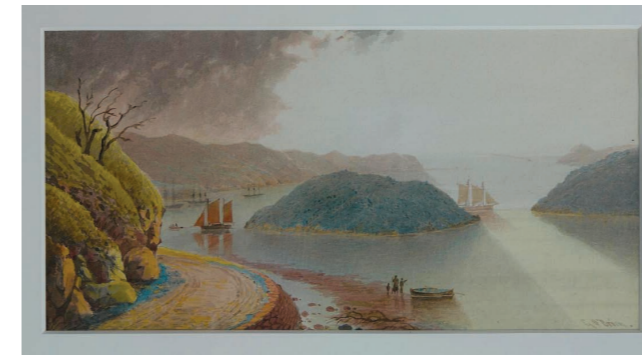
*The sky, a great part of the time, was without a cloud, and not a breeze ruffled the surface of the water, which reflected the surrounding wooded slopes, and every sea-bird that floated upon it, with mirror-like accuracy. For some hours after sunrise, the woods resounded with the rich and infinitely varied notes of thousands of tuis and other songsters. I never heard anything like it before in any part of New Zealand.*<sup>4</sup>

He went 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 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 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>5</sup>

# Rakiriri – Goat Island



This is a water colour painting of Rakiriri from the 1860s by George O'Brien – it is now in the Toitū Museum.

According to the mana whenua of Ōtākou, Rakiriri is the abode of Takaroa. Takaroa cannot merely be labelled or defined as the God of the Sea. He is a deity that is deeply connected to the ocean but has a different narrative according to Kāi Tahu. It is important that your students understand and honour this. Here is the condensed version of the narrative about Takaroa and his relationship with Papatūānuku. This is a whakapapa that could be represented in art work and so forth.

*Papatūānuku fell in love with Takaroa, and together they had children. After the birth of each child, Takaroa would go on a long journey and find the right place to bury the placenta (popoki) in the ground. On the birth of one of his children, Takaroa took the placenta/the dry umbilical cord to bury and was away for a very long time, leaving Papatūānuku waiting on her own for him to return. While Takaroa was gone, she fell in love with another man, Rakinui. Together they had many children. Eventually Takaroa returned and discovered that Papatūānuku had fallen in love with Rakinui and that they had had many children together. He was angry. Takaroa invited Rakinui onto the beach and they fought. In the fight, Takaroa threw his spear at Rakinui, and it pierced him through his buttocks. He was badly wounded and became ill. After the fight, Takaroa was satisfied that he had sought retribution and dealt with Rakinui, and he left. Rakinui went back to Papatūānuku.*

Takaroa’s abode is in our Ōtākou harbour. It is the island, Rakiriri. This is known as Goat Island today, but the actual name is Rakiriri – the home of Takaroa.



# Ōtākou Marae

Ōtākou Marae is on the doorstep of your school and if at all possible it is important you work to make connections to Ōtākou whānui. Ōtākou is home to Waitaha, Rapuwai, Kāti Hāwea, Kāti Māmoe and Kāi Tahu and is where, in the early nineteenth century, Kāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe and Waitaha blended into a single tribal entity. Our tūpuna laid claim to the eastern coast of Otago, stretching inland to Whakatipu and Piopiotahi (Milford Sound). The original settlement was centred on Pukekura, the fortified pā at Taiaroa Head, and the Otago Harbour.

Before the European settlement of Otago, many kāika (villages) were located along the peninsula and in and around the Otago Harbour. Kāika can be described as permanent peacetime settlements as opposed to pā sites, which were used in times of unrest.

There were kāika at:

- Papanui Inlet
- Tarewai Point overlooking Pilot's Beach
- Tahakopa – a medium-sized kāika on the western harbour
- Te Ruatitiko – one of the many kāika in the inner harbour in 1836
- Ōmate
- Parihaumia – Portobello Bay
- Turnbull's Bay
- Sandfly Bay
- Ōtaheiti-Acherons Head – Grassy Point
- Ōhinētū
- Te Waiparapara – on the spit at Aramoana
- Orawharerau – on the western side of the harbour Ōtākou

## Notable pā on the Otago coastline

The Otago Harbour coastal area was occupied in succession by Waitaha, Kāti Māmoe and Kāi Tahu, who, over time, have merged through whakapapa. Landscape features, mahika kai, resources, and names of tūpuna record this history. Prominent headlands were favoured for their defensive qualities and became the base for a succession of rakātira and their followers. One particular pā site was Pukekura (Taiaroa Head).

Pukekura is a prominent landmark at the easternmost end of the city of Ōtepoti-Dunedin. Pukekura was a significant navigational point for Māori as it marked the entrance to the harbour. It was also a significant landmark due to its years of occupation by Waitaha, Kāti Māmoe and then Kāi Tahu. Pukekura is an important physical and spiritual icon to the hapū of Ōtākou, occupied for generations by

illustrious ancestors and a defensive position used by the high chiefs to provide protection for their people and from which they exercised mana over all things.

Pukekura is near the site where, on 13 June 1840, James Busby obtained the signatures of the chiefs Karetai and Korako to the Treaty of Waitangi on board the HMS Herald. Pukekura enjoys a commanding view of all that lies before it. Exposed as it is to the four winds, it is a natural home to the toroa.



## Ōtepoti/ Dunedin city

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 Māmoe 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 name Ōtepoti itself is an ancient one according to Tahu Pōtiki. He disagreed that it had any meaning related to boats or a port but said it was in fact the shape of the area that looked like the corner of a Māori woven food basket, known as a poti. This is a picture (below) from 1860, Ōtepoti Bay. Tahu has illustrated where Ōtepoti is, and the shape does appear to be like the corner of a kete.



Ōtākou Marae

## The Treaty of Waitangi and 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 Edinborough, the Dunedin of the future".<sup>6</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>7</sup>



# Taranaki

This section explains the longstanding relationship between Taranaki and the Ōtākou people. Your school could work on this important part of New Zealand's history, and there are plenty of resources and books online. Whānau representatives may be able to talk to the history, but always start with your own classroom research as volunteer time to contribute is very limited and precious. The causeway and the memorial, Rongo, at Andersons Bay are important sites in the backyard of your school. In this regard, Bayfield has a direct relationship with this history.

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>8</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.*

*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>9</sup>*

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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>10</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>11</sup> "Māori Hill" has been given the name Kuru Pereki in consultation with mana whenua.<sup>12</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 he 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>13</sup>

On their release, the Pakakohi men were accompanied by the Ōtākou chiefs Korako Karetai and Hori Kerei Taiaroa 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>14</sup>

## Ōtākou / Kāi Tahu connection

The communities of Ōtākou and Puketeraki were active in their efforts to alleviate the conditions the men were held in and their general welfare. H.K. Taiaroa, Member of the Legislature, pressed for the prisoners to be tried or released. There was a government proposal to release the prisoners and bring their families to live with them on Taiaroa land at Ōtākou.

One of the prisoners, Rangi Te Whao, remained in Dunedin and married a local Kāi Tahu woman – their descendants remain here to this day. Raniera Ellison from the Taranaki iwi (Te Atiawa, Ngāti Mutunga and Ngāti Tama) married Chief Taiaroa's granddaughter Nani Weller in 1863 and was living at Ōtākou when the Pakakohi men arrived. He later became an active supporter of Te Whiti and the Parihaka Pa.

## Local Members of Parliament

Dunedin and Otago Members of Parliament actively protested the plight of the prisoners, arguing in Parliament that the men should be tried or released.

H.K. Taiaroa from Ōtākou advocated for the rights of the prisoners and spoke against the West Coast Peace Preservation Bill. Vincent Pyke, Member for Dunstan, condemned the violation of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1881. James Macandrew, member for Port Chalmers, urged that the prisoners be tried and if innocent liberated at once. Thomas Bracken, member for Dunedin Central, said they were entitled to a fair trial.





# Bayfield High School Haka: Te Kawau Noho Tumutumu

This was composed by Komene Cassidy in 2012 for Bayfield High School. This haka is about the area the school is situated in and refers to leadership as an important quality for students and the school. It is important that the haka is not shortened and the entire haka is observed when it is performed. It is a privilege to have been gifted this haka.

Taku raka taiohi/Toroa o parirau!

A Hārawa (Leader)

Hī (Students)

A Hārawa (Leader)

Hī (Students)

Hī auē hā

Ka kite atu ki te tumu, ki te kawau whakahīhī e noho ana (Leader)

I ā ha hā! (Students)

Ka kite atu ki te tumu, ki te kawau e kore e neke i tōna tumu (Leader)

I ā ha hā! (Students)

Ka tuku atu ki te mata o Mua-Upoko (Leader)

Ki Puketai, ki te Ika-a-Parihika (Students)

Ka tuku atu ki kā repo o Te Rakiātea (Leader)

Ki te roto o Tainui (Students)

Ka kaurehuria te rā/e taku kapua manu

Ripi, ripia (Leader)

A, e ota! (Students)

Puaihakarua (Leader)

A, e ota! (Students)

Kawau mārō (Leader)

A, e ota! (Students)

Ko te au taku a-wa, Ōtākou (Leader)

Ko tutara-kauira kai raro (Students)

Ko te pari kawau kai ruka

Noho tumutumu te uri o Terepuka

Ka oti te katikati o te kawau waha nui

E taku kāhui kawau, (Leader)

Kāhore ōna rakatira (Students)

E taku huika noho tumutumu (Leader)

Kāhore ōna aha (Students)

Hī, hī, hī auē hā, hī!





## Placenames around Bayfield High School

We suggest you refrain from attempting to translate names as the meanings are often complex or forgotten. Some possible meanings from different resources are recorded here; however, this doesn't make them correct. The official Ngāi Tahu mapping website, Kā Huru Manu,<sup>19</sup> has mapped many of these placenames and references. This is an ongoing and developing piece of work and valuable for schools.

**Puketai** – Andersons Bay

**Tutaehinu** – a mountain range on Highcliff Road, first ridge

**Te Ika o Pariheka** – Lawyers Head

**Whakahekerau** – St Clair (according to Taylor, it was related to presenting a gift of peace but others suggest that it may have been a fish caught by a man much like Te Ika a Maui)

**Pounui-a-Hine** – White Island, the island out from St Clair beach

**Te Koau** – Waverley

**Motu Korere** – a reef at Tomahawk

**Tomohaka** – known as Tomahawk today

**Ōtāne** – Māori Head, a headland on the southern coastline of the Otago Peninsula

**Te Awa Moana Ōtākou** – the harbour/channel

**Ōtepoti** – now the Māori name for Dunedin, named after the corner shape of a food-gathering kete made from flax called a “poti”. The corner shape of the harbour coming up to George Street does not visually exist now.

## Native flora and fauna around Bayfield High School

This section describes native flora and fauna found locally. Some projects teachers could consider are outlined below.

1. Visualise what the area around Bayfield High School and further afield might have looked like in the period of pre-contact and contact between Māori and European.
2. Examine some of the types of plants that were once in abundance around your school. Some plants have medicinal purposes, so investigation into these would be valuable.
3. Look at a cross-section of land near your school to assess whether any of those plants are still growing in your area.

### HARAKEKE/KORARI

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

*Dysentery cure and care. Do not take any food on the first day. Take boiled liquids only. To clean out the bowels, take Epsom salts every two hours. There is no problem using flax water but it may be too severe for children....<sup>16</sup>*

Beattie collected information on using the flax root for toothache:

*Toothache is said to have been a very rare affliction in olden days. It was called nihotuka. Juice from the flax root, so the collector was told, if poured in to the ear would make the recipient give a cold shiver, but in about 20 minutes time it would cause the toothache to depart.<sup>17</sup>*

The korari part of the flax was also useful. In our southern traditions, the korari was used to make a musical instrument. The porotu was a flute made from wood or korari that had between 4 and 6 holes in it. It would be great to do this as a project with the children in your class and see if you can get a sound from them. Beattie wrote: Cuts..., scratches and wounds were treated with various healing agencies according to which was most convenient at the time and place. Flax gum (pia-harakeke) was extensively used. A European who came to Otago in 1857 told me that following the maori example he used flax gum for cuts, binding it round with whitau (dressed flax) and that he found it very efficacious.<sup>18</sup>

### RAUARUHE (BRACKEN FERN)

The root of the bracken fern was an important source of food for Māori. It was abundant and available in all

seasons. Some of the external uses of fern were applying the fern ashes as a dressing to severe burns, and applying moisture from them to mosquito bites, and using them as a covering for wintering potatoes.<sup>19</sup> A southern tradition was recorded by Beattie from one of his informants: I have eaten fernroot. It was dug, then dried in the sun and then stored in the whata (storehouse). To get it ready for eating it was tied in to a bundle, soaked in water, and then roasted by rolling it over on the cinders – not in an umu (steam-oven). It was beaten after this... it used to be beaten in to a lump, and waikōrari – flax honey – was dripped on it to make it sweet.<sup>20</sup>

### TĪ KOUKA (CABBAGE TREE)

Kauru was a particular part of the cabbage tree that was eaten. The kauru as well as fern root (aruhe) was a staple food for Māori in the Otago area; it would have provided sustenance like that of the potato. Some say the kauru was the young shoot at the side of the tree.

Beattie has recorded three ways of getting kauru:

1. When travelling cut down the young trees, strip the bark off and eat the remainder.
2. When travelling cut down old trees and eat the roots and a part away up at the top of the tree.
3. Select a suitable place and make an “orchard” of the tī, by cutting down all of the young trees to a suitable height, leave them two years and then harvest the result. The growth from these pruned trees was so suitable for food you merely scraped it and ate the lot.<sup>21</sup>

Elsdon Best (1986) recorded details about the gathering and processing of tī 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.*

*The oven was filled with several rocks and covered by firewood. At dawn the fire was lit and by midday the rocks should have been hot enough. Large leaves were then 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 then the whole thing was covered in soil.*

# 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.<sup>22</sup>

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

The Waihola/Waipori wetlands were highly valued by mana whenua. The wetlands were once one of the most significant food baskets in the Otago region and featured in the seasonal activity of the coastal settlements as far away as the Otago Peninsula and harbour area, Pūrākaunui and Puketeraki.

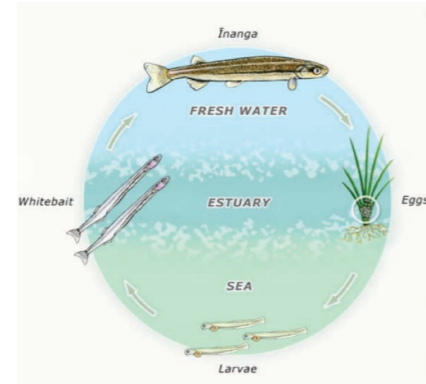
Many reefs along the coast are known by name and are customary fishing grounds; many sand banks, channels, currents and depths are also known for their kaimoana. One example is Poatiri (Mt Charles – Cape Saunders), the name of which refers to a fishhook. Poatiri juts out into the Pacific, close to the continental shelf, and is a very rich fishing ground.

Mahika kai practices were central to traditional Kāi Tahu culture, as much of the environmental knowledge that was built up during their occupation of the region centred on food gathering. The seasonal migrations to important food gathering areas were an important aspect of southern Māori culture and it still survives through to modern times. However, 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. In the interests of maintaining Kāi Tahu culture and traditions certain mahika kai practices continue through to the current day, with an associated emphasis on environmental values. Mahika kai resources and reserves were abundant in the greater Dunedin area with the coast, land, and wetlands all proving rich hunting grounds. During the nineteenth century much evidence was gathered regarding the nature and extent of mahika kai practices and resources.<sup>23</sup>

The Bayfield area and the estuarine area in front of the school was a place that waka landed. There would have been plenty of mahika kai in the area too, including birdlife, fish and inaka. The photo below illustrates the large wetland and estuarine area around South Dunedin and Bayfield.

## INAKA (WHITEBAIT)

The inaka is known today as whitebait. The life cycle of an inaka would be a fantastic study for students and teachers. Southern Māori had said that “the inaka spawns at sea on the rimu (kelp). After it spawns it dies and its eggs hang on to the kelp until they become fish when they come up the rivers as whitebait.”



The mata is the child of the inaka (minnow). The inaka would be caught with a close net and a pole at each end. A man holds each pole and drags the net along, catching the inaka.<sup>24</sup> Drains were dug out to catch the inaka. The ditches were made along the riverbank and the mouth was facing downstream. It was also said that local Māori caught the inaka in a net with a round mouth that was put in the drain, filling it from side to side, so water flowed through it.

A local Māori woman’s account of catching inaka was recorded by Herries Beattie in the early 1900s:

*We use to catch inaka with a basket called a koko-harakeke. It is closely woven – there is no mesh. The aho (string) of which it is made is wound round the flax whenu (string running lengthwise) strand after strand. The first string is called the aho-tahei until it is tied on tow posts when it is called timata (beginning) and then aho after aho is added. If the mat is made long enough it is doubled and the sides are sewn, leaving the top open as a waha (mouth). If it is knit in two parts separately, one of these is placed on the other, the sides are sewn and one end also and there you have your koko-harakeke. If the mouth requires stiffening use pirita (supplejack). The basket is tied to a pole and if taken to a potirimata (whoal or whitebait) and put in the water you can koko (scoop) the whitebait out easily.*

Your class can watch a great video on inaka here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5qPK6zk0qI>



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# End notes

- 1 Atholl Anderson, *When All the Moa Ovens Grew Cold*, 4.
- 2 Atholl Anderson, *When All the Moa Ovens Grew Cold*, 46.
- 3 Ian Church, *Gaining a Foothold*, 126.
- 4 D. Monro, "Notes of a Journey through a Part of the Middle Island of New Zealand," *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle* 1844, 96.
- 5 Edward Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand*, 121-122.
- 6 Ministry of Culture and Heritage, "Scottish Settlers Arrive in Otago," *New Zealand History*.
- 7 J. West, *The Face of Nature*, 265.
- 8 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.
- 9 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.
- 10 Edward Ellison, *National Māori Achievement Collaborative Wananga and Rongo*, both unpublished.
- 11 Written in 2020 with Aukaha Ltd, the Ministry of Education and mana whenua.
- 12 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.
- 13 Marlborough Press, 26 December 1879, 2.
- 14 "Ki a te Kai Tuhi o te Waka Maori," *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani*, 23 March 1872, 62.
- 15 *Ngāi Tahu, Kā Huru Manu*, <https://www.kahurumanu.co.nz/atlas>
- 16 Edward Pohau Ellison, "Te Rongoā me te Tiaki", *Te Toa Takitini*, 1 October 1929.
- 17 Murdoch Riley, *Maori Healing and Herbal*, 133.
- 18 J.H. Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori*, 83
- 19 Murdoch Riley, *Maori Healing and Herbal*, 390-391.
- 20 Murdoch Riley, *Maori Healing and Herbal*, 393.
- 21 J.H. Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori*, 124-125.
- 22 Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou, <https://www.orc.govt.nz/media/3718/affected-parties-ktko-ltd.pdf>.
- 23 Tahu Potiki, <https://www.orc.govt.nz/media/3162/submission-evidence-of-tahu-potiki-12-apr-11.pdf>.
- 24 Edward Ellison, pers comm, August 2021.
- 25 J.H. Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori*, 138.
- 26 J.H. Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori*, 139.

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