

# TE KARAKA

The Ngai Tahu Magazine

Raumati/Summer 1996

## Passing the Bill

The Quest for Rakiura  
Tu Taroaroa ki te Waiata  
Port Levy



# Whakahonore ki a JANE MANAHI

Kia rere iho ai  
Nga Waihora nui  
Nga roimata heke iho  
Nga puna koropupu

Haere e te taua  
Haere e te whaea  
Haere e te tuahine  
Haere e te kaiawhina  
pou o te Haahi  
Haere Haere Haere

He wahine mau i te rongopai  
He wahine toa ki te manaaki  
Whanau Hapu Iwi  
He wahine maia, ki te pupuri  
i nga taonga tuku iho  
He wahine rangatira, i heke mai  
i nga kawai ariki

Kia whaia i nga tapawae  
o nga tipuna  
Noho mai ra i te maru  
o Ihoa o nga mano

To run everlasting  
the lakes  
the rivers  
the springs

Farewell our grandmother  
Farewell our mother  
Farewell our sister  
Farewell the caretaker of our Church  
Farewell

A woman of the Church  
A brave women in the family  
and tribal affairs  
A woman caretaker of the ancient gifts  
A descendant of the lineage of aristocracy

You have followed the footsteps  
of the ancestors  
Remain within the  
cloak of Jehovah of Hosts



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Te Rangakura 3 year Teacher  
Training Programme

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Phil Tumataroa- Studio 3

# TE KARAKA

The Ngai Tahu Magazine  
Raumati/Summer 1996

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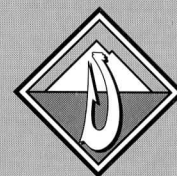
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G Huria

## GABRIELLE HURIA

Kia ora tātou, kai runga rawa te manaakitanga o te wā. Well  
being to us all and above all peace and goodwill at this time.

I took a few days out recently to attend a language wananga  
at Tuahiwi Marae. We were a small comfortable group lead  
by our three kaiako, Aroha Reriti-Crofts, Amiria Reriti and  
Riki Pitama. Each teacher had their own distinctive style  
ranging from the poetry of Te Ari Pitama to aerobics, trivial  
pursuit and "Guess Who" - all executed in Maori. No mean  
feat when the subject of "Guess Who" is Jenny Shipley! It was  
a great way to start the working year. I felt encouraged and  
supported in what is a life long quest to learn my language.

The most heartening thing about the course was the number  
of Taua also learning Te Reo. We contribute in our own way  
to keep the spirit of Ngai Tahu alive whether it be in our reo,  
mahinga kai or the way we pray. No effort is too small. This  
brings me to Issue 3 of Te Karaka. I read Hana O'Regan's  
piece with special interest. The loss of our language has, like  
the loss of our land, left us starving. When I see our Taua  
making the effort and enjoying themselves while they learn, I  
realise we carry on as we have done for generations - quietly  
chipping away at the pounamu and eventually creating  
something beautiful and durable.

The Cultural Working Party Questionnaire is the tribal effort  
to understand what our areas of strengths and weaknesses  
are. Take the time to complete the form and send it back.  
Above all make the effort.

Still on the language front, bear with us while we master the  
macron. 'Te Karaka' policy is if you send your article in with  
macrons, that's great, if you don't we'll do our best.

For the younger Ngai Tahu readers the Tamariki page is not  
in this issue because we need your stories, songs and jokes.

From the cultural arena to the political, the return of the  
Crown Forest Assets could contribute to some settlement of  
The Claim. The forests are a good reason why we need to get  
back before the Waitangi Tribunal and possibly why we are  
being locked out. Ngai Tahu has endured, the biggest land  
loss - about 3.4 million acres - and is one of the longest running  
indigenous claims in world history. After 147 years the Ngai  
Tahu claim is still unresolved. How long must we wait?



Dear Editor

Tena Koe.

Congratulations on the publication of *Te Karaka*. It is a beautiful magazine and will do much to inform and unite the far-flung whanau of Ngai Tahu throughout New Zealand and the world. I recently wrote to the Ngai Tahu Trust Board to obtain a copy of the 1966 Blue Book to complete my application for enrolment in the Ngai Tahu register and I was pleasantly surprised when a copy of the first issue of *Te Karaka* was included in the material sent to me. I would be happy to subscribe to our magazine and look forward to many more issues in the future.

I was born in Canada after my father John Arnett emigrated here from Bluff in the 1950's. Through him I am a descendant of Haereroa Te Anu and John Arnett as well as Meri Wehikore Te Haoutu and James Leader of Aparima (Riverton) where my father was born. Our Taua, Jane Meri Arnett, lives at Bluff where she is among the oldest living kaumatua. Although I have lived all my life in the Pacific Coast province of British Columbia, since my earliest years I have maintained a strong interest and pride in our Ngai Tahu ancestry. My wife Barbara and I live on a small farm and make our living as artists on an island situated between the mainland of the province and the much larger isle of Vancouver Island.

The article on the Tuhutuhi Tawhito (ancient drawings) of Te Wai Pounamu was of particular interest to me. The cultural significance of these sites cannot be overstressed and I applaud

the work being carried out by Brian Allingham, Gerard O'Regan and all those involved in the South Island Maori Rock Art Project. For over a decade I have been involved in similar research, locating and documenting "rock writing" in the territories of the Salishan-speaking peoples of southern British Columbia. As a result of this work, which also included interviewing

aboriginal elders on the subject, I am very aware of the importance of these "rock writing" sites as keys to understanding the inter-relationships of aboriginal people and the land. In British Columbia the existence of these sites in a major river valley wilderness played a significant part in the eventual preservation of the entire valley.

In 1988 I worked for the "Nlaka" pamux Tribal Council to identify and record "rock writings" in the Stein River Valley, a pristine wilderness area in the Interior of British Columbia which was slated for road construction and logging by Fletcher Challenge which, as you know, is a New Zealand based multi-national organisation with widespread investments in our Province. This resource extraction was opposed by the majority of "Nlaka" pamux people who feared the destruction of traditional food resources and cultural treasures in the valley. Some 17 "rock writing" sites were identified along the Stein River including one of the single largest rock writing sites in Canada. Many of these sites lay along the proposed route of a logging access road. Information given by "Nlaka" pamux elders confirmed these sites as sacred places where famous shamans had trained for supernatural power whereupon they recorded their experiences as paintings in caves, on cliffs, and large boulders. Thankfully, the significance of these sites and the incredible natural beauty of the Stein River Valley became recognized by the people and government of British Columbia with the result that the entire valley has just been designated as a Class "A" provincial park to be jointly managed by the "Nlaka" pamux people and the Province.

I am proud that Te Runanga o Tahu has formally adopted the South Island Maori Rock Art Project as an Iwi project and I look forward to the ongoing results of this important work and to future issues of *Te Karaka*.

Arohanui

Chris Arnett  
Salt Spring Island, British Columbia  
Canada

Editor

Surely Maori Sovereignty should be equal to Pakeha Sovereignty – the right to use their own land, waters and taonga as they see fit, the right to have their language and culture honoured all over Aotearoa and the right to equal power sharing in Government where decisions can be made by Maori for Maori. Under the country's laws, Maori should have the right to their own interpretation of justice including reparation and recompense. Maori should have the right to be free of Western philosophies and supremacy. This empowerment is possible when the Treaty of Waitangi is honoured.

Megan Simmonds  
Taupo

Kia Ora

*Congratulations to the editorial team of Te Karaka and the Annual Report for a professional and distinctive Ngai Tahu presentation. It was pleasing to see so many of the faces and contributors in these publications present at the Hui a Tau held at Te Rakitauneke, Murihiku. A special thanks to Murihiku Ngai Tahu and Nga Matawaka for their hospitality.*

*The issues concerning whakapapa and the Ngai Tahu Bill stimulated a broad range of responses, from heart felt emotions of the whangai issue to the rapturous response from a Monty Daniels sperm bank joke.*

*With the approach of MMP this year I was interested in the political debate and the dissatisfaction with our current representation in the South Island. Some of our people have been working alongside Tutekawa Wylie and the New Zealand First Party. This is a timely shift. Over the last three years my family and I have been considering a political shift towards supporting a candidate with vision and aspiration to support the fight for Ngai Tahu's treaty grievances and claims. I am aware many Ngai Tahu will be familiar with Tutekawa's rugby years with the New*

*Zealand Maoris and more recently his work for Ngai Tahu in pursuing our fishing rights with the Treaty Tribes alliance.*

*Certainly I support our Ngai Tahu in their aspirations to carve out a political future for Ngai Tahu and other Maori. My best wishes to the Ngai Tahu people who wish to further this cause.*

*Finally, Kai Tahu ki Otakou has released its Natural Resource Management Plan. It is an impressive document in terms of its presentation, substance and original thinking.*

Piki Tu Roa

Rakihia Tahumata Tau

**The following is a letter from Dr Harry Evison to the editor of the Federated Mountain Club Bulletin. It speaks for itself.**

Dear Mr Heine

The Tutae Patu Wildlife Management Reserve is included in Hugh Barr's list of conservation sites that the Government contemplates transferring to Maori claimants, according to his November article "Leave the Conservation Estate Alone". These transfers would be wrong, he says, because "the Crown and claimants have negotiated in secret." Maoris "sometimes oppose conservation protection" and were "primarily a coastal and maritime people," whereas conservation lands are "focused in remote areas". Such lands, says Mr Barr, "are dear to our hearts because they inspire us visually, physically and spiritually".

Does Mr Barr know Tutae Patu, or its history? Like most Canterbury coastal lagoons, it is a neglected, semi stagnant, willow infested relic of what was, before European interference, a flourishing Maori eeling and birding resource. It is 500 metres from the seashore, and two kilometres from the site of Kaiapoi pa. It was one of many *mahinga kai* guaranteed to Ngai Tahu by Kemp's Deed in 1848, but purloined by the Crown. In the 1860's, Europeans

**Continued on page 36**

# THE BILL.

## ***Ngai Tahu - Putting a stamp on our identity and tribal rights.***

GABRIELLE HURIA

Why does Ngai Tahu want the Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu Bill to become an Act of Parliament? Ngai Tahu does not exist as a legal identity. On that basis Ngai Tahu cannot own, manage and control any assets. Furthermore because Ngai Tahu does not exist in a legal sense, the tribe does not even own its whakapapa, waiata or any other kind of art. For instance, copyright has been placed on Ngai Tahu whakapapa by Pakeha, yet the tribe can do little about it because Ngai Tahu as a legal identity is not recognized in New Zealand law.

It has been the aim of the Crown since the settler government to undermine any tribal structure. In 1865 one of New Zealand's senior politicians declared that:

*The object of the Native Land Act [1865] was twofold: to bring the great bulk of the lands of the Northern Island which belonged to the natives ... within the reach of colonization.*

***The other great object was, the detribalization of the natives – to destroy if possible, the principle of communism which ran through the whole of their institutions, upon which their social system was based, and which stood as a barrier in the way of all attempts to amalgamate the Native race into our own social and political system. It was hoped that by the individualisation of titles to land, giving them the same individual ownership that we possess ourselves ... their social status would become assimilated to our own. (Sewell NZPD vol. 24, 1877: 254)***

The **1865 Native Land Act** saw tribal lands individualized and the traditional

concept of the tribe owning the land abolished. The loss of land led to urbanization and ultimately the detribalization of Maori as Sewell anticipated.

Ngai Tahu's reaction to the Crown's actions was to establish their own tribal parliament where kainga and hapu would be represented by the traditional Runanga bodies. As a result, in 1874 H.K. Taiaroa and the kaumatua of that period established Runanga in all the major Ngai Tahu kaika of Te Waipounamu. In 1879 these Runanga met at Tuahiwi and declared:

*Ko te whakaro o tenei Runanga ki te tu he hui mo te mahi a Nutireni e haere ake nei me tu ano ki Kaiapoi no te mea ko waenganui tenei o Te Waipounamu kia hui ai nga tangata ka waenganui pera hoki me te Paremata o Nutireni Kei Poneke Ko waenganui tera o tera motu o tenei motu ...*

*[Interpretation: The thought of this Runanga was to hold a meeting concerning Te Mahi o Nutireni and that it should always be held here at Kaiapoi because this is the centre of the South Island where people will gather like Parliament of New Zealand at Wellington that is the centre of that island and this island ...]*

The idea of Kaiapoi being a gathering place for a tribal parliament was reconfirmed at a hui in Te Muka in 1907 when it was decided that:

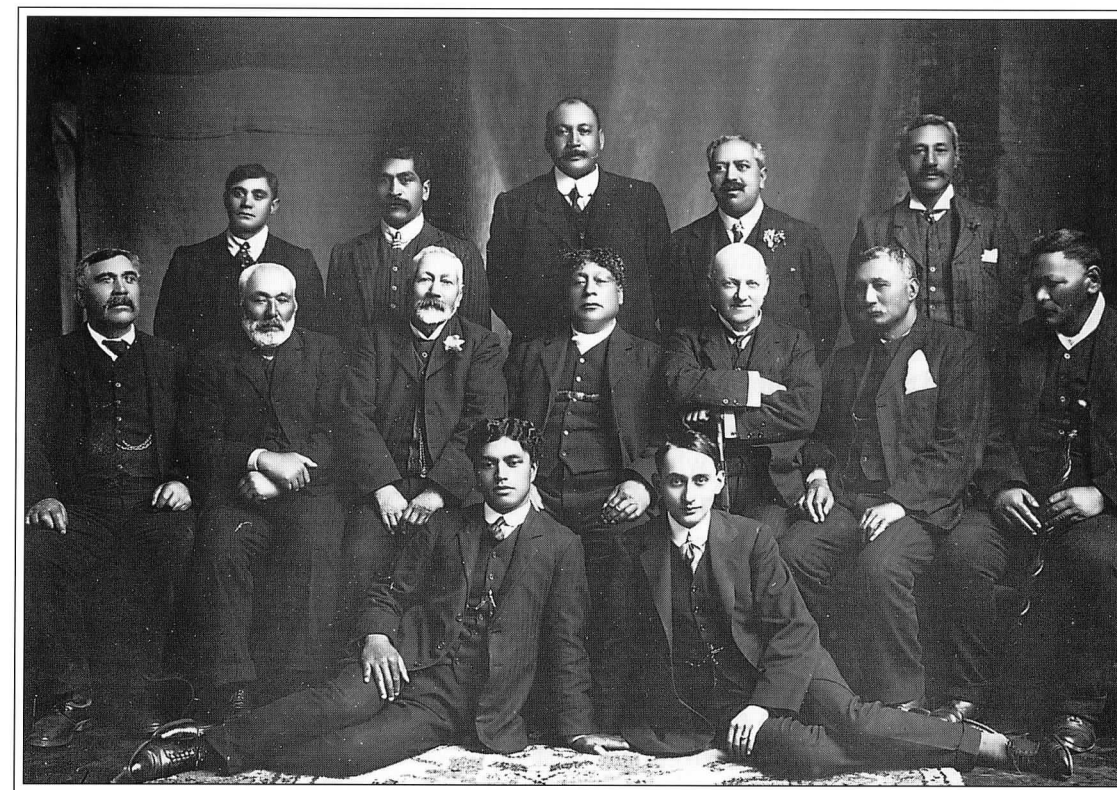
*Ko te tari mote Iwi o Ngai-tahu raua ko Ngati-mamoe hei Kaiapoi. (The department for the tribes of Ngai Tahu and Ngati Mamoe will be at Kaiapoi.)*

Ngai Tahu aspirations were to create a Ngai Tahu parliament of Runanga to handle tribal affairs. It was essentially the same as Tainui's attempt to assert its mana by way of the Kingitanga and the East Coast tribes attempt through the Kotahitanga Council.

The Crown reaction was to establish Crown agencies such as the Maori Council, Maori Committees and the four Maori seats. The fallacy of these bodies was that they were Crown created and driven. The Crown's

the Crown – tino rangatiratanga.

Another great concern of Ngai Tahu has been that there is no body that effectively represents the tribe in its dealings with the Crown. This is a quite basic requirement for any tribe when dealing with matters of property rights, and the requirement of the Crown to consult with Ngai Tahu on matters of social and resource management policy. An example was Little River where rights to take eel were deemed "Maori rights" rather than Ngai Tahu rights.



**MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND DELEGATES REPRESENTING  
NGAI TAHU AND NGATI MAMOE TRIBES - 1910**

**Back Row:** M. Himiona - Kaikoura, W. Mihaka - Assistant Secretary of Temuka & Waihao, J.H.W. Uru - Assistant Secretary of Tuahiwi, C.R. Parata - Representing Ngai Tahu in the North Island, R.M. Taiaroa - Taumutu.

**Middle Row:** T.E. Green - Kaiapoi, Taitaha Hape - Kaiapoi, Tame Parata - MP Southern Maori, Hoani Maaka - Chairman of the Claim Executive Committee, J.H. Hosking - K C Council for petitioners, H.D. Maire - Waihao, A. Renata - Temuka.

**Front Row:** W. Kotua, H.P. Parata.

**Absent:** T.M. Erihana - Secretary, Tiemi Hipi - President Ngai Tahu and Ngati Mamoe Claim.

control of the Ngai Tahu Trust Board is apparent when the Board cannot spend \$200.00 without the Minister's approval.

Throughout history Ngai Tahu have always sought to be the master of its destiny. Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu Bill is Ngai Tahu's attempt to establish a structure that makes Ngai Tahu accountable to itself rather than

Fortunately the Tribunal recommended otherwise. The Runanga o Ngai Tahu Bill when it becomes an Act gives the tribe that representation.

The Bill has been two and a half years in the Select Committee process. Ngai Tahu

***Continued over page***



Continued from previous page

respects the Parliamentary process. It is a system that makes Parliament accountable to New Zealand. However, the deliberations on the Ngai Tahu Bill have highlighted where this process may become unstuck. In a tribe as diverse as Ngai Tahu one can always expect differing opinions. It's common knowledge that the Ngai Tahu MPs for Southern Maori (Hon. Whetu Tirikatene Sullivan) and Auckland Central (Sandra Lee) are opposed to the Bill. Their attempts to subvert the passage of the Ngai Tahu Bill have demeaned themselves and the parliamentary process.

However, they have ultimately failed to impede the true Ngai Tahu democratic will.

Ngai Tahu went to considerable effort to educate the tribe on all aspects of the Bill and the Charter in 1992. The architects of the Bill embarked on a road show travelling to 10 centres in both the North and South Island to consult with Ngai Tahu whanui. This culminated at the annual Ngai Tahu hui where families sent representatives (from as far away as Auckland and Stewart Island) to Kaikoura to vote for or against the Bill.

Approximately 600 people, a group truly representative of the wider tribe, attended this hui and only one vote was against the Bill.

The effort made by Ngai Tahu whanui to travel to Kaikoura to vote indicates the tribe's support of the Bill. If the Bill was opposed by Ngai Tahu, Sir Tipene O'Regan would not have won his seat with an 85 per cent majority, as he did in the 1995 Ngai Tahu Trust Board election. Sir Tipene stood on the mandate of the Bill. Ngai Tahu supported him. Without question the vast majority of the tribe wants the Runanga o Ngai Tahu Bill passed as an Act.

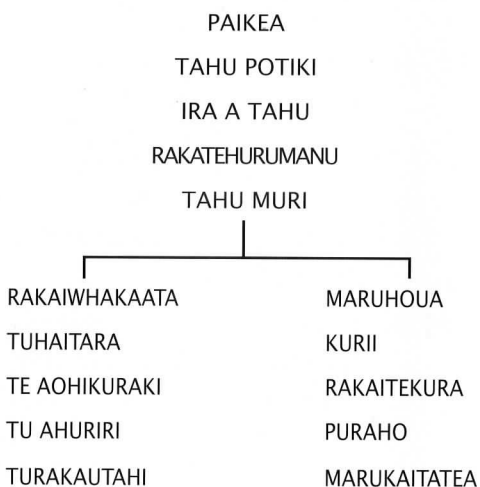
*The tribe expects it's representatives to put aside their personal preferences to act in the common good. True accountability requires nothing less.*

# TIME -Line-

## TE MAIRE TAU

44 generations ago Rakaihautu arrives at Whakatu, Nelson, and his descendants occupy the South Island. This is the origin of the Waitaha iwi.

21 generations ago Paikea beaches in the Bay of Plenty and begat Tahu Potiki, the tipuna of Ngai Tahu. Paikea fathered Tahu Potiki at Turanga, Poverty Bay. All Ngai Tahu claim descent from this ancestor:



Within nine generations Ngai Tuhaitara and Ngati Kurii are settled in Te Whanaganui a Tara (Wellington District) under the respective leadership of Tu Ahuriri and Maru Kaitatea.

Ngati Kurii and Ngai Tuhaitara migrate to Te Wai Pounamu. Maru Kaitatea establishes Ngati Kurii at Kaikoura. Tu Ahuriri's son, Tu Rakautahi, places Ngai Tuhaitara at Kaiapoi Pa.

With Kaikoura and Kaiapoi Pa established Ngai Tahu iwi establish manawhenua in the South Island.

Through intermarriage, warfare and political alliances Ngai Tahu interests are amalgamated with Ngati Mamoe and Waitaha iwi.

**1840:** Ngai Tahu chiefs sign the Treaty of Waitangi.

**1844-1863:** The bulk of the South Island is acquired by the Settler Government. Ngai Tahu are alienated from their land, cemeteries and traditional food sources.

**1865:** The Native Land Act.

Having taken the land the Settler Government then aims to "detritalize the natives" through this Act. The objective of the Act was to destroy the Maori social system and to amalgamate "the Native race into our own [Pakeha] social and political system." (Sewell, NZPD Vol. 24 1877, 254)

Under this Act the social order of Ngai Tahu was destroyed.

**1874:** After failure to achieve justice through the Land Courts Ngai Tahu established Runanga to fight their claim through Parliament. It is intended that Runanga administer the affairs of the hapu and kainga.

**1879:** Ngai Tahu decide to make Kaiapoi the tribal headquarters. It was the tribe's vision to establish a Ngai Tahu Parliament to manage its affairs and seek redress of its claim through Parliament.

**1907:** At a hui in Te Muka, Ngai Tahu reaffirms its intention to have a Runanga based tribal parliament at Tuahiwi.

**1925:** The 1921 Royal Commission recommend that Ngai Tahu receive £354,000 as a settlement for the Ngai Tahu claim. Ngai Tahu oppose this recommendation because the £354,000 was too little.

**1944:** The Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board Settlement Act was established without consulting Ngai Tahu. The Waitangi Tribunal found that, "... consultation with the Ngai Tahu people took place after the passage of the Act". (Ngai Tahu Report 1991: 1024)

This Act continued the purpose of the 1865 Act and disempowered Ngai Tahu of control over its own affairs.

Ngai Tahu leaders preferred that Ngai Tahu Runanga manage the £354,000 for its beneficiaries. This kept the 1879 decision of Runanga as the managers of tribal affairs, rather than the Pakeha concept of Trust Board's and of the individual claiming interests.

**1986:** The Ngai Tahu Claim is filed at the Waitangi Tribunal under Henare Rakihia Tau. The claim was filed under Tau's name because as it stands the tribe does not exist as a legal identity.

Ngai Tahu believes that any assets returned from the Ngai Tahu Claim should return to Ngai Tahu rather than to the individual. This follows the tradition of 1879 where Ngai Tahu wanted to promote the Runanga as the basis of a tribal structure.

A hui of kaumatua is held at the Ngai Tahu Trust Board building where the Ngai Tahu Trust Board members are directed to find a suitable structure to manage tribal moneys and finances.

**1988:** The idea of the Runanganui a Tahu is advanced at Te Muka.

**1989:** The first hui of the Runanganui a Tahu is held.

**1991:** The Waitangi Tribunal stated, "... it is clear that there must be appropriate tribal structures to administer and control assets whether money, lands or other property."

At the first Ngai Tahu negotiators meeting with the Crown, the concept of Runanganui a Tahu is advanced as the tribal authority for Ngai Tahu.

**1992:** Te Runanganui a Tahu becomes Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu (TRONT).

**1993-1996:** Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu Bill is in the Select Committee stage of Parliament.



# Nga Mahara o te Pipiwharaua.

AMIRIA RERITI AND TE MAIRE TAU

## Ila Wikitoria Cleone Howse

Her first memories of performing kapa haka was as a seven year old after whakamoemiti on Sundays up at the Pa at Tuahiwi. "They were big and grand occasions in those days and nearly all in the Pa would be there."

Ila fondly remembers the careful tutoring not only of Wairemana and Te Ari Pitama but particularly for the teaching of the poi, Auntie Wai's daughter, Georgiana and Ila's cousin, Heeni (Dot) Howse. The first time Ila participated in a roopu was as a pupil at the Tuahiwi School.

Later, Te Ari Pitama set up Te Roopu Pipiwharaua made up of many families in the Tuahiwi Pa. They hit the road north and toured the country under the changed name of "Melodies of Maoriland". Ila's mother, Metapere Barrett, had refused leave for Ila to go but because everyone else was going, she wasn't about to miss out on anything and ran away with the group. The group spent seven months away from home on tour and Ila remembers this period as being one of the best in her life. The group attracted many other talented artists on their travels such as Hori Brennan a cowboy singer who used to yodel beautifully. Later many of these people continued home with the group, married and had families like Ila's first husband Thomas Bennett. Ila's current husband Brian Howse was also in the Pipi's as one of the gun haka men.

When the tour group arrived at the top of the North Island Te Ari again changed the name and they became known as the Maori Cavalcade. Later when the group became involved with the Catholic church another group was formed known as Te Whetu Ariki O Kahukura. Te Ari always introduced members of the group to audiences and would introduce Ila by her nickname Sonnie. At one particular concert instead of doing this he introduced her as Ila and this name became her stage name.

Ila was to be one of the first to ever pick up the four long poi in the country and certainly the first one in the South Island. The only other person that Ila had seen doing the poi was a man named Tai when touring the North Island and his movements were as they are frequently done today. Because Ila wasn't able to do this movement she designed her own style of the four long poi and Te Ari named this movement as the "Poi Foursome".

The best thing about kapa haka for Ila is the enjoyment of performing for people, the confidence one gains, the travelling with a group, the fun and the fact that kapa haka belongs to us as Maori and no one else.

## John William Tutu Te Aika-Crofts

While Ngai Tahu may have a large pool of women capable of performing waiata on the marae, the number of men able to compliment their sisters is few. Indeed after some investigation the only active Ngai Tahu kaumatua who still performs and was tutored by Ngai Tahu kaumatua in the performance of haka is Mr John Crofts, Upoko Runanga of Ngai Tuahuriri.



Johnno's career as a performer of haka stems back to 1936 with the establishment of the cultural group, Pipiwharaua. The group was tutored by Te Ari Pitama and included Ngai Tahu from the whanau of Te Aika, Solomon, Crofts, Pitama, Hadfield, Mark, Piki, Grennell, Silk and Paipeta.

After a korero with Johnno one soon realises the obvious pride he and other whanaunga took in their performance and the respect of those kaumatua that guided him. In particular Johnno recalled the power of Hutika Crofts karanga to manuhiri who would whakaeke from either the Tuahiwi cemetery or school. Hutika later taught Johnno's mother, Raiha. One memory is

of the Pipiwharaua attending the welcoming home of returned soldiers in 1945. As is often the case, one North Island kaumatua (Kingi Tahiwai), wanted to know who the Pakeha were in their midst. In particular, the North Islander was referring to Te Ari Pitama's fair skin. Te Ari Pitama's eloquence let them know who Ngai Tahu were. Te Ari's whaikorero greeted the soldiers who had returned and wept for those who remained on the battleground. Tahiwai was surprised at the eloquence and replied, "tino pai te korero e te rangatira". Te Ari then proceeded to whakatu the Pipiwharaua who gave a memorable performance. Johnno took pride in the fact that Pipiwharaua asserted Ngai Tahu mana in the face of arrogance.

The great haka men that Johnno recalled were the Pitama brothers because of their build. He noted that unlike Ngai Tahu rangatahi of the present, Ngai Tahu haka men did not swing the right foot. Instead the haka was performed with both the men raising slightly on the balls of the feet. While the hand actions were not big, the actions were strong, sharp and the whole body quivered.

Memories that Johnno holds have come with age and more importantly living amongst ones people.

As one Ngai Tahu tohunga said, "... me haere ano koe hei poohatu mo o mokopuna".

# MAORI SOVEREIGNTY: The Maori Perspective

BY HINEANI MELBOURNE

BY CAROL ARCHIE

# MAORI SOVEREIGNTY: The Pakeha Perspective

DONALD COUCH

At the 1995 Ngai Tahu Hui-a-Tau, one of the major policy issues considered was that of Maori Sovereignty. The Hui endorsed the proposals of the Iwi leadership – with little discussion. These books help explain why there was so little debate.

"Maori Sovereignty" means different things to different people. Most individuals or groups – such as Ngai Tahu – have simply adopted the phrase to suit their own particular purpose. Apparently there has been little need to seek consistency or common agreement on what we all mean by this expression.

Maori Sovereignty is of course a political concept and in politics there are times when ambiguity has many advantages. For some, however, this can be frustrating and they will seek precision and a clearer understanding.

Sarah Beresford, Publishing Manager of Hodder, Moa Beckett, had been away from New Zealand for some years and came back to the current confusing continuing references to Maori Sovereignty. Her response was to commission a pair of books on the topic. One with the perspectives from 17 Maori, the other with

the equivalent from 19 Pakeha. The results are a useful brief summary indicative of the very broad range of perceptions held by most New Zealanders.

After reading the Maori book, my initial reaction was – aue! Then I read the Pakeha one and considering the two together, thought – maybe something productive might come out of this after all.

It should be acknowledged that the publisher and authors did not set out to produce more heavy academic tomes. Thank goodness! They do have hopes though that these books will "create more intelligent debate".

That might happen, because here the reader will find differing perspectives on virtually all the vital ingredients. To list just a dozen: the Treaty of Waitangi; The Declaration of Independence; tino rangatiratanga; republicanism; fiscal envelope; land claims; tribalism; socio-economic disadvantage; decline of the nation-state and growth in globalisation; immigration; racism; extremism. Even the two major Crown/Maori agreements of the 1990's: Sealord and the Tainui raupata settlement.

The Treaty of Waitangi is the starting point



for virtually everyone. Even if it is to record that their iwi chiefs did not sign (Robert Mahuta). Or, that their personal preference is to regret the overruling of the Privy Council 1945 decision which held that the Treaty had no effect in New Zealand's law (George Chambers and Glyn Clayton).

There may not be 36 different perceptions

Tiriti. Our perceptions of Maori Sovereignty are built around those concerns.

There are three principal Ngai Tahu contributors: Sir Tipene O'Regan, Maarire Goodall and Sandra Lee. (Hekia Parata acknowledges her Ngai Tahu links but "feels grounded in the East Coast" – Ngati Porou.)

As difficult and regrettable as this reviewer, and others, found the Tipene/Whetu confrontation at Waihopai, one might hope that Sandra would attend a future Hui-a-Tau and allow us the opportunity to hear kano hi ki kano hi her views on these important matters, eg how Mana Motuhake and Alliance's rohe potae fits with hapu and iwi roles.

Herein lies a potential problem with these books. Although there are lots of attributed quotations, we are given the 36 people's perceptions through a third party. There is no suggestion of misrepresentation by the authors, but inevitably there has to be filtering of someone else's perceptions. Does Sandra really not know Whetu's father's name (page 120), or was it the author, or the proofreader or the publisher?

Maarire's first hand experience at the Waitangi Tribunal provides him with a unique perspective. His critical comments regarding recent changes of direction are very pertinent. A strong supporter of iwi rangatiratanga, Maarire nevertheless is concerned about how to reconcile the urban drift of the two last generations and its implications.

We now have three articles by Chairman Sir Tipene setting out his views on Maori Sovereignty. In Melbourne's book he acknowledges being "seduced by the task ... [of] Trust Board Chairman". And very thankful most of us are that he is; that he made that commitment and toils endlessly on behalf of Ngai Tahu. His perceptions are inevitably influenced strongly by the difficult, frustrating and often disappointingly endless negotiations and court cases in which he is very directly involved. One senses that at times strategic planning suffers because of these tactical imperatives.

It is curious to encounter this sentence by Hineani Melbourne: "In retrospect Tipene cannot decide if [the Fisheries Settlement] was the best or the worst thing he has ever done." Most of us would see it very positively – it wasn't perfect, but it got our putea started (and allowed us to move on from those endless fishing discussions!). If it were the latter, the prognosis is not good for reaching further agreements which inevitably must be compromises with always someone unhappy because they didn't get everything they wanted.

Cultural differences are tricky waters but there is one perception arising from a comparison of these two books. Maori observers seem much more likely to personalise their differences with others – often in strong terms which must test the possibility of future understanding and cooperation (Tamihere and Tapsell). The Pakeha deal with their ideas of Maori Sovereignty as abstractions/concepts or very practical actions (Poutney and Cumberland, Paterson, Culling and Robertson).

This opportunity to compare the differing approaches by Maori and Pakeha to a common theme is one of the more intriguing aspects of these books. It has been done before, eg Kawharu's 1989 collection on the Treaty and Capper, Brown

and Ihimaera's 1994 *Vision Aotearoa*. But the spectrum here is much wider and the diversity of backgrounds and views more compelling, downright interesting and at times quite strange.

Peter Tapsell holds forth on how essential it is to polish your boots. Hugh Fletcher, CEO of one of New Zealand's largest and most successful international companies says that the Government is "pretty mean" with the amount of its settlements. Steven Young can trace his whakapapa back 23 generations – in China. Wira Gardiner has a personal library of 3,000 volumes. Ranginui Walker believes the most powerful weapon is intermarriage. Don Reisterer sees the tall poppy syndrome as a continuing major issue.

I read the *Christchurch Mail* for Alan Duff's column and occasionally try to get past halfway in Glyn Clayton's editorial. His chapter explains that like us he also went to Christchurch Boys' High, but he obviously didn't meet Alan or me there – or any of our relatives either!

From the crucible of the 1981 Springbok tour came Donna Awatere's 1982-83 searing *Broadsheet* article on Maori Sovereignty. More than a decade has passed, but have we progressed? Probably, but there have certainly been some major detours. Donna's is the final chapter in the Maori Perspectives. Readers may assess for themselves whether joining ACT is progress.

Tino Rangatiratanga which may – or may not – be Maori Sovereignty, is in the process of being restored. The form(s) it may take are still evolving and will require much more discussion and negotiations. Sarah Beresford, Hineani Melbourne, Carol Archie and the 36 Maori and Pakeha whom they interviewed have made a major contribution towards identifying the parameters of that debate. We should support their efforts.



of the Treaty in these books, but it would be a challenge to consolidate the interpretations down to six! And here is the dilemma for New Zealand, because these are the views of Maori and Pakeha who have given considerable time and thought to the matter. Most of us have not!

What we in Ngai Tahu do have, is a reasonably clear understanding of our priorities: Te Kereme and Article II of Te



# CROWN FOREST ASSETS IN THE *Ngai Tahu Rohe*

## **Background to the Crown Forest Assets Act 1989**

Prior to 1988, substantial exotic forests were owned by the government and were known as State Forests. These forests were on Crown land and were managed by the New Zealand Forest Service. There were approximately 90 such forests throughout New Zealand, covering some 550,000 hectares, with 30 of these being located in the Ngai Tahu rohe.

In 1988, and as part of the Crown's continuing asset sales programme, the government announced that it wished to sell all of these exotic forests and use the proceeds to reduce the national debt.

Maori, including Ngai Tahu, objected to the Crown's proposals on the basis that many of these forests were in areas where Maori claimants had Claims to the Waitangi Tribunal. Maori believed that the Crown might need these forest assets to compensate for the breaches of Treaty and/or contract guarantees last century.

The Crown chose to ignore Maori opinion at that time and attempted to proceed with the sale process. Maori, through the New Zealand Maori Council and the Federation of Maori Authorities, were then forced to use the courts in an attempt to protect their potential interest in these forests.

The Court of Appeal upheld the Maori claim, and it was on this basis that the Crown finally agreed to discuss with Maori how their interests might be properly protected.

The agreement that was reached reflected the fact that on one hand the government wanted to maximise the returns it received

for the forests. It therefore didn't want serious encumbrances on the forests which would allow bidders to reduce the price.

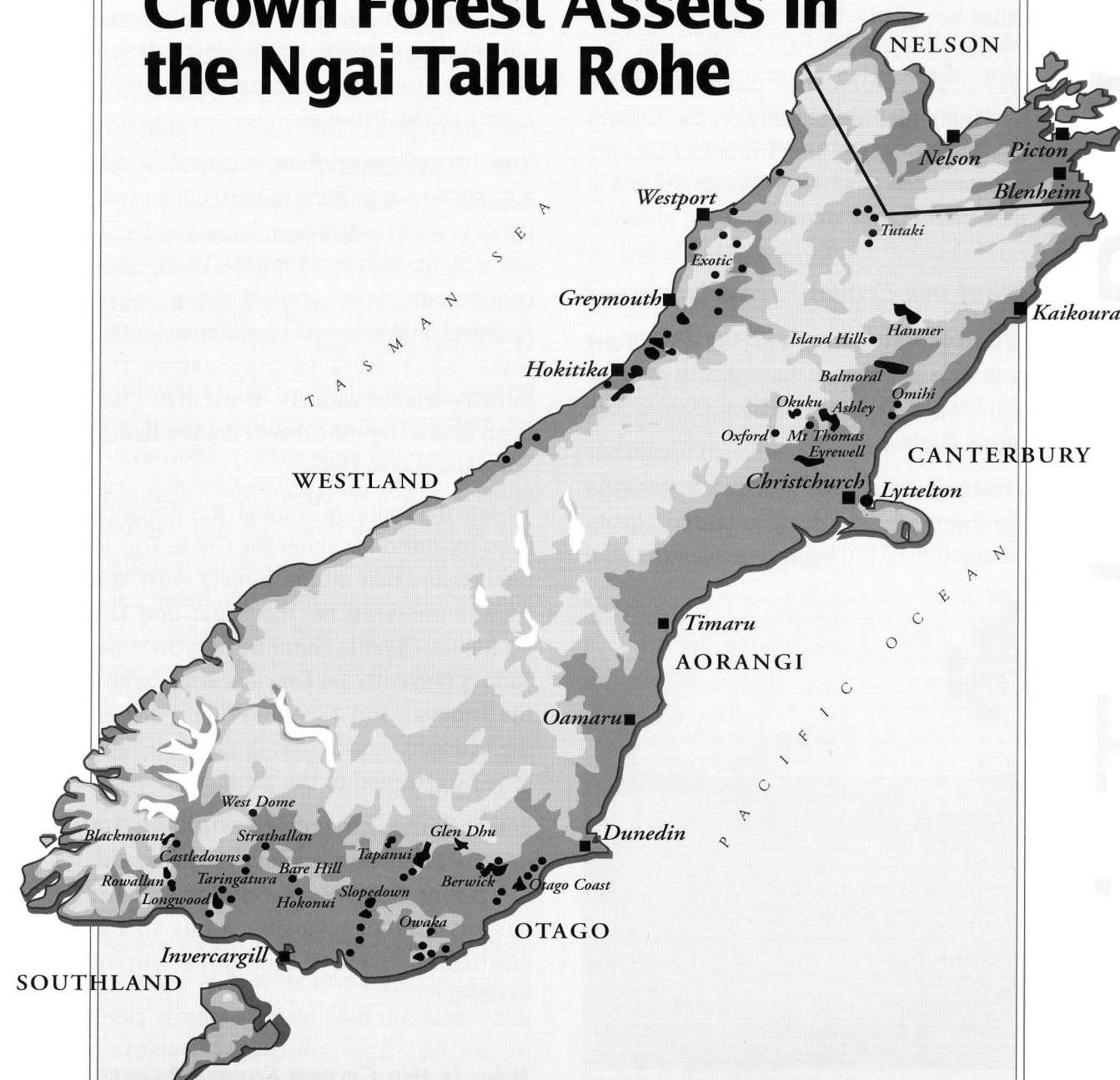
For their part, Maori wanted an assurance that if the Waitangi Tribunal found that their respective claims had merit, then these forest assets would be available as either full or partial compensation.

The essence of the final agreement is that the Crown was allowed to sell the actual forests to private companies, by using Crown Forest Licences, along with a guarantee that their use of the timber would not be disrupted by the Maori claims process. At the same time, the land underneath the forests remains in Crown title so that it might be returned to those Maori who prove their case to the Waitangi Tribunal.

Until final ownership of these forest lands is established by the Waitangi Tribunal, all rents from the new owners are received by a body known as the Crown Forestry Rental Trust. Once ownership is determined, the Trust transfers all the accumulated rents from each forest to its new owner which must be either the government or a Maori claimant group. All future rents then go to the new owner as well.

Final agreement was reached on July 20th 1989, and was ratified by the Court of Appeal who had heard the initial Maori complaint. It is this agreement which became the Crown Forest Assets Act (CFAA) 1989, thereby transforming the guarantees contained in the agreement into the law of the land.

## Crown Forest Assets in the Ngai Tahu Rohe



- There are 90 exotic State forests throughout New Zealand. 30 of these are located in the Ngai Tahu rohe.
- This map shows the 25 forests currently under Crown Forest Licences.
- 1989 Crown Forest Assets Act allows the Crown to sell the cutting rights to private companies, but the land itself remains in Crown ownership until all outstanding Maori claims to the land are resolved.
- The Waitangi Tribunal has the power to make binding rulings on the Crown for the return of land.
- The rent from the licenced forests goes into the Crown Forestry Rental Trust.
- The interest from the accumulated funds in the Crown Forestry Rental Trust is available to Maori to advance their claims.
- This mechanism is potentially very important in settling the Ngai Tahu Claim.

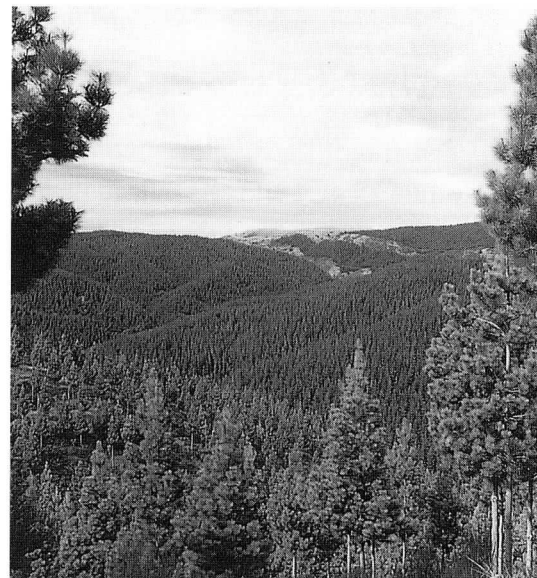


The CFAA is one of only two statutes (the other being the Treaty of Waitangi State Owned Enterprises Act) that gives the Waitangi Tribunal the power to make decisions that are binding on the Crown. In all other cases the Tribunal can only recommend that the Crown follow a particular course of action.

### **What are Crown Forest Licences?**

Crown Forest Licences (CFL's) are simply contracts which give the rights to manage and harvest the timber resources on Crown forest lands.

These licences (CFL's) guarantee the purchaser of the forests at least 35 years occupation of the land, so even if the land



is returned to Maori it will be many years before the claimants are able to manage the land themselves.

The licences also require the purchasers of the forests, when asked to by the Crown, to provide information which the Waitangi Tribunal might need to fully consider a case brought before it.

### **What is the Crown Forestry Rental Trust's role?**

As mentioned, the Trust acts as the "banker" and receives and holds all rents until final ownership of the land under the forests is determined by the Waitangi

Tribunal. In the meantime, the Trust makes the interest earned on all those accumulated rents available to Maori claimant groups who are presenting their claims to the Tribunal.

The Trust therefore supports all appropriate costs incurred by claimants in the course of having their respective cases heard by the Waitangi Tribunal. These costs can include claim administration, legal, financial, and external consultancy costs. Ngai Tahu's work in progressing the forestry-related aspects of its Claim has been funded by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust since mid-1993.

To date the Waitangi Tribunal has not once used its authority under the CFAA. This in turn means that all the forests must still be administered by the Trust and the accumulated rents continue to grow. Ngai Tahu is presently seeking a hearing before the Tribunal, and a binding ruling that all the licensed forest areas in the Ngai Tahu rohe be returned to the tribe.

In theory, the Trust will have succeeded in its mission when ownership of all the forest land has been determined, and it has distributed all of its funds to the confirmed owners and gone out of existence.

### **Why is the Crown Forest Assets Act relevant to Ngai Tahu?**

Ngai Tahu continues to explore all available avenues to settle its Waitangi Tribunal Claim, known as "WAI 27".

In its 1990 Report, and at Ngai Tahu's request, the Waitangi Tribunal recommended that Ngai Tahu and the Crown should attempt to settle WAI 27 claim through direct negotiations. The Tribunal went on to say that in the event of the negotiation process failing, Ngai Tahu should feel free to return to the Tribunal who would then make more explicit recommendations for settling the Claim.

After three years of monthly negotiating meetings, the Crown unilaterally suspended negotiations in August 1994. Since that time it has attempted to continue to sell its assets, despite the fact that it knows Ngai Tahu wishes some of them to be used in settling the Claim. Just like the original forest sales process itself, Ngai Tahu has been forced to use the courts to stop the government from simply selling all its assets in Te Wahi Pounamu.

While Ngai Tahu is still open to the resumption of direct negotiations with the Crown, it has chosen to accept the Waitangi Tribunal's 1990 invitation and is seeking another Tribunal hearing. As all of the historical evidence of the case has already been heard and reported on, taking some four years in total, Ngai Tahu will possibly need only a week or two of the Waitangi Tribunal's time.

The CFAA allows the Tribunal to make a ruling which is binding on the Crown, and this could result in some, or all, of the Crown forest lands being returned to Ngai Tahu as part of the settlement process.

The forests are located throughout Te Wahi Pounamu and, without exception, are all areas strongly linked with our Ngai Tahu histories, traditions, and culture. In addition to these values, these forestry lands also have significant economic value.

If the Waitangi Tribunal makes a recommendation under the CFAA that is favourable to Ngai Tahu, the immediate benefit would be:

- the return of some or all of the Crown forestry lands within the Ngai Tahu rohe to Ngai Tahu ownership;
- the payment of the accumulated rents for those lands, presently held by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust; and
- the ongoing annual rent from the companies that bought the forests.

### **Summary**

*Like the Treaty of Waitangi itself, the Crown Forest Assets Act represents a government guarantee that certain rights and protections will be safeguarded for the Maori Treaty partner, while simultaneously allowing the government to act in the "best interests of the nation".*

*As for the Treaty guarantee, it appears that now the Crown has enjoyed the benefits of the contract it again wishes to renege on its part of the deal. Although the ink on the CFAA has been dry for only six years, Ngai Tahu is presently unable to get access to the fundamental guarantees that the Act represents.*



*None of this is new to Ngai Tahu: it is the story of the tribe's 146 year old Claim. While the actions of the Crown in the 1990s may appear little different from its actions last century, that also is the case for Ngai Tahu. The tribe continues to seek justice at law, through the courts and Parliament. The tribe continues to seek the resolution of the Ngai Tahu Claim in a manner which will acknowledge and address the injustice, will restore the honour of the Crown, and will prove durable over time.*



The following story is based on a tradition told to the writer by Rima Te Aotukia Bell (née Pitama). It is not a well known oral tradition as it is a whanau account of a tipuna rather than an account of a famous iwi or hapu tipuna. The story that follows is told by the writer as a purakau rather than as a strictly historical account. However, the writer has been able to confirm the authenticity of the tradition from a number of whanau sources (manuscripts, whakapapa texts etc) and Rima's original account stands up well under the historical spotlight.

Like most oral traditions this account is interesting because of the values and customs embedded within the purakau rather than the historical event itself. Again, the story should be read as an oral tradition, not an historical account.

# Te Hau & Ruru

TE MAIRE TAU

A long time ago there was a young man named Te Hau who was married to a lady named Ruru. Ruru and Te Hau both claimed Ngati Hateatea and Ngati Rakiamao as their hapu. Both of these hapu were from the great Pa of Kaiapoi which was to the north in the lands known as "Te Pakihi Whakatekateka o Waitaha".

Te Hau and Ruru lived at a Pa called Punatarakaoa next to the Waihao River. The name of the tribe that lived here was Ngati Hateatea who were a hapu of the Ngai Tahu. Ngati Hateatea was known throughout Ngai Tahu because of the high priests and the knowledge that they held.

Hateatea, the ancestor for this tribe

was taught by his father, Pokeka, who had been taught by his father Turakautahi, the founder of Kaiapoi Pa. In those days tribal genealogies, prayers and rituals were taught by the high priests to selected students. Discipline was strict. Tribal histories and lore would be taught in the winter months when foods had been gathered in the spring, summer and autumn. Those who could not remember the tribal histories and traditions properly were quickly expelled from the whare wananga. Students were strictly controlled and were always under the watchful eye of the high priests. High priests who taught the wrong traditions would be quickly killed and eaten before their

Rima Te Aotukia Bell



lies could escape. This is a story of a student who did not listen to the instructions of his masters and paid the penalty.

One day Ruru saw Te Hau sitting alone on the river banks of Waihao. Ruru asked Te Hau why he was sitting alone looking so sad.

"Ruru, I want to become a tribal priest like my father and to learn our tribes histories," replied Te Hau.

"Then you must ask the tohunga," replied Ruru.

"I would need to leave you for the winter months and you would be alone," said Te Hau.

"You must decide what is important to you Te Hau. Seek the treasure of your heart and if you must bow your head then let it be to a lofty mountain. I will wait until you return," said Ruru who was already beginning to miss her husband.

Te Hau followed Ruru's advice and the tohunga agreed to teach him. However, the tohunga warned Te Hau that he must obey all his wishes and to listen to all of his instructions.

Finally when the snow settled on the mountains, Te Hau was taken to the whare wananga to be taught his tribes genealogies and histories. Te Hau also learned the karakia to make the rain come, to embalm the dead, to heal the sick, for children being born and for preparing men for war.

Night after night he would sit listening to his teachers and repeating their incantations and in the day he would sleep. But all through his lessons he longed for Ruru. When winter came to

an end the teachings of the High Priests were completed. Te Hau was anxious to return to Ruru. However, Te Hau was warned by the tribal priest that he was not to touch his wife or to eat when he returned to his wife until after he had been blessed the next day and proclaimed a high priest on the marae. Te Hau agreed and quickly rushed back to his wife. But as soon as he saw Ruru he forgot the high priest's warnings and he kissed his wife and ate a meal she had prepared. He was hungry and he ate all that his wife could give him particularly "te kai a te ariki".

***This journey was to be sacred and those carrying the corpse of Te Hau were not to touch food as they, like the body, were tapu.***

In the morning Te Hau went for a walk along the river. As he looked into the waters of the Waihoa river he saw a

movement in the water. Te Hau looked closer into the water at the moving object. Te Hau's heart beat harder and the veins in his neck swelled with blood. He was scared. Te Hau saw in the water Tu Te Rakiwhanoa, the spiritual guardian of the river. Te Hau knew what it meant and remembered that he had broken his promises to the high priest. Te Hau knew he was going to die and that Tu Te Rakiwhanoa the river's guardian had come to take him to his ancestors. Te Hau dropped to the ground and from his body rose his spirit who greeted Tu Te Rakiwhanoa. Te Hau's spirit grasped Tu Te Rakiwhanoa who took Te Hau to the direction of the setting sun.

Soon the village people found the corpse of Te Hau and a great tangi was held. It was decided by the people that they would take the corpse of Te Hau back to his people at Kaiapoi. Ruru



agreed as her parents, Totoki and Te Ataumataki also lived there. It was a long trip and the body was wrapped in flax. This journey was to be sacred and those carrying the corpse of Te Hau were not to touch food as they, like the body were tapu. Instead the pall bearers would be fed by others so that food would not touch their body. The journey was long. It was spring and the rivers were difficult to cross. However, the party continued on with Ruru lamenting her husband's death all the way.

By the time the party had reached the Rua Taniwha River where the Ngati Rakiwhakaputa lived the corpse of Te Hau was decaying. The stench was unbearable and although Kaiapoi was only a morning's walk away, the carriers could no longer carry the body. The priests of Ngati Hateatea decided to bury the body of Te Hau near the river banks of the Rua Taniwha and to take the head to Kaiapoi Pa. Te Hau's corpse was buried and a Ti tree that stands today marks the spot where he was buried. The cemetery was called Kai a Te Atua (Food of the Gods). Ngati Hateatea then continued on to Kaiapoi carrying the head of Te Hau. When the party arrived at Kaiapoi and news of Te Hau's death had reached the people, a great tangi was held.

The taua of Kaiapoi gave their karanga to the party entering the marae and Ngati Hateatea slowly entered into the great Pa of Kaiapoi to meet their relations of the Ngati Rakiamoa hapu.

"Where is the body of Te Hau," asked one of the chiefs.

"It lies at Kai a Te Atua," replied the priest. "Those carrying the body could no longer bear the stench."

There was a great commotion among the Kaiapoi people.

"Who are these porters to decide where our son is to be buried?" said the family of Te Hau.

"You should have brought his corpse to the family from whom Te Hau was born rather than burying him elsewhere. For that mistake, the porters will themselves be food for the gods," said the chiefs of Kaiapoi. And quickly the Kaiapoi chiefs killed those who had carried Te Hau's body to Kai a Te Atua. The gate where Ngati Hateatea had entered Kaiapoi was called "Kai Takata", as the porters of the corpse were eaten by the high chiefs of Kaiapoi.

It was then decided that Te Hau's head would be buried in a stream nearby.

While Te Hau and Ruru did

not have any children, Ruru later married a Pakeha called Walker Quinn and a relation called Te Oti Wahia. Many Ngai Tahu descend from Ruru and recall the mistakes made by Te Hau and his porters.

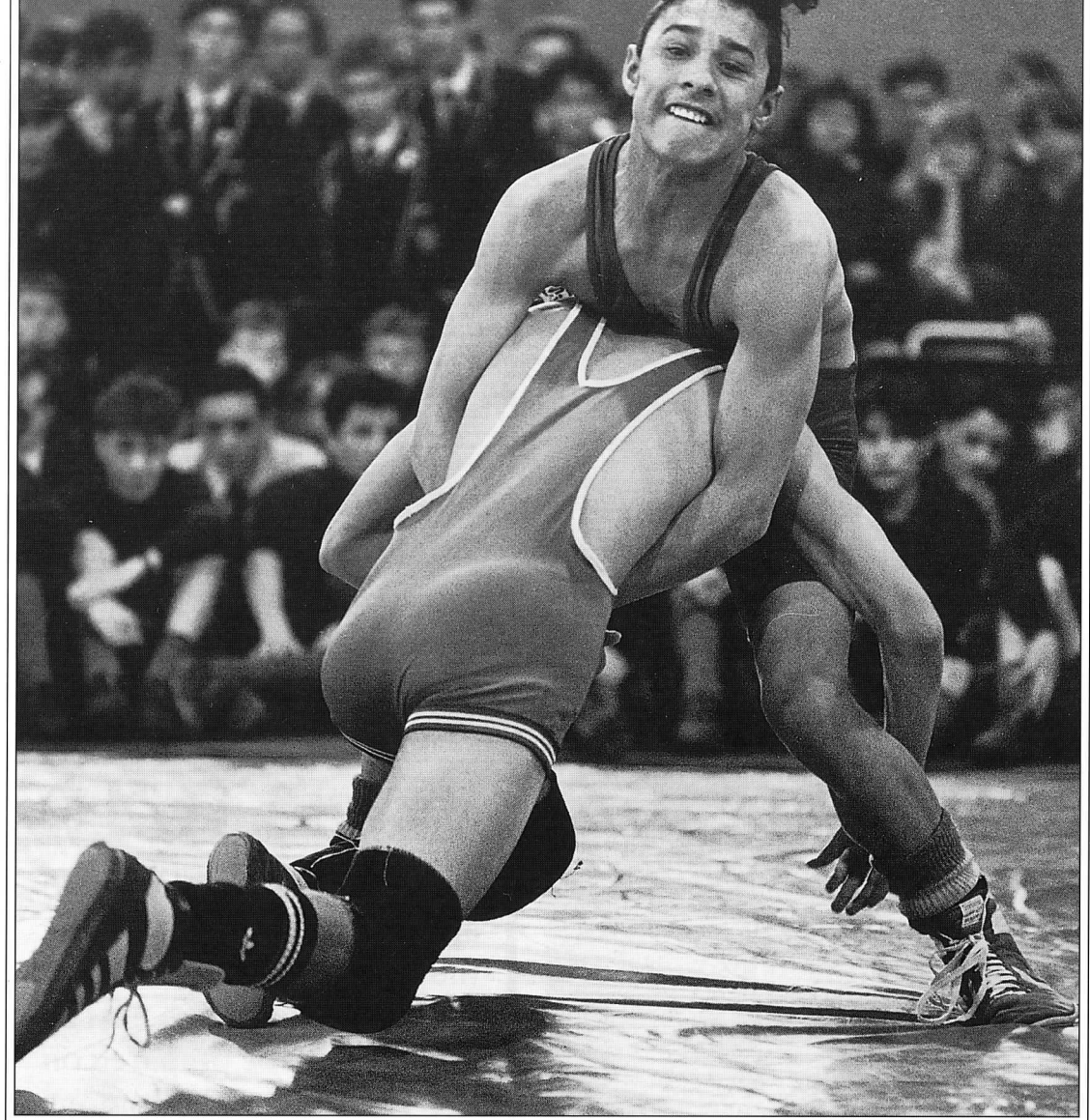


Photo courtesy of the Otago Daily Times

# HE TAMA TOA

RUSSELL CALDWELL

***Young Ngai Tahu wrestler Hemi Dawson has been selected as a member of the 1996 New Zealand Secondary School Wrestling Team, travelling to the United States in March.***

The team has a hectic one month agenda and will compete at various venues in both Los Angeles and Colorado. Before departing for America the team will assemble in

Auckland where the New Zealand Secondary School Wrestling Championships will take place.

Hemi, age 16, had lived in Dunedin all of his life. He says it was his parents Harry and Meronea Dawson who fostered his early interest in wrestling. "My dad worked at the Freezing Works with Brent Hollamby." Hollamby a former Olympian and Commonwealth Games representative, is the coach of the Taieri Amateur Wrestling Club.

In 1989 at age ten Dawson began wrestling at the Taieri club. He was



Continued from previous page

runner-up in his first tournament at Crichton Cobbers in Christchurch. That same year he won his first title. To date Hemi's achievements have been impressive. He has won every South Island championship from 1990 until present. He entered his first national tournament in 1991 at the New Zealand Club Championships in Auckland. Since that time he has won numerous national titles at venues throughout the country.

The impending bouts in the USA will not be the first time Hemi has encountered American opponents. In 1994 the Oregon State wrestling team visited Dunedin. Every member of that team was a state champion. Consequently the visitors won 16 bouts to 4. Three Otago wrestlers distinguished themselves by beating their American opponents. Hemi gained local notoriety by defeating Javeir Gonzalez.

In order to reach international standards an enormous amount of dedication is required. Hemi's preparation includes a nightly regime of running, sit-ups and press-ups. In addition he refines his skills twice a week at club training sessions. The monetary cost of wrestling is great. A major expense is the travel to the various venues throughout New Zealand and now overseas. Hemi is fortunate to have the generous support of the Taieri club and its sponsors, however, his interest in wrestling inevitably hits his parents in the pocket.

Hemi has both short and long term goals. "My immediate aim is to compete at the Junior World Championships." He also has his sights set on competing at either the 2000 or 2004 Olympics ... Kia kaha.

## ENTREPRENEURIAL tupuna

RUSSELL CALDWELL

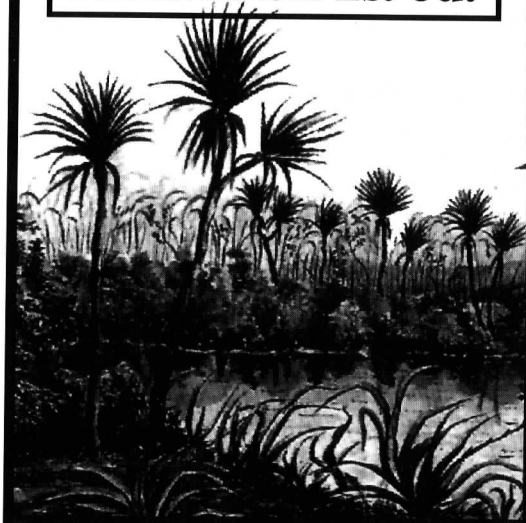
*Innovative fund-raising ideas are not merely a modern phenomenon, as illustrated by the following advertisement which appeared in "The Press", 18 December 1863.*

### NOTICE

I hereby invite the public to acquire the art of converting the stem of the ti palm into a pleasant food. A large quantity will be prepared on the 19th inst. at Horomona Iwikau's near Harrison's Bridge, Kaiapoi. The Kauru, was the favourite food of our ancestor Turakautahi. It is very sweet and contains much nourishment.

Hono Paratene Tamanuiaraki

**Admission 2s. 6d.**



## Ngai Tahu's response to the FISCAL ENVELOPE

### Part II: Conservation Land

The Fiscal Envelope proposals make numerous references to the "conservation estate". It is a vague and indefinite term that we consider has no legal standing and is aimed at creating confusion. Ngai Tahu has made specific proposals involving land which is preserved by statute in the national interest and managed directly by the Department of Conservation. That is what we consider to be properly called the "conservation estate".

Ngai Tahu has argued before the Waitangi Tribunal and elsewhere that certain areas of the South Island should remain absolutely protected and managed by the

Department of Conservation (DoC) but be held in a form of joint title by the Crown and Ngai Tahu. This aspiration has been rejected by the Crown under the cloak of protecting the interests of "all New Zealanders".

We have been patiently negotiating for nearly four years with the Government over this question of joint title and Ngai Tahu is still committed to a negotiation process that after four years of costly negotiations has yet to realise any of our aspirations relating to joint title. It is with a great deal of consternation that we meantime see the successes gained by



those who abandon the Waitangi Tribunal process and instead take the law into their own hands. In Taumarunui, Maori protesters succeeded in gaining joint title to the police station. In Wanganui, Maori protesters initially persuaded the district council to consider the joint title to the Moutoa Gardens. Currently over half of Maori's earnings from very substantial iwi economic activity is spent on trying to gain justice from our Treaty Partner through the Tribunal process and the Courts. What is Ngai Tahu (and other law-abiding iwi) to think when it sees some Maori getting what they want through occupation and intimidation.

Our submissions and aspirations in relation to joint title are entirely in accord with the evidence of the Crown's own witness before the Waitangi Tribunal, the Director-General of Conservation Mr Ken Piddington. He agreed that joint title was a valid concept and that there was no reason why the Crown alone had to own or even administer such Conservation land.

The Green lobbies which control DoC have labelled this Ngai Tahu aspiration "privatisation" and have campaigned vigorously against the proposal on the basis that it threatens public access. Ngai Tahu has never threatened public access – the threat is a phoney and invented one.

The Crown has allowed these lobbies to shape its rejection of Ngai Tahu's joint title proposal for such areas as Aoraki (Mount Cook). Joint title over these areas would in no way alter the "use and benefit of all New Zealanders". It would simply allow a reasonable and moderate reflection of our traditional interest in those lands – nothing more, in effect than a reflection of our cultural relationship with our heritage landscapes.

This traditional relationship with the land is one of the reasons why any Ngai Tahu settlement with the Crown must be directly

related to righting wrongs committed against us in our rohe, in our history, on our facts and in respect of our traditional mahinga kai (food-gathering) resources. It can have nothing to do with what the Crown had done in another place with other Maori.



## Whitebait QUICHE

Puff pastry (enough to line your dish)  
Whitebait (enough to fill your dish)  
Eggs (enough to bind your bait)  
Cream (enough to fill half a cup)

### Method

- Line your quiche dish with pastry.
- Combine whitebait, eggs and cream.
- Season to taste.
- Pour bait mixture into pastry shell.
- Cook in a moderate oven for approximately 30 minutes or until set.

Enjoy a slightly different way of eating your bait instead of the traditional patties and accompany it with either a fabulously decorated Pina Colada or tea served in a chipped enamel mug and made with condensed milk. **MY FAVOURITE!!!**



# STOP PRESS

Have  
you  
filled  
out the  
Cultural  
Working  
Party  
form?

## New Education Trust Formed

As a result of the findings of the Waitangi Tribunal in the Ngai Tahu Claim, the Sisters of Mercy Diocese of Christchurch have generously made a donation towards the establishment of an Educational Trust to provide and promote educational benefits for the descendants of the original owners of the Mawhera reserve.

These descendants were seriously disadvantaged by the imposition of perpetual leases on their land which inhibited their development of an economic base.

The Sisters of Mercy acknowledge the injustice of the perpetual leases and their effect, and as their community and associated educational institutions in Greymouth benefited from the situation, they wanted to reconcile their position by providing compensation in a way that was acceptable to the descendants of the original owners of Maori Reserve 31 Mawhera. This decision is in keeping with the Sisters' commitment to foster bicultural relationship in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The Mawhera Matakara Trust has been set up to administer the grant.

The Chairman of the Trustees, Mr Maika Mason, expresses thanks to the Sisters of Mercy for their generous koha, and looks forward to their continuing support for the Trust. He also hopes that other sections of the Greymouth community will contribute to reconciling their position in relation to this long standing injustice.

The trustees appointed by the Mawhera Incorporation for the initial term of three years are:

Mr Maika Mason	Chairperson
Mrs Te Whe Phillips	Secretary
Mrs Marama Flesher	Treasurer



# He Taonga a Tangaroa

KARA EDWARDS

1995 came to an end with special significance for Kati Mahaki in South Westland. While most people were out celebrating the coming of a new year, a small group of this hapu spent New Year's Eve recovering part of something which to them is a special and sacred taonga, he paraoa (a Sperm whale).

On 30th December, the local Department of Conservation office had notified our Runanga Chairperson, Helen Rasmussen that a dead Sperm whale had washed up on a remote beach 50 kilometres north of Haast. Within hours, hapu members were travelling from as far away as Invercargill and Christchurch to take part in the work.

By 11am the next day, a core team of six were ready to start work on recovering the treasured whale bone. They were led by Ramari Stewart, a woman who has devoted much of her life to the study of whales and is one of the few people in the country with the skills to recover bone properly.

Access to the 12 metre long cow was difficult. The group walked 20 minutes through bush and had to trek another 15 minutes along the coastline. The 30-tonne

paraoa was lying on its side, its pink skin exposed from rolling across the rocks and its back and genitals were punctured with large bites. Judging by the bite marks, it was thought the whale had been killed at sea by a white pointer shark.

To the horror of the group, 15 teeth had already been stolen from the jawbone.

"It saddens me," said Helen Rasmussen "that others place a commercial value on something which to us is a taonga. It's the desecration of something sacred."

The mahi began with a karakia.

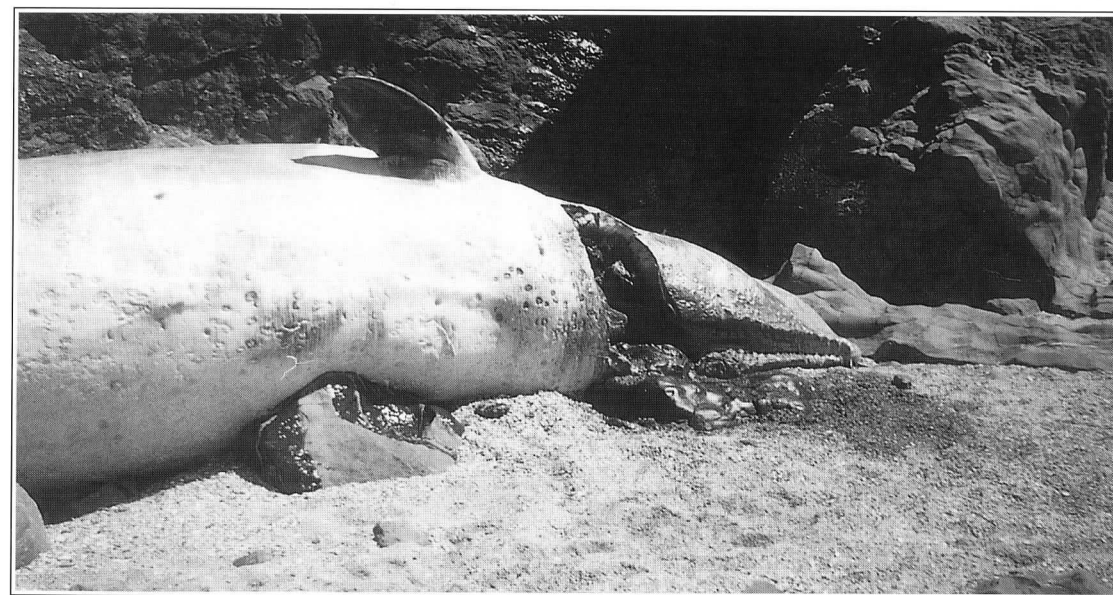
"We say this karakia," said Ramari "to re-establish the kawa, just a recognition of that. It's

also reconnecting the relationship that our early tipuna had with these taonga."

She explained that the first piece of meat cut from the whale would be returned to the bush as a koha to Tanemahuta in recognition of the time when whales lived on the land.

Under Ramari's instructions, the group learned how to remove the thick coat of blubber and release the hinge of the jaw beneath the skull. Ramari says most people

***When my father died in 1991, two whales came right inshore and remained for several days until after my father was buried.***



tend to attack only the visible part of the jaw with a chainsaw; not only do they leave a third behind, they cut through the densest bone used for carving Patu Paraoa.

The team worked with the most basic of equipment; knives, hooks and ropes. Despite the nauseating stench of the body and oil, the entire operation took less than an hour. At one stage, Ramari had to lie inside the mouth of the whale to unhinge the jaw, Helen at her side and other whanau members passing tools, sharpening knives and setting ropes.

"That's the thing that's really amazing about this recovery," said Ramari. "It is the easiest and most efficient I've ever worked on and with the most limited resources."

I asked Helen why the whales were so important to her and this is what she told me ...

"Our family have always had a connection with whales, we see them as something sacred almost like our tipuna.

My father, Bob Wilson who was our Upoko wrote about when as a child he and a kaumatua had flensed out the bones of a whale and processed the oil. When my father died in 1991, two whales came right inshore and remained for several days until after my father was buried. This whale was the second to come ashore in the last 13 months, the last one beached five kilometres along the coast in the exact area where the whales were sighted when dad died.

"The first bones were cleaned and returned to the Runanga as its Annual General Meeting in November where they were used at the christening of a mokopuna who was named Kahurangi Mataroa 'Paraoa'. He's our whale boy."

Te Runanga o Te Koeti Turanga has yet to decide what will happen with these taonga. They will remain an integral part of our hapu and will be woven into our whakapapa, enhancing the mana of the whale and Kati Mahaki.

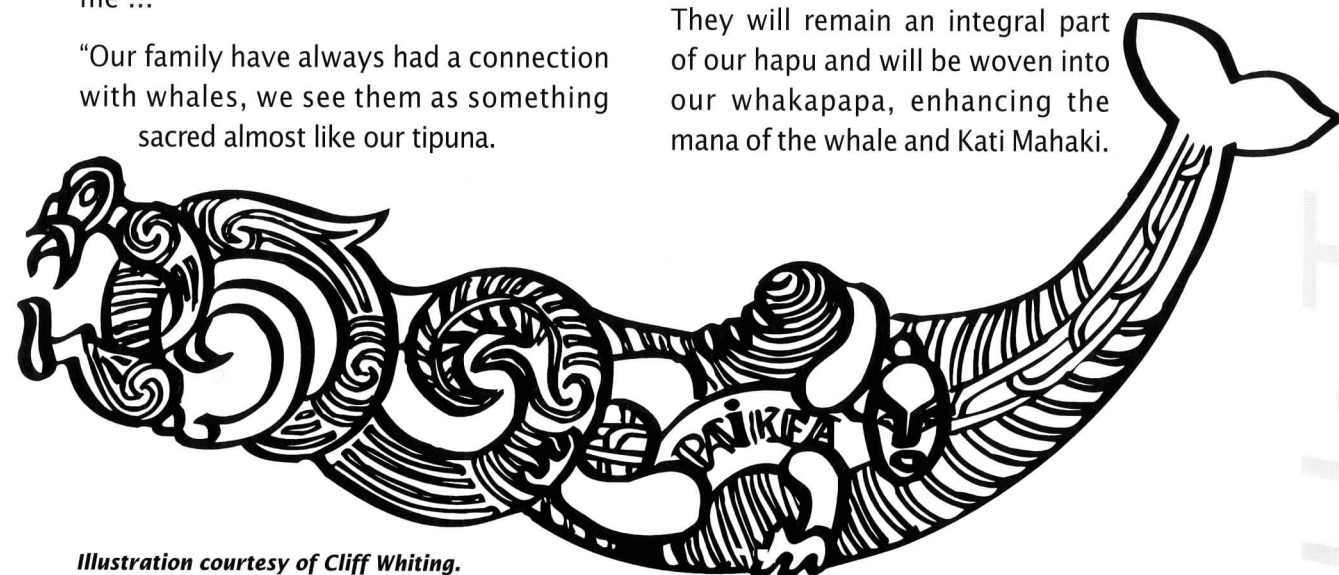


Illustration courtesy of Cliff Whiting.



# RAKIURA



Looking North East from Kowhatu Terotero on Whenuahou to the Raggedy islands.

Fifteen years ago a group of Ngai Tahu with land in the beautiful Lords River area of Rakiura, or Stewart Island, took a complaint to the Forestry Service about the way hunters, the government agency was allowing on their land, were mistreating it.

Today the nucleus of that group make up a key part of the Rakiura Maori Land Incorporated Society, which controls 33,500 acres of land and is therefore the biggest landowner of Stewart Island after the Crown. Constantly trying to recover land that has inexplicably been lost to Maori ownership (and not surprisingly

ended up under Crown control), it recently had a further six titles vested with it by the Maori Land Court.

And while still determined to claim back such significant areas as Whenua Hou or Codfish Island, despite the findings of the Waitangi Tribunal, it is about to begin a quest to bring a large part of the island's south cape – an area steeped in ancient Maori history – under its control.

Alan Groves spoke to Rakiura Maori Land Incorporated's executive secretary, Harold Ashwell, about those plans and the little-known society's past, present and future.

## ALAN GROVES

Whenua Hou, or Codfish Island, is best known as the home of the Department of Conservation's most desperate attempts to save the Kakapo, a species that, despite allegations Maori have driven it to near extinction, has seemingly lost the will to survive.

"Best known" is a misnomer or at least an over statement as the majority of New Zealanders would probably have little interest in the programme, or in fact concern for its success, despite the hype that it has generated.

Those that would admit a passing interest in saving the Kakapo would struggle to pinpoint exactly where Codfish Island is, and its doubtful more than a handful, if any, could recite even a synopsis of the island's wonderful history. That is probably because that history is Maori or, more exactly, the history of some of New Zealand's first half castes. The significance of Whenua Hou lies in the fact that it was there that probably the first successful and peaceful integration of Pakeha and Maori culture took place.

It was here that names like Gilroy, Bragg, Stirling, Wybrow, Davis, Skerrett, Wixon, Russell, Newton and Anglem, sailors borne by the waves from Europe and North America, were to become part of local Maori lore.

Whenua Hou, like the mighty Rakiura and the numerous small islands that huddle near its coastline, is therefore a landmass of extreme significance to Ngai Tahu, Murihiku and the descendants of the original inhabitants of Rakiura – the Waitaha who purportedly ventured on to the island more than 500 years ago.

There is no question that what tempted those first settlers across the often treacherous Te Ara A Kiwa (Foveaux Strait), was the prospect of discovering abundant new food sources.

They were not to be disappointed. Apart from a rich and diverse supply of kai moana, these pioneers were to discover that the small islands dotted around the main island, later named Rakiura, were mass breeding grounds for the Titi, or mutton bird.

A strongly flavoured bird rich in fat and vitamins, it was considered a delicacy and highly prized. While it was harvested elsewhere in New Zealand, the Titi Islands were densely populated and the aggregations far vaster than they were anywhere else.

It made for very rich pickings come the season for the harvest, when the plump chicks were taken from their burrows and killed, plucked and preserved by traditional means. The preserved birds were to become a staple in the diet of those prepared to withstand the rigours of the southern winters.

The most productive of the Titi Islands are concentrated around the south west cape of Rakiura. For centuries, and still to this day, there are major seasonal migrations. According to Harold Ashwell, a leading

living authority on this practice, Maori from the mainland would cross the strait and, along with those who made Rakiura their home, follow the coastline south to either Pikihatiti (Pegasus Bay), or around the treacherous Whiore (South Cape).

From the well sheltered Pikihatiti ran the Waipakake River that was negotiable by waka, that would be pulled ashore at the headwaters. The birders would then complete the journey to Tupari on the eastern coastline by foot, and await the arrival of those who braved the trip around the cape.

There was another well established foot track that ran from Waiharakeke (Flax) Creek to Easy Harbour.

Other prospective birders would take the easier option of coming down the west coast, stopping at several well known staging posts along the way including Whenua Hou, Waituna and Mitini Island.

These places are littered with varying relics of long term occupation. One of the most obvious are the large, very old stands of Harakeke, the all-purpose native flax used for everything from clothing to building materials. This was introduced from nearby Ruapuke Island, as the predominant native variety on Rakiura was the brittle, near useless Wharariki.

Wherever these stands are found, Harold says there would almost certainly have been an occupation site – a Kananihi, or village.

"Where ever this is found, you can bet your life there would have been a Maori village," he says. "They would have established these stands for the use of Maori on their way to the Titi Islands and on their return journey."

There are other far more obvious signs of Maori occupation around the cape area, which is studded with significant sites including huge middens built up over centuries and ancient uru pa.



Even the place names speak of its history. Harold says that many names have survived from the founding Waitaha era.

Even with the Kati Mamoe venturing into these parts in the 17th century and thus integrating the two tribes, the original names survived. When Ngai Tahu arrived some two centuries later they similarly assimilated, and if they wanted to stamp their presence any more emphatically it was too late. As Harold says: "Everything was bloody well named."

There are, however, two major islands that bear Ngai Tahu names – Poutama and Rerewhakaupoko. These are situated at either end of Kanawera (or Taukihapa), the largest of the Titi Islands nestled alongside the cape's western coastline.

Harold says that if there is one area of Rakiura that has more significance to the tangata whenua than any other then it is the cape, Whiore. It has therefore become the aim of Rakiura Maori Land Incorporated to take control of it back. It is a cause Harold is particularly passionate about.

"If people were taken there and shown exactly what is there, I'm sure they would clamour to have it brought under Maori control and protection."

The cape is currently part of the conservation estate, and DoC has it marked, somewhat inappropriately, as a wilderness area.

Harold can only guess at why Rakiura Maori agreed to sell the land in the first place.

"When it was sold the Maori of that time seemed to know nothing about it," he says. "There was no mention in any official papers about the historical significance of this area."

"I find that hard to accept. It is part of our lore. Today it would have Wahi Tapu status."

What Harold calls the deceit and deviousness of the Crown that shrouded the purchase of Rakiura in 1864, has made him suspicious. He takes the view that it was trickery.

A major concern of Harold's, is that the Maori Land Court has in the past granted titi birding rights to some people who are not even of Rakiura extraction

It's a situation that Harold believes was as farcical as the Landless Natives legislation of 1906 that saw large blocks of Rakiura given over to the likes of the Rangitane from the top of the South Island.

These people that had no links or any affinity with the island and were further alienated from it by the government's failure to even partition the land, and thus allow those families or individuals to live on it or benefit from it.

This was possibly a cynical ploy of the government's to ensure that the land was never utilised for its intended purpose, and would slowly be reabsorbed into the Crown estate. It is at least a callous disregard for these people who had been blatantly dispossessed of their lands elsewhere.

"The land allocated was never partitioned

into sections so people could occupy the land, or utilise it. It was given to them for development and economic use – something that just hasn't happened.

"The government fell down for the simple reason that they didn't survey those sections out so people could get title."

Rakiura Maori Land Incorporated is ironically acting on behalf of these people, as well as their own, in ongoing negotiations with the government to have that land partitioned.

"Here we are, 90 years on, and the government is using the same excuses that they haven't the money to survey it out."

Harold says the Department of Survey and Lands Information did come back with a proposal to undertake this task, under which they would strip RMLI of control of more than 50 acres of land. RMLI rejected it. The battle continues.

Rakiura Maori Land Incorporated funds its various activities from a very small pool. It's only income is derived from the licences granted hunters to use 16 camp sites that have been developed on the south east side of the island.

It was concern over the state these sites were being allowed to fall in to that provided the initial impetus for the formation of what is now a relatively powerful legal entity.

Harold explains: "It all started quite simply. There were a group of us concerned at how the government agencies were allowing the land to be mistreated.

"There were a few of us with land in the Lords River area where most of this was taking place who were particularly

concerned. So we set up a committee.

"At that time the New Zealand Forestry Service was administering the land – our land – on behalf of Lands and Survey. They were issuing permits to all and sundry to hunt deer down there.

"But that was as far as their responsibility went. They had exerted no control over the hunters' actions while they were on the land.

"The land was being desecrated by these

people. They used chainsaws to cut a campsite out of the bush, and although following hunting parties would use the same sites they kept on getting bigger. They were clearing more bush for tent sites and felling timber for firewood.

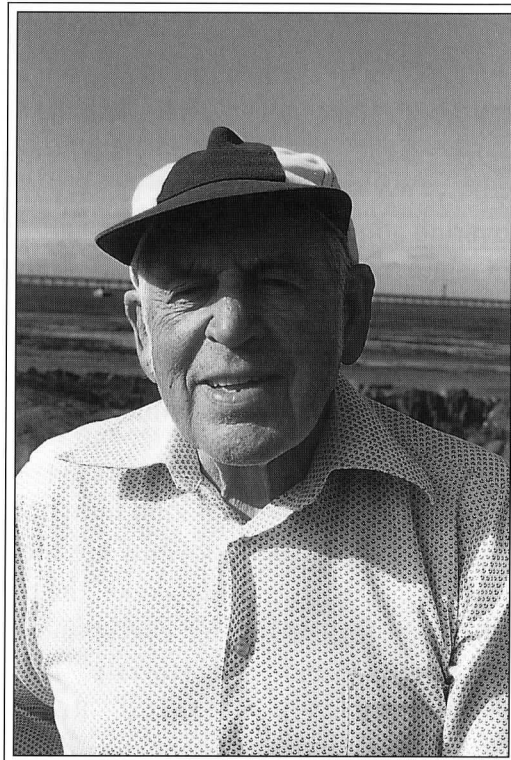
"When they left, they left behind bottles, tins, clothing, skins, carcasses, fish – just left to rot. And once they'd fouled a camp site, once it had become too putrid to live in, they simply moved on to cut another site."

The straw that broke the camel's back was news that some of these hunters were attempting to stop the legal landowners going on to their own land. "We objected strongly to this."

In 1977-78 Harold Ashwell, along with Rewi Fife and Billy and Jim Bragg, aired their complaints at a series of meetings with representatives of Lands and Survey, the Forestry Service, and the Lands Settlement Board in Invercargill.

"We told the Forestry Service that we were unhappy with the way they were administering the place, and that we would take over and administer our own lands. That's how we came into being.

**...once they'd fouled a camp site, once it had become too putrid to live in, they simply moved on to cut another site.**



**Harold Ashwell:**  
**Executive Secretary of the Rakiura**  
**Maori Land Incorporated Society.**



"At that stage it was just a committee – the Rakiura Maori Landowners committee. On legal advice, we became an Incorporated Society in January 1982.

"The court then decided that we would be made the trustees of all the Maori land on Stewart Island. We suddenly fell heir to 96 titles – which was more than we bargained for at the time. All we initially wanted was our land back in the Lords River area."

The land RMLI was awarded jurisdiction over had been neglected by the potential beneficiaries, and was becoming the target of a variety of government agencies who would take it without justification or recompense. "It was being absorbed by the Crown, one way or another."

RMLI thus made it their first priority to claim back any or all land originally granted to Rakiura Maori that had been lost, or simply disappeared off official records.

This has been a patience testing and most times tiresome task for Harold, who says it has been made more difficult by the neglect or disinterest of the landowners or their descendants.

Harold says many beneficiaries worry that huge debts would have accrued over the land so therefore chose to ignore it. Another reason is that ownership of the large blocks has, over generations, become very dilute.

So for one reason or another succession orders have not been done, and eventually beneficiaries lose track of the land. Out of disinterest people therefore become detached from the land.

Harold says large tracts of Stewart Island have ended up in Crown hands, simply by default. He believes there is the potential for thousands of acres of land to be claimed back.

"There are several hundred acres in Patersons Inlet alone – odd blocks that the government just took."

But to properly investigate and research ownership, RMLI needs funding, greater resources and ultimately the support of all Ngai Tahu in this quest.

Establishing rightful ownership has not been the only battle RMLI have had to fight. They are now engaged in one over milling rights on land in the Lords River area.

They have been negotiating with a company that have offered to pay tens of millions of dollars to selectively mill there. But they have met resistance not only from reluctant beneficiaries but also conservation groups who are completely opposed to the idea.

They have thus found themselves in the same boat as the Ngai Tahu owners of the Waitutu forest in western Southland, who have virtually been denied the right to use their resources as they see fit.

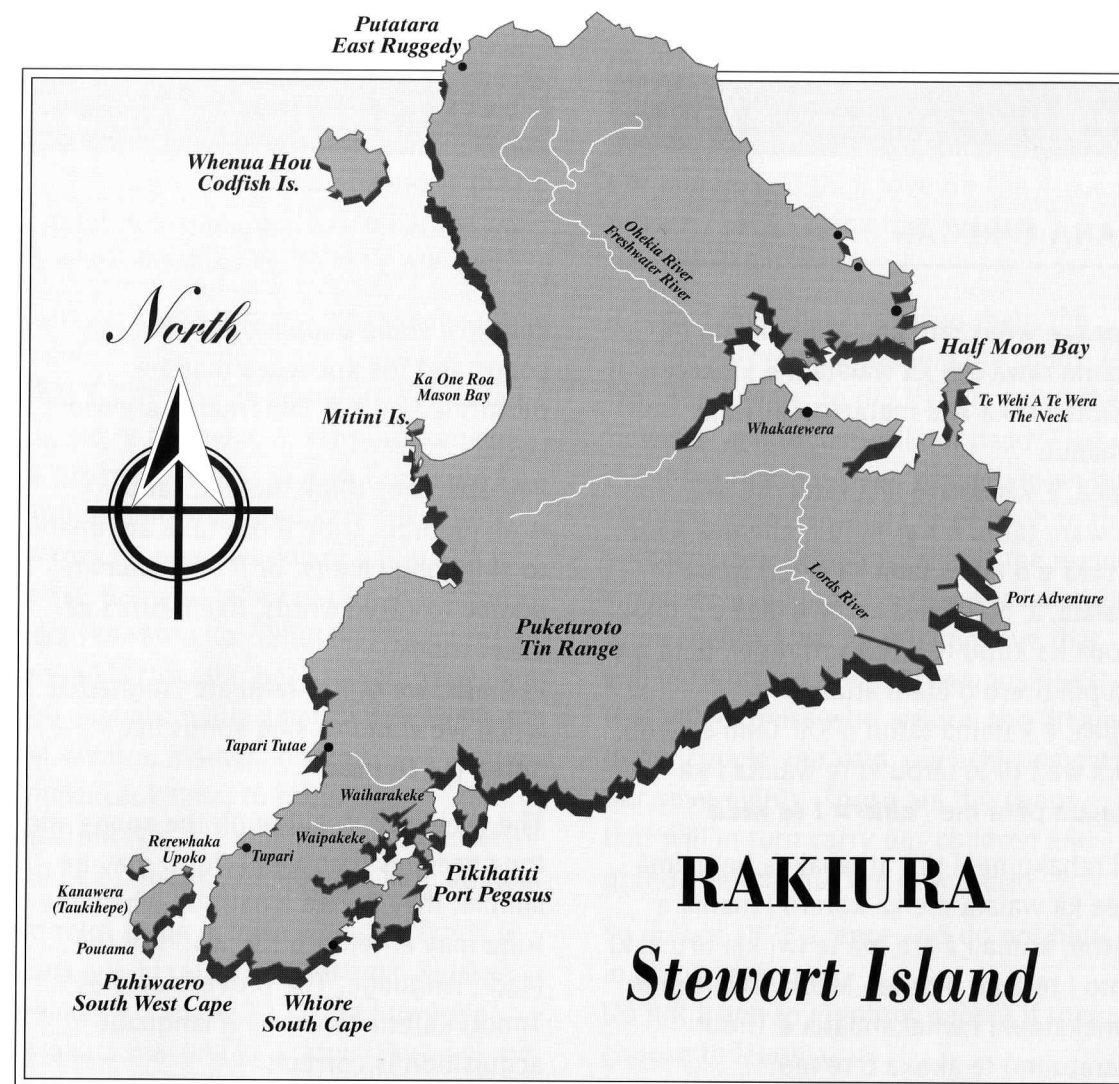
Recent legislation to protect indigenous forest resources has prevented owners of native forests from exercising their property rights, by milling it.

Given that most of the indigenous forests left in private ownership is on Maori land, many believe that the law discriminates unfairly against Maori owners. Pakeha have cleared the land, taken the cash and belatedly found the new conservation doctrines. And now the rights of Maori landowners are diminishing by the day.

New or amended legislation is simply making it harder and harder for owners like those on Rakiura to do almost anything at all with their land.

"Our hands are being taken from the land and tied behind our backs," Harold surmises.

Like the owners of Waitutu, RMLI is having difficulty working out a fair deal in terms of compensation for not being allowed to mill in the Lords River area. Harold is hopeful one can be worked out and that RMLI ends up with enough money to at least buy a boat. He wants to use it to take



his people down to the island, put them in touch with their turangawaewae and make them aware of and passionate about what they have there.

Rakiura is a natural haven of unspoiled coastline, unsullied waterways, and virgin native bush. Harold knows it well, and talks eloquently of the clarity of the waters in Patersons Inlet and Port Pegasus, and the beauty of Port Adventure and Lords River area.

"It's no different today than when Captain Cook sailed past," he says.

It's hardly surprising that there has been so much interest from wealthy developers in what is regarded as New Zealand's last undeveloped tourist frontier. The island and its environs are rich in eco and adventure tourism opportunities of enormous potential.

This is the tourism of the future, and

Harold knows it. He warns that if RMLI and Ngai Tahu do not get in first others will, ahead of them.

**"We have lived on the crumbs for too long. We should have a bit of the cream for once."**

The Rakiura Maori Land Incorporated Executive Committee:

Harold Ashwell – *Executive Secretary*  
June Ryan – *Administrative Secretary*  
George Ryan – *Chairman*  
Hector Dawson – *Treasurer*  
Rewi Anglem  
Maureen Payne  
George Te Au  
Paddy Gilroy

Mailing Address:  
Rakiura Maori Land Incorporated  
P.O. Box 77, Bluff



## Tū Tāroaroa ki te Waiata

HANA O'REGAN

Āpea, e whakaaro ana ētahi tākata he māmā rawa atu kā waiata me kā kōrero i mahia i ruka i kā marae o Kai Tahu whānui.

Āpea, e whakaaro ana rātou he iwi kūware tātou o Kai Tahu mehemea kāore e taea e ō tātou taua kā oriori roroa te waiata, ā, mehemea kāore e taea e ō tātou poua ka kupu te whakairo rānei, pērā me kā pūkōrero o ētahi atu iwi.

Āpea, e kaitaina tātou o Kai Tahu e rātou, i kā wā i tū ai tātou ki te waiata i kā waiata pērā me **"ehara i te mea"**.

Ki tahaku nei i tiro ai, ahakoa he māmā pea kā waiata me kā kōrero i mahia e tātou, koina kā ara mā te iwi kia uru ai ki roto i tērā ao o te reo Māori. Tika tou te whakataukī i whakahuatia e Timoti Karetu mō te akoa o te reo:

**"He iti te mokoroa nāna i kakati te kahikatea"**

Ahakoa he iti te mōhiotaka o te reo me kā waiata i te timataka, ka tipu haere te mōhiotaka anō nei he putiputi. I whakatō kē te kākāno i tō rātou haereka ki te marae, ki te hui. Ki te whai tou ia i te huarahi, ka tipu haere te ataahuataka o taua putiputi. Mehemea i whai ia i ruka i tōhona aroha mō te reo me kā taoka o te iwi i roto, me pēhea ia e taka iho? Heoi, ka tipu haere te aroha i ā ia e ako ana, tae noa ki te wā o tōhona puāwaitaka.

Ahakoa he tokoiti kā tākata i roto i Kai Tahu e mōhio ana ki te kōrero Māori me kā tiakaka, he pai ake tētahi rōpū iti i tētahi rōpū kore mōhio. Ka kaha haere te rahi o kā tākata o Kai Tahu e mōhio ana ki kā waiata maha. Ka kaha haere hoki te hōhā o ētahi o ēnei tākata ki kā waiata ōrite ki **"ehara i te mea"**.

Ekari i whakatutuki kā kupu o taua waiata i tētahi atu mahi; kia

## Stand Tall and Sing

Perhaps, some people think that the songs and the speeches that are performed on Kai Tahu marae are too basic.

Perhaps, they think that Kai Tahu is an ignorant tribe if our taua are unable to sing long chants, or if our poua are unable to carve words, like orators of other tribes.

Perhaps, we of Kai Tahu are laughed at when we stand to sing songs like **"ehara i te mea"**.

The way I see it, although the songs and the speeches that we perform may be simple, they create a path by which the tribe may enter into the world of the Maori language. The proverb said by Timoti Karetu concerning language acquisition is correct:

**"It is a small grub that fells the tall kahikatea."**

Although the level of songs and speeches may be simple in the beginning, the knowledge grows as if it is a flower. The seed is sown every time they travel to the marae and to the hui. If they pursue that path, the beauty of that flower grows. If their journey is based upon their love for the language and the treasures of the tribe within te reo, how can they fail? Instead, their love continues to grow as they learn, until the time that the flower blooms.

Although there are only a few people within Kai Tahu who can speak Maori and who know the tikaka concerning waiata, a small group is better than none at all. An increasing number of Kai Tahu know a wider range of songs. They are becoming increasingly annoyed with songs like **"ehara i te mea"**.

However, the words of that song serve to fulfil another purpose; to remind us, that

whakamāumahara tātou, ehara tētahi mea o nāiane noa iho te aroha o ō mātou poua o ō mātou taua, pakeke mō tō tātou. Kai Tahutaka, tō rātou aroha mō te ora o tō tātou marae, me tō rātou aroha mō kā whakatipuraka kei te heke mai nei.

Ekari kē, koina te mea i whakakaha rātou kia waiatahia tonutia aua waiata, kia whākaia tonutia kā manuhiri, kia karia kā rua mō te takihaka, ā, kia poroporoakia kā tūpāpaku. Koina te mea i tuku iho i ō rātou tūpuna mā rātou ki te tuku iho ki kā rea ā muri nei, kia ora ai mō kā wā katoa. Koina te take i tū tāroaroa rātou i ruka i tō rātou Kai Tahutaka. Koina te aroha kia tuku iho hei whāka i kā waiata hou e whakahuatia ana i kā moemoeā o te iwi, ō rātou mamae, ō rātou whakatutukitaka, tō rātou tino rakatirataka. Ā, koina kā waiata hei kawatu i kā tamariki, mokopuna ki te ao hou.

Nō reira, kaua e noho whakaku, kaua e huna ana ki roto i te whakamā. Kaua e whakaroko ana ki kā tākata kūware e katakata mai ana ki a tātou. Ekari kē, me tū tāroaroa tātou katoa, ki te waiata i kā waiata i ruka i te kaha o tō tātou aroha mō tō tātou nei Kai Tahutaka.

the love of our poua and taua is not merely a thing of today. Instead their love of our Kai Tahutaka, their love for our marae, and their love for the progeny yet to come is a treasure handed down.

It is that love that has given them the strength to continue singing the songs, to feed the guests, to dig the graves at the funerals, and to farewell our dead. That is the thing that has been passed down by their ancestors for them to pass on to the succeeding generations. That is the reason why they stand proud in their Kai Tahutaka upon their marae. That is the love that will in turn feed the new compositions that will express who we are, the dreams of our people, our pain, our achievements, our sovereignty. Those are the songs that will in turn carry our children and grandchildren into the new world.

So do not sit in silence and do not hide in embarrassment.

Do not listen to ignorant people if they choose to laugh at us.

Instead, stand tall and sing our songs based on the love for our people and our culture.

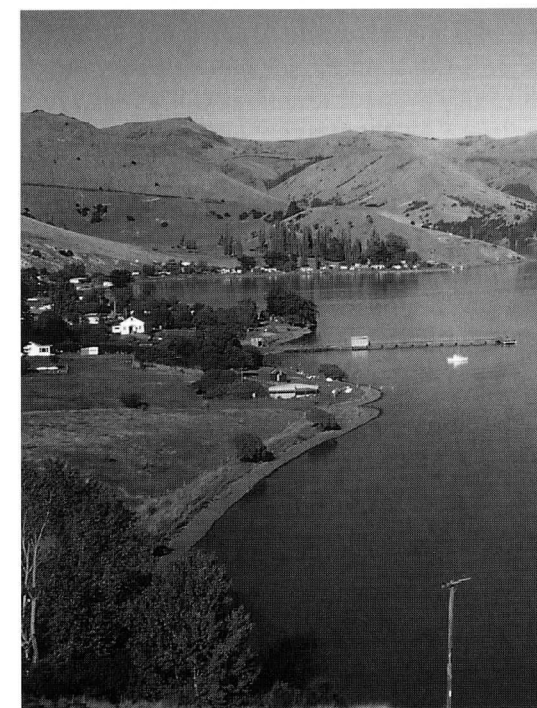


## PORT LEVY

SIMON SNOW

At Port Levy on the second of January 1996, in a ceremony run jointly by the Ministry of Fisheries and the local Runanga, a total ban was imposed on the use of the cockle beds in this picturesque harbour. Simon Snow explores the background to an unusual conservation effort.

On the day after New Year, Diamond Harbour





is cluttered with a cheerful holiday throng. Boat trailers litter the roadside verges, kids and parents throw frisbees, tend barbecues, wade happily in the cool mud of the tidal flats.

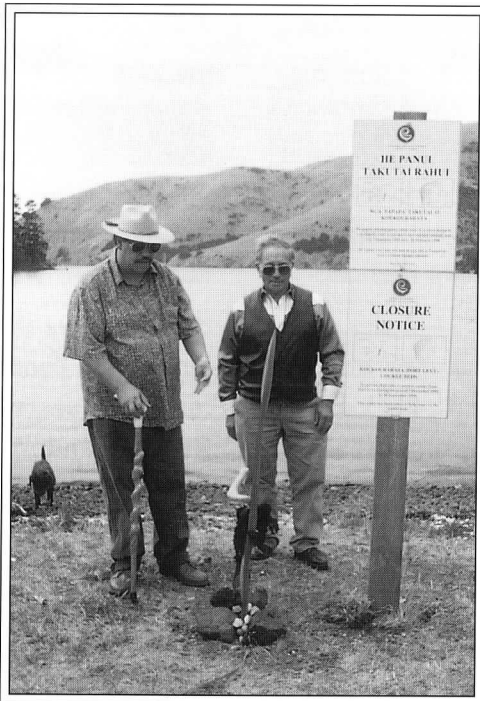
The road to Port Levy cuts off this scene abruptly. It climbs high into rough hills, then drops with alarming steepness into a quiet bay at the mouth of a long inlet. A few houses fringe the water, sheltering behind a narrow, pine-topped island. On the roadside verge, beside a calm strip of water which separates the island from a rocky beach, a group of people have gathered for a ceremony which is unusual in many ways.

The cockle beds of Port Levy are dying. Causes are not known, but an oily black mud which has gradually overspread the sand is a prime suspect. Overfishing is another. For the Maori of Koukourarata Marae, the cockle beds are more than a food resource, they represent a tradition of gathering and sharing food from the sea which is vital to family identity, social and cultural tradition.

The Runanga, working in partnership with the Ministry of Fisheries, has requested a three-year ban on all harvesting. Consultation has been held with Peninsula residents, commercial and recreational fishers, and the ban has been approved by the Minister of Fisheries after further consultation at a national level. During the closure, or rahui, Ministry of Fisheries officers will train the local people to monitor and study the beds to look for causes and make decisions for the future.

About forty people are now grouped on the roadside round a newly-erected post bearing notices explaining the rahui in English and Maori under the Ministry of Fisheries logo. The two texts are read in turn by Runanga chairman, Maurice Gray, and M.O.F. Policy Adviser Ray Voller. A twisted, sea-worn stick to which a single blade of flax and a garland of seaweed have been tied is planted in the ground beside the post, its base supported by black rocks from the beach. Maurice Gray intones a long karakia, or prayer, and carefully sprinkles both stick and notice with brine from three cockles, whose shells are placed at the base of the post.

There is silence for a moment, broken by the wailing of gulls and the slow hiss of the sea;



then the ceremony ends. Participants wash their hands in the sea before moving off to the meeting house for food. One man reaches gently to touch the notice before leaving.

Maurice Gray remains behind to explain the rahui ceremony. His is an impressive man; big, calm, with a precise yet resonant voice. He is, on one level, a man successfully immersed in the modern academic world, as Director of Maori Studies at Lincoln University. He is also a practising Anglican priest,

a man with deep Christian conviction.

Today, however, he has called on knowledge drawn from his father and grandfather and dating back to pre-European times, to produce a ritual appropriate for the occasion and the purpose his people intend it to fulfil. He explains that the stick with its flax, seaweed and shells represents the mauri, or life force, of Tangaroa the god of the sea. In his karakia he has called on Tangaroa to protect, cleanse and renew the cockle beds and the Port Levy area generally. Maurice sees a wider context in the ceremony than simply saving the cockle beds. In ancient times mauri such as this were placed at several sites in Port Levy, embodying the life essence of the land, the sea and the people. These sites remain to this day, so sacred, or tapu, that to enter them is to risk ill fortune and even physical illness. A red rock high above the township, for example, is never visited by Koukourarata people. He indicates a small headland from which his ancestors chanted karakia down the length of the inlet and out towards the migratory path of the great sperm whales. To have sited today's ceremony there, he says could have produced an instant response from Tangaroa in the form of a tidal wave, cleansing the beds but destroying the settlement.

He explains that, over time, these mauri have been polluted by change. Conflict between Maori at the time of Te Rauparaha, the removal of forest, and more recently the move away from Port Levy to find work in the city, have "... alienated people from their traditional inheritance. Because the mauri of land and sea were polluted, the people were polluted also; to heal the people you must heal these conditions."

On a practical level, the rahui is a conservation

measure supported by all interested parties. For the Koukourarata people, in recognizing their responsibility over the resources of the sea, it is a symbolic beginning to the healing process. "A lot of the people here today were brought up in Port Levy, but they didn't live here as adults – they moved away to find work. Now they are becoming involved with the marae again, re-discovering their inheritance of Maoritanga. These things, our inheritance, were not passed down without tremendous pain and sacrifice."

He sees no conflict between his invocation of the ancient god of the sea and his Christian calling. "Christ came to fulfil cultures, not to destroy them," is his comment.

Over dinner under the high timbered ceiling of the meeting house, Ray Voller gives his reactions. As policy adviser to the Ministry he has worked closely with John Bond, the Runanga representative on the Banks Peninsula Fisheries Working Group, to bring about the rahui. He sees this co-operative venture as a pattern for the future. "It's a whole new beginning. What we're hoping to do is work together to manage the fishery. The Ministry will provide scientific and management advice – a sort of handbook approach to help the local Runanga monitor the resource and make decisions about the future."

Asked about his reactions as a Pakeha scientist to the ancient ritual, his reply is supportive. "It's sort of the common-sense aspects of life. You can think clinically, or you can look at a wider dimension. It's quite moving to me personally – I'm quite a spiritual person myself so I can live with that."

For Charlie Crofts, current chair of the Ngai Tahu tribal incorporation, the rahui culminates a long effort, begun in the mid-eighties, to have local Maori concerns about the environment recognized. "I'm elated that at long last there is recognition of our concern, that this rahui is officially recognized. I'm pleased that we have done something that's for the good of everyone and has got nothing to do with money. There's been a lot of publicity about Maori claims – this today says we are here, we are here to stay, our concerns will be listened to, but no-one can say we're trying to get anything out of it."

Sonny Ruru, or as he gently informs me after being introduced, Te Maraeroa Te Muru Ruru, speaks of his life in Port Levy. His boyhood home was the landward backdrop to today's ceremony – a small cottage overshadowed by walnut trees, where his father, a Gallipoli veteran, milked 27 cows, sending the cream out by launch. Asked about the stocks of seafood in former days, his reply is simple.

"Abundance. Anywhere along this bay you could get paua without having to swim. Mussels, cockles, rock oyster, kina – it was all there."

Aided by Matapi Briggs, another older resident, he catalogues the fish which could be caught and the recognized times for taking them. "There's still a few left, but we don't tell people that," Matapi admits. "If visitors ask where to fish, we send them on to Pigeon Bay – tell them it's all cleaned out here. So many people come," she adds with a smile that betrays the serious edge to her joke.

Both older people stress that the rahui does not arise out of conflict. "There's never been any Maori versus Pakeha here. We look after each other. There's never been any trouble with other people in our community."

The evening draws on. In yet another role, Maurice Gray plays guitar while two younger members waiata. Older people join in haltingly but with evident pleasure, relearning a partly lost heritage. Snippets of conservation emphasise today's significance.

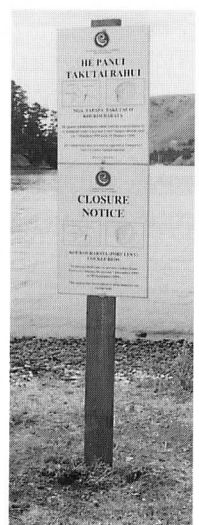
"Port Levy was just the best for kids. So was the school. We've all been away so long – now we come back and say, 'What's happened to all the cockles?'"

"My brother used to hate lunch at school – they used to swap lunches and all the Pakeha kids had beautiful cakes and he just had cockles and a scone."

"I remember Dad was never here – always away at work. When he did come home we always went for a picnic on the beach. When we moved to town, Mum would go home and bring us back mussels, cockles and always a bunch of flowers – violets or roses."

"When I was nursing, towards the end of their life our old people would always ask for seafood. When my uncle was dying, Dad went back but he couldn't get any cockles – none there."

In the evening calm, driving round the bay to begin the long climb out of Port Levy, a final scene is revealed. The bay is like green glass. Below the ridge that looks towards the whale-road, its brown grass broken by scattered graves of the Maori cemetery, two young Pakeha holiday-makers stand, arms linked, reading the new notice. They keep a careful distance away from the mauri of Tangaroa.



Article first published in the Christchurch Press



Continued from page 3

diverted the stream feeding Tutae Patu (at grid reference M35 829 663, NZMS 260) to drive a flourmill. Deprived of its nourishment, the lagoon has deteriorated under Crown management ever since.

When Mr Barr says that "Ngai Tahu want back the Wildlife Reserve that includes the lagoon", he does not tell the whole story. In 1993, Ngai Tahu proposed to the North Canterbury Conservation Board that Tutae Patu should be rescued from neglect and restored to its natural state with Ngai Tahu as owners managing it in partnership with the Waimakariri District Council – a proposal which the Council supports. Ngai Tahu gave up their claim to nearby Crown Recreation Reserve land so that the Government could issue back owners there (mainly Pakeha) with freehold titles. At this, according to *The Press* (11 June 1993), "Leaseholders at the beach settlement were elated."

The Conservation Board, after hearing submissions, recommended the Tutae Patu scheme to the Director General of Conservation on 26 August 1993 as "an exciting and positive proposal for conservation in North Canterbury," adding: "The wetland area will be expanded in size, introduced vegetation such as willows will be actively controlled, native wetland and sand dune species will be encouraged, and public access opportunities will be no less and probably better developed than at present." Under Crown control, said the Board, there had been "little or no management".

Here is a case where a Maori claim for conservation land included a genuinely conservationist undertaking and a popular concession to Pakeha interests, and was submitted to the appropriate local authorities, who commended it to the Government after considering submissions from the public. None of this seems to satisfy Mr Barr. His belated and misleading objection serves only to fuel anti Maori prejudice.

Yours  
Harry Evison

and furthermore...

Kia ora

In commenting on Te Maire Tau's review (October 1995), Graeme Thomas argues that Bill Dacker's *Te Mamae me Te Aroha* needs no specific references because "the book is not a definite historical work, but is rather a book about Otago Maori people for Otago Maori and anyone else interested". Such a distinction is unwise, for the same could be said about Stuart Scott's *Travesty of Waitangi*, which also lacks specific references and is no doubt just "a book about Maori for New Zealand Pakeha".

These days books must be definite if they are to give people the hard facts they need to establish and defend the truth about our colonial history, on the many issues that are being argued about. Specific references give support to points that critics may wish to challenge.

Mr Thomas says of *Te Mamae me Te Aroha*, that "a perusal of acknowledgements will give an indication of references". Unfortunately, it will not. For example, Bill Dacker includes my own book *Te Wai Pounamu the Greenstone Island* among his acknowledgements. Yet, while some of his points follow my book, others contradict it – and he does not indicate which are which.

My book, citing the Smith Nairn Commission's evidence, says that *mahinga kai* were included in Kemp's Deed because Ngai Tuahuriri demanded them to offset the small price, but he says they were included "because Kemp would not contemplate reserving a large area".

He does not say where he got his point and it would take months to search for it in the dozens of sources named in his acknowledgements. A specific reference would have clarified the matter quickly.

Yours sincerely  
Harry Evison.

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