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THE MAORIS of the SOUTH ISLAND

by

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INTRODUCTION

I have written this book at the request of many friends whose opinion I value.

I made my first contact with the Maori people in my youth. I arrived in New Zealand with my parents and we lived near a Maori settlement in the area now known as Berhampore, Wellington. It was here that my attention was first drawn to the Maori people and their way of life. Later, we moved to Masterton and my interest was maintained in these attractive folk living at their Pa at Te Ore Ore. In after years, during my appointment as Christian minister, I was closely associated with the Maori people of Otakou and I valued their friendship.

It has been my privilege to meet and know several European missionaries who were expert in their knowledge of the Maori race. I refer to the Revs. W. Gittos, W. Rowse and T. G. Hammond, since deceased. I also knew and conversed with the Rev. Tahupotiki Haddon, a gentleman of high and chiefly standing among his own people. In later years I have met and consulted the Revs. E. Te Tuhi, Matarae Tuakau Tauroa and Rakena P. Rakena.

Dr. D. J. Sinclair, a descendant of the chief Horomona Pohio, has assisted me in many ways and allowed me access to his valuable manuscripts regarding the South Island Maoris. I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to the volumes written by Dr. A. J. Harrop, Dr. E. Shortland, Dr. Peter Buck, Dr. R. McNab, Mr. Herries Beattie, and others whose names are mentioned in these pages. I tender my thanks to the staff of the McNab, Hocken, University and Athenaeum Libraries, also to Miss M. M. Pryde, secretary of the Early Settlers Association, for her help in so many ways. I am particularly and deeply indebted to Mr. Alfred Eccles (since deceased) for reading my manuscript and for making constructive suggestions regarding the arrangement of certain historical data; to my friend and guide Mr. A. H. Reed for his valuable judgement, including his practical assistance in many directions. To Mr. A. W. Reed of Wellington for help in preparing the MS. for the press. If I have omitted any name I offer my sincerest regret.

It is my desire that this little book may awaken a deeper interest in our Maori people and in their remarkable history. Their first contact with the South Island Europeans was for the most part unfortunate, but the coming of the Revs. Watkin and Creed with their Gospel of peace and good will, their schools, educational and medical facilities, helped to bring in the dawn of a new day. Now they are loyal, reputable "law abiding citizens of high aspirations and a valuable part of our Commonwealth of nations."

T. A. Pybus

June, 1954

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF THE MAORI

“We came from Hawaiki-the-Great
From Haiwaiki-the-Long, from Hawaiki-the-Distant.”

Maori Legend.

“The fame of your canoes can never be dimmed!
The canoes which crossed the ocean depths,
The purple sea, the Great-Ocean-of-Kiwa,
Which lay stretched before them.”

Maori Lament (Sir Peter Buck).

“Turn again your face to the shadowy land from
which we came, to the homes of our ancestors far
away, to the great Hawaiki, to long Hawaiki,
to Hawaiki-of-great-distance.”

(Quotation from *The Old Time Maori* by Makereti, sometime Chieftainess of the Arawa Tribe, known as Maggie Papakura, the famous hostess and guide of Rotorua.)

Who are the Maoris? Where did they come from? The Rev. J. Watkin, in his report to the Missionary Society, London, states that their “traditions as well as their language show them to have had an origin common with the Polynesians.” The problem has occupied the careful attention of the historian and the ethnologist for very many years, and although there are diversities of opinion, it is generally agreed that the Maori is a Polynesian with a blend of Melanesian blood. The latter connects him with the dark-skinned peoples of New Guinea and the adjacent islands. The ancestry of the Maori, however, may be traced much further back than to the islands of the Pacific. James Cowan in *The Maori Yesterday and Today* quotes from a Maori chant as follows: “I came from Great Distance, from Long-Distance, from PAGE 10Very-Distant-Places — from Hawaiki.” “This formula,” says Mr. Cowan, “summarises the Maori idea of the migration of his ancestors, from one Tawhiti or Hawaiki to another, across the island-strewn Pacific.”

The tradition of the last migration from Tahiti and adjacent islands is illuminating. The tohungas have preserved these facts in detail from the last of the Hawaikis up to the arrival of their ancestors to New Zealand. "Hawaiki" means "the distant home" and refers to any place from which the Maori came in their ancient wanderings.

The Polynesian ancestry may be traced back to a distant Hawaiki—probably to the northern shores of the Persian Gulf and to the early inhabitants of Asia. Mr. Cowan, in *Maoris of New Zealand*, says that the Maori-Polynesian is a branch, though a distant one, of the Caucasian race and that this view is now generally accepted by scientific investigators. If this is correct, the Maori can therefore claim a connection with the ancient Chaldeans, the Phoenicians, the Babylonians, the Hebrews and the Arabs.

Mr. R. J. Casey states that the ancestors of the Polynesians, in the dim past, came from Ur in Chaldea, the land of the two rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris.¹ That there is some link of connection between the Maori and Hebrew and Semitic race is suggested by the Jewish features seen in some of the Maoris. Tairaoa of Otakou, for instance, had a striking Jewish cast of features. Many of the Maori customs resemble Jewish practices. The law of utu, satisfaction or payment for an injury, "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" seems to compare with ancient Jewish traditions. Tapu, sacred, set apart or under restriction, is another resemblance.

Certain of the Maori customs remind one of the marriage customs described in the Old Testament. A comparison of the Jewish ceremonial law, as embodied in the Old Testament Scriptures, with the customs of the Maori people, presents many points of agreement.

¹ Easter Island, by R. J. Casey.

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The Rev. R. Taylor mentions some of the resemblances: "the younger brother taking his elder brother's widow as a wife. The nearest male relation marrying the widow of the deceased husband who had no brother living, as Obed married Ruth; the elder brother caring for his sister as his right; the touching of food; God present in the whirlwind; all unclean who touched a corpse; the custom of betrothing infants, and the weeping and lamentation over the death of a friend."

Watkin writes in his Journal, "When a New Zealander dies his wife is taken by his brother." Many other resemblances could be mentioned. The Rev. Charles Creed mentions that a priest "is particularly interested in Christianity and compares the sacred history with their own traditions, remarking on the traditional events which seem analogous to those in the sacred volume."

The Rev. W. Wyatt Gill, B.A., who spent some years in the Polynesian Islands of the Pacific, in his book *Life in the Southern Isles*, has pointed out that the elder missionaries who worked in those islands were impressed with the similarity to the Hebrew in the conjugation of the verbs and in many of the primitive words such as mate, death; mara, bitter; rapaau, to heal; pae, side; ina, behold, etc. Most verbs have a causative active and causative passive form, resembling the Hebrew conjugation Hiphal, and its passive Hophal. Another remarkable resemblance: "These islanders," he says, "like the Hebrews of old, place the seat of the affections and intellect in the bowels." A parent giving vent to an excess of tenderness to a child will say, "My bowels are all gone out towards you." In writing to an absent son, the father will use the expressive phrase: "My bowels are pained through grieving for you." So too of the intellect. A native will praise after this fashion: "Your bowels are full of light," viz., "You have a clear intellect" or the reverse, "Your bowels are dark indeed." Similar expressions are found in the Bible, Genesis 43:30 "And Joseph made haste; for his bowels did yearn upon his brother and he entered into his chamber and wept there." 1 Kings 3:26: "Then spake the woman whose living child was unto the king, for her bowels yearned upon her son, etc." PAGE 12 So also the New Testament: Colossians 3:12: "Put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness, etc." Philemon 7: "For we have great joy and consolation in thy love, because the bowels of the saints are refreshed by thee, brother."

These resemblances, however, do not imply that there is any ground for the theory, put forth by some fanciful minds, that the Maori people are remnants of one of the supposed lost tribes of Israel. It does not suggest, moreover that the Maoris descended from the Hebrews, but it does seem to indicate that the Hebrews and the Polynesians of the South Seas had a common origin.

It may be asked, how can we trace the track of the Maori people to New Zealand? Cowan entertains the reasonable argument, now largely accepted, that the ancestors of the Maori migrated eastward from the shores of the Persian Gulf to Persia, Baluchistan and thence to India. The stages of their migration would cover many generations. Each country in which they were located would leave its impress on their manners, customs and traditions. There can be no doubt that the ancestors of the Maori sojourned for a period in the Malayan Archipelago, now peopled by Malays and a Mongoloid race which came later when the Maori ancestors had located themselves in the Pacific Islands. There is, however, no trace of the Mongoloid strain in the Maori. There can be no doubt that the Maori expedition in its pilgrimage passed through Fiji, Samoa, Tonga and Easter Island, and also voyaged as far as the Sandwich Islands.

They were expert sailors and possessed considerable astronomical knowledge which was of value to them in their various migrations. No doubt this astronomical knowledge was due to their racial affinities with the ancient Chaldeans. "To the Phoenicians, who were great navigators, with whom they had blood relationships, they were indebted for their knowledge of navigation." *Origin of the Maori*, p. 31.

Mr. Percy Smith in his book *Hawaiki* deals with the sojourn of the proto-Maoris in India where they were governed by a chief or king named Tu-te-Rangi-Marama. This, he PAGE 13 holds, was about the year 450 B.C., prior to their migration to the East Indies.

In various ways India left its impress upon the ancestors of the Maori. In Western Polynesia the people resemble the Hindu in a greater degree than do the Maoris of New Zealand. The name "Maori" is known in Northern India, viz., Maori, Mori, Mauri and Maurea. Watkin, in his Journal, uses the name Mauri when writing of the native people of New Zealand. Mr. A. K. Newman, in his book *Who are the Maoris?* points out that many Maori names and words can be traced to India. The Maori legends of the origin of Maui are the same in India. Newman also points out that the protruding tongue in Maori art is characteristic of many Indian images of gods; that the Maori fortified pas, and their mode of fighting are Indian; that their canoes and canoe sails are Indian; that their tattooing is Indian. He is also of the opinion that some of the Maori customs and habits had their origin in India, and that the foods they cultivated—the kumara and the taro—were cultivated in India and planted with the same religious rites.

Cowan in *The Maori: Yesterday and Today*, page 27, calls attention to the theory (and indeed more than a theory) that those ancient intrepid navigators in their wanderings coasted down the eastern shores of the African Continent at least as far as the Zambesi, and that they visited and partly colonized Madagascar, which would account for the resemblances between the Maori-Polynesian language and Malagasy.

The Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers in his autobiography also calls attention to the similarities that obtain between the Maori and the Malagasy and gives examples: "Judging by this relation of language the Malagasy in Madagascar, the Maori in New Zealand, as well as the whole Polynesian population of the South Seas, must have had a common origin, and have emigrated from the same country, etc."

There is the traditional story of Maui who fished up the North Island of New Zealand with a fish hook. It appears that there were five brothers of whom Maui was the youngest. To the latter was ascribed extraordinary or miraculous feats such as procuring fire from the underworld with which he performed wonders. As a result the brothers were afraid of him. It happened that the brothers had arranged a deep sea fishing tour, and they were keen to keep the secret to themselves and keep Maui out of the venture. Maui, however, upset their plans by stowing himself away on the canoe on the night previous to departure. He did not reveal himself till the canoes was far out to sea. They sailed into the distant southern waters. Maui then decided to fish on his own account and took his line but, alas! according to the myth he had no hook and no bait, but he had with him the jawbone of his grandmother—Murirangawhenua—which he used for a hook and for bait he punctured his nose and poured his own blood upon the hook. This hook and bait were symbolic of supernatural power. He uttered a karakia and when he pulled in his line he found that he had gripped something very heavy — a huge fish. This enormous fish, known as Te-Ika-a-Maui, was the North Island of New Zealand. Such is the myth, the fabulous story. It is given in detail by Dr. Shortland in his *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* and also by Sir Peter Buck in *The Coming of the Maori*. When the mythical is eliminated from the story it does not preclude the possibility of Maui the Polynesian navigator.

Regarding the historic setting of the Polynesian migration to New Zealand, there are various and nebulous accounts, every tribe having its own version. Kupe, who hailed from Hawaiki, is regarded as one of the most noted of the Polynesian navigators. The approximate date of his visit is given as A.D. 925. Even Kupe may not have been the first to land in New Zealand. This is lost in the mists of antiquity. Kupe in his canoe Matahourua, after long weeks of dangerous voyaging, was rewarded by seeing a white cloud in the far distance, and a cry was raised, "A cloud! A cloud! Ao-tearoa."

Kupe is supposed to have sailed along the coast of the North Island, entered the harbour where Wellington is situated today, and also entered Porirua Harbour. He is credited with PAGE 15visiting Queen Charlotte Sound and the Tory Channel. It was from Hokianga that Kupe returned to Hawaiki. Such is the story, in brief, as believed by the Maori people.

The visit of Toi marks a new era in the settlement of New Zealand and is generally placed as being approximately in the year A.D. 1150. Sir Peter Buck calls this the second settlement group. Mr. Percy Smith, in his Hawaiki, places the period of Toi thirty-one generations back from the year 1900 or in the year A.D. 1125. The Rev. J. H. Fletcher has given much thought to the problem, and is of the opinion that Mr. Percy Smith has not put the date far enough back, and places the date at about the year A.D. 950 but today the year A.D. 1150 is generally accepted as the approximate date. Toi lived at Hawaiki, probably Tahiti, and came from a race of navigators.

At the time mentioned, chiefs came from the various adjacent islands and even from distant islands, to participate in canoe racing. Whatonga and Turahui, grandsons of Toi, entered their canoe Te Wao for the race. On the day appointed for it, it is said that sixty canoes set off together. Far out at sea a fierce gale came on and they could not return. To make matters worse fog followed the storm and Whatonga and Turahui with their crew were unable to trace their way back. They were lost, but ultimately they landed at Raiatea Island far away from their own home. They lived there for a period and married with the people of the island.

Toi, lamenting the loss of his grandsons, and anxious to find them, decided to go in search of them. Accordingly he built a strong canoe, and with a selected crew, sailed to Raratonga and probably to Samoa and then on to the Chatham Islands, but in vain. New Zealand was the next place of call and he landed on the coast of the Hauraki Gulf. From Hauraki he reached Whakatane where he and his crew settled down, building a pa named Kapu-te-rangi which is still in existence on the hills behind the town. Soon after Toi's departure from Tahiti, his grandsons Whatonga and Turahui found their way back to their home and there learned that Toi was away seeking them. The grandsons agreed to PAGE 16search for their grandfather and, collecting their crews, which included their women, they duly arrived at Raratonga. They were told there that Toi could be found at Whakatane on the east coast of New Zealand. Whatonga and Turahui were delighted to find their grandfather well and strong in a well-constructed pa at Whakatane. Eventually, some of their descendants settled at what is known today as the Wellington Harbour.

The Morioris have occupied the attention of investigators for many years and there are still diversities of opinion. All agree, however, that they were an early migration of Polynesians from their Hawaiki. The present writer discussed the problem with the Rev. R. Tahupotiki Haddon who was an authority in regard to Polynesian traditions. In early life Mr. Haddon was trained in Maori mystic law by Kakahi in the "school of higher learning" in Taranaki. Mr. Haddon was definitely of the opinion that the Morioris were Polynesians of a very early migration.

Some investigators claim that the Morioris of the Chatham Islands had no knowledge of New Zealand, and that their language, customs and material culture were widely different from the Maori; that their mythology reveals a close kinship to the fundamental Polynesian pattern, but that their historical traditions do not indicate that the Morioris had any knowledge of New Zealand. It is quite possible that odd fishing boats may have drifted to New Zealand and that their Moriori occupants became absorbed in the Maori people.

Sir Peter Buck, in his *The Coming of the Maori* has a different opinion. He states that the Morioris, traditionally, are believed to be a branch of the first migrants or settlers in New Zealand who later found their way to the Chathams before the arrival of the Great Fleet in New Zealand, A.D. 1350, and who thus "through isolation have retained more of the physical characters of the early settlers than the Maoris who were the result of intermixture with later arrivals. Hence the Moriori may be regarded as the pure descendants of the tangata whenua first settlers who from their isolation did not share in the legends, stories and cultural changes introduced PAGE 17 and developed in New Zealand after their departure. It must be noted also, that the language of the Morioris is basically Polynesian, but is still very different from the Maori language which has apparently suffered little alteration throughout the thousand years or so that they have been in occupation of New Zealand."

It is believed that the first canoe of Morioris landed at Kaingaroa. The canoe bore the name Tane and was in charge of Kahu. The second wave of colonists came in the canoes Rangihoua and Rangimata¹ The third canoe was named Oropuke and was under the charge of the chief Moe, and made its landfall approximately in the year A.D. 1175.

They were a bright and pleasure-loving people and lived their own way of life till they were disturbed by the Maoris. In 1831–36 the Chathams were invaded from the North Island of New Zealand by the Ngati Mutunga and the Ngati Tama tribes, and the Morioris fell an easy prey. The invaders killed many of them and took their women as wives. They introduced disease which rapidly reduced their numbers. Inter-marriage was another factor which thinned out the pure-blooded Morioris. In 1870 reserves of land were set aside for the survivors, but they continued to decline until the last pure-blooded Moriori died in 1931. In the early days the numbers were estimated by Captain Broughton, who was in command of the Chatham, to be 1,600. Bishop Selwyn estimated the number at 268 in 1848.

The Rev. J. Aldred (Wesleyan) who lived in the Chathams in 1841–42 has stated that in addition to the Maoris in his charge, there were about 300 Morioris living on these islands. According to their

own statements they had been a numerous people but were dying out. Mr. Aldred said of them: "They are a harmless, inoffensive people. They have no fixed dwelling place, clothing or house. They put up a sort of wind-break, behind which they eat and sleep. Their food is herbs and fish, and their sole attraction to any one place is firewood and water." They had some notion of a

1 Dr. D. J. Sinclair.

PAGE 18supreme being whom they regarded with fear and dread, and they also believed in a future state. Their dead were not buried, but the trunk of a tree was scooped out, the body placed in the cavity, covered with a lid and then put in a reclining position on the ground in their cemetery. These burial grounds were supposed to be peculiarly sacred to the gods. On ordinary occasions the Morioris feared to enter them, and when Mr. Aldred did so an old man who accompanied him sat at the entrance amazed and wonderstruck. There their idols were erected, and when a burial took place they prayed to them. Mr. Aldred came to the conclusion that there was little affinity between them and the Maoris, basing his opinion on the dissimilarity of manners and customs. When Mr. Aldred spoke to the chief Mate Waipuku about the Gospel, the chief said: "O, why did you not come and teach us before the white man came and led us into evil ways."

Mr. Aldred preached the first sermon ever delivered in the group at Waikeri from the text "God so loved the world ..." The people recognised in the missionary the messenger of peace and goodwill. He wished to bring some of his own Maori teachers from Wellington to these islands, but the captain of the schooner declined on the plea that "they would spoil his trade." Unfortunately large quantities of ardent spirits had been taken to the islanders by the traders, and some of the people became drunkards. Later, Maori teachers were admitted and recognised. The Rev. Wiremu Te Kote Te Ratou was appointed and resided there for several years, and accomplished much for the Maori people and dwindling Moriori population.

The Maori people today trace back their descent to the various canoes of the Great Migration. It is believed that this migration took place about the year A.D. 1350. How many canoes came to New Zealand between the arrival of Toi and the historic fleet it would be difficult to state. However, the Great Heke was the first organised migration on a large scale of the ancestors of the Maori people to New Zealand, and is referred to by Sir Peter Buck as the third settlement PAGE 19group. The causes of the migration were various. The increasing population led to bitter feuds and frequent hostilities. There were family jealousies with regard to prestige and quarrelling over food supplies. All this unrest led to the desire to find a new home beyond the seas. Sir Peter Buck gave the names of the canoes: Tainui, Te Arawa, Matatua, Kurahaupo, Tokomaru, Aotea and Takitimu. Another famous canoe was the Horouta, commanded by Pawa. There may have been others. These skilful sailors steered their course by the stars and the guidance, they believed, of Tangaroa, the God of the Ocean. The Kai-Tahu people of Otago and Southland claim descent from the Takitimu, and they also have a tradition of the Araiteuru canoe which was wrecked at Moeraki. The round boulders on the sea front there are said to be the petrified calabashes from the canoe. The Takitimu canoe was commanded by Tamatea, who was accompanied by his sons Ranginui and Kahungunu. The priests were Ruawharo, Te Rongopatahi and Tupai. The Takitimu made its first landfall on the east coast and landed some of its people at Poverty Bay and some at Hawke's Bay. At Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington Harbour) Tamatea met Whatonga's son Tara. He then proceeded to the far south, to

Murihiku (the end of the tail) as far as the Waiau River where the Takitimu struck a reef and her long voyage ended. The Takitimu mountain range is a memorial to that famous canoe.

Tamatea then built the Karaerae canoe and sailed to the North Island and settled at Hokianga. Tamatea's sons settled in Poverty Bay and Hawke's Bay.

There are traditions of canoes, other than those already mentioned, which landed in New Zealand before the "Historic Fleet" of A.D. 1350.

In *The Coming of the Maori*, p. 40, Sir Peter Buck states that certain of the "Whanganui tribes of the west coast have some odd laments which mention canoes associated with ancestors who lived in the period before the Fleet." Among the canoes mentioned is the Tairea.

The South Island Maoris have a tradition of the Tairea PAGE 20 which arrived some time before the Fleet and engaged in exploration. This canoe called at Kaikoura on the east coast and at other places. After this it appears to have sailed round to the west coast and put in at several inlets. One of these places where the occupants landed and where they remained for a short time is known today as Milford Sound. There is a Kai Tahu tradition that the Captain of the canoe, whose name was Tamaki-te-Rangi, was searching for his missing wives. At Milford he found one of them turned into greenstone. Tama wept bitterly over her and his tears entered into the rock, which explains why the clear, almost transparent kind of greenstone is found at Milford and is called tangiwai, tear water, or water of weeping. The Tairea canoe was wrecked, and Tama finally proceeded to the North Island.

There is the tradition of the Uruao canoe which is regarded as having ante-dated the Great Fleet. The Hon. F. Waite, in his *Pioneers in South Otago*, mentions the approximate date as being A.D. 850. Mr. F. G. Hall Jones in *Historical Southland* gives the same date and mentions the name of the great chief Rakai-haitu.

The elders of the South Island Maoris have a tradition that Rakai-haitu or, more correctly, Te Raikaihautu with his canoe sailed from Hawaiki, called at the North Island, entered several harbours, and then proceeded to the South Island. He and his party are credited with exploring the cold lakes Hawea, Whakatipu, Te Anau and Manapouri. They sailed down the Waiau river, entered Foveaux Strait and then departed for Banks Peninsula.

CHAPTER II

MANNER OF LIFE, RELIGION AND CUSTOMS

The Maori people, before the coming of the pakeha, lived in their primitive simplicity, and indulged in various raiding adventures. They lived upon fish birds and roots of the fern and cabbage tree. A much appreciated food was the mutton bird, caught in season on the islands of Foveaux Strait. They relished a sweet drink of wine made from the berries of the kotukutuku tree.

The cooking was done almost entirely by women. A circular pit about two feet in diameter at the ground line and some sixteen or eighteen inches in depth was dug in the ground. In this, stones fiercely heated by fire were placed, on top of which was laid a layer of green leaves or fern fronds, whichever was readily available. Upon this was placed the food to be cooked. A generous sprinkling of water followed, and the latter percolating through the hot stones generated steam. The pit was then rapidly sealed with mats upon which earth was heaped and rammed home to consolidate it. The food was left to bake in this primitive oven for an hour or more, when it was expertly turned out by the native cook in a condition to satisfy a good appetite.

Their dwellings were primitive structures built of timber. Poles were set in the ground, and were covered with branches of trees. Reeds and flax were used on the outer walls. They were low structures having a hole for the entrance, and the owners had to bend their backs in entering or leaving. A square or oblong opening in front served as a window. Some of the whares had a sliding door at the right or left of the window. There was no chimney, and the fire was made on the earthen floor, and the smoke escaped as best it could. All cooking was done in the open air. The roof of the whare, PAGE 22in some cases, projected in the front and formed a verandah.

The usual dress for men and women was the cloak, wrongly named a mat. The piupiu was a kind of kilt and was made of strips of dressed flax attached to or hanging from a belt. This garment hung down to the knees and was much in evidence in the early days. They wore sandals of woven flax for footwear. A change in the native dress began in the whaling days, and the cloak gave place to a pakeha blanket. Gradually the pakeha form of dress became general.

The word tapu means sacred, but generally speaking it means the "setting apart" of certain persons or objects. This law is defined by Mr. E. Tregear in his useful book *The Maori Race*, as "the setting apart of certain persons or things by reason of their having become possessed or infested by the presence of supernatural beings, particularly of the spirits of ancestors who were the guardian deities of the tribe." Again he wrote: "This great standard law of the Maori was inexorable and implied penalty. Every unfortunate happening or event was traced to some violation of the tapu. The dead were tapu. Those who handled a dead body were tapued and could not touch food with their hands. A person who was sick unto death was not allowed to die in his whare lest it should be rendered tapu, but the dying were taken into a temporary shelter so that the dwelling might not be destroyed. The head of a chief was tapu or sacred. This law had one great benefit inasmuch as places and things under tapu were as safe as if under lock and key." A plantation of potatoes, or any other property, was safe from the hands of the dishonest if it had been made tapu; the most daring

trembled at the idea of touching it. Mr. T. E. Donne, in *The Maori Past and Present*, points out that by the law of tapu the sanctity of marriage was maintained, and its violation was sometimes the cause of war. The man or woman who was unfaithful was condemned to die; and if a wife discovered that her husband was faithless, in certain cases, she had the right to kill the other woman. "A betrothed girl defended by tapu was as sacred as a vestal virgin of Rome." Unfortunately there was no seventh commandment for unmarried young people. But PAGE 23 tapu, if helpful in some cases, was an inconvenient institution in others. As a great chief was a tapued person, if he carried anything on his back, or if anything touched his head, it was tapued-viz., made sacred for his use. If he went into a cooking house all the things contained in it were rendered useless; if he blew the fire with his breath, no food could be cooked in it. A tapued person could not touch food with his hands, but he must be fed by others.

The foregoing quotations, largely from the writings of T. E. Donne, C.M.G., who for fifty years knew intimately the Maoris of nearly every tribe, gives weight to the accuracy of his statements. These descriptions throw much light upon the manners and customs of the Maori people of other days.

The next quotation is from the *Journal of Rev. James Watkin*, which dates further back to the mission days of Otago. He writes under the date of June 5, 1840: "Their faith in the power of the priests is slavish, and all sickness is ascribed to supernatural power, or perhaps infernal agency, Taipo being the supposed author of disease, whatever it be. Taipo is a foreign word. Its nature and place and etymology I cannot trace, but it appears to mean the Devil and is of universal use."

On another date he wrote: "The natives here think the slightest infraction of the tapu will be visited by death, but when I ask them why the New Zealand gods don't kill me who break the tapu ... they say they cannot touch me-it is only the Maoris they can kill. Many New Zealanders die of nothing but the idea that taipo has seized them-they give up hope."

When a person had been guilty of improper conduct the tohunga could recite incantations and cast a spell or curse upon the supposed guilty one and death would follow suddenly or in the course of a few days. Often people were taken ill and died at once, saying they had been "makutued." Sometimes the tohungas were crafty and unscrupulous and they used this power with deadly results.

Under the law of Muru plunder was regarded as a duty. If a person committed some offence against the community, he was plundered. Even if he had not committed any offence PAGE 24 himself, but was regarded as connected with one who had, still he was plundered. If a whare caught fire his friends would come to his aid and save all they could from the fire—and keep it. To plunder to "clean the slate" was the law. The only hope accruing from it one had, was the prospect of having his chance when a friend was in similar conditions.

The word utu means payment, satisfaction or revenge as the case may be. It was the Maori method of adjusting acts for wrong doing on the old Jewish principle of an "eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." If a person were away from home and someone during his absence stole anything from his whare, it was the duty of the offended to plunder the offender. Many of the causes of Maori acts of murder and aggression against the pakeha were due to this law of utu. The pakeha had trespassed upon Maori burial grounds and sacred places, or was guilty of moral offences—all this called for utu, compensation and satisfaction. The two laws of tapu and utu explain the causes of many of the murders of European sailors in the early days. Maori customs and particularly the law of tapu had been violated, hence utu was demanded. This was one of the causes of the Murdering Beach affair in Otago in 1817, when the crew of the ship Sophia suffered so severely.

It was due to the law of utu that the Rev. N. Turner and the missionaries of the Wesleyan Mission at Whangaroa, in 1827, suffered so severely. The chief, Hongi, had a quarrel with the chiefs at Whangaroa and utu was demanded from the Mission Station. It was a convenient excuse for Hongi to avail himself of the chance to appropriate the coveted goods and belongings of the Missionaries. Hongi ordered his men to attack the Mission Station. The dwelling-house and the out-houses, including the barn which contained a supply of grain and flour for twelve months, were burned to the ground. The books of Mr. Turner's library were torn up for the purpose of making cartridges—so complete was the utu, plunder. It was an unfortunate thing when an innocent person became the victim of utu.

The ancient Maori people were religious in their beliefs, PAGE 25 and possessed many mystical conceptions, fears and rituals handed down from their ancestors. The Maoris of Otakou, as in the North Island, were polytheists. The word Atua was applied to the several gods or spirits who were regarded as controlling particular events. Mr. Elsdon Best has mentioned the native gods as being divided into four classes as follows:

I

The Supreme Being.

II

The departmental or tutelary beings.

III

Tribal gods.

IV

Family gods; familiar spirits as the defunct forebears.

The term Atua denotes not only such beings as we term gods, but also anything believed to possess supernatural power.

The Rev. T. G. Hammond, in *The Story of Aotea*, states that the common everyday name for the Deity was Te Atua (The God), and in its etymology it is both interesting and comprehensive: "A" signifies the present, the future and progression; "A" conveys the idea of force, in forcing a way or driving from one; "A" is the root word of ako (teaching) and ariki (a lord or teacher); Tua signifies the past, or that behind, as "O tua whakarere," that left behind. There is, therefore, without any unnatural strain upon the word Atua, conveyed the idea of a Being representing the past, the present and the future, and possessing knowledge and power.

Whilst the Maori of former days, as stated by T. E. Donne and E. Tregear, was a polytheist and believed in many gods, he also had the conception of a Supreme Being known as Io the parent and the permanent one. He believed that in the beginning great darkness prevailed in which resided the Great Power designated Io, the Creator and director of the Universe. This great Super-Power, Io was beyond the grasp of the human mind-the mainspring of all existence. Io wished for light and there was light; he then created the skies and the earth.

Io corresponds with the Jewish Jehovah.

There was a chief and tohunga at Waikouaiti in Watkin's day, who emancipated himself from witchcraft and belief in malignant deities, but he still believed in Io, the Supreme Head PAGE 26 over all things, and who was the shadow of One from Whom all things proceed. This chief and priest was groping after the true God. But, as before stated, the Maoris were polytheists, and believed in many gods. Watkin wrote in his report to the London Mission Board: "These people have many gods, as an old chief gave me to understand the other day, by saying there were 'plenty tens,' and lifting up his hands and repeating ten, ten, ten many times over. The rainbow is considered to be a god."

Another quotation is: "The natives appear to know no good or beneficent deity... the chief of the gods among them being feared, not loved." The old chief and priest Korako, told Mr. Watkin that the atua was angry with him for visiting the Mission-house; still he continued his visits and Watkin wrote: "I shall see whether the anger of this deity will prevent his visits."

There were also the spirits of ancestors and relations who were supposed to take varied forms, and to appear to men, and such apparitions were regarded as atuas. They often came in birds, dogs, lizards, fish, and sometimes in the form of insects. For this reason many Maoris regarded the tuatara with much concern. The present writer, one day speaking to an educated Maori lady, happened, in the course of conversation, to mention the tuatara, and at once she shook from head to foot.

Among the many gods venerated, Maru was the god of war; Tangaroa (Takaloa) was the god of the fishermen; Rongo was the god of agriculture; Kahukura was the god of the rainbow. The various gods were approached with ceremonies and incantations. The thunder and lightning were expressions of offended deities. Religion to the Maori, however, offered little comfort. His life was filled with dark and disagreeable thoughts, fears and anxieties: a God of love as revealed in the New Testament did not enter his vision.

The Maori believed in a future life, but his belief was very vague, and yet there was the idea that the soul of man survived. His body might decay, or be consumed by fire, but the soul and spirit lived on and passed into Po (darkness).

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The Maori believed that when a person died the spirit passed to Te Reinga, the most northerly point of New Zealand, near Cape Maria Van Diemen, known as the "spirit's leap." The spirit slid down and entered the abode of the dead. In the journey toward Te Reinga all souls or spirits journeyed from the south to the north. When the spirit reached the Leaping Place, according to Mr. Edward Tregear, an authority in these matters, "it stayed a brief time weeping and lamenting that it had to go down into darkness and leave the world of daylight where dwell all friends and things beloved of man."

"The Maoris were possessed," writes Watkin, "by a constant fear of the Supernatural; life and immortality had not been brought to light by the Gospel. The Gospel had not been heard. They were sitting in the valley of the shadow of death ... The natives appear to know no good or beneficent deity. Maue (Maui), the chief local god here is more feared than loved. May they soon know the Blessed God, who is good to all, and whose tender mercies are over all His works ... Had an interesting conversation with Korako who is an aged man, one of the most aged in New Zealand; he unites in himself the offices of chief and priest. He has an extensive knowledge of the language, customs and superstitions of his countrymen. The New Zealanders have, from his account, an expectation of a future state, and a better one than the present, where they reside much in the same fashion as in this world, having more to eat and less to do, a Paradise!"

The following is from Watkin's manuscripts and shows the attitude of mind of a warrior towards death. "A great warrior among these people died. His name was Kahu (Hawk). His ruling passion was strong in death, for when in the article of death itself, he caused himself to be raised on his mat and supported in a sitting posture, gave his last advice and parting address on this wise: 'You stay, you stay, I am going to the clouds. I am dying a mean death in my house and not an honourable death in a fight. You, when I am gone — away to the war! Kill plenty of your enemies as payment for my death.' This old warrior died in his darkness. He had been a great fighter in his time. During the last war PAGE 28with Te Rauparaha he had performed some surprising feats of valour. It is said that in one battle he had killed ten men with his own hand. One hundred of the northerners fell at one time, many of whom were eaten. Ten of the most handsome heads completely tattooed were preserved and brought to Waikouaiti, where they were sold to American ships. The price for each being one keg of gunpowder or two muskets."

The Maoris, like the ancient Britons, offered human sacrifices. The only deities the Maoris knew were capricious beings. Of such they lived in constant fear. Every misfortune was interpreted as the malevolent action of some god who needed to be conciliated, and who required to be restored to good humour. The Maori could conceive of no more costly sacrifice than that of human life. Thus the blood of men was required.

Strange to say, before the coming of the missionary a form of baptism was observed in some of the tribes. The Rev. Samuel Leigh, Wesleyan missionary at Whangaroa in 1822, was much surprised at this. The ceremony was as follows: the tohunga took the child in his arms, asked for the name desired and dipped the infant three times in water and returned it to its parents. Sometimes sprinkling was the mode of baptism. The priest sprinkled the water on the child with a branch of a tree. He then addressed the atua in a karakia requesting that the child's heart may be as hard as a rock; that when he dances the haka his enemies may be seized with convulsions and fall into his hands. After the ceremony a feast is provided and a worthy present given to the tohunga.

Hei Tiki. The word hei means neck, thus neck tiki. It is made of greenstone (pounamu) and is a true jade. The tiki is meant to be hung from the neck of the person wearing it. This emblem was held in great veneration, and was supposed to represent the first man. The first male created by Tane was named Tiki. The origin of it and its mythical secret was known only to the old tohungas and is lost in the mists of ancient times. It was also used to represent a legendary person or an ancestor; it was sometimes laid down and

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"Port Otago," 1840, from d'Urville's Voyage to the South Pole. The first Maori church was erected on the slope of the kaika Ruatitiko above this spot. The landing place for ships was nearer to Weller's Store at Te Umu-Kuri.

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Weller's Whaling Store where Watkins held his first service at Otakou. From the oil painting by Mrs. A. Colville, by permission of the Otago Early Settlers' Association.

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From the oil painting by Mrs. A. Colville, by permission of the Otago Early Settlers' Association.

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wept over when old friends met after a long time of parting. This was done in memory of the departed one to whom it had belonged. It was not worshipped, but it was thought to bring the owner or wearer good fortune. Some of the Maoris who fought in the World War II took their tikis with them, and when they looked at them they thought of their warrior ancestors of the "long ago."

The Tohunga was an important person in the life of a Maori community. The Ariki-tohunga (high priest) was still greater, and exercised almost unlimited power. He was the medium between the gods and the people. In Taranaki, in particular, there were schools of the "higher learning" called Whare-kura which were built by priestly hands. These buildings were dedicated by the sacrifice of a dog or perhaps a man. The students of the Whare-kura were initiated into the higher mysteries of the Maori race. Those so trained became skilful in their profession. The aid of the tohunga was invoked in great crises in life — birth, sickness and death. Before the warriors started upon their expeditions he prepared them, and then afterwards freed them from the tapu of blood. If a great tohunga happened to pass a food store and his shadow fell upon it, it became tapu and the food must be destroyed. Even the whare in which he lived was tapu. The rain from the roof was tapu, and if a person drank the water he would be under a curse and die. The ordinary tohunga may be termed a wizard or even a sorcerer. He practised the art of witchcraft. He was a seer, prophet, astrologer, naturalist, poet and historian.

Very often his priestly practices had a baneful effect upon the people. He was an expert hypnotist, physiognomist and ventriloquist. A successful tohunga lived on the fat of the land. Judge F. Maning in his *Old New Zealand* gives a graphic description of such. The tohunga was the authority regarding the sacred myths, songs, chants, lore and genealogy of the Maori people. They were committed to the memory and he could recite them at will, and thus he handed them down to succeeding generations.

They had their own altars (tuahu) or shrines before PAGE 30 which they offered their incantations. The tuahu was a simple shrine, sometimes a heap of stones, and sometimes simple up-right slabs placed apart. Other shrines took the form of a post erected on tapu ground. The elder Maoris had a tradition about a tuahu at Port Chalmers above the quarry over-looking the harbour. This was a tapu spot, for to trespass there in the old days meant death. It may have dated back to the Waitaha period. It is known today as Lean's Rock.

A very significant aspect of the ancient belief was the Kura. There was, as before stated, in Taranaki a school of the prophets, the Whare-kura, or house of the higher learning, in which instruction was imparted in historical traditions, religious ritual and the mysteries that were known to the elder Maoris only. This wonderful store of occult lore was passed on from one generation to another. The ancient belief in the Kura is significant. The word in the Maori dictionary is defined as "red and glowing." There is also Whenuakura, volcanic or red soil. There is, however, a far deeper meaning. Whenever the term Kura occurs in the structure of a word, or in the name of a place, it implies a sacred origin. The Rev. T. G. Hammond has written: "It is one of the basic words in the fabric of Maori mythology, and could not be named or discussed except under sacred conditions." The word has a mystical significance which the elders of the Maori people have been slow to express. The Rev. T. G. Hammond, for very many years superintendent of the Maori Wesleyan Mission, in his *The Story of Aotea*, has given much information upon the weighty meaning of the word. He consulted the best authorities among his Maori friends, and he put the question, "What is the Kura?" It came as a shock to them. They looked in amazement and consternation and no-one replied. Such knowledge was confined to the tohungas and elders of the people. They were surprised that he, a pakeha, had a gleam of their mystical secret, the Kura. At length an aged man said, "Yes, that is an important word,

it signifies power, knowledge, mana.” Then another Maori elder tried to make clear the meaning of the word and referred to the action of Joshua mentioned in the Bible (Joshua 4:9), “And PAGE 31 Joshua set up twelve stones in the midst of Jordan in the place where the feet of the priests which bore the Ark of the Covenant stood ...” The Maoris recognised in the whole circumstance of the Children of Isreal crossing the Jordan and the setting up of the twelve stones as a memorial, a ceremony akin to their own ceremonies. Mr. Hammond also put this problem to Te Whiti, the “chief-prophet” of Parihaka. It was only a short time before Te Whiti died. Mr. Hammond said to him, “What is really the meaning of the Kura?” For a moment he was silent, and then suddenly he spoke like one inspired and said, “Yes, I will tell you the meaning of the Kura.” Then he quoted Genesis 32:38. “Thy name shall be no more called Jacob, but Israel: for as a prince thou has power with God and with men, and hast prevailed.” The idea in the mind of the old chief was that men like Jacob could so wrestle with God in prayer that he would impart such knowledge—the Kura—that it would give them power with God and with men. Such was their belief.

“To those who do not know the inner life of the Maori,” wrote Mr. Hammond, “this may seem too idealistic an interpretation, but to me that experience with Te Whiti is among those things which time does not efface, and it is perhaps impossible to many in this materialistic age.”

The above interpretation is interesting seeing that it applies to an area on the Otakou Peninsula, wrongly named Taiaroa Head, where the lighthouse and flagstaff are today. It was known to the Maoris of the past as Puke-kura.

The Kura of the old Maori elders of the tribe of the Otakou Peninsula surely had a deep mythical meaning which applied to that particular locality, but the secret of it has died with them. It was surely a sacred locality, set apart, associated with their beliefs, aspirations and heart-yearnings. The question arises—had the Maori elders a dim and hazy conception of a more enlightened day—of the Coming One? This was the true Kura, red or redness of the Heavens in the morning light.

This was the message of the pioneer missionaries. It was the dawn or dawning of the Day. The Day-spring, the PAGE 32 Morning-Star had visited them. The apostles of the Cross had come. They came to bring the true light — to give them the Christian conception of God, not a God of terror or revenge, but a God of Love. They pointed to Christ, the Light of the World, the light that “shineth in darkness.” Hundreds of Maori people in Otago accepted that Light and availed themselves of the Christian heritage.

CHAPTER III THE SOUTH ISLAND MAORI

It is believed that the South Island (Te Wai Pounamu) has been inhabited for nine hundred or a thousand years, and that the inhabitants were contemporary with the moa bird. The Maori people have their myths and traditions. They have their tribal histories, genealogies and romantic stories. These have been handed down with much care from father to son in their priestly families.

Regarding their legends, the Maori people of Otakou used to speak about taniwhas and fabulous monsters which performed extraordinary deeds. Hoani Karetai, the paramount chief of Otakou, used to speak about a taniwha which was the guardian of the spirit of a famous Kati Mamoe 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.¹ The story varies in detail according to the Maori narrator, but such is the outline.

Mr. Watkin, in his Journal, relates several legends commonly known in Otago in those early days. There were immense serpents of the water species, and also immense birds which formerly existed, "the bones of which are said to be often met with, but the oldest man never saw one of these gigantic birds, neither his father nor his grandfather. These birds used to destroy men, such is the legend."

¹ Article by W. A. Taylor.

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The following tradition was related to the present writer by Mrs. M. Karetai, now deceased: At Teumukuri (the Black Rock), Otakou, there was in former years a huge rock which bore the name Te Tapuae o Tinirau (The footmarks of Tinirau). Water trickled from the bank above a natural basin formed in the rock, which was always full of clear water. Tinirau, the Sea-Goddess, used this natural basin of water as a mirror before which in the early morning she used to come and comb her hair. When the road was formed, unfortunately part of the rock with the basin was destroyed.

There is another tradition associated with the same locality. Tarewai, the famous chief who fought against the Kati Mamoe, in one of his adventures to or from Pukekura, left his footprint on the rock. It may be seen today, but, alas, a shed has been built on the rock and the footprint can be seen only by stooping down and looking under the building.

In dealing with the history of the South Island tribes, the student is faced with much confusion but, as a result of modern research, a main outline of fact can be established.

Some historians claim that the first tribe of the South Island was the Rapuwai, and that they were Polynesians possessing kiri whewhero, red or copper-coloured skins. There are diversities of opinion regarding these important people. Some investigators still adhere to the theory that the Rapuwai were the first known inhabitants of the South Island, the tangata whenua. Mr. David Ellison (Te Iwi Erihana), since deceased, informed the present writer that he was of the same opinion, and that he regarded the Rapuwai as being a distinct and separate tribe. Canon Stack in his South Island Maoris states: "I am inclined to think that Te Rapuwai and Waitaha were portions of the same tribe, Te Rapuwai forming the vanguard when the migration from the North Island took place. Several of my Maori authorities," he writes, "incline to this opinion, while others maintain they they were separate tribes; if so, they were probably contemporaries... one may have come from the west and the other from the east coast of the North Island."

Dr. D. P. Sinclair, a descendant of the South Island PAGE 35 chief Horomona Pohio, has made an exhaustive study of these matters and is of the opinion, adequately supported by the surviving remnants of genealogies, chants, and results of excavations made at moa hunter's sites, that the first known settlers in the South Island of New Zealand were the progenitors of the ancient Waitaha tribe. Recent researches into ancient history, he holds, disclose that the navigator Te Rakaihautu and his son Te Raikihouia who came in the Uruao canoe may have antedated Kupe who came to New Zealand in A.D. 925. Te Rakaihouti and their people were keen and intrepid explorers, as well as masters of navigation, and they are credited with having named most of the prominent landmarks of the South Island.

To the Waitaha are credited the rock paintings in the cave shelters in the South Island. These paintings are in rough designs of birds, lizards, ngarara, and other forms and mystic symbols. These help to keep in mind some knowledge of the history of the tribe which was handed down to them from their ancestors. They are survivals of a stone-age religious cult, long forgotten by the comparatively modern Kati Mamoe and Kai Tahu people. Their lore was considerable and many long genealogies, and an abundance of place-names, names of ancient Rakatira and Tipuna, are due to them. Many little camps and workshops which were used by this tribe of moa hunters have been located. It was to such places that the bands of Waitaha gathered to prepare for the moa hunt. Broken bones of the moa and ovens bear evidence to the fact that the moa was hunted for food. The bones seem to have been utilised by the artisans of the tribe. The exact significance of these artifacts has not been explained but it is possible that they may have been used as tokens signifying the importance of the owner, or they may have possessed a religious meaning. The Waitaha had pas at the mouth of the Molyneux River, at Lake Te Anau, Lake Wakatipu (Whakatipu) and Oamaru. A number of places in Otago and Southland received their names from Waitaha men and women. Otarua bears the name of a chief. Waiwera is named after Waiwhero, a Waitaha chief. Te Anau and PAGE 36 Aparima bear the names of chieftainesses.¹

The Waitaha were a religious people and had their altars (tuahu) before which incantations were performed, and karakias were offered by their priests. The people excelled in singing, and were skilful in the use of the putara, a kind of trumpet.

The detailed history of the occupation of the Waitaha has passed into oblivion, and all that remains to bear testimony, with the exception of the data already given, are the old pa sites and hunting camps scattered widely throughout the island. The decline of this once numerous and powerful tribe began suddenly and rapidly with the advent of the Kati Mamoe tribe which crossed the strait of Raukawa (Cook Strait) and moved steadily down the coastline killing and enslaving the unprepared Waitaha, whose vast numbers melted away before the onslaught. Before the invasion of the Kati Mamoe the Waitaha had known only peace and contentment. The invasion surprised the Waitaha in their large settlements. They were herded together, killed or enslaved and made to work on the plantations of their victors. Some surviving remnants of the tribe lived in small pas at Banks Peninsula, Waimate, Lakes Te Anau, Hawea, Wakatipu and a few isolated places.

According to Canon Stack, the Kati Mamoe invasion of the South Island comenced [sic] about the year A.D. 1577. There is, however, diversity of opinion regarding the date. The southern half of the eastern coastline of the North Island was involved in tribal war. Those concerned were Ngati Kahungunu, Rangi Tane, Kati Mamoe, Kai Tahu and others. The final outcome of the northern struggle was that the Rangi Tane moved over to Marlborough and Nelson, a few scattered remnants remained in the Wairarapa and the Kati Mamoe crossed over to Cape Campbell. The subsequent history of the Kati Mamoe is connected with the story of the Kai Tahu.

The Kati Mamoe occupation, it is said, covered one hundred years, but about the year 1677 the Kai Tahu cast

1 H. Beattie, The Journal of the Polynesian Society.

PAGE 37their longing eyes across the stormy Raukawa Strait to the fair and attractive shores of Te Wai Pounamu. At this time the Kai Tahu were established at Hataitai and Matakikaipoinga, two large pas in the Wellington Harbour, then known as Te Whanganui-a-Tara.

Kai Tahu were sorely pressed by exhausting wars carried on with their neighbouring related tribes of the Kati Kahu, kunu, Kati Porou and Kati Ira and finally they sought relief by wholesale migrations across the strait to the peaceful shores of the South Island.

The Kati Mamoe and Rangi Tane made room for the newcomers and gave them their daughters in marriage. Soon family quarrels arose and these quarrels developed into fierce warfare. Kaikoura was captured and subsequently the chief Turakautahi established the tribal headquarters at Kaiapohia where he built a large fortress. Conquest of the Kati Mamoe was not easily attained for it was by hard fighting that the Kai Tahu gained possession of their prized tribal lands and their coveted greenstone.

Another branch of the Kai Tahu from the Wairarapa migrated to Otago and Murihiku and attacked the Kati Mamoe there. As in the north of the island, so in the south, a long-continued struggle began.

Retribution duly came to the Kati Mamoe for their treatment of the Waitaha and those few who had survived the conflict were saved from extinction by the Kai Tahu who intermarried with their chiefly lines.

The ancient fortified pa at Pukekura, Otakou, which stood on the hill of that name, now known as Taiaroa Head, was in the hands of the Kati Mamoe and was their most famous stronghold. Tarewai, a young and vigorous fighting chief of Kai Tahu, led a war party into battle against the fortress and, after hard fighting, the fortress was reduced and taken possession of by the Kai Tahu. Tarewai's uncles, Maru and Te Aparangi and their followers, settled in the pa among the captured and subdued Kati Mamoe. There was now a brief period of truce between the Kai Tahu of the Pukekura pa, and the Kati Mamoe living a few miles away on the Peninsula PAGE 38at Papanui. Later, unfortunately, a quarrel took place between the people of the Pukekura Pa and the Kati Mamoe people of Papanui Pa. This pa was situated about half a mile from the Cape Saunders lighthouse of modern days. The Papanui chiefs were Whaka Taka and Rangi Amoa. The bay of Papanui was a good fishing place for the Kati Mamoe people and this aroused the jealousy of the Kai Tahu of Pukekura, who persisted in fishing over the Kati Mamoe reserve. They also went over to Papanui and secretly destroyed some of the Kati Mamoe canoes. Rangi Amoa, the Papanui Chief, not to be beaten, proceeded up Point Putoki and offered a powerful karakia and brought on a terrible gale which destroyed the fleet of the Pukekura people. The truce between the two tribes now terminated.

Much has been written about the chief Tarewai, and there is much confusion and contradiction which makes it difficult to separate the tradition from the actual facts. The story of his capture by his foes and his subsequent escape differ in detail. The present writer is indebted to Mr. W. A. Taylor (Wiremu Teira) for some of the foregoing data regarding the Pukekura and Papanui Pas, and to Mr. David Ellison (Te Iwi Erihana) for information about Tarewai.

At the time mentioned the struggle was renewed and the Kati Mamoe tried to recapture the Pukekura Pa. One day, during a lull in the operations, Tarewai and several of his most trusted warriors were outside the Pukekura fortifications quietly and secretly investigating the enemy's position, His followers were overtaken, captured and killed by the wily Kati Mamoe spies. Tarewai was caught, thrown upon his back, pinned to the ground, and his whalebone patu was taken from him. His captors then proceeded to cut him open with a sharp stone with the object of taking out his heart. At the same time several strangers appeared on the scene, and the attention of those who were torturing him was directed for a moment to the intruders. Tarewai seized his chance, shook himself free, sprang to his feet and escaped into the bush. He fled to the forest-covered slopes of Harbour Cone (Portobello), known to the Maoris as Hereweka (snaring wood- PAGE 39hens), and hid himself. For some weeks he lay in hiding at Herewaka, on the cone known as Pukemata, for some weeks doctoring himself with herbal remedies. He was, however, distressed because of the loss of his patu and was determined to recover the precious weapon. Accordingly, one evening at dusk, disguised, he cautiously entered the enemy's camp at Papanui, and found them seated around a fire having a korero (discussion). Drawing near, he saw them examining his weapon and recalling the story of their victory. He asked permission to see the celebrated patu. It was handed to him, and he, delighted with his success, struck those nearest to him on the head, and shouted as he fled into the darkness, "Tarewai has recovered his Patu!"

Next day Tarewai reached the sandy beach below the Pukekura Pa. He was nearly captured by some Kati Mamoe men who were mending a canoe. Hotly pursued, clinging to the overhanging branches, he climbed the cliff, entered the fortress and escaped their clutches. It is of interest to note that the sandy beach below the Pukekura Pa, known today as Pilot Beach, was spoken of by the elder Maoris as Te Makahika. The cliff which Tarewai climbed by catching hold of the branches of the overhanging trees, and by which he swung himself clear of the craggy rock, is known to the Maoris as Tarewai's Leap—Te Rereka-o-Tarewai.

Tarewai's escape so inspired his comrades in arms that they made an immediate attack upon the besiegers and defeated them. Continuing the struggle, Tarewai and his warriors drove the Kati Mamoe from the Otakou Pensinsula.

There was much warfare between the two tribes, under their different chieftains in Otago and Southland. The Kai Tahu fought under various leaders, renowned for their acts of valour. They fought as recorded by Mr. Herries Beattie, at the Clutha, Balclutha, Kaitangata and Port Molyneux, and he gives what he regards as the approximate dates. There is also a tradition of stiff fighting near Waipapapa Point. It was a fierce and long-drawn struggle. Battle followed battle, and the vanquished were driven as far south as Preservation Inlet.

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Mr. Beattie states that according to information given to him by some of the elders of the Maori people, the Kati Mamoe retreated southward and built the Matauira Pa at Preservation Inlet. The Kai Tahu followed them in three double canoes and laid off a bight nearby. In the dusk and unobserved a Kati Mamoe man dived out from the shore, got under Tarewai's canoe, attached a rope which secured the craft, and the first thing Tarewai knew was that his canoe was pulled ashore and he and his warriors were prisoners. Tarewai, in attempting to escape from his captor's pa, fell on some flax lying about and was killed. There are other accounts of the final disappearance of the famous chieftain, but the above seems to be the most trustworthy.

Dr. E. Shortland states that the Kati Mamoe, after having been driven to the south, feeling themselves too much weakened to hope to regain their lost position, made peace with the invaders and formed alliances with them.

A remnant, however, of the Kati Mamoe warriors with their families escaped to the lakes and forests of the West Coast. Captain Cook, on his second voyage to New Zealand in his ship Resolution referred to the natives of Dusky Sound. This was on March 26, 1773. He found "a secure harbour where the ship could lie close to the shore, there being also, a hundred yards from her stern, a fine stream of water." He states that there were three or four native families in the locality believed to be the remnant of a tribe which, in one of the frequent native wars, had escaped massacre. These people, no doubt, were refugees of the Kati Mamoe tribe.

It is worthy of note that a warrior chief named Taikawa of mixed Kati Mamoe and Kai Tahu blood, when peace was made, returned to Pukekura and did not go on the warpath again. At the end of his days he was buried at Pikiwhara (Sandymount) on the Otakou Peninsula.

The Kai Tahu were now in undisputed possession of the South Island with the exception of Marlborough and Nelson. The leading chiefs who subjugated the Kati Mamoe were Tuahuriri and his sons. The final subjugation of the Kati Mamoe was due to the chief Te Hautapunuiotu.

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In the early part of the eighteenth century, the Kai Tahu began to quarrel among themselves and much blood was shed. Here again there are varying accounts, but there is evidence that their main lines are correct.

At this stage two chiefs appear on the scene, Taoka of Timaru and Te Wera of Huriawa, now known as Karitane. These chiefs were closely related and had been comrades in arms against the Kati Mamoe, but misunderstanding had taken place which resulted in warfare.

Taoka, the son of Ruahikihiki had built a strong pa at Timaru, but during his absence, Te Wera attacked his stronghold, wrought considerable damage and left a heap of slain. Taoka thereupon went to live at Pukekura and laid his plans of revenge. He was a strong and fierce fighter and was chief of the land from Timaru to Huriawa. There was another chief named Moki, who because of his parentage, being a younger half-brother of Taoka, was in charge of Pukekura. Another version of the story states that by reason of his canoe being intercepted by the people of Pukekura, Moki was asked by them to become their chief. Moki was not a great warrior and later was killed at Koputai.

It appears that Te Wera, Patuki and other chiefs were on a visit to a kaika a few miles south of Huriawa, afterwards known as Purakanui. At the same time a taua party from Pukekura made a night attack upon the kaika. Te Wera and his party, sitting in a whare enjoying a feast, and at the same time having a friendly korero, were unconscious of the presence of a taua or war party outside which had marked them down for death. Quite suddenly an enemy spear, meant for Te Wera, was thrust with great force through the wall of the whare but, missing its mark, killed one of the braves. The rest of the visiting party escaped but they were determined to square up the account in due time. Te Wera waited for the opportune moment and, when prepared, proceeded to Pukekura and surprised a party of women on the beach, killed them and took off their heads as utu according to ancient Maori custom. Te Wera's canoes then passed under the Pukekura Pa and the heads of the captured women were PAGE 42 held up in view of the Otakou people. A cry of revenge rent the air from the pa above and, as speedily as possible, an expedition of retaliation was organised, and proceeded to Huriawa (Karitane of today).

Te Wera's pa at Huriawa stood high on the Peninsula overlooking the mouth of the Waikouaiti River, and occupied a fine strategic position, and also commanded an extensive view of the coastline. Standing on the west side of the peninsula, within the pa and situated on an elevated slope, there was in those days a carved meeting-house named Kuramatakitaki. At the entrance to the pa stood the historic gateway known as Tekukuatoretore (the lips of the Toretore). Taoka was determined to capture the position. He was reinforced by his confederates from Timaru and the combined forces attacked the fort with great fury. Te Wera had anticipated the attack and prepared for it by storing up a year's provisions. There was a plentiful supply of water issuing from a natural spring within the defences. The pa was strengthened and made as secure as possible against attack. The Peninsula itself with its rocky cliffs was an ideal defence against an invading foe. In this way Te Wera was prepared for a long siege.

Taoka made his camp on the sand-spit facing the Peninsula. War dances of defiance were performed by Te Wera's men, and Taoka's warriors in fury flung back their threatening challenge. Day by day Taoka's invading forces sought ways to achieve their purpose, but in vain. The siege lasted six long and weary months without definite success. The invaders could not take the pa by assault, nor could they starve the people out, and at last Taoka, in vexation of spirit, reluctantly gave up the attempt and returned to Pukekura.

Much has been written about the siege of the small peninsula which bears the name of Te Mapoutahi, unfortunately known today as Goat Island. The authorities quoted are H. Beattie, A. Bathgate and M. A. Rugby Pratt. The writer also had several conversations with Mrs. Wallscott (nee Karetai) who related the story as told by her parents.

This peaceful little peninsula situated near Purakanui PAGE 43 Bay, connected to the mainland by a narrow causeway, clothed with verdure and cabbage trees, today displays nothing to suggest tragedy, yet it was once stained with blood, and the air was torn with the hideous screams of victors, and the lament of the vanquished.

Taoka, smarting from the effects of his Huriawa failure at the hands of Te Wera, who was at that time at Te Mapoutahi, skilfully laid his plans to take the fortress. Collecting his warriors and confederates he once again set out on the war-path in order to wipe out the bitter memory. Some days passed without hostilities, for both the invaders and the defenders were cautious. It was mid-winter and the snow lay thickly upon the ground. One miserable night, Taoka's scouts cautiously crept up to the defences and found the entrance to the pa closely guarded. Taoka, not satisfied with their report, went to inspect for himself, and found that the supposed guard were dummy bodies swaying in the wind. This was his chance. He led his men within the palisade, placed a guard at the opening, and surprised his victims. The besieged within the fortress, dazed with sleep, were quickly slaughtered and only a few escaped by jumping into the sea. The following day the bodies of the dead were piled into heaps, and from that time the locality was known as Purakanui (Purakaunui)—“a great heap.”

Te Wera escaped from the slaughter and went to live at Rakiura (Stewart Island) and settled for a time at Ohekia. This place became known as Wehingao-te-Wera, and is now known as Paterson's Inlet. Later he lived at Orako, Colac Bay. There he died, saddened by the thought that he did not die in battle. Taoka, also, is said to have died a natural death. This took place, it is believed at Katiki. He had several sons of whom Te Autu and Te Whiwhi were the most noted.

CHAPTER IV TE RAUPARAHA

“Like a black hawk swooping,
I shall swirl upon the Southern Island,
Sweep it with my name as with a tempest,
Overrun it like the play of sunlight,
Sigh across it like a flame, till Terror
Runs before me shrieking! And our pathway
Shall be sullen red with flames and bloodshed,
And shall moan with massacre and battle.”

Arthur H. Adams.

It was in the year 1828 that the noted chief Te Rauparaha appeared on the pages of Southern Maoridom. He has been described as a man of small stature, but of a proud and stately bearing; possessing a face deeply tattooed, deep penetrating eyes, and yet a face stamped with the courage of a born leader.¹

He had taken Kapiti Island in Cook Strait and from there “like an eagle from his eyrie,” looked towards the South Island and laid his plans for further conquests. “He had carried fire and desolation and terminated his butcheries in horrid cannibal feasts, and left behind him a bloody, smoking trail of misery and tragedy.

From his island pa at Kapiti he made ready his schemes to invade the South Island, and at the same time to possess himself of its coveted greenstone. He accordingly manned his fleet of canoes with Ngati Toa and Ngati Raukawa warriors, armed as far as possible with the musket of the pakeha, and made for D'Urville Island. Primitive weapons were hopeless before the bullets of Te Rauparaha's invading Ngati Toa and the victory was complete. A cannibal feast followed,

¹ Strait of Adventure, by S. Gerard.

PAGE BREAK

Te Mapoutahi, near Purakanui, the scene of the conflict between Taoka and Te Wera.

Te Mapoutahi, near Purakanui, the scene of the conflict between
Taoka and Te Wera.

Rev. J. Watkin's Mission Parsonage at Waikouaiti (Karitane).

Rev. J. Watkin's Mission Parsonage at Waikouaiti (Karitane).

PAGE BREAK

The Chief Taiaroa.

The Chief Taiaroa.

PAGE 45and the defeated who were spared the oven were sent off to Kapiti.

Delighted with his success, the Maori Napoleon next invaded Northern Marlborough and conquered the Rangi Tane. Flushed with victory, the conqueror was keen to subdue the Kai Tahu. Accordingly he allied himself with his savage kinsman, Te Pehi, and in the following year, 1829, landed at Kaikoura.

The chief pa of the Kai Tahu at Kaikoura was named Takahaka and stood under the terrace of the foreshore north of the peninsula, where the town of Kaikoura stretches on either side today. Te Rauparaha's victory was swift and complete, for the invaders were not expected. The chief Rerewaka and the people of Kaikoura were expecting a visit from some of their southern friends, and when they awoke in the morning in question, seeing a fleet of canoes on the beach, they took them for their friends. They were, however, soon undeceived, for the visitors fell upon the unarmed people and made great slaughter. The pa was quickly taken. About one thousand of the Kai Tahu were killed and many more captured. The chief Rerewaka was one of the captives. The pa was plundered, the Ngati Toa feasted upon the dead, and the remaining captives were taken to Kapiti. Rerewaka was tortured and put to death.

Before giving an account of the siege of Kaiapohia it is necessary to give a description of the place. Canon Stack, in his book *The Sacking of Kaiapohia*, gives that information. It was situated about three miles north of the present town of Kaiapoi, and was erected on a promontory which extended into a deep swamp lying between the sand hills and the bank of the river. The swamp protected it on three sides, and the only front of attack, about 250 yards long, was defended by a double line of palisades eighteen to twenty feet high, and a deep ditch with two large outworks from which a flank fire on intending assailants could be maintained. There was an opening in the wall on the western side with a bridge over the lagoon. This pa was considered so impregnable that a saying in regard to it was: "Who can scale the inaccessible PAGE 46cliff of God?" The pa was also a food depot as the name implies, "Kai (food) must be poi (swung) to the spot," said its founder. In it were stored potted birds from the bush to the north, fish and mutton birds from the south coast, kiore and weka from the hills of the west. Te Rauparaha was keen to capture this store of food. It must be noted that the chiefs of Kaiapohia were the principal leaders of the Kai Tahu by right of descent from ancient heroes and rangatiras. Tamaiharanui was the leading chief and high priest of the Kai Tahu in Kaiapohia and Akaroa, and travelled much between the two places. He had received information regarding the designs of Te Rauparaha, and ordered that his men should strike the first blow and secure the most important chiefs at the first favourable opportunity.¹

A party of the northern chiefs entering the pa, feigning to be friendly, were received in a cautious manner. Things were not to the liking of these visitors, and they made themselves obnoxious by passing insulting remarks about the southern style of tattooing, and one chief attempted to appropriate a block of greenstone. Tangatahara, unable to restrain his hand until Tamaihara had given the signal that Te Rauparaha was safely within the pa, struck the chief Te Pehi a fatal blow with his tomahawk as that chief tried to escape. The other chiefs were soon despatched but, the alarm having been given prematurely, the wily Te Rauparaha, not having entered the pa, made his escape. The invaders were obliged to retreat and they returned to Kapiti to lick their wounds and vowing threats of vengeance. Te Rauparaha laid his plans for revenge. He was anxious to secure the person of Tamaihara the Chief and Upoko Ariki of the whole Kai Tahu tribe. Tamaiharanui was an outstanding character in whom reposed the power of an absolute monarch. He governed the tribe with a benevolent but despotic rule. So sacred was his person that if his shadow fell upon a whare or upon food, then the whare or food became tapu and had to be destroyed. Te Rauparaha had another chief in mind upon whom he was

1 Manuscripts of Dr. D. L. Sinclair.

PAGE 47keen to pour out his vials of wrath, namely Tangatahara who had slain Te Pehi. That chief, although not of the same lineage as Tamaiharanui, was a chief of high standing. Moreover, Te Rauparaha was eager to "get even" with the people of Kaiapohia and to deal them a deadly blow. Smarting under the lash of wounded pride, Te Rauparaha was frantic to lay hands upon Tamaiharanui. Was not this southern chief the leading rangatira of the Kai Tahu, and was he not also the high priest and inheritor of the highest ancestral honours? And there was Tangatahara, the slayer of his kinsman, Te Pehi!

His chance came in November, 1830, when a vessel named the Elizabeth, under the command of Capt. John Stewart, an atrocious scoundrel of the deepest dye, arrived at Akaroa from Kapiti, ostensibly for the purpose of barter. Stewart had on board, below decks, Te Rauparaha and Te Hiko (the son of Te Pehi) and a war party of one hundred and twenty warriors fully armed.

The Elizabeth stood off the settlement for two days awaiting the arrival of the absent Tamaiharanui, and no-one was allowed on board. In due time the chief arrived, and Stewart, with promises of blankets, guns and powder, invited Tamaiharanui on board the vessel. The chief agreed and took with him his wife and daughter, Ngaromata. They were invited to go below decks to see the promised goods. Immediately they were seized and were taken below, where they were confronted by Te Rauparaha, Te Hiko and their men. Tamaiharanui and his wife and their daughter were placed in custody. During the night Tamaiharanui strangled his daughter so that she would not become a slave or wife of one of her captors. During the same night other canoes arrived with visitors. They were captured and treated in the same way. The next day an attack was made on the settlement, and those who escaped the fury of the Ngati Toa fled to the bush. Having accomplished his object, Te Rauparaha and his gang sailed for Kapiti. Arriving there a feast was held. Tamaiharanui was taken from pa to pa and was made the object of derision by his captors and was afterwards put to PAGE 48death by the principal widow of Te Pehi.

Ten years afterwards Tangatahara was at Waikouaiti visiting the Rev. James Watkin, and the following is a quotation from the latter's journal:

“September 1st, 1840: In the evening had a long conversation with a chief named Takatahara (Tangatahara), he is a fine person and appears to be desirous of knowing the good things the missionary has to tell ... I have had from him several accounts of wars which have been waged between Teraupala (Te Rauparaha) of the North Island and the people of this. He mentioned one instance of an attempt to trepan himself made by that murderer, and in which he was assisted by the captain of a Sydney ship, and for which he should have been hanged.” Watkin then reports Tangatahara's version of the story, how that for a quantity of flax the captain of the Elizabeth conveyed Te Rauparaha and his war party to Akaroa with the object of capturing Tamaiharanui and Tangatahara. The bait was to induce the chiefs to enter the ship where there was a quantity of muskets, powder and blankets for gift or sale. Tangatahara escaped the plot but Tamaiharanui with his wife and daughter were induced to go on board and the captain had them in his trap. Watkin continues: “The bloodhounds started from their hiding place, and the chief knew his fate was sealed. It is said that he manifested no fear ... His daughter he strangled to prevent her becoming a slave, or worse. How the chief fell I have not heard, but it is a fact that he was basely murdered, cooked and eaten ... The captain's name I could tell, but the name is too good for him, devil would be dishonoured by his bearing that title. The slaughter of the New Zealanders of this Island by Taraupala (Te Rauparaha) has been immense.”

This record in Watkin's journal differs in certain details from the foregoing, but the facts are the same.

Not satisfied with his savage achievements, the conqueror set his mind upon the complete destruction of Kaiapohia. In 1831 a taua of about eight hundred men was assembled and set out for Kaiapohia. They found the pa depleted of warriors and only a band of aged men in charge. It appears PAGE 49 that the Kaiapohia fighting forces were at or near Port Cooper where they were bidding farewell to Taiaroa of Otakou and his party who had been on a visit. The defenders of Kaiapohia, small in numbers, made an attempt to save the pa, and Te Rauparaha was obliged to retire temporarily to consider a more effective plan of attack. A siege was decided on and the attackers took post. Scouts were despatched from Kaiapohia to the main force now absent with Taiaroa. As quickly as possible all available forces were collected and led by Taiaroa they set out to raise the siege.

They approached Kaiapohia in the darkness of night, but found that Te Rauparaha's forces were on the alert. The command was given and the relieving column broke from their concealment and succeeded in reaching the beleaguered who gladly admitted them to the pa. Strengthened by Taiaroa and his Otago men the garrison determined to fight to the last. For three months the siege went on with attacks and counter-attacks. Te Rauparaha then decided that investment must be more closely pressed. He now decided to dig in and sap up to the defences. In a few weeks he was but a short distance from the palisades. This done, huge stacks of dried scrub and wood were piled up as near as possible to the pa, and the wily chief waited for a favourable wind in order to set fire

to the palisades. The position became desperate, and Taiaroa, it is said, decided to attack Te Rauparaha outside the pa, but failed in the attempt. Another account is to the effect that Taiaroa withdrew in order to obtain reinforcements and then return with a large force. Several weeks passed but no relief. At last the desperate defenders determined to take advantage of Te Rauparaha by firing the scrub from the inside during a north-west wind, anticipating that the flames would destroy the piles of scrub and timber that had endangered the wooden defences. This device failed, for after firing the scrub, the wind changed, and the palisades became a mass of flames. The besiegers seized their chance and hurled themselves upon the unfortunate defenders. Panic seized the luckless Kai Tahu and victory fell to the Ngati Toa. About two hundred of the Kai Tahu made their escape from PAGE 50the burning pa by way of the swamps, and those who could not escape were killed, save those who were reserved for slavery. Tamihana, Te Rauparaha's son, much given to exaggeration, has stated that the invading forces of the Ngati Toa, strengthened by their allies, consisted of five thousand men. This could scarcely be correct. It is worthy of note that most of the kaikas and hapus near Kaiapohia had been captured previously by Te Rauparaha. The largest of these was Tuahiwi, about two miles from Kaiapohia, and where a Maori kaika exists today. Those who escaped from Tuahiwi fled to Taumutu near Lake Ellesmere and later to Temuka. Some of the refugees travelled as far south as Moeraki and Purakanui.

The story of the last attack upon Kaiapohia and the part performed in it by Taiaroa varies considerably. In one account it is stated that some time before Kaiapohia fell, Taiaroa called out to the Ngati Toa that they should be merciful to him and his men because they of Otakou had nothing to do with the murder of Te Pehi in the previous attack upon Kaiapohio. About two days before the termination of the siege, Te Rauparaha is described as standing in a sap and calling out to Taiaroa within the pa and saying: "Return to Otakou, lest you be taken, for I say this pa will be captured by us." Then late at night Te Hiko, son of Te Pehi answered Taiaroa's plea and said: "Follow me and I will lead you out." According to this version Taiaroa lost no time in escaping from the pa. This story is given by Tamihana, Te Rauparaha's son, who was given to exaggeration. The various and conflicting accounts are largely coloured to the advantage of the participants.

Regarding Taiaroa as a warrior, Dr. H. D. Skinner, in the booklet Centenary of Otago Settlement 1931, pays the following tribute to him: "Among the numerous chiefs in Canterbury, Otago and Southland, there was only one who displayed any real capacity for leadership, and that one was Taiaroa."

The attack upon Kaiapohia, it is believed, commenced in November or December 1831, and continued for three PAGE 51months and thus ended in March 1832.

The victory of Te Rauparaha and his Ngati Toa over the Kai Tahu at Kaiapohia stimulated his ambition for further slaughter and additional conquests.

Te Rauparaha's next venture was to attempt the destruction of Tangatahara, the kinsman of Taimaiharanui who had slain Te Pehi. In order to defend himself, Tangatahara had built a strong

fortress at Onawe, a promontory jutting out into the Akaroa harbour, and was prepared to fight to the last man. The fortifications were of enormous strength. A deep trench was dug round the place, the excavated earth forming a bank on whose summit a strong palisading was erected. The pa was thought to be impregnable. Canon Stack, in his history, *The Sacking of Kaiapohia*, gives the number of the defenders as 400. Tamihana, son of Te Rauparaha, gives the number as 600. Te Rauparaha, with a large force of seasoned fighting men, marched to Onawe. He had with him many Kai Tahu prisoners captured at Kaiapohia whom he kept in front of his warriors. Finding the Onawe pa strongly fortified, and not desiring a long siege, he began to parley for surrender, and appealed to the fact that his many Kaiapohia prisoners whose lives he had spared, was a proof that Tangatahara might have confidence in his promises to spare their lives. While this discussion was proceeding, some of Te Rauparaha's men under instructions from him, crept up to the entrance of the pa, and the sentries, not being on the alert, allowed some of the Ngati Toa men inside the pa. Once inside the fortress, they attacked all within reach, panic followed, and the result was fatal. The struggle was swift and decisive and the stronghold fell to Ngati Toa. Tamihana, son of Te Rauparaha, has stated that not a defender escaped, but that is not correct. Many escaped to the bush, and then to the southern kaikas. The conquerors' canoes and boats set out for the north, carrying off their prisoners. Te Hiko, however, remained behind. Among those in his charge was Tangatahara who had killed Te Pehi, the father of Te Hiko, at Kaiapohia. One day when Te Hiko was busy mending his boats, two women relations of Te Rauparaha claimed PAGE 52Tangatahara for the oven. Te Hiko regarded this demand as an interference with his dignity as the captor of Tangatahara. The demand of the women was bluntly refused, and for some inexplicable reason he made up his mind to set his victim free. That very night, secretly, Te Hiko aroused Tangatahara from his sleep and took him to the adjacent bush and set him free.

The subsequent story of Tangatahara is referred to in Watkin's journal. He died at Akaroa in 1847, and was buried in the old kaika. A monument was erected to his memory in 1900.

After the fall of Onawe, messengers were sent from the survivors of that pa and of Kaiapohia to the southern chiefs requesting their support. The tragedies in Marlborough and Canterbury convinced the Maoris living at Otakou and in Murihiku (Southland) that their lives and liberty were endangered, and they set about making plans for counterattacks against the common foe. The southern Maoris were better able than their northern friends to purchase from the whalers equipment in the way of muskets and powder.

The first of these counter-attacks took place in 1833, and was led by Tuhawaiki of Ruapuke and Karetai of Otakou. In this encounter Te Rauparaha narrowly escaped capture at Grassmere in Cloudy Bay, and many of the Ngati Toa were killed. Tuhawaiki, Karetai and their warriors followed the invaders to the Marlborough Sounds, where a stiff fight took place, to which they gave the name Oraumoaiti. After the battle, being exhausted and needing equipment, Te Rauparaha crossed the Raukawa Strait to Kapiti in order to recuperate. For lack of provisions the Kai Tahu turned homeward feeling that they had won the honours of victory. In this encounter Karetai lost an eye. He also received a leg wound and ever afterwards walked with a limp.

In 1834 another attempt was made against the Ngati Toa, this time by Taiaroa, assisted by Te Whakataupuka of Murihiku, as second-in-command. Haereroa also took part in charge of a taua party. The entire force consisted of about five hundred men from Otago and Southland. They had a PAGE 53flotilla of at least thirty canoes and boats in which they proceeded to Queen Charlotte Sound and Oraumoa, and compelled their foes to retire. Taiaroa and his confederates, having exhausted their supplies, were obliged to return. Some historians believe that if Taiaroa had had the necessary equipment and supplies, he would have carried the war into the North Island. This was known as the Oraumoanui campaign. Taiaroa and his confederates, in anticipation of further triumphs in the future, as they turned homeward, relieved their feelings by plundering the Cloudy Bay whaling station. Taiaroa, at that time, had no love for the pakeha intruders. They also killed several Maori women who were living as wives of the whalers.

Arriving at Otakou, they raided Weller's whaling station situated near the Black Rock in the harbour.

In the following year (1835) an epidemic of measles broke out and took its deadly toll of the Maori people. Te Whakataupuka became a victim, and was succeeded by his nephew Tuhawaiki who, not because of his superior birth, but because of his strong personality and dominating character became the leading figure of the far south.

At this time Te Rauparaha had trouble in the North Island from vengeful tribes who had felt his heel, and was glad to make peace with his southern enemies. Calling together his Kai Tahu captives into his marae, he asked for the chief who was nearest of kin to Tamaiharanui, the fallen chief, and appointed him to take back the survivors to Akaroa. Some of the captives had intermarried with their captors and elected to remain. The majority, however, returned to their old homes where their descendants remain today. A treaty of peace was drawn up at Akaroa between the Ngati Toa and the Kai Tahu.

Te Puoho was a torceful chief who had acted as a lieutenant of Te Rauparaha in many of his campaigns. He was anxious to attack Tuhawaiki, capture Ruapuke Island and get a footing in Otago and Southland. He sought the aid of Te Rauparaha, but that chief had enough worries in the North Island and he did not approve of Te Puoho's under- PAGE 54taking, indeed, he warned him that no good would come of it; besides, peace had been made with the Kai Tahu tribe. Nothing daunted, Te Puoho led his men overland to the West Coast, where he expected his kinsmen Niho and Takerei, living near the Grey River, to enter into the venture. These men were of the same mind as Te Rauparaha, and would only provide the expedition with guides. Disappointed with the refusal of his kinsmen, Te Puoho travelled over the Haast pass and into Central Otago at the head of Lake Wanaka where there was a Maori kaika. Some of the people were killed, others were captured and taken as carriers. A youth escaped and proceeded to Hawea where he warned the people of their danger. The Hawea people cautiously proceeded to the coast and thus escaped annihilation. One person who escaped capture was Wawiri Te Maire who later became one of Watkin's teachers. The invaders crossed the mountains to what is now Kingston, and then proceeded down the Mataura River to Tuturau. The invaders suffered much hardship en route and some of them died. Arriving at the small kaika on the banks of the Mataura River, two miles below the present town of Mataura, dating, it is

said to the days of the Waitaha tribe, they soon despatched the surprised inhabitants. Resting for two or three days, they made their plans for their attack upon Tuhawaiki. An escapee carried the news of the disaster at Tukurau to Tuhawaiki at Ruapuke who called to his aid Taiaroa, Haereroa and Teone Tope Patuki. It is also on record that Karetai took part. They crossed to the mainland in their canoes. Marching at night, and hiding by day, they reached Tukurau, and found that the Ngati Rarua, a sub-tribe of the Ngati Toa, were off their guard. In the early morning, at a given signal, they rushed upon their enemy, who were sound asleep. Taiaroa and his Otakou men captured the entrance to the kaika. Te Puoho tried to rally his men, but a shot from Tope Patuki's musket was fatal to the chief. Those of the Ngati Toa who escaped the musket and the mere were captured and taken to Ruapuke as slaves. So ended the final battle in which the southern natives were PAGE 55engaged. The date is given as 1836.¹

From 1840 and thereafter it was safe for the northern Maoris to visit any part of the South Island. The greatest factor in bringing about this happy understanding was the introduction of Christianity. When Tamihana, the son of Te Rauparaha, visited the South Island in 1843, he was in no danger of his life, but was received by his former enemies with great courtesy and consideration. To the Rev. J. Watkin, who on May 16th, 1840, in Otago, and to the Rev. S. Iron-side, who on December 20th, 1840, in Marlborough, followed by other missionaries, belongs the honour, under God, of bringing to a land with a blood-stained past, the Gospel of peace and goodwill, and thus prepared the way for European settlement.

¹ Two or three women, one of whom was Te Puoho's favourite wife, escaped extermination. The latter died at Kaiapoi in 1862. The Maoris and Fiordland, Herries Beattie.

CHAPTER V — THE DECLINE OF THE MAORI

In the very early days the Maori population of the South Island must have been considerable. What are the reasons for the decline? They are mainly associated with factors arising from their contact with the pakeha. As so frequently happens when a new people settles among a primitive race, two great epidemics appear.¹ To the Maori, influenza and measles were unknown, and he had no powers of resistance. The first great epidemic was in 1835. Fever was a new experience to him, and the Maori, hot with fever, plunged into the sea to cool himself. The results were disastrous. The death rate was serious, and in many cases the people died as they stood. Even in later years skeletons have been found far from their kaikas, lying one across another indicating the suddenness of the end. In 1836, the Sydney Packet arrived at Otakou with a few influenza cases on board. Immediately the disease attacked the Maori, and the people died in hundreds, reducing the population to an alarming degree. Venereal diseases took their sad toll. These diseases appeared with the whaling crews, and came as a new factor in the life of the Maori. The chief Hoani Weteri Korako complained bitterly of the diseases brought by the Pakeha. When Tuhawaiki made his historic speech to the pakeha purchasers of Maori lands, he sadly gazed upon their burial grounds and upon the quickly dwindling people of the tribe. Recognising that the decline was mainly due to the white man's diseases and "firewater," he said: "We were once a numerous people. Our parents, uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters, children, lie around us. We are but a poor remnant ... We are dotted in families, few and far between, where formerly we lived as tribes ... We had a worse enemy than Te Rauparaha, and PAGE 57that was the visit of the pakeha with his drink and disease. You think us very corrupted, but the very scum of Port Jackson shipped as whalers or landed as sealers on this coast. They brought us new plagues, unknown to our fathers, till our people melted away."¹

What an indictment!

Mr. Watkin wrote on July 13th, 1840: "Had an interesting conversation with Huruhuru, an intelligent native and our nearest neighbour, respecting the former state of New Zealand, its former populousness, and the present fewness of its inhabitants. This is a sorrowful trait in its history. Places formerly thickly populated have not now a single inhabitant (tribal war was one cause). The race is now so low in numbers that I fear it will not rally, but that others will come and take their place and nation."

On March 8th, 1841, he wrote: "It is my fixed opinion that they will become extinct... Deaths are numerous, births are few. Their annihilation is desired by some unprincipled persons who live among them."

On July 5th, 1842, he wrote: "The blessings which civilised man has conferred upon the people are easily reckoned up, not so easily the evils he has inflicted—is inflicting. Before they were visited by ships, they tell me that disease was rare among them; often since then it has been rife. Few died young, except I suppose such as perished by infanticide; now few live to be old."

The Rev. Charles Creed, Watkin's successor, reported in his journal: "This tribe is fast disappearing, so many of all ages, and in every place are rapidly dying... The people dying so fast greatly affects me."

The adoption of European clothing was another cause for the decline. The Maoris wore heavy European clothing in hot weather, then suddenly cast it aside and returned to their native dress, with evil results. Their physique became weakened by pneumonia, bronchitis and many other ailments. Such influences caused rapid deterioration and an alarming decline.

1 Manuscript of Dr. H. Densem.

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The decline of the Maori population has in recent years been arrested. Sir Peter Buck, Professor of Anthropology, in his valuable book *The Coming of the Maori*, published in 1949, gives facts and figures. He says (p. 414) that the lowest ebb in 1871 was stated to be 37,520, but, he says, this was too low. In 1896 the figures are 43,113. In 1936 the census revealed the rise to 82,326, and for 1942–3 the numbers were 96,437. The death rate is higher than the European rate, but the birth rate is over double that of the European with a corresponding higher rate of natural increase. The rate per 1,000 of population is as follows:

European	Maori
Births: 20.42	46.89
Deaths: 10.58	17.71
Natural increase:	9.84 29.18

The figures include persons of mixed blood who regard themselves as Maoris. The theory of extinction is not now correct. The marked improvement in the health of the Maori people is largely due to the efforts of Sir Maui Pomare who, as Minister of Health, did much to better the hygienic conditions of his own race. Sir Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) also did much valuable research work. After the first World War he was appointed Director of Maori Hygiene. When he left New Zealand the work was continued by Dr. E. P. Ellison (Erihana) who is still actively engaged in health matters.

It is probable that Captain Cook and his party on the *Endeavour* were the first Europeans to view the coastline of the Otakou Peninsula. In February 1770 Cook passed by Pukekura, known today as Tairaroa Head, and named Cape Saunders after his friend, Admiral Charles Saunders. He apparently saw the entrance to the Otakou Harbour and also Wickliffe Bay and wrote in his journal: "One to four leagues north of the Cape the shore seemed to form two or three bays, wherein their appeared to be anchorage and shelter from S.W., Westerly and N.W. winds." Cook noted Saddle Hill (Makamaka) and wrote "There is a remarkable saddle Hill lying near the shore, three or four leagues S.W. of the Cape (Saunders)."

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Although Cook did not land on the Otakou Peninsula he certainly bestowed a great benefit upon the Maori people by introducing the use of the potato, which he planted in the northern part of the South Island, and which appeared early in the Otakou district. Watkin states that the old chief of Wai-kouaiti (Korako) remembered the time of Captain Cook's visit and his beneficent gift of the potato. The useful vegetable proved not only good for the Maori but also for the pakeha whalers of the early days.

After Cook's time Otakou may have been visited by stray ships, but the first recorded visit was that of Captain Fowler in the Matilda in 1813. Captain Fowler was obliged to take shelter and refit his ship which was much damaged due to violent storms. He was well received by the Maori people and their chief, whom they called Papui, proved himself a very hospitable host. The ship's rigging was repaired with ropes made by the natives, and the ship's stores were replenished with fish, potatoes and fresh water. At the next place of call the Matilda met with disaster. In the south, probably Port Molyneux, some of the crew deserted, and quite a few were murdered by the Maoris, no doubt due to their having broken the law of tapu. One of the crew, a lascar, was found four years later living at Otakou.

The next story is that of the visit of the sealer Sophia under the command of Captain Kelly in December, 1817. Otakou was known to the sailors as Port Daniel and Port Oxley. Captain Kelly anchored his ship just inside the Otakou Harbour, off the main kaika, Te Ruatitiko, facing the Rauone Beach. At once the captain made friends with the Maori people and all seemed to be favourable. Next day, with a few sailors he proceeded outside the heads to Whare-akeake now known as Murdering Beach, where he traded with the people for potatoes. He found the people unfriendly, and a lascar, formerly of the Matilda, who was living with the natives, tried to warn the visitors of their danger. One of the sailors was recognised by a native as the man who had, some years previously, stolen a dried head from the Maoris at Aparima and, according to Maori law, utu was demanded.

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Suddenly there was a commotion, and a fierce attack was made upon the sailors and several were killed. Kelly and the survivors rushed to their boat and returned to their vessel in the Otakou Harbour and found it swarming with excited natives. Apparently they had heard of the affray, and an attempt was being made to take the ship. The infuriated Maoris, led by their chief Karaka, found themselves no match for the sailors with their knives and cutlasses, and they could only escape extinction by jumping overboard.

The next day another attempt was made to capture the vessel, but it ended in failure. Kelly immediately manned two boats and cut up the canoes on the beach. On December 26th an armed party landed and set fire to the kaika and it was reported that six hundred whares were destroyed.¹ On the 27th, at daylight, Kelly and his party left for the Chatham Islands, but before doing so a volley of musketry was fired at the natives on the beach.

Much of the trouble between the Maori people and visiting sailors and traders in the various parts of New Zealand in those early days was due to the unscrupulous conduct of many of the pakehas. Some of these men violated Maori customs, desecrated their burial grounds, and invaded the sanctity of their home life. Can we wonder that the Maori people demanded utu?

Another visitor appeared in 1826, Captain Herd, in command of the Rosanna, who, with a company of emigrants for a proposed settlement at the Thames, called at Otakou. He described the port as "an inlet, or arm of the sea, running up about nine miles S.S.W., making a peninsula of the land on which is Cape Saunders, bearing from the said Cape N.B.W. by compass, about two leagues distant. This is a well-sheltered harbour, with a bar across the entrance, having three and a half fathoms over it at low water from seven to nine fathoms deep inside..." After 1826 various sealing

1 Most historians regard the statement "600 whares" as an exaggerated estimate. Others question whether the whares destroyed were situated at Otakou or at Murdering Beach. The Maori tradition places the scene at Otakou which seems the more probable.

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and whaling vessels called at Otakou for food and to refit.

The Maori people were keen traders, but all exchange was done by barter. For a needle and a few pieces of thread they would give a kit of potatoes of about fifty pounds weight. For a gun or blanket they would give at least twenty kits of potatoes, each kit containing fifty pounds. A usual mode of barter was for the Maoris to place their pigs and potatoes in a line on Rauone Beach and then go away. The ship's captain and officers would then place a stick of tobacco on the first pig, some trinkets and beads in the kit of potatoes, a sailor's sheath knife on the next pig, and so on alternately, and then would stand at a distance and wait for the result. After this the Maoris would return and, if satisfied with the bargain, they would collect the tobacco, trinkets, knives, garments or whatever was placed there and go away well pleased with the transaction. The ship's officers would then come and collect the pigs and potatoes, and return to their ship.

In the late twenties or early thirties shore whaling stations were established along the coast. In 1829 Captain Peter Williams of Sydney established the first whaling station at Preservation Inlet.

In 1831 Weller Brothers, of Sydney, decided to establish a station at Otakou, and began business the following year. The venture proved to be a great success, and Otakou became the largest and most profitable station on the coast. Mr. R. McNab, in his useful book Murihiku has stated that Weller Bros. purchased the Lucy Ann, a barque of 212 tons, to trade between Australia and New Zealand. Her first cargo to Otakou from Australia consisted of six cases of muskets, ten barrels and one hundred and four half-barrels of gunpowder, one case of axes, two iron boilers, five casks of beef,

one case whaling gear, one case whaling line, one pipe of gin, two puncheons of rum, five casks of tobacco and stores.

Unfortunately, in April, 1832, a disastrous fire broke out on the whaling establishment, and many of the buildings were destroyed, including the bulk of the gunpowder. This was a great set-back to the station.

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In May of the same year Mr. George Weller arrived at Otakou; but not till November, 1833, is there any record of whale oil arriving at Sydney. On that date the Lucy Ann, in command of Captain W. North, discharged one hundred and thirty tons of oil, seven tons of whalebone, one ton of flax, eight tons of potatoes and one cask of seal skins.

At a later date the Lucy Ann arrived at Sydney with much cargo which included ten logs of timber, thirteen casks of whale oil, six cwt. of whalebone, two casks of seal skins, three tons of flax, twenty-two barrels of salt fish and two tons of potatoes, consigned to George Weller.

The main landing place at Otakou was at Black Rock, known to the Maori as Te Umukuri (the oven that cooked the dog). On or near this spot the whalers erected their sheds and try pots. There also were the blacksmith's shop, cooperage and carpenter's establishment. Repairing and painting was a daily task. The little sandy beach between the rock and the road to the heads was used for beaching the boats. Maori women were there making flax baskets and kits and dressing flax. The captured whales were towed to the jetty and cut up for extraction of oil. There were employed at Wellers' at one time about one hundred men, and twelve boats were in use. In those early years as many as eleven whalers are said to have been seen at one time in the harbour.

In 1834 things did not go too well with Weller Bros. and their employees. The story is told by Captain Anglem and is given by McNab in his book Murihiku. While the Lucy Ann was at Otakou a war party of Maori warriors arrived from Cloudy Bay (about five hundred strong) where they had been on an expedition against Te Rauparaha and his men. As they returned south they plundered the whaling stations on their track. The report reads: "They treated the residents with much insolence, and struck Mr. Weller repeatedly ... they took the pipes out of the servants' mouths, and went into the houses and broke open the boxes, taking whatever they thought proper for them. After this, about half of them left Otakou for the purpose of going, as they PAGE 63said, to Port Bunn (the establishment of George Bunn and Co.) which they did. The rest remained behind, and while there a child belonging to one of the chiefs died, which, under some superstitious impression, they attributed to the visit of the Lucy Ann. In consequence of this they resolved to take the vessel and assassinate Mr. Weller, Captain Hayward, Captain Anglem and the rest of the Europeans. On going ashore for a raft of oil, Captain Hayward was informed, by one of the native boys, of the intentions of the natives to murder them all and take the ship. Captain Anglem immediately left off work, and before daylight next morning the Lucy Ann was in a state of defence. The natives soon found that the Europeans were acquainted with their intentions, and gave up the idea of taking the vessel for

that time. Captain Anglem, previous to his departure, for the better security of the lives of the residents at Otago and its neighbourhood, persuaded some of the chiefs on board, and having got them below, set sail for Sydney in the most secret manner, and kept the natives as hostages for the good conduct of their tribe during the absence of the Lucy Ann. The utmost consternation is felt about this part of New Zealand by the labourers belonging to those gentlemen who are residing near Otago and very little work can be done by them.”

The following letter, said to have been written by Captain Hayward and published in the Sydney Herald is more serious: “Otago, N.Z., September 28, 1834. The schooner Joseph Weller arrived on the 21st September, all safe, I believe. Through her timely arrival our lives have obtained a respite of a few weeks, that is to say, as soon as the Lucy Ann shall arrive, and the two chiefs which went up in her shall return. They make no hesitation in telling us that they will murder us all, and divide our property among them, each man having made his selection. Since their return from Cloudy Bay, they have been so much emboldened by their success in plundering the white people there, and they take from us whatever suits their fancy, such as our clothing, and food off our very plates; help themselves to oil, in such PAGE 64quantities as they require, from our pots. They say white people are afraid of them, for great numbers of vessels have been taken and plundered by them, and white men killed, and Europeans dare not come and punish them for so doing; and if they did come they (the natives) would all run into the bush, where they would be enabled to kill all the Europeans; but white men do not know how to fight with a New Zealander. We asked them why they wished to kill us. They answer with as much indifference as a butcher would do, that it was necessary for their safety, for then ‘no-one would know what would become of us.’ We are under constant apprehension of being burnt in our beds every night; and of the natives robbing and shooting those that remain, as they attempt to escape. Once or twice Toboooca (Te Whakataupuka)¹, who is one of the worst disposed chiefs, and a horrid cannibal, came up with his mob with that intention, armed, but was persuaded to desist by the relatives of those chiefs in Sydney, until the arrival of the Lucy Ann; when after some consultation, they departed, having first endeavoured to provoke me to quarrel. However, a fire they would have, and they burnt down a native's and a European's house.

“The schooner Joseph Weller, having brought the news that two ships of war were coming to New Zealand to seek revenge for the murder of the people of the Harriet, surprised them a little but when they heard the small number of men (nearly sixty) they laughed at the idea. Notwithstanding, that very circumstance has saved the Joseph Weller from being taken, and all of us from being massacred, the night after her arrival. Had those chiefs come down that went up to Sydney in the Lucy Ann, all would now have been over with us, for as soon as it became dark a great number of strangers crowded on board ... when they began an indiscriminate plunder—some opening the hatches and going below—others taking whatever they could lay their hands

¹ Te Whakataupuka belonged to the far south. He was the uncle of Tuhawaiki.

PAGE 65upon, but were once more stopped by the relations of the chiefs in Sydney; so you see everything is got ready for an immediate attack, and God only knows what our fates will be. We put great hopes in the statements which have appeared in the Sydney papers, that two men-of-war were on the coast, and in all probability they will visit this place; if they do not come here after having told the natives they would, and seek revenge if they should kill us, our fates will then be

certain. However, we are all prepared for the worst, and we are determined to die like men and not give up the ghost without a struggle. We are all well armed, and are determined to sell our lives as dearly as possible. We have petitioned the Governor for assistance, but I am fearful that it will arrive too late to rescue us from destruction. If you should get this letter, send down another vessel, well armed, with the Lucy Ann. I have only landed part of the goods from the schooner; the remainder I return, and have despatched Mr. Snowden, in hope that he may arrive in time to make arrangements for sending down two vessels to bring up all our property, as the whole of us intend to abandon the place should our lives be spared."

The cause of the trouble seems to have been the fear of European aggression. Later on things were much more settled and Mr. Edward Weller made up his mind to remain at Otakou. It was on this account it is believed that Edward Weller married Paparu, the daughter of the chief Tairaroa. This would help to facilitate matters and bring about a more friendly feeling between Maori and pakeha. Upon the death of Paparu, Edward Weller married, by Maori custom, Nikuru, a chief's daughter. The descendants of both wives are living today.

The whaling business was now very profitable and the men employed could have become wealthy if they had been economical, but many of them "wasted their substance in riotous living."

Weller Bros. reported that up to 1835 their station had produced eight hundred tons of oil and thirty-seven and a half tons of whalebone which were regarded as good and profitable returns; a whole whale being worth between £200 and £300, good for those days.

Towards the close of 1835, Joseph Weller, one of the partners in the station, died of consumption, and his body preserved in a puncheon of rum, was taken to Sydney on the barque Susannah, which arrived at that port on the 27th September, and reported that measles had broken out among the Maoris of Otakou.

At the end of 1839 and the beginning of 1840 whales were less numerous, and from January to July there was not a single catch. The first whale was caught on the 8th July in 1840. The decline was due to the increase of shipping which prevented these monsters of the deep from coming to these disturbed waters. They came from the cold Antarctic to the warmer climate of the bays and inlets of New Zealand for the purpose of calving and feeding their young. There was also an indiscriminate slaughter, and when a mother whale was killed her calf died. They were so harassed and galled that they sought places of shelter elsewhere to mature their young. Weller Bros. closed down in 1840 and Edward Weller left for Sydney.

There were dubious diversions at Otakou in those exciting days. The brig Highlander called at the Heads in 1840 and left no good impression. Of the crew of forty men, it is recorded that thirty-nine of them were convicts. In a drunken brawl they quarrelled with the settlers and set fire to their houses. Hunter's store was plundered and burned down. Much relief was felt when this lawless gang was far out to sea.

One of the best known whalers in those early days was William Isaac Haberfield who came to Otakou on the Micmac in 1836, and on the day he arrived (March 17th) he was one of a boat's crew that killed two whales in the harbour. Haberfield signed on with Weller Bros., who had twelve ships engaged in the whaling trade. He had great respect for George and Edward Weller, and said that they were not land grabbers and did not own any land in New Zealand; they were just traders and stuck to their business. Their store PAGE 67 was always well stocked and they sold their goods at the cheapest rate. There were only three white women, wives of workmen at the station—Mrs. Brinn, Mrs. Garrett and Mrs. Flood. There was a fortified pa at the Heads. He reported that he had seen as many as twelve large double canoes in the harbour at once ... He had seen as many as twenty canoes go out in the morning fishing for barracouta. "As to drink," he said, "the Maoris would not take it." It was "waipiro or waipirau" (stinking or rotten water). They had slaves, but in the Mission days they were free.¹

When his contract with Wellers expired, Haberfield engaged himself to the whaling industry at Moeraki owned by Hughes, Thompson and Sivatt. After a strenuous life he lived in retirement at Moeraki and in his declining years he was cared for by his Maori wife, Araki, to whom he was married by the Rev. Charles Creed.

After Weller Bros. had closed down their station in 1840, many ships visited Otakou for repairs and supplies. A good trade was carried on in timber, potatoes, fish and pigs. The pigs were caught on the hill slopes of what are now known as Mornington, Roslyn and Maori Hill. They were caught, killed and some were salted and put in barrels; and in addition there was fresh pork, and all was taken by boat to the Otakou Heads and Kaika. In this activity Maori and pakeha worked in friendly co-operation.

Dr. Monro (later Sir David Monro, speaker in the New Zealand House of Representatives), visited Otakou in 1844 and wrote regarding the whaling station: "Some years ago there was a whaling station at Otago belonging to a mercantile house in Sydney, but it has been abandoned. Great numbers of bones of whales strewed about on the beach and a sea wall built entirely of their heads attest that a considerable number must have been killed. The weather while we lay in Otago, was most beautiful. The sky, a great part of the time, was without a cloud, and not a breeze ruffled the

¹ Cyclopaedia of New Zealand, Volume 4, and Evening Star, April 1948.

PAGE 68 surface of the water, which reflected the surrounding wooded slopes, and every sea-bird that floated upon it, with mirror-like accuracy. For some hours after sunrise, the woods resounded with the rich and infinitely varied notes of thousands of tuis and other songsters. I never heard anything like it before in any part of New Zealand. It completely agreed with Captain Cook's description of the music of the wooded banks of Queen Charlotte Sound." He notes that "the white residents, generally speaking, were living in good substantial cottages, and cultivating to a small extent. The potatoes grown by them are of excellent quality. I saw also some good barley ... The land which they have cultivated is bush land, lightly timbered, upon rather steep slopes."¹

The above gives a good idea of how Otakou appeared four years before the arrival of the Scottish settlers.

The Weller Bros. had built a store near the whaling station and when they ceased business, their manager, Mr. Octavius Harwood, took over the concern. The premises had outhouses attached to a large stock yard. There was also a fine orchard, flower and vegetable garden, and the whole presented an attractive scene.

Mr. Tuckett, surveyor, visited the locality in 1844, in the discharge of his duties and noted that Mr. Harwood "conducts a store and tavern; he has a good house and a flowery garden ... and that the Europeans residing there have enclosures of cultivated land. I have not seen elsewhere in New Zealand such fine potatoes ... They exceeded all other picked samples."

A revival of the whaling trade took place in 1872 when Charles Bradshaw established a two-boat station at Otakou. It was again a profitable business and the men employed shared the profits. Again Black Rock (Te Umukuri) became a hive of industry and the try-pots treated the blubber from the whales. Miss A. Karetai, senior, still living, informed the present writer that it was a common sight to see men

1 Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand, Dr. T. M. Hocken, p. 244

PAGE 69waist deep in a whale, cutting up the blubber, and the odour polluted the air as in former days.

A notable person in those later whaling days was Richard Burns (Riki Paana). He was born at Moeraki and came to Otakou when he was about twenty years of age. He joined the whaling party and continued with them until they ceased to function. The men in the boats received one share of the profits of a catch, the harpooner received one and a quarter shares, the man who killed the whale was allotted one and a half shares, while one share went to the boat. This was profitable seeing that a whale was worth between £200 and £300.

Richard Burns died at Lower Portobello on October 6th, 1945, in his 99th year. He was the last of the oldwhalers. The funeral was conducted by the present writer.

* * *

The distinguished navigator, Dumont D'Urville, commander of the French discovery ships Astrolabe and Zelee, arrived at Otakou on March 30th, 1840. This navigator was the discoverer of the French Pass and D'Urville Island in Cook Strait. He found at anchor in the Otakou Harbour the French whaler Havre, commanded by Captain Privat. There were also in port one British and two American ships. D'Urville landed his officers and carried out scientific research work. He surveyed the bay, took

soundings and explored the harbour as far south as where Dunedin is situated today. The visitors beheld two main villages in the Otakou neighbourhood, one at Ruatitiko (Harrington Point) facing Rauone Beach, and another at Tahakopa near the Black Rock and extending towards Omate. D'Urville does not give a flattering account of the conditions which prevailed. There were two taverns which were frequented by the whalers and sailors in the Bay. The owners of the said taverns did a flourishing business. They sold, "at a high figure," the vilest of liquor. There were potato plots and vegetable gardens which produced cabbages, lettuce and turnips. The work was done chiefly by Maori women, though "at times payment in liquor" would induce a man to do a bit of work. D'Urville states PAGE 70 that the "Maoris were far from having gained from their contact with the sailors." On April 3rd, under the direction of a local pilot, D'Urville's ships crossed the bar and sailed for Akaroa.

The account of the early whaling stations and of the visit of Captain D'Urville has been given at some length to show the changing conditions in which the Maori people of Otakou lived. Many whaling stations were established along the coast of Otago and Southland, and it was inevitable that there should be an enormous change in the manner of life of the Southern Maori.

There were many fine men amongst the early whaling crews, but it was unfortunate the Maori should have been introduced into a society which was, at best, not typical of what the white man had to offer. As we have seen, the new era was ushered in with diseases which ravaged the native population. Their standards of life and ways of thinking suffered a radical change, the stabilising law of tapu had gone, and there was not foothold for these bewildered people. It is no wonder that in 1840 D'Urville formed such a poor opinion of them.

It would have been a sad ending to this account of the decline of such a fine race, had it not been for the new influence which was brought to bear upon them when the first Christian missionaries took up their work in the South Island. Devoted men such as the Revs. Watkin, Creed, Ironside, Riemenschneider, Wohlers and Kirk did not spare themselves, and to their credit, and to the credit of the Maoris themselves, a new spirit rose amongst the people. The population had declined sadly, and this could not be restored, but the Christian faith had revitalised the lives of the people.

It provided a faith which did not grow dim during succeeding years, and still shines brightly in the lives of men and women who have lost the ancient gods but found a new way of life which embraced and transcended the best elements of their earlier spiritual aspirations.

GLOSSARY OF MAORI WORDS

tua: A supernatural influence, a god, a demon.

E noho: Sit down, or remain there; good-bye by a person departing.

Haka: A dance.

Hapu: Clan, section of a clan.

Hongi: To salute by touching noses.

Hui: Coming together of a tribe or tribes; the occasion for discussing matters, marked by hospitality.

Kaika: Place of abode.

Kapai: Good.

Korero: Discussion.

Kuri: Dog.

Mana: Influence, power, prestige.

Makutu: To bewitch, to cast a spell.

Marae: A wide open space in a village, distinguished guests are received in the "Marae."

Mere: A short stone weapon.

Mokihi: Raft of flax sticks and reeds.

Muru: Plunder, confiscation, "clean the slate."

Noa: Free from tapu; whakanoa is the act of removing the tapu.

Nui: Large, great.

Pa: A fortified place.

Pakeha: A stranger, a foreigner.

Piu piu: A garment of kilt form, made of twisted flax.

Puka puka: Book.

Rangatira: A chief.

Rangi: The sky, the heavens.

Raupo: Bulrushes.

Tapu: Under restriction, sacred.

Taniwha: A fabulous monster.

Tangi: To weep—a lament, to mourn.

Tangi-wai: Tear drop.

Tiki: A greenstone figure, or of carved wood.

Taua: A war party.

Tohunga: Priest or wizard.

Utu Ransom, compensation.

Wahine: A woman, in particular a married woman; hine is a girl.

Waiata tangi: A song of lamentation.

Whare: A house.

Whare karakia: A house of worship.

Waipiro: Stinking or rotten water; a term for spirituous liquors.