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WAIHORA

MAORI ASSOCIATIONS WITH LAKE
ELLESMERE

BY W. A. TAYLOR

Reprinted from The Ellesmere Guardian
Leeston, Canterbury

CHRISTCHURCH, N.Z.



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W. A. Taylor

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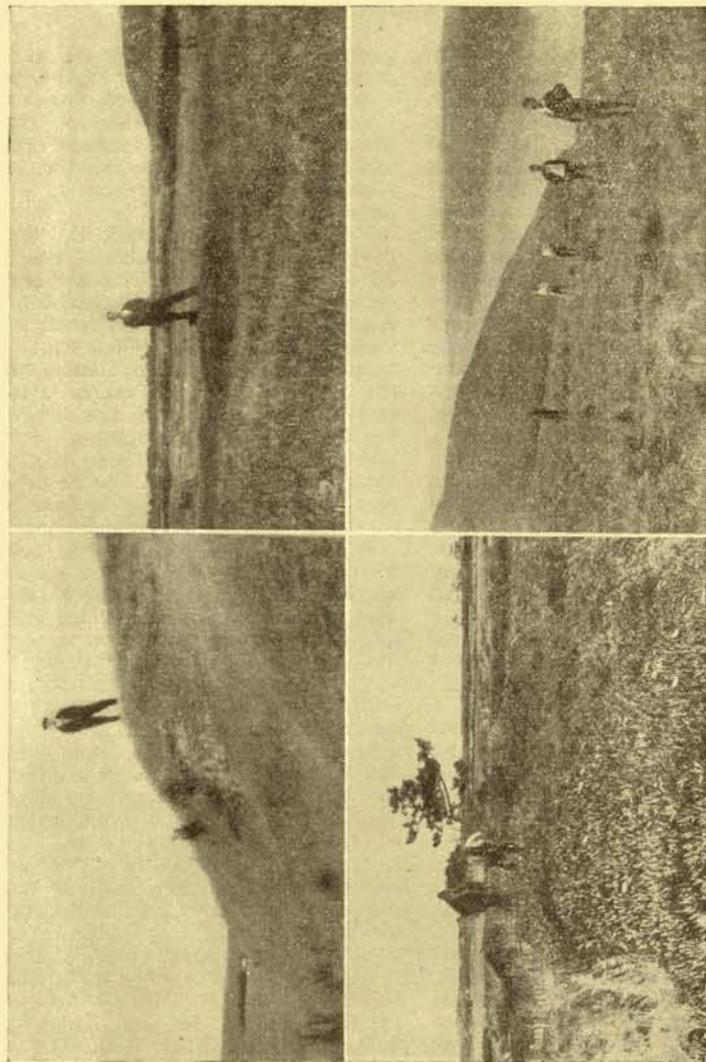
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FOREWORD

In pre-pakeha days that broad sheet of water now called Lake Ellesmere, but known to the Maoris as Waihora, was a factor of tremendous importance to them. It provided the Maoris not only with food and easy transportation, but with materials for their homes, for their industries, and last of all, but not the least essential, with a means of defence against their enemies. The number of sites of settlements located and identified indicates that the lake shore must, at one time, have carried a considerable permanent population. In this little booklet Mr W. A. Taylor has collected a number of articles, written by him and first published by the Ellesmere Guardian, at Leeston, in which he describes some of the features of Maori life around the lake and its influence on their history, economic and social conditions.



TYPICAL MAORI FORTS IN NORTH CANTERBURY

Upper Left: Nga toko ono pa at Fisherman's Bay. Upper Right: Ngatikoreha pa, Ahuriri (near Tai Tapu). Lower Left: Orariki pa, Taumutu. Lower Right: Otoiditoki pa, Fern Bay, Lyttelton.

COMING OF THE MAORI

CHRISTCHURCH, N.Z.

The writer knows of no more contentious a subject than "Who are the Maoris?" The generally-accepted theory is one which was propounded by Chief Judge Fenton, of the Native Land Court, as far back as 1885, when he said that the Hemyarites, driven out of Persia a few centuries before Christ and called the Mahri, and who were also known around the Red Sea as the Mauri, were the ancestors of the Maori. The tribes of Po'ynesia are members of that great family. "The Maori race has walked with Abraham in the great city of Ur, through the grandeur of Southern Arabia, over the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Their cradle was the Mesopotamia Basin." C. E. Nelson, in 1901, by comparisons in language, averred that the Maoris knew the land bordering the Euphrates, but he also showed that a section of the roving people must have reached North America, judged by similarity in native art. A section of thought has even gone so far as to propound the idea that the Maoris came from America. However, the writer, by a close scrutiny of the published evidence, is of the opinion that the line set out by Fenton, S. Percy Smith and others is correct. Behind all the added trimmings gathered in the migrations of the Maori people, there remains a religious belief much like the Buddhist faith of India (and modern Theosophy) with Io the Great Supreme in the Far Beyond. Separating the Great One from mortals here below are twelve spaces, each with guardian gods. The souls advance only by sanctity one space at a time. The grosser they are, the nearer earth; the more saintly the nearer they march to the Divine. Man consists of body (tenana), soul and spirit. To the Maori everything had life, so the signs of Na-

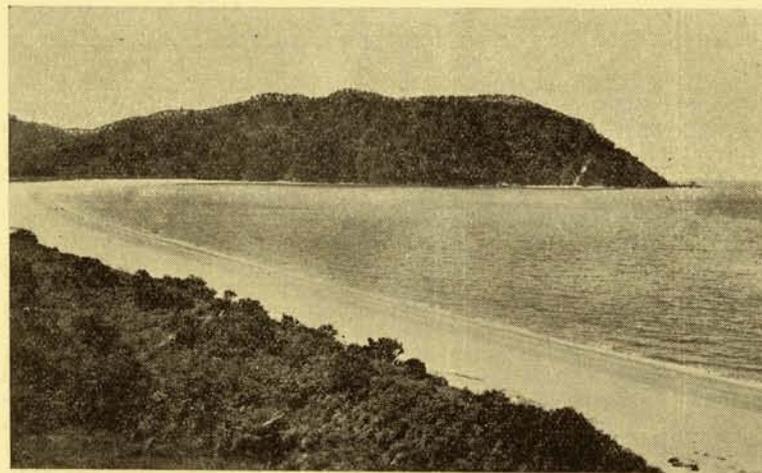
ture were all personified. As an example, Rangi is the sky father and Papa the earth mother; Tane, the Sun is the fertiliser, and so forth. The more one studies Maori religious beliefs the more convinced he becomes that the Maori at least passed through India.

When we come to trace the Maori people through the Pacific area and on to New Zealand, the issue is not quite so clear. George Graham, of Auckland, a recognised authority, stated in 1926 his belief that the Morioris of New Zealand came from the islands of the Western Pacific and the Maoris from the Eastern Pacific. It was the opinion of the late Elsdon Best, and also the late James Cowan, that the Muruiwi race, who were in New Zealand before the Maoris (remnants are incorporated in the Uriwera tribe) were not the same folk as the Morioris. We know that the Morioris of the Chathams went there thirty generations ago. Who were they? Tradition tells us that folk led by Ui te Rangiora visited New Zealand in 650 A.D. South Island tradition says that an explorer named Maui left people in New Zealand about 750 A.D. He arrived in this country by the Mahunui Canoe. The old Maori Land District, which extended from the Clarence to the Waitaki, bore the name of this canoe, and also the Runanga Hall at Kaia-poi in modern times. Rakaihautu, in 850 A.D. brought people to the South Island named the Waitaha. South Island tradition is quite definite on this matter. Other canoes and people followed led by Kupe, 925 A.D. and Toi, 1125 A.D. The accredited tribes of the South Island are Waitaha (first of that name), Hawea, Rapuwai, Waitaha (second of the name), Ngatimamoe, and the present main tribe of the South Is-

land, the Ngai Tahu, which has the blood of its predecessors in its life stream. The first four mentioned are probably the Moriori, but the last two referred to are undoubtedly Maori notwithstanding a taint of Toi strain. In 1868, Sir Julius Von Haast forwarded to Professor C. G. Carus, of the Imperial German Academy of Naturalists, two skulls which had been found in a sandhill at the mouth of the Selwyn river (Waikerikeri), and the greatest authority of that day stated that the relics were not those of Maoris, and promised a detailed statement on his findings. Unfortunately no further information was received from Professor C. G. Carus as he passed away before he could fulfil his obligation in this matter. Any opinion which might have been given later could only have come from

some student of the professor, but Sir Julius Von Haast's correspondence does not show the receipt of any such communication.

There is some ground for belief that Melanesian influence found its way direct to New Zealand, an indication of this being the article of New Hebridian design which was found deeply buried at Orepuke about 40 years ago. The late Mr Elsdon Best once remarked that much knowledge of New Zealand's early people would have been gained from the South Island had a competent person made investigations in the earliest European days. Descriptions of the aforementioned early South Island tribes remain in tradition, but the modern ethnologist cannot connect them up with the prevailing Polynesian type of today.



(Totaranui, where the Ngai Tahu tribe first landed in the South Island, under Kahukare te Paku and Tu Maro).

FOUNDER OF TAUMUTU

Te Rangitama was probably the first Maori chief to make Taumutu his headquarters. His father had been embroiled in strife with other sections of the Ngai Tahu tribe at Port Nicholson (Wellington) and found it very expedient to go south with his followers and live at Waikakahi on the northern shores of Lake Waihora (Ellesmere) surrounded by friendly Ngati Mamoe tribesmen. Te Rangitama, after the slaying of his father at Waikakahi; and peace being made with Whakuku, Moki and others responsible for the vengeance, made several trips to Arahura, in Westland, for greenstone, by way of the pass over the Alps we know today as Browning's Pass (North Rakaia Pass). The Ngai Tahu tribe in Canterbury coveted the West Coast greenstone, shown to them at Arowhenua and Taumutu by a woman explorer, Raureka, from Arahura, who had found the pass. Barter went on for some time between the Ngai Tahu tribe of Canterbury and the Ngati Wairangi of Westland. Often sojourners to the West Coast were robbed of their greenstone when bringing it back to Canterbury.

Te Rangitama thought a better plan would be to organise an expedition via Browning Pass and obtain all greenstone required by Ngai Tahu by means of force. He vanquished his opponents in battle at Lake Kanieri and slew the Ngati Wairangi leader, Te Uekanuka. In a further trip, a section of Te Rangitama's force under a chief, Takawa, was overwhelmed by an avalanche. The pass became more or less "tapu" and was afterwards but little used by the Maoris. In 1865 the Rev. J. W. Stack, at the request of the Canterbury Provincial Government Survey could find only one Maori alive who had made the cross

trip by a Rakaia pass. He was too old and infirm to accompany surveyors Browning and Griffiths, but he furnished an accurate description of the route, and on March 31st, 1865, also drew a sketch for their benefit.

The earlier West Coast explorers, Brunner and Mackay learnt that the passes we know today as Whitcombe and Mathias were unknown to the Maoris. A pass further south known now as Sealey was believed to have been used. Greenstone tools have been found near the summit of this pass. Whitcombe's death by drowning at the Taramakau was caused by the privations suffered in negotiating the pass. Louper, his companion, was succoured by Tarapuhi and other Maoris. Griffiths, a surveyor, a few years later, from his own account was lucky to have come through Whitcombe Pass alive. Mathias Pass and Whitcombe Pass through tracks made by the Government are comparatively easy routes today. Sealey Pass (when the gorge is avoided) has been crossed by European women in modern times. Harper Pass and Haast Pass were the usual Maori routes from coast to coast.

Of Te Rangitama's pa at Taumutu no traces remain, as it was carried away by heavy seas, and flood waters from the lake. However, surrounding Wesley Church and its hallowed acre at Taumutu, can be seen the ramparts and moat of Te Ruahikihiki's pa. This chief, a nephew of Te Ake, of Akaroa, was one of the Ngai Tahu warriors who wrested Canterbury from the Ngatimamoe tribe. His first selection was at Wainui, on Akaroa Harbour, the next Whakamoia, and finally he came to Taumutu over the broad waters of Lake Ellesmere, which was teeming with bird

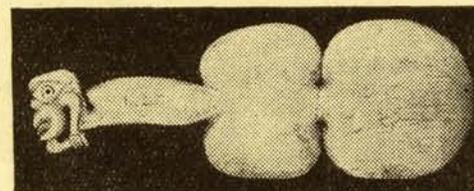
life, fish and eels. The pa of Moki II. lies to the west of ^{Ocaruki} Okariki, which was the name of Te Ruahikihiki's pa. The Maoris of Taumutu are descendants of these doughty fighters.

The Maori church at Taumutu was opened free of debt on Easter Sunday, 1885, by Rev. W. W. Rowse, assisted by Rev. Te Kote te Rato of Rapaki. The building was designed by Mr Lambert, was erected at a cost of £350, and is capable of seating 150 persons. The Runanga hall is named after Moki II. and replaced an earlier structure on May 7th, 1891. R. M. Taiaroa was the principal speaker at its opening. The occasion was marked by a typical Maori feast, with bullocks, eels etc., all cooked in Maori ovens. The present chief of Taumutu, Riki te Mairaki Taiaroa, now in the autumn of life, is a one-time international footballer, a man loved by both races, and considered a worthy descendant of Matenga Taiaroa (Fighting Taiaroa).

In 1840 there were twelve houses at Taumutu and Rewa Koruarua was the principal man. Though the Wesleyan Church, both by means of its native teachers and European

clergy holds the honour of being the first to Christianise the Maoris of the South Island in general, to Bishop Selwyn must be given the credit of holding the first regular Anglican Church service in Canterbury at Taumutu in January, 1844, before a congregation of 40 Maoris. On October 7th, 1845, the Rev. Charles Creed preached the first Wesleyan service at Taumutu. On October 27th, 1851, the Rev. James Watkin, pioneer Wesleyan clergyman of Old Waikouaiti, baptised seven adult Maoris and one Maori child at Taumutu.

Peace reigns at Taumutu now-a-days — such a change from those days when a Kaikoura Maori party passing friendly-like through Taumutu to see friends at Moeraki, were ambushed and slain. All for some distant slight. Retribution on Taumutu came from Moeraki. During the fray a warrior named Kuwhare was taken prisoner by Korako, to be used as a sacrifice to Mua. He broke away, and being a celebrated runner, he outdistanced his pursuers around the shores of Lake Waihora, and reached safety with friends at old Kaiapohia.



WHALEBONE KOTIATE

Heirloom, the property of Marie Kipa, of Wairewa.

SETTLEMENTS AROUND THE LAKE

Waikakahi, situated near the Bluegums at Birdling's Flat on the site of what was once Wascoe's Inn, was a scattered settlement 300 years ago. There Tutekawa and his followers dwelt, Ngai Tahu folk living amongst friendly Ngati Mamoe people. During inter-tribal strife near Wellington, Tutekawa had slain the wives of Tuahuriri the Ngai Tahu chief. Their names were Hinekaitaki and Tuaruwhati, and they were sisters of a warrior named Whakuku. Many years passed by until the Ngai Tahu found it expedient to fight their way into Ngatimamoe territory. They were too busy at the moment fighting the Rangitane and Ngaitara of the Sounds. The Ngai Tahu, hard pressed by the Ngatikahungunu in the North Island, crossed first to Tataranui in Nelson; fighting their way through to the Wairau in Marlborough. The many battles are outside the scope of this narrative.

Tuahuriri had been drowned, along with his son Hamua, when crossing Cook Strait; his elder remaining son, Turakautahi, was club-footed, so the leadership devolved on the younger son, Moki. Moki vanquished the Ngati Mamoe on Banks Peninsula, and then sought out Tutekawa (the slayer of Tuahuriri's wives) at Waikakahi. Moki felt loth to kill the aged man, but Whakuku had no such scruples and drove his taiaha into the helpless chief. Te Rangitamau, the son of Tutekawa, from his pa at Taumutu sallied forth, evaded the sentries and placed his mat on the sleeping Moki. Then on went Te Rangitamau to Te Puia the fort of Waikakahi not far away. Moki, seeing his life had been spared when asleep, made peace with Tutekawa's son.

The trenches of Te Puia are situated near to Mr E. A. Birdling's

homestead on the point separating Price's Valley from Waikoko Valley and only a few chains from the main Christchurch-Akaroa road. The ridge, running to a sharp point near to the Devil's Elbow where the main highway turns sharp to the left, is named Maro kura nui, and on it once stood a Maori look-out post. The pinnacle rock, known as the Devil's Elbow, is Maro kura iti. It is a very sacred place, being an old Maori burial site, a deep cleft in the rock being used.

When Native Reserve 890 at Little River was ruined by road-making, the Provincial Government substituted section 1297 near the outlet of Lake Forsyth and situated half a mile due east of the Birdling's Flat railway station. This section incorporated the site of a one-time stockaded pa known as Mata hapuka, but in early European times a fishing kainga. The area (ten acres) though surveyed and reserved in 1871 by the Provincial Survey Department was sold in error by its Waste Lands Board. The European purchaser immediately put an exorbitant price on it when the Provincial Government tried to repurchase it for the natives. He also obtained £10 compensation from the Provincial Government on February 28th, 1877, through Maoris trespassing. The land has not been used much in the intervening years. Better land nearer the beach and the railway was valued at only 10/- per acre in 1943. It was not worth that in 1876. In 1883 the Maoris were granted section 2533 of ten acres and section 2574 of five acres near the railway at Birdling's Flat. The Little River Maoris also have a fishery easement at the outlet of the Kaituna stream.

On the north side of the outlet of Lake Wairewa (Forsyth) is an iso-

lated rock called Poutaiki, alongside is section 3730, an old Maori burial place (Wairenapa), an ungazetted native reserve which the Maoris could obtain under one of the clauses of a Native Land Act, as it is the place where Te Rangi Tauhuka a Tane, a brother to Ropuake, who was wife to Mako, is interred. Mako, when his tribe (Ngai Tahu) took possession of Banks Peninsula, selected the site of his pa at the junction of the Okuiti and Te Oka valleys on section 1783, Little River. Otawiri was its name. Oruaka, its trenches clearly visible, stands on the hill west of Price's homestead on the north side of Lake Forsyth (Wairewa). Nearby is the spring where Taununu was slain by Kaiwhata and Kaurehe during the Eat Relation Feud. On the hill east of Price's homestead, stood a kainga named Ngutu piri. Otukakau, a hill separating Lake Forsyth from Oauhau Bay, was the site of a hill

fort belonging to Mako.

All the hill points and valleys from the head of the Ninety-Mile Beach to Gebbie's Pass show signs of Maori settlement. On the low flat point near Greed's homestead at Kaituna, an old-time settlement can clearly be discerned, also a look-out station on Stony Point further west. Oweuri lay in a short valley still further west. Waikaha was a settlement lying back from the old outlet of the Halswell river. Gebbie's Pass was known to the Maoris as Kawa taua, because the kawa ceremony was performed there over warriors proceeding to a battle. Te Mata Hapuka pa, mentioned in this narrative, was visited by Edward Shortland on January 29th, 1844, where he found ten Maoris dwelling under the leadership of Tukupani. Matenga Te Rapa was chief in early Canterbury days, and his descendants live now at Little River.



KAITORETE—ELLESMERE SPIT

To the Maori people there is a vast amount of sentiment attached to that narrow strip of land approximately 15 miles long, and covering about 12,000 acres, known to the pakeha as the Ellesmere Spit, but to the natives as Kaitorete. The spit played a part in the Kai Huanga (Eat Relation) Feud, a civil war which decimated the several hapus of the Ngai Tahu tribe to such an extent in North Canterbury that they were not able to hold either Kaiapohia or Onawe against Te Rauparaha and his warriors from Kapiti in 1831. The Eat Relation Feud was occasioned by a lady named Murihaka, wife of Potahi of Waikakahi daring to place on her shoulders the dog skin mat belonging to the paramount chief of Canterbury, Te Maiharanui. Retribution for the sacrilege did not fall on her. A woman named Rere-waka paid the penalty of death. This was avenged by the slaying of Hape, a chief at Ngati Koreha, a pa, the ruins of which can still be seen between Tai Tapu and Motukarara. The death of Hape brought the Taumutu folk into fight with those of Waikakahi (Waikakahi was a village which stood at Wascoe's Bluegums at Birdling's Flat). Te Maiharanui gathered together warriors from Kaiapoi and defeated the Taumutu people at Hakitai. Taumutu retaliated on Wairewa. Ripapa Island (Lyttelton Harbour), Whakaepa (Coalgate), Kourarata (Port Levy), were all drawn into the squabble. The Taumutu folk decided to go to Otakou (Otago Heads). Te Maiharanui, despite his rank, was cruel, treacherous and unreliable. However, he succeeded in assuring the Taumutu folk he had decided for peace. On their return to Taumutu they were set on just after crossing the Rakaia river

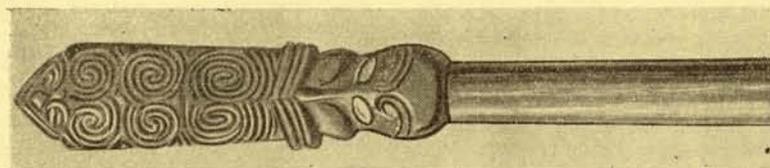
at the place called Orehu, and most of them were slain. The majority of Te Maiharanui's band would never have gone forward for him had they known such base treachery was afoot. Guns were used on this occasion for the first time by the Ngai Tahu tribe. When Te Maiharanui knew the Taumutu folk had a gun or two he displayed cowardice by attempting to run away, and was forcibly compelled to go to the attack by his fellow chief, Whakataka.

Te Maiharanui was captured in Akaroa Harbour by Te Rauparaha, aided in a despicable manner by Captain Stewart of the brig Elizabeth, tortured and put to death. His own end was no worse than that which he had sent members of his own Ngai Tahu tribe. Had his loss been felt by the Ngai Tahu, nothing would have prevented them from exacting "utu" on the Europeans at Peraki Whaling Station, revenge for the complicity of Captain Stewart.

On December 30th, 1864, Hoani Timaru, Pohau, Ihaia Tihau, Hopa Paura, and Te Urukaio made a strong appeal to the Hon. William Fox for the ownership of the Ellesmere spit. The Maoris of Taumutu and Wairewa, on September 9th, 1865, through Natanahira Waruwarutu, approached the Hon. James E. Fitzgerald, the then Native Minister for possession. His reply was sympathetic but his voice alone failed to persuade the Government of the day. J. W. Hamilton, the land purchase officer of the Akaroa Block, remarked thus on June 3rd, 1866:—"From all the Maoris have told me, and so far as I can understand them, I doubt if ever the Kaitorete spit was ceded by them." When the Native Land Court sat at Christchurch under Chief Judge F. D. Fenton to liquidate all claims

arising out of the infamous Kemp's Deed of Purchase of the Ngai Tahu Block, the Maoris led by Heremai Mautai and Hoani Timaru, fought hard for possession of Kaitorete. Royal Commissions have since shown that the case for the Crown was loaded. That this was the case is clearly shown by a passage in the 1868 report: "Whatever the demands of the natives, the Court was completely bound by the evidence of the Crown witnesses." To strengthen its questionable rights under Kemp's Deed, the Government passed the Ngai Tahu Reference Validation Act, at a time when litigation was pending. Natanahira Waruwarutu in a letter to the Governor pointed out the unjust manner in which the Land Court accepted evidence in 1868. On October 6th, 1868, Heremaia Mautai and Hoani Timaru brought action against the Crown

at the Supreme Court, Christchurch; however, Judge Gresson held that the decision of the Native Land Court was final. On September 15th, 1883, Chief Judge J. E. Macdonald, with Judge E. W. Puckey and Reteriti Tapihana, native assessor, were called upon at the Native Land Court to further consider the position as regards the Kaitorete case. Once more the court's decision made in 1868 was considered final. The boundaries of the Kaitorete Spit are officially described:—From Waimakua to Te Kawapapa, on to Waikakahi and then to Kitokitoki. Ngaumunaunau represents the beach or boundary on the eastern side. The spit at its highest elevation is only 20 feet above sea level. Kaitorete has been interpreted as meaning "eat paroquet" and also "distress cry of paroquet."



A taiaha, the most formidable weapon of the Maori. This specimen was the possession of an acquaintance of the writer, Herewina Ira, of Moeraki, one of the last graduates of the wharekura (school of learning). Given by him to Felix Mitchell, of Ravensbourne, Dunedin, and now in the Dunedin Museum.

AROUND TAI TAPU

By modern Maoris and pakehas. Tai Tapu has been interpreted as "sacred tide." Unfortunately, the Halswell river is not in the slightest degree affected by the ocean or its tides. Tai Tapu really is an almost obsolete word meaning "boundary," and in this instance it does apply, as the Halswell river marked a boundary of the lands of one of the small hapus of the Ngai Tahu tribe, namely the Ngati Koreha—there are some 70 hapus of the Ngai Tahu tribe.

Ngati Koreha pa, named after the hapu of that name, lies back near the hills on the old disused coach road between Ahuriri and Motukarara. It was abandoned after the bloodshed of the Eat Relation Feud, and its people moved to Kaiapoi, where descendants still live. Occasionally afterwards folk of the Ngati Koreha visited the land of their forbears and camped near the Ahuriri lagoon. In the Ahuriri valley itself, near where Morton's homestead now stands, an incident took place during Te Rauparaha's last expedition into North Canterbury, when parties were out scouting to capture escapees from Onawe. When Onawe fell, two cousins, Aperahama Te Aika, and Wi Te Paa, escaped chiefly by the latter's skill with a gun, shooting the Ngati Toa pursuers. Wi Te Paa made for Ngati Koreha and joined his wife, Herakou. For the pair danger had not passed, as a Ngati Toa warrior found them unarmed. He tied Wi Te Paa to a tree and pursued the fleeing wife. The sensuous Ngati Toa was sized up by the woman, and she offered herself. This was his undoing, for a stone hidden in her hand behind her crashed down on that Ngati Toa skull. Wi Te Paa was released by his wife, who pre-

pared a Maori oven, and the Ngai Tahu pair enjoyed a good Ngati Toa joint. The grandson of Wi Te Paa, who is a full-blooded Maori, a rarity in the South Island now-a-days, has been a close friend of the writer for 40 years.

The Ahuriri native reserve of 167 acres was made in 1895, and in 1901 was vested in the Public Trustee for fishing and other native purposes. On October 29th, 1907, the Public Trustee furnished Parliament with returns of revenue from leasing the land. Some of the money was utilised in supplying medical attention for the Maoris of Tautumu. On February 22nd, 1908, the Native Land Court Judge, H. W. Bishop and James Apes, native assessor, investigated the claims to interest in the reserve, and how the revenue was to be utilised. On December 8th, 1909, it was resolved to continue payment to the doctor attending on the natives of Tautumu. On October 31st, 1913, the Native Land Court, Judge Gilfedder presiding, restricted, however, the fishing rights on the Ahuriri lagoon within the reserve to the Maoris of Kaiapoi, Rapaki, Wairewa, and Kourarata, excluding all other settlements.

Pukeko (swamp hen) and other bird life abound on the lagoon. When the deity Tawhaki was journeying up to his celestial abode, he met Pukeko coming down to earth, so he pinched his nose. That is why it remains red to this day.

At Greenpark, on the southern side of the Ahuriri lagoon, the ti or cabbage tree flourished, especially the variety called Cordyline Australis. This tree was never wantonly destroyed, and any Maori doing so stood a good chance of losing his

life. It was also protected by having close seasons once in every three years. The early summer, usually October, was the time when a tree was selected for food purposes. Both the trunk and the tap root were used. Young trees of about six feet length were selected, cut off close to the roots and cut into smaller lengths. The outer bark was removed until only the fibrous pith remained. This was then sun dried and cooked, a sweet dark substance not unlike liquorice being produced. The product called kauru, was much favoured by the Maori women of Canterbury. The continuous chewing of it by them is credited with causing our dusky beauties to have larger mouths than their kin in other parts.

Raupo also grew around the Ahuriri lagoon, and a product from it was used by the local Maori wahines in making a kind of ginger

bread cake. A specimen of such gingerbread, tasted 25 years after making, was declared by the Curator of the Dominion Museum on August 12th, 1905, as very palatable. However, the poi balls we see at poi dances are made from the white part of the base of the stalk of raupo, which, after being split from edge to edge, and the pith removed and dried, are then fashioned into "the fascinating things."

Before the destruction of the bush by fire, and the remnants by introduced game, the Maori obtained from the forest his food supply—vegetables and birds. The Ahuriri bush abounded with all this, for something like 250 varieties of plants grew there before the pakeha came on the scene. The roots of the mamakau fern, when cooked in a Maori oven, is good food and goes well, say the Maoris, when an eel is added to the menu.



FOOD RESOURCES OF THE LAKE

Lake Ellesmere is known to the Maoris as Waihora and the name translated means "water spread out." This great sheet of water knows no rival in the South Island as a place of mahingakai (food supply). That is the reason the Maoris of Taumutu and Wairewa fought so desperately in the courts for its possession. Within the waters of Waihora sports the patiki or flounder, which fish is beloved on the menu by Maori and pakeha alike.

Prior to 1850 Lake Ellesmere teemed with flounders. Even up to 1885 the Maoris of Taumutu, who only used flax nets, could manage a take of one cwt. of patiki at each haul. The flounders came in from the sea when the lake was opened, spread themselves over it and ascended the several streams debouching into the lake. In these creeks the average weight of a patiki speared by a Maori was one pound, but many, however, turned the scale at two pounds. When the boulder bank was opened, the Taumutu natives turned out in force, men, women and children, with hoop nets, working from daylight until dark, and very often far into the night aided by torch light. Herrings were also plentiful in those days. When the outlet was blocked and the fish were again making for the open sea, the Maoris made a series of trenches 20 feet long, three feet wide, and two feet deep into the shingle bank in the direction of the ocean. After the flounders had swarmed a trench a Maori with a scoop would jump in behind them from his place of concealment and set to work and throw the fish out on to the banks. The wahines quickly gathered up the take. The Maoris of Taumutu depended very largely on the fishing industry as

their means of livelihood. Much of the take was bartered with the natives of other parts, such as Rapaki and Port Levy, for hapuka and mako (shark).

In 1864 the Maoris met the commencement of pakeha competition with superior equipment. There is little doubt that the decline in flounders in Lake Ellesmere is due to the voracious trout introduced by the Acclimatisation Society to provide amusement for the well-to-do pakeha. Prior to amendments being made to the Fishery Acts about fifty years ago, the Maoris were not deprived of selling trout taken along with their flounders.

On April 21st, 1870, the Maoris of Taumutu and Wairewa sent a letter to the Hon. William Rolleston, Superintendent of Canterbury and the following is the translation:—"We, the Maoris of Taumutu and Wairewa, beg to lodge with you our protest against anyone interfering with Lake Ellesmere for the purpose of letting the same out, until August or September. Our fishing grounds are getting exhausted through the lake being let out at such a low level, and so destroying the spawn during the breeding season. Pakehas make laws to protect the black swans and his trout fishing, but of the Maoris they first take the land, and now want to destroy his fishing grounds."

When a Fishery Commission investigated the position of the fishing industry of Lake Waihora on March 7th, 1893, Sir John Hall pointed out that both by the Treaty of Waitangi and by Kemp's Deed of Sale of the Ngai Tahu block, the Maoris were guaranteed that their fisheries would not be disturbed. The flounder spawns during August, September and October, and the principal spawning ground is

near the outlet of the lake at Taumutu. Flounders come out of the mud principally during the month of September, are in full roe in October and spread over the lake during November.

Popular fishing grounds are: (1) Two miles off the Timberyard at the mouth of Hart's Creek; (2) off the mouth of the L. river; (3) off the mouth of the Halswell river. The Maoris of Taumutu, during the season of 1893, were daily forwarding 40 cases of flounders to the Christchurch market, all taken from the broad waters of Lake Waihora. Needless to say, some trout also went along, and good stories can be told of how the Acclimatisation Society rangers were sent on wild goose errands. On October 8th, 1901, the Hon. H. K. Tairaroa, of Taumutu, brought before the notice of Parliament, that the Ellesmere drainage works contemplated by the Selwyn County Council were likely to interfere with Maori fishing rights. On December 10th, 1902, over 600 persons of both races put their signatures to a petition placed before Parliament by Sir R. Heaton Rhodes, requesting fair play for the natives by allowing the offending trout to be sold along with the flounders taken by the Maori and European fishermen of Taumutu. On November 4th, 1912, Parliament was given the opportunity of being just to the Maoris of Taumutu and Wairewa when a bill was placed before the House to conserve native fishing rights. The bill was lost; 27 members voting against the measure, and 25 for it. However, the patiki

is still living at the lake, as he is under the guardianship of the deity Naha.



The guardian of the fishing grounds of Waihora. Now in the Christchurch Museum.

TUNA, IMPORTANT ARTICLE OF DIET

To mention having tuna (eel) for a meal never fails to cause a beam of delight to spread across the face of a Maori, though it must be admitted most of us pakehas despise it on our own bill of fare. What is the reason Europeans take this attitude? Is it on account of the squirming snake-like appearance of an eel; is it on account of having at some time had a whiff of the odour proceeding from a drier on which a hundred or more eels have been hanging near the outlets of either Lake Forsyth or Lake Ellesmere (a smell that lingers with one through a lifetime) or is it because the Maori knows the secret of the cooking and we pakehas do not?

In pre-European times every Maori tribe had its own particular eeling grounds. These were further sub-divided among the sub-tribes or hapus. No hapu ever encroached on the territory of its neighbour without express permission. To trespass meant dire trouble, and generally bloodshed. As Lake Waihora and Lake Waiarewa (Forsyth) abounded with eels over large areas, fighting seldom was necessary. The eeling grounds were under the special guidance of a mauri or eel god which was placed also as a boundary mark. The eel god, named Tiki Tuna, is invariably carved to represent a man's head, but the body is that of an eel. Special karakia (prayer) was addressed to Tiki Tuna by the tohunga (priest) to ensure a good catch. As a reward for his services the tohunga received the first eel caught. The rest of the first eel catch was only allowed as food for men. Tiki Tuna originally dwelt in Heaven, but the celestial domain was far too dry, and he came down to earth and selected the wet places. Lake Ellesmere and its surrounding swamps

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certainly met his needs.

Tuna is also the subject of a legend which says the deity named Maui severed his (Tuna's) head from his body. The result was that the head became the freshwater eel, and the body that of the sea specimen, known as the conger eel. Incidentally the eel takes the place of the serpent in the Maori account of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. The tail of an eel is called by the Maoris "tara puremu" which translated means "the cause of adultery."

The Maoris capture eels in several ways, just as pakehas do. The common method is to use the spear or "heru." Maoris are adepts at taking eels with the bob, and also from under the banks of small creeks by means of the bare hands. Needless to say, a trout or two are captured by the last-mentioned method. On a big scale on large streams, converging weirs are constructed having a space at the centre fitted with a trap door made of light twigs. The weirs are constructed of manuka stakes closely driven. The space where the trap door is placed is called "tuki" and the brushwood pegged down on the bottom of the stream to prevent scouring is named whakareinga. The containers for the eels are "hinaki" and "korotete." At the outlet of Lake Waiarewa (Forsyth), instead of weirs, trenches are cut into the shingle bank, and the eels trapped within. At this place can be seen several stages for drying eels hundreds at a time. A stage is called "trewa," and the fire used for smoking the tuna is named "ahi rara tuna."

The names for eels are legion. Different tribes have different names, and even Maori individuals contribute to the diversity of naming.



The old Maori hotel, Dampier Bay, Lyttelton, where Taumutu and other Maoris stayed when visiting Port Cooper.

Some large eels found and known in certain places earn the reputation of being "tapu." A Maori friend of the writer who passed on his way to "Reinga" quite recently, believed the misfortunes of a fishing party under his leadership were occasioned by capturing a "tapu" eel at the mouth of the Kaituna stream. Nothing went well that day, even the cart by which the spoils of the visit were being taken to Christchurch, collapsed on the way.

Eels may be classified broadly into two classes, tuna heke which are eels that travel to the sea; and tuna toke, those which remain in the same locality. Tuna rere is the favoured eel of the former class and tuna pa and tuna puharakeke of the latter class. Tuna hao is the fav-

ourite eel of South Canterbury. Heavy seas on April 2nd, 1888, carried away the shingle bank separating Lake Waiarewa from the sea. The run out of the waters was so great the lake bed was covered with stranded eels. The quantity was described as "enough eels as would fill a ship." On October 11th, 1931, a party of Kaiapoi Maoris obtained 6½ sacks of eels from the Halswell river at Motukarara. When Lake Forsyth was let out on September 15th, 1943, the Waiarewa Maoris secured their greatest take for years. Tuna is evidently not going to disappear from the Maori menu for some time yet, as 600 tons can be taken without depleting the year's stock at Lake Ellesmere. Waiarewa means "water lifted up."

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HARAKEKE OR NATIVE FLAX

In the Canterbury Museum can be seen excellent specimens of Maori flax work executed by the deft fingers of the late Mrs H. K. Tairaroa, of Taumutu. The craftsmanship compares favourably with any such work done in the North Island, despite the fact that the best varieties of harakeke (*Phormium tenax*) cannot be grown in Canterbury and Otago owing to the severe frosts of winter.

The Hon. William Rolleston, Superintendent of Canterbury Province, who was an ardent admirer of the Maori people and keen to promote their welfare, sought information in 1869 on the cultivation of the flax plant, and its preparation for industry from the superintendents of the northern provinces, and several Native Department officials. Plants of the several varieties growing exclusively in the North Island, such as Atraukaua, Huhiroa and Owe were planted out in the Christchurch Domain by Mr J. F. Armstrong, its curator. Some 16 different types of flax were grown but only the common flax of Canterbury survived their second winter. The tests were made with 852 plants from Hawke's Bay, 24 plants from Taranaki, only the 100 plants of the dark-edged variety, growing at such places locally as Halswell, lasted several years. The harakeke from Halswell was dressed at the Burnham Flax Mills by Walter Whitby. The bundle weighed 3lb. 5ozs. before dressing and the result after was about one-fifth the weight of the green flax.

The Maoris cultivated flax, the seed being planted about March, and as the seedlings grew to six inches high they were transplanted out. After the flax was cut by the men, the women carried out all the after preparations, and made the beautiful flax articles—mats, cloaks, bags

etc. we know so well. The best cloaks took anything from eight months up to two years to finish. For korowai mats the flax leaves were torn into strips, then soaked in running water for several days, beaten on a stone with a pounder, then worked and cleaned by hand. For kaitaka mats, only the upper surface of selected leaves was utilised, the cuttle being scraped with a shell. Four weaving sticks were used as a frame on which to interweave the threads. Credit is often given the Maori men for patience when making a stone tool or weapon, but the Maori women are not one whit behind in that attribute.

Extensive swamps extended from Tai Tapu to Halswell in former days, through which the Halswell and its tributaries meandered. Through successful draining, little evidence of this can be seen today. However, on almost every small elevation on a settler's property can be found Maori ovens, probably where Maori flax-cutters rested for a meal. South-east of the Landsdown valley, on the old coach road between Halswell and Tai Tapu, a village stood once, a Ngati Mamoe village called Manuka. Up the Landsdown valley are two caves which were used as dwellings by the Maoris. The one on Mr Duff's property is Te Ana Pohatu Whakairo (cave of the rock markings). The cave near the waterfall known in the early days as Ellesmere Cave is called Te Ika i te ana. When Minchin owned the land at the mouth of the Landsdown valley, the Maoris were still dwelling there in a small kainga. They were forcibly evicted by the Provincial Government Police on December 29th, 1856. Hapakuka Kairua made an effort to secure the locality, but unsuccessfully, at

Chief Judge Fenton's Native Land Court at Christchurch during 1868, and so was lost to the Maori a flax-growing area. In 1844 it was estimated that the average result of a day's labour by a Maori woman engaged in the preparation of native flax was to fill a basket holding 12lbs. weight.

The Halswell river and its swamps were negotiated by the Maoris on flax rafts called mokohi. Early European explorers, R. A. Sherrin (1863), E. Shortland (1844) and W. B. D. Mantell and others have given descriptions of a mokohi and its making. The simplest explanation is that given by Shortland:—"Three bundles of raupo 18 feet long and two feet in centre fastened together so as to form a raft. Another bundle is laid along the middle to form a keel. Between the keel and the sides the space is filled with packed raupo, and strongly

secured. Then all is turned over and the top work done. Two small bundles are placed on the outer rim from stem to stern for top sides, and all vacancies are filled with raupo. This done the whole is securely tied down with flax." Sherrin, A. Dudley Dobson and Mantell, however, in their rafts used flax throughout, and these withstood the test on such rivers as the Waitaki and Taramakau even when heavily loaded. The north fork of the Halswell river is called Tauawa a maka, and the other branch going more towards Ladbroke is the Opo ira. Te Puna wera is a hot spring alongside the Christchurch-Akaroa road, north of Motukarara. Waro kuri and Waro muri are places in the Prebbleton-Ladbroke district mentioned in a Maori story which the writer hopes to identify from a now missing Maori sketch (seen a few years ago at Taumutu).

PLACE NAMES AND THEIR MEANINGS

About seventy years ago a Maori prepared a map of South and Mid-Canterbury with native place names. Much the worse for wear, it is still in Maori possession. Knowing that the writer was particularly interested in the Maori associations of Lake Ellesmere it was loaned through the good word of Mr J. H. Beattie, of Waimate, a recognised authority on Otago and Southland history. In addition much knowledge was gained from a sketch in the possession of Mr R. M. Tairaroa, of Taumutu. Mr Tairaroa and Mr J. Brown, of Taumutu, have at all times given me ready help.

Otuapuku is near the domain at Rakaia Mouth and can be identified as the old moa-hunters' camp which was so thoroughly explored in 1868

by Sir Julius Von Haast.

Te Ara waere is the site of the Rakaia Huts, and Whakapatuakura is further west towards the North Rakaia Road.

Orehu is the stony gully up towards Jollie's Brook, the native name of which is Hiri whare. The Tent Burn is properly the Omuku and a spot between the Tent Burn and Jollie's Brook is Te Awapuna-puna. Lee's Creek is the Hiahia. Te Arahaia is a stream further north and near its environs once stood a small kainga named Muriwai.

Near Taumutu is Tuarahua and Haketai. The site of Te Ruahikihiki's old pa at Wesley Church, Taumutu, is Orariki, and the stream running parallel with the Boulder Bank and draining the swamps is the Kopua-

terehu, and the one time branch streams are the Tekapuhaeretotara, Rakinui, Matakehu with the Papatahaura coming from the direction of Moki II's pa. The swamp from which these streams are fed is called Wai wakaheke tupa pakau. The spring in the centre of the swamp was where water burials took place. The name given denotes this fact.

The long stream known in the Ellesmere district as Wai ke wai has long borne a name which has been a puzzle to Maori scholars, as in its present form it is considered poor Maori. By spelling the name Wai ki wai aided by a little imagination it has been translated "water in a different direction." However, the original name of the stream appears to have been Wai kekewai (water of the small dragon fly).

Whakamatakaira is the name of the long boulder bank of the Taumutu Commonage, a point of vantage when observing the arrival of folk from the north. A place in the centre of the commonage is called Taotaopaina. Pakoau is further along on the commonage. Tauka hara, in the same locality, is a point which to Maori fishermen was a poor landing place. The point on the Kaitorete (Ellesmere) Spit and directly across the lake from the last mentioned place is Kaikanohi. A noted warrior there caught his wife Te Whani Pai in guilty relationship with a person called Tiekikai. The man made a successful get-away, but as the woman always pays, the irate husband gouged out his unfaithful wife's eyes and swallowed them. Kaikanohi means "eyes swallowed."

Kua o whiti, Kua au, Kereru and Waitatari are places at the mouth of Hart's creek. Waiwhio is the mouth of the Irwell river. Punonokoro, Meaea, Taumatakuri, Te Parapara, Matakanae, Matao, Te Awakomuka, Te Pukaka are all one

time eeling and fishing locations near Boggy creek and Irwell river, just as Te Kakahi is Selwyn Huts.

Going up the Selwyn river on its south bank are Matanui, Te Ata tikiatewakaaro, Ninomakura and Puaka. On its north bank are Anari, Okarewa, Te Waikare, Tatuamaunawa, Te Kauakapatete, Taheke, Rikarika, Tararoa, Tamanui, Wakarewa, and Otutunoko. Ararira is the mouth of the L river.

Heketara is the mouth of the Halswell river, and Matakana is the head of Lake Ellesmere. Ohine Tauapu was the low mud bank which separated the one-time Motumotuaolagoon at Kaituna from Lake Ellesmere. Rangihauku is the point of a ridge up the Kaituna valley, and an old kainga well up the Kaituna valley was named Mautohe. Kuhakawariwari is the long point of the range which butts Lake Ellesmere west of Kaituna station. Natanahira Waruwarutu in 1883 thus describes a round of the lake:—Te Hua to Tauhinu, to Otaumata, to Te Ratai, to Waikerikeri, to Ararira, to Heketara, to Matakana, to Taitokerau, to Ngawhaka and back to Te Hua.

Otuweruweru was an old habitation well down the spit. Until a few years ago the hollows where the whares stood were easily seen. There was a spring in the vicinity. The name means "the place where the garments were left." Te Wai o Otamapua, a small swamp, was nearby. Te Koro o te kau is in the same locality, being section 3 Block 3586, and Okumaku on the west side of the spit at the south end of Block 3521.

From the summit of Gebbie's pass one views the extent of Lake Ellesmere. On Gebbie's pass which is known as Kawa taua the Maori warriors went through the kawa ceremony before going forward to battle. Since then many a Maori warrior has given his service to the war god Tu, and all as loyal British subjects.

WHO WERE THE MOA HUNTERS?

When one visualises the past, somehow thoughts of the extinct bird of New Zealand, the moa, become connected with the former inhabitants of this land. There is hardly a portion of this country of ours, North or South Island, which has not at some time yielded up its collection of moa bones. Those from within the Christchurch metropolitan area, right through Ellesmere to Rakaia Mouth, have found a niche in the Canterbury Museum collection. Though the famous Glenmark find was the greatest, others such as was found at Rakaia Mouth and explored by Sir Julius Von Haast in 1868, introduced the human element to a greater degree. From Julius Von Haast's observations of the moa hunters' ovens he was convinced they were not cannibals.

Who were the moa hunters? How long did the moa exist in New Zealand? A question not easily answered. The ethnologist and historian differ. One thing is certain: It lived in New Zealand in numbers over a 1000 years ago. Weighing the evidence published, it is evident 300 years ago saw the bird a rarity in the land, and it apparently became extinct 150 years ago. The first people of the South Island, Waitaha (first of that name), Hawea, Rapuwai, and Waitaha (second of that name) practically exterminated the moa. The Ngatimamoe and Ngaitahu, however, in comparatively modern times gave the finishing touch.

Modern Maoris knew by tradition of moas frequenting the Upper Rangitata valley. Proof of the tradition was only obtained in 1935 when some poughing was being done at Ben McLeod Station. In the early days old Maoris averred they knew the moa, and strange to say, after they had passed away

moa bones were found in undisturbed land at places told of by them.

The moa hunters' camp at the Little Rakaia covers an area of 50 acres. The ovens are oval in shape, about eight feet in length and five feet wide. They are in clusters of about eight together, and in groups about 20 yards apart. The stone adzes and chisels found among the moa bones were of a siliceous rock found at the forks of the Hinds river. The flints probably came from the Amuri bluff. Some of these flints can be seen at the Canterbury Museum, and it is surmised were used in cutting up moa flesh.

Valuable Maori curios of a more modern era can be seen at the Museum. Some of the collection obtained on Mrs Willey's property near Taumutu in 1931 are particularly good, and contain excellent adzes of the greenstone known as kawakawa. Mr A. Barnett, of Leeston, deposited a greenstone adze and a hog back argillite adze on May 2nd, 1939. These were found at Deep Spring in the early days in a ploughed paddock after rain. The argillite adze appears to be of Ngatimamoe design lingering into Ngaitahu times. The Museum, in September, 1900, received a curious paddle, carved in the figure of a man, which had been recovered from Lake Ellesmere near Greenpark. On September 10th, 1914, the Museum was shown a large collection of Maori adzes found on Mr W. Thompson's estate at Motukarara, and in 1940 some 33 adzes were obtained from the same place. On December 24th, 1932, a dark basalt adze was found on Mr C. Munro Smith's property at Lincoln. Adzes have been found at Sockburn, Ladbrooks, Selwyn and Halswell. In

May, 1935, Mr Cyril Sprott found a whalebone mere at Birdling's Flat, while Mr R. M. Tairaroa, a year or so ago, presented the Canterbury Museum with curios of a varied character, tiki, pendants, adzes, etc. In 1918 Rev. Mr Hawkins presented a remarkable serrated wooden club which had been found by fishermen at the mouth of Hart's creek. Not knowing its historical value, they had been using it for poking up the fire, and also as a window prop. However, Mr Hawkins managed to repair it.

Greenstone meres and tikis are always valuable additions to a museum, particularly if such have a story attached. The hei tiki (reverting to mythology) first fashioned for Hine te iwaiwa by her father, represents the male sign, and the human embryo, promotes fertility and is essentially a woman's ornament. The last mentioned curios are handed down usually for many generations, and carry with them much "mana," the unseen power. Tapu, makutu, mana find little belief with Europeans. However, those most qualified to speak, early missionaries for example, are reluctant to deny these supernatural powers.

Our university men still hunt for moa bones, and this drew a good skit in the "Press" a year ago, of which the following is an extract:

Oh moa hunters, ancient race,
How far your wingless birds have
flown!
The trophies of your ghostly chase
Are only dust and bone;
Though you and they are dead and
gone,
The name remains, the hunt goes
on.

Disturbance of Burial Places

The laws of the country, it is well to know, have a clause which prohibit the disturbance of Maori burial places and Maori burial caves. Much of the trouble the Hays and

other settlers experienced, was through their inadvertently desecrating such places, and not, as so often stated, by ill-will (as usually understood) from the Maori people; hence the writer calls attention to the legislation placed there at the wish of the Maori people.

Under the disguise of research, native burial grounds are being desecrated. A Maori penned the following, which is, unfortunately, entirely true: "The pakeha has taken practically all, but still the men of science are not satisfied. Having taken what the living could give, they now seek in the burial places. These men of learning wear a cloak of culture, culture not deep enough to respect the resting place of those who have gone before, and have lain undisturbed for countless years with their adzes and meres, and revered by their descendants today."

An Act passed in November, 1903, states the legal position clearly thus:— "Every person who knowingly and wantonly . . . trespasses on, or desecrates, or interferes in any manner with a Maori burial cave, grave or place of sepulchre, is liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding £25, or to three months imprisonment, or to both fine and imprisonment." The foregoing is embodied in the Native Land Acts of 1909 and 1930. The Act of 1931 states: "It is the duty of a Maori Land Board to protect native burial places," and the writer has little doubt that that body would deal with any case brought under its notice. One case cost the offender £2 fine and £15 costs not so many years ago in the Auckland district. The threatening attitude at times shown by the Maoris of Banks Peninsula to the earliest settlers was definitely caused by the Europeans inadvertently disturbing burial places for purposes of cultivation, and not for the reasons usually ascribed.

MAORI SOCIAL LIFE

No one who has seen the Maoris in their homes, who has shared their hospitality, seen their simple dignity, but must feel intensely interested in their welfare. In January, 1909, the late Rev. Mr Fraer started the Te Waipounamu Maori Girls' School at Ohoka, which was later transferred to Ferry road, Christchurch, and it is doing wonderful service today for the Maori community. A similar school for Maori boys of the South Island is also needed. The writer has observed the improved home life where the Maori women have had training with a religious background in that school.

The pakeha even today could take to heart what Canon J. W. Stack remarked on December 28th, 1874: "If the lives of Maori Christians are not as pure as they should be, let us bear in mind that their sin lies in a great measure at our own door. Maori Christianity might be likened to an imperfectly set mosaic. There are unseemly openings between the squares and it is difficult when attention is directed to these to appreciate the real beauty of the design and the excellence of the workmanship. Though the Maori may be charged with many errors in life and doctrine, they are not wanting in Christian virtues as to deny their claim to be reckoned among the household of faith."

The Hon. A. D. McLeod, M.L.C., (Hansard, March 26th, 1941): "The solution of a great part of the Maori problem lies in the elimination of alcoholic liquors, and on the other hand, above all things, in the education of Maori girls in domestic science, and hygiene particularly, so that the girl can meet the European girl in a European home and not be afraid to take a European woman into her home." The Rev.

Van Dyk, of the Roman Catholic Maori Mission at Auckland, on March 29th, 1926, remarked: "The Maoris are a lovable people, innately polite, generous and affectionate." He also stated that the Ratana movement was not raising the Maori spiritually.

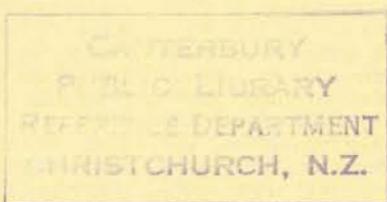
What can be expected? Europeans have left the Maori to his own resources in religion. The native school can be the starting place for character-building, especially where the teacher has enthusiasm, and above all, sympathy with, and belief in a future for the Maori scholars. The Wairewa school a few years ago was such a native school. For years it won the Rocky Peak Cup, from all the schools on Banks Peninsula, for its art handicraft work. The writer has not seen the work of Maori scholars at Sedgemere school, but has seen what Wairewa and Tuahiwi schools do and it is excellent. The Christchurch Technical College, with only nine Maori pupils, had three of them, in 1943, honourably filling the position of prefects. That shows a true spirit of school comradeship. A resident of Avonside, who long ago was a pupil of a Christchurch secondary school, informed me recently that when a well-known Maori of Taumutu entered the swimming pool all the pakeha boys got out. Pakehas have improved since then.

Taumutu has produced Maoris who have been highly respected in the Ellesmere district. Rewa Koruarua, in the forties, was a leading light and Pohau, who passed away in 1880, was another. Mrs Steel, the 11th in descent from Moki II, died in February, 1898. In June of the same year, Mata Kukae joined the great majority at the ripe old age of 105 years. She was born at Otakou and at sixteen years of age

was bartered to a pakeha sealer for a tomahawk and a few plugs of tobacco. She witnessed the inter-tribal warfare already told of in these articles, and finally found safety at Taumutu. John Taiaroa received his knowledge of Maori lore from her. Wepu Hopa, who passed away at Taumutu on July 7th, 1903, was a prominent member of the Mahunui Maori Council. The Hon. H. K. Taiaroa, who died on August 5th, 1905, was, without doubt, the most noted of Taumutu's old residents. He became member of Parliament for Southern Maori in 1871. In 1885, he was called to the Legislative Council. His total parliamentary career showed 34 years of noble

service for the Maori people. Tini Kerei Taiaroa, his widow, died on September 4th, 1934, at Taumutu, where she had dwelt for over sixty years, aged 94 years. Riki Te Mairaki Taiaroa, the son, himself in the sere and yellow leaf, is still with us, an honoured member of the Taumutu community, and the Ngai Tahu tribe in general.

Looking back on nearly half a century of Maori friendships, the writer feels the words of A. Domett's poem on the Spirit Land: "Hark, hark, that wailing cry, the Seer has left the Hill . . . the shades he saw were the braves of the tribe to Reinga passing by."



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