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EKARAKA

TŪHURU

Ngai Tahu

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Ngā mihi o te RAUMATI



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NGĂ HAU E WHĂ FROM THE EDITOR

Haere rā Harry Evison. It has often been said that although Ngāi Tahu knew for generations that they had been swindled by the Crown, it was historian Harry Evison who was crucial in showing how.

It was his family connections with Rāpaki which were to spark his initial interest in Ngāi Tahu history. Harry was simply looking for the truth when he completed his M.A. from Otago University with his thesis on Canterbury Ngāi Tahu. It had always puzzled him that Ngāi Tahu were down and out, and he didn't believe in the prevailing orthodoxy that Māori had collapsed because they could not cope with civilisation.

Harry, in his thesis, showed that the Māori collapse was economic, not psychological: Canterbury Māori coped well with early European contact, and "collapsed" only when the colonial authorities deprived them of their economic resources.

Although his 1952 thesis contained startling new findings, it had essentially been ignored, gathering dust for years while he pursued his teaching career. He would later describe his years teaching in country schools, from 1951 to 1959, as the best teaching years of his life. During this time he met his wife Hillary, and their three children were born.

Harry was to become integral in presenting the historical evidence for Ngāi Tahu during the Waitangi Tribunal hearings into the Ngāi Tahu Claim. He was able to expand and develop his 1952 thesis work into the basic component of the Ngāi Tahu evidence. This was a colossal task and Harry's commitment, dedication and rigorous scholarship were at the heart of that historic struggle. Following the tribunal hearings, Harry published several major books on Ngāi Tahu history.

Harry asked that no fuss be made of his passing, quoting 11th century polymath Omar Khayyam: "I came like water, and like wind I go."

nā MARK REVINGTON

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CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER, TE RŪNANGA O NGĀI TAHU, **ARIHIA BENNETT**

For our children...

It is just over two years since I became chief executive of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and as I begin to prepare for Christmas. I am already thinking about 2015 and beyond.

There is an exciting buzz in the air that is focused on regional, marae, and whānau development. It is positive, it is forward thinking, and it is generating collaboration that is future-oriented. At the recent opening of the new Ngāti Waewae whare tipuna, Tūhuru, I was mesmerised by our young female warriors as they took centre stage on the marae ātea with their graceful, synchronised articulation of mau rākau.

Apart from having a Xena: Warrior Princess moment, I saw that a new dawn had arrived. A dawn that showed the courage to demonstrate tradition in a contemporary style. We have grown a newfound confidence that isn't afraid of stretching the boundaries while embracing the richness of our past.

Our governing leadership members are also stretching their future thinking. Most have tamariki, some have mokopuna, and their minds are now casting out beyond 2025 into a future world. This means reviewing goals and adapting in accordance with an innovative outlook.

The interactive nature of social media takes us into each other's lives across the world. We are edging forward in accepting climate change, as unpredictable weather patterns are now the new norm. Energy, food, and water security are at the front of our concerns, along with the ever-growing challenge of a politically unsettled world. It is no longer acceptable to be a passive bystander living in a bubble. If we want to step up our pace of growing a modern iwi, we need to be cognizant of what is going on around us.

It is 16 years since our tribal settlement, and you could say that we are Generation Y. Our goals of fostering household wealth and health remain unchanged, but our method of getting there should allow for innovative disruption and adaptation.

In order to get ahead one size will not fit all, so as an iwi we must be open to new ideas. I've spent the past year watching my son grow his very cool, savvy business idea. With a coach/mentor on his side and the start-up bank of mum and dad, he is now operating his own business. On-the-job production is learning in action, and packaged with that Gen Y courage, a persistent intent, and a korowai of support. I can say I am destined for a return on my investment, as well as becoming the visiting cleaner.

Leadership is about enabling, and as I look towards 2015, creating roles for a Gen Y and Z presence in tribal development will be a given, as it will be their future that they must be prepared for, not mine.

I wish you all a safe and relaxing time over the Christmas period, and look forward to joining you in an exciting new year as we gear up towards Te Matatini.

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FRONT COVER

Photo by Tony Bridge at the opening of Tühuru at Arahura Marae.



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HE KÖRERORERO nā KERI HULME

What would you do if tonight was the last day of your life?

There will be no tomorrow. The sun will not rise for you.

I refuse to speculate about your future...

I do know what my Unca Bill (who had shot many hundreds of animals) said:

"Dead is dead. Otherwise we couldn't eat 'em."

I won't diverge into live eating: it did happen – and of humans – here.

But – you have 12 healthy hours: current circumstances prevailing, and no especial difference

between when you took your morning shit and - now!

Would you hunt down hated enemies?

Seek a joining with former lovers?

Desperately try to correct wrongs you'd done?

Maybe you are artistic and you will carve/sculpt/paint/illuminate that work you have always meant to start on?

You are a musician and you realise NOW OR Nothing for the song of your heart -

Auē! The hours are slipping away -

I think every human being is inherently able in the range of arts humans of all times & races have practised

& I know that these accomplishments outlast us – there is cave art both here in Aotearoa and Australia, Papua Niugini and many many older sites in the world –

We are a species who really wants to be recollected, remembered, recorded – so we can pass on things we deem important to future generations...

whether those future generations deem what we seek to share worthwhile is – another story...

Writer Keri Hulme is southern Kāi Tahu but lives in "Big O" – Ōkarito. Among her passions are whitebait and family history. In 1985 Keri's novel The Bone People won the Booker Prize.





Whenua

Te Au Nui (Mataura Falls) on the Mataura River is traditionally renowned for its abundance of kanakana (lampreys). This important mahinga kai has survived against the odds. In the late 19th century it was drastically altered when the Mataura Paper Mill and the Mataura Freezing Works were established on opposite sides of the river. Fifteen metres were blown off the top of the falls, and water was diverted for power generation. Fortunately, the rocky walls of the small gorge below the falls remained available for fish passage, and amazingly the kanakana adapted and continued to return to their original habitat. In a good season, the kanakana come up the river in their thousands. They are harvested by hand between October and December. In 2006, a 10-kilometre stretch of the Mataura River encompassing Te Au Nui was approved as the first freshwater mātaitai reserve in New Zealand.

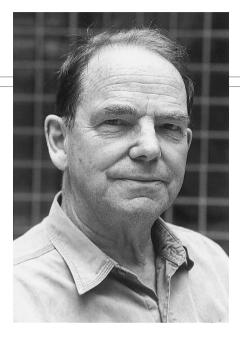
PHOTOGRAPH: TONY BRIDGE

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and when the second

Harry Evison 24.5.1924 - 31.10. 2014

Ko te paiao Ka tere ake ana ki ruka He mū tana haere Kāhore i pāorotia tana taeka mai e te matakīrea Kāhore i pānuitia tana haereka atu e te marea Ka tere noa iho mai te kapua He mū tana haere Ko te maramaru o tōna ātāraki He mea ārai atu i te hae kino o Tama nui te Rā Ko ōnā wai ka heke ki te papa He mea whākai i te whenua, me ōna iwi hoki Heoti ka kāika te kapua e te wera o Kōmaru Ka mahiti, ka karo ka tihore te raki Ka pakaka te whenua Ka tīkākā te peha takata Ko te taki o te iwi ka rakona I kā moka katoa He auē i te koreka o kā ao i te raki E te Awe Nui, E Hari e aki atu rā I kā hau o te wā Ko mātou, ka hōrakerake i tō koreka Ko mātou, ka wheinu i tō koreka Haere me te mōhio Ko mātou ko ora i a koe Me tō tereka atu i ruka Aoraki Me tō aroha nui mai ki a mātou o Kāi Tahu Ko tō tākoha nui ka kore e warewaretia E te pōua, e moe, e moe, e oki e...



The cloud Drifts above Silently Its arrival is not announced by the herald Its departure is not broadcast by the masses The cloud simply drifts above Silently Its shadow A shield from the burning sun Its waiora which fall to Earth Nourish the land and her peoples But when the cloud is consumed by the heat of the sun It dissipates, and vanishes And the skies clear The lands dry up The skin burns And the peoples of the land cry Wherever they are Lamenting the loss Of the clouds in the sky E te rakatira Harry, float onwards On the winds of time We here, are left exposed We here, are left parched Leave us knowing That we survive because of you And the pathway which led you over Aoraki And your compassion to us of Kāi Tahu Your generosity and gifts will never be forgotten Rest well...

FUTURE PROOF

What do the coming decades look like for Ngāi Tahu? Kaituhi Mark Revington reports.

WHAT WILL THE WORLD BE LIKE FOR NGĀI TAHU IN 2050? THINK ABOUT IT. That is 36 years away. Then think about how far the tribe has come in the comparatively short time since settlement.

A heads of agreement was signed with the Crown in 1996 and in 1998 the settlement was passed into law by Parliament and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu came into being. Although the economic loss to Ngāi Tahu was estimated at around \$20 billion over seven generations, the Crown's offer of \$170 million was accepted. At the time, not everyone believed that the offer would be "sufficient to re-establish the tribe's economic base". But in less than two decades, the tribe has grown that pūtea into net assets of just over \$1 billion.

Ngāi Tahu is a relatively young tribe with 32.37 per cent of its 54,819 members under 15. That is much higher than the 20.4 per cent of New Zealanders who are under 15. The tribe's median age is 25, according to Statistics New Zealand Tatauranga Aotearoa. Of those 54,000 plus members, 51 per cent live outside the takiwā.

So what will the world be like in 2050? It may seem like a lifetime away but if you are a parent, your children will be adults then, perhaps with children of their own. What kind of world do you want for your mokopuna?

Kaiwhakahaere Mark Solomon says the tribe has built a strong economic base and gained some political clout while it continues to build a cultural base.

"The reality is that all the areas identified in the 2025 strategy are important but we should strengthen them. Take education. We've done a hell of a lot although we can't quantify because it is all about outputs not outcomes, but I don't believe we are doing enough in the compulsory sector.

"One of my dreams will always be that the tribe puts support mechanism behind children who are struggling. I would like to see Ngāi Tahu with the aim of having 90% of children come out of compulsory education with a qualification."

Tā Mark remembers going to 19 hui around the country in 2000, asking Ngāi Tahu whānui where they saw the tribe in 2025. Te Reo Māori, culture and education were top priorities at every hui, he says.

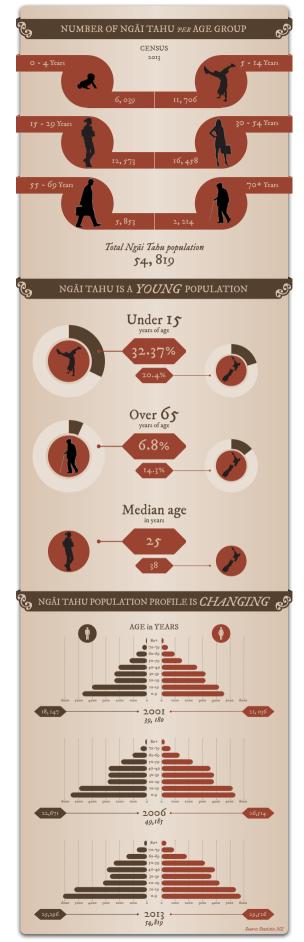
In his Vincent Lingiari Memorial Address at Charles Darwin University earlier this year, Tā Tipene O'Regan talked about the challenges facing Ngāi Tahu. The tribe had kept its grievances alive through seven generations, and finally settled with the Crown, he said, but in some ways those generations of grievance linger on.

"We have deprived ourselves of the consolations of grievance, but how do we rid ourselves of its smell? Who is there now to blame?"

More importantly, he asked his audience, what did the future hold? "Until we have come to terms with the questions of what we want to be as a people, there is no horizon of purpose, no need for any strategic direction beyond making cash and distributing it more or less efficiently and more or less equitably. If that's all the membership of an indigenous culture amounts to, then why bother?"

Papatipu rūnanga representatives were given a copy of Tā Tipene's Vincent Lingiari Memorial speech to read while Ngāi Tahu 2025 is available on the Ngāi Tahu website. That document, the result of many hui and much consultation, says the vision is about tino rangatiratanga.

"It is about the ability to create and control our destiny. It is our tribal map that in the year 2025 will have carried us to the place where we are empowered as





individuals, whānau, hapū, papatipu rūnanga and iwi to realise and achieve our dreams. Our whakapapa is our identity. It makes us unique and binds us through the plait of the generations – from the atua to the whenua of Te Waipounamu."

The waka is stable, says Tahu Pōtiki, Ōtākou representative and former chief executive of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.

"We've got some really good policy around how we make money and what we do with it when we've made it and we're investing in some important and exciting areas. Things are pretty good but that doesn't mean we can't do better. But at the moment there's not much I would want to stop – it's about growth."

Tahu believes the tribe needs to focus on regional and local economic development but is not convinced that papatipu rūnanga are the right vehicles.

"I'm interested in entrepreneurial whānau. We are better off focusing on people who know what they are doing. A rūnanga just because it is there doesn't necessarily lend itself to driving local or regional economic development. That said I think we need to find the mechanisms by which to invest in that economic development."

He believes in using the economic success of Ngāi Tahu Holdings to in some way support Ngāi Tahu whānui initiatives. In tourism for example, "if we could have a suite of small Ngāi Tahu-branded tourism businesses that operated out of Banks Peninsula, Ōtākou, the West Coast, Fiordland... if we can do it in a way that the tribe provides a backbone for them, that's great."

Culturally Tahu believes the tribe is doing all it can. "It was really good for me the other day to be at the welcome for new staff and see who was standing up to represent. These are guys who were kids when I started on this thing 25 years ago and now they are the face. I don't think we could make that pool any deeper because it is all about who wants to commit. There is no point in throwing resources at people who are bleating just for the hell of it. The litmus test for me is, of those who have really stepped up to the mark, were we there for them? And yes, we are."

Deputy Kaiwhakahaere Lisa Tumahai says the aspirations laid out in the 2025 strategy document are unlikely to change. "What will change is the activity we do that links back to those aspirations. It's about really understanding the activity that will happen within each of those nine pillars."

Should the Ngāi Tahu tribal council pay more attention to the commercial activities of Ngāi Tahu Holdings? At present, investment is strictly separated from delivery of service and Lisa believes the tribe is mature enough to hold discussions around that separation.

"One of the challenges is board members opening their minds to have discussions. The tribal council should operate at a strategic level which is not just about the social side of the ledger."

Succession is another challenge, she says. "I have looked at a lot of indigenous peoples and they all do different things, but what I don't want is a western model forced upon us. Te Rūnanga should accept that each papatipu rūnanga will do what they think they should do."

Another priority for Lisa: engaging younger minds. She refers to an image used at a conference by Tā Tipene who said his 12-year-old granddaughter would be 48 in 2050.

"In 30 years my son Dane will be 45. What will the Ngāi Tahu nation look like in 2050? What would I like for him, what would he want? I want him to be fluent in his language, grounded in his identity. Heart and soul Ngāi Tahu, well educated, living in a strong Ngāi Tahu tribal economy. Are we as a tribe structurally fit for purpose now to enable our people to be all that they can be in 2050? Also being mindful that we have an enormous challenge of tribal members being widely geographically dispersed. I think we are on the right track but right now we are not fit for purpose."

Chief executive Arihia Bennett wants to go further. In encouraging papatipu rūnanga representatives to think along a longer time frame, she has organised three wānanga to begin looking out to 2050.

"We're at a point where we should be thinking beyond 2025," she says. "We've been through the Claim, undertaken the settlement, and set a strategic pathway of looking at the nine outcomes of the 2025 strategy. It is time to review it and ask, 'Is this the pathway we should continue on?"

Arahura awakes

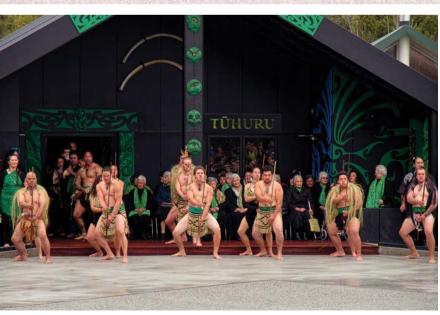
It rained of course. But that didn't dampen the opening of Tūhuru, the new Ngāti Waewae whare tipuna at Arahura. The whare was blessed in the early morning drizzle and then a fierce haka pōwhiri welcomed manuhuriri mid morning. It featured women doing mau rākau, a tradition last seen on the marae a long time ago.



Francois Tumahai, chair of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Waewae, said the day signified a new chapter for Ngāti Waewae rangatahi.

- "There's still a lot of stuff to do in terms of the rangatahi. There's a lot of work to do. This gives them a good base and it was obvious today. We're only going to get stronger and stronger."
- Ngāti Waewae manaakitanga and whanaungatanga were overwhelming, said Deputy Kaiwhakahaere and Ngāti Waewae tribal council representative Lisa Tumahai.
- "It's the first time we have all come together for something so significant. It's been a long journey to get here and to finally be here is amazing, to have all our whānau together, from all over New Zealand and Australia, we've never experienced anything like this, the togetherness.
- "The standout was how well we had prepared ourselves culturally our kaikaranga, our waiata, our wero, our speakers on the paepae, we have worked hard to get here. We've got a young population and today it was quite evident how they are culturally strong, they are risk takers, and today will stay with them for the rest of their lives." The first point of business was the Ngāi Tahu Hui-ā-Tau the following day.











PHOTOGRAPHS AND WORDS nā PHIL TUMATAROA















Every wine vintage has a whakapapa, says Mat Donaldson (Ngāi Te Rakiāmoa), head winemaker at Pegasus Bay Winery.

"This is an individual piece of dirt, the vines and the grapes respond to weather, and the weather – it just does what it likes. It's a natural process – I like being able to express that through the wines we make."

Having inherited the winemaking genes of his father Ivan, Mat is working on his 23rd vintage since 1992. He and two of his three brothers, Edward and Paul, work together running the winery and its popular restaurant. Their sibling Michael works in telecommunications and is currently based in Ireland.

Their father, a neurologist, started growing grapes in 1972 on one acre he planted with friends in Halswell. Ivan made the wine at home in the garage until 1985, when he purchased 40 hectares near the North Canterbury town of Amberley to establish Pegasus Bay. Today he and wife Christine take a back seat to their sons, but still keep their hands in the business.

Pegasus Bay also sells wines under the Main Divide label. It produces about 300 tonnes of grapes in a season and purchases a similar amount from contract growers. It has an output of 600,000 bottles over the course of a year, including about 20 different wines.

Mat studied winemaking in the Barossa Valley, South Australia, for four years.

"It's very satisfying to take something through from growing, to making, packaging, and selling it; and to know it provides for our four families and our workers. I have always loved wine, and I love being in a family business – I can't imagine doing anything else."









A HEART for the people

The twin passions of Aunty Jane Davis are tītī and whānau but somewhere along the way she has managed an awful lot of work for Ngāi Tahu. Kaituhi Mark Revington reports.

"OKAY, LET'S CRACK INTO IT," I SUGGEST TO AUNTY JANE DAVIS IN her tidy little house on the outskirts of Invercargill. The problem is, where to begin? Aunty Jane has packed a lot of living into her life, including a long association with the Tītī Islands, her time on the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board, her time as chair of the Ngāi Tahu Fund, and her conservation work in later years.

We had just started when the phone rang. "I've got a new mokopuna," she says after putting the receiver down. "My grandson is an aero engineer with Air New Zealand and he's got some time off and they're bringing the baby down."

I ask how many grandchildren she has. "I've got 10," she says. "And three, well four great-grandchildren, although the fourth one should have been here last week."

The walls of her house are covered in pictures of whānau, in particular a black and white shot of a striking young man in a singlet, holding a barrel.

"That's my husband Bill holding the barrel," she says. "He was about 26 then, and that's in Puai on Big South Cape (Island). Muttonbirds were put in barrels in those days."

Muttonbirding has been a constant in Aunty Jane's life. She first went to the family's island the year she was born, or so she has been told. "Then I went until I went to school in Riverton. My grandmother didn't want me going to the island, she wanted me to stay at school; but my mother always went, and my brothers. In my teenage years I went back with her to the island and we just carried on really."

Her late husband Bill was a fisherman who spent a lot of time in Fiordland waters. They got married in 1951 and Aunty Jane and the boys used to join him during the school holidays. The couple had three sons – Rewi, Tāne, and Patu, who was taken in an accident; and

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a daughter, Karina.

"They were building the Manapouri power station and we had just two boys then. We'd go in for the holidays and live aboard the *Glennifer*. Bill would go fishing and we would stay ashore at Deep Cove or go out fishing with him or the boys would go to the movies. (Films were shown on board the *Wanganella*, which was moored in Doubtful Sound as accommodation for workers building the Manapouri Power Station). It was a good life. The boys look back now and say, 'We had it good growing up.""

They eventually bought a pub in Riverton when Bill got tired of fishing. That's when her work for the tribe really began.

"We had begun what were called Māori Committees and Bill was the chair. Eventually we bought a building in the main street of Riverton. I think we put our house or part of the pub up for collateral. I know we took on the mortgage. That was the early 1980s and it became this process of the Claim, because we got involved and started going to the hui in Bluff, and then Tipene came down. I remember going to a meeting at the museum here in Invercargill where he came. Trevor Howse was also involved."

Uncle Bob Whaitiri asked Aunty Jane to stand for the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board and she was elected in 1989. At the time she was asked, she wasn't enrolled as Ngāi Tahu. "They talk about the blue book and the pink book which is almost a bible to us now. People had them in those days, but we didn't actually do anything about it. I mean the Tītī Islands were our main concern."

They had been brought up on the stories of Ngāi Tahu grievances. But did Aunty Jane know what she was in for?

"We had gone from the Māori Committee to what the four rūnanga here had decided to make, which was a rūnanganui. We had become





involved in those sort of politics, both of us really, because it would never have happened for me if Bill hadn't agreed. In a sense we both did it because he went everywhere with me, and he was listened to sometimes more than me."

Aunty Jane was born in 1930 in a nursing home in Invercargill, and brought up by her grandmother and grand-aunt. It was the Depression, she says, and Pearl, her mother, had to get back to work.

"For us it was quite normal. We had two houses side by side that my grandfather had built."

Her whakapapa goes back to Whenua Hou, and the whalers and sealers who married Ngāi Tahu women. On her grandmother's side, she is descended from the marriage of George Newton and Wharetutu and on her grandfather's side, she is descended from John Hunter, a native American, and Kawhiti.

She was brought up in Riverton with two older brothers, John Patu and George Pahia, who was always called Gordon; and an older sister, Pasha Josephine. Her father, Jens Rasmussen, was a Dane who had been working on the West Coast. She remembers her Aunt Lala gathering mussels every week, and brothers who caught rabbits.

"I used to love going to the beach 'cos you could play and follow on behind, and Aunty Lala always used to go down with her kete and meet the fishing boats when they came in and they would give her cod heads.

"My brothers caught rabbits. Rabbit was a big thing on our menu. I don't eat rabbit now. They had ferrets and they would put them down into the burrows. I hated that when I was a child. I would hate it a lot more now that I've become so green."

She is still surprised by how quickly Ngāi Tahu became dispossessed in their own land. "It took just two generations for us to lose our language and even for our minds to be changed. In a way we were like second-rate people in our own country."

Ask anyone about Aunty Jane and they will likely say something nice about her. She appears to be almost universally liked in the tribe, but you sense steel in there somewhere. The stories of her negotiating skill are legendary, especially when it came to high country leases. She agrees.

"I am pretty strong, and Bill knew that. Somebody did say to him, 'Oh you know, she's a nice lady to go on to the board', and he said, 'Don't be too sure of that."

Her first year on the trust board was 1989, as the Waitangi Tribunal hearings into the Ngãi Tahu Claim wound up. That was when the really hard work started, she says.

"It was a really steep learning curve for me in 1989 when I first went up to board meetings. I think I was pretty silent that year."

She stayed on the trust board until Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu was created through legislation. "I think the Claim takes hold of you. You don't take hold of it. It's like it knocks on the door and is inside your heart and your head and that's it. I grew up listening to my grandmother talk about it. There was always going to be the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. I think all our old people thought like that."

A vivid memory from those days in the early 1990s when the tribe was still negotiating a settlement was a visit to Queenstown.

"I went with Maika (Mason) and probably Trevor Howse. Suzanne (Ellison) was there and the thing that sticks out in my mind was when she spotted a notice in a shop window which said, 'Keep out Ngāi Tahu', and she went in and demanded that they take it down. It has changed now in Queenstown, with all the Ngāi Tahu buildings."

She says the true unsung heroes from those days were all the



Left: Aunty Jane at the 12th Regional Constitution Conversation hui at Bluff, 2013. Ref 2014.P.0984; above: Aunty Jane and others at Parliament during the passing of the Ngāi Tahu Settlement Legislation, 1998. Ref 2013.P.2189; right: Aunty Jane and her mokopuna Ruby Jane processing tītī. 2010. Ref 2014.P.1309.

[Aunty Jane] says the true unsung heroes from those days were all the people who put money in to support the Claim. "Probably money they couldn't afford. All those men and women who are gone now, who were there to support the Claim."



people who put money in to support the Claim. "Probably money they couldn't afford. All those men and women who are gone now, who were there to support the Claim.

"For a lot of us, our lives went on hold, like my oldest son. He couldn't be here but he always paid our phone bill. That was his contribution, you know – our families contributed wherever they could to make the load a bit lighter."

There's another photo of Bill later in life on another wall. He died aged 66, from an aneurism. He was in Queenstown. She was in Christchurch working on the Ngāi Tahu Claim.

After he passed away, she took the Ngāi Tahu seat on the Southern Conservation Board. Ngāi Tahu was fighting hard to have the Crown's Tītī Islands returned. The tribe was ultimately successful, but it took plenty of hearings, she says.

That changing relationship epitomises changing attitudes to Ngāi Tahu stewardship of assets such as national parks. In 1864 when Rakiura was sold, there were two groups of islands governed by one set of regulations. The "beneficial" islands were those where individual whānau had hereditary rights, while the Crown islands were for those who didn't have a right to go birding on the "beneficial" island. The Department of Conservation was in charge of the Crown Tītī Islands, which then passed into the ownership of Ngāi Tahu.

"So at that time we were advisors to the Department of Conservation, whereas now the role has changed and they are our advisors. That is really important and for me personally. Apart from all the other wonderful things that have happened, that was the best thing I did."

Looking back, she believes Ngāi Tahu were possibly short-changed when it came to things like ownership of national parks. Governments are reluctant to share too much, she says, although that has changed. Just look at the Crown agreement with Tūhoe.

"I just wonder in some of the policy-making stuff whether we could actually have got better access to our national parks; got our name on the title as well. I just believe we have a right to be an owner there as well. Maybe we didn't think big enough then."

Relationships with the Department of Conservation have usually been positive at a local level, she says, but it became more difficult when dealing with the Crown in Wellington.

"On the ground working here with the locals is always good, but the policy-makers in Wellington and what comes out of there is often contrary to what the tribe wants."

She worked much of her life for the tribe, but her overwhelming passions are conservation and whānau. On another wall is a picture of Putauhina Island, where Aunty Jane has been going the whole of her life.

"We've always been extremely careful for the little island," she says. "The story from my mother especially, who loved the island, was, 'Look after the island and it will look after you.' That was her saying and I've grown up with that. My children have grown up with that and now my grandchildren do too. And I think that's a story for everywhere."

There's a lesson right there for all of us. We talk some more about the values of the tribe and the future for her mokopuna, and then Aunty Jane says something which probably sums up her attitude to life.

"It's our connection to the land that is important," she says. "But you've got to have a heart for the people too."



Te Ara Whakatipu THEPATH OF GROWTH

Kaituhi Phil Tumataroa reports.

Ten Ngāi Tahu rangatahi walked in the footsteps of their ancestors, deep into the Hollyford Valley and to Whakatipu Waitai (Martins Bay) where they spent a week learning about their tīpuna, their culture, themselves and the environment.

The hīkoi, named Te Ara Whakatipu, which translates to 'the path of growth', was funded by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu through its successful Manawa Hou programme. Ōraka Aparima Rūnanga and Te Rūnanga o Makaawhio also supported the kaupapa and Ngāi Tahu Tourism donated the use of its Hollyford Track facilities including its Martin Bay lodge, its jet boat, staff and expertise. For Kara Edwards (Kāti Mahaki) who organised the hīkoi it was a personal project aimed at helping to grow the next generation of leaders.

"This hīkoi was about trying to create opportunities for all rangatahi – I want our young people to be proud of who they are and where they're from by capturing their hearts and opening their eyes to things they may never have thought about."

All of the rangatahi have whakapapa connections to the area and were taken to Opiu, the wāhi tapu site where their ancestor Tūtoko lived.

"It was very spiritual and energising to be able to go to Opiu and have those moments of reflection – especially being there with whānau and cousins," says 15 year-old Hinepounamu Apanui-Barr (Kāti Mahaki) who lives in Wellington.

Mike Talbot, a former Hollyford Track guide, helped Kara plan and lead the hīkoi. "Kaitiakitanga was a strong theme of the trip and getting kids active outdoors and participating in what we have on our backdoor step."

Tā Tipene O'Regan and Kaiwhakahaere Tuarua Lisa Tumahai were also invited to join the group and flew in to Martins Bay to meet the rōpū and share their knowledge.

"There's nothing more certain than that we have to prepare a large cohort of people from which the next generation of leadership can be drawn," says Tā Tipene. "We must create a new generation of story-tellers within the tribe for our stories to survive. Some will contribute and some won't, but the participants are more informed and have consciousness of their ancestral connections, the value of that simple fact can't be underestimated."

How do you plant the seed of leadership in our rangatahi? How do you engage and connect our rangatahi with their culture and then give it relevance in today's world? This is a question Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu is addressing through its Manawa Hou programme.











Hinepounamu Apanui-Barr (Kāti Mahaki), 15, goes to Wellington Girls College. She wants to be a doctor and would like to one day practice on the West Coast.

"It's hard living in Wellington and staying connected to the place you belong to. I come back to Te Waipounamu once or twice a year, so it means heaps to be here in a place that is a big part of my family. This trip has made this place so relevant to us. I think we all feel that this is our place now and not just land we've been walking on."



Māka Mahuika (Ngāti Mahaki), 14, is from Hunts Beach, South Westland. He is a full-time boarder at Nelson College.

- "This is the first time I've been into Fiordland – it feels like home, this is where we started. Tutoko was just a mountain I had heard about. I've seen it now and seen where he lived – he means more now. It's pretty amazing.
- "I would like to see more of these courses, they help build character and leadership and working as a team."



Lily Collins (Ōraka Aparima), 16, is a student at Queens High School in Dunedin.

- Of the opportunity to participate in Te Ara Whakatipu she says, "This is my whenua, I wanted to come here and trace the footsteps of my ancestors and connect to the whenua.
- "I've made new friends and gained a lot of confidence – having to sing in front of people and speak in front of people and just working together in the kitchen.
- "I would like to see lots of Ngāi Tahu people identifying as Ngāi Tahu and proud to be Ngāi Tahu."



Izayar McLaren (Ōraka Aparima, Ngāti Mahaki), 17, lives in Hokitika. He attends Māwhera Services Academy at Greymouth High School where he is preparing for a career in the army and hopes to become a diesel mechanic.

"I really liked walking the track and learning about the bush.

"It's different in the army to what I have experienced here – you aren't just told to march, you work together to make decisions – it's good.

"I would do this again, I've made new friends here."



Ruby and Mary Thomson (Ōraka Aparima), 17, are twins from Riverton. They go to James Hargest College in Invercargill.

"This is one of the first opportunities we've had to connect with our Ngāi Tahutanga," says Mary. "This experience has given me a lot more confidence and pride about being Ngāi Tahu."

"This hīkoi has opened our eyes," says Mary. "Understanding more about yourself makes you feel better," adds Ruby.







Dreamweaver

Jade Hohaia has spent a career discovering the power of words and the power of dreams. Now she's harnessing that power to change the lives of youth. Kaituhi Aaron Smale reports.

WHEN SHE MET HIM HE HAD A REPUTATION AS A YOUNG CRIMINAL kingpin. By the time Jade Hohaia (Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Raukawa) had finished speaking, he was something else.

"I worked at the Christchurch youth unit with 30-odd of the baddest kids in Christchurch and the majority of them were Māori," Jade says.

"I was talking about the power of words and the power of inspiring people, the power of being a cheerleader. I had 12 boys, they're your 18-year-old serial rapists, these kids have done hard-out stuff. I said, 'Hands up if you've ever been told that you're good for nothing, that you're useless, you're stupid, you'll be in prison by the time you're 19,' all these negative words. Every single kid put his hand up. The kingpin in the youth unit was this young boy; he was only 17, beautiful, beautiful soul, and he just started crying in front of all the boys. They were like 'Whoa, what's this fulla crying for?""

"He said, 'Jade I can tell you the very day, the time and the year that my teacher told me I'd be in prison by the time I was 17.' He started crying because she was right. It was like this self-fulfilling prophecy.

"I apologised to him. He said, 'Why are you apologising?' 'Because she had no right to say what she said to you."

Iade's father worked for 28 years at Christchurch Men's Prison, and he saw several generations of men coming through from the same families. She says that unless someone breaks the cycle, it will continue.

Her journey has been a meandering one, but at the heart of it has been a concern for youth and children. After living in Columbia for 15 months and working in orphanages there, she got a taste for social justice. She came back to New Zealand and studied social work and psychology at the University of Canterbury before working in social work with youth, including a two-year stint working with refugee children in London. She also served as Māori liaison officer at the University of Canterbury. The range of her work has made her look a little harder at what is going on when she encounters youth who are in difficult circumstances.

"You can say 'Teach a man to fish,' but the fish might be toxic. Who polluted the pond? It's about going back a bit further."

One thing she found in all of it was that young people need a vision for the future.

"I think the most common thing is that young people all have dreams. Whether you're a young person living in Christchurch or a young kid coming from Sierra Leone, all of these kids still have dreams. One of the biggest things is helping to facilitate those dreams. I don't think kids have their sights set on what job (they're) going to do. They want dreams, they want to live life to the fullest. I think in all of it, they've got dreams but they don't necessarily have the key role models in their lives to be able to encourage them, to be their cheerleaders and say, 'I believe in you, go for it."

This belief has seen her launch her own business, working alongside the government to uplift the youth of a whole town. She had to go through her own trials to get there though.

In the Christchurch earthquake her mother was nearly killed when the Victorian building in Armagh Street that her bed and breakfast business was based in collapsed. When the earthquake hit, Jade's mother tried to get out the front door but it was jammed. It was only when the wall gave way that it popped open, spitting her out onto the pavement as the building was reduced to a pile of rubble behind her. Jade was at home in St Albans and was thrown down a flight of stairs, smashing her tailbone. But her immediate concern was her mother.

"I must have been the only one running towards the city. I came around the corner of Armagh Street and I saw an ambulance outside and they were already putting people in. It was right outside our bed and breakfast. I was just screaming, I was hysterical - 'Don't let it be Mum.' I was whipping around trying to find her. She was barefoot sitting in a pile of liquefaction, a pile of mud, just crying. Man, it was





like a movie. It was so dreadful. But we're so happy she's alive."

The psychological toll the quake aftermath was taking on the family led her to decide to get out. Her father is Ngāti Raukawa, so she moved to the North Island. She was initially based in Tokoroa, and has now bought a house in Hamilton. She moved her parents up to stay with her.

Another reason she moved to the Waikato was to work for the government in a scheme called the Social Sector Trials. The Trials have a pot of \$10 million, of which \$3 million is from the government, and is initially being targeted at six towns, including Tokoroa. Seven ministers including those for Justice, Health, and Education are involved, and the aim of the scheme is to find what will help the youth of these towns flourish and grow.

Rather than have every ministry acting in isolation, the trial appoints one person to work out what the town's youth need, and gives them the resources to get it done. Not only that, the appointed person has access to the ministers to let them know what needs to be done and what works.

Jade discovered that in Tokoroa, the youth had a huge creative talent that was not finding an outlet. Within two months she "You give these young kids an opportunity to engage in what they love, and they'll leave the haututū antisocial behaviour at the door." JADE HOHAIA

had set up a creative hub with seven rooms including a recording studio, homework rooms, and other facilities. She also worked with Te Wānanga o Aotearoa to set up a curriculum based around music and media. But mostly it's about putting role models and ideas in front of young people.

"The Youth Court rangatahi appearances dropped by 87 per cent. Youth crime took a massive dip. It's not rocket science. You give these young kids an opportunity to engage in what they love, and they'll leave the haututū antisocial behaviour at the door."

In recognition of the results she was getting, she was asked by then Associate Minister of Justice Chester Borrows to chair the new Youth Crime Action Plan Advisory Group.

She says the simple idea of believing in kids and encouraging them has massive results. When she was working as the Māori Liaison Officer at the University of Canterbury, she was often astounded at how unusual it was for the youth she was encountering to hear anything positive about themselves.

"One of the biggest things is our kids not having cheerleaders – access to people who can speak the opposite of what the world is saying to them.

"(At the) university I was able to go around the country and encourage our kids to dream. It still amazes me that kids say, 'You're the only one that says this stuff. No-one else I know says my dreams are possible.'

"Our tīpuna used to be dreamers. They used to be able to envisage the future and chase it."

In the course of her work, Jade came across the increasingly popular TED talks – short talks of around 18 minutes that are based around the theme of "ideas worth sharing".

When Jade researched them, she found that of the thousands available, very few were addressing indigenous concerns. Not happy with that situation, she decided to change it. She launched INDIGI talks with a conference of eight speakers – one Tongan, one Samoan, one Tokelauan, and five Māori – speaking about issues concerning youth. The conference was attended by a cross section of professionals involved with youth. Jade intends to take the event to other cities across New Zealand and overseas, and also to launch video versions of the talks.

"INDIGI talks are just positive sharing of hope and inspiration for indigenous audiences. It's not just for New Zealand, but throughout the South Pacific and then we want to go over to Hawaii, Norway with the Sami people, Inuit in Alaska, Canada, and America.

"It's about creating a platform, creating a space where positive people who are great communicators of hope can speak into the hearts of our kids and communities.

"Our kids don't hear it enough."

REMNANTS Of the past

What can ancient raranga fragments tell us about our tīpuna? Kaituhi Adrienne Rewi investigates.

> NGĀI TAHU WEAVER TANIA NUTIRA STILL REMEMBERS THE DAY she stood on the sand dunes of Kaitōrete Spit near Taumutu in 2003 and looked down on ancient raranga fragments that had just been unearthed.

> "At that moment, I had an overwhelming sense of being privileged to be involved in the discovery. It was like my tīpuna were there," says Tania (Ngāi Tahu - Ngāti Moki, Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki, Irakehu).

> "Just to stand there and know I could have been a direct descendant of whoever had camped or worked there was very special. I remember looking at the archaeologists and thinking that for them, it was just a job; they didn't have that connection to an ancestor.

> "It was a very moving experience for me – for all of us from Taumutu in fact. We wanted to be involved, so when we were approached, we jumped at the chance to be actively involved in recovering any relics from the Kaitōrete Spit site."

The remains of the burnt shelter at the western end of Kaitōrete Spit were first discovered by Dan and Alison Witter in January 2000. Because of the threat of further damage to the site, the Department of Conservation, which manages the land, commissioned two small salvage excavations that were carried out in 2000 and 2001. After a storm exposed more of the site in 2003, Taumutu Rūnanga members were invited to take part in a joint excavation involving the then New Zealand Historic Places Trust, the University of Otago, and the Department of Conservation. "The raranga fragments were still in the ground when I first saw them," Tania says. "But I immediately wondered what the beach might have been like when our tīpuna camped there – was it more sheltered by sand dunes then? Was the sea further away?

"It was an amazing discovery. I don't think any of us realised how old it was then, but without being told, I knew it was an important find. I felt a real sense of excitement realising that I might have been looking at something from pre-European times; that we were possibly the descendants of the hapū group that had camped there."

The discovery of pre-European textiles is rare in New Zealand's archaeological history because of their fragile, perishable nature, and archaeologist Chris Jacomb says examples for which there is any chronological certainty are even more rare.

He was working for the New Zealand Historic Places Trust (now Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga) at the time of the Kaitōrete Spit find and says the discovery of a range of carbonised artefacts that had been preserved in a simple, burned-out shelter provides insights into the history and development of Māori weaving technology.

After radiocarbon dating, the raranga fragments – more than 1000 pieces of varying sizes in all – were shown to be from the early 15th century, making them the oldest discovered in New Zealand. They were thought to include historic examples of whāriki (floor mat), a small kete (bag), possibly a tātua (belt), and a larger fragment tive analysis of rare raranga samples is probably the biggest headache for rūnanga.

"You struggle with the notion of 'destroying' or 'hurting' a taonga (for radiocarbon dating) and you have to balance that against the opportunity to learn, which will not only add more to your kete mātauranga, but will also help you make decisions about what to do in the future.

"The decision also needs to be tested against the needs of the taonga itself – sampling sizes are getting smaller and smaller as technology improves, but if you only have a tiny piece of the raranga available, that will possibly mean compromising the piece. You have to ask, 'Do I feel confident that the detachment of a tiny piece and its possible destruction will not compromise the taonga and therefore impact on my role as kaitiaki?'

"That has to be decided on a case-by-case basis I think."

Huia says the fact that there were three good-sized fragments found in the Roxburgh cave made the rūnanga choice about analysis an easier one.

For Phyllis Smith (Ngāi Tahu – Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki, Hinetewai) of Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki, being part of the team carrying the Roxburgh Gorge fragments to Otago University was a memorable experience.

"I shared the carrying of the taonga with Rachel Wesley from

"THE RARANGA FRAGMENTS, ALONG WITH OTHER TAOKA I'VE SEEN PULLED FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD, EMPHASISE MY CONNECTION TO MY TĪPUNA, MY HAPŪ, MY IWI, AND THE WHENUA. IT'S HARD TO DESCRIBE BUT IT TOTALLY UNDERPINS WHO I FEEL I AM AS KĀI TAHU."

of finely woven material that may be part of a cloak, waist garment or shoulder cape.

Chris Jacomb says the fragments demonstrate that Māori in the 15th century were already competent in a specialised weaving technology known as whatu aho pātahi – single pair twining, and the preparation skills needed to create soft pliable fibres (whatu, or muka in the North Island), for weaving. There is evidence of tags attached to the kaupapa, the first evidence of what we still see in fine cloaks today; and the fineness of the material used and the close spacing of both the warp and weft rows could indicate it was part of a fine cloak.

"This find showed us that weaving techniques were well developed very early in Māori history in New Zealand, and these technologies have stood the test of time. They are still used in cloak-making today," he says.

In 2011, a Department of Conservation worker conducting archaeological assessments around the Roxburgh Gorge discovered old raranga fragments in a secluded cave.

The two nearby rūnanga, Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou and Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki, agreed to put the taonga in the temporary care of Otago Museum. More recently the raranga fragments were moved to the Department of Applied Sciences – Clothing and Textile Sciences at the University of Otago for further analysis.

Huia Pacey (Kāi Tahu, Tūwharetoa), the Māori heritage advisor (Pōuarahi) for Heritage New Zealand (Southern Region), enabled the transfer at the request of Kāi Tahu ki Otago and representatives from the rūnanga, who had requested that Dr Catherine Smith, a textiles specialist at the University of Otago and a senior lecturer in applied sciences, lead the formal analysis.

Huia says the decisions around destructive versus non-destruc-

Ōtākou. I think we both felt the mana of the occasion," she says.

Phyllis believes analysis of the fragments is an important step in learning and understanding more about the lifestyles of tīpuna.

"Working with scientists, we can explore the past and we can find out how old material like this is and whether it's harakeke, kiekie, or some other plant. It's showing us the past and we can learn from it with respect and aroha."

As a weaver herself, Phyllis says seeing the taonga has affirmed for her that she and he weaving group are doing exactly what their tīpuna did. "We're following tīpuna traditions. We're on track and as a learning weaver, that's a lovely connection."

Like Tania Nutira at the Kaitōrete Spit site, Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou representative Rachel Wesley (Kāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Kāi Te Pahi, Kāti Taoka), felt a tangible connection to her tīpuna when she first saw the Roxburgh fragments.

"It was mind-blowing. It reinforces how far back our whakapapa goes and what a long history we have on the land – not just as Kāi Tahu but also as Kāti Mamoe and Waitaha.

"The raranga fragments, along with other taoka I've seen pulled from the archaeological record, emphasise my connection to my tīpuna, my hapū, my iwi, and the whenua. It's hard to describe but it totally underpins who I feel I am as Kāi Tahu."

Weaving links Māori directly to eastern Polynesian ancestors through inherited techniques and practices. The plaiting and twining methods early Māori brought with them were successfully adapted to the new plants they found here, when they discovered that the paper mulberry – used to make bark-cloth garments in Polynesia – would not thrive here. It now seems likely they adapted their existing weaving skills to plants like harakeke, kiekie, tī kõuka, and pīngao to create the protective clothing they needed for New Zealand's cooler climate.

They also learned to extract the inner fibre of harakeke to create whītau, or muka, twining it together to form the foundation of cloaks. This was achieved by adapting the whatu, the single-pair twining technique originally used to make fish nets and traps.

Chris Jacomb says this was evidenced in a cloak, different in construction to the Kaitōrete example, that was found in a burial cave on Mary Island in Lake Hauroko, Fiordland in 1967. It was dated to the 17th century and showed a simpler construction of single-pair twining with dog and bird skins and moa and weka feathers attached.

"The single-pair twining technique used for clothing was also used for making hīnaki, or eel traps," says Chris.

"It was a technique used throughout Polynesia, where it was applied to minor items of clothing and fish traps."

Later, in 1983, two small cloak fragments (also constructed using single pair twining) were discovered during an excavation at Lee Island in Lake Te Anau, Fiordland. Three radiocarbon dates from that site indicated a 16th to early 17th century occupation.

Dr Catherine Smith says archaeological textile fragments are rare finds all over the world because of their perishable nature. However, she says Central Otago has ideal preservation conditions for precontact Māori textiles because of its dry climate. The key Kaitōrete Spit find though has prevailed because the plant material was burnt, carbonising it and making it very stable.

"If a fragment is made of a New Zealand plant there's a strong argument for it being of Māori origin, so there are solid analytical reasons to analyse it so we can establish customary rights and responsibilities for rūnanga," she says.

"Taking samples of a fragment for analysis often has important connotations for rūnanga and a complex dialogue often takes place. But as scientific techniques improve and we can take much smaller samples, the information gained for rūnanga can be invaluable."

Dr Smith says that the Kaitōrete Spit sample shows there was diversity in the different kinds of weaving being executed among early Māori and that they had absolute mastery over their new plants by the early 15th century.

"That piece was beautifully woven, and when you see that level of expertise in the first 100 years of New Zealand settlement, you know early Māori arriving in a new place had quickly learned to cultivate and harvest the new plants they encountered, and weave them to a very high level of skill. "In the past, we thought that technology in New Zealand started simply and became more complex over time. But in fact, a taonga like the Kaitōrete Spit fragment shows people arrived here with a lot of existing knowledge and well-developed adaptation skills. These early textiles are vitally important because they show how early Māori adapted to new plants and conditions very quickly."

She says the earliest textiles are not crude or basic. The Kaitōrete Spit sample is 200 years older than the Lake Hauroko piece, but it displays very complex fine weaving skill.

Dr Smith says it is also important to remember that textiles were not all about basic clothing. In many cases they could be indicative of a developed social structure, where fine cloaks may have been worn by people of higher status.

Early Māori also had to master new plants quickly to be able to hunt, catch and store the food they caught. They had to make cord, line, traps and baskets for kai.

"Understanding plants in prehistory was just as important as finding food," she says.

"Cultivating plants, preparing materials for weaving, and making textiles like string, bags, baskets and clothing probably took up as much time as actual food gathering. We know the first people who settled here were well-used to adapting. We know they could recognise similarities to the plants they knew in Polynesia; and we know they came with an established social structure and a whole basket of rich, complex knowledge. If you can navigate the Pacific, you have the skills to weave.

"It's easy to think early life in New Zealand was just about survival but when you look at the Kaitōrete Spit raranga fragments, you see it was also about aesthetics and mastery of technique. That indicates a rich social agenda beyond survival was already present in the early 15th century. That gives so much humanity and insight into the people who were first here.

"There is a really rich story to be told about this part of the world and it's about the relationships between plants and people. That story is partly being told through these amazing old textiles. It's a great legacy. It's a real Ngāi Tahu legacy."





Left: From left, Dr Catherine Smith, Rachel Wesley, Phyllis Smith, Renee Smith (mokopuna of Phyllis), Tania Richardson, Chris Rosenbrock. Above: Raranga fragment from Roxburgh Gorge. Main photograph: Kaitōrete Spit.

TE KARAKA RAUMATI 2014/15 33

nescience ofstrandinge

The tragic stranding of nine orca in western Southland earlier this year prompted a blueprint for customary recovery. Kaituhi Rob Tipa investigates.



THE MASS STRANDING OF A POD OF NINE ORCA ON AN ISOLATED BEACH IN TE WAEWAE Bay in western Southland in February was a rare event that may have a positive outcome for international research, say scientists working with Te Rūnanga o Ōraka Aparima.

New Zealand is regarded by many marine scientists as the whale stranding capital of the world. However, that unfortunate distinction relates more to the diverse range of whale species found in warm and cold water currents around the New Zealand coast than any other reason.

Joe Wakefield (Kāi Tahu, Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Te Ati Awa, Ngāti Mutunga) who is team leader, Mauri, for Tribal Interests at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu says the orca strandings presented the rūnaka with a significant challenge. Timing was critical because the orca carcasses deteriorated quickly after stranding.

"We found ourselves in a situation where we had to step up as kaitiaki. It's all very well telling the Crown and everyone else about kaitiakitanga and tikanga Māori, but to me this was a prime example of a situation where, once the decision was made to recover these orca for customary use purposes, then we had no choice but to step up and put into practice what we have been preaching to everyone else in the past, in this case to take a lead in the customary recovery of nine orca.

"It was a strong opportunity for the rūnaka to lead the way and bring scientists, researchers, and experts who shared the same passion and interest in this very important kaupapa together on the marae under our guidance and leadership. It was the first time that these people have all come together with us."

Positive feedback from the scientists involved since showed that mātauranga Māori and Western science could work together, he says, and this case provide a blueprint that could work elsewhere in New Zealand.

In a detailed report to Ngāi Tahu whānui, Joe noted that 14 whales had been recovered for customary purposes in the past 13 months, across four rohe in Te Waipounamu.

"It is obvious that for whatever reason more and more whales and other marine mammals are stranding within the Ngāi Tahu takiwā."

Orca Research Trust founder and principal scientist Dr Ingrid Visser says there have been more than 40 documented incidents of orca strandings in New Zealand. The mass stranding at Kutu Awa on Te Waewae Bay in February 2014 was the third largest incident recorded in this country. In 1955 17 orca stranded at Paraparaumu, and 12 stranded in the Chatham Islands in 1981.

"I have seen mass strandings before and multiple strandings of individuals, but most of the time we manage to save the animals, and that's what makes this such a tragedy," Dr Visser says. "It was just such a remote location, and they weren't found until it was too late.

"It really was absolutely heartbreaking as a scientist and also as someone who deeply cares for these animals," she says. "They are basically my whānau. I've always been inspired by these animals ever since I was a kid, and I've been researching orca for over 20 years now."

Dr Visser has extensive photographic records of the individual markings of 150 of an estimated population of about 200 orca that frequent New Zealand waters. However, she did not recognise any individuals that stranded at Kutu Awa.

Like the other mass strandings in 1955 and 1981, the cause of the latest strandings remains a mystery.

"We couldn't conduct a full autopsy because by the time we got to the animals they were already a few days old," she says.

Eyewitness reports confirmed the whales were alive when they came ashore, and their body condition showed they were fat and healthy.

"That indicates to me that it wasn't a dramatic event, and may have been something as subtle as one of the animals making a mistake and getting stuck on a shallow shore."

There were however some distinctive signs that suggest this pod of orca may have had a different range, hunting, or foraging behaviour than others that frequent New Zealand waters.

Several had distinctive oval-shaped cookie cutter shark bites out of their flesh, which

Dr Visser says indicates they had travelled into the tropics or sub-tropics at some stage of their lives.

Cookie cutter sharks only grow to 54 cm in length, and the furthest south they have been recorded is around East Cape in the North Island. One orca had at least 33 cookie cutter shark bites on it, which until recently was regarded as a world record.

The other remarkable feature of these orca was that many had heavily worn teeth, in some cases worn right down to the gums, which suggests different hunting or foraging techniques than any known populations of orca around the New Zealand coast.

Volunteers from Ōraka Aparima helped scientists extract more than 400 teeth from the orca carcasses in February. Under the supervision of a dolphin teeth expert from the University of Otago, they were carefully processed and cleaned so a photographer from Te Papa could capture more than 2000 images in a temporary darkroom set up for an orca wānanga in Takutai o Te Tītī Marae at Colac Bay in October.

Scientists noticed an unusual buildup of tartar on orca teeth that they had never seen anywhere in the world. They also noticed a film-like black sooty mould on teeth which had been documented before, and may be something to do with the prey they eat.

"Although their teeth can give us an idea what is going on, this doesn't tell us exactly what that is," Dr Visser says. "There was nothing wrong with them in any other way, shape or form that we could see."

Pectoral fins recovered from stranded orca were stored in a freezer for further research, and DNA samples were taken to ascertain the genetic relationships within the pod, and also to see how the pod fits into the global genetic pool for orca.

Dr Visser says this study had international implications for orca research.

"There is no other database like this that we are aware of anywhere in the world," she says. "We've got orca of both sexes and all age classes from very young animals through to full-grown adults."

At least five scientists attended the wānanga and a number of others worked on samples collected and sent to universities around the country.

The level of co-operation and commitment of the Ōraka Aparima Rūnaka to recover scientific samples from the animals was unprecedented, she says.

"I've never seen anything like it. It has been indescribable how a community has rallied behind such a tragic event and turned it into something that binds the community together.

"To have just walked away from (stranded orca) and done nothing would have been so disrespectful. Some people may think it's offensive to take body parts, but we can now look at how we can learn from the experience.

"I don't think you could pay people to do this stuff and here they are volunteering to do this, and that's what has made it so special."

The day after the orca wānanga concluded at Colac Bay, a minke whale stranded on Raratoka (Centre Island) but it was refloated quickly by Ōraka Aparima whānau who were on the island at the time, and others who were flown over to help.

While an increase in strandings could be coincidental, Joe Wakefield is concerned about the effects on marine mammals and whales of proposed seismic testing and drilling by oil companies working around the eastern and southern coasts of Te Waipounamu.

Recent events show that Ngāi Tahu whānui have clear choices to make on whether they should take a proactive or reactive approach to whale strandings, and whether they need to prepare a strategy.

Joe says papatipu rūnanga should consider putting together a marine mammal/whale stranding response kit, with all the equipment required to react quickly to whale strandings anywhere around Te Waipounamu.

Decisions on how these kits should be funded, where they would be held, and who would be responsible for maintaining them need further discussion, Joe says.

However he believes the iwi needs to take a leadership role on future strandings and review and update its draft Beached Marine Mammal Protocol so researchers, scientists, and the Department of Conservation can work together under iwi leadership to share information, knowledge, and expertise.



"There is no other database like this that we are aware of anywhere in the world. We've got orca of both sexes and all age classes from very young animals through to full-grown adults."

DR INGRID VISSER Orca Research Trust founder and principal scientist



Above: beached orca; top: Martin Keen (Ngāi Tahu, Rongowhakaata, Ngāi Tamanuhiri) and Joe Wakefield with orca jaw bones and teeth.

RAMARI STEWART – A TOHUNGA TOHORĀ

Kaituhi Rob Tipa investigates



Ramari Stewart traces her passion for the cultural harvest of whales to a single event on a beach in the Bay of Plenty 37 years ago. The Ngāti Awa tohunga tohorā says it changed her life forever.

When whānau arrived to harvest a large group of pilot whales on a beach where she grew up, they were confronted with heavy machinery and told by authorities they could no longer access whales, dead or alive.

At the time the Marine Mammals Protection Act 1978 was a bill before Parliament, but her whānau believed they still had customary rights to the whales under the Treaty of Waitangi.

Denied access to the whales, Ramari persuaded the former Ministry of Works to measure them, "and we became scientists overnight," she chuckles. "Those events at Hariki Beach changed my life."

A couple of years later she knocked on the door of former Minister of Fisheries Duncan MacIntyre in Whakatāne and was granted a research permit to recover biological specimens and skeletal material from dead whales for the benefit of museums and research institutions. The research permit provided Ramari with the opportunity to hone her skills in whale recovery.

The Act, however, prevented Māori customary access to beached whales until this was challenged after a series of sperm whale strandings in the mid-1990s. Today tribal rūnanga have established a treaty partnership with the Crown, and most have a marine mammal protocol with the Department of Conservation allowing access and extraction of resources from stranded dead whales.

Ramari admits her work has been a bumpy ride, sometimes laced with abuse as many people clearly didn't want Māori cutting up whale carcasses on the beaches. The focus of legislation was on rescuing stranded whales and, where rescues were unsuccessful, burying their carcasses as quickly as possible.

She says these events highlight a strong cultural difference between how Māori and the Crown view whales.

When a whale is washed up on the beach, Māori see it as "he taonga Tangaroa", a treasure from Tangaroa and a resource to be utilised. She believes Māori should be involved in recovery right from the start rather than having whale bone handed to carvers to create something beautiful.

"For us, the whale is the taonga," she explains. "I believe the journey starts with the whale, and in order to establish a whakapapa with that particular whale, we should recover our own taonga.

"Unless we have bathed in the hinu (oil) and toto (blood) we truly don't know what it is to wear whale bone."

Today this former Māori health nurse, who should technically be relaxing in retirement at her base in Westland, is on constant alert for reports of whale strandings and ready to travel the country at the drop of a hat.

"When I was young, whale resources were everywhere, and now they are rare," she says. "Because of legislation, it didn't take long for us to lose the necessary skills required to successfully recover those taonga."

Her recovery skills are highly specialised, and she has been under pressure to keep up with 14 customary whale recovery operations in four different rohe of Te Waipounamu in the last 11 months alone.

When TE KARAKA caught up with Ramari, she had

iust helped deal with a mass pilot whale stranding and customary recovery at Ohiwa harbour in the Bay of Plenty.

The previous week she was working with kaimahi from the Ōraka Aparima and scientists at Colac Bay to assess the skeletal remains of nine orca which stranded and died on a remote stretch of Te Waewae Bay in February, a rare event of huge international interest.

Ramari says orca strandings are very unusual, something she has never experienced in decades of working with whales in Aotearoa and the subantarctic islands.

The rapid response of the Ōraka Aparima rūnaka was wonderful, she says. "This is the first rūnanga that has responded in a way that shows they want to know more about their whales.'

It was also the first time she had seen Māori working alongside scientists, contributing their logistical and practical skills to the research and investigative skills of scientists.

"What this event has given us, working alongside (scientists) from the beginning, has enabled them to see that we also have a huge range of skills," she says. "We plan something to achieve an objective, we have to move fast, and we're very good at that.

"Because the tūpāpaku (whale carcass) is tapu, there are strict protocols, stringent OSH standards to be observed, and significant health risks for kaimahi (workers), as the dead whale carcases decompose rapidly."

This was a first-time experience for Ōraka Aparima whānau.

"These muttonbirders were just a pleasure to work with, very resourceful and very resilient, and I felt very safe working among them," Ramiri says.

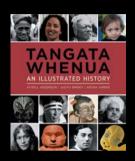
She would like to see Ngāi Tahu develop a rapid response whale recovery unit, bringing together experienced people and proper equipment to deal with whale strandings more efficiently and safely.

"My main worry is the absence of whale wananga for our people," she says. "We could be building that capacity, that experience from hapū to hapū. We really do need support to put wānanga in place so we can build the capacity to carry out these recoveries safely, and more importantly, to exercise our kaitiaki responsibilities through active participation in whale stranding events."

Ramiri believes the work done to recover and prepare the skeletal remains of orca by southern whānau working alongside scientists at Colac Bay was unique, and could potentially be at the leading edge of orca research internationally.



TANGATA WHENUA an illustrated history



It charts the sweep of Māori history from ancient origins through to the twenty-first century and it has been called one of the most significant books on the Māori world ever written.

Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History by Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris is an ambitious book from Bridget Williams Books, 544 pages and 500 images covering Māori history from ancient origins through to the 21st century.

The story begins with the migration of ancestral peoples out of South China, some 5,000 years ago. These early voyagers arrived in Aotearoa early in the second millennium AD, establishing themselves as tangata whenua in the place that would become New Zealand Today, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, Māori are drawing on both international connections and their ancestral place in Aotearoa.

Ngāi Tahu have played a leading role in Tangata Whenua. Atholl Anderson wrote the chapters about the early origins of Māori, Kāi Tahu historian Michael Stevens is a contributor and researcher, Tā Tipene launched the book and the Ngāi Tahu Fund supported the book financially.

We bring you an excerpt from one of the early chapters written by Atholl Anderson.



Left: Carved whaletooth pendant (mau kakī) from the Nelson region, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, ME001545 (page 38).

THE ORIGINS OF MĀORI AND MORIORI

The ancestors of Polynesians came almost entirely from Holocene age Southeast Asian populations. They spoke languages of the Malayo-Polynesian family, the most widespread of the Austronesian languages, and they had developed an unusual competency in seafaring based on the sailing canoe. During migration eastward there was some intermarriage with Melanesian men, themselves descended from much earlier inhabitants of Southeast Asia, especially in the offshore islands of New Guinea. Societies at that time were matrilineal and matrilocal. The crucial movement for Pacific settlement was by people of the Lapita culture, from the Bismarck Islands, who began a rapid dispersal into previously unoccupied islands in the Central Pacific between 1100 and 800 BC, reaching as far eastward as Tonga and Samoa. In these latter groups, probably within the first millennium AD, a distinctive Polynesian culture developed; and around the end of the first millennium AD, migrants from West Polynesia reached the central islands of East Polynesia. Here, under different conditions of social mobility, cognatic descent and patrilocality prevailed. Later, colonisation expanded north, east and south-west into the other unoccupied islands of East and South Polynesia. It is possible that there was a small component of South American migration into East Polynesia.

The capability of Polynesian voyaging remains a contentious issue. One hypothesis favours an ability to sail to windward that would have made even long passages relatively easy and rapid. Another argues that windward sailing did not arrive in East Polynesia until after the early migrations, which, consequently, must have been difficult and possibly reliant upon contingencies of climatic change that produced windows of favourable sailing conditions.

However they travelled, it is apparent that South Polynesian colonists came from the Tahitic-speaking region of the Society, Cook and Austral island groups, arriving as a substantial migrant population. A longstanding debate about when South Polynesia was first colonised has now been resolved in favour of a period beginning about the mid-thirteenth century. People reached New Zealand first, probably because of its relatively immense size, but soon afterward explored the surrounding seas, finding and settling briefly in the Kermadecs, Norfolk Island and the Auckland Islands. A group of the early migrants, probably after reaching New Zealand, also found and settled the Chatham Islands, where they remained as a permanent population of Moriori. Māori and Moriori were the tangata whenua who challenged the arrival of Europeans.

SPEAKING OF MIGRATION, AD 1150-1450

All Māori and Moriori knowledge about the past was handed down over the generations in the form of oral traditions attached to genealogies, or whakapapa. The content of traditions was open to debate among groups but it was not doubted as containing fundamental historical evidence, and tribal traditions continue to be taken today as the stuff of history on every marae in the land – that is, as a sequential record of actual people and events. Yet in the broader fields of historical and anthropological scholarship, and widely in popular discussion, the historical credentials of tribal traditions have often been debated, scorned or ignored. The historical reliability of traditions and their perspectives on migration are the subject of this chapter.

History mattered for Māori and Moriori, both philosophically as a duty toward the ancestors and pragmatically as a means of contemporary advantage in gaining and holding status and property. In both respects it needed to be



Above: Whalebone lizardshaped amulet, Wainui on the East Coast, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, ME000643 (page 30). reliable, and reliability followed a principle readily predictable in the oral traditions of a chiefly society: it correlated positively with status. Matters of high status, such as circumstances of initial colonisation, direct lines of chiefly descent from founding canoe ancestors, important transactions of marriage and alliance, and the fortunes of war, were essential societal records underpinning relations within and among groups. No less than other kinds of historical records, but perhaps no more so, traditions were also partial, sometimes contradictory, and open to manipulation. Even so, an overall consistency of whakapapa, coupled with intricate, deep and widespread lineage connections, substantiates the claim of traditions to historical intent and comparative reliability. Once conceded, that point has important implications for considering migration traditions. This chapter argues that the concept of a fleet, or fleets, of migration canoes is no Pākehā invention; that it is sustained by whakapapa reaching back to canoe ancestors; and that an historical Hawaiki was distinguished clearly from mythological concepts.

For early European travellers, history worth the telling was not expected in the South Seas (the popular name of the time) and least of all in New Zealand. Johann Forster, naturalist and antiquarian on the Resolution, 1772–75, thought that history was 'not quite neglected' by Tahitians, but that, in the absence of writing and a means of recording time, only 'rude annals' of it had been preserved in poetry and song. As Tahitians were seen by eighteenth-century Europeans to stand at the apex of East Polynesian cultural accomplishment, no record of ancient history was anticipated in New Zealand; there, as Forster

argued, 'removal from the tropics towards the colder extremities of the globe, together with the gradual loss of the principles of education greatly contribute to the degeneracy and debasement of a nation into a low and forlorn condition'. Not surprisingly, little history was heard or discussed by Europeans. In 1769, Tupaia, the Raiatean interpreter on the Endeavour, spoke at length with Māori at Tolaga Bay about their traditions and his, and later noted a remark by Topa, a chief in Queen Charlotte Sound, about Māori origins in Hawaiki. However, Tupaia was dismissive of local knowledge in speaking with James Cook and Joseph Banks, so not much of what he heard was recorded. Early European attention focused instead upon religious ideas about a pervasive 'Atua' (a divinity who could act benignly or maliciously), the departure of spirits at Rēinga, and the doings of Maui. In the early nineteenth century, the most ancient Māori origins were sought through the comparative study of language and myth, and sometimes claimed as found in biblical stories. For missionaries especially, that served only to demonstrate the extent of subsequent cultural degeneration by Māori.









Top: The main routes of migration from Southeast Asia to the Pacific islands. Atholl Anderson / Base Two (page 18).



Above left: Tamatea, Ōtākou #1, 2010, Neil Pardington (page 52).

WIN

TE KARAKA has two copies of *Tangata Whenua*: *An Illustrated History* to give away. To enter the draw, send your name and address on the back of an envelope to The Editor, TE KARAKA, PO Box 13 046, Christchurch 8141 and mention that you would like a copy of *Tangata Whenua*: *An Illustrated History*, or email tekaraka@ngaitahu.iwi.nz with Tangata Whenua in the subject line. We will contact the winners and announce them in the following issue.



This page, and bottom right: Tauihu, Te Toki-a-Tāpiri, one of the last of the famous waka taua of the early nineteenth century, Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira, 150 (page 24). HEI MAHI MĀRA A beginner's guide to growing organic vegetables nā TREMANE BARR

The secret life of **plants**

The invocation of karakia for establishing a new area for vegetable production is an important part of this process for me – an acknowledgement that I am just one part of a co-creation process, working in partnership with soil and plants.

Summer couldn't come around soon enough for me this year as the warmth and new bloom of life helps me focus on the positive potential of the future. I can leave behind the nightmare years since September 2010 of earthquakes and EQC, insurance company, toxic soil discovery, and re-building stresses.

Fortunately, we are among the lucky ones who are able to move on with our lives in our new home, even though our property was left looking rather devastated by the rebuild process. Unfortunately, the soil remediation process carried out by the insurance company hasn't quite gone as smoothly as we had hoped and we have had to rethink our approach to the garden as our finances have run dry due to unexpected building costs.

For the time being we have decided just to use the remediated area around our house for growing food, but unfortunately the soil used for remediation was full of twitch grass (Elytrigia repens) which is a gardener's nightmare. Its rhizomes (roots) have a tendency to spread prolifically laterally through the soil and suck up available nutrients.

This necessitated a change of plan for the garden. I decided to leave the tunnel house where it is and simply dig out the old toxic soil (to around 50 cm depth) and replace it with new soil which I know is free of twitch, and a layer of compost. In this way I could get on with growing vegetables in the tunnel house while concentrating on the need to deal with the twitch elsewhere. This would leave the area at the back of our house as the main focus for establishing a vegetable garden. However, first I needed to develop a strategy to deal with the twitch before planting any vegetables.

The conventional way for a gardener to deal with twitch is to use a glyphosate (N-phosphonomethyl glycine) herbicide such as Roundup, and in my desperation I toyed with this idea for a while as it required the least effort. I soon rejected this upon doing a little research. Studies have increasingly found that glyphosate-based herbicides have many negative impacts on human health and have been found to be implicated in various cancers, male infertility, birth defects, nervous system damage, endocrine disruption, and kidney disease. A recent study found that Roundup was among the most toxic of the herbicides and insecticides tested in this study. This study also found that the adjuvants which are used to help make the herbicide more effective make it up to 1000 times more toxic than just the glyphosate by itself (all commercial glyphosate blends have these adjuvants, e.g. wetting agents). Another study has shown that in general, chronically ill people have significantly higher glyphosate residues in their urine than ordinary members of a healthy population. The increasing evidence of the detrimental health effects of glyphosate herbicides is



PHOIOURAPHS IREMAINE BAR

leading to countries like the Netherlands banning its sale to the public. Sri Lanka has gone one step further and banned its use completely.

So the only solution I am left with is to dig the twitch out as much as possible, before starting the process of establishing a vegetable garden on the new soil area. The twitch rhizomes have a tendency to break and each new piece can sprout into life by itself, so the digging has to be done carefully and thoroughly. This new vegetable garden area of around 4 m x 6 m in size was established simply by applying some dolomite lime and a generous layer of organic compost. I then divided this into four areas using small paving stones to help set up a rotation system with four areas:

- salad plants lettuce, onions, zucchini, and beans
- brassicas mainly broccoli
- root/fruit crops rīwai, carrots, and heirloom tomatoes
- juicing veges spinach, silverbeet, and kale.



Left: The area on the north side of the house where soil has been remediated and will be used for our new garden area. Above: Beans. Below: Alyssum to attract predators.

So far this strategy has worked and the new vegetable garden area has been established, but as the twitch was mixed through the new soil, it is too soon to say whether my attempt at manually removing all the twitch from the property will ultimately be successful.

However, the process of establishing a new garden and new vegetable life to take care of from soil to plate has given me pause for thought in the light of research which describes how plants have long-term memory, high-level mental processes, the ability to feel fear and happiness, the ability to communicate, and even the ability to read your mind so that they can react to human thoughts and emotions. These ideas would have been nothing new to the tohunga of old who oversaw the correct timing of planting, cultivation, and harvest with the appropriate karakia and waiata to ensure that the mauri (life energy) of the crop was protected and enhanced to help provide for a bountiful harvest. The invocation of karakia for establishing a new area for vegetable production is an important part of this process for me - an acknowledgement that I am just one part of a co-creation process, working in partnership with soil and plants. Given the sentience of plants, I don't think the specific wording of the karakia is all that important. It just needs to be a suitable positive, friendly acknowledgement of respect. Research has proven that friendly talk or thoughts directed at the plants one grows does have beneficial effects on the plants' health and productivity.

The Spanish philosopher, Professor Michael Marder, recently published a book called *The Philosopher's Plant: An Intellectual Herbarium*, in which he calls for a "more respectful treatment of the flora" that we grow and eat so casually. In other words we should not be at war with nature, but work with it respectfully. This means I am going to have to manually remove the twitch from my garden with kindness, rather than use toxic herbicides.



WEBSITES

Michael Marder Interview on Plant Ethics and Intelligence http://philosoplant.lareviewofbooks. org/?p=79

Your Houseplants Can Think, Talk, Read Your Mind: New Research Adds Evidence www.theepochtimes.com/ n3/460659-your-houseplants-canthigh talk and your mind new recearch

think-talk-read-your-mind-new-researchadds-evidence/?sidebar=todaysheadline

How to have happier meals by eating ethically

www.stuff.co.nz/life-style/well-good/ teach-me/62668777/How-to-havehappier-meals-by-eating-ethically

Glyphosate Info

www.i-sis.org.uk/SS-glyphosate.php

Sri Lanka bans sale of glyphosate weedicide responsible for kidney disease www.colombopage.com/archive_14A/ Mar12_1394634963CH.php

The Netherlands Says NO to Glyphosate, Monsanto's Roundup Herbicide http://naturalsociety.com/netherlandssay-monsantos-round-herbicide/

Chronically Sick People Have High Levels of Sinister Glyphosate in their Urine http://naturalsociety.com/new-studychronically-sick-people-high-levelssinister-glyphosate-urine/

Pesticide Ingredients Far More Dangerous than Reported

http://csglobe.com/pesticide-ingredientsfar-dangerous-reported/

Major Pesticides Are More Toxic to Human Cells Than Their Declared Active Principles www.hindawi.com/journals/ bmri/2014/179691/

Detection of Glyphosate Residues in Animals and Humans http://omicsonline.org/open-access/ detection-of-glyphosate-residues-in-

animals-and-humans-2161-0525.10002

Tremane Barr is Ngāi Tahu/Kāti Māhaki ki Makaawhio. He has been gardening organically for more than 20 years. He currently works for Toitū Te Kāinga as the research leader for the He Whenua Whakatipu project, which is helping to develop the Ngāi Tahu Mahinga Kai brand system. HE AITAKA A TĀNE PLANTS nā ROB TIPA

5

Sniffing out



The most distinctive feature of toatoa is the fact that it has no true leaves. Instead this shrub or small forest tree has flattened leathery branchlets that look more like the leaves of celery – hardly a feature befitting a member of the chiefly podocarp family.

Three species of this ancient genus of plants are found only in New Zealand while three related species are found in Tasmania, Borneo and the Philippines.

Mountain toatoa (Phyllocladus alpinus) is closely related to tanekaha (Phyllocladus trichomanoides), known colloquially as mountain pine and celery pine respectively. Both are highly regarded for the strength and durability of their wood, one of the most elastic and wind-resistant timbers in the world.

Perhaps various interpretations of their Māori names of tānekaha (strong man, virile or strong in growth) and toatoa (warrior) give users a clue to the special properties of their timber. No surprise then that the timber of these close cousins has been highly valued for making springy fishing rods, for bridge-building, and for boat-building, where strong flexible planking was a distinct advantage for boat hulls thumping into a big Southern Ocean swell.

Mountain toatoa grows as a shrub or small tree up to 10 metres tall throughout the South Island, usually on the upper margins of beech forest between about 500 and 1650 metres of altitude, although it does grow right down to sea level in Southland and Westland.

There are at least three different forms of this very hardy, slow-growing species. A stunted, shrubby specimen grows up to a metre or so in height in sub-alpine scrub, which makes it ideal for rock gardens or where space is limited, while specimens on the margins of the beech forest reach their full potential, reaching a height of about 10 metres.

The cladodes (flat, leaf-like stems) on seedlings and young plants are narrow and pointed, while those on older trees are thick and leathery. Male and female flowers, fruits, and cones form along the margins of these cladodes.

In Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori, Ngāi Tahu ethnographer Herries Beattie said his informants told him toatoa had a very pleasant smell in the forest, and its aroma wafting on the wind served as a guide to the tree's whereabouts.

Southern Māori used to collect its bark and carried it about with them as a scent, and one of Beattie's informants told him the bark was used to make a scent similar to the highly-prized perfume extracted from the sap of taramea (speargrass or wild spaniard) in the high country of Te Waipounamu.

Beattie explains in some detail the practice of extracting "an everlasting dye of a brownish colour" from the bark of toatoa, evidently similar to the process used for producing dye from tanekaha further north.

Beattie records that the bark was placed in an ipu (wooden basin). Stones were heated red-hot in a fire and dropped into the ipu. When the first stones had cooled they were replaced with more red hot stones and the process was repeated until the right colour was achieved. Samples of whitau were used to check the colour of the dve.

In Māori Healing and Herbal, Murdoch Riley describes a similar process for making dye from the bark of tānekaha. He said the bark was cut off in pieces and pounded with a fernroot beater until it was softened, and then placed in a trough of cold water along with flax or other fibre to be dyed. Hot stones were dropped into the trough until the water boiled, the process continuing until the flax fibre took up sufficient dye, after which it was hung out to dry.

"The dye is high in tannic content and does not fade, even when washed in salt water," he writes. "The colour obtained is reddish-brown. For a pink shade the weed kākāriki was bruised and added to the dyed water. For a yellow shade the bark of the pūriri tree was added to the water. From the mountain toatoa a brown dye was obtained."

Riley says whalebone patu (weapons) were stained in the same way.

During the First World War, tānekaha bark was used to dye soldiers' uniforms a khaki colour. The bark was once exported to England where it was used to dye gloves yellow, pink, red, or fawn. Home spinners also use the bark of tanekaha to dye wool.

Turning to medicinal uses of toatoa, Riley notes that the dark outer bark of both toatoa and tānekaha was scraped off and the inner bark was pounded and steeped in water. This liquid was then taken internally two or three times for the treatment of dysentery or diarrhoea.

The bark of toatoa or tānekaha also features as one of the ingredients in the famous French nun Mother Suzanne Aubert's "Natanata" patent medicine, which combined koromiko, pukatea and the bark of rātā, toatoa or tānekaha.

Writing to the French Consul in 1890, Mother Aubert said: "I have found this (Natanata) unrivalled in the treatment of chronic illnesses of the stomach and especially among children, even those who are being breast fed, and also among old men.

"Many small children have been abandoned by doctors and, dying from diarrhoea and continuous vomiting, have been restored to perfect health in two or three weeks by the use of the Natanata."

REVIEWS

BOOKS

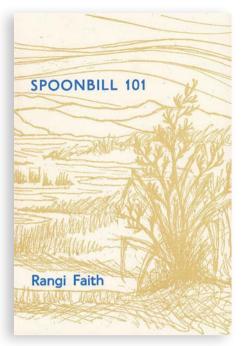
SPOONBILL 101 Nā Rangi Faith Puriri Press 2014 RRP: \$25.00 Review nā Gerry Te Kapa Coates

This is a purist's book of 60 eclectic poems where the writer is accessible only through his work – no cover blurb, photo, or notes on the poems. I admit I cheated and checked his website: www.rangifaith.co.nz. Faith is a Kāi Tahu Māori and Moriori and the poems certainly reflect his interests in the outdoors and in Māori issues (such as Māori Land Court hearings), as well as art and culture, archaeology, and history in general.

The poems are almost all just a single page. The title poem, *Spoonbill* 101, is a whimsical look at how the kōtuku got its bill. "When the lagoon birds/ were lined up/ for panel beating/ & noses and names handed out-/ this kōtuku's beak/ was hammered flat-." Hence "kōtuku ngutu papa". Some poems are evocative, yet the meaning remains elusive – for example, "When the sailing ends", about "that midnight race/ to the hospital" and a girl who "would walk home/ in the dark with her sister/ holding hands."

War features in several poems: P.O.W., The Last Tree, and Home Guard at the Pancake Rocks. In A Poppy for our fathers, about the Ponte Vecchio in Florence, the poet says, "Let the poppy fall/ from your fingers/ into the Arno-/ it will drift under that bridge/ spared destruction/ in a world war" – again evocative, but still ultimately mysterious. Writers like Hone Tuwhare and Janet Frame make cameo appearances.

The outdoors and the West Coast and its coal are subjects too – from .303s to a truck with "sodden dogs on the back,/ ears flattened with cold." Also featured is Brunner, the English surveyor/explorer reflecting on his dog Rover (and by saying "though Kehu was my staff", belatedly acknowledg-



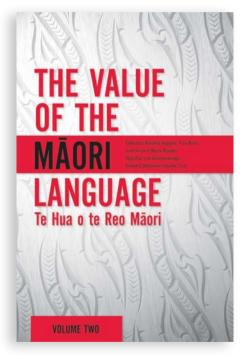
ing his life-saving Māori guide). There is even a poem about the destruction wrought by the Rena's sinking in the Bay of Plenty, told through colours: "Pango-/ birds in Number 6 bunker oil/dripping from beaks,/ a fin rising offshore" and "whero-/ red is the colour/ of angry people."

These are all very diverse and personal poems that stand to be read several times and mulled over to soak up their flavour. Faith is a prolific poet and has been widely published in a number of unlikely tabloids. May he continue to write many more. Kia kaha, kia tū e hoa whanaunga.

THE VALUE OF THE MĀORI LANGUAGE – TE HUA O TE REO MĀORI, VOLUME TWO

Edited by Rawinia Higgins, Poia Rewi and Vincent Olsen-Reeder Huia Publishers RRP: \$45.00 Review nā Lynne Harata Te Aika

Me mihi ka tika, ki a Pokotaringa, Ngākaunui, Whakaihi! This is a collection of essays, written in te reo Māori and English by passionate, committed, and staunch Māori language activists spanning three or more generations. There are 30 contributors including revered language pioneers Timoti Karetu, Wharehuia Milroy and Iritana Tāwhiwhirangi, active in the Māori language movement since the 1960s and still going strong. The next generation, mainly university graduates from the 1980s-90s, are now maturing in age and are grounded in experience - not just talking te reo talk, but walking the language journey in their respective fields. They come from a range of backgrounds including television, radio broadcasting, education, parliament, iwi, wananga and universities, and law. Their narratives include historical documentation of language revitalisation initiatives, commentaries on language developments, and healthy critique of government and institutional policy and practice. Our own Hana O'Regan reflects on the Ngāi Tahu tribal revitalisation programme Kotahi Mano





Lynne Harata Te Aika (Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Awa) is the Head of Aotahi School of Māori and Indigenous Studies at the University of Canterbury. She is involved in Ngāi Tahu education, te reo and cultural initiatives at a rūnanga, hapū, and tribal level.



Martin Fisher was born in Budapest, Hungary but was raised in Canada and New Zealand. He is a lecturer at the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre at the University of Canterbury. Kāika. We are forewarned about keeping our youth generation engaged in language learning and maximising technology to achieve this.

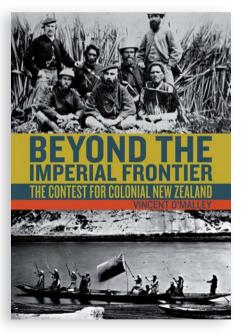
The value of the Māori language since the 1987 Māori Language Act is analysed, debated, deciphered, and decreed in many different forms. The youngest generation of language masters, the likes of Paraone Gloyne and Korohere Ngāpō, graduates of Te Panekiretanga o te Reo and protégées of the language pioneers, show that the intergenerational transfer of language activism is in a healthy state. Ko tōku reo, tōku ohooho, tōku māpihi maurea, tōku whakakai marihi!

BEYOND THE IMPERIAL FRONTIER – THE CONTEST FOR COLONIAL NEW ZEALAND

Nā Vincent O'Malley Bridget Williams Books RRP: \$49.99 Review nā Martin Fisher

This is an excellent collection of essays that challenges our conceptions of the frontier in New Zealand. O'Malley has been involved in the Treaty claims process as a historian through both the Crown Forestry Rental Trust and the Waitangi Tribunal for over 20 years, and the breadth and depth of his writings are evidence of his longevity. The frontier topics covered include pre-Treaty encounters between Māori and newcomers; the scope, intent, and nature of post-Treaty deeds of purchase; analyses of interactions between Māori and English laws and mechanisms of governance; the role of confiscation and war in the Waikato and the East Coast; capital punishment; and the Native Land Court. Each chapter tests the notion of a rigid frontier, and instead depicts a fluid and everchanging boundary between the worlds of Māori and the newcomers who settled here.

Perhaps the most illuminating chapter is Beyond Waitangi: Post-1840 Agreements between Māori and the Crown, in which O'Malley makes a compelling case for re-thinking the nature of some of the major land purchases that came after the Treaty of Waitangi, including the Ngāi Tahu purchases (1844-1864). O'Malley compares the situation to the numbered Treaties that were negotiated in Canada in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These Canadian treaties mirrored the land purchases of the pre-Native Land Court era in New Zealand, but were also intended to establish a concrete relationship between indigenous groups and the Canadian government. O'Malley argues and provides evidence to show that the small payment often made in early Crown purchases of Māori land (1840-1865) and the minimal reserves that were provided were only a minor part of the agreement. Crown promises of schools, hospitals, and the benefits of having settler communities nearby were portrayed as the far more valuable and longterm benefit, and would have persuaded rangatira Māori across the country to sign





Gerry Te Kapa Coates (Ngāi Tahu) is a Wellington consultant and writer.



Fern Whitau (Kāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha) is a te reo Māori advisor at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. Moeraki is her tūrakawaewae and she is a proud tāua who loves to read to her mokopuna.



the agreements.

O'Malley's referencing is on the whole excellent, but with such an abundance of sources it would have been far more useful to have footnotes rather than endnotes, as the reader continually needs to flip back and forth. In addition, the two essays on Māori and English laws and mechanisms of governance repeated information (at times nearly verbatim), and could have been combined into one chapter. Other than those minor issues, this collection stands out as an important contribution to our understanding of the history of the frontier in New Zealand, and how that history continues to resonate in the politics of the present.

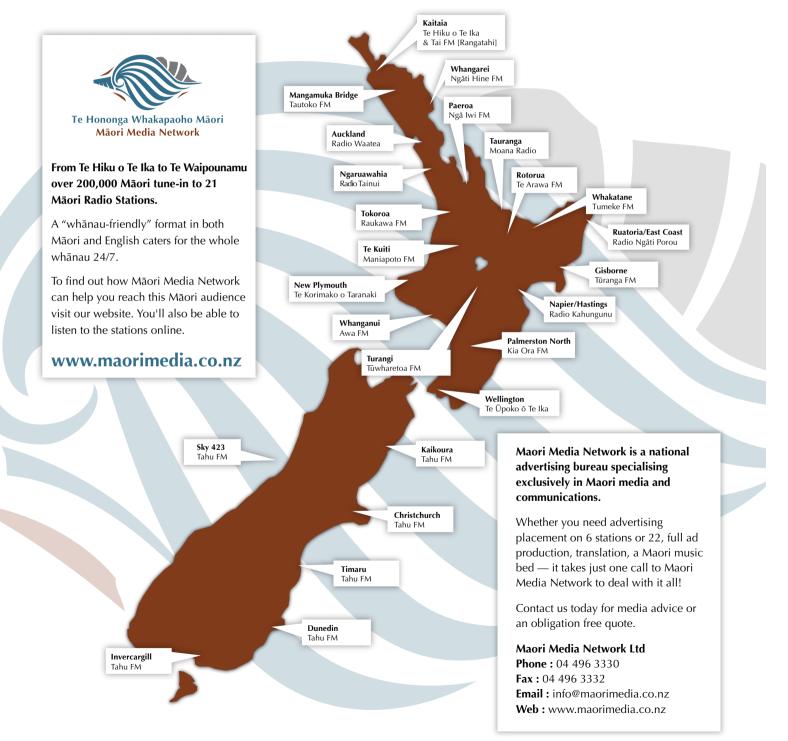
FIRST READERS IN MĀORI (REO MĀORI) Huia Publishers

RRP: \$40 Review nā Fern Whitau

First Readers in Māori is a set of 10 little pukapuka designed to assist us on our Māori language journey. Each book is in te reo Māori with a glossary that provides an English translation.

Reading these stories will help with learning the reo Māori words for numbers, colours, shapes and the names of some animals and toys. They will help when having conversations about the child's world with words like see-sawing, swinging and sliding; pīoioi, tārere, reti. The reader will learn how to ask for things and descriptive words like big, small, long, and heavy; nui, iti, roa, taumaha.The illustrations in these pukapuka are fun and bright and the subjects delightful. This is a great resource for children and adults learning te reo Māori and of course for story time. But to me the main appeal is the vocabulary, which will be very useful when interacting with our tamariki and mokopuna, especially for parents or grandparents who are bringing their children up to be bilingual. Œ

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HE WHAKAARO OPINION nā TOM BENNION

Who owns riverbeds?

Who does own riverbeds? The answer to that question can affect access to riverbeds for fishing and recreation, but it can also affect the ownership of large structures in riverbeds, such as hydro dams. If the riverbed on which a dam sits is owned by someone else, does the dam owner owe rent?

In 1962 the Court of Appeal looked at the issue of riverbed ownership in relation to the Whanganui River (Re the Bed of the Wanganui River [1962] NZLR 600). This was at the end of a long-running court battle by Whanganui Māori to regain control over the river. The issue had been to the Māori Land Court, was appealed several times, and was the subject of a report by a Royal Commission. In 1962 the Court of Appeal had before it an expert determination from the Māori Appellate Court that, according to custom, Whanganui Māori made no distinction between the riverbanks and riverbed of the Whanganui River. In other words, if Whanganui Māori sold land on the banks, that would affect the riverbed.

In English common law, when riverbank land is sold, it is presumed that the adjoining strip of riverbed to the middle line is also sold because it is of no further use. That presumption does not apply if it is obvious that the seller did not have that intention. This presumption is known by the Latin tag: ad medium filum aquae. The Court of Appeal did not examine in any detail precisely what Whanganui River Māori had in mind when they sold most of the land along the riverbank in the 19th century. It simply assumed that the presumption applied. On that basis, every time Whanganui Māori sold riverbank land in the 19th century, the adjoining riverbed to the mid-point was also sold.

Since 1962, the assumption has been that the Court of Appeal decision applied to all riverbeds in New Zealand. So if land along riverbanks went out of Māori ownership, which it often did in the 19th century, the presumption meant that the ownership of the riverbed to the middle line also went with it. After 1962, mainly because of the Court of Appeal decision, no Māori group considered it worthwhile bringing a case claiming customary ownership in a riverbed. This potentially means that the bed of the Waikato River, and other riverbeds, remain in Māori ownership, despite everyone assuming that they had left Māori ownership many years ago.



That all changed on 24 August this year when the Supreme Court looked at the issue in relation to part of the bed of the Waikato River (Paki v Attorney-General [2014] NZSC 118). In an attempt to avoid the problems raised by the 1962 decision, the Pouakani people living on a stretch of that river brought a case against the Crown, arguing that when Māori sold riverbank land in the 19th century they had obviously been unaware that the obscure legal presumption of *ad medium filum aquae* applied. Consequently, the Crown owed the tribes a special duty in the way it managed the riverbed.

The Supreme Court rejected the argument of the Pouakani people, but in an extraordinary way. A majority of the court (3 out of 4) decided that the 1962 decision applied only to the Whanganui River. In other words, it could not be assumed that on other rivers, such as the Waikato River, the custom was the same as on the Whanganui River. For example, in some places on the Waikato River, there were islands containing urupā or burial grounds. Māori owners might well have seen those as a customary property separate from the riverbanks.

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There is a further complication. In 1903 the Crown passed legislation declaring that all riverbeds, where they are "navigable" by boats, were owned by the Crown. What parts of a river are "navigable" and what parts are not is a question that has to be answered by looking at the conditions on each river. That legislation, which remains in force today, may mean that the effect of the Supreme Court decision is quite limited. But it may also mean that the Crown owes large sums in compensation for effectively confiscating Māori-owned riverbeds without compensation.

This debate is similar to the debate over ownership of the foreshore and seabed. The judgment has caused barely a ripple in the news. That is probably because it is complicated, and because its practical implications will take some time to tease out. We have not yet seen any official government response to the decision, but a survey of riverbeds that might be affected by the decision would be a good start.

NB: In 1860 Ngāi Tahu entered into the Arahura deed, which specifically excluded a large part of the bed of that river because of Ngāi Tahu's insistence that they not lose access to pounamu in the riverbed. Interestingly, the device for excluding the riverbed was to reserve from the deed 2000 acres of the north and south river banks.

Tom Bennion is a Wellington lawyer specialising in resource management and Māori land claim and Treaty issues. Formerly a solicitor at the Waitangi Tribunal, he is the editor of the Māori Law Review. He recently wrote a book titled Making Sense of the Foreshore and Seabed.

Ngāi Tahu

HE TANGATA

WHAT CONSTITUTES A GOOD DAY?

A sleep in, followed by a great coffee and book in the sun.

ONE THING YOU COULD NOT LIVE WITHOUT? Sugar – I eat at least a bag or two of lollies a week.

WHO OR WHAT INSPIRES YOU AND WHY?

It has to be parents. I am still amazed by how much people with kids have to do and how they have the energy for it. I can barely keep myself organised and on track, let alone be solely responsible for anyone else. It's quite amazing.

HIGHLIGHT IN THE LAST YEAR AND WHY?

It has to be receiving the Agria-Hōaka scholarship, even though I am yet to actually venture to China. It offers a once in a lifetime experience to fully immerse myself into Chinese culture whilst also furthering my education.

WHAT IS YOUR GREATEST EXTRAVAGANCE?

Coffee. I end up purchasing far too many over the course of a week (I should just learn to like instant).

FAVOURITE WAY TO CHILL OUT? FAVOURITE PLACE?

I find walking along Oriental Parade in the evening a great way to relax, although not so much when the gale force winds are out!

DANCE OR WALLFLOWER?

I was nicknamed 'Decibel Danni' as a child due to the noise I would create. That probably gives you a good idea...

WHAT FOOD COULD YOU NOT LIVE WITHOUT? Again, lollies.

WHAT MEAL DO YOU COOK THE MOST?

Green Thai curry with tofu. (I was vegetarian for four years).

GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT?

My team won a gold medal at the Oceania champs for synchronised swimming in 2004.

DO YOU HAVE AN ASPIRATION FOR NGĀI TAHU TO ACHIEVE BY 2025?

This is definitely the hardest question to answer. At this moment, I can't think of a specific aspiration per se –. I think it would just be to continue offering the broad range of opportunities for Ngāi Tahu whānau to develop through culture and education. I have always really appreciated the opportunities I have received in the past.

Danni Thian (Ngāi Tahu), the recipient of the 2014 Agria-Hōaka scholarship, will travel to Beijing in February to spend 12 months studying Mandarin at Tsinghua University. It's an opportunity she feels fortunate to have.

"It's all surreal," says Danni, 24, who works as a commercial operations, labour market, and welfare analyst at the Treasury in Wellington.

Danni graduated from the University of Otago with a Bachelor of Commerce with Honours (First Class), majoring in Economics. In 2009, she accepted an internship at Ngāi Tahu Holdings as a Matakahi cadet, and completed Aoraki Bound the following year.

Danni is also an accomplished synchronised swimmer.

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