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ABSTRACT

Kaumaatua of the Te Koeti Turanga hapuu (sub-tribe) of South Westland have expressed concern that the mana of their Kaati Mamoe ancestors has been trampled on and their identity subsumed through union with the Kai Tahu tribal confederation. The history of the Kaati Mamoe iwi in the South Island has been marginalised by the subsequent arrival of a number of hapuu of the Ngaati Kahungunu in the seventeenth century. The conflict which ensued following this gradual migration has traditionally been interpreted as marking the end of a Kaati Mamoe identity in the island. Complexity has been added to this situation as a result of European colonisation in the nineteenth century. The purchase by Pakeha of vast tracts of land in the South Island, and the failure to exempt the reserves promised, put pressure on the takata whenua’s land base and resources. The Crown’s refusal to acknowledge and redress the grievances of South Island Maori over the last hundred years has obliged the Kaati Mamoe to unite with the Kai Tahu. This process has served to further marginalise their identity, in this case in the southern rohe of the West Coast.

The method that I have used in this work draws upon a number of disciplines. Oral history and written records of the Te Koeti hapuu form the central sources and to this extent this work may be described as being written from a Kaati Mamoe perspective. I have undertaken a review of the material recorded by European collectors of South Island Maori tradition in order to ascertain the status of the Kaati Mamoe from the sixteenth century through to this century. I have examined the records left by sealers, surveyors and government agents in order to understand the way in which their reports have shaped the European view of South Westland Maori. And finally a review of the archaeological record has been included in order to provide information about the everyday material life of the ancestors of the South Westland hapuu.

A number of conclusions have been reached in this thesis. Firstly that the peace arrangement at Popoutunoa which has been viewed by Kai Tahu as marking the end of a Kaati Mamoe identity is not necessarily the view of many Kaati Mamoe descendants. The historical record shows that a number of individuals continued to fight the Kai Tahu due to tribal differences while others continued to live alongside Kai Tahu in
peace. As throughout much of Aotearoa, the importance of the hapuu as a source for an individual's identity in Maori society prior to European colonisation has been over-shadowed. In the case of the South Westland people union with Kai Tahu, which was vital in the face of the loss of land, has been interpreted as the loss of their affiliation and identity with Kaati Mamoe.
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*Mihawhenua*

Map of Waka, Migrations and Places Mentioned in the Text

Whakapapa: from Rakaihautu to Tutoko

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Map of the Southern Rohe Showing Passes
GLOSSARY.

Ahuriri  Napier
Aoraki  Mount Cook
central Westland,
Hokitika
Arariki chief
Arahura  chief
to love,
sympathise
hapuu sub-tribe
groper
Heke migration
Heretaunga Hawke's Bay
Hui meeting
Iwi tribe
treacherous tribe
Iwi koohuru whitebait
Inaka Poutini Kai Tahu
Kaati Waewae hapuu
Kaakano seed
Kai ika fish
Kaika home, village
Kai moana seafood
Kaitiaki protector,
caretaker, trustee
elder
daumuatua discourse, talk
Koorero Lake Brunner
Kotuku Whakaoho Bruce Bay
Mahitahi food works,
resources
Mahika Kai Jacob's River
Makawhio shark
Mako power, influence
Mana power, influence
Manawhenua over an area of
land,
Manu birds
Mawhera Greyhounds
Moko tattoo
Muriahiku Southland
Okahu
Piopiotahi
pounamu
raakau
rangatira
Raukawa
rohe
rohe potae

runanga
Tahutahi
takahe
takata whenua

take

takiwai
taoka
tapu-
taua
taumata

Te Ika a Maui
Te Matau a Maau
Te Remu
Te Tai Poutini

dte tino rangatiratanga o ratou
kainga me o ratou taonga katoa

Jackson's Bay
Milford Sound
greenstone
wood
chief
Cook Strait
district
'sphere of influence'
council
Cascade
notornis
'the people of the place', local people
origin, cause,
reason, root of a plant, base of a hill, incantation,
chief of a kin group, ancestral source of a land claim
bowenite
treasure
sacred
war-party
high place, brow of hill, speaker's bench
the North Island
Cape Kidnappers
Martin's Bay
the West Coast (of the South Island)
unequivocal
recognition of Maori tribal ownership and control of their land and resources
Te Tiriti o Waitangi
Te Wai Pounamu
Tioripatea
tipuna
titi
tohuka
tuna
tuurangawaewae
umu
urupa
waiata
waka
whakapapa
whakataukii
whaanau
Wharekauri

the Treaty of Waitangi
the South Island
Haast Pass
ancestor, grandparent
muttonbirds expert, specialist, priest
eel
land, 'place to stand'
oven, earth oven
grave, cemetery
song
canoe
genealogy
proverb
family
Chatham Islands
PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

The land, the whakapapa and the ancestors are the primary concerns of Maori history. They are clearly connected with events that are occurring today and issues that will be faced by their descendants in the future. The land is the source of a hapuu's identity; it contains the names and history of the tiipuna within it. Throughout Aotearoa circumstances brought about by the colonial encounter obliged many Maori to move away from their traditional rohe. As people became disconnected from their land, they became divorced from their identity. This alienation is a trend which after 150 years is slowly being reversed. With legislation passed to set up bodies such as the Waitangi Tribunal in the 1970s and 1980s, many Maori groups are, for the first time, considering the possibility of being re-united with their traditional rohe. For many this has stimulated the desire to reclaim their ancestral identity as part of the resolution of the grievance process.

Since European colonisation, the major tribe in the South Island has been understood to be the Kai Tahu, while an earlier iwi, the Kaati Mamoe has generally been subsumed into Kai Tahu's history. As elsewhere the tradition of land alienation has taken place in the remote south west of the South Island. The reserves which were set aside from the Mackay purchase in 1860 proved to be insufficient to sustain subsequent generations. As the Kaati Mamoe kaumaatua Kelly Wilson put it, a tuurangawaewae had been preserved but it was a place where you would go hungry. The last families moved out of the South Westland area in the 1940s due to economic hardship.1

In 1987, the Waitangi Tribunal heard grievances from all over the South Island. The hearings gave the South Westland people an opportunity to re-affirm their ties to the southern rohe through their Kaati Mamoe ancestors. Tragically, the takata whenua status of these people has been put on trial at the same time. This thesis is an affirmation of the Kaati Mamoe identity of the takata whenua of the southern rohe of the West Coast as expressed through their oral tradition. It is also an opportunity to go back and re-examine the European written record in order to understand both European and Kai Tahu perceptions of the Kaati Mamoe identity in the South Island. In the scientific realm, there are relics from the Kaati Mamoe past which complement the oral
record and therefore require attention here. Despite this archaeological component, my work is not an attempt to reconstruct the every-day life of the South Westland people, rather it is an attempt to understand and portray the Kaati Mamoe perception of their own history.

A number of terms that I have used in this work require some clarification here. The Maori spelling that I have adopted is that of the southern dialect, therefore 'k' replaces the North Island 'ng'. Names such as Ngaati Mamoe are Kaati Mamoe following this spelling. With reference to the Ngai Tahu Claim I have preserved the 'ng' spelling given that this is the spelling adopted for all documents relating to Te Kereeme (the Ngai Tahu Claim). I have also elected to double the long vowels rather than using macrons with the exception of words such as Maori for which I have presumed widespread knowledge given their common usage.

With regard to the name of the group of people who form the subject of this thesis and their traditional rohe I have employed a number of names which I feel that they themselves consider to be inter-changeable. Makawhio (Jacob's River) and Mahitahi (Bruce Bay) are very near to each other. These are the places where the southern hapuu resided last century. I therefore frequently refer to the hapuu as the Makawhio hapuu or the Mahitahi hapuu. South Westland is a twentieth century name which encompasses the West Coast from Okarito south to Martin's Bay. I have also used this name as it is one that is used by kaumaatua from the southern hapuu today.

The West Coast was inhabited by both Kaati Mamoe and Kai Tahu groups. The Kai Tahu of the Mawhera-Arahura region were and are known as the Kaati Waewae hapuu of Kai Tahu. Kaumaatua from the more southern hapuu last century did not give a hapuu name. In the text of my work I have often referred to them as the Kaati Mamoe hapuu or the southern hapuu in order to distinguish them from the Kaati Waewae hapuu further north at Mawhera. The name Kaati Wairangi also appears in my work. I have been given several explanations for this term: one states that it is the name of the Kaati Mamoe residence on the Coast prior to the arrival of the Kai Tahu; another explanation states that it is a derogatory name given by Kai Tahu after 1800.
I would like to express my deepest thanks to my supervisor, Dr Michael Reilly for his tremendous patience in reading my many drafts and for his unflagging support of this project. I would also like to thank Professor Anne Salmond of the Maori Studies Department of Auckland University for her comments about my thesis topic and issues facing students of Maori history in general.

This thesis could not have been written without the assistance of Kaati Mamoe kaumaatua Kelly Wilson. My conversations with Kelly gave me a profound insight into the history of his people and the issues that are facing them in the 1990s. I trust that his voice continues to be heard in the pages of this thesis. I am indebted to June Robinson for her encouragement and support. June, the daughter of Mary Jane Mahuika and William Wilson, related much valuable history to me. She is also the Area Representative for the Maori Women’s Welfare League in Hokitika. Dougal Austin, another descendant of the southern takata whenua, has been a source of great support. Dougal is employed at the Otago Museum, Dunedin. I am enormously grateful to Mrs Miriam Austin also for her valuable whakapapa charts of the South Westland people. A number of her whakapapa have formed a source in my work. I also wish to thank Jim Williams of the Maori Studies Department of the University of Otago for his interest and contributions to my work.

At Hokitika I was privileged to meet and speak with Mrs Jean Nikau Doland, a descendant of the Kai Tahu chief, Tuhuru. Ray Hooker, an archaeologist with the Department of Conservation, Hokitika, contributed much to my understanding of the archaeology of South Westland. I am also grateful to Ray and his partner, Trish for their warm West Coast hospitality while I was staying at their home. My cousins, Robina and Murray Wyatt of Harihari made me very welcome in their home and took me by truck, bike and raft to meet Carol Tipa, a descendant of Taetae, at her residence at Saltwater Lagoon. I also wish to thank my great-aunt, Joyce Wyatt of Hokitika for arranging for me to meet with the late Kelly Wilson.

My parents, Barry and Bernice deserve a special mention for their love, encouragement and patience. I am very grateful to Bernice for her interest and enthusiasm for my work. My sister, Justine and brother-in-law, Antonio have been
a powerful source of love, support and sustenance! And finally I would like to add that I could not have completed this work without the warm friendship of Jude, Heather, Paula, Kate, Jen, Shaun, Rae, Delyn, Peter, Andy and Matt.

*Interview with Mr Kelly Wilson, descendant of Tutoko and Te Koeti Turanga, kaumaatua of Kaati Mamoe, 2 June 1991.*
CHAPTER ONE.
Introduction.

The kaakano (seed) from which my work grew was planted by the late Mr Kelly Wilson, a kaumaatua of the Kaati Mamoe of South Westland. In an interview Kelly Wilson, who identified himself as Kaati Mamoe, told me that he was upset by assertions that the Kaati Mamoe are 'extinct' and that they have been 'absorbed' by Kai Tahu. It is, then, my intention in this thesis to explore the richly interwoven tapestry of the land, tiipuna (ancestors) and history which comprises the mana of the Kaati Mamoe hapuu (sub-tribe) of South Westland. In so doing I will also be referring back to an older discussion on the subject of a continued Kaati Mamoe identity in the South Island conducted by noted South Island historian, James Herries Beattie.

Early European records left by sealers show that the Maori presence in South Westland was a significant one. It is only in the last century that it has been overlooked and hence marginalised in comparison to North Island and east coast South Island Maori history. By drawing on the oral tradition of the Kaati Mamoe and looking again at the European written histories of the area from 1840 to 1900, the following work will seek to reestablish the identity of this hapuu in South Westland. As with the history of all people who have suffered the intrusion of colonisation, the influences of the Kai Tahu and European forces will be taken into account, both in terms of their impact on the South Westland Kaati Mamoe group and also in order to draw attention to the need to separate the interpretation of historical events of these two dominant groups from that of the Kaati Mamoe.

With the Crown's recognition of the validity of Maori land, resource and cultural grievances over the past two decades has come an associated freedom for groups whose identity has previously been subsumed by union with more powerful tribal confederations. In 1987, Tipene O'Regan, Chairman of the Ngai Tahu Trust Board and one of the most prominent figures within South Island Maoridom described the considerable unity among various tribal groups during Ngai Tahu Claim hearings before the Waitangi Tribunal. Following the presentation of grievances, and in reference to the issue of their redress, O'Regan pointed out that, 'as a part of the remedy
process the Crown begins to ask another set of questions. These new questions, he explained, were concerned with who and what were the iwi, which tribe was the Treaty partner and what territory and resources were traditionally associated with that iwi. These questions required recourse to ancient history to be answered. In the course of this process, some iwi or hapuu in the South Island have sought to re-assert their identity and identify other tribal affiliations that are important for them. Recourse to ancient history forms a significant part of my research method.

A brief mention of the geographical location of this history is important given that historically the Kaati Mamoe have been represented as having been defeated by Kai Tahu. The distinctiveness of Kaati Mamoe and Kai Tahu is suggested by differences attached to their respective geographical locations. The dichotomies of east and west were important in Maori culture. The east, where the sun rose was associated with life, fertility and success while the West, the direction of the setting sun was associated with weakness, defeat and death. Hawaiki in the East was the land from which new souls came to Aotearoa and Hawaiki in the West was the land to where the spirits of the departed made their way. It is interesting that in one Kai Tahu tradition, the great chief Tamatea of the Takitimu canoe toured round to see the sights of the Fiordland region. On his return to the east coast of Te Wai Pounamu (the South Island) where the people were settled he advised them to remain on this east side saying, 'Do not cross over to the west side - for that is the back, this is the front'. This utterance suggests that Tamatea perceived the two locations as distinct from each other. The association of the west with weakness and defeat may be linked with its use as a refuge from inter-tribal conflicts in the South Island. Nevertheless, the history of the hapuu of South Westland, far from being a story of weakness or death is one of adaptation, by the takata whenua (local people).


3 In the South Island these groups include the Waitaha Management Group Incorporated and the Elders of the Ancient Nation of Waitaha.


5 H. Beattie, Maori Lore of Lake, Alp and Fiord, Dunedin, 1945, p. 10.
One of the most notable differences between the structure of Maori history and that of Western academic history is that the understanding of Maori history takes place within the context of whakapapa (genealogy) and this is very significant at both an 'academic' and a spiritual level. Whakapapa has been described as the backbone of all Maori history. All history recounted through the oral tradition is prefaced with an extensive detailing of tiipuna, from the earliest to the most recent. As Judith Binney puts it, 'Whaanau (the extended family) and hapuu (the functioning tribal unit) are the basic concerns of Maori history. It is the whaanau which gives identity to the individual, and the tiipuna, the ancestors, are the source, in turn, of its mana.'

Land is a link with tiipuna; the land and the history are inter-woven. Much of the landscape is named after waka (canoes) and tiipuna and each of these tiipuna have an important place in a tribe's history. Hence whakapapa and place-names can be seen to occupy a central position in Kai Tahu-Kaati Mamoe history. They serve to link the narrator with both his or her whaanau and his or her tuurangawaewae (land, or literally 'place to stand').

Another important difference between Western and Maori historiography is a distinctively fluid quality between the past, present and future apparent in the latter's history. As Judith Binney explains,

There is a continuous dialectic between the past and the present, as the past is reordered and the present reinterpreted. The cycle of traditions about the people, land and events is dynamic, not static. For the Maori, the past is seen as that which lies before one, 'nga ra o mua', the days in front.

The implications of past history for descendents in the present is then of great significance and forms an integral part of mana. It is not merely another source of information rather it fulfils a purpose. That purpose is to establish meaning for events and to give validity to a whaanau or hapuu's claim to

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7 ibid, p. 17.
particular mana and knowledge. It is evident that a clear delineation between past and present, as it occurs within the context of Western historiography, would, in Maori history result in an objectification and hence alienation of the history itself from the people to whom it belongs. These issues have been discussed in connection with Tuuhoe history by Jeffrey Sissons who is also aware of the author's position within the text. As Sissons observed, the history that Elsdon Best presented to his Pakeha audience in his two volumes entitled *Tuhoe: The Children of the Mist*, published in 1925, was Tuuhoe knowledge that had been 'objectified, judged and alienated at a time when the Crown was preparing to alienate Tuuhoe land'. This process of objectification, as it occurred in the case of Best's treatment of Tuuhoe history, has been described by Sissons as 'a form of ideological colonialism'.

Sissons is critical of structuralism in history, particularly among colonial New Zealand historians. He sees structuralism as a fraudulent attempt to move history into the realm of the rational and by implication the scientific. For historians to achieve and convey a greater understanding of a particular historical process they must acknowledge both their own position in relation to their subject of inquiry and also consider the relationship between their own questions and those which motivate the texts of others.

Sissons, by comparison, seeks to clearly define his own position in relation to Tuuhoe history. The frame-work of his work reflects his desire to avoid a structuralist approach. He describes his work as emerging from a personal encounter with the Tuuhoe people. He also describes it as having deep roots within the colonial encounter between Tuuhoe and Pakeha, hence he finds it appropriate to begin his work with a critique of Elsdon Best's ethnographical account, *Tuhoe: The Children of the Mist*. To introduce the people from whom he has recorded much oral material he opens by drawing upon passages from a diary that he kept while living in the meetinghouse named Tamakaimoana in the Tauranga Valley. In this way he

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8ibid, p. 27.
clearly defines his own position, both culturally and historically, in relation to the Tuuhoe history that he is writing.

The sources which I have drawn upon in my work are diverse and require explanation; in particular, an evaluation of written sources and the value of oral history in non-Western history. The written observations of early European visitors to the West Coast constitute an important group of sources for my study. However there is a limited amount of ethnographic information in this material. Among the explorers are Thomas Brunner, Charles Heaphy and James Fox who made the first planned European exploration of the West Coast in 1846, prompted by a shortage of land in the Nelson settlement. Later in the same year Brunner was to make a lengthy eighteen-month journey on which he was alleged to have reached as far south as Titira Point. There is some controversy, notably arising from Maureen O'Rourke's review of Brunner's journals over the farthest point that Brunner did actually reach. I will pursue this matter in chapter six in relation to the question of Maori population estimates in South Westland.

The correspondence of the Nelson settler James Mackay is also of some value. Mackay made three visits to the Coast over the period 1857 to 1860 with the express aim of 'extinguishing' all Maori claims to title of the land. He travelled to Poherua, the residence of Taetae and as far south as Makawhio. John Rochfort was commissioned by the Nelson Provincial Government to undertake a survey of the central Westland area in 1859 and recorded notes that give some insight into the nature of relations between the Kai Tahu at Mawhera and the Kaati Mamoe living further south.

James Hector, Provincial Geologist for Otago led a geological expedition to the West Coast Sounds in 1862. His report incorporates many details about the Maori settlement at Martin's Bay. The letters of Gerhard Mueller to his wife include scattered references to the communities living at Makawhio and Mahitahi. Mueller was a Southland surveyor contracted to define Maori Reserves between Hokitika and Bruce Bay. The Canterbury Provincial Geologist, Sir Julius von Haast conducted a geological survey of South Westland in 1868. With headquarters at Bruce Bay, Haast was assisted by William Doherty and Charles Douglas. The letters of Douglas, employed

as an 'explorer' by the Lands and Survey Department, also provide some information about the Maori communities in the area at this time.

Relevant material can also be found in the various schedules and reports in such official records as the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, and Alexander Mackay's Compendium of Official Documents relating to South Island Native Affairs.

A number of Europeans, in the nineteenth century, set about the task of collecting Maori history in both Te Ika a Maau (the North Island) and Te Wai Pounamu. The primary collectors of South Westland Maori lore and traditions last century were George J. Roberts and William Wilson. Roberts and Wilson, both employees of the Lands and Survey Department, compiled journals, structured around a question-answer format, of interviews conducted with kaumaatua and other whaanau members at Makawhio. The information that they transcribed constitutes the earliest and most comprehensive accounts recorded in this region.

The manuscript compiled by G.J. Roberts (hereafter referred to as the Roberts' manuscript) is of exceptional value in terms of the light that it sheds on the previously marginalised history of the South Westland people. It demonstrates the volume of knowledge of the local takata whenua and is clearly the most comprehensive written source of oral history and tradition in that area.

Unlike many European collectors, Roberts appears to have resisted the temptation to tamper with the material that he was recording. He does, for example, often note that his understanding of some matters differed from that of his informants. These comments are usually noted at the bottom of the page and do not interfere with the main body of information. The manuscript as a source does, however, have some limitations which must be acknowledged.

The first difficulty that requires discussion is the way in which the interviews with the Makawhio hapuu were structured. The manuscript itself is a large hardbacked exercise book and each page is headed with a question. It is evident that Roberts had written the questions prior to the interviews so that he would be able to ascertain the information that he considered would be of interest. This format demonstrates that Roberts had done some research into
West Coast Maori affairs but it also meant that the interview represented his way of thinking which was a European conceptualisation of the world. This meeting of such different cultures is evident in the erratic responses of the kaumaatua (elders). To some questions the elders gave entire pages of information and to others only one-word answers. In some cases the kaumaatua were scarcely able to answer Roberts' questions because they involved a European sense of chronology which bore no relevance to them. In these instances Roberts' described their answers as being 'vague'. This manuscript represents more than the answers that the elders gave to Roberts' questions. It represents the meeting of two cultures at a time when the interviewer belonged to the colonising culture and the Makawhio hapuu the colonised.

The second difficulty is that of the language; the mutual communication and comprehension of the South Westland hapuu and G.J. Roberts and his assistant William Wilson. The Makawhio people had a limited grasp of English with the exception of the young Mrs Katau. Similarly Roberts and Wilson had a very limited knowledge of Maori. For the most part Roberts' questions were translated into Maori for the elders and the answers of the elders were translated back into English for Roberts and Wilson. At some points in the interviews the kaumaatua and the Europeans discussed topics without the assistance of Mrs Katau and it is obvious that under these circumstances there was an element of confusion. In the manuscript Roberts repeated many of the hapuu's answers and how they changed the second time that he questioned them. The problems inherent in the translation of concepts and words is integral to the use of this manuscript as a source.

The final difficulty is that a certain amount of the Makawhio hapuu's knowledge was tapu (sacred) and was not permitted to be shared with an outsider like the Pakeha, Roberts. Material pertaining to religious matters and certain affairs between tribes came into this category. This is a significant point in the collection and study of Maori history by outsiders, either members of other iwi or Pakeha, and should be taken into consideration in this discussion about the Roberts' manuscript as a source. Despite these various limitations however, the Roberts' manuscript constitutes a significant source in my work.
James Herries Beattie, an historian based at Gore in Southland, collected material in the early part of this century. Beattie sought out, as informants, kaumaatua from Murihiku (Southland), Otago and Canterbury. His collections, both published and unpublished constitute an important source for students of South Island Maori history. For an article focusing specifically on Westland Beattie spoke with three Maori in North Canterbury who had once lived in Westland and also consulted with Murihiku seafarers. Beattie’s collections are characterised by a thoroughness and attention to detail that was ahead of his time. He exhibited a sensibility towards the different tribal groups of the South Island which has seldom been acknowledged by other European historians.

South Westland Maori oral history constitutes one of the most significant sources in my work. The contemporary oral material from this area comprises evidence (in the form of records) that was presented to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1987 and interviews with Kelly Wilson, a kaumatua of the Kaati Mamoe hapuu, and June Robinson, another member of the family, which were conducted by me in Hokitika in 1991.

Oral tradition and history occupy a central position in Maori history, particularly for the period prior to European colonisation and the associated introduction of literacy. Its inclusion in Western academic history, although problematic, is essential for a full understanding of the pasts of such groups. The use of oral tradition in Western historiography has engendered much debate. The pioneering work by Jan Vansina effectively demonstrated the validity and acceptability of oral evidence not only for African but for other non-Western histories.\textsuperscript{12} The debate over oral history today focuses on the ways in which oral history is used; on technique and interpretation. It is this aspect of the debate that I wish to pursue in order to clarify my own position in respect of the oral material in my work. Before I do this, however, I would like to briefly chronicle some of the main points covered in the argument for the validity of oral history in Western historiography.

the fundamental sources for Western academic historians and the written word has frequently been treated as possessing an objective quality. Vansina makes the very valid point that, 'every person who speaks or writes chooses information, orders it, colours it.'\(^{13}\) That the same process of selection occurs in both the spoken and written forms of recording history is a point that has often been overlooked by historians from societies where the written word predominates. Undoubtedly a process of selection has occurred within the context of Kaati Mamoe oral history yet to register this material as invalid on such grounds alone should surely oblige a similar questioning of European written sources.

This linking of objectivity and the written word has been subject to a process of de-construction in the past three decades. Klaus Neumann has contributed to this discussion with his work on oral history in the Pacific setting. In a critique of the traditional Western historical method, Neumann writes that 'through a methodology that strove for objective reconstructions of the past by using written sources, the discipline's [history] output was disguised as detached from power configurations and relations in the present'.\(^{14}\) Such an approach can be seen to be in conflict with a Pacific, and in this case a Maori, conceptualisation of history not only at the level of the oral versus the written word but also in terms of ideas about objectivity and subjectivity and continuity between past, present and future. I will return to this argument later in this chapter to discuss the objectification of the texts of the 'colonised' by the 'colonisers' in the context of Aotearoa.

Another pertinent point about oral history which is applicable to both Western and non-Western histories is its value in giving a voice to those who do not make up a part of the ruling elite. Paul Thompson, an academic working in the area of oral history in Western histories notes that,

Oral history by contrast [to existing records reflecting the standpoint of authority] makes a much fairer trial possible: witnesses can now also be called from the under-classes, the underprivileged and the defeated. It provides a more realistic and fair reconstruction of the past, a challenge to the established account.\(^{15}\)


The apparent defeat of the Kaati Mamoe tribe by the Kai Tahu highlights the applicability of oral history to the study of their history. Pakeha records only provide limited historical knowledge since they simply reflect the values of the invading culture and are therefore less capable of relating or documenting the Kaati Mamoe experience. The journals left by the early explorers and surveyors merely represent the observations of outsiders and the official documents are encumbered by their self-evident political agendas.

In his more recent work, Jan Vansina looks at the process by which oral tradition is produced. He sees oral tradition as both a process and a product and takes into consideration the many developments of technique and interpretation. Vansina develops useful categories for distinguishing oral testimonies according to their form and intent. He differentiates between memorised speech; accounts, epic and tales, proverbs and sayings.\(^{16}\) Using such a frame of reference, oral material gathered from South Westland last century may be seen to be made up primarily of accounts, that is those narratives recorded from Makawhio kaumaatua by G.J. Roberts and William Wilson. Vansina's theory is that such accounts originate from what he terms historical gossip or personal tradition. Such gossip becomes part of oral tradition because the types of news and hearsay that are generated as events occur and are communicated through the usual channels of communication in a community do not disappear when the novelty has worn off. In effect these topics of news or gossip are of interest to the proceeding generation regardless of whether the subject of the gossip is deceased or still living.\(^{17}\)

Vansina views group accounts as archetypal 'oral traditions' because the accounts have become institutionalised and agreement among the group members is assumed. This uniformity is not, however, evident in the accounts related by the kaumaatua of Makawhio. I will discuss the possible reasons for these apparent disparities between the various accounts in


\(^{17}\)Ibid, p. 17.
greater depth in chapter two.

The material collected by Roberts and Wilson consists of lists of nomenclature, legends, accounts of origins, and details regarding the use of various mountain passes. It also includes whakataukī (proverbs) and waiata (songs), providing insight into South Westland Maori history not available from other written sources. The value of the information contained within the Roberts and Wilson journals prompted Johannes Andersen to describe the manuscript as a 'treasure'.

Vansina considers oral history to be unique in its contribution to historical reconstruction in terms of the evidence that it provides for the 'correcting of basic biases in foreign historical interpretation'. This is a pertinent point in the case of South Westland where much of the material relating to Maori history is in the form of observations made by the colonising Europeans sharing ethnocentric views of indigenous cultures. In this sense the material collected from kaumatua at Makawhio can operate as an effective counterbalance to these 'foreign historical interpretations'.

Perceptions of what constitutes chronology have been another feature of the oral history debate. Vansina identifies chronology as one of the primary issues. A number of problems have arisen when European historians have tried to calculate the precise dates of events by attempting to scientifically analyse the generations that have intervened between one story from the oral tradition and another. In her thesis on the transformation of the traditional Tongan polity, Pacific historian, Phyllis Herda, addressed this question of chronology. Drawing extensively on Tongan genealogies, she noted that although Tongan genealogies are not chronological in terms of a strict adherence to a Western calendrical system, they are chronological in that they follow a sequential order and therefore provide a temporal perspective on the Tongan construction of history.

While Vansina acknowledges that the question of

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19 Vansina, Oral Tradition as History, p. 199.
chronology in oral tradition is problematic, he does not see it as an insurmountable barrier to the productive inclusion of such history in Western or non-Western historical writing. In his view problems of chronology can be alleviated, and if not even solved, by using outside evidence such as written documents or archaeology as a kind of cross-reference. However, he concedes that successful cases of this seem to be somewhat infrequent.\textsuperscript{21} Neumann is critical of Vansina's request that historians draw on this other material from auxiliary disciplines to put the oral traditions and the accounts based on them into perspective. With regard to the issue of chronology he asks, 'Why the beseeching cry that the otherness of the past be rendered into order and the present be delineated from a chronological past?\textsuperscript{22}

On the subject of the accuracy and reliability of oral tradition, Patrick Kirch came to the conclusion, based primarily on close analysis of traditional materials from Tonga, Tikopia and Hawai'i, 'that the traditions pertaining to the last few hundred years of the developmental sequences (i.e. past several generations prior to the European intrusion) do indeed represent actual events and affairs of real people.'\textsuperscript{23} Such a conclusion was also grudgingly reached by structuralist-functionalist anthropologists such as Ralph Piddington some years ago under pressure from J B W Roberton.\textsuperscript{24}

\textbf{Oral History as a Source.}

Vansina has, however, been criticised by Neumann for turning to oral history by default. Neumann sees Vansina's methodology as a product of the era of decolonisation which attempted to grant a precolonial history to those whose history prior to European colonisation had been overlooked.\textsuperscript{25} Neumann is opposed to Vansina's view of oral traditions as sources or raw material. In a radical proposal he outlines his intention 'to demonstrate that oral histories and traditions can be more than texts that become the prime object of hermeneutic analyses to detect structures and symbolisms and that they can be more than sources.'\textsuperscript{26} To achieve this aim

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{21}Vansina, \textit{Oral Tradition as History}, p. 190.
\item \textsuperscript{22}Neumann, p. 110.
\item \textsuperscript{23}P. Kirch, \textit{The evolution of the Polynesian chiefdoms}, Cambridge, 1984, p. 7.
\item \textsuperscript{24}Dr Michael Reilly, personal comment, 1993.
\item \textsuperscript{25}Neumann, p. 108.
\end{itemize}
Neumann articulates a philosophical viewpoint that I consider pertinent to my own research. Neumann considers that, 'it is not the historian's task to write the truth of those (in other cultures, at other times) who cannot articulate it themselves, but rather that to listen to the other's truth without presupposing a truth of things is the precondition for entering into a dialogue (between others and self, their truth and my truth) that moves toward a truth of things.'\(^\text{27}\) In terms of the actual writing of history in this manner he proposes to explore the possibility of creating a montage using Levi-Strauss' method of *bricoleur* which involves gathering whatever material comes along and using that which has been collected in ingenious combinations. Neumann suggests that the historian who works like a bricoleur has to be sensitive to what can be collected and to the options for combining the collected. He says that the historian will have to expect a sensitive reader and at the same time will provoke the reader to be sensitive and to relish the unconventional and unexpected.\(^\text{28}\)

Jeffrey Sissons has also sought an alternative approach to the presentation of oral history. While using written records he focussed his history of Tuuhoe on narratives he recorded from kaumaatua in the Tauranga Valley. He noted that although the study combined Tuuhoe history or koorero and written records, its focus is the narratives he recorded from Tauranga valley elders. He chose not to integrate these Tuuhoe history and accounts with the documentary sources into a single narrative; he wanted to highlight and explore the distinctions between Tuuhoe and Western history. In terms of an interpretation of the material, he says that he sought to interpret Tuuhoe narratives with respect to the questions they address. He acknowledges that the Tuuhoe elders 'were and are historians of their own past'; in his conversations with them he himself was learning about their interpretations of the Tuuhoe past.\(^\text{29}\) At the same time he sought answers to his own

\(^{26}\text{Neumann, p. 118.}\)
\(^{27}\text{Neumann, p. 121.}\)
\(^{28}\text{Neumann, p. 122.}\)
historical questions by interpreting the discourse with respect to documentary sources; by so doing he could reflect the dialectical tension which characterized his research, that is the juxtaposition of both Western and non-Western conceptualisations of history.  

**History, Anthropology and Archaeology.**  
Attempts to synthesise history and anthropology, including archaeology are problematic due to their fundamental differences. Archaeology relies upon artifacts to reconstruct the past while history relies on texts, both written and oral to fulfil a similar task. Models developed by anthropologists have usually been synchronic and static descriptions of society and by their very nature oblige the making of generalisations. Although many anthropologists may contend that this is not so, Nicholas Thomas asserts that such a view of traditional societies remains a premise in much anthropological writing. History, by comparison, is concerned with continuity. Historians seek to add information about the exceptions of individual experience within a culture and are often wary of anthropological models, preferring to concentrate on the actualities of human behaviour. Thomas argues that to avoid errors and misinterpretations in their analyses of societies anthropologists need to make some reference to historical sources.

The breadth of new archaeological material that has emerged in connection with South Westland has put greater emphasis on an inter-disciplinary approach which combines history and anthropology. Exciting artifact and midden finds have been made stretching from Bold Head (south of Hokitika) south to Martin's Bay. These are relatively recent sites having been excavated since 1984. Using this fieldwork as a basis,

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30 J. Sissons, 'Te mana o te Waimana, Tuuhoe history of the Tauranga valley', p. 32.  
33 Thomas, p. 9.
Hokitika archaeologist Ray Hooker has reviewed the accepted pattern of Maori occupation in South Westland prior to European colonisation. He observes that the West Coast of the South Island has received very little attention from New Zealand archaeologists. Those, such as Murray McCaskill, who have done some work in this area have misleadingly characterised the region as 'a rain drenched, totally forest-clad land; dissected by numerous swift rivers, subject to frequent floods; late in its occupation by man and sparsely populated.'

Hooker has incorporated a significant amount of historical research, in the form of European explorer records and Maori oral evidence, in the writing up of his fieldwork while the physical evidence provided by artifact and midden discoveries remain the focus of his study. He seeks to establish the viability of a self-sustaining population in South Westland and sketches out details relating to the gathering of food and the exploitation of the greenstone resource. Hooker's work, however, reveals little information about the social structure or self-identity of the people living in South Westland.

While Hooker's work constitutes a reasonable body of material relating to the physical anthropology of the area there is a notable absence of social anthropological study on South Westland.

Chronology, with regard to the archaeological record, is another problematical area. The archaeological evidence from South Westland dates from the pre-contact era whereas the available oral material has only been recorded since the beginning of colonisation and in particular the extensive contact with missionaries, whalers and sealers. While Hooker's valuable work seeks to establish the archaeological significance of the South Westland region I will develop a picture informed by the post-contact oral tradition of the individuals who left their marks in the form of adzes, fishing equipment and middens.

In order to more successfully bridge this gap between the pre-contact archaeological evidence and the post-contact oral tradition I have deployed the available ethnographic material to augment my sources.

Ethnographers have bequeathed a valuable source of

information to posterity but the use of their material also has certain problems. Ethnography has been defined as the scientific description of races of men, with the implication that it is the more 'advanced' races that are describing those that are less 'advanced'. This field also has associations with colonialism, in terms of the interaction between the cultures of the colonisers and that of the colonised. The changes and adjustments that occur within the culture of the colonised, dating from the first instant of the colonial encounter cannot be overlooked given that the ethnographer was, presumably, not the first European to have met with the members of the indigenous society. 

Whalers, sealers and missionaries undoubtedly preceded ethnographers at the frontier of South Westland. For this reason these earlier groups, despite their lack of professional standing, have an important contribution to make.

The primary objective of ethnographers has been to categorise the physical aspects of a culture, focusing on descriptions of physical appearance, daily activities and major social occasions. This has been the preferred type of ethnographer within the discipline of anthropology. Unofficial ethnographers, however, play an important part in any mediation between history and anthropology. These include non-scientific observers such as missionaries and sometimes explorers. Nicholas Thomas argues that in reality all ethnographic material must be subject to careful scrutiny;

Neither museum literature nor missionary ethnography can be dismissed en bloc ... presumably flawed information is better than no information. Rather, 'professional' ethnographic accounts should be understood to be problematic, and something other than straightforward descriptions, to be questioned just like non-anthropological ethnography ...

This is particularly valid in the context of Kaati Mamoe history in South Westland where material is sparse. The value of such accounts stems in part from the manner in which they highlight events which have had a critical effect on a

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35 Thomas, p. 11.
36 Dening, p. 146.
culture or society and in part because they serve also to emphasise unwittingly the impact they are seeking to effect on the subject population.

The combination of model and historical actuality cannot ever entirely recreate a society as it existed before European contact. Thomas suggests, however, that the structural properties of a local indigenous system can be seen to emerge in the nature of interaction with colonial forces and in particular developments. Differences in the types of interaction are indiscriminate not only due to variations upon the extension of colonial influence but also as outcomes of the differences between the social systems which are colonised.\textsuperscript{38}

Reference to oral history and tradition is vital to the study of non-Western histories. It not only provides the narrative details about a group's history but also the way in which that history is conceptualised. Written records documenting the colonial experience and ethnographic material also occupy an important niche in the array of sources before the historian. It is through the combination of historical, both Western and non-Western, and anthropological; in particular archaeological method that I will seek to reconstruct the historical Kaati Mamoe identity of the takata whenua of South Westland.

\textsuperscript{38}Thomas, p. 11.
CHAPTER TWO.
Maori Social Structure and the Role of the Hapuu.

As Maori grievances have been brought out into the open through the forum of the Waitangi Tribunal, so a new discussion has arisen in a number of localities in Aotearoa. This new discussion concerns the identity of iwi and hapuu groups and their disputed status as takata whenua in certain areas. The historian, Steven Chrisp, has recently completed a study which examined the claim made by Rangitaane to have preserved their tangata whenua status in the Wairarapa despite Ngaati Kahungunu settlement there.\(^39\) The noted historian, Michael King has made a detailed study of the re-emergence of a Moriori identity in the Chatham Islands, traditionally held to be the rohe (district) of the Taranaki tribe, Te Ati Awa.\(^40\) In a slightly different case of a hapuu within an iwi seeking to assert its autonomy and particular land claims, I.H. Kawharu has conducted a comprehensive study of the restructuring process of the relatively recently formed Ngaati Whaatua hapuu of the Ngaati Whaataua iwi in Auckland.\(^41\) My concern in this work is with a hapuu of Kaati Mamoe descent who have been a part of the Kai Tahu tribal confederation but who are seeking recognition of both their Kaati Mamoe identity and their takata whenua status in the southern rohe of the West Coast of the South Island.

In this chapter I will be examining the structures of hapuu and iwi and their role in Maori society with special reference to the kinship group of Kaati Mamoe in the South Westland area.

There are a number of parallels that may be drawn between the Kaati Mamoe of the South Island of New Zealand and the Moriori of the Chatham Islands. Both have suffered marginalisation by first another iwi and later European colonisation. Iwi descended from the early waka that came to Aotearoa and Wharekauri (Chatham Islands) have frequently been made to feel inferior to the later Maori and Pakeha

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\(^{41}\) I.H. Kawharu,
arrivals. Discussing the derisive view of the Moriori culture in the Chatham Islands, Michael King wrote that,

The "last Moriori" died in 1933 because the myths that vilified his people had persisted with astonishing potency, convincing even Moriori descendants that part of their inheritance was of no value and best consigned to oblivion. Nearly sixty years later, however, the Moriori were "alive" again and visible. Not because of some miracle of genetic engineering but because the descendants of Solomon and his kinsmen again saw themselves as "tchakat henu"-indigenous people and guardians of the mana of Rekohu, and because they had ceased to view their ancestors' unembellished way of life as 'backward' or 'primitive' and recognised it instead as a superbly adapted culture that had allowed survival and security in an otherwise harsh environment.\(^\text{42}\)

Parallels between the Moriori of the Chatham Islands and the Kaati Mamoe of Te Wai Pounamu are very relevant to this discussion. Both the takata whenua of the Chathams and South Westland have been viewed as a somewhat primitive peoples by the more recent tribes. The Kaati Mamoe of South Westland were known by many names; 'the people of the mist', 'men who had eyes in the back of their heads' and 'iwi koohuru' meaning 'a treacherous tribe'.\(^\text{43}\) June Robinson and her family were the last people to move out from the kaika (village) at Mahitahi; the family moved to Hokitika when she was in standard three at school. She recalls them being fearful and only knowing themselves to be Kaati Mamoe. At school they were accused of being 'headhunters' and 'niggers'. She and her siblings found it very hard so her father allowed them to move into town slowly.\(^\text{44}\)

As with the Kai Tahu view of the Kaati Mamoe, the Taranaki Maori, who had invaded the Chathams in the nineteenth century, increasingly viewed the Moriori remnants as just another hapuu on which inter-tribal marriage had

\(^{42}\)King, p. 16.

\(^{43}\)Interview with Mr Kelly Wilson, descendant of Tutoko and Te Koeti Turanga, kaumaatua of Kaati Mamoe, 2 June 1991.

\(^{44}\)Interview with June Robinson, daughter of Mary Jane Mahuika and William Wilson, Area Representative for Maori Women's Welfare League, 2 June 1991.
already encroached.\textsuperscript{45} The absorption of the takata whenua by the recent arrivals was viewed as a \textit{fait accompli} in both the Chatham Islands and the South Island of New Zealand by the time it came to sorting out land ownership with the European colonisers. In the case of the Chathams, King described the mingling of the two groups thus,

There were no longer victors and victims on the Chathams: just one family that incorporated both and eroded the distinction between the two. This amnesia intensified throughout the twentieth century so that in time the Moriori position as t\textit{chakat henu} (based on more than 500 years occupation of the islands before the Maori arrival) was overlooked entirely. In the 1980s when most Maori first began to speak of tangata whenua rights on the islands, they were speaking of Maori rights.\textsuperscript{46}

In the South Westland context, kaumaatua Kelly Wilson pointed out that, 'Our people in the South have never been defeated and occupied as 300 odd relatives at the present time should be proof enough.'\textsuperscript{47}

Common to the cases of the Kaati Mamoe, the Moriori and the Rangitaane is a European historical tradition which has essentially reproduced the view of the tribal groups dominant at the time of European colonisation. In relation to the Rangitaane and Ngati Kahungunu, Steven Chrisp describes this as the orthodox version of events. Chrisp undertook a study of archival material including manuscripts written by Wairarapa Maori, Maori newspapers and Maori Land Court minute books. His research led him to conclude that the orthodox view of Ngati Kahungunu as the only tangata whenua in the Wairarapa was derived primarily from an article written by S Percy Smith. He also found that one of Smith's most important informants had recently competed with Rangitaane claims in the Maori Land Court and that there was significant evidence of Wairarapa Maori identifying themselves primarily as Rangitaane.\textsuperscript{48}

\textsuperscript{45}King, p. 158.
\textsuperscript{46}ibid, p. 160.
\textsuperscript{47}Ngai Tahu Claim- Wai-27, Mahinga Kai, South Westland (Maltahi), Evidence of Kelly Russell Wilson, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{48}Chrisp, p. 42.
The work by Kawharu provides an interesting model of hapuu membership being determined by whakapapa. Reference to specific tiipuna has been a very significant part of defining the Ngaati Whaatua hapuu in relation to the Ngaati Whaatua iwi and in connection with establishing land claims at Bastion Point at Orakei. The re-structuring of this hapuu has been examined in detail by hapuu member and anthropologist, I.H. Kawharu. Kawharu was instrumental in proposing a model for establishing the identity of the Ngaati Whatua hapuu group. This model was based on the principles of 'kinship' and 'descent'. Kawharu defined 'kinship' as a unifying force, 'kinship is in principle bilineal and binds all the consanguines [those having the same lineage] together by aroha- without limits in space and time. The Maori term for it is whaanaungatanga'. The principle of descent, on the other hand, is seen as a divisive force by Kawharu in that it separates those who can claim a particular ancestor from those who cannot. This vision of whakapapa being simultaneously a unifying and a divisive force is characteristic of all cognatic societies. The frequently exclusive nature of whakapapa has implications for rights to certain lands and is a powerful means of establishing both membership of a specific hapuu group and rights to land given the inter-weaving of tribal whakapapa and the land in Maori society. Claims to land and tiipuna are integral to hapuu identity.

The forming and re-forming of tribal groups within Maoridom is an on-going historical process. The presence of an external colonising force has always influenced this process but does not inhibit or indefinitely suppress the identity of a group. Terms such as 'extinct' or 'absorbed' are considered highly inappropriate to people who identify culturally or through descent with a tribal group. In order to understand the continued existence of the Kaati Mamoe in the South Island it is vital to look not only at the historical record but also to examine the organisational structures or anthropological models of the iwi, the hapuu and the whaanau.

Elsdon Best listed three major divisions in the organisation of a tribe. These were waka (canoe), iwi (tribe) and hapuu (clan or sub-tribe). He described the word waka as applying to both the canoe which brought the people to Aotearoa and to the tribes who came from those ancestral crews. Each migration, he explained, was divided into various

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tribes or iwi and each iwi was divided into a number of hapuu. Best described an iwi as an entity that was composed of a number of hapuu. He characterised hapuu as primarily autonomous groups, pointing out that each hapuu had its own chiefs and occupied its own land. There was generally little cohesion between hapuu groups and inter-hapuu conflict was common. There was, however, one situation in which unity prevailed among hapuu and that was in the face of a threat from a common enemy. Best listed one further division in Maori society: the division of hapuu into whaanau or family groups. Each of these whaanau groups probably occupied their own pa or village. Best's synopsis of Maori tribal organization is a simple one and was based on the knowledge that he was given by Tuuhoe elders on the East Coast of Te Ika a Maau. It is valuable for the over-view that it gives of Maori social structure.

Edward Shortland, who had occupied the post of Sub-Protector of Aborigines for the South Island prior to 1840, expressed a similar conception of Maori social structure to Best's. However, Shortland added an important point; that the distinguishing names of the iwi and hapuu were generally taken from ancestors. He also described the process by which an iwi divided itself into smaller groups. As an iwi became more numerous, it split up into the smaller divisions of hapuu, each of which took the name of the ancestor under whom they became a separate body.

The question of the relationship between iwi and hapuu is a complex one and has been the subject of considerable discussion amongst anthropologists. Eric Schwimmer has drawn attention to the autonomous nature of the hapuu,

the hapu ('subtribe') is not just a segment of a larger iwi ('tribe') but rather a subset of iwi members, domiciled in the same place, or whose genealogies have been restructured so that all descend from a more recent, localised eponymous ancestor.

In 1879, Fenton put forward a theory that the prospect of a gain in fighting strength could lead to a an apparently unrestricted invitation to outsiders to live on and use tribal land. Schwimmer suggests, in contrast to Fenton's theory, that unusual admissions to the hapuu are a common theme in Maori history. He notes that,

There may be some interest in a model of hapu membership which starts from a nucleus of local residents linked by descent to a common ancestor, but which admits in addition some other specifiable classes of associates.

The dynamic nature of both the iwi and the hapuu and the highly political role of whakapapa are issues that have been explored and highlighted by Claude Levi-Strauss. Levi-Strauss has developed an innovative conception of the nature of the hapuu as a social structure within Maoridom. Based on his own research into the workings of cognatic societies and making an analysis of cases examined in detail by colleagues such as Raymond Firth, Joan Metge, Bruce Biggs and Eric Schwimmer, Levi-Strauss concludes that,

One then becomes convinced that the hapu cannot be strictly defined as a local group nor as a descent group and that maternal links play a role in it that is principally explicable in political terms. A federation of frequently heterogeneous elements that come into being and dissolve as a result of migrations and wars, the hapu fabricates a genealogy for itself for opportunistic reasons, rather than being engendered by it. It is thus a dynamic formation that cannot be defined in itself, but only in relation to others of the same kind situated in their historical context.

This dynamism may be understood to be an essential technique to ensure the survival of a hapuu's identity. Levi-Strauss believes that for hapuu groups to have remained static entities in the face of external pressure, such as in the case of an invasion by another tribe, would have been a luxury that very few groups would have been able to afford.

53 ibid, p. 229.
54 ibid, p. 229.
In the context of the South Island of Aotearoa, one of the definitive articles on the subject of the social organisation and settlement patterns of the Kai Tahu tribe has been written by an anthropologist of Kai Tahu descent, Atholl Anderson. Anderson argued that the protohistoric Kai Tahu lived in a tribal chiefdom which was maintained by the reciprocal manipulation of wealth and prestige arising from specialised exploitation of Foveaux Strait titi (muttonbirds).\textsuperscript{57}

Anderson’s model is an appropriate one to explain the tribal structure of the east coast Kai Tahu in the period, 1810 to 1850 but a study of the West Coast up until the nineteenth century and the southern rohe in the period 1810 to 1850 reveals a different social organisation. The social organisation on the West Coast prior to 1800 and in the southern rohe following the arrival of the Kai Tahu in the area was characteristic of hunter-gatherer societies. There were a number of chiefs but the social structure was less hierarchical than the Kai Tahu of the east coast. The takata whenua of the southern region frequented a number of mahika kai areas in various seasons and resided in permanent or semi-permanent settlements dotted along the coast at Makawhio, Mahitahi, Paringa, Okahu and Te Remu. They exploited the takiwai (bowenite) and pounamu (greenstone) sources in the area for their own use. Trade in these precious taoka (treasures) which had flourished was moderately inhibited by the arrival of the Kai Tahu in the nineteenth century. The Kaati Mamoe transported the Arahura Kai Tahu to the takiwai source at Piopiotahi (Milford Sound) in their waka but this journey was only undertaken very occasionally. There is no evidence that the Makawhio people participated in the muttonbird trade.

Anderson’s model of the Kai Tahu chiefdom in the South Island does not sit comfortably with the oral traditions of the people of the southern rohe of the West Coast. In both the nineteenth century and today these takata whenua see South Westland as their rohe potae (‘sphere of influence’) and within this rohe they see their principal tiipuna as descending from Kaati Mamoe.

While intermarriage with various Kai Tahu individuals could, to some extent, be said to have incorporated the Kaati Mamoe of the southern rohe into the realm of the Kai Tahu

\textsuperscript{56}ibid, p. 183.

tribal chiefdom, this phenomenon of incorporation could also be seen to have occurred as a direct consequence of European colonisation in the nineteenth century. The Kai Tahu were generally understood by the Europeans to claim manawhenua over a vast part of the South Island. Kai Tahu affiliation, therefore, played a vital role when the question of the purchase of land by the Pakeha arose. A Murihiku kaumaatua from another early tribe, the Waitaha, put it like this,

In bygone days our people emphasised their Ngaitahu [sic] ancestry, for that carried with it their title to land, but two generations ago they took some pride in recalling their more ancient lineage, even though it was from a subjugated race.58

This comment would suggest that adoption of the Kai Tahu name dated from the time of European colonisation and the associated changes in the conceptualisation and laws governing land tenure.

The fluidity and resilience of the hapuu structure is vividly demonstrated in the case of the Mahitahi hapuu today. The hapuu in the nineteenth century was unified by common residence in the South Westland area. There were, however, a number of ancestral whakapapa lines that converged in the group. Two of the most significant lines, those of Te Koeti Turanga and Tutoko, had close kinship ties and came to have a common residence following Te Koeti's move to Mahitahi from Taumutu on the east coast of Te Wai Pounamu. The other line, however, came from the North Island through Te Naihi, a grandson of the Ngati Toa chief Te Niho. These divergent whakapapa or 'heterogeneous elements', as witnessed by the historical material, did not, however, appear to impede the unity of the hapuu as a group.

The inclusion of the North Island link through Te Niho in the South Westland hapuu is complicated. The acceptance of Te Naihi into the hapuu may be understood in terms of Fenton's theory that an alliance with the more powerful Ngaati Maniapoto could only help rather than hinder the hapuu. A connection through marriage with the Ngaati Maniapoto would have been advantageous to the hapuu given the invasive nature of the northerners' heke (migration) and also their struggle against the Kai Tahu.

The descendants of this hapuu number approximately

three hundred. They do not share the same locality and their whakapapa has been further complicated by inter-marriage with Pakeha and other cultures. The hapuu survived despite a temporary 'disapora' over the historical period which saw the loss of the community's youth to the First and Second World Wars in Europe and the subsequent urban drift from Mahitahi to Hokitika and elsewhere. The tradition of land alienation which had started in 1860 with the Mackay purchase, continued with rehabilitation loans not being made available to Maori following the return of soldiers after World War One. The strong kinship ties of the Makawhio hapuu are, however, very much in evidence with moves having been made in the late 1980s to reunite the hapuu. Prior to an inaugural hui (meeting) in 1987, the kaumaatua, Mr Kelly Wilson, of Hokitika, said that the hui was essentially concerned with reuniting the people and forming a hapuu-based ruunanga (council) to give voice to the South Westland Maori. He noted that for years his people had been the 'forgotten' people in Maoridom because of their isolation and because most of the hapuu had been scattered away from its tuurangawaewae. He added that, 'With this hui, we hope to redress that and show that we are still a strong hapuu.' In this stance Mr Wilson is by no means a lone voice. Evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal sitting in Greymouth in 1987, was given by four people who identified themselves as members of the Kaati Mamoe hapuu of South Westland, based on their ancestral whakapapa. These people were Kelly Wilson, Iris Climo, Gordon McLaren and Albert Katau Te Naihi-McLaren.

The existence of the Kaati Mamoe hapuu is also, as June Robinson observed, linked to the ancestors and the land: Tutoko is a tipuna and Tutoko is the name of the highest mountain in the southern rohe. His daughters are also named after hills in the area. A member of the South Westland hapuu, Gordon McLaren, sees it like this,

Although our pa may have disappeared from the face of the land, the bones of our tupuna in urupa [graves]-some known and others hidden- up and down the coast, bind us inextricably to the land forever.

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59 Interview with Mr Kelly Wilson, 2 June 1991.
The position of the Kaati Mamoe in Te Wai Pounamu following the arrival of the Kai Tahu and with European contact might be viewed as one of external disequilibrium. The people of the southern part of the West Coast, like the Moriori of the Chatham Islands, may be seen to have experienced two sets of 'conquerors': the Kai Tahu and the Pakeha. A series of responses appear to have been taken to ensure the survival of the iwi, or in the case of South Westland a hapuu of that iwi. These responses such as intermarriage had, to some extent, the effect of internalizing that disequilibrium.

The question of tribal heke or invasions in Maori history is both a complex and a sensitive one. In the South Island it was clear by the mid eighteenth century that the Kaati Mamoe could no longer afford open confrontation with the Kai Tahu. Steps were taken by the Kaati Mamoe leader, Te Rakiihia, in response to that reality when he formalised a peace arrangement with the Kai Tahu chief Te Hautapuniotu at Popotunoa. I will discuss the repercussions of the arrival of the Kai Tahu in chapter five and deal with the impact of European colonisation later in chapter six.
CHAPTER THREE.
The Alleged Extinction of the Kaati Mamoe and the Lost Tribe.

There are two important take (issues) that affect and have affected the Maori people of South Westland over the past two centuries. The first of these concerns the widespread view that the Kaati Mamoe tribe has been absorbed by the Kai Tahu. This view has been expressed thus,

Ngai Tahu are the people that claim traditional manawhenua over the vast majority of Te Waipounamu, the South Island of New Zealand. We are Ngai Tahu (Kai Tahu). The origins of our tribe lie in the North Island, and before that, in the islands of Eastern Polynesia. The story of those origins is the story of migration and the New Zealand chapter is one of steady movement southward, triggered by a variety of motives: conflict, marriage, the need for resources, even the simple zest for discovery. There are three main streams of descent which flow together in those histories to make us the tribe known as Ngai Tahu. In historical order, these streams are, Waitaha, Mamoe and Tahu.62

In the nineteenth century, Mr Justice F.R. Chapman noted that,

They [the Kaati Mamoe] then became extinct as a tribe, but some hapus or sub-tribes incorporated with the conquering Ngaitahu [sic] still trace their blood to Ngatimamoe [sic] ancestry.63

Chapman's statement was misleading at two levels; firstly he implied that the tracing of blood to Kaati Mamoe ancestry was a matter of minor significance; and secondly, he failed to acknowledge the significance of the social structures of whaanau and hapuu as the primary sources of identity for individuals.

63 H. Beattie, MS Papers 582: E 6, 'The Alleged Extinction of the Ngatimamoe (or Katimamoe) Tribe', Hocken Archives, Dunedin, p. 11.
The second take relates to the conception of these southern hapuu of Makawhio, Mahitahi and Te Remu (Martin's Bay) being somehow connected with or constituting the renowned 'Lost Tribe' of Fiordland. The Maori traditions and the Pakeha tales of a 'lost tribe' consist of scattered and often confusing snippets of information. This material can, however, be gathered and pieced together and this is my intention in the latter part of this chapter.

These two beliefs overlap both culturally and geographically because firstly, the 'Lost Tribe' were known to comprise a remnant of the Kaati Mamoe and secondly, the southern part of the West Coast was also known as West Otago, the district to which these Kaati Mamoe survivors were said to have fled. These beliefs appear to have been embraced and incorporated into the belief systems and perpetuated by both Pakeha and Kai Tahu in Te Wai Pounamu.

The first take, the absorption of Kaati Mamoe by Kai Tahu and its subsequent extinction is one that draws an emotional response from descendants of Kaati Mamoe tiipuna today. Much of the oral material recorded last century which referred to this extinction was made by European collectors or from Kai Tahu or unspecified sources. The task then of seeking out information from Waitaha or Kaati Mamoe sources is highly problematic given that much of the available material is broadly identified as being from the South Island rather than a specific tribal source.64

The South Island historian, Herries Beattie, was critical of Pakeha collectors of Maori oral history such as John White for their lack of attention to detail when collecting traditions and other tribal lore. In an unpublished article, entitled 'A number of Maori subjects mostly controversial considered from a Murihiku standpoint,' Beattie noted that one of the primary problems with White's collection was that he failed to state the district or the correspondent from whom the information came. With regard to the naming of the tribal source, White, for the most part simply labelled all the material that he collected 'Ngai Tahu'. As Beattie pointed out, the material that he had collected covered an area that extended from Stewart Island to

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64 In cases where the name of the tribe from which the material was obtained is given it is predominantly Kai Tahu.
Kaikoura, a distance of over five hundred miles. Beattie also made the important point that there is little doubt that much of the information from the southern region would have come from Waitaha or Kaati Mamoe sources.\(^6^5\)

In 1954 Beattie again drew attention to the need to seek out the appropriate sources when studying the history of iwi earlier than the Kai Tahu. He claimed that he would not accept a Kai Tahu statement of ancient history against a Waitaha statement. He believed this was where North Island historians had erred, 'in accepting statements from representatives of the Last Migration [that is the Kai Tahu] instead of undertaking the really difficult task of hunting up lore from descendants of the older stock.'\(^6^6\)

A significant body of evidence has been preserved covering Waitaha and Kaati Mamoe traditions from both Waitaha and Kaati Mamoe sources. A certain amount of earlier history may also be secured from Kai Tahu sources. Kai Tahu material does, however, have some limitations since the tribal oral tradition is more concerned with its own history than that of earlier iwi. One of the Kai Tahu men on the east coast of the South Island, Te Maiharoa, was responsible for preserving the history of earlier tribes. Beattie talked to a Kai Tahu kaumaatua, Teone Taare Tikao, in the early twentieth century. Tikao told Beattie that,

> Like the North Island [Maori] historians in the Wharekura the South Island ones did not preserve much information about the people who were here before the main lots came. Of recent learned men Maiharoa deserves praise for his attempts to preserve as much of the old knowledge as he could ... The genealogies collected and preserved by him are excellent. I see you have one of Roko-i-tua, and it is a

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\(^6^5\)H. Beattie, MS Papers 582: E 25: 'A number of Maori subjects mostly controversial considered from a Murihiku standpoint,' Hocken Archives, Dunedin.

I have decided to include White as a source in this study given the sheer volume of material that he collected and put together in his *Ancient History of the Maori*, and given that the material provides useful information concerning earlier tribes of Te Wai Pounamu.

\(^6^6\)H. Beattie, *Our Southernmost Maoris*, Dunedin, 1954, p. 82.
good whakapapa of one who lived in Maoriori [sic] times.67

A Southland historian of this century, F. G. Hall-Jones, pointed out that the preservation of traditions and genealogies of the early inhabitants of the South Island had been more comprehensive due to the limited number of battles in Murihiku as compared to the other regions of Aotearoa. He noted that this situation is not accepted without some disbelief by many in the North Island.68

Beattie also pointed out the powerful influence upon Maori history of European appointments to political posts dealing with Maori affairs in the early days of British colonisation. He asserted that,

the alleged extinction of the Katimamoe is surely one of the falsest yarns ever foisted on the people of this country. If Shortland had been kept on as Protector of Aborigines the Katimamoe would have had more recognition but the appointment of Mantell in 1848 as Commissioner for Extinguishment of Native Titles in the South Island put in a man who was a Kaitahu partisan hence the fable that the Katimamoe were extinct flourished unchecked.69

Beattie presented the divided opinions over this question. Those who believed that the Kaati Mamoe had become extinct as a tribe because they had been absorbed by Kai Tahu were grouped by Beattie to make up the affirmative side. Beattie quoted Europeans with views to this effect such as Frederick Tuckett, Canon Stack, John White, Walter Buller, James Cowan, Captain F.W. Hutton and Mr Justice F.R. Chapman.70 These European officials, historians and missionaries were unanimous in their view that the Kaati Mamoe had not retained a sense of identity or autonomy.

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69 Beattie, Our Southernmost Maoris, p. 83.
70 H. Beattie, MS Papers 582: E 6, 'The Alleged Extinction of the Ngatimamoe (or Katimamoe) Tribe', pp. 3-11.
A small handful of influential people in the nineteenth century viewed this as a false allegation. These people, who believed that there were still a significant number of people who identified as Kaati Mamoe, featured on what Beattie termed 'the negative side'. Essentially they thought that the Kaati Mamoe had formed alliances and merged with the Kai Tahu with the very purpose of preserving their Kaati Mamoe heritage. This view was shared by Edward Shortland and the Murihiku chief, John Topi Patuki. Beattie speculated that it was also the view held privately by Walter Mantell, the Commissioner for Crown Land Purchases.\textsuperscript{71}

The opinion of Edward Shortland on this matter was of considerable value. Unlike the European collectors John White and James Cowan, Shortland had spent a lengthy period of time travelling and recording traditions in the South Island and had also occupied the post of Sub-Protector of Aborigines for the South Island. In 1844, Shortland wrote that,

\begin{quote}
The Ngatimamoe retired farther south, and at length, feeling themselves too much weakened to hope to regain their lost position, they made peace with their invaders and formed alliances with them. Thus the two races became incorporated into one tribe, which as most of their principal families had in their veins the blood of Tahu, was called generally, Ngaitahu or Kaitahu.\textsuperscript{72}
\end{quote}

Shortland did not, however, equate this forging of alliances with the complete renunciation of a Kaati Mamoe heritage among Kaati Mamoe descendants.

It is evident that there were a number of Kaati Mamoe living in Canterbury and Murihiku in the nineteenth century. The name of Tarawata of the Kaati Mamoe tribe appeared amongst the names on the receipt of the 'Ngaitahu Block' purchase. This was one of the earlier land transactions which took place in 1848 and was organised by the Assistant Native Secretary Kemp. It is noteworthy that his name appeared on a document drafted in the Kai Tahu-dominated region of Canterbury in 1848 and that five years later in 1853

\textsuperscript{71}ibid, p. 13.
\textsuperscript{72}ibid, p. 12.
Walter Mantell did not name any tribes in the drawing up of the purchase deed of Murihiku. He simply wrote, 'We, the chiefs and all the people ... ' Mantell knew that the Kaati Mamoe and the Kai Tahu were a united tribe but evidently wished to avoid discussion on the matter. An elderly Kaati Mamoe kaumaatua had told Beattie that when Mantell took the names of those entitled to payment for Murihiku some of the principal men were away whaling or sealing and their names were omitted. Apparently the matter had never been adequately addressed and resentment had been harboured for many years subsequently.\(^73\)

A similar resentment was harboured following an incident during the negotiations over the Arahura Purchase on the West Coast when the Kai Tahu chief, Tarapuhi from Mawhera refused to travel further south to discuss the purchase with the elderly Kaati Mamoe chiefs Tutoko and Kohatu at Martin's Bay.\(^74\) According to the documentary record the Kaati Mamoe tribal identity had survived not only in the former Kaati Mamoe strongholds of Murihiku and the southern West Coast but in other parts of the South Island also.

Another important point made by Beattie was that Kaati Mamoe people were not ashamed to call themselves Kaati Mamoe. He drew attention to their pride, claiming that, '...the Katimamoe did not "admit the fact with evident reluctance" or with a "subdued attitude", but stated the fact boldly as if proud of the fact. The only one of the seven who spoke disparagingly of the other portion of the tribe was the Kaitahu halfcaste, otherwise the remarks showed that the old tribal animosity and jealousy was mostly a thing of the past.'\(^75\)

By contrast in 1859, John White was told by a Kai Tahu source that the Kaati Mamoe had become so reduced in number that only thirty Kaati Mamoe remained, most of whom were men. The same informant explained that this group had taken up residence in the mountains to the west of Lake Hawea and Lake Wanaka and added that the Kai Tahu had been unable to evict them from this area, principally because they thought it unadvisable to follow them.\(^76\) White also speculated

\(^{73}\) ibid, p. 23.

\(^{74}\) Interview with June Robinson, 2 June 1991.

\(^{75}\) Beattie MS Papers 582: E 6, p. 24.

\(^{76}\) J. White, Ancient History of the Maori, Wellington, 1887, III, p. 307.
that the elusive Maori of Bligh Sound and the south-west coast were the descendants of the thirty fugitives who escaped from the final battle at Aparima and were the remnant of the Kaati Mamoe.77

Makawhio.

In 1897, a group of Makawhio people told a European surveyor that they had hapuu connections with both the Kaati Mamoe and the Kai Tahu. One of the men, Hakopa, had added that the Kai Tahu claimed manawhenua over the South Island but that the West Coast was the rohe of the Kaati Mamoe.

Nearly a century later in 1987, a number of takata whenua of South Westland had reason to outline their tribal identification while making presentations to the Waitangi Tribunal. The evidence related to mahika kai and was heard by the Tribunal sitting in Greymouth. Mr Kelly Russell Wilson, a descendant of Tutoko and kaumaatua of the South Westland people, prefaced his speech by stating,

I was born in South Westland at Hunts Beach with fourteen older brothers and sisters sixty-nine years ago. My mother was of [Kaati] Mamoe and Ngai Tahu descent and my father was European of Scottish ancestry. My mother was born at Bruce Bay around 1885, the daughter of Wi Katou Te Naihi and Rea Te Koeti Turanga. Te Koeti Turanga was born in Taumutu, Canterbury around 1786 claiming to be of [Kaati] Mamoe and Ngai Tahu descent. Because of his much prized Moko (tattoo) he believed it much safer to live on the Poutini Coast. Therefore he used the Haast Pass Route and joined with TuToko a renowned Kaati Mamoe chief at Jacksons Bay. TuTokos Whanau was apparently on their conservation trek to other well known Mahinga Kai areas. Turanga married TuToko's Moko Repecca Patiere TuToko of Martin's Bay, the daughter of Kere TuToko.78

In this opening declaration, Kelly Wilson clearly acknowledged his Kaati Mamoe ancestry through Kere Tutoko and Te Koeti Turanga, both principal chiefs of South Westland

77 ibid, p. 313.
last century. He also identified his mother as being of Kaati Mamoe and Kai Tahu descent. Gordon McLaren, born at Mahitahi, talked before the Tribunal of some of his tipuna. He said that his mother Heni was the daughter of Te Ahuru Mahuika and Hinepare. Hinepare was the daughter of Ripeka Patiere Tutoko and Te Koeti Turanga. Ripeka was the granddaughter of Tutoko who was a Kaati Mamoe chief. He also told of Te Koeti Turanga and Hakopa Kapo coming from Taumutu in the early part of the nineteenth century, bringing with them the Iri Kehu lines which he said form ancestral links to Rakaihautu of the Uruao waka. These statements of identity are important because they highlight the ambilineal and multi-hapuu dynamics of Maori society and strongly suggest the retention of a Kaati Mamoe identity from the late nineteenth century to the late twentieth century. They provide crucial evidence of the survival of the Kaati Mamoe from their arrival in Aotearoa, through the tribe's southward migration and the subsequent Kai Tahu and later European colonisation of Te Wai Pounamu.

The 'Lost Tribe'.

The threads that associate the Kaati Mamoe of South Westland and the 'lost tribe' are tenuous and widely scattered. The primary reason for the inclusion of this discussion in my work is the references made by Kelly Wilson to this term which other Poutini groups used to describe the South Westland hapuu. In 1991, Kelly Wilson told me that the South Westland people were thought to be a remnant of the 'Lost Tribe' by other West Coast residents dwelling further north at Mawhera. He said that these Poutini Kai Tahu had been distrustful of South Westlanders they called the 'people of the mist'. The term, 'people of the mist' is one that has frequently been associated with the Kaati Mamoe. Tutemakohu, for example, was said to have invoked a friendly mist to descend around him to hide him from his Kai Tahu attackers. It is also a term that was used in relation to the Tuuhoe people and is suggestive of a primitive and isolated people.

The story of the 'lost tribe' forms an integral part of a discussion about the continued existence of the Kaati Mamoe tribe. The prevailing view of this history has been that the Kaati Mamoe had gradually been driven from one end of the

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80 This was a descriptive term often given to the 'Lost Tribe' and the Kaati Mamoe.
81 E. Best, Tuuhoe: The Children of the Mist, Wellington, 1925.
South Island to the other by the invading Kai Tahu and that they made their final courageous stand in Murihiku. The few remaining survivors subsequently fled to the vast wilderness of the West Otago lake district and on to the wild and uninhabited southern West Coast where they became known as the 'Lost Tribe'.

Early newspapers such as the Otago Witness avidly followed up any reports about the so-called lost tribe. Stories about the 'lost tribe' of West Otago captured the imagination of the European settlers. Barry Brailsford noted that 'the lost tribes of Fiordland' was an idea that was, due to its highly romantic nature, promoted in the south by early settlers and local historians alike.82

In 1888, Robert Henry Chapman wrote a novel entitled, Mihawhenua. The novel was sub-titled, 'The adventures of a party of tourists amongst a tribe of Maoris discovered in Western Otago, New Zealand.' Chapman, himself, claimed that his only role in the production of the work was as editor. The manuscript, he said, with typically Victorian literary conceit, had been recorded by R.W. Brock, M.A. L.L.B, and had been found attached to a Maori kite on Mount Alta, near Lake Wanaka, addressed to Chapman and as such, forwarded to his address by the finder. Clearly the Maori tribe that the intrepid party of explorers met was the legendary lost tribe. As Brock, the party's leader, explained at one point, 'By the way, we had time and again discussed the chances of our meeting with various anticipated adventures and making certain expected discoveries. Basing our conjecture on the Maori legend as to the flight of a portion of the Ngati mamoe tribe, we had wondered if we should meet with any natives.'83 When the group did indeed encounter a tribe they were every bit as mythical as may have been expected. In order to reach the western region where this tribe resided, the party undertook a fantastic escapade, descending a steep mountain on a block of ice which acted as a type of toboggan. It was in this remote and unexplored area that they met the tribe and were befriended by one of its men, Te Kahu. On nearing the village accompanied by a number of the tribe and their new friend, Te Kahu, their attention was drawn to three large birds that were also approaching the pa,

We paused to scrutinise them and were surprised at

their size and appearance.

"Moas?" enquired Gordon, turning to Te Kahu. The latter nodded assent.

As they approached us these elephants of the bird species fairly filled us with astonishment; the more so when we discovered that the double-headed appearance we had seen was due to the presence of a Maori rider on the back of each bird. Perched high upon the gigantic birds as they moved towards us, and looking as if they each formed part of the two-legged steed they bestrode, sat three Maori riders.84

This excerpt is a good example of the flavour of the content and style of the work. Mihawhenua both reflected and perpetuated the romanticised Pakeha view of the Lost Tribe in the latter part of the nineteenth century. This view prevailed well into the twentieth century. The close association between the 'extinct' moa and the 'lost tribe' forms part of a complex colonising project in early New Zealand colonial scholarship and writing.85

Rumours and opinions about the Lost Tribe circulated as far as government circles in Wellington. A report filed in the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives in 1862 claimed that a small remnant of the Kaati Mamoe, living in a wild state, still inhabited the mountainous region of Milford Sound.86 These stories generally detailed the last stand of the Kaati Mamoe against the Kai Tahu and the former's subsequent flight to the vast wilderness of the Fiordland and West Coast region. While some of the stories describe this place of refuge as Dusky Sound others suggest that the refugees penetrated as far north as the lower coastal area of Martin's Bay: an early residence of the South Westland chief Tutoko. The development of this myth associating the Mahitahi hapuu with 'the Lost Tribe' is not beyond credibility given their extreme isolation and was probably fuelled by Dr James Hector's report following his expedition to that part of the West Coast. Hector was the Provincial Geologist for Otago and visited the West Coast in his official capacity in 1862. At Martin's Bay he met Tutoko and his two daughters, Rongopatahi and Rongorua whom he believed to be the last of the Kaati Mamoe tribe.87

This view is, however, one that requires redress, as does that of

84 ibid, p. 61.
85 Dr Michael Reilly, personal comment, 1993.
86 A. J. H. R., 1862, E-7, p. 34.
the extinction of the Kaati Mamoe.

In the nineteenth century, the Reverend Richard Taylor, talking about the North Island beliefs in mythical races of people, noted that there was also a strong belief in the Maero who was described as being a wild man, living on inaccessible mountains and occasionally coming down in order to seize any poor victim. The Maero was believed to be covered with hair and to have long fingers and nails. He was also said to eat his food raw. In a footnote, Taylor added that his source said that the Maero lives only in the Tararua mountains in the North Island where he is still 'he hapu mariri', meaning a numerous tribe and that he is identical to the Kaati Mamoe who reside in the remote mountains of the South Island. 88

S. Percy Smith recorded stories about a people called the Maero. These people were described as being wild men of the woods and Smith felt that they were probably the remnant of some of the original people who had been driven to the forests and mountains by the influx of immigrants who arrived with the later waka. He noted that traditions relating to the Maero were considerably older than those relating to the Patupai-arehe. 89 The Maero also featured in the traditions of Te Wai Pounamu. According to Teone Tikao these Maeroero [sic] were Rapuwai people, who like the Kaati Mamoe, were famed for their good-looking women. It was from this race that Tura got his second wife. At that time the Maeroero were living on an island near Hawaiki and ate their food raw as they did not have any knowledge about fire. 90

Stories about a 'lost tribe' may thus be seen as part of a process of relegating the Kaati Mamoe to a mythical realm. This was reflected in the histories of both the Kai Tahu and the Pakeha in the nineteenth century. The people of the southern rohe, however, have not and do not see themselves as a 'lost tribe' but rather the takata whenua of this remote region.

The Crown purchase of the entire West Coast in 1860, excluding reserves set aside for the various iwi and hapuu on the Coast, marked the beginning of a decline in the autonomy of the isolated Bruce Bay community in South Westland. It ultimately led to a northward drift as individuals, lacking a traditional land base, sought work in the town of Hokitika.

88 R. Taylor, Te Ika a Maui, London, 1855, p. 49.
89 S. P. Smith, History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, New Plymouth, 1910, p. 33.
90 H. Beattie, ed, Tikao Talks, p. 59.
Although land had been reserved in the area, it was insufficient to sustain the succeeding generations, forcing people to scatter in order to make a living. As Kelly Wilson put it, the tuurangawaewae that had been maintained was a place to stand but you would go hungry.91 The last people to leave Bruce Bay were the Wilson-Mahuika family who moved to Hokitika in the late 1940s. June Robinson recalled that the move was a difficult transition as they were fearful about living in the town of Hokitika. She said that she and her siblings knew themselves to be Kaati Mamoe and this was the basis for their anxiety.92 With regard to their land rights in the southern rohe of the West Coast, the 'lost tribe' may be a more appropriate name for the three hundred descendants of the Makawhio hapuu today than it ever was in the romantic notion embodied in the European writings of last century.

91 Interview with Mr Kelly Wilson, 2 June, 1991.
92 Interview with June Robinson, 2 June 1991.
CHAPTER FOUR.
The World of the Ancestors.

Whakapapa is the thread that unites the descendants of the numerous waka that migrated to Aotearoa. Connections with different iwi can always be made by individual hapuu members and are important in understanding the past and the context in which events in the lives of ancestors took place. The reading of whakapapa usually begins with the earliest ancestors and progresses through to the most recent. The stories of the waka that brought the first ancestors from Hawaiki are very important and are the source of origin traditions for the iwi. Both the Kaati Mamoe and the Kai Tahu tribes of the South Island have a common origin in the Heretaunga (Hawke's Bay) region in the North Island. The waka with which they are associated are the Kurahaupo and the Takitimu. Earlier traditions, however, give the Aotea canoe in conjunction with the Kurahaupo as the ancestral waka of the Kaati Mamoe. Taranaki kaumaatua speaking with Stephenson Percy Smith expressly told him that the Whatua Mamoe were the tangata whenua (literally 'people of the land') of the Heretaunga district. They said that the Whatua Mamoe occupied all the Hawke's Bay country and were descendants of Toi and Te Awa-nui-a-rangi. This early history has been included to establish the antiquity of the Kaati Mamoe tribe in Aotearoa.

Material concerning the canoe origins of Kaati Mamoe and its sojourn in the North Island is sparse because the descendants of the ancestor Whatua Mamoe left Te Ika a Maaui for Te Wai Pounamu around the sixteenth century. In order to learn more about the Kaati Mamoe residence in the North Island I have sought information from other tribal sources which shed light on this history.

In the South Island the Kaati Mamoe are associated with the Uruao canoe and they are present in whakapapa which traces back to the Waitaha ancestor Rakaihautu. Teone

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93Whatua Mamoe was the eponymous ancestor of the Whatua Mamoe tribe which later became known as the Kaati Mamoe.
94Smith, History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, pp. 156-7.
Taare Tikao, a kaumātua of the Kai Tahu, told Herries Beattie in the early twentieth century that the Kaati Mamoe tribe was older than the chief called Hotu Mamoe, or Whatua Mamoe who lived in the North Island. Tikao said that they were a very old and widespread race and were called the Kahea in Hawaiki. All of the waka traditions about the Kaati Mamoe speak of the Kaati Mamoe arrival preceding that of the later waka among whom were the Kai Tahu.

The stories of the Hawaiki migrations are useful for establishing the distinct identities of the Kaati Mamoe and Kai Tahu tribes. Study of the origin of the Kaati Mamoe has, in the past, received little attention. The common residency of both tribes in the Heretaunga region is a point that has been emphasised at the expense of independent recognition of the Kaati Mamoe. While this shared home is significant and there is evidence, from the oral material available, of some overlap between the two tribes regarding their respective arrivals in New Zealand and later the South Island, earlier accounts exist that tell a different story. The stories that link the Takitimu and the Kurahaupo are more recent and post-date the Kai Tahu migration from the North to the South Island.

**Traditions from Te Ika a Māaui.**

The Kaati Mamoe are linked through whakapapa to the canoe traditions on both the east and west coasts of Te Ika a Māaui and there are connections (from both east and west) between ancestors from these waka and the people of South Westland. The Aotea relates exclusively to the Taranaki region; the Takitimu is a canoe of the Heretaunga. The Kurahaupo, on the other hand, has associations with both the coasts.

The Aotea is considered to be the canoe of the Kaati Mamoe in traditions recorded by Pakeha observers last century. Alexander MacKay described the Aotea as the origin waka of 'Ngaituahuriri, Ngaitumatakokiri and Ngati Mamoe [sic]'. The Takitimu was the origin of the Kai Tahu and the Kurahaupo was part origin. According to Edward Shortland, the Aotea first landed on the West Coast of the North Island.

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95 Beattie, *Tikao Talks*, p. 59. Herries Beattie noted in a footnote that he had heard about the Kahea on another occasion. He believed that the Kaati Mamoe had been in the North Island prior to the Big Migration and received its tribal designation from a chief called Whatua Mamoe.

The canoe was abandoned at the place where it had landed and the crew, led by their chief Turi, had continued by foot along the shore to the south, finally settling on the Patea river. Turi and his wife Rongo-rongo were the ancestors of the tribes Wanganui and Ngatimamoe.97

There is an overlap between the Aotea and the Kurahaupo in a number of traditions from the West Coast of the North Island. These traditions state that the Kurahaupo waka was damaged on the voyage from Hawaiki and that her crew and possessions were subsequently taken on board the Aotea in order to complete the voyage to Aotearoa. Hetaraka Tautahi of Waitotara (Taranaki) gave details about events that happened during the journey of the Aotea from Hawaiki. He said that there was another canoe, the Kurahaupo, which was captained by Ruatea. This canoe was wrecked at Rangi-tahua, an island at which the two waka had stopped on the journey, and Ruatea, Hatonga [sic], and the rest of her crew and possessions had been taken on board the Aotea. Percy Smith recorded a Taranaki story that told of the Kurahaupo's misfortune during its brief stop at Rangi-tahua; 'after repairing the vessels and making the usual sacrifices to their gods to ensure the continuation of a prosperous voyage, the fleet prepared to depart. All appear to have left the shore safely except Kurahaupo which in paddling off through the surf, got seriously damaged, in fact the accounts say, broken up.'98 Hetaraka did, however, note that while some versions related how the Kurahaupo was wrecked, other accounts say that this wrecked canoe was subsequently repaired and followed the fleet to New Zealand.99

A similar overlap occurs between the Kurahaupo and the Takitimu in east coast traditions although the Kaati Mamoe are exclusively associated with the Kurahaupo while the Kai

97E. Shortland, A Short Sketch of the Maori Races, Dunedin, 1865, p. 7.

It is interesting to note that the Patea people of Taranaki migrated to Te Wai Pounamu prior to the Kaati Mamoe heke. In the South they were known as Te Rapuwhai and a number of this tribe later intermarried with some of the Kaati Mamoe to form a hapuu which took the former name of Patea.

98S. P. Smith, History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, p. 101.

Tahu are linked with the Takitimu and to a lesser extent with the Kurahaupo. One tradition records that the Kurahaupo and later the Takitimu canoe arrived bringing Maori settlers to the Heretaunga area. Among the tribes that came from these waka were the Ngaati Mamoe of the Ahuriri (Napier) region. Other groups included the Ngaitara peoples of Te Matau a Maaui [Maui's fishhook] (Cape Kidnappers), the Rangitaane of the Hastings area, and the Ngaati Awa. An account obtained from an unnamed source concerning the arrival of the Kurahaupo agrees with this version. The canoe, after travelling around the northern part of the North Island, went to a place a little south of Te Matau a Maaui where some of the crew remained. All the east coast traditions agree that it was a branch of these peoples that were driven out of the Heretaunga area by the Ngaati Kahungunu of the Mahia Peninsula and that these people migrated to the South Island where they were known as the Kaati Mamoe.100

Another North Island account records that the two canoes, Takitimu and Kurahaupo travelled together, to the South Island. The Kurahaupo came down the east coast of Te Wai Pounamu in company with the Takitimu which then went on to Moeraki. The Kurahaupo meanwhile went to the West Coast and finally remained at Mawhera (the Grey River).101

Traditions from the West Coast of the North Island record that the Whatuamamoa, or Kaati Mamoe, along with Te Tini o Awa and Rangitaane, were the takata whenua of the Heretaunga while traditions from the East Coast generally record that the Kurahaupo arrived prior to the Takitimu. Thus according to traditions from both coasts of the North Island, the Kaati Mamoe tribe were one of the earliest peoples to establish themselves in the Heretaunga region before the arrival of the Takitimu and the other later canoes.102

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100 S.P. Smith, History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, p. 102.
101 ibid, p. 102.
102 In his book, The Great New Zealand Myth, D.R. Simmons has shown that the so-called 'Great Fleet' is a misleading term given to describe the arrival of the later waka by Pakeha academics. Simmons concludes that the scenario was established as a convenient way of explaining the Maori colonisation of Aotearoa rather than an accurate attempt to interpret tribal origin traditions.
The ancestors with whom the Kaati Mamoe are primarily associated in the North Island are Toi and Whatonga. In an extensive study of the history and place names of the Hawke's Bay, local historian J.D. Buchanan concluded that the Kaati Mamoe were descended from the Kurahaupo canoe, through the chief ancestor Whatonga. In his study of the Heretaunga region, Buchanan recorded that Orotu, a contemporary of Rangitaane (the ancestor of the Rangitaane tribe and grandson of Whatonga), established his people on the shores of the old inner harbour at Napier, the Maori name for which was Te Whanganuioorotu. He said that Orotu's son, Whatua Mamoan or Kaati Mamoe who lived in the neighbourhood of Napier. This tribe, he added, were best known from the south of the South Island, where they went in search of peace. Despite Buchanan's research, Orotu remains something of a mystery due to his uncertain descent, the only known whakapapa connection being that he was the son of Hamaitawhiti. Again the evidence of these traditions surrounding Hamaitawhiti, Orotu and Whatumamo suggest a lengthy Kaati Mamoe history in Te Ika a Maaui. Speculating about the etymology of the name Hamaitawhiti, Buchanan noted that Ha generally referred to the origin of a person as being from a distant place and maitawhiti was a name given to early immigrants from the Pacific. Buchanan concluded that Hamaitawhiti probably came in the Kurahaupo canoe with Whatonga and that Orotu and his descendants, that is the Kaati Mamoe, lived in the Heretaunga region up until the arrival of the Ngati Kahungunu around 1525.

As the Aotea and the Kurahaupo are linked in some traditions, such as the ones recording the transferral of the crew from the damaged Kurahaupo canoe to the Aotea, so there is an important link between the descendants of the Aotea and the Takitimu canoes through the marriage of Uhengaariki to Taneroa. Uhengaariki was the brother of Tama tea, the commander of the Takitimu canoe and Taneroa was the daughter of Turi, the chief of the Aotea and his wife

104 ibid, p. 49.
Rongorongo. As part of the marriage ritual, the two chiefs, Turi and Tamatea met at Whanganui where an important gift exchange took place. The sacred adze, Te Awhiorangi, that had been used to cut the waves on the Takitimu's journey from Rarotonga, was given to Turi by Tamatea.105

**Traditions from Te Wai Pounamu.**

The South Island origin traditions of the Kaati Mamoe differ from northern ones. The Kaati Mamoe are associated with the Uruao canoe: the canoe of the ancient Waitaha tribe. In South Island whakapapa, the Kaati Mamoe ancestor, Hotu Mamoe, appears as a descendant of Rakaihautu and Toi.

The stories of the early tribes who inhabited the South Island are an important part of the Kaati Mamoe history in this island. On the West Coast there was extensive interaction between the Kaati Mamoe and other resident groups. The origins and traditions of these iwi, therefore, require elucidation in order to achieve a comprehensive overview of South Westland Maori history.

Recorders of South Island Maori history last century106 agreed that the first inhabitants of Te Wai Pounamu were a mythical race known as the Kahui Tipua. These people were supposed to have been as large as giants and able to stride from mountain to mountain, swallow entire rivers and change their form to become any animate or inanimate object they desired.107

The Waitaha were the next iwi to settle in Te Wai Pounamu. This tribe came to Aotearoa in the Uruao waka, which was also known as Te Waka-a-Rangi, under the leadership of Rakaihautu. One story relates that the Uruao landed on the east coast of the South Island and the chief Rakaihautu led a party inland as far as Te Remu (Martin's Bay) eventually settling further south at Ka Pakihi Whakatekateka a Waitaha.108 Canon Stack recorded another account of the origin

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105 Simmons, p. 115.
106 These include Canon Stack and James Herries Beattie.
107 Canon Stack, *South Island Maoris, A Sketch of their History and Legendary Lore,* Christchurch, 1898, p. 15.
This line comes down through the daughter of Rakaihautu who stayed behind at Hawaiki. Toi came to New Zealand.
No 22 is Hotumamoe who gave his name to the Kati Mamoe tribe.

Source: H. Beattie Collection
MS 582/E/40
of the Waitaha which included the tribe's arrival in Te Ika a Mauai prior to migrating south. Waitaha, one of the original immigrants from Hawaiiki, was the founder of the tribe. He had travelled in the Arawa canoe with Tama te Kapua and Ngaroto-i-rangi. According to Stack, Waitaha's taumata (high place) which was in the Taupo region was still pointed out in the nineteenth century. He and his followers, however, left Te Ika a Mauai to cross the Raukawa (Cook Strait) and settle in Te Wai Pounamu. The Waitaha resided in Te Wai Pounamu for seven hundred years prior to the arrival of the Kaati Mamoe.

According to Teone Taare Tikao, the Hawea, were the first tribe to live in the South Island. These people, according to one tradition had been founded by the ancestor, Hawea-ki-te-Raki and they were said to have represented the aristocracy of the Waitaha tribe.

During this time a smaller tribe, the Rapuwai, moved into Te Wai Pounamu. Te Rapuwai were a mysterious group who came to dwell in the South Island following the arrival of the Waitaha. They were originally from Taranaki on the West Coast of the North Island where they were known as Patea. From his discussions with Kai Tahu kaumaatua, Canon Stack said that he was inclined to think that the Te Rapuwai and the Waitaha were portions of the same tribe, with Te Rapuwai having formed the vanguard when the migration from the North Island took place.

These early iwi, both on the West Coast and throughout the South Island, were often relegated to the realm of mythical peoples. Tikao, told Herries Beattie that the Maeroero, the phantom tribes who lived in the bush, were Rapuwai people. The Maeroero would call out and warn people not to come too close and not to touch their belongings. These warnings were known as a tohu or a sign. Tikao said that the Kahui Tipua who came from Hawaiki were a branch of the

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109 Stack, p. 23.
110 Hall-Jones, Historical Southland, p. 64.
111 Stack, p. 22.
Maeroero-Rapuwai people as well.¹¹² Stories describing the Rapuwai as a mythical race appear only in east coast Kai Tahu traditions; elsewhere in the South Island they are known to have been a section of the Waitaha people who in some areas joined with the Kaati Mamoe.

The South Island traditions suggest interaction between the various tribes prior to the eighteenth century. Although inter-marriage between the various hapuu of the Waitaha and the Kaati Mamoe was a common phenomenon it did not equate with absorption and there still remained in the south and southeast of the island a number of Waitaha and also Rapuwai settlements.¹¹³ The West Coast was the domain of the Kaati Mamoe; these people were also known as the Patea and they had important connections to Te Rapuwai.

**Moriori.**

Much of the tribal information collected by Herries Beattie appears to associate the Kaati Mamoe with the Moriori. Beattie learned from Waitaha sources that the Kaati Mamoe were a tribe of Moriori extraction, whose name derived from Hotu Mamoe who was born in the generation prior to the arrival of the 'Eight Canoes'. According to Beattie's informants, newcomers pushed followers of Mamoe out of Hawke's Bay and down to Wellington. They later crossed the Cook Strait to the South Island where they gradually moved southward.¹¹⁴

Teone Tikao informed Beattie that the Kaati Mamoe tribe was older than the chief Hotu Mamoe or Whatu Mamoe who lived in the North Island. Tikao described the Kaati Mamoe as being a branch of a very old and widespread race known as the Kahea in Hawaiki.¹¹⁵ In a footnote to this part of the interview, Beattie noted that he had heard that statement elsewhere. He believed that in the Hawke's Bay the tribe that was later to be known as the Kaati Mamoe was part of the Moriori stock which held the North Island prior to the 'Big Migration' and that the iwi had received its tribal designation

¹¹³Hall-Jones, p. 64.
¹¹⁴Beattie, *Our Southernmost Maoris*, p. 82.
from the chief known as Whatu Mamoe in North Island speech or Hotu Mamoe in the South Island dialect. It is difficult to establish where Tikao stood on the matter as on one occasion he talked about the Moriori and the Kaati Mamoe as being contemporaneous but separate tribal entities. Speaking about those tribes who were here before the 'Big Fleet', he said, 'the Maoriori [sic] were the people who were in New Zealand before the arrival of the main canoes such as Takitimu. They are sometimes called Moriori and they came to New Zealand when the Kaati Mamoe did, but I cannot name their canoes...' On another occasion, however, he reiterated the history of the early South Island tribes saying, 'the Rapuwai, Waitaha and Kati Mamoe were Maoriori [sic] people. It was through the long series of small fights, here, there and everywhere, called Kakakaiamio, that these three peoples left Hawaiki.' The term Moriori as it appears in the oral tradition of the South Island may be a collective one that is used to denote the earlier tribes that preceded the Kai Tahu. It should not be confused with the Moriori, the takata whenua of the Chatham Islands.

**Kaati Mamoe heke.**

The Kaati Mamoe heke to Te Wai Pounamu forms another important chapter in the origin story of the tribe. Again traditions relating to this history are scattered. Most of the traditions that do speak about it, however, refer to friction as the cause for the Kaati Mamoe migration to the South Island. The only notable exception is a story recorded by John White which describes the Kaati Mamoe being enticed by the abundant stores sent to them by the Waitaha residing in Te Wai Pounamu. White recorded that the Waitaha were reported to have sent some of their wealth of food and other goods over Raukawa to their Kaati Mamoe friends. These gifts inspired the Kaati Mamoe to move south and take control of the abundant resources, from which the presents had come, themselves. The Waitaha, unaccustomed to war, were apparently quickly subdued and the Kaati Mamoe presided over the riches that Te Wai Pounamu had to offer. Peace was restored between the two tribes and intermarriage took place. White noted that these tribes combined are supposed to constitute the Patea. He also said that the Kaati Mamoe are said to have sprung from a chief

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116 ibid, p. 99.
117 ibid, p. 101.
named Turi, who came in the canoe named Aotea. 118

Among the groups who figure as the apparent cause for the Kaati Mamoe's departure from the area are a number of Ngaati Kahungunu hapuu. These hapuu later migrated to the South Island where they assumed the status of a tribe and were called the Kai Tahu. Edward Shortland, for example, described the Kai Tahu as being the South Island branch of the Ngaati Kahungunu. 119 Shortland noted that the Ngatikahuhunu (sic) had been much more powerful in former times. He claimed that their influence had extended over a large part of the Middle and Southern Island (presumably he was referring to the South and Stewart Islands), where he added they still remain and are called the 'Kaitahu'. 120 In other accounts the Ngaati Kahungunu and the Kai Tahu appear to be separate and distinct tribes.

The Kaati Mamoe were forced to leave the East Coast of the North Island, according to another tradition, following an abortive attack made on the Ngaati Ira strong-hold of Otatara. The offensive was not instigated by the Kaati Mamoe but they had accepted an invitation from the neighbouring Ngai Tara to fight with them. Following a resounding defeat Te Whakuma, the leader of the Ngaati Ira offered to spare the Ngaati Mamoe on the condition that they left Heretaunga and did not return. 121 Another branch of the Whatua Mamoa (or Kaati Mamoe) named Ngaati Ruapirau, living in the Ruahine district west of the Ngaruroro River, were apparently defeated by the Ngaati Kahungunu led by Taraia Whatakai. 122

According to traditions recorded by John White the Kaati Mamoe moved to Te Wai Pounamu because they were pushed south by new arrivals to Hawke's Bay. White recorded that the Kurahaupo canoe (which is considered part of the origin of both the Kaati Mamoe and the Kai Tahu) landed at Napier and that the people of olden times who were killed by Ngaati Kahungunu came from this. According to his source,

118 White, Ill, p. 289.
119 Shortland, A Short Sketch of the Maori Races, p. 6.
120 Ibid, p. 6.
121 Buchanan, p. 87.

The Ngaati Ira was a tribe descended from the Takitimu canoe who lived in the Heretaunga district prior to the arrival of the Ngaati Kahungunu.
122 Ibid, p. 11.
Rarawa, the various tribes were eaten up in their villages where they lived and so they fled to the South Island, which is the origin of the Kaati Mamoe in that island.123

The West Coast.
The West Coast of the South Island was the rohe of the Kaati Mamoe.124 This hapuu was also known as the Patea because it had important connections with Te Rapuwai. A section of the Rapuwai tribe residing on the West Coast, according to one tradition, were joined by a Kaati Mamoe hapuu who had migrated north from Murihiku. The Kaati Mamoe hapuu settled on the West Coast alongside Te Rapuwai. An interweaving of the two groups took place and this amalgamated hapuu of Te Rapuwai and Kaati Mamoe was sometimes referred to as the Patea.125

These Patea people are also described as being made up of Waitaha and Kaati Mamoe because the name Rapuwai was a nickname for a group of Waitaha whose style of swimming was reputed to be ungainly. White recorded a tradition that the Waitaha and the Kaati Mamoe formed a tribe which was known as the Patea through peaceful relations and intermarriage.126

It is likely that this is the tribe that was later known as the Ngaati Wairangi by the east coast Kai Tahu. The name Ngaati Wairangi appears to be a derisive one that was given to the original takata whenua of the West Coast by the Kai Tahu as it did not appear to have been in common usage in the area prior to Tuhuru's invasion around the late eighteenth century. According to a kaumaatua of the Poutini Kai Tahu the term was a derogatory one that may be translated as 'insane'.127

123 Simmons, p.226.
124 J. Andersen, MS Papers 148: 112, p. 98.
127 Jim Williams, Dept of Maori Studies, University of Otago, personal comment, 1993.
The Kaati Mamoe people of Te Wai Pounamu have connections with the Aotea, the Kurahaupo and the Uruao waka. The ancestor with which the iwi are associated since landfall in Aotearoa is Whatua or Hotu Mamoe. The history of these waka recorded in the oral tradition of many iwi is included at the beginning of this work in order to re-affirm the mana of the whakapapa line from the Kahea people of Hawaiki to Hotu Mamoe and to the generation of Kaati Mamoe descendants today. While whakapapa operates as a unifying force for the descendants of all waka that came to Aotearoa, whakapapa is frequently used to establish waka and tiipuna connections that define an iwi or hapuu's identity. This is certainly so in the case of the Kaati Mamoe hapuu in South Westland.
CHAPTER FIVE.
Kai Tahu Migration from the North: Conquest or Co-habitation?

The history of the Maori migration and subsequent settlement of the South Island is one of complex interaction between numerous hapuu groups allied with various tribes. Observers, both European and Maori, have tended to present this history as a number of successive waves of conquest by various North Island iwi. The Kai Tahu view is expressed by Matiaha Tiramoorehu, a kaumaatua of the Kai Tahu tribe who gave evidence to the Smith-Nairn Commission in 1879. Tiramoorehu said,

Ko Waitaha kua Ngati Mamoetia, kua Ngai Tahutia.
(Waitaha were absorbed by Ngati Mamoe who were in turn absorbed into Ngai Tahu.)\(^{128}\)

The orthodox view of the Maori settlement of Te Wai Pounamu is that the Waitaha, who were the first to arrive in Te Wai Pounamu, were a peaceable people. They lived alongside a number of smaller groups known as Te Rapuwai, Ngaati Mahaki and Ngaati Kopiha. In the mid-sixteenth century a second group comprising various Kaati Mamoe hapuu began to leave Te Ika a Mauii and formed the next arrivals in the southern island. The Kaati Mamoe fought with and 'absorbed' the earlier Waitaha and other tribes. About the mid-seventeenth century, a number of hapuu groups of the Ngaati Kahungunu began the southward migration. This tribe, which became known as the Kai Tahu, also settled in the South Island and in turn 'absorbed' the Kaati Mamoe.

Barry Brailsford sees this conception of waves of conquering tribes as a simplistic view of a more complex phenomenon. The predominant view of the final North Island heke, the Kai Tahu migration, to the South Island has been that a large number of Kai Tahu invaded the south and overwhelmed the Kaati Mamoe and the Waitaha through fighting and intermarriage. The archaeological record which has generally supported this view has, over the last decade, been

revised.

Certain regions of the South Island, such as Otago have been presented as supporting the standard interpretation showing the sudden appearance of Kai Tahu culture in the period that the Kaati Mamoe were resident in the South Island. Archaeologists have interpreted the sudden appearance of the classic culture of the Kai Tahu amongst the Kaati Mamoe, whose material culture belonged to the archaic period, as evidence of this conquest. Archaeologists have traditionally made use of Kai Tahu oral traditions to assist in this explanation. More recently, however, some archaeologists have argued that these oral traditions were misinterpreted. They claim that these traditions do not chronicle the arrival of a single tribe and that the ensuing battles that are documented in the oral record were merely skirmishes rather than campaigns of annihilation threatening the survival of the Kaati Mamoe. Aileen Fox believes that the Kai Tahu migration and subsequent settlement was a gradual phenomenon that can be more accurately described as a number of hapuu groups comprising a comparatively small number of people crossing over into the South Island at various times. Fox is of the opinion that these groups became entangled in relatively complicated family and hapuu feuds in which allegiances to any of the groups, including the Kaati Mamoe, might switch back and forth according to which affiliations of marriage or descent it was thought appropriate to emphasize in the circumstances.129

Brailsford too, believes that the movement of northern forces, such as the Kaati Mamoe and the Kai Tahu, to the South Island was as much the result of alliances and intermarriage as of victory in conflicts. In his view the control of any given area at any time would have been relatively tenuous or short-lived due to the sheer geographical size of the island and that dominance by a particular tribe would have been difficult to sustain.130 This may be an appropriate description of relations between the two tribes on the east coast of Te Wai Pounamu. It seems that a similar interplay between Kaati Mamoe and Kai Tahu occurred on the West Coast as it had on the east coast from the seventeenth century.

In the nineteenth century, the paramount chief,

Tuhawaiki described the Kai Tahu migration as a number of hapuu of the northern Ngaati Kahungunu tribe crossing over to the South Island. He said that one of these hapuu, the Kai Tahu, had gradually established a predominant position and had adopted the status of a tribe.\textsuperscript{131} Atholl Anderson described the Kai Tahu arrival in the South Island as having been piecemeal, involving endemic feuding; he described the Kai Tahu assimilation of the Kaati Mamoe as having been 'variable'.\textsuperscript{132}

The popular view has been that the Kaati Mamoe subjected the Waitaha to merciless treatment and that this was simply repeated on them by the invading Kai Tahu. That the Kaati Mamoe were given a 'dose of their own medicine' has been a recurring theme in South Island history. It has been used as a convenient justification for Kai Tahu dominance and as an explanation for the 'absorption' of the Kaati Mamoe tribe. This view is not supported by the oral tradition of the Kaati Mamoe. According to informants that Beattie described as being the oldest surviving southern Maori, there had not been any fights between the Rapuwai, Waitaha and Kaati Mamoe. These groups were friends and it was only when the Kai Tahu came south that dissensions arose. They said that these three groups had lived in peace and the fighting had begun following the arrival of the Kai Tahu.\textsuperscript{133}

Interaction between the Kai Tahu and the Kaati Mamoe took the form of both conflict and intermarriage. Both of these exchanges were characterised by a political agenda; this agenda is obvious in terms of the inter-hapuu fighting but more subtle in the realm of conjugality. Marriages were arranged by kaumaatua and chiefs at meetings which were held to discuss relevant matters.\textsuperscript{134} Spouses were chosen for sons or daughters based either on the need to forge alliances for security reasons or the desire to acquire certain rights to land or resources.

\textsuperscript{133}H. Beattie, \textit{Southern Maoris}, 'Traditions and Legends Collected from the Natives of Murihiku,' \textit{JPS}, v. 24-31 inclusive, Hocken Library, Dunedin.
\textsuperscript{134}J. Andersen, MS Papers 148: 112, ATL, p. 113.
A number of skirmishes are documented in the oral traditions of both tribes. There seems to be some consensus that the Kaati Mamoe tribe did move south in response to the pressure brought about by the Kai Tahu migration. The tribe was successful in establishing themselves in the Murihiku region and further up towards the western fiords and the lower West Coast. In this position they were able to preserve their iwi identity as evidenced by the preservation of Kaati Mamoe and earlier tribal traditions and a large number of southern Maori today who strongly identify with their Kaati Mamoe ancestry.

**Conflict: 1650 - 1750.**

Despite being smaller in number than the Kai Tahu the Kaati Mamoe continued to maintain strong resistance under the leadership of the chief Te Rakitauneke and later his grandson Tutemakohu. Around 1710, a Kai Tahu chief, Waitai led an expedition south from Canterbury to Port Molyneux where he massacred a large number of the Waitaha residents. Waitai established a settlement in the area which was inside the boundaries of the Kaati Mamoe's southern rohe. This move prompted retaliation from the local Kaati Mamoe chiefs, Marakai of Kingston, Tutemakohu of Glenure and others. The Kaati Mamoe chiefs and their forces raided the pa at dawn and killed the Kai Tahu inside. This was the first instance of Kaati Mamoe resistance to Kai Tahu encroachment.135

In the early decades of the eighteenth century the Kai Tahu chief, Turakautahi at Kaiapoi embarked on an endeavour to put an end to Kaati Mamoe resistance in the south. Turakautahi orchestrated a campaign against the Kaati Mamoe chief, Tutemakohu, in order to avenge the death of the Kai Tahu chief Waitai who had been killed by Tutemakohu. One of Turakautahi's sons Kaweriri was involved in these plans. Kaweriri was to lead a war-party inland to make the assault on the Otaupiri pa, at Glenure, the residence of Tutemakohu. Kaweriri's tactics, however, were thwarted when a Kaati Mamoe eeling group forewarned Tutemakohu of the invaders and all retreated to the safety of the Lake Wakatipu area. The story of Tutemakohu's victory is one of courage and quick-mindedness. Berries Beattie recorded from Murihiku informants who were most likely Kaati Mamoe descendants that,

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When Tu-te-makohu evacuated the O-taupiri pa his people headed northward and that night reached the Five Rivers Plain. The hostile taua followed them swiftly and overtook them at Waitaramea (Oswald Stream). When morning broke the fugitives saw the approaching foe, and to their horror found they were outnumbered by three or four to one. They knew it was a hopeless case, but determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible. Tu-te-makohu disguised himself by loosing his koko or hair fastening and letting his hair down, and by taking off his leggings, to look like a common man. They came up in a long line, and the toas jumped forward, and the engagement began. It is said that Kawe-riri who was of a fearless nature, had the presumption to engage Te Kiri-matua, Waha Hauaka and Tu-te-makohu together. He seized the last named who stood stock-still and never struggled, so Kawe-riri thought it was an ordinary fellow beneath his dignity and let him go, and Tu-te-makohu stooping quickly picked up a huata (long spear) lying on the ground and drove it through him. The dying Kawe-riri fell backwards, and in the confusion that followed Tu-te-makohu slipped to the rear.\footnote{136}

In the mid-eighteenth century a Kai Tahu taua (war party) attacked the Kaati Mamoe pa at Lake Ohau. This pa was the residence of Pohowera. The taua was headed by Te Kaimutu and Te Whiri and Pohowera was killed in the fighting.\footnote{137}

Pohowera was the son of a Kaati Mamoe chief, Te Kairere and brother of Kaipo. Pohowera and Kaipo were cousins of Tutemakohu who lived at the Otaupiri Pa in the Hokanui Hills near the Waimea Plains.\footnote{138} These Kaati Mamoe chiefs have been described as 'thorns in the side of the Kai Tahu tribe'.\footnote{139} They are important ancestors of both Tutoko and Te

\footnotetext{136}{H. Beattie, 'Traditions and Legends Collected from Matives of Murihiku (Southland, New Zealand),'} JPS, 25, (1916), pp. 13-4, 56-7.\footnotetext{137}{M. Austin, p. 65.}\footnotetext{138}{Madgwick, p. 19.}\footnotetext{139}{W. A. Taylor, Lore and History of the South Island Maori, Christchurch, 1950, p. 183.}
Koeti Turanga.

A Kai Tahu chief called Weke attacked the Kaati Mamoe-Waitaha pa at Parakorehu at Wanaka which escalated the existing antagonism between the Kaati Mamoe and the Kai Tahu.\textsuperscript{140} This settlement is also of significance to the Makawhio hapuū because Kaipo's grandson, Paoa married Te Apau Pokoriri who was the daughter of Wanaka and Ngahoro. Wanaka and Ngahoro were of the Waitaha tribe and Tutoko was their grandson.

\textbf{The Peace Arrangement at Popoutunoa, 1750.}

The peace that was arranged at Popoutunoa between the Kai Tahu and the Kaati Mamoe has long been recalled as the incident which marked the increasing dominance of the Kai Tahu and the ultimate extinction of the Kaati Mamoe. This is a Kai Tahu perspective of Popoutunoa.

Kai Tahu oral tradition recalls that the slaughter that took place at Te Iha Ka in Otago was the catalyst for the Kaati Mamoe to seek peace negotiations between the two tribes. According to Kai Tahu tradition the Kaati Mamoe suffered a resounding defeat at Te Iho Ka. In Kai Tahu tradition, the bleaching bones that remained at the site of Te Iho Ka bore witness to the magnitude of the victory. The few who escaped were said to have fled to the vast wilderness to the west of Te Anau. The remaining Kaati Mamoe living dispersed about the Otakou area were apparently either killed or incorporated into the local Kai Tahu. In the oral tradition of the Kai Tahu, 'the Nga-ti-mamoe [sic], as a distinct and independent tribe, may be said to have perished at Te-ihō-ka.'\textsuperscript{141}

This incident, however, involved only a number of Kaati Mamoe individuals living in the Otago region and did not include the entire Kaati Mamoe population of the southern part of the island. Other surviving Kaati Mamoe residing in or near Kai Tahu settlements did not relinquish their Kaati Mamoe heritage following this defeat. The most significant consequence was that remaining Kaati Mamoe sought to negotiate a peace arrangement with the Kai Tahu with the very purpose of preserving their identity.

According to one tradition, the decision to negotiate a

\textsuperscript{140}M. Austin, p. 60.

\textsuperscript{141}White, III, p. 259.
peace settlement arose because the remaining Kaati Mamoe who were allied with the Kai Tahu felt insecure about their position. These remaining Kaati Mamoe were described as being 'still numerous'. When Turakautahi’s sons returned from the victory at Te Iho Ka, Te Rakiihia, residing at Matau, elected to go to Kaiapoi in order to secure a peace arrangement for his tribe.

The circumstances surrounding the peace talks between the Kai Tahu and the Kaati Mamoe bring the politics of marriage between different iwi into clear focus. The Kai Tahu oral tradition recalls that, on his arrival at Kaiapoi, the Kai Tahu of Kaiapoi accorded Te Rakiihia every respect and to bond the agreement firmly Te Rakiihia was given Hine hakiri, one of the daughters of the Kai Tahu ariki (chiefs), to marry. In exchange Te Rakiihia’s own sister, Kohi wai was given in marriage to Hone kai, the son of Te Hau. Rakiihia remained at Kaiapoi until the birth of his son Pari. After the birth, the Kai Tahu suggested that Rakiihia return home as it was their intention to incorporate Rakiihia’s hapuu into the Kai Tahu and make Pari the residing chief of the two amalgamated hapuu.

On reaching his home, Rakiihia, escorted by Te Hau and Turakautahi’s sons, was shocked to find his sister cooking her own food like a commoner. On his departure he had made preparations to ensure that she would be well-attended while he was gone. When the evening came he asked her why she had belittled herself to such a degree as to do her own cooking. She replied that the maids that he had appointed for her had run away and married. Rakiihia then went to the homes of the maids and killed both of the women. Before he left the house, however, one of the husbands of the slain women thrust a spear through his shoulder, the spear-head broke off and became wedged into the bone. Te Hau later pulled the spear-head out of Te Rakiihia’s shoulder with his teeth. Te Rakiihia then brought about his own demise by sneering that if he had been struck by a man with an arm as strong as his own he would surely be dead. This comment was heard by the husbands of the slain women who then scraped the end of the spear and recited incantations over the spear and the dried blood on the spear. These karakia induced symptoms of madness in Rakiihia and he died shortly afterwards.  

142 ibid, p. 259.
This story comes from a Kai Tahu source. Many details, such as the Kaiapoi chiefs wish to make Rakiihia's son the chief rather than Rakiihia himself and the lack of respect accorded to his sister would suggest a loss of mana on the part of the Kaati Mamoe following the peace of Popoutunoa. Kaati Mamoe accounts, however, differ and record another story. A Murihiku source repudiated the notion that the peace arrangement of Poupoutuna put an end to all inter-tribal conflict. He noted that some of the southern Kaati Mamoe were dissatisfied with the state of affairs and were so violently provocative that more fighting took place in Murihiku after the peace than before. One band of Kaati Mamoe warriors who refused to recognise the alliance with the Kai Tahu continued to attack and slay members of the Kai Tahu on sight.

More recently the agreement that was made at Popoutunoa has been viewed by a number of leading Kai Tahu of the present day as one which both put an end to all conflict between the Kaati Mamoe and the Kai Tahu and left the Kai Tahu in a position of paramount power in Te Wai Pounamu. While Kai Tahu did presume a certain hegemony up until the twentieth century it would be a fallacy to believe that this situation led to the extinction of the Kaati Mamoe tribe.

With regard to the Ngai Tahu Claim, the Waitangi Tribunal heard from Kai Tahu leaders that conflict between the Kaati Mamoe and the Kai Tahu ensued following the latter's arrival in Te Wai Pounamu, with a peace settlement, however, being negotiated in about 1750,

Further disputes continued with Ngati Mamoe [sic] throughout the southern parts of Te Wai Pounamu until a final peace was agreed to at Poupoutunoa [sic] (near Clinton). The peace was arranged by Te Hautapuniotu of Ngai Tahu and Te Rakiihia of Ngati Mamoe. Although at times precarious, Mr O'Regan stated that the "union of the two tribes ... has held from that time." Further citations follow:

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143 ibid, pp. 259-60.
144 Hall-Jones, p. 65.
145 W. A. Taylor, p. 182.
147 ibid.
Kaati Mamoe traditions that do not feature significantly in this Kai Tahu interpretation. The oral tradition of the Kaati Mamoe, for example, emphasises that Rakiihia negotiated the peace with the Kai Tahu in order to ensure the survival of the Kaati Mamoe tribe. Rakiihia, who was the grandson of Tutemakohu, realised that the Kaati Mamoe would not survive as a tribe unless drastic steps were taken, so he went to Kaiapoi and made peace terms with Te Hautapuniotu, the paramount chief of the Kai Tahu. The paramount family of each tribe was then united to the other by the marriage of Rakiihia to Huaroto, the sister of Te Hautapupuniotu. During the peace discussions the boundary between the two tribal territories was fixed at Clinton in South Otago.\textsuperscript{148}

The fixing of a line of demarcation at Popoutunoa is a significant detail of this agreement because it suggests that the Kaati Mamoe retained autonomy in terms of a recognition of their geographical area or rohe. According to a Kaati Mamoe source, a boundary post was placed on the hill of Popoutunoa, which marked the boundary below which the Kai Tahu were not conceded territorial rights.\textsuperscript{149} In effect then, the Murihiku rohe was under the jurisdiction of the Kaati Mamoe rather than the Kai Tahu.

Rakiihia, the Kaati Mamoe chief who participated in the Popoutunoa arrangement, died at Otepoti. He was buried at Korakaarungateraki (Lookout Point), 'so that his spirit might see thence his old haunts to the southward.'\textsuperscript{150} Many years later an outbreak of violence was sparked by some Kai Tahu who were boasting that they had made a fish-hook from Rakiihia's bones.\textsuperscript{151} The fact that this action caused such offence shows that these Kaati Mamoe still distinguished themselves from Kai Tahu.

About fifty years after the Popoutunoa settlement, Tuhuru Kokare, a great grandson of Turakautahi set out from the east coast to defeat the Kaati Mamoe people of the central West Coast. The story of the conquest of the West Coast

\textsuperscript{148}M. Austin, pp. 76-7.
\textsuperscript{149}Hall-Jones, p. 66.
\textsuperscript{150}Canon Stack, \textit{South Island Maoris, A Sketch of their History and Legendary Lore}, Christchurch, 1898, p.
\textsuperscript{151}M. Goodall, G. Griffiths, \textit{Maori Dunedin}, Dunedin, 1980, p. 6.
according to Kai Tahu tradition is that the Kai Tahu of Canterbury went to the source of greenstone in the Mawhera and Arahura regions and fought with the local people. Subsequently, Tuhuru, a powerful warrior chief and his hapuu were involved in the defeat of the local people at Kotuku-Whakaoho (Lake Brunner). From here it is said that they began the conquest of the West Coast, defeating all before them as far south as Makawhio. The final defeat took place in the Paparoa Ranges. One Kai Tahu tradition recalls that 'it was an easy conquest south to a point twenty miles west of Aoraki (Mount Cook) - including the pa at Makawhio. Only a few Ngaati Wairangi survived these slaughters to live in the bush for a short while - then peace was declared and freedom was theirs. Even today the two surviving families, Te Koeti and Te Naihi live happily in the Makawhio area.' Tuhuru and his people decided to settle and construct a new pa on the north side of the Mawhera river where they became known as the Poutini Kai Tahu.

According to Poutini Kai Tahu tradition, Tuhuru went over to the West Coast for greenstone. The Tuahiwi version disagrees saying that he was sent over to the West Coast in disgrace because of the sale of land in Canterbury. South Westland kaumaatua interviewed in the nineteenth century did not specify the nature of Tuhuru's arrival in relation to their own hapuu. They listed it among other 'invasion' or heke stories and noted that Tuhuru was a very strong warrior and that he had come over from Kaiapoi with fifty or sixty men.

The Politics of Intermarriage.
Inter-marriage between the Kaati Mamoe and the Kai Tahu was to further confuse the question of the Kaati Mamoe's autonomy and the iwi affiliation of the various hapuu in Te Wai

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152 According to Kai Tahu oral tradition, this is a derisive term for the Kaati Mamoe and Rapuwai people of the West Coast.

153 G. Howitt, Looking at the West Coast, p. 15.


155 Interview with June Robinson, 2 June, 1991.
A Kaati Mamoe identity was preserved at Tuahiwi in North Canterbury. In 1925, Mr W.T. Pitama, assured members at a hui at Tuahiwi that the interests of the Kaati Mamoe, who had supported the Kai Tahu Claim for three generations, would be assured. (W.A. Taylor p. 149).

Pounamu. Hapuu groups had begun to feature members of both tribes. Using the work of the anthropologist, Levi-Strauss as a frame-work of reference, we may ask how it is possible that a member of one iwi may marry a member of another while not relinquishing the former's heritage and what are the implications for the descendants of mixed tribal marriages.

Levi-Strauss argues that the rule of descent should not be confused with the position of the descent groups. He points out that the rule of descent may be patrilineal, matrilineal or undifferentiated and that descent groups are defined within a structure of exchange. Whether that exchange involves the giving or the taking of wives, the descent group is either making use of its women or its men to reinforce its position.157 In the case of South Westland, it was the Kaati Mamoe Kaipo who took Poke, the daughter of the Kai Tahu chief Mu, as a wife. It is Kaipo and Poke's great grandson, Tutoko who forms one of the Kaati Mamoe ancestors of the Mamoe hapuu of South Westland. That this hapuu chose to identify with their Kaati Mamoe ancestry implies that they subscribe to a patrilineal line of descent in order to maintain the identity of their 'descent group' or hapuu group called Kaati Mamoe.

The complicated nature of the relations between the Kai Tahu and the Kaati Mamoe has a long history dating back to the time when both the tribes were living in the Heretaunga. The main source of this entanglement stems from the widespread inter-weaving of these two peoples through wedlock. While intermarriage played a significant role in Maori life ensuring a degree of peace between the various iwi and hapuu; it did not necessarily mean that members from one tribe by marrying into another lost their link with their former tribe. In 1898, Canon Stack noted that when speaking with east coast Maori he often found himself confused about inter-tribal relations because of the extensive intermarriage between hostile tribes. He mused that it was confusing to hear of people who while fighting for one tribe were, at the same time, fervently hoping that their opponent would be victorious. He explained that the husband of a Kaati Mamoe woman felt no allegiance towards that tribe and that the Kaati Mamoe husband of a Kai Tahu woman would still feel strongly for his own tribe.158 Herries Beattie recorded that he was assured by

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157 Levi-Strauss, p. 182.
two of his esteemed Kai Tahu friends that 'the Kaati Mamoe were fairer-skinned than the Kai Tahu and that some of their highborn women were noticeably good-looking'. According to Beattie 'the lighter skin and aristocratic look caused the Kai Tahu chiefs to seek Kaati Mamoe women for their wives. Aquiline features of a distinct Jewish cast were another characteristic of these women observed by early white settlers.' Beattie, however, surmised that although the beauty of the women may have had something to do with it, the possession of Kaati Mamoe land was probably a greater inducement to the Kai Tahu chiefs. Inter-marriage took place but primarily between Kai Tahu men and Kaati Mamoe women rather than the other way around.159

Tutemakohu's wife Kuruhaukapua was abducted by a Kai Tahu man called Tutakaikura who was visiting his Mamoe relatives. He was reportedly so charmed by her unusual fairness that he kidnapped her and set off to return to Kaiapoi. Tutemakohu, on hearing the news of his wife's disappearance left abruptly to rescue her. Kurahaukapua taunted her captor saying that Tutemakohu would not be able to sleep because he would be scheming her rescue. This was true but Tutemakohu was also keen that his men should not lose their lives in such a small dispute after having just survived a victorious assault on Waitai's Pa which had left just two Kai Tahu survivors. By strapping bundles of matagouri on their backs that were able to be immediately released the Kaati Mamoe group successfully outwitted the Kai Tahu kidnapper. Tutemakohu challenged him to a fight and upon his defeat returned to Otaupiri with Kurahaukapua.160

Intermarriage between the Kaati Mamoe and the Kai Tahu is evident in the whakapapa of the West Coast Kaati Mamoe. Kaipo, a cousin of Tutemakohu and an important tipuna of Tutoko and Te Koeti Turanga, enacted a strategic marriage between the two iwi when he married Poke, the daughter of the Kai Tahu chief Mu. Mu was known to be highly antagonistic towards the Kaati Mamoe and on one occasion, when Mu and Parakiore had been travelling with a warparty, they had seen a group of Kaati Mamoe in Omarama and given chase. The Kaati Mamoe had fled for shelter in the mountains

158 Stack, p. 13.
160 Mr Erueta Poko Cameron's notes, H Beattie Papers, Hocken Archives, Dunedin.
but Mu and Parakiore, being renowned for their exceptional speed, had caught up with them and a slaughter had ensued.\textsuperscript{161} The marriage was a strategic one for both sides. For the Kai Tahu chief Mu there were gains in terms of land and mana. For the Kaati Mamoe, whose position at this time was precarious, the marriage ensured their survival. Despite the marriage Kaipo appears to have retained a strong allegiance to his own tribe and this heritage has been passed down through his descendants; the Makawhio hapuu of South Westland.

Marriage between different iwi groups has never been a simple matter and has never completely equated with inter-tribal peace or the extinguishment of one tribal identity. The theme of the dangerous nature of the brother-in-law relationship is one that has often featured in early Maori mythology. Ranginui Walker suggests that the constant repetition of this theme was intended to promote wariness of this relationship and hence of marriages made between different iwi groups. He alludes to the incident when Maauui turned Irawaru into a dog noting that the story was intended not only to explain the origin of the dog but also to draw attention to the strained relationship between the brothers-in-law. The great hero Tawhaki nearly lost his life because of the murderous intentions of his brothers-in-law and another figure from mythology, Tuwhakararo, was brutally murdered while visiting his sister who was married to a man from the Ati-Hapai tribe. The precarious and uncertain nature of relatives by marriage is emphasised by the fact that not only was Tuwhakararo murdered but he also became the first victim of cannibalism.\textsuperscript{162}

The impact of the Kai Tahu migration and subsequent inter-tribal conflict and intermarriage on the Kaati Mamoe of South Westland did not lead to the tribe becoming 'extinct'. Despite Kai Tahu persecution and extensive intermarriage between Kai Tahu and Kaati Mamoe men and women, a Kaati Mamoe tribal identity has survived on Te Tai Poutini. In interviews conducted in 1897 and as recently as 1991 Maori people in South Westland have identified themselves as

\textsuperscript{161}M. Austin, p. 64.
belonging, or having some connection with the Kaati Mamoe tribe. In 1897, Hakopa Kapo talked of the West Coast as being the domain of the Kaati Mamoe. As recently as 1991, Kelly Wilson, a kaumaatua of the Te Koeti hapuu of South Westland, explained in an interview that he identified as being of a Kaati Mamoe hapuu through his ancestors, Tutoko and Te Koeti Turanga.163

Details about the movements of the southern members of the Kaati Mamoe are sketchy. What can be understood from the nomenclature is that Kaipo along with a number of other Kaati Mamoe people moved westward following his brother Pohowera's death in the eighteenth century. Kaipo's name remains recorded in the land to the south of Martin's Bay. It would appear, from the available evidence, that a part of the Kaati Mamoe tribe, whose origins in Aotearoa lie in the Heretaunga, have in spite of intermarriage and inter-tribal conflict with the Kai Tahu retained their identity in the remote south-west of Te Wai Pounamu until the present day.

163 Interview with Mr Kelly Wilson, 2 June 1991.
CHAPTER SIX.
Surveying Te Tai Poutini: The Impact of European colonisation.

The impact of European colonisation on the takata whenua of South Westland was enormous. The earliest white men, the sealers, brought about many deaths among the local people through their aggressive attitude towards the indigenous population. The missionary influence later sowed seeds of doubt in the minds of the people as they were taught that much of their culture was ‘no good’.¹ Written records show that a number of surveyors in the late nineteenth century demonstrated an open contempt for what they perceived as the ‘primitiveness’ of the tangata whenua’s way of life. At a practical level, the Pakeha hunger for land for new settlers had implications for relations between the Kai Tahu and Kaati Mamoe hapuu groups on Te Tai Poutini. Crown officials negotiated the purchase of the entire West Coast in 1860, which left the Poutini Kai Tahu at Mawhera with little control over their land and resources. The Kaati Mamoe in South Westland received even less recognition and not surprisingly, a century after the ‘Mackay Purchase’, the hapuu, unable to support the subsequent generations, were forced to leave the land that had been reserved for them. In short, the impact of European colonisation put pressure on the culture of hapuu throughout the length and breadth of the Coast and on their mana whenua.

The abundance of fur seals around the southern parts of the West Coast attracted a number of European sealers to the area in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. An element of tension seems to have characterised dealings between these early sealers and the Kaati Mamoe which on occasion escalated into violent confrontation. From the outset the sealers clearly viewed the Kaati Mamoe as a threat to their activities. In his journal the sealer William Boultbee related the cautious yet aggressive manner with which the sealing gangs proceeded. Salt and seal skins, for example, were never carried inland as their weight would impair a hasty retreat in the

¹While speaking with George Roberts in 1897, the people of Makawhio frequently made comments in which they appeared keen to show that they understood the immorality of certain actions of their ancestors.
MAP OF SOUTH WESTLAND SHOWING LOCATIONS OF SEALING ACTIVITIES

TASMAN SEA

Knight's Point
North Head
(Arnott's Point)

Jackson Bay
Okuru

Makawhio Mahitahi

Martins Bay
event of attack by Kaati Mamoe. On one occasion he recalled that,

The Boatsteerer told us, when the natives generally make an attack, it is at the dawn of day, ... when they usually rushed by surprise and killed all they could, and [he] advised us if anything happened to run directly to the boat and launch her, and then lay a distance off shore and fire on them.\textsuperscript{165}

Confrontations between sealers based at Knight’s Point and Kaati Mamoe broke out sporadically during the 1820s.\textsuperscript{166} In his journal Boultbee recorded that he and his gang had been attacked in the early hours of the morning at North Head, about two hundred miles north of Dusky Bay. Boultbee described the attackers as an ‘infernal tribe’ who ‘screamed most diabolically’. William Perkins and the boatsteerer were killed in the attack. In retaliation, a party of sealers led by Boultbee mounted an attack on the Kaati Mamoe village of Okahu at Jackson’s Bay. Pulling into the shore the sealers fired their muskets pointblank at the people, slaughtering all who failed to escape into the bush. The village, with an estimated population of 200 to 300 people was destroyed and thirty Kaati Mamoe people died in the attack.\textsuperscript{167} On another occasion, sealers shot a Maori family because they had destroyed seal skins by singeing the fur, as was customary, before eating the carcasses.\textsuperscript{168}

Thomas Brunner was the first European explorer to journey south down the West Coast from Nelson. His expedition, which set out in 1846 and took approximately two years to complete, was primarily to establish the viability of the region for the expansion of European settlement. The settlers had realised that they would not be able to seize Maori land in the Nelson area by force following the disastrous Wairau affair.\textsuperscript{169}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[166] Interview with Mr Kelly Wilson, 2 June 1991.
\item[167] Starke, p. xiv.
\item[168] Ibid, p. 41.
\item[169] Local tribes in the Wairau area (near Blenheim) had retaliated swiftly to the European threat and a number of prominent European invaders had lost their lives as a result.
\end{footnotes}
Many of them saw the West Coast as a possible solution to the problem of a land shortage for new immigrants. It was James Fox who persuaded Brunner to undertake the expedition. In a despatch dated 12 March 1846, Fox happily concluded, 'I have persuaded Mr Brunner who is a very zealous explorer to undertake a journey down the coast from Cape Farewell.'

In his journal entitled, 'Journal of an Expedition to explore the interior of the Middle Island of New Zealand', Brunner made a number of observations about the Maori tribes which he encountered on his journey. He noted that from the Kawatiri River south was called Poutini and was said to belong to Taiaroa, the paramount chief of the Kai Tahu. At the Mawhera Pa (at present-day Greymouth) he met the chief Tuhuru and his people. Brunner was mistakenly of the opinion that Tuhuru was the father of Taiaroa and the acknowledged head of the Kai Tahu tribe.

Further south at Okarito he met six Kai Tahu residents, two men and four women. These men were the chief Taetae and his brother Samuel. Brunner noted that Okarito was the pa where Te Niho, the northern chief, had captured and killed many of the Kai Tahu tribe. Okarito was where the Mawhera chief Tuhuru had been taken prisoner by Te Niho but had since been released to return to work greenstone. The impact of Christian missionaries was very much in evidence at Okarito. Brunner made mention of the enthusiasm with which the Maori at Okarito had embraced the religion of Christianity,

I am much astonished to find amongst the natives in these distant parts so much attention paid to their forms of religion, which is the Church [of England] and Wesleyans. Much animosity appears to exist between them: and although in some places there are only 6 or 7 natives yet they have separate places of worship, 2 schools and are always quarrelling about religion,

171 T. Brunner, 'Journal of an Expedition to explore the Interior of the Middle Island of New Zealand,' in *Expeditions-Brunner-Rochfort-Hector*, Hocken Library, pp. 7-8.
each asserting its own to be the proper service to God. There are some few who have been christened by the late Reverend C.L. Reay, and a few also by Mr Aldred the Wesleyan missionary.\textsuperscript{172}

Brunner travelled further south to Makawhio where he and his party put up for the night at a small potato garden. Brunner did not visit the pa at Makawhio and did not record meeting any people at Makawhio and we can presume that he did not meet with either of the chiefs Tutoko or Te Koeti Turanga or any of the other members of the southern hapu here. Tutoko at the time of Brunner’s visit was living further south at Okahu (Jackson’s Bay). The southern-most point that Brunner reached was Parika (Paringa), the residence of Tuarope, the grandfather of Te Koeti Turanga. He recalled that, ‘[a]t Parika we received the welcome of strangers in a bountiful supply of fern root, preserved wekas and fish.’\textsuperscript{173} On his return, Brunner concluded that the population of the West Coast region consisted of only a small number of Maori in scattered settlements. He noted, ‘There are only 97 natives, adults and children, living on the West Coast north of latitude 44’, all of whom profess some form of Christianity, 29 of them are members of the Church and 68 Wesleyans.’\textsuperscript{174}

A significant event in the period shortly after the arrival of the Europeans was the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi). The document itself reflected the humanitarian ideals and values of the government of the day in Britain.\textsuperscript{175} The terms of the Treaty were designed to ensure ‘te tino rangatiratanga o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa,’ or ‘unequivocal recognition of Maori tribal ownership and control of their land and resources.’\textsuperscript{176} Pakeha officials were insistent that the Treaty was a binding agreement guaranteeing Maori rights.\textsuperscript{177} The Treaty, however, was to be of negligible

\textsuperscript{172}ibid, pp. 9-10.
\textsuperscript{173}ibid, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{174}ibid, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{176}The Ngai Tahu Report, Wai 27, New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 252.
\textsuperscript{177}Orange, p. 4.
assistance to the Kaati Mamoe of South Westland as first the Crown and then the settlers themselves endeavoured to acquire their land and with it access to their mahika kai.

Political developments did not augur well for the Kaati Mamoe hapuu in the years immediately following the signing of the Treaty. In 1846, as the humanitarian influence waned, the new colonial administration, under Governor George Grey, passed the Native Land Purchase Ordinance. This ordinance restored the Crown’s right of pre-emption. Initially under the Treaty, this right of pre-emption had been designed to ensure Maori a fair price for their land and to protect them from unscrupulous Europeans seeking to buy land at a cheap price. Under the new administration, however, this ordinance generated concern among its critics who saw it as a move to tighten government control over Maori lands. The measure prevented Maori from utilizing their lands freely and its opponents argued that it was the ‘first step towards the negation of the Treaty’. Maori agreement to the Treaty had hinged on article two, which had guaranteed them rangatiratanga over their lands, forest and fisheries. This ordinance was a subtle undermining of that rangatiratanga. 178

By the 1850s, the principles embodied in the Treaty were being largely ignored by the Crown agents who perceived a need to work around the Treaty in order to successfully conduct extensive land negotiations. What occurred, in effect, was the transfer of much titled Maori land into the hands of the Crown. 179 The pressure that was brought to bear on the Maori people resulted in the sale of their land at prices which even the Crown often described as ‘token sums’. The Kai Tahu and Kaati Mamoe hapuu of the West Coast of the South Island were, for the most part unaffected by these developments in Auckland until 1859, when they also were exposed to Crown pressure to sell their land.

Approximately a decade following Brunner’s initial reconnaissance expedition a Nelson settler, James Mackay, made three trips down the West Coast, on behalf of the Crown, in order to negotiate the purchase of the region from the Maori tribes resident in the area. This intrusion into the rohe of the Kai Tahu and Kaati Mamoe of the West Coast posed a further

178ibid, p. 105.
179ibid, p. 152.
threat to the identity of the Makawhio hapuu.

It had initially been thought by the Crown that the 'Arahura Block'\(^\text{180}\) had been included in the deed of purchase negotiated by the government agent, Harry Kemp, in 1848 with the east coast Kai Tahu. Wereta Tainui of the Poutini Kai Tahu at Mawhera had been present at the negotiations and reputedly received a payment of £500. Little of the purchase price, however, had gone to the Poutini Kai Tahu and there had been no meeting or consultation with the Kaati Mamoe people of the southern rohe. In their attempt to remedy this situation the Crown successfully negotiated a deed of sale known as the 'Te Waipounamu' purchase. The principal signatory to this deed was the North Island tribe of Ngati Toa.\(^\text{181}\) This settlement outraged the Poutini Kai Tahu at Mawhera who wrote to Donald McLean, the Chief Native Land Purchase Commissioner. In their letter they stated that,

... they [Ngati Toa] are thieves, as their feet have never trodden on this ground, they are equal to rats which when men are sleeping climb up to the storehouses and steal the food.\(^\text{182}\)

On his first trip in 1857 a number of Kai Tahu offered Mackay an unknown amount of land for sale; their asking price was £2,500 which was turned down by Mackay in compliance with the instructions that he had been given by Governor Gore-Browne.\(^\text{183}\) The offer was made collectively by a group of Kai Tahu men which included Tarapuhi, a Poutini Kai Tahu chief at Mawhera, Wi Pita Paturi, Makarini Toni, Inia Pikiwara, Po

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\(^{180}\) The 'Arahura Block', as perceived by the Crown at this time, encompassed the region which stretches from Kahurangi Point in the north to Piopiotahi (Milford Sound) in the south.

\(^{181}\) Other iwi who signed this deed were Ngaati Awa, Ngaati Koata, Ngaati Rarua and Rangitaane.


Arama Hota and Hakiaha. The following boundaries of the area were given: from west Whanganui to Piopiotahi (Milford Sound), from Piopiotahi inland to Tiropiatae (Haast Pass), Tara o Tama, Kaimata, Mariua, Matakiteki, Te Ikahapuku, Te Rotoroa, Whangapeka, Aoraki, Onetoki, Rangiora, Whakamarama and Te Hapua. These boundaries extended into the Kaati Mamoe rohe on the southern part of the West Coast.

The Kaati Mamoe of the southern rohe were not a party to the offer. This was not the first occasion that other iwi attempted to sell Kaati Mamoe land in South Westland without consulting with the takata whenua themselves. The offer was ultimately turned down because the Crown’s opinion was that the asking price of L2,500 was too high.

Mackay did not return to Te Tai Poutini until 1859, following the news that significant quantities of gold had been found on the Coast. Browne sent him back to negotiate a settlement with express instructions not to pay more than L150 and to reserve no more than 500 acres for the takata whenua. A hui was held at the Mawhera Pa with Kai Tahu from the central and northern rohe of Mawhera, Arahura, Taramakau and the Kaati Mamoe from the southern rohe of Mahitahi and Okahu. Both James and his cousin Alexander Mackay also attended the hui.

Although a number of the iwi members favoured selling some of their land there was unanimous agreement that they would not be interested in selling any of the land between the Mawhara (Grey), Kotukuwakaho (Arnold) and Okitika (Hokitika) rivers. Mackay considered this to be unsatisfactory. He found it objectionable that the proposal made by the takata whenua would ensure that they would retain ‘the best of the land’. In his correspondence he noted, ‘I refused to pay for the land at all unless [they] chose to except reasonable reserves.’ Mackay, was thus unable to convince the Poutini groups to sell on either occasion, principally because he wanted to buy too vast an area and the local iwi were not prepared to agree to it. Mackay was recorded as having informed the West Coast Maori that he ‘could not allow the small number of Natives- 110 all told- to occupy such a reserve as they demanded, to the exclusion of European settlers who would improve their lands.’

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184 Taylor, p.195.
On his return in 1860 Mackay was armed with instructions to pay a maximum of £400 and to allocate a reserved area not exceeding 10,000 acres. At a meeting at Poherua, home of the chief Taetae, the takata whenua stated that they wished to keep 200,000 acres of land located between the Mawhera, Kotukuwakaho and Okitika rivers. The outcome, after days of discussion, was a report from Mackay stating that the Poutini Kai Tahu had agreed to sell the entire Arahura block for £300 with a number of reserves to be set aside for the takata whenua. Apparently those present at the hui had, within days, changed their mind about wanting to retain the area of 200,000 acres between the rivers and also dropped their original asking price of £2,500 in 1857 to a mere £300 for a tract of land consisting of some seven and a half million acres.¹⁸⁷

There was, it would appear, some considerable disagreement between the Poutini Kai Tahu chiefs of Mawhera and the Kaati Mamoe chiefs, Tutoko and Te Koeti Turanga of Mahitahi, regarding the amount and the location of the land that was to be allocated to the various hapuu leaders. This friction confirms the distinct identities of the northern rohe and the southern rohe; that is the Poutini Kai Tahu of Mawhera and Arahura and the Kaati Mamoe of Makawhio. It is not difficult to see how these distinct identities had previously been eclipsed in the flurry of events that accompanied European purchase and settlement. The considerable pressure of these purchases had repercussions not only for the two hapuu groups in terms of economic and cultural losses but also for the future relations between the two groups.

'Tangata hara.' In 1860 Mackay travelled to Lake Paringa in order to ascertain the views of other tangata whenua of Te Tai Poutini. When he requested to be taken further south, one of the Mawhera Kai Tahu chiefs, Tarapuhi, who was acting as his guide told him that there were no Maori south of that point. Kelly Wilson explained that the reason that Tarapuhi did this

¹⁸⁷Evison, p. 39.
was because he was outside of his rohe and he did not want to
go any further.\(^{188}\) He added that the northern Poutini people
did not generally go into South Westland.

In a letter to the Chief Land Purchase Commissioner
in Auckland, James Mackay related the same event. He
described his journey south to the residence of the chief
Taetae expressly to discuss all questions relating to the
reservation of land. He continued,

As there were several Natives residing at Mahitahi,
about 50 miles south of Poherua, the presence and
assent of whom would be necessary for the proper
extinguishment of Native title, I deemed it expedient
to proceed there; and accordingly left Poherua on the
7th April, accompanied by Mr S Mackley, Tarapuhi te
Kaukihi, and a half-caste boy named Heneri, leaving a
large body of Natives there to await our return with
those from the south.

There were a few Natives at Jackson’s Bay related to
Taetae and to the Natives of Mahitahi; but the chiefs
said it was not necessary that these should be
present, as the question had all been arranged among
themselves in my absence. It was, however, my
intention to have proceeded to Jackson’s Bay on my
arrival at Mahitahi, on the 10th April.

I found most of the Natives there and Tarapuhi then
refused to go any further, and expressed his intention
of returning to Mawhera, and leaving the question
unsettled if I persisted in going there for the purpose
of seeing two or three old men.\(^{189}\)

These kaumaatua further south were the elderly Kaati
Mamoe chiefs Tutoko and Kohatu and their families who were
living at Martin’s Bay. It is clear that Tarapuhi viewed these
people as ‘tangata hara’ or people whose right to the land was
not acknowledged by the Poutini Kai Tahu at Mawhera.
Tarapuhi’s lack of respect for Tutoko’s tangata whenua status
was a significant slight that has been recorded in the oral

\(^{188}\)Interview with Mr Kelly Wilson, 2 June 1991.
\(^{189}\)A. Mackay, *Compendium of Official Documents relative to Native Affairs in the South Island*, 1873, p. 40.
tradition of the Makawhio hapuu until the present day.

A European observer, Edward Shortland, recorded a similar incident of dismissal on the east coast of the South Island. Shortland recalled that the people of Waiateruati near Arowhenua were very interested in the question of the sale of Bank’s Peninsula to the French. News of the distribution of the long-awaited payment for the land had recently arrived. Shortland noted that taking advantage of this situation he intended to ascertain the names of the inhabitants. He found, however, that,

... a great disinclination was manifested to mention the names of persons who did not belong to families whose right to part of the soil about the Peninsula was acknowledged by them. Such persons they included under the general term “tangat hara” or men of an odd number, or men not worthy to be reckoned with—an expression which I had never met with, in this sense, in the North Island. 180

These ‘tangata hara’ were generally slaves or families descended purely from the Kaati Mamoe, as well as Maori belonging to other iwi who had settled among them.

The most immediate effect of the land purchasing on the West Coast was that it put the takata whenua status of the Kaati Mamoe and the Kai Tahu of the area on trial. The placing of a fiscal value on the land disrupted the previous balance that had existed between the different hapuu groups. In short, survival became based on the politics of iwi affiliation for the Kaati Mamoe of the southern rohe. Thus the people of Makawhio came under the mantle of the Kai Tahu in order to receive a portion of the payment for the land and to negotiate the appropriate reserves.

Surveyors were the next wave of Europeans to arrive in the area, following the Crown purchase of the West Coast in 1860. Their records leave little ethnographic detail about the Maori of the West Coast, focusing more on data relating to surveying. In their recollections there is always a sense that they are the first arrivals, and the takata whenua with whom they meet are somewhat incidental to their surveying tasks. 181

180Shortland, The Southern Districts of New Zealand, p. 231.
181G.J. Roberts who was the Chief Surveyor for Westland in the late nineteenth century was a notable exception.
The surveyors were followed closely by prospectors in what was to become one of the biggest gold rushes of the century. Gold had been discovered on a surveying expedition led by John Rochfort in 1859.\textsuperscript{192} Rochfort’s recollection of the discovery captures the pioneering adventurous spirit that was later to epitomise the European fortune seekers who flocked to the Coast,

\begin{quote}
While chaining, I was surprised and no less gratified by one of the hands (F. Millington) announcing the discovery of gold; an event as unexpected as propitious, and one which must have a powerful influence on the future prospects of this long-neglected Westland. The royal mineral was lying on the edge of the river, glistening in the sun, and in such quantity as induced rather a mutinous spirit; my hands having a greater preference for the golden prospects before them, than the sterner duties of surveying.\textsuperscript{193}
\end{quote}

Rochfort made another expedition down the West Coast in 1864 and travelled as far south as Paringa. Although he gave few details about the Kaati Mamoe pa at Mahitahi, it is noteworthy that he did stress the advantages of Bruce Bay as a safe port for the launching and landing of boats.\textsuperscript{194} One of

\textsuperscript{192}Gold was a significant factor in the negotiations of the Westland Purchase. European awareness of the presence of gold dated from as early as 1857. There is much evidence to suggest that, from the outset, attempts were made by the Crown to conceal this information from the takata whenua of the West Coast in order to purchase the land at a cheaper rate than its true value.

\textsuperscript{193}J. Rochfort, ‘Journal of Two Expeditions to the West Coast of the Middle Island in the Year 1859’ in Expeditions-Brunner-Rochfort-Hector, Hocken Library, p. 301.

\textsuperscript{194}The extensive use of sea-faring canoes by the Kaati Mamoe in South Westland has previously been ignored.
Rochfort’s party, recalled part of the expedition in a letter which was published in the *Lyttelton Times*.

June 1st ... we arrived at Maiawhio [sic], a deep river, emptying itself into a fine bay, the Mahitahi, through which we travelled to a river of the same name on the 2nd camping near the Maori pahe ... This as far as the natives knew was the white man’s farthest south: Messrs Mackay (the Native Assessor) and Mackley having been there about 18 months previously. This bay ought to be known more of than it is, as its capabilities equal, in my opinion, those of Jackson’s Bay as an anchorage, while the country has a far better appearance ...

On the 4th we came into another sandy bay, in which boats might land at times, as there was no surf either as we went down or returned.

The next day, after crossing ... arrived at Paringa, where is a good boat harbour, which the Maoris say. was formerly used as a station for whalers’ and sealers’ boats. They, the Maoris, also describe a valley running from the Paringa to the Mahitahi, which is only lightly timbered, and through which they travel from one place to the other, in their hunting expeditions.195

Another early surveyor who met with some of the South Westland takata whenua was James Hector, the Provincial Geologist for Otago. Following an unsuccessful attempt to reach the West Coast overland through the Hollyford Pass, Hector chartered a schooner called the *Matilda Hayes*. On his arrival at Martin’s Bay Hector met the chief Tutoko and his family. He described meeting an elderly Maori man and a family consisting of a very old man and two daughters. He believed that they had lived there for five years, having previously resided in Jackson’s Bay.196

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The old men were Kohatu and Tutoko and the young girls were Rongorua and Rongopatahi, Tutoko’s daughters from his first marriage with Moroiti. With characteristic Victorian modesty, Hector arranged for Tutoko’s daughters, the ‘semi-naked girls’ to be clothed. He also decided to re-name them giving them the European names of Sara and May. He named the hills surrounding Martin’s Bay in their honour. Hector believed these people to be the last remnant of the Kaati Mamoe tribe.

During Hector’s sojourn at Martin’s Bay, Tutoko told him about two men who had arrived in a cutter, the Aquila, and who had then proceeded up the Kotuku River in a small boat. According to the chief the pair had soon returned starving after losing their tent, gun and provisions. A sudden deluge had struck and swept away their belongings. Tutoko explained that he had looked after them until their vessel had returned to pick them up. Hector deduced that this expedition must have taken place around July 1863. Judging from the chief Tutoko’s friendly gestures toward the two lost Europeans, it would appear that relations between the tangata whenua and the Pakeha had become more amicable by the mid nineteenth century.

Although he had left Jackson’s Bay some five years earlier, Tutoko had visited only one year previously and had been there when the Ollivier brothers had stopped there in the Ada in 1862. ‘The old man to do us hounour,’ the Ollivier brothers recorded, ‘arrayed himself in a Yankee blue frock coat.’ The coat had no doubt come from an American sealing vessel. Tutoko is featured wearing it in two sketches made by Hector’s draughtsman, John Buchanan.

A number of surveyors and ‘explorers’ were appointed by the Crown in the setting up of the new province of Westland. Gerhard Mueller, a Southland surveyor, was contracted to define Native Reserves to be set aside between Hokitika and Bruce Bay in 1865. The following year he was promoted to the position of District Surveyor of South Westland and in 1871 became the Chief Surveyor of Westland. Charles Douglas who had been drawn to the goldfields of the

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197ibid, p. 464.
Coast, frequently worked alongside Mueller in an unofficial position as 'explorer and bushman'. Both men seemed tolerant of the local Kaati Mamoe but viewed them as an inferior tribe to those of the North Island. Their comments are indicative of the colonising force that these men represented. Their views have become part of the popular Pakeha history of the West Coast and in that role have contributed to the submersion of the Kaati Mamoe identity in South Westland.

In October 1865, Mueller set up camp at Mahitahi (Bruce Bay) in order to survey a reserve of three hundred acres for the tangata whenua. Demonstrating little respect for the local people he chose to pitch camp near the Kaati Mamoe pa using timber from a whare which had been built for a dying chief. He made tables and benches out of the whare timber and regarding his camp site he noted,

> The Mauris [sic] might have thought it was the ghost of an old chief whose whare (built when he was dying) was composed of slabs I had found useful for making benches and tables, and who (so the Mauri belief is) will certainly persecute harm those who disturb or take away anything belonging to the whare he died in.

In a letter to his daughter, Miss M.V. Mueller, Mueller recalled that he was approached by five Maori people at Mahitahi. He had given them tobacco to fill their pipes and listened to their yarns and stories. He had only been able to understand half of what they said because he did not know or speak their language. Mueller thought that it was, 'a pity these Mauris [sic] here are such dirty fellows; otherwise they are rather interesting chaps.'

Charles Douglas was employed in a less official capacity by the Lands and Survey Department as an 'explorer'. He was involved with the Department's headquarters at

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199 It is most likely that this had been the whare that was built for the elderly chief Tutoko.
201 ibid, p. 58.
202 ibid, p. 65.
BRUCE BAY

From Gerhard Mueller's Sketch Map
12th October 1865

A—First Camp
B—Present Camp
There is no 'C' on original sketch
D—Wreck of Coaster
E—Kahu's Residence
F—Maori Pah
G—Beach
Mahitahi in the 1860s. He worked as an assistant to Julius von Haast on a geological survey of South Westland in 1868 and later helped G.J. Roberts with the fieldwork for a major trigonometrical survey in 1877. Douglas’ biographer, John Pascoe concluded that,

Of Maoris, Douglas had a low opinion. He was not destined to know the virile tribes of the North Island. The few Maoris that he met in South Westland were but the shadows of their daring predecessors ... He was as likely to use a phrase such as ‘vile aboriginal’ or ‘the old cannibal’ till it became almost an emotional cliche, and ‘Now a Maorie is scarcer than a whiteman’ vied with accusations of their carelessness in dropping the greenstone they prized.\textsuperscript{203}

Douglas’ attitude is captured in the tone of a letter that he wrote to his friend A.P. Harper in 1895. In it he described his experiences taking photographs of some of the Makawhio hapuu.

I had some great fun Photographing the Maories. I told them I had only 3 exposures for the lot, so they must devide [sic] into 3 parties. Next day one came to Ritchies, and said they were all ready, so down I went and ye gods what a sight. They had evidently been practising attitude and were dressed in a gorgeous array. Gnatu [Katau] and family were standing around a table propped against a stump. On the table was a large battered Bible and the head of the house wanted to stand in the attitude of Gladstone excited over the Irish question. The next crowd was Kellies [Kere Tutoko’s]. He was good, covered with a beautifull Maorie mat, and his attitude was also good, but when I saw Bill I fainted. He was standing stiff as a poker, a new suit of hand me downs on, a mere in one fist and an umbrella in the other ... After a lot of trouble I got them into some sort of order and if I have only hit the time, the lot ought to be interesting.\textsuperscript{204}

\textsuperscript{203} J. Pascoe, \textit{Mr Explorer Douglas}, Wellington, 1957, p. 79.  
\textsuperscript{204} ibid, p. 192.
Douglas was disinclined to believe much of what the hapuu told him. When the Makawhio people talked about the takahe (notornis) which lived in the area, Douglas dismissed the possibility saying that he had never seen such a bird. He assumed the European knowledge of the region to be superior adding that the takahe had not been observed by other Europeans, such as the surveyors, prospectors and cattle hunters who had visited the region. Hence he felt that it was not to be found on the West Coast.

In 1897, G.J. Roberts asked the hapuu about a rumour that they hunted the takahe. They told him that the takahe was big enough to kick dogs and that they caught them with a forked stick by pinning their legs to the ground. Roberts suggested that the birds might be about 10 feet high but Hakopa replied that if they were they would be big enough to kick a man and they would be the moa. The takahe, he repeated, were only big enough to kick a dog. 205

Douglas was wrong and his view was discredited by European science some years later when Dr G. B. Orbell rediscovered the takahe in the area in 1948. 206

The only aspect of the Makawhio hapuu's way of life that Douglas did admire was their respect for the wildlife that formed their diet. Douglas considered their restraint in hunting only a sufficient number of birds to fulfil their immediate needs superior to the European approach to hunting. He understood that when a raid for weka was made on a certain river the hapuu always left enough birds so they would be able to re-establish and they did not hunt at that river again for a number of years. 207

The journals and letters of the first Europeans on Te Tai Poutini (the West Coast) cannot be a sufficient record of Maori occupation in the area. The primary agenda of these men was to acquire land for European settlement. The Kai Tahu and Kaati Mamoe inhabitants were peripheral to this agenda following Mackay's success in actually securing the Deed of Purchase in 1860. Relations between the hapuu

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205 J. Andersen, MS Papers 148: 112, ATL, p. 70.
206 Pascoe, p. 233.
groups were only of note when they threatened to impede this process. Predictably, the records themselves reflect the ethnocentric views characteristic of Victorian colonialists. The impact of the land purchase and subsequent settlement of Europeans on Te Tai Poutini was highly significant for inter-hapuu relations in the area. As Pakeha settlers encroached on Maori land and food resources, the northern and southern rohe were obliged to move closer together both geographically and culturally. The perpetual leases in the central Greymouth town area tied up the Kaati Waewae land at Mawhera and ultimately forced the hapuu to move south and settle at Arahura. The amount of land reserved for the southern Kaati Mamoe proved insufficient to sustain the subsequent generations and resulted in a gradual drift north to Arahura. The story of relations between these two hapuu both prior to and following the ‘Mackay Purchase’ is one that may only be told with accuracy through Maori historical records.
CHAPTER SEVEN.
Whakapapa and Stories.

According to the people of South Westland in both the nineteenth and the present century, the Makawhio hapuu has affiliations with both the Kaati Mamoe and the Kai Tahu of Te Wai Pounamu and, following the expeditions of northern taua, with the Ngaati Maniapoto of Te Ika a Maaui.

Throughout the history of Te Wai Pounamu, hapuu groups with mixed Kaati Mamoe and Kai Tahu lineage have demonstrated shifting loyalties. Allegiance is normally given to the predominant iwi bloodline. For the South Westland hapuu whakapapa shows important kinship ties with the Kaati Mamoe. There are also a number of cases of intermarriage with the Kai Tahu in their whakapapa. Tribal allegiance, however, often depends on the feats of and events in the lives of various ancestors and the context of situations in which iwi or hapuu groups are asked to identify their tribal affiliations. The whakapapa of the South Westland hapuu shows close familial connections with the great Kaati Mamoe warrior chiefs Tutemakohu and Te Rakitauneke. The stories of the oral tradition reveal an intimate knowledge of the southern rohe and reflect the takata whenua status of the Makawhio people.

A vast amount of the hapuu's oral history has been translated into a written form in the manuscript of G.J. Roberts, the Chief Surveyor of Westland, who interviewed and recorded conversations with South Westland elders in 1897. The hapuu's history has also been passed down through oral tradition and preserved in the memories of descendants living today. I have had the privilege of speaking with South Westland kaumatua Kelly Wilson and June Robinson. The hearings of the Waitangi Tribunal on South Island land and mahika kai claims also provided an opportunity for the relaying of South Westland oral history in a public arena. It is these oral sources that form the basis of this chapter.

Whakapapa, oral history and traditions provide the framework of hapuu identity. The role of these three elements in Maori culture has traditionally been dynamic and at times intensely political. These forms of historical discourse are challenging to present in an orthodox Pakeha academic context.

With regard to the use of whakapapa I have chosen to
incorporate whakapapa charts, to give details about various tribal members and to articulate the kinship ties between these individuals, in the actual text of my work. This is a method that was employed by Kelly Wilson to introduce his tiipuna in an interview situation.

For the presentation of Kaati Mamoe oral history I have borrowed some ideas from Klaus Neumann's work. In discussing his approach to Tolai histories, Neumann wrote that three difficulties had arisen. Firstly, he considered that the colourful images in the Tolai perceptions of colonial contact were 'too precious to be reduced to abstract formulas or used merely as evidence in a discourse in a very different mode of thought.' 208 Secondly, he felt that with the telling of their own stories the story tellers were able to reclaim their own history. Finally, he pondered the vexing questions of whether the people about whom he was writing would be able to read his work and whether they would think that his writing had done justice to their way of looking at the past and the present. 209 These are important considerations which lie behind my presentation of the South Westland oral history in this work.

The oral history of the Kaati Mamoe people lies at the centre of this chapter. By bringing this material together with other relevant background information I hope to provide a context for Kaati Mamoe history in South Westland. By comparing versions of oral traditions from other sources I am primarily seeking to establish the diversity of the iwi and hapuu groups in Te Wai Pounamu. I also consider that the inclusion of these variations highlights the sheer volume of oral material available to the student of South Island Maori history. Finally I would like to add that my intention in this chapter is to suggest possible understandings and insights into an area of hapuu history which has previously received little attention. I do not, however, see it as my role to interpret or define the meanings held in the oral material of the Mahitahi hapuu.

208 Neumann, p. 41.
209 Ibid, p. 42.
WHAKAPAPA.

Nga Tiipuna:

Te Rakitauneke.

Te Rakitauneke, the son of Nukutauraro and Takotomahu, was renowned for his stands against various Kai Tahu hapuu. Te Rakitauneke travelled to the West Coast through the Hollyford Pass. Barn Bay in South Westland is called Tauneke.\(^{210}\) Te Rakitauneke was the grandfather of Tutemakohu.

Kaipo, Pohowera and Tutemakohu.

Kaipo is one of the most significant Kaati Mamoe ancestors for the South Westland descendants of today's generation. Kaipo, a Kaati Mamoe, was the brother of Pohowera and cousin of the great Kaati Mamoe warrior chief Tutemakohu. Pohowera lived at the Kaati Mamoe pa at Lake Ohau. He was killed there in 1750 when two Kai Tahu chiefs, Tawhiri-ruru and Te Kaimutu attacked the pa.\(^{211}\) Tutemakohu's father was Karara Kohatu and his grandfather was the legendary Kaati Mamoe leader, Te Rakitauneke. Tutemakohu himself was the grandfather of Rakihiia, the Kaati Mamoe chief who agreed to a peace settlement with the Kai Tahu leader, Te Hautapupuniotu.

Kaipo and Poke.

Kaipo married Poke who was the daughter of the Kai Tahu chief Mu. Mu was fiercely antagonistic towards the Kaati Mamoe and the marriage was an interesting union for that reason. Kaipo and Poke had six children and their youngest child Maaka married Tamariki.

Maaka and Tamariki.

Maaka and Tamariki had three children: Tiria, Maaka and Paoa. Tiria married Waipopo and had two children, Pikara and Tahiumu. Maaka married but did not have any offspring.


\(^{211}\)Beattie, *Maori Lore of Lake, Alp and Fiord*, p. 46.
WHAKAPAPA OF THE MAKAWHIO HAPU

Rakiparemo = Hitekura

Nukutauraro = Takotomahu = Hinetarahaka

Rakitauneke

Karara Kohatu

Tutemakohu (1)

Te Kairere = Kaipakia

Mokiri

Pohowera = Hieoneone

Maaka = Tamariki

Tutemakohu (1) Pohowera = Hieoneone

Maaka = Tamariki

Piro = Pikara

Te Koeti Turanga

Te Koeti Turanga

Tutoko
WHAKAPAPA SHOWING IMPORTANT KAATI MAMOE ANCESTORS OF TUTOKO

Nukutaurara = Takotomahu = Hinetarahaka

Rakitauneke

Karara Kohatu

Tutemakohu (1)

Mokiri

Te Kairere = Kaipakia

Pohowera

Kaipo = Poke

Maaka

Paoa

Tutoko
Paoa married Te Apaupoko and had two sons, Tutoko and Tutemakohu.

**Tiria and Waipopo.**

Tiria and Waipopo's daughter Pikara married a man called Pirio and they had a son called Te Koeti Turanga. It will be remembered that Pikara was the woman after whom one of the canoes that was built at Makawhio was named. Tiria and Waipopo's other child Tahiumu married Tamakore and they had a daughter called Makareta. It was Makareta who married the North Island warrior, Te Naihi. Te Naihi was from Ngaati Maniapoto. He was Te Niho's grandson and had met Makareta on his second visit to the southern part of the West Coast.  

**Paoa and Te Apaupoko.**

Maaka's son, Paoa had married Te Apaupoko who was the daughter of the Waitaha chief, Wanaka and his wife Ngahora. This is an important marriage in the whakapapa of the Makawhio hapuu because it provided a link between the Kaati Mamoe and the Waitaha tribe. Paoa's son was the chief Tutoko who married twice: his first wife was Moroiti and his second wife was Hinepare. Tutoko and his first wife Moroiti had two daughters, Rongorua and Rongopatahi. This was one of the families that James Hector met when he visited Martin's Bay in 1862. Hector renamed the girls, Sarah and May, and also gave their names to two of the nearby hills, the Sarah and May Hills. Tutoko and his second wife, Hinepare had four children, Patiera, Kere, Mitakere and Herewini.

**Nga Takata o Makawhio, 1897.**

When G.J. Roberts journeyed south to Makawhio River in 1897, from his base at Hokitika he spoke with nine members of the hapuu: Hemi Pukahu, Tamara, Kere, Hakopa, Ruera, Katau, Ripeka, Mrs Katau and Mrs Bannister. Hemi Pukahu and his wife Mrs Hemi or Tamara were the oldest people present. Hemi was 95 and Tamara was 97. Kere Tutoko was the son of  

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J. Andersen, MS Papers 148: 112, ATL, p. 98.
Tutoko's second marriage to Hinepare. The old chief Tutoko had passed away and it is not clear whether Hinepare was still alive or not. At the time that the interviews were conducted Kere was 75 years old. Kere was the eldest of Tutoko and Hinepare's four children: Ripeka Patiera, Mitakere and Herewini.

Ripeka Patiera, Kere's sister had married the chief Te Koeti Turanga who had come to live at Mahitahi at the end of the eighteenth century. Te Koeti Turanga was a Kaati Mamoe chief who came from the Taumutu pa on the east coast. He had crossed over the Haast Pass to join Tutoko. He had been obliged to flee from the East Coast because he had a full chiefly tattoo at a time when the Pakeha wanted the heads of tattooed men. The trade between Sydney and New Zealand in preserved Maori heads in the early nineteenth century generated a significant amount of friction between iwi and hapuu groups. The European demand became so great that in a number of cases tribes either captured and sold the heads of other iwi members or tattooed their own slaves with the chiefly designs which were so valued by the European traders. It was in this atmosphere that the Kaati Mamoe chief, Te Koeti Turanga escaped the Kai Tahu-dominated east coast to seek refuge in remote South Westland with his elderly cousin Tutoko. The marriage between Ripeka and Te Koeti cemented the existing kinship ties between the two cousins.

Kere Tutoko married Pori Hunia and they had two children, Ripeka Te Owai and Pita Kere. Again it was Kere and Pori's daughter Ripeka Te Owai who married into the Te Koeti line when she wed Ruera Te Naihi. Both Ripeka and Ruera were present when G.J. Roberts visited Makawhio.

Te Koeti Turanga had also died seven years before Roberts' visit in 1890. Te Koeti and Ripeka Patiera were succeeded by their son Kinihe Te Kaoho. Te Kaoho had married Hunia, the daughter of Makareta and Te Naihi, and they had nine children. One of their daughters, Rea, married Katau Te Naihi. Rea was referred to as Mrs Katau by Roberts and because of her knowledge of English she was the person who facilitated the interpreting of Roberts' questions and the hapuu's answers. Katau and Rea are the tiipuna (grandparents) of Kelly Wilson,

214 Interview with June Robinson, 2 June 1991.
215 Simmons
the kaumatua with whom I spoke in 1991.

The younger members of the hapuu present included the two brothers Ruera and Katau Te Naihi. Ruera was 50 and Katau was 40 at the time of the interviews. The three younger women in the group were Ruera's wife, Ripeka; Katau's wife, Rea and Mrs Bannister who was probably Te Koeti and Ripeka's daughter Hera or Sarah.

The whakapapa of the Mahitahi hapuu is the basis on which the identity of all descendants both today and in the future is founded. In the context of my work it forms a vital source for the discussion about the continued survival of a Kaati Mamoe identity in the southern rohe of the West Coast. Whakapapa shows the great mana of the Kaati Mamoe rangatira (chiefs) in the ancestry of the South Westland people. Te Rakitauneke and his grandson, Tutemakohu led the resistance against the Kai Tahu, striving to retain autonomy for the Kaati Mamoe iwi. Their struggle for independent recognition continues among their descendants in South Westland today.

ORAL HISTORY.

The strands of iwi lineage that merge in the whakapapa are drawn together in the oral history of the hapuu from last century up until today. Kaumaatua in the nineteenth century were reluctant to discuss their tribal identity in detail with Roberts. They had connections with both the Kaati Mamoe and the Kai Tahu. Hakopa explained that although the Kai Tahu claimed manawhenua over much of the South Island, the West Coast was the domain of the Kaati Mamoe.

There was a North Island connection in the hapuu through the Te Naihi line. Ruera explained that his father Te Naihi belonged to the Ngaati Maniapoto. Te Naihi was Te Niho's grandson and had come down with Te Niho in his expedition to the Cascade on his second visit to the Coast. On his way home Te Naihi had married a Bruce Bay girl and stopped there. Makareta was the Makawhio woman whom he married. She was the daughter of Tahiumu and Tamakore and the cousin of Te Koeti Turanga. Ruera said that the North Island Maori had agreed that Te Naihi was Te Niho's grandson.216
Ruera and Katau told a story about two rival waka. They said that when the first canoe came to the North Island the canoe was tied to a post and that when the next canoe came the occupants of the second canoe passed their line underneath the first canoe and tied it to the post below the other's so as to make it appear that the second canoe arrived first. This is a Tainui story told to establish their manawhenua. According to tradition, when the Arawa canoe made its landfall at Whangaparoa Tamatekapua, the captain of the canoe, overturned the prior claim of the Tainui canoe to a stranded whale by attaching an old rope as a sign of ownership, under the rope of the Tainui claimants. The presence of this story in the Roberts' manuscript suggests that either the manawhenua of the Makawhio had, at some stage, been threatened by the claims of another iwi group or the hapuu wished to establish their Tainui connections through Ngaati Maniapoto.

The hapuu chose not to elaborate on their tribal origins. They told Roberts that Hawaiki was their place of origin and that the North Island had been the first home of their ancestors. They spoke only briefly of fighting that had occurred in the North Island, but denied that they had been driven out of their first home. They indicated that the arrival of their tiipuna on the West Coast had occurred a very long time ago. Hakopa said that some of their tiipuna had settled in Picton following their migration to the South Island. From there they had gradually moved south. They added that the South Westland population had decreased in recent times. They implied that the decline in population had occurred following the arrival of the white man and the epidemics that he brought with him. Katau said that the disease in question was consumption.

'Invasions' or Heke.

The Makawhio hapuu chronicled a number of heke or 'invasions' stories. The first heke that they recalled was that

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216 J. Andersen, MS Papers 148: 112, ATL, p. 98.
217 ibid, p. 100.
218 Hakopa's comment confirms that there is a connection with Te Rapuwai in the whakapapa of the Makawhio hapuu.
220 ibid, p. 104.
221 Roberts termed these accounts as 'invasions'. I have preferred to use the word 'heke'. Dr
led by the North Island chief, Tuaroaroterangi. The journey had been made by waka but they were not sure of the number of men that had accompanied Tuaroaroterangi. Tuaroaroterangi and his people were the first arrivals on the West Coast. It is most likely that Tuaroaroterangi and his people belonged to the Patea tribe.

The second heke that the kaumaatua mentioned was one that had been led by Ko te Matehaere from Otago. The taua had travelled by foot rather than canoe and had passed through South Westland on its way to Nelson. This was the first taua that had come from Otago through the Hollyford valley. Ko te Matehaere had been accompanied by three to four hundred men. According to Hakopa, Kere and Hemi, the warriors had killed and consumed a large number of men on the route. Ko te Matehaere had never returned and had died in Nelson.

The third heke had been led by the Kai Tahu chief, Wharekai. Wharekai and his men had come from Waipara or Kaikoura over the Harper's Pass and down the Taramakau valley. He had been accompanied by only twenty or thirty men but according to the elders they were 'very strong'. Wharekai had settled to the north of Makawhio and had died long after, a very old man. He was buried by the posts on the beach near the Maori Lagoons. He had died about thirty years earlier. Hakopa and Te Koeti said that they had seen him. Mrs Katau said that Wharekai had two wives, Takumuku and Rupeuru. Rupeuru was a tohuka (priest) and she had been buried with Wharekai.

The heke led by the Kai Tahu chief Tuhuru Kokare of Kaiapoi on the East Coast was listed by the Kaati Mamoe as the fourth. This chronology confirms that the settlement in the area of this southern hapuū pre-dated that of the Poutini Kai Tahu under the leadership of Tuhuru. The oral tradition of the Kaati Waewae supports this chronology. Tuhuru's leaders are reputed to have pushed south as far as the pa at Makawhio.

According to Kaati Waewae tradition, only a few Kaati

Michael Reilly points out that the term 'invasion' is an inadequate translation of the Maori concept. For Pakeha the term equates with a total take-over whereas in Maori it may mean a group settling alongside the earlier occupants.

222 The Maori lagoons are the Okarito and Saltwater Lagoons located 70 to 80 kilometres north of Mahitahi.

Mamoe managed to survive these slaughters and these survivors were the whaanau of Te Koeti Turanga and Te Naihi.\textsuperscript{225}

The Makawhio elders referred to the Kaati Waewae as a separate entity. They spoke of occasionally taking the Arahura Maori down to Milford Sound in their canoes so that they could collect takiwai and described Hemi Pukahu's wife, Tamara as being 'one of Tuhuru's people.'\textsuperscript{226}

The next heke story that was related to Roberts was one of comparatively recent date. It was the story of Te Niho's expeditions and the following account was told by Kere Tutoko.

Te Niho came from Mokau between there and Waikato (Ngati Tama). He came with Te Rauparaha (to Kapiti no further). Te Rauparaha told him not to kill Tuhuru but only those who had killed others. They got separated in Cook's Strait and Te Rauparaha went down the East Coast. Te Niho came to Paturau [near west Whanganui] and stopped there a long time then came overland to Greymouth. At Wanganui he killed Te Wheka but no others. He killed 4, 5, or 6 at Mawhera then came on to Hokitika and on up to the Kokatahi where Tuhuru was then stopping. He came at night time and Tukai an old Maori told him not to go to the pah early in the morning as Tuhuru and his men would not be back from eel fishing but to wait until 9.00 or so. Tukai wanted to save Tuhuru and Niho believed him and waited. Two of Te Niho's chiefs were named Khakonui [sic] and Matiu. When he got to the pah all the men were out making eel baskets ... and only the women were in the pah. Tuhuru came back to the pah with a spear and when he saw Te Niho he ran to the river and Te Niho ran after him. Te Niho had a tomahawk and Tuhuru a spear. When Tuhuru got to the river he turned round and faced Te Niho. Te Niho explained that he did not want to fight let them be friends and Tuhuru then went quietly with Te Niho and all the

\textsuperscript{224} Kaati Waewae is the hapuu name for the Poutini Kai Tahu people of Mawhera and Arahura.
\textsuperscript{225} G. Howitt, \textit{Looking at the West Coast}, p. 15.
\textsuperscript{226} J. Andersen, MS Papers 148: 112, ATL, p. 108.
others came in and were not frightened. Old Tainui and his sisters were away; Terapuhi the son of Tuhuru was in the bush but he came back. Niho went back the next morning, some of the Maoris were behind Hokitika way but everybody came. Te Niho and his party then went southwards to Okarito. Kahu, for whom Niho was looking was up the Big Wanganui fishing at Lake Matahi (Ianthe) and he and others with him came back and stopped that night at Matawa and Te Niho was behind him. The next day Niho came on to Okarito. Kahu was standing by a whata and some of Te Niho's people were taking food from the whata and Kahu tried to pull a tomahawk towards him with his foot but they saw him and took him and killed him, also his wife and daughters. Te Niho then marched back to Arahura and took Tuhuru and the Arahura Maoris back to Paturau. Hemi Pukahu's wife Tamara was one of Tuhuru's people. Te Niho took her for a concubine "private wife not married". They stopped there five years and then Tuhuru and his people were brought back by Te Niho who sent a lot of people on first to get food. On this occasion Te Niho and his party went right down to Tahutahi (Cascade) and then returned. He did not kill anyone on this trip and one of his chiefs Kahuwai was drowned in the Waiatoto trying to save another Maori's life. He was burned and buried at the head of the lagoon where Charlie Douglas now stands. Te Niho went back to Paturau.227

Pounamu was undoubtedly one of the primary motives for Te Niho's expedition. It may be understood from Kere's story that the Ngaati Maniapoto believed Tuhuru to be the chief who controlled the Poutini greenstone source. By being 'friends' with Tuhuru, Te Niho would be able to take control of the pounamu source for the northern Ngaati Maniapoto. What is interesting in Kere's story is that Te Niho appeared to bear a grievance towards a number of Poutini Kai Tahu; 'those who had killed others'. Te Niho's second trip down to Cascade was presumably to investigate the pounamu source in the southern rohe. Te Niho did not appear to harm any members of the Kaati Mamoe hapuu, in fact one of his chiefs

227 ibid, pp. 106-8.
actually lost his life trying to save another Maori's life. Te Niho's son, Te Naihi married Te Koeti Turanga's cousin, Makareta on his return from Tahutahi (Cascade). Te Puoho's expedition was the last heke that the kaumaatua discussed. Te Puoho and his men had travelled across the Haast Pass and had been defeated by Kai Tahu forces in Murihiku. Te Puoho's taua did not appear to have met the Makawhio people on its route through South Westland.

Mountain Passes.
The Makawhio hapuu did not travel over the mountain ranges very often. They said that they never travelled in large parties preferring to move in groups of between two and twelve at the most. Travel did not appear to be restricted to men as women and children also went along on trips.

Tioripatea (the Haast Pass) and the Hollyford Pass were the most common routes used by the hapuu of the southern rohe. Links between Murihiku and the southern rohe of the West Coast were closer than has previously been recognised. Roberts expressed interest that this pass was utilised because he had not been aware that there was overland intercourse between the tribes of Murihiku and Westland. Herries Beattie noted that while fraternal visits were made between the Kai Tahu community of Mawhera in central Westland and Kaiapoi on the East Coast, the hapuu of the southern rohe's links were with Murihiku. Beattie considered that the lower half of the West Coast had much more in common with Murihiku while the Arahura people had closer ties with Kaiapoi.228

The Makawhio hapuu had kinship links with the pa at Lake Ohau through Tutoko's tipuna (grandfather) Maaka and with Wanaka through the family of Tutoko's mother, Te Apaupoko. Hape, a cousin of Te Koeti Turanga lived at Te Anau. The kaumaatua told Roberts a story about how Hape had tried to catch an enormous eel at Lake Te Anau but his spear broke and the eel got away. The eel was finally caught in a zigzag gutter by another man, Puera.229

The Hollyford Pass was the other most commonly

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228 H. Beattie, MS Papers, 582: D 8k, Westland- Maori Lore, Place-Names, Native Birds, Hocken Archives, Dunedin, p. 1.
229 ibid, p. 72.
MAP OF THE SOUTHERN ROHE
SHOWING PASSES

Lake Ohau
Lake Hawea
Lake Wakatipu
Lake Te Anau

Hollyford Pass
Matins Bay
Milford Sound

Haast Pass
Jackson Bay

Haast

Tioripatea
Lake Ohau
Lake Hawea

Lake Wanaka

Wanganui
Okarito
used pass which again was a direct route through to Murihiku. The Hollyford Pass began on the coastal side from Martin's Bay which was a home of Tutoko, Kere Tutoko's father. It was a very low pass as it followed the Hollyford River along the valley. Martin's Bay was the nearest point to the main source of takiwai on the West Coast located at Anita Bay, Milford Sound.

Takiwai.
Takiwai (bowenite) was an object of extreme value. It was an important taoka (treasure) for the Kaati Mamoe and Piopiotahi (Milford Sound) is the sole source of this treasure in Aotearoa. A small piece of takiwai was worth a large piece of pounamu. Katau explained that a piece of takiwai the size of a hand was better than a piece of pounamu that measured from the tip of a man's fingers to his elbow. These accolades referred to the beauty of the stone because it was highly valued for the making of jewellery and other ornaments. Roberts was shown two takiwai ornaments by the Makawhio people. One was a piece so thin that it was translucent. This effect was possible to achieve because it is a soft stone. The other ornament was a small image which had been made many years earlier. The name of the image was Ko pata pata but the kaumaatua did not elaborate on its significance.

Pounamu was preferred for weapons because it was a much harder stone than takiwai. The kaumaatua showed Roberts a mere that had been made by Jacky Crab. Kere Tutoko explained that a mere was carried around the neck on a length of string. It was concealed inside a person's clothing and worn close to the breast or inside the sleeve.²³⁰

Waka.
When Roberts questioned the Makawhio hapuu about how they procured their canoes they told him that they had made the canoes in Westland. They mentioned two waka that had been made of totara. Each measured twenty to thirty feet long and had a four feet beam which was joined with sticks. Te Koeti had built a large canoe at Mahitahi which was named Pikara after their grandmother. They pointed out that the stump of the tree from which the waka had been made was still there and that totara was a tree of great mana. Kere had

²³⁰ibid, p. 89.
helped to make a large waka near Martin's Bay. That canoe was called Kaiwhiri.

STORIES.

The Story of Raureka.
The story of Raureka, as told by the people of Mahitahi is included in this manuscript and is important in understanding the distinct identity that those people felt from the Kai Tahu Maori of Canterbury. The story of Raureka has traditionally been told to explain how the east coast Maori came to know about the presence of pounamu on the West Coast. It is generally weighted with the connotation that it was Raureka's wanderings that brought about the Kai Tahu invasion of Mawhera by Tuhuru and his followers. The story about the Ngaati Wairangi woman named Raureka who crossed over the mountains to the east coast and showed the Kai Tahu a piece of greenstone that she was carrying with her is present in the oral tradition of both the Kaati Mamoe and the Kai Tahu. In the Kaati Mamoe tradition it is a story which explains how Raureka's journey prompted the Kai Tahu to invade the West Coast. In the Kai Tahu tradition it is a story which is told to explain the discovery of pounamu. The Kaati Mamoe version that was recorded by G.J. Roberts is the most detailed account that has appeared in print. It is generally described as a Ngaati Wairangi story and Raureka was a Ngaati Wairangi woman.

Raureka was an old woman living at the mouth of the Arahura. A long time after Tama Ahua, she by herself went up the Kokatahi River over the low saddle and into the upper Arahura Valley and then by Browning's Pass into and down the Wilberforce River. She took with her in her koha or flax basket a piece of greenstone. She happened on an encampment of Maoris at the junction of the Rakaia River and she saw the men polishing black stones Tokiri. She said

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231 Martin's Bay had been a significant canoe-building settlement prior to 1800.
232 J. Andersen, MS Papers 148: 112, ATL, p. 76.
"What are you doing with those stones?" And they replied "they are good stones for us to use." Then she said "I will show you stone much better" and opening her basket gave the piece of greenstone to a man named Puoho. He asked where she got it and she told him "in the Arahura". Forthwith Puoho accompanied by his son and a large party of men went over Browning's Pass into the upper Arahura Valley. When they [........] and [......] the saddle leading into the Hohonu, There arose a dispute between Puoho and his son as to the best route to pursue. It ended by Puoho and his men going down the Arahura and the son with his followers going over the saddle and south ward. Puoho and his party were very successful and returned with a large quantity of valuable greenstone. His son with all his men were never heard of again and are supposed to have lost their way and perished of cold and hunger.234

Roberts included a number of additions and slight variations that were offered to him by various members of the hapuu which are important. Mrs Katau said that Te Puoho married Raureka. Hakopa added that Raureka was mad. There also appeared to be some consensus among them, excluding Ruera Te Naihi, that Raureka had been much less forthcoming in showing the Kai Tahu the pounamu. The version given by the others was that,

Raureka looked on at the men polishing for a long while and then she asked what they were making out of the stones they said 'an axe to cut bush' and when she produced her basket she said 'look at this' 'this is better' and showed them the piece of pounamu and the old man said 'that is very good' and asked where she got it and she said 'over the other side of the mountains' and pointed out the way. Most of the men were with the son 1,000 with the son 100 with Te Puoho. Te Puoho threw the pounamu into Whaka rewa Lake Browning.235

234J. Andersen, MS Papers 148: 112, ATL, p. 149.
The words in square brackets are illegible.
235ibid, p. 150.
They also added that there was no name for the piece of pounamu taken over by Raureka, that it was not 'christened' and that it was only a small piece of pounamu. Hakopa said that the next man to come for greenstone after Te Puoho was Raki Tama. They also said that Te Puoho was not the same as the other Te Puoho from the North Island. And finally they said that when Te Puoho heard his son was dead he threw the pounamu into Whakarewa.\

The Mahitahi hapuu repeated twice that it was only the Canterbury Maori that crossed the alps using this pass. They pointed out that they avoided the Browning Pass specifically due to the fact that it was the pass that had been used by Raureka. Thus it would suggest that the hapuu did not have specific kinship ties with the east coast groups and viewed the move by the Kai Tahu to the West Coast as an invasion.

A Kai Tahu tradition collected by John White chronicled the defeat of Hapopo and his people by a taua led by Takireia and Rangiroa. The few survivors among Hapopo's people were said to have fled 'to the home of Tutoko and Raureka'. This is impossible in a chronological sense because Raureka lived a number of generations before Tutoko. 'The home of Tutoko and Raureka' may, however, be understood as an east coast term to describe the southern West Coast region.

A Kai Tahu version of the Raureka story was recorded, last century, by the Pakeha collector John White. The story formed part of the Kai Tahu history of the Kaati Mamoe tribe and was a tradition that was told to explain the Kai Tahu discovery of greenstone. Interestingly it is included under a section of the book which is entitled 'Nga-ti mamoe' [sic]. One of the most notable differences between this version and the Kaati Mamoe narrative is that in the Kai Tahu version Raureka was described as being of the Ngaati Kopiha tribe and as having Ngaati Kopiha relations at the Kai Tahu pa at Kaiapoi. This version also spoke of the Kai Tahu agreeing to accompany the Ngaati Kopiha back to the West Coast in order to procure some greenstone rather than Raureka simply pointing out the way for them. Finally the Kai Tahu version of the story ended with the Kai Tahu attacking and conquering the West Coast residents and absorbing the survivng women and children into their

[236] ibid, p. 150.
tribe. In the material gathered by White the Kai Tahu said that,

The Nga-i-tahu became acquainted with the existence of greenstone from some of the members of the Ngati-kopiha Tribe, who had come from Arahura to visit their relatives residing at Kai-a-poi. One of the visitors, a woman called Rau-reka, observing some of the Nga-i-tahu people making axes of hard black stone, asked if they made tokis (axes) of such material, adding that her people had a better kind of stone, at the same time exhibiting an axe of pounamu. This axe was made of the pounamu called inanga (light-coloured pounamu), and was much praised by the Nga-i-tahu, who inquired where it was obtained. Some of the Nga-i-tahu agreed to accompany the Ngati-kopiha back to their district to procure pounamu, as it was plentiful in the Arahura River. A large party of the Nga-i-tahu travelled across the Middle Island, and attacked and conquered the Ngati-kopiha in their own district. They killed all the men, and some of the women and children became members of the Nga-i-tahu Tribe.238

This version of events accentuates the links between the Poutini hapuu and Kaiapoi Kai Tahu and suggests that the original tangata whenua were completely wiped out.

The story of the Pou a Hawaiki.
The other story that I would like to look at and compare with the other versions that have been collected is the tradition about the slaying of the giant bird, the Pou-a-Hawaiki. I am particularly interested in this tradition because from Roberts' comments it would appear that this tradition was passed down directly from Te Koeti Turanga to one of his daughters who was present at the time of the Roberts' interview and assisted in the telling of the story. Roberts asked the group if they had any traditions of the moa. Hemi Pukahu said that they did not but they did tell Roberts about an enormous bird known as the Pou a Hawaiki. Roberts noted that one of Te Koeti's daughters wrote a lot of names on a slate which he copied down.239

238White, Ill, p. 310.
The following story about the Pou a Hawaiki was told in Maori by Hakopa, corroborated by Hemi and Kere and interpreted by Mrs Katau.

A long time ago some Maoris used to go fishing and hunting and never came back and they watched and saw an immense bird take a Maori up and carry him to a hill. Then a Maori named Pukirehu got a dog's skin and fastened it on a stick near a lagoon and got into the water alongside with only his head out and a long spear in his hand. The Pou a Hawaiki thinking that he saw something good to eat flew down to the lagoon and when he saw the man's head dived down but Pukirehu broke his wing with a spear. He then tried to kill Pukirehu with his wings but Pukirehu broke the other wing and the bird dropped dead in the water.

Bye and bye the mate of the Pou a Hawaiki came and was killed in the same manner. Pukirehu had noted the place on the hill where they came from and he climbed up and when he got there saw a lot of bones of men that had been killed by the Pou a Hawaiki and also two young birds one of which was just ready to fly. He also killed the chicks.240

John White recorded the following story about a Poua-kai, a bird, which he said came from a Waitaha source.

A Poua-kai (aged eating) had built its nest on a spur of the Tarawera (morning star) Mountain, and, darting down from thence, it seized and carried off men, women, and children as food for itself and its young. For, though its wings made a loud noise as it flew through the air, it rushed with such rapidity upon its prey that none could escape from its talons. At length a brave man called Te-hau-o-tawera (the sacred power of Tawera) came on a visit to the neighbourhood, and, finding that the people were being destroyed, and that they were so paralysed with fear as to be incapable of adopting any means for their own protection, he volunteered to capture

240 ibid, p. 71.
and kill this rapacious bird, provided they would do what he told them. This they willingly promised, and, having procured a quantity of manuka saplings, he went one night with fifty men to the foot of the hill, where there was a pool sixty feet in diameter. This he completely covered with a network formed of the saplings, and under this he placed the fifty men armed with spears and thrusting weapons, while he himself, as soon as it was light, went out to lure the Poua-kai from its nest. He did not go far before that destroyer spied him, and swooped down towards him. Hau-o-tawera had to run for his life, and just succeeded in reaching the shelter of the network when the bird pounced on him, and, in its violent efforts to reach its prey, forces its legs through the network and became entangled. The fifty men plunged their spears into its body, and after a desperate encounter succeeded in killing it.241

White also recorded another version of the Poua-kai story which he said came from a Kai Tahu source. This version begins when Pungarehu and a companion, Koko-muka-hau-nei are out fishing and get blown to a distant land when a storm from the ocean brews up. On arriving at this new land they meet some men, working timber, one of whom has a club foot. They observe that the eyes of these people are very watchful. When asked where their home is by the men of the land they answer that they come from Hawaiki, from Tawhiti-nua-a-rua. On returning to the village with the men Pungarehu and his companion observed that the food that the people ate consisted of raw whale meat and that there was no fire in the village. Subsequently, Pungarehu kindled a fire for them and cooked some of the meat in an oven that he had built. Having partaken of the food the people said to each other, 'Cooked food is sweet. We used to eat it raw.' Pungarehu said, 'It is sweet. You are not men, but gods: you eat raw food.' Then the people told Pungarehu about the Poua-kai, "There is one thing which is an evil to us: it is a poua-kai (old man-eater), a bird which eats man." Pungarehu said, "Where do you go, that it can eat you?" They said, "If we go to fetch water we are caught by it." He asked, "Can you see it coming?" They

241White, III, pp 194-5.
answered, "Yes."
They built a house, having a window as the only opening, and Pungarehu and his companion sat at this window. They saw the bird flying towards them with its head down, in the act of procuring its prey. Its beak came near to one of them; but he struck it with his stone axe and broke one of its wings, and with another blow he broke the other wing, and killed it. Then they went to see what was in the cave where the bird lived. They found the bones of men strewn all round it.242

The story of the Pou a Hawaiki or the Poua-kai is a very old one. It is present in the oral traditions of the older South Island tribes, the Waitaha and the Kaaati Mamoe. The Waitaha and the Kaati Mamoe versions are similar while the Kai Tahu version sets the entire incident among a race of men who are gods. Pungarehu and his companion, Koko-muka-hau-nei, were blown to a distant land after being caught in a storm and it is in this place, among men with watchful eyes, that the action takes place. These differences set the Kai Tahu version of this story in the realm of the supernatural while the stories from the earlier tribes do not involve any gods. Parallels may be drawn between the setting of this tradition and the Kai Tahu traditions of the Maero people. As I discussed in chapter three, a number of Kai Tahu traditions described the Kaati Mamoe as Maeroero. Both the Maeroero and the people who suffered the attacks from the poua kai appear to have lived on an island near Hawaiki, eaten their food raw and had no knowledge about fire. Other differences in the Kai Tahu version that give it an appearance of being more recent, are the point that Pungarehu and his companion trap the Poua-kai in a house rather than a pool outside and that they strike it with a stone axe rather than with spears.

The oral tradition of the Makawhio hapuu, as in the case of their tuurangawaewae, has been thought to have been lost. The material contained in the Roberts' manuscript and preserved in the memories of descendants today shows that this is a mistaken idea. The oral tradition of the Makawhio people is rich in detail about the hapuu's iwi affiliations and important tiipuna. It demonstrates an accurate record of the various heke that passed by or paused in the region which

242 Ibid., pp. 30-3.
reflects the lengthy duration of the group's residence in the area. The versions of the stories such as that of Raureka and the Pou a Hawaiki place them in a Kaati Mamoe time period which existed before Kai Tahu.
CHAPTER EIGHT.
South Westland: An Archaeological Perspective.

Archaeological sites uncovered in the South Westland area over the last decade have prompted an exciting revision of the traditional anthropological and historical view of this region. Ray Hooker, an archaeologist with the Department of Conservation, Hokitika, has led this review with the publication of his work, Archaeology of the South Westland Maori in 1986. He argues that there was a much larger Maori population than has previously been recognised living in permanent or semi-permanent settlements in the remote South Westland region.242

Ray Hooker's work constitutes a thorough revision of the previously accepted view of South Westland settlement patterns held by anthropologists Murray McCaskill, Helen Leach, Barry Brailsford and Atholl Anderson. The evidence that Hooker has recently uncovered from sites convincingly refutes the premise that the main centre of settlement on the West Coast was clustered around the central greenstone source at Arahura and that South Westland was a sparsely populated and unpromising environment for early Polynesian settlers. While previous anthropologists have relied largely upon early ethnographic accounts in their work, Hooker draws on a number of sources. His work includes a significant amount of his own field-work. In order to analyse the significance of the artifacts that have been recovered, Hooker has, in addition, augmented his study with early European archival records, museum collections, oral interviews with former residents of the locations in question, private owners of artifacts, museum personnel and even local greenstone prospectors.243

Ray Hooker's work forms an invaluable basis for a wider understanding of the takata whenua of this dramatic landscape. Hooker has established the locations of a large number of settlements and suggests that the abundance of food and other resources in the area was an important factor in the people's decision to reside in these particular locales. Hooker also investigates in detail the exploitation of these resources examining methods of hunting, fishing, the collecting of other

243 ibid, pp. 2-3.
foods, and modes of transport. He also reviews climactic factors and investigates the possibility that established trade networks existed.

One of the most significant discoveries that Hooker has made in this area is evidence of early 'fishing gear' and the remains of deep-sea fish species in midden sites. Both of these findings have repercussions in respect of former understandings of the region. They suggest that off-shore fishing was practised in the area and that canoe travel was more widely utilised than has previously been acknowledged. Hooker has also found evidence of local greenstone being worked and examines the significance for the local population of alternative pounamu and takiwai sources in South Westland.

The South Westland Maori oral tradition similarly records a significant population and reveals extensive knowledge about the land and sea-scapes of the area. Traditions collected last century chronicle the experience of a thriving population inhabiting the region and provide details about food-gathering activities that include, among others things, talk of fishing expeditions off-shore. This information from the oral tradition parallels conclusions drawn about fishing equipment and other material that Hooker has uncovered in the new sites. While Hooker has used much historical material from both Maori oral and Pakeha written sources in his argument, I hope to further augment this argument through my own research. I will, therefore, be incorporating additional oral and historical information that I consider to be of importance into this chapter. The principal sources that I will be drawing on are the Roberts' manuscript of interviews and transcripts of interviews that I conducted with South Westland kaumaatua Kelly Wilson and June Robinson in Hokitika in 1991.

The Written Record.
The first European explorers to visit the West Coast of Te Wai Pounamu returned with reports of torrential rain-fall and uninhabitable (or at least 'un-farmable') mountainous country. Following his lengthy expedition down the West Coast in 1846, Thomas Brunner concluded that, 'there is nothing on the West Coast worth incurring the expense of exploring.'

Subsequently, these early geographical accounts with their sketchy ethnographic details were translated into a picture that
excluded the possibility of a significant number of Maori inhabitants in the area.

Murray McCaskill was the first academic to focus his study on the Maori population of the West Coast region in 1954. The journals of Thomas Brunner, Charles Heaphy and John Rochfort along with the various records left by James Mackay formed the bulk of McCaskill’s sources. In addition to this material there was what McCaskill described as, 'the meagre record of traditional [Maori] accounts obtained by Alexander Mackay, Roberts, Stack, Travers and Mitchell.'

It is understandable that, based on accounts such as Brunner's (which record little more evidence of Maori settlement along the southern part of the coast than scattered potato gardens), McCaskill suggested that the South Westland area was dotted with nothing more permanent than seasonal camps primarily established for the purpose of exploiting the appropriate food resources. McCaskill considered South Westland to be an isolated region due to the geographical barriers formed by the Southern Alps to the east and the exposed coastline of the Tasman Sea to the west. He proposed that travel in the area was limited and that canoe voyaging was rare, having located only one reference to the use of canoes in Maori oral material. In conclusion, McCaskill suggested that the Maori occupation of the entire West Coast was sparse with the central areas of Mawhera (Greymouth) and Arahura (near Hokitika) being the sole focus for settlement due to the presence of pounamu in the Arahura River. With regard to the tribal affiliation of this group he suggested that they were a branch of the Kai Tahu of Canterbury.

Helen Leach also studied the accounts left by Charles Heaphy and Thomas Brunner in her 1969 work, 'Subsistence Patterns in Pre-historic New Zealand.' Her thesis tended to confirm McCaskill’s earlier conclusion that the area south of Paringa was a rough uninhabited coastline. (Paringa was the southernmost point that Brunner had reached on his expedition. At the time of his expedition in 1846, however, the South Westland chiefs Tutoko, Te Koeti Turanga and their...
families were living further south at either Jackson’s Bay or Martin’s Bay.) In her analysis of West Coast subsistence patterns Leach essentially agreed with McCaskill that freshwater fish and forest birds constituted the basis of the local diet. She discounted the possibility of sea-going canoes and therefore the presence of deep-sea fish in the West Coast diet.

Barry Brailsford had little to add to this rather bleak picture of the West Coast and South Westland existence. He did, however, include the recent discovery of artifacts in the Jackson Bay area but did not elaborate on the implications of these finds other than to speculate about the possibility of a fortified pa having existed in the area.\(^{247}\) Atholl Anderson prefaced his article on the West Coast in Nigel Prickett’s The First Thousand Years, published in 1982, by acknowledging that the West Coast is 'all but an archaeological \textit{terra incognita}.’\(^{248}\) He described the Jackson Bay site as an early fishing camp, but then dismissed it as not typifying West Coast settlement because the exploitation of the marine resource did not feature highly in the historical material.\(^{249}\)

Ray Hooker in the 1980s worked from the fundamental premise that the former conceptualisation of the West Coast as a 'single geographical-cultural area' by these historical anthropologists has been inaccurate. Hooker, instead, argues that the West Coast, being six hundred kilometers in length, was a fragmented region made up of three distinct rohe (regions). He believes that each of these rohe was under the influence or jurisdiction of different tribal groups. The northern part of the West Coast, for example, was under the influence of the Nelson tribes; Mawhera and Arahura in the centre under the Kai Tahu tribe, and the southern part under the Kaati Mamoe tribe. This view of the Coast being made up of three separate rohe is one that was articulated by South Westland kaumaatua Kelly Wilson and June Robinson. While Kelly simply spoke of the South Westland rohe June explained that the lack of historical acknowledgement of this southern rohe, associated


\(^{249}\)Hooker, pp 6-11.
with the Kaati Mamoe, had been a source of friction for a long time.250

The first major revision that Hooker proposes is that the local population was significantly larger than has previously been suggested. He reviewed the population figures given in the various historical sources from the nineteenth century and examined other material such as the journals of the sealer John Boultbee and traditional oral material which had previously been ignored.

Thomas Brunner’s population estimate of 97 has been questioned by Hooker who queries the validity of this estimate given that Brunner only travelled as far south as Paringa.251 There is also some debate, led by Maureen O’Rourke, as to the southernmost point that Brunner reached. O’Rourke questions whether Brunner did actually reach Paringa and provides evidence to suggest that his account was exaggerated.252 Brunner’s population estimates therefore may be seen to be misleading and inaccurate. Both Brunner in 1846 and Richard Sherrin later in 1863 commented on the settlement at the Saltwater Lagoon or Poherua, which was the residence of the chief Taetae and his family. There appeared also to be the remains of a large pa. It is evident that the communities at Poherua and further south at Okarito comprise the twenty residents that form the South Westland population as estimated by these two explorers.

Sealers were the Europeans who were most familiar with the southern part of the South Westland coast, the coastal Fiordland region and its inhabitants. Sealers worked in the area from the late eighteenth century into the early part of the nineteenth century. These sealers record the presence of Maori communities in the deep south. In his journal entitled Journal of a Rambler, John Boultbee estimated that the population of Maori living in the South Westland area was about 500.

The surveyor James Hector, unlike the earlier explorers, travelled to this southern part of the West Coast

250 Interview with June Robinson, 2 June 1991.
251 T. Brunner, ‘Journal of an Expedition to explore the interior of the Middle Island of New Zealand,’ Expeditions-Brunner-Rochfort-Hector, Hocken Library, p. 10.
from Otago by way of the Murihiku and Fiordland coasts. In 1863, Hector met Tutoko and his family who were living at Martin's Bay. Tutoko told Hector that they had moved down to Martin's Bay from their former residence at Jackson's Bay some five years earlier. Although Martin's Bay is across the territorial boundary of the Fiordland area, as it was imposed by European surveyors, it is clear that these isolated residents formed a part of the South Westland hapuu.

The Oral Record.

This evidence of the Maori inhabitants in South Westland provided by the accounts of Boultbee and Hector more closely reflects Maori oral tradition. The history recounted orally today, the information collected by G.J. Roberts in the late nineteenth century and by Herries Beattie in the early twentieth century, speaks of established Kaati Mamoe communities living in this area. Clearly the very existence of the Roberts' manuscript and the sheer wealth of information in it, confirms that there was an established Maori settlement in South Westland at Makawhio.

Beattie did not visit the West Coast himself but he did seek out knowledge about the area from three Canterbury Maori who had once lived in Westland and on another occasion from Murihiku seafarers. One of Beattie's Canterbury informants, Mrs Jacobs, spoke at length about a visit she had made to Mahitahi (Bruce Bay) in 1908. Mrs Jacobs noted that the community at Jackson's Bay was no longer living there and that there were only two or three families left at the Mahitahi settlement when she visited it. She gave details about food cultivation and the abundance of birdlife in the area and made interesting comments about the retention in South Westland of traditional ways of doing things.

At Makawhio they grew kumera [sic] and she saw them. The taro grew too. It is like the kumera but longer; it is like the artichoke but with a darker skin. There were plenty of birds, such as ka-ka-po, kiri and koko (or tui).

Their ways she thought were different to here [South Canterbury] - far more Maorified. The Maoris here cook in ranges or in camp ovens and bread is baked in either, but over there, she found them baking it in the ashes like damper and calling it komuka. They laughed at her when she mentioned
umu [earth ovens] and said it was not done there, although one or two of the older people had seen it operating elsewhere but not in South Westland.

Some of the huts were of poka ferntree and thatched with wiwi rushes, of which there were acres growing higher than her height. Some huts were copied from Pakeha and were wood, roofed with tin. They had mats for sleeping in and pokeka mats as rainproof coats. She thought most were away from Makawhiho but that a few still lived at Maitahi [sic]. When she was there some spoke good English but there was also a lot of Maori talk and she considered they had a more Maorified outlook than in South Canterbury.253

Beattie's other two Canterbury informants had visited Mahitahi and spoke primarily of the old chief Kere Tutoko and his methods of capturing birds.

The speech of South Westland kaumaatua, Kelly Wilson and June Robinson, is not about population estimates or settlement patterns; it is about the whakapapa of their tiipuna and the deeds of their hapuu. They count Tutoko and Te Koeti Turanga among their most significant tiipuna. Both of these chiefs lived in various kaika in the South Westland rohe. Tutoko lived for a period of time at Jackson's Bay and later at Martin's Bay. June Robinson pointed out that the highest mountain in the Martin's Bay area is named Tutoko and the mountains nearby are named Sarah and May after his daughters. Both of these chiefs were living at Mahitahi in the late nineteenth century surrounded by the people of their hapuu.

With regard to the actual identity of the South Westland hapuu, Hooker speculates that they may be the remnant of the original Ngaati Wairangi (a sub-tribe of the Kaati Mamoe) who had been displaced by the east coast Kai Tahu and moved into the central Westland area. This speculation was based on comments made by Kelly Wilson and oral tradition recorded by Canon Stack.254 This view has also

254 Hooker, p. 13.
been articulated in the oral tradition of the central Poutini Kai Tahu people. History recorded from Mrs Te Irianga Te Amokura Feary recalled that the Kai Tahu warriors from the east coast obtained complete victories and pushed the Ngaati Wairangi survivors south,

And so the warriors moved south again. Complete victories at Taramakau and Arahura Pas. Then another slaughter at Poutini Pa (now Hokitika). From here it was an easy conquest south to a point 20 miles this side of Mount Cook- including the Pa at Jacob's River. Only a few Ngati-wairangi [sic] survived these slaughters to live in the bush for a short while- then peace was declared and freedom was theirs. Even today the two surviving families, Te Koiti [sic] and Te Naihi live happily in the Jacobs River area.255

The kaumaatua who spoke to G.J. Roberts in 1897 claimed affiliation with both the Kai Tahu and the Kaati Mamoe. In response to Roberts' question about the name of their tribe or tribes, they replied that they were of the Kai Tahu hapuu and connected with the Kaati Mamoe hapuu. Roberts noted that they were vague about this and said it was all mixed up like half-castes. In a second reference to their tribal affiliation they said that they were half Kai Tahu and half Kaati Mamoe. One of the kaumaatua, Hakopa, however, said that the Kai Tahu hapuu is all the South Island and the Kaati Mamoe is Westland.256

Hooker's second major revision of the conventional anthropological view concerns the use of sea canoes by South Westland Maori. Hooker argues that archaeological evidence suggests that canoes were an important part of South Westland life and were used for travel purposes and also for fishing in deeper waters off the coast. Faunal and artefact material such as the remains of deep-sea fish species in midden sites and evidence of early fishing equipment have been found in five of the South Westland sites that Hooker has worked on. This archaeological evidence, combined with information from traditional oral and other sources, serve to discredit the accepted view that sea canoes did not play a significant role on Te Tai Poutini as originally proposed by early Europeans.

255G. Howitt, Looking at the West Coast, p. 15.
256J. Andersen, MS Papers 148: 112, ATL, p. 98.
Charles Heaphy, for example, while in the Mawhera area, concluded that sea fishing was impossible due to the rough surf conditions on the Coast and that there were no canoes used apart from a number of river canoes.257

Traditional accounts collected by Professor James Park, from the University of Otago, on the other hand, indicated that the South Westland kaika at Martin's Bay was an important settlement and was noted among other things for its canoe-building industry. Park wrote in 1922 that,

From about 1650 to 1800 the native settlement at Martin's Bay was one of the most important on the West Coast, this arising from a number of economic factors. Foremost of these was its central geographical position, which gave easy access by sea to Milford Sound to the south, and to Awarua, Arawata, Paringa and Westland to the north. The sea and nearby lakes contained an abundance of fish, the forests teemed with native birds, and the wide coastal plain lying far from the main chain allowed the sun free access to the native plantations sheltering along the fringe of the great forest. Giant trees grew on the banks of the Kotuku River, and this led to the establishment of canoe building, an industry for which this settlement was famous in early Maori days.258

Accounts detailing the building of canoes in the area were related by the Makawhio kaumaatua to the surveyor G.J. Roberts. Roberts asked the elders if they procured their canoes from the north or if they made them in Westland and asked them where they got the timber. The kaumaatua replied that they made the canoes in Westland. They then told of two canoes between twenty to thirty feet long with a four foot beam joined by sticks. The canoes were made of totara. They elaborated saying that,

 Koeti made a big canoe near Mahitahi the stump is there yet totara is a very big tree. The canoe was named Pikara after our grandmother. Another canoe

258J. Park, Maori and Early European Explorations in Western Otago, Dunedin, 1922, p. 6.
which Kere helped to make near Martin's Bay was called Kai whiri. The Arahura Maoris had come down for tangiwai and the Bruce Bay Maoris took them and their tangiwai back in this canoe. Kere and Koeti both on board. Five oars on each side. They say they used oars before the pakeha came and sails of flax mats. They used paddles for the short canoes. They say that two double canoes went from Milford Sound to Waimate loaded with tangiwai. One made on the Makawhio above Ritchies by Tuaroh "our grandfather" and also two double canoes to Kaiapoi.259

Roberts also asked the Makawhio elders if they had any traditions of their ancestors using double canoes. They answered that they did and Kere described the double canoes thus,

The old Maori measured with spread out arms and Kere in giving length of canoes spread out his arms and counted. Allowing six feet for each spread this would give forty-two feet for the big one and thirty feet for the other. He drew it on the slate. The intervening space was floored and a mast erected. They say that a big canoe from the North Island was washed up on Hunt's Beach, it was all broken up but formed part of a double canoe as they could see where the supports had been.260

More recently, in 1991, South Westland kaumaatua Kelly Wilson spoke of how the South Westlanders followed their food up and down the Coast. 'Travel', he said, 'was always by canoe.' The people in the north (at Arahura and Mawhera), by contrast, were all feet people. They moved only east-west and west-east across the hills. They didn't go into South Westland.261 Kelly also pointed out that villages in South

259 J. Andersen, MS Papers 148: 112, ATL, p. 76.
260 ibid, p. 77.
261 Interview with Mr Kelly Wilson, 2 June 1991.
The name Waewae means literally feet or legs.
Westland were sited by good fishing spots such as Mahitahi, Paringa and Cascade. The villages were dotted approximately ten miles apart and consequently the local diet consisted of much kai ika (fish).

Hooker also alludes to climactic evidence when he refutes the alleged impossibility of canoes in South Westland due to rough sea and weather conditions. He concedes that sea conditions on the West Coast can be very rough but points out that the majority of the shipwrecks which have earned the Coast its notoriety since European settlement occurred north of South Westland at the ports of Hokitika, Greymouth and Westport. According to Hooker there are a number of factors that need to be taken into account in the case of South Westland. The most important of these is the presence of a number of sheltered bays which could serve as landing sites and the existence of calmer sea conditions in the winter months. He also makes the point that sealers successfully worked the southern part of the Coast for many years in the latter part of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century in small open boats.

Hooker's third significant revision of the conventional view of South Westland is that the region was not simply 'an extensive seasonal food larder for groups based in the Hokitika-Mawhera area,' as it has been characterised by previous anthropologists. There is no doubt that vegetable foods were particularly abundant around spring and autumn. However, basic foods such as cabbage-tree, tree ferns, bracken and other ground ferns such as puwha were available year round. After a thorough review of the early European records, Hooker has determined that, contrary to the widely-held view, bracken fern does grow in South Westland. Hector recorded that it was eaten by Tutoko and his family at Martin's Bay and there are other reports of it being eaten by various European visitors to the Coast. Potatoes were probably introduced by sealers in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century and cultivations of potato gardens were frequently noted by

262 Hooker, p. 5.
263 ibid, p. 6.
264 ibid, p. 16.
Brunner in his journal.  

It is clear from the archaeological evidence of midden contents that the food resources in South Westland were more than adequate to support the local population all-year round. The discovery of the remains of deep-sea fish species has been one of Hooker's most exciting finds. These species include spotty, blue cod, tarakihi, red cod, barracouta and ling. Again the presence of these types of fish remains confirms that off-shore fishing was practised and that deep-sea fish formed an integral part of the South Westland diet. Sandy shore shellfish middens have also been reported in the South Westland area at Bruce Bay, Okuru, Waiatoto, Arawata, Cascade, Big Bay and Martin's Bay. Seals, although in plentiful supply along this part of the Coast, do not appear to have constituted a major part of the diet with only one report of seal bones having been discovered in an eroding midden. Flounder, eels and whitebait were particularly important resources although they were seasonal. Forest birds, on the other hand, were in constant supply. In short, Hooker concludes that,

The West Coast with its podocarp forest, extensive lagoons, swamps and rivers, its varied coastline and mild winters had an abundance of natural foods probably unequalled in the rest of the South Island.

The oral tradition of the South Westland Maori is rich with knowledge of mahika kai or food resources. The kaumaatua of Makawhio told Roberts that they went to lagoons, lakes and streams for tuna (eels) and inanga (whitebait). They hunted weka and other birds in winter and eels in summer. They went to certain headlands for rock-fish and out to sea for haapuku (groper) and mako (shark). These headlands included Heretaniwha, Tahikakai and the Abbey Rocks where they gathered kelp and caught moki. They went out in a canoe for haapuku in fine weather but did not go too far away. They only captured the odd seal and did not go out on hunting expeditions to find them. They put the seals on fire and burnt the hair off them rather than skinning them.

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265 Ibid., pp. 17-8.
266 Ibid., pp. 18-9.
267 Ibid., p. 20.
Kaati Mamoe kaumatua Kelly Wilson explained that the South Westland diet consisted of fish, shellfish, woodhens, muttonbirds and occasionally penguins. Seal blubber was also used by the Kaati Mamoe for fuel. 269

In a submission to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1987, Gordon McLaren who was born at Makawhio, outlined the mahika kai areas of South Westland and their importance to his tribe. He opened his submission by identifying himself as a descendant and member of the Kaati Mamoe people of South Westland,

My Maori heritage I claim through both parents. Paternal grandmother was Heeni Mahuika, daughter of Hoani Mahuika and Heni Turoa, daughter of Major Kemp.

Heni, my mother, was the daughter of Te Ahuru Mahuika and Hinepare, who was the daughter of Ripeka Patiere Tutoko and Te Koeti Turanga. Ripeka the granddaughter of Tutoko, who was a Kaati Mamoe chief. These are some of my tupuna. 270

He gave a detailed knowledge of the manu (birds), raakau (trees), kai ika (fish) and kai moana (seafood) that have and continue to form vital mahika kai in the South Westland rohe.

From the forests came the manu- kiwi, kaka, tui, kereru, kakapo, makomako and a host of others; and the hua rakau (berries) from the karaka, kotukutuku, miro, matai, rimu, kahikatea, koromiko, hinau, totara, ti, pikopiko, katoke, jurau [sic], mamaku and others. Other products gathered were kareao for hinaki, toetoe for tukutuku, pingao, harakeke, kiekie, raupo, kuta for weaving. With manu there was little waste—the flesh was eaten, feathers were used for decoration and the bones were fashioned into fish hooks and spear heads.

269 Interview with Mr Kelly Wilson, 2 June 1991.
Some had dual uses, such as harakeke which also had a medicinal value and an edible nectar, and others were universal in their use, such as the ti- the dried leaves were ideal for paraerae [sandals], the fruit was eaten and the roots, when cooked in umu, were a principal source of sugar. Then there was puha and watercress- both still taken frequently- the aruhe.
The swamps, lakes and rivers writhed with fish life, especially tuna- once a staple diet- and yielded other food sources such as weka, pukeko and whio (particularly at Makawhio). Tuna formed a big part of the diet of our tupuna, and hinaki [eel-pots] were set all around the Makawhio-Maitahi area up until recent years. They are still taken, but no longer in great numbers.
Dozens of rivers and streams cut their way through South Westland, emptying into the Tasman Sea, and all but the glacier rivers were fished by the Maori. Inanga [whitebait] remains the most important catch. There was also karawai in the small streams and patiki, which were speared and netted in the estuaries of most rivers. Patiki [flounder] remain an important food source today.
In earlier times our tupuna fished offshore in the more sheltered bays where canoes could be launched. In later years kai ika were mainly taken by way of round nets baited with mussels and set close to the rocks. Hand dragging was another common event in South Westland up until a few years ago. In the main, kai ika taken were kahawai, hapuku, tuere, warehou, manga, hokarari, moki, mango and aua.
The sea also yields another vital food source- kai moana. Shellfish beds of varying sizes and types occur up and down the South Westland coastline. At Makawhio the bed which has supplied our people with kuku, paua, katurituri, and pipi for centuries is still very much harvested. Another important kai moana area is at Heretaniwha, where koura, kuku, huwai, pipi, kina, tuatua, katurituri and karengo can be obtained. Other important beds exist throughout but especially at Waitaha, Whataroa, Okarito, Okura, Te Umu o Hapopo and Tauneke.
What has also featured largely in the diet of the South Westland Maori over the generations is the eggs of the karoro and tara. According to our tupuna, annual expeditions were made along the coast between Manakaihua and Karangarua to collect eggs, which were taken by the hundreds and cooked on the beach in umu.

Collecting sea bird eggs from the Karangarua beach is another practice which has continued to the present.271

Hooker's final revision of the South Westland anthropological picture concerns the question of stone resources in the area. He notes that in the same way that it has been accepted that South Westland was simply a 'food larder' for the northern population, the belief that there were no particular resources of interest to the tangata whenua of South Westland has persisted. It is Hooker's view that information about the pounamu source at Arahura which was relayed by Brunner and Heaphy has overshadowed the significance of the pounamu and takiwai sources in South Westland.

Hooker draws attention to the reports of greenstone at Jackson Bay by Hochstetter in 1864 and J.G. Black in 1886, at Barn Bay and the Hope River by Charles Douglas in 1900 and Dieseldorff in 1901 and finally by Douglas again in the Cascade area. Heaphy commented that the Maori of Arahura occasionally made expeditions to Wakatipu to obtain an unusual type of greenstone. It has generally been believed that the Wakatipu to which Heaphy referred was Lake Wakatipu. Hooker points out, however, that there may be a confusion here as both Sherrin and Chapman referred to Wakatipu when speaking about Martin's Bay.272 The Makawhio elders who spoke to G.J. Roberts told him that on one occasion they had taken the Arahura Maori to Milford Sound in their canoes to collect takiwai.273

It is clear that the Kaati Mamoe did know of, and were exploiting, the pounamu sources in South Westland. The

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272 Hooker, pp. 20-1.
273 Milford Sound is the first sound to the south of Martin's Bay.
kaumaatua of Makawhio gave the names of the localities where the pounamu was found. The list was as follows: the Arahura riverbed, Milford Sound (on the hillside exposed by a slip), Kotorepi (only one block), Hohonu (loose on the ground), Gorge River (a big boulder) and off Tarotawa. Pounamu was not generally found at Makawhio but there was one type in the area and it was called Aotea. They also gave Roberts details about how they worked the stone and how the pounamu trade operated in the area.\textsuperscript{274}

The southern rohe of the West Coast has been perceived for many years as an environment which was simply too challenging for human occupation. It is a tribute to the people of the Makawhio hapuu that both they, and their tiipuna before them, had the competence to adapt and find comfort in these surroundings. It is appropriate to supplement the extensive oral record of these people with material from the field of archaeology. This cross-referencing using the archaeological evidence uncovered by Ray Hooker in recent years supports the previously marginalised oral record of the Kaati Mamoe hapuu of Makawhio as passed down from the tiipuna to the descendants today. The South Westland rohe was the permanent home of a significant population of takata whenua. This remote hapuu enjoyed a rich existence based on the abundance of mahika kai available and also the presence of pounamu and takiwai which provided the raw material for tools, weapons and jewellery. Travel was facilitated through the use of sea-going canoes which also contributed to the varied diet by allowing deep-sea fishing to be practised. In short, the southern rohe was 'a giant kete [basket] to our tupuna, brimming with resources of all descriptions.'\textsuperscript{275}

\textsuperscript{274} J. Andersen, MS Papers 148: 112, ATL, pp 89-91.

EPILOGUE.

In earlier times a number of descendants clustered around the tipuna Whatua Mamoe. It was Whatua Mamoe who gave the Kaati Mamoe iwi its name. More recently, descendants of Kaati Mamoe in the South Westland area have grouped themselves around the Kaati Mamoe ancestors Tutoko and Te Koeti Turanga. Te Koeti Turanga has become the eponymous ancestor of the people of the Te Runanga o Te Koeti Turanga hapu today. This hapu has, in the last century, traditionally united with the Kai Tahu tribal confederation in response to threats to their land, identity and mana. However, it is interesting to note that the southern hapu did not appear to have united with the Kai Tahu during the northern raids by Te Niho or Te Puoho in the early nineteenth century. The phenomenon of incorporation with the Kai Tahu appears to have only occurred in response to a threat that was external to Maoridom, namely that posed by the British Crown after 1840.

Close attention to both the Maori oral record and European written records suggest that the incorporation of these Kaati Mamoe people into a model of a Kai Tahu tribal chiefdom in the South Island is problematic both historically and today. The depiction of this southern hapu as Kaati Mamoe refugees or the remnant of the 'lost tribe' is equally unsatisfactory. The Kaati Mamoe identity as described by kaumaatua themselves is perhaps the single most important factor here. The Kaati Mamoe chiefly ancestors, Tutoko and Te Koeti Turanga, provide a vital link between the land in the southern rohe of the West Coast and the descendants today. The landscape through the length and breadth of the southern part of the coast bears the names and actions of tiipuna. The highest peak in the Fiordland area carries the name of Tutoko, and the peaks around it the names of his daughters, Rongorua and Rongopatahi. The bay to the south of Te Remu is named after the Kaati Mamoe rangatira, Kaipo.

While clearly a sense of unity is of value for Maoridom with regard to the resolution of land and resource claims. It is, at the same time, vital that iwi or hapu diversity is recognised and not suppressed. Iwi and hapu groups must be allowed the freedom to acknowledge their differences and
not be obliged to present a unified front for the purposes of making negotiations easier for the Crown. Differences need to brought out into the open in order for long-standing grievances to be addressed. Kaati Mamoe descendants from the southern rohe of the West Coast have suffered a steady process of alienation from their tribal land. For these descendants the only true remedy which will assist in the reaffirmation of their identity is to once again become the kaitiaki (protector) of the whenua of their ancestors.

While I have attempted to peel back the layers of histories that appear to have over-shadowed the story of the Kaati Mamoe past I am constantly aware of the sheer vastness of this discussion. I have met with these people and heard of their beliefs through their oral traditions. I have learned about many aspects of their everyday physical life from the archaeological material available and I have looked at how they have been perceived through the eyes of first the Kai Tahu and later the Pakeha. And finally I have sought to understand the processes of change that have taken place in both their culture and their identity.

There is no single answer to the question of a Kaati Mamoe identity among the takata whenua of the southern rohe of the West Coast. As Dening wrote,

Discourse is unending. Nothing is discovered finally. The moments of understanding stand like sentences in a conversation, their meaning enlarged by personal presence, their context changed by their having been spoken.275

275 Dening, p. 42.
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APPENDIX I.

Interview with Mr Kelly Wilson, Descendant of Tutoko, Kaumatua of Kaati Mamoe, 2 June 1991.

'One of the signatories of the Deed [Mackay's Purchase, 1860] was Kapa from Makawhio. All arrangements were done by Tuhuru, "paramount chief of the West Coast" but the South Westlanders had never heard of him. Tuhuru went as far as Okarito. Maika Mason's article on Tuhuru Kokare in the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography is incorrect. The people of South Westland were not consulted. The Kati wae wae were "walkers" not canoe people. The route to Bruce Bay and Milford Sound was by canoe. The South Westlanders followed their food up and down the Coast, travel was always by canoe. In the North they were all feet people; they moved only east-west; west-east across the hills. They didn't go into South Westland. Tarapuhi went as far as Lake Paringa with Mackay. He said that there were "no Maoris south of here". He was outside of his rohe and didn't want to go further.

The Mamoe were not trusted by others. They were called "the lost tribe" and were said to have eyes in the back of the head. Why? They were the first Maori people to have contact with whalers and sealers, they learnt that it was easier to row backwards rather than paddling forwards.

There were confrontations at Knight's Point with William Boultbee working at the Open Bay Islands and other sealers domiciled near Okuru when the ship arrived six months late. The Open Bay Islands, Tuamakau and Popotai were used occasionally by Maori people. In the 1981 Land Court the Crown wanted ownership of them. My story convinced the Court that the Maori people were the original owners. Blubber was used by Maori for fuel.

The Maori diet included fish, muttonbirds, occasionally penguins, woodhens and shellfish. Villages were sited by good fishing spots such as Bruce Bay, Paringa, Cascade. They were ten miles apart.

In 1929 I earned my first money, half a crown but there was no place to spend it! In 1946 I moved to Hokitika from Bruce Bay. Most people moved for economic reasons. It is difficult to utilise resources now because they are protected. It
is a World Heritage Park from Okarito down to Milford. There is tourism for five months and nothing for seven months and fishing. There are odd farmers but it is difficult to renew leases. I had a farm at Hunt's Beach of two hundred acres but it couldn't sustain thirteen children. They were forced to leave, scattered around to make a living. Before there was food, now there is money. It put a lot of strain on South Westlanders, we had a turangawaewae- a place to stand but you will go hungry. Now there are some farmers and some fishermen but few south of Fox. I would like to see a sustained employment opportunity. People have to leave to go to school, then find a job elsewhere, then what happens.

Kinihi originally owned reserved land, families succeeded to the same block and there were five hundred to support. It is the same story with all reserves. After World War One Maoris received no rehabilitation loan to buy land. The problem with reserves are that they are one piece of land and they need to be surveyed, the whole piece, to find out whose bit is what. Corporations spring up; no one owns any particular bit, it is not the Maori way having shareholders. Shares can be bought and sold. Bright, bureaucratic Maoris end up with all the shares, outsiders can buy in with a change of legislation. In twenty years time who knows. There may be no heritage to hand down to youngsters.

Last year Tipene O'Regan signed for the World Heritage Park. South Westlanders were not consulted.

I was the chairman of Doctor Blakely's committee two and a half years ago. It appeared to be a token gesture; it seemed that decisions had been made before we started. We spent eighteen months up and down South Westland. None of my proposals for the utilization of resources without harming the environment were accepted. On the subject of the Northern [West Coast] devastation, the sawmilling industry was owned by Aucklanders. It was blamed on South Westlanders because they worked for them but it was a matter of work or no work. Disunity is a problem, we need to get together to get the right interpretation.

From the Mawhera Incorporation I have had two payments since 1977; one of two dollars and one of three dollars.

I have made two submissions to the Waitangi Tribunal. Regarding Mahitahi, the Council put a scenic road
through taking ten chains each side of the road. The Public Works Act permitted this but they did not compensate as they were supposed to with areas elsewhere.

The Maori chiefs wouldn't have signed a treaty to give everything away, they thought it would be beneficial to them.
APPENDIX II.

Interview with June Robinson, daughter of Mary Jane Mahuika and William Wilson, Area Representative Maori Women's Welfare League, 2 June 1991.

My mother was Mary Jane Mahuika, my father was William Wilson.

There are two factions on the Coast, the Mamoe and Kai Tahu. The Mamoe are not acknowledged and have generally been ignored. Why? Because of tribal and land issues. Bruce Bay and Mawhera were the two main communities. In the 1918 census there were more Maori in South Westland than North Westland.

James Mason Russell and Maika Mason say that Tuhuru came over for greenstone. The Tuahiwi version is that he was sent over in disgrace because of the sale of land in Canterbury. There were battles at Mahinapua and Paparoa.

Archaeological evidence supports what the South people say. Kelly Wilson is trying to get the Maori Land Court to repeal decisions because of Court Minutes. In the Land Court it was all word of mouth, the Judge asked if there were any objections and if none he said okay. Sometimes people were not present.

There was an unwritten agreement that the North would look after the North and the South look after the South. There were three signatures on the map of Arahura; two resided in South Westland. Occupancy at that time was at Mawhera not Arahura. Arahura is actually an area not just a river. Mackay referred to the whole area as Arahura. His half guide was Tutoko Te Naihi Kere from South Westland.

Proof of ancestral rights is in the land. Tutoko is a tipuna, Tutoko is the highest mountain, Sara and May are his daughters. All landmarks are the tipuna of the people of South Westland.

Maika Mason says that, the Mamoe people are extinct, he is from the rohe of Tuhuru's people. The Mamoe say that Tuhuru didn't enter South Westland.

Te Koeti Turanga was from Taumutu on the East Coast. He came to the West Coast to escape the Pakeha who wanted the heads of tattooed men.
Cross claims are not laid for land but for recognition. The Mawhera Incorporation purchased shares until they became the largest shareholders. Those with ancestral rights have no control. It is not the Maori style it is Pakeha law.

Originally there was no interest in South Westland. Control was from Piopiotahi to Kahurangi. Actually Mahuika was Ngati Apa, Ngati Awa and Rangitane. My mother's family were ostracised because they were not a fighting people in the Kingitanga movement. My father said that land and politics were not worth losing life over. This attitude was shared by the older members of the family. He died thirty years ago. He was the oldest child of Ane Te Naihi. He said there had been enough blood shed over land. He signed his shares away. Compare this to now where there is a similar situation and much hurt. There is animosity because South Westland keeps being ignored. It was drummed into my generation "don't interfere in matters of North Westland".

Mahana from O'Canes Bay was whangaaied by the people, Ripeka gave him some land. In 1924 fire destroyed the Maori Land Court Minute Books relating to this and another fire broke out in the late 1930s. A third fire destroyed minute books in the Christchurch office.

Tipene O'Regan has been questioned by much of Ngai Tahu.

The West Coast is bad for disunity; the Tuhuru hapu, Katiwaewae and Te Runanga all claim to be the rangatira line. There are two groupings within one hapu, that is Tuhuru and Katiwaewae. Tipene O'Regan said that the Mamoe had been absorbed by Ngai Tahu. There is more recognition of Mamoe and Waitaha links now.

In Standard Three I moved to Hokitika. We were the last people to move out from Bruce Bay proper, that is across from Bruce Bay now. I was very fearful. We only knew ourselves to be Mamoe. At school children said "you were headhunters, niggers". We couldn't cope so our father allowed us to move into town slowly. My father would say, "feel sorry for the other person they don't know". He gave things away or bartered. He shared everything. My mother showed us how to make flax baskets.

In North Westland they didn't preserve so many traditions. Gold took over. The Maori sold, with collateral you
can buy into the business world which is destroying people. In the South they didn't sell.

Under the last government people had to become aware of the injustices of Maori people but not enough time was allowed. It was rammed down people's throats too quickly. People with brown faces were expected to know everything; when they didn't they made it up. In South Westland we were brought up with Maori traditions but the language was lost. We have land interests in Murihiku and Moeraki. We are all connected through whakapapa, we need to know these links for unity. We also need to acknowledge the Pakeha side, it should be equally as important as well.

My mother said, "until things come right the utu has to be restored". A tornado destroyed the church at Arahura. Four boys were killed on the road, the same day in Australia there were two drownings of related family members. Gold dredge in Arahura. Two drowned off a bridge. These were Tuhuru's people. These things will continue to happen until things are restored. Tuhuru's sons sold off everything, his body was moved three times, now noone knows where it is. A fog comes up and goes over to where he was originally buried. Until people start uniting and sharing bad things will happen. Until people appease the spirits.

Mackay had a poisoned knee so he didn't go South. Tarapuhi (Tuhuru's son) told him not to go further because there were only two or three old men but in reality there was a whole settlement.

Taetae was a Waitaha chief of the Harihari area. His descendants are the Tipas. He lived at the Poerua River. The West Coast is 406 miles long with dense bush; there was some travel.

Te Koeti Turanga-Tutoko's granddaughter, Kinihi Te Kaoho (eldest son)

Auntie Nixie, a descendant of Nihorere said to Maika that it was not right. He said he had to do whatever was necessary.

Allan Puller held the first teaching post in South Westland. He has written a book of old stories and how people lived. Paul Madgewick is researching for the Grey Evening Star
and publishing old legends.

I have traced my whakapapa back to 1836. I have links with Te Arawa and Ngati Porou. Many Ngai Tahu don't go outside their hapu to their iwi. I am a Maori Women Area Representative for the Maori Women's Welfare League. I am one of fifteen children; one of my brothers is an accountant, another a lawyer. Two of my sisters are trained nurses. Everyone has done something, has been encouraged by our parents. We had no money but we still made it because of our parents. There is an opportunity for everyone on the Coast. I have also been involved with correspondence schools in very remote areas.

Ray Hooker- D.O.C. archaeologist.
Jean Doland- belongs to Tuhuru, older woman.
Auntie Nixie- is Noelene Tainui's mother-in-law.
Emma Tainui- is Noelene Tainui's husband's grandmother.