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WAI 55

TE WHANGANUI A OROTU

(The Napier Inner Harbour)

TE WHANGANUI A OROTU FROM THE HILL, NAPIER
by C. D. BARRAUD : 1866

TRADITIONAL USE AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE

A Report to the Waitangi Tribunal
by Patrick Parsons : May 1992

TE WHANGANUI-A-OROTU:

TRADITIONAL USE AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE

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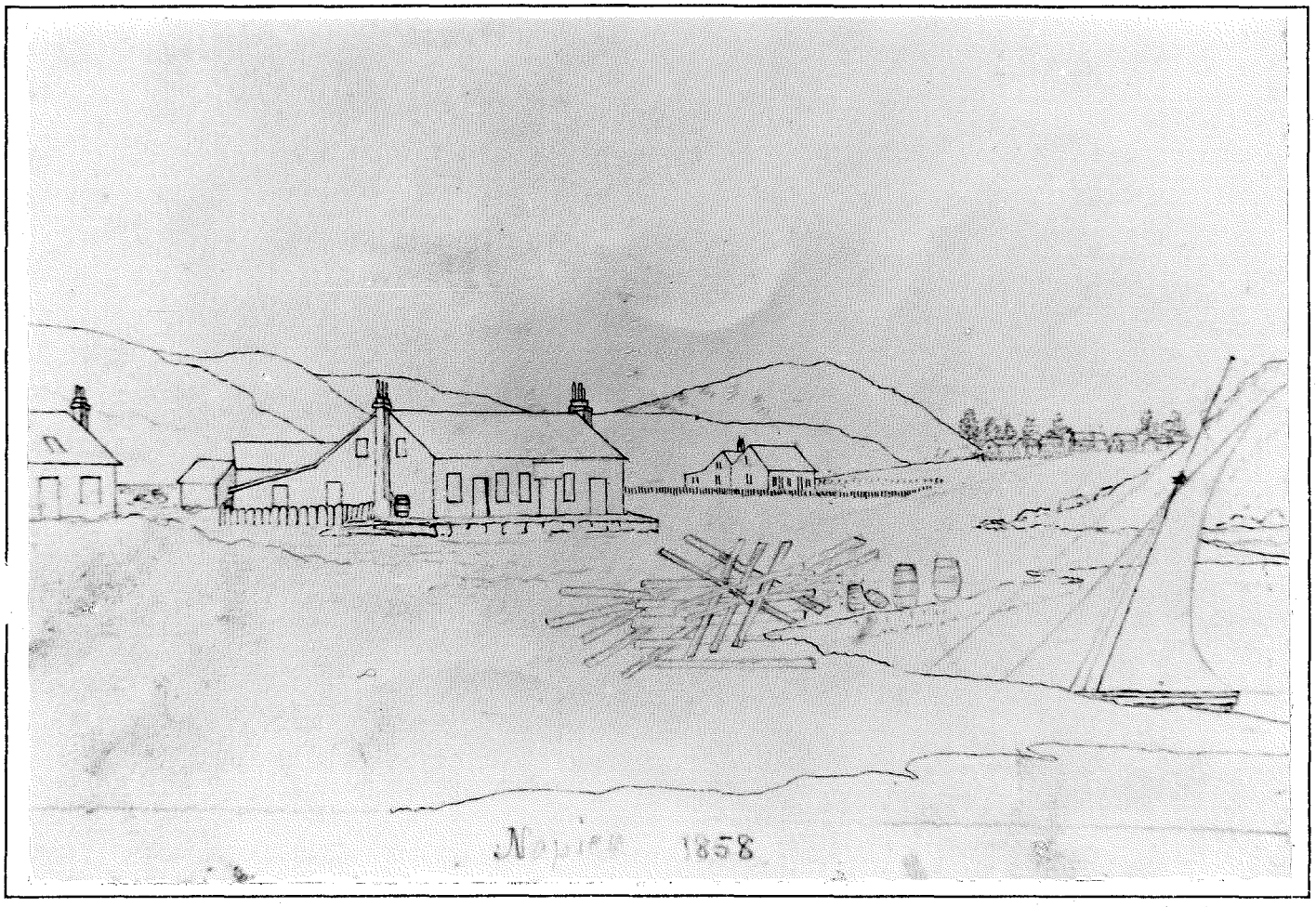

Sketch of Napier - 1858

looking east along Carlyle Street

Pukemokimoki Hill is on the right

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TE WHANGANUI-A-OROTU : CUSTOMARY USAGE REPORT

PART A : PRE-1851 SETTLEMENT

The issue of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu, the Napier Inner Harbour was precipitated by the Ahuriri Purchase of 1851. This section of the customary usage report focuses on evidence of occupation prior to the 1851 purchase. It is proposed to examine occupation between 1810 and 1851 because a particularly turbulent period of intertribal war interrupted traditional patterns of settlement during this time.

Those who survived the massacre at Te Pakake all lived in exile until the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. All previous dwelling places were abandoned upon return in favour of new ones partly because the spilling of blood had made them tapu. To examine settlement only immediately prior to 1851 therefore would give a false indication of traditional patterns of occupation.

This report should be read in conjunction with Section One of the claimant's report to the Waitangi Tribunal which deals with the origins of the sub-tribes of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu. Most of the evidence comes from the Maori Land Court minute books, especially the Napier minute books.

1. PUKEMOKIMOKI[1]

Nothing remains today of Pukemokimoki Island. Historical values were not a consideration at the time the Napier Borough Council destroyed it in the name of progress. It was located on the recreation ground on the opposite side of Carlysle Street from the entrance to Chaucer Road. A pencil sketch in the Hawkes Bay Museum shows it as a high, steep-sided island.

Because Mataruahou or Scinde Island was included in the Ahuriri purchase and Pukemokimoki might be classified as an appendage,

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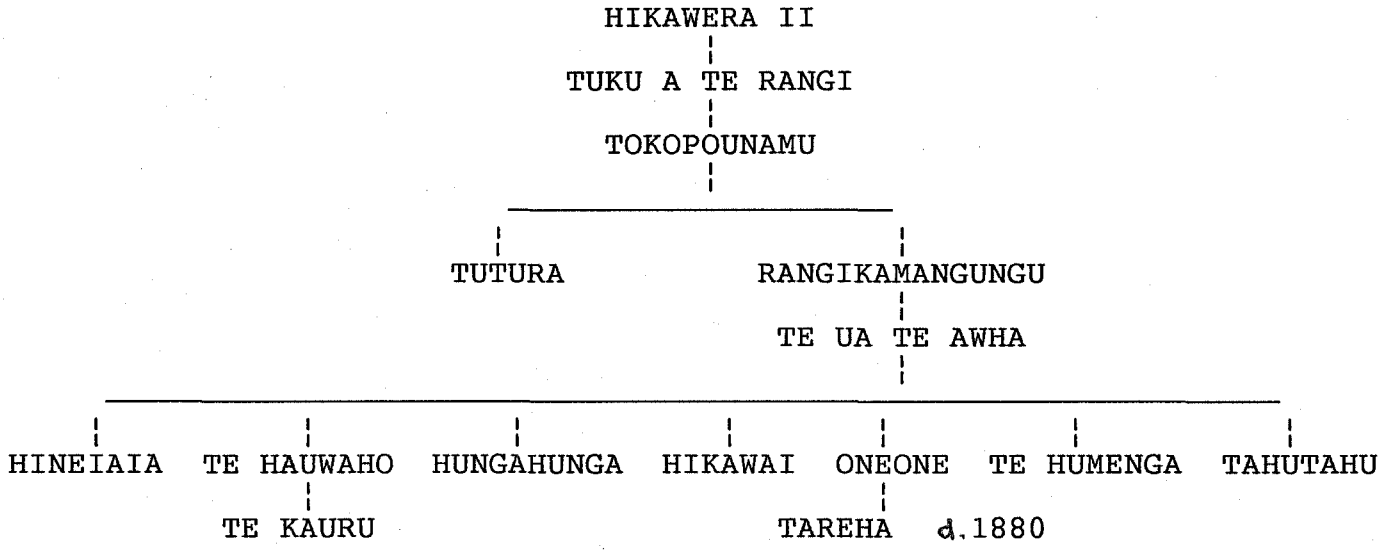
[1]ref. claimants report, Section 12.

the Maori Chief Tareha requested that it be made a reserve. McLean's wording in the Ahuriri purchase deed, however, failed to observe fully the Chief's request. It reads "...Pukemokimoki being the only portion of Mataruahou reserved for ourselves, together with the small piece of land where the children and family of Tareha are buried during such time as it remains unoccupied by the Europeans."

The proviso, "...during such time as it remains unoccupied by the Europeans,..." completely negates the purpose of making Pukemokimoki a reserve. Both it and Te Pakake Island were the scenes of massacres and burials. According to Maori custom they were tapu or sacred, hence the request that they remain undisturbed. One can only assume that if Tareha fully understood the wording of the above clause he never anticipated a time when the Europeans might occupy it.

Between 1810 and the battle of Te Pakake, usually given as 1824, Pukemokimoki was the fortified pa of the Ngati Parau sub-tribe. It was surrounded by shallow tidal waters and canoes used to anchor close by. Ngati Parau follow the male line of descent from Hikawera II.



This sub-tribe's occupation of Pukemokimoki is well documented in Maori Land Court records.

"After this Te Ua Te Awha returned to his pa at Pukemokimoki"[2].

"One person went to the pa at Pukemokimoki and said to Te Hauwaho..."[3].

Ngati Parau are believed to have ceased occupation of Pukemokimoki after the battle of Taitimuroa. This battle which occurred between 1810 and 1820 was a reprisal for the killing of the Ngai Te Upokoiri Chief Te Kiipatu.

Paora Kaiwhata, a son of Tareahi who features in the story, gave a graphic account of the battle in the Omahu case[4].

"When the war party got home Ngai Te Upokoiri then came, and arrived at Te Ngaue, close by here. At night they went down to Upokopoito and on to Pukemokimoki and into the pa. The people there were alarmed and a fight ensued. Pakapaka was killed by the people of the pa. Tete and Paho killed him. The invaders were defeated and retreated.

They wailed outside because their man had been cut to pieces before the morning. Ngati Parau and Ngati Kahungunu were in the pa - Hauwaho, Oneone, Tete, Paho and others. Latter two were Ngati Parau.

The war party that fled went to a bend in the river (Tutaekuri) but were not pursued. It was arranged that all Ngai Te Upokoiri should gather the canoes of the people in the pa and burn them to draw the people out of the pa. It was determined that 140 should take up a position near the pa so that when the canoes were on

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[2]ref. N.M.B. 19, page 415.

[3]ref. M.N.B. 19, page 557.

[4]ref. N.M.B. 19, page 423.

fire the remainder of the war party might appear to be retreating and the people in the pa coming out to quench the fire might be killed. (The witness sang a song).

That song was Tareahi's. He sang it in the sore distress of his people and inspirited them.

A part of the war party set fire to the canoes and the main body of Ngai Te Upokoiri withdrew along where the railway line is now. When the people saw this they came out of the pa to save their canoes.

When leaving the pa Poawha of the attacking party thought he saw Humenga when he saw Makuru as their head - dresses were alike. Those in ambush then rose and charged those leaving the pa. All outside were killed. Two of them, Moukiri and Kanoi, jumped into the water. Tuhotoariki chased them and killed them and dragged them on shore. Many of the people of the pa were killed. The name of this fight was Taitimuroa."

It is believed that this event caused Ngati Parau to abandon Pukemokimoki. The spilling of blood made it tapu.

2. KOUTUROA, TIHERUHERU AND OHUARAU

Kouturoa, Tiheruheru and Ohuarau were the principal settlements of Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Mahu on the shores of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu between 1810 and 1824.

(a) Tiheruheru

Of these settlements Tiheruheru enjoys the longest tradition. It was known chiefly as a canoe landing and the kainga was on the hill directly above. Tiheruheru is not known to have been fortified. Extensive middens testify to its long occupation.

The Ngati Hinepare ancestress Wiramina Ngahuka, referred to the antiquity of Tiheruheru in her evidence in the Omahu case[5].

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[5]ref. Blake manuscripts 17/7/1889, page 8.

"Tareahi returned a long time after and lived at Te Whanganui-a-Orotu. Tiheruheru and Tuteranuku were the names of the kaingas of Rotu (Orotu), Whatumamoa's father."

Wiramina Ngahuku also refers to Tiheruheru in her evidence in the Whareranga case.

"The rights of Manawa and Toheriri were at Tiheruheru."[6]

"Toheriri and Manawa went to Tiheruheru near Whanga because their mother Huakirangi came from there."[7]

"A piece of land was cut off for Manawa and Toheriri by Huakirangi - i.e. from Tiheruheru to Ngakoaoao and Pekapekanui."[8]

Through descent from the above ancestors, Tiheruheru became the property of Tareahi and his people. Between 1810 and 1824 it was one of Tareahi's permanent places of occupation:-

"Te Whanga was a settlement of my father (Tareahi). Tuteranuku was too. Tiheruheru was his settlement also and so was it mine. My father lived there permanently."[9]

"Pakapaka gave Tareahi the land and a load of fern root when he returned from Ruahine and arrived at Tiheruheru where he caught sharks, (which) when dried, he carried to Ruahine"[10].

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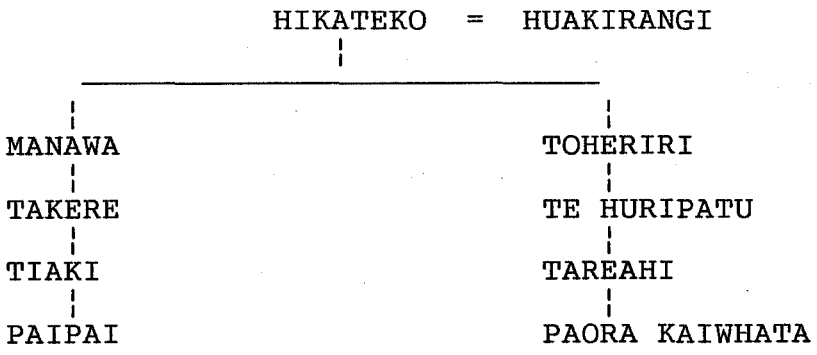
[6]ref. N.M.B. 52, page 87.

[7]ref. N.M.B. 17, page 182.

[8]ref. N.M.B. 52, page 92.

[9]ref. N.M.B. 17, page 222.

[10]ref. N.M.B. 19, page 409.



Ngati Hinepare are known to have been in occupation at Tiheruheru and other pa mentioned above at the time Tangi Te Ruru invaded Hawkes Bay. The local tribes gathered at Te Rae O Tahumata near Omahu under Hawea, Haemania and Pakapaka, for mutual protection. This was in the period 1815-1820 not long before the battle of Te Aratipi.

Paora Kaiwhata refers to this in his evidence in the Omahu case[11].

"Rae O Tahumata was the place where the people used to congregate when war parties came from the north. It was after the fights I have just named that the people met there when war parties were said to be coming, such for instance as Ngati Paoa and Ngati Maru.

This was after the pa was built. We were living at Te Whanga and used to rendezvous at Rae O Tahumata pa. From Te Whanga we used to go to a pa near to Ngati Hawea's pa, Rakato - Ngati Hinepare's pa. Ngati Hawea assembled at Rae O Tahumata and Ngati Hinepare at Rakato."

(b) Ohuarau

Ohuarau was a fortified pa located on the promontory just east of Thieruheru. The earthworks were still visible in the 1980's until they were erased by bulldozer by the current owner.

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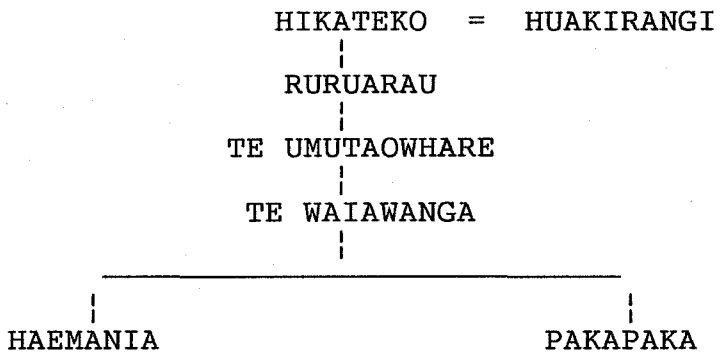
[11]ref. N.M.B. 19, page 434.

Wiramina Ngahuku refers to Ohuarau in her evidence in the Wharerangi case.

"Pera Ngarangioue is from Umutaowhare whose pa was Ohuarau a little beyond Tiheruheru."[12]

"Umutaowhare's rights were at Ohuarau and Ikatuwhenua."[13]

The ancestor Te Umutaowhare mentioned above belonged to Ngati Hinepare.



Ohuarau pa was occupied by the descendants of Umutaowhare during the period 1810-1820. Paora Kaiwhata speaks of this occupation in the Pirau case[14].

"Then Punawaitangi a woman went to inform Tareahi, Pakapaka and Haemania who were living at Te Whanga of this gathering. They were in a pa called Ohuarau. She said to Pakapaka, 'the body of Kauhaurangi is enough for you. Let Te Hauwaho have your kumaras'. Pakapaka then sent messengers to Te Iho O Te Rei where the Ngati Hinepare were living, to inform them of Punawaitangi's message.

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[12]ref. N.M.B. 52, page 88.

[13]ref. N.M.B. 52, page 94.

[14]ref. N.M.B. 17, page 207.

They then all set out from Te Iho O Te Rei in a canoe called Moanahoehoe, and when they were near Ohuarau pa Pakapaka went out in front and told Haemania, who was on board, Punawaitangi's message."

Occupation at Ohuarau appears to have ceased after the battle of Te Pakake. The chiefs, Haemania and Pakapaka were both dead by this time.

(c) Kouturoa

Kouturoa was a fortified pa at the southern entrance to Kouturoa Bay. It is within the boundaries of the Wharerangi Native Reserve and the fortified earthworks are still visible.

This pa was one of the residences of Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Mahu. It was occupied at the same time as the pa sites previously mentioned. An incident arose when Ngati Hinepare discovered that someone had been raiding their eels baskets. Waitaringa, father of Tareahi, laid in wait to catch the thief.

"Towards daylight someone came in a canoe and was emptying the eel baskets into the canoe when my grandfather seized him and held him under the water until he was nearly drowned. It was discovered that the thief was Te Ua Te Awha and later, he being a chief, war was declared and the people assembled to destroy my ancestors. My people were living in a pa called Kouturoa.

The defenders of the pa allowed the enemy to come and climb the pallisading and then seized Te Waharoa. a chief. They took him into the pa and the others fled. One of my people called Haemania wished to follow them up but Pakapaka interfered and said let them alone and be inhabitants of Heretaunga."[15]

Ngati Hinepare must have been living at Kouturoa pa at the time of Te Kauhaurangi's death referred to in accounts of Ohuarau.

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[15]ref. N.M.B. 17, page 204.

"The Ngati Hinepare killed Te Kauhaurangi but spared his wife, Hinemaka and children. They took his body to Kouturoa and ate it. Tareahi, Pakapaka and Haemania, my elders, were with the Ngati Hinepare."[16]

Kouturoa was one of the Ngati Hinepare pas at the time of Tangi Te Ruru's raid.

"They waited there some time and when no war party attacked them Ngati Hinepare returned to the pa at the sea coast called Kouturoa."[17]

From the above evidence it can be seen that the pas Tiheruheru, Ohuarau and Kouturoa were the principal residences of Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Mahu up till the time the Waikato tribes attacked Te Pakake in 1824. These pas were abandoned when everyone went into exile at Nukutaurua pa on Mahia peninsular.

3. THE ISLAND PAS - TE IHO O TE REI, OTAIA AND OTIERE

The abovenamed pa sites are all located at the northern end of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu. Otaia and Otiere (sometimes abbreviated to Tiere) are peninsular pas on Roro O Kuri Island. Te Iho O Te Rei (sometimes spelt Te Ihu O Te Rei) is the small island between Te Roro O Kuri and Keteketerau.

These pa sites have had a long and chequered history. Ngati Hineterangi and Te Hika O Te Rautangata were the principal inhabitants until the period 1760-1780.

Tribal archives held by Ngati Kurumokihi speak of a confrontation between Te Hika O Te Rautangata and Ngati Tu and Ngati Moe. Te Hika O Te Rautangata were a branch of Ngati Hineterangi. They

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[16]ref. N.M.B. 17, page 206.

[17]ref. N.M.B. 19, page 434.

exercised an ancestral right through descent from Kahutapere II over certain eel weirs and kaimoana belonging to Ngati Tu and Ngati Moe.

The chief of Ngati Tu, Marangatuhetaua went up the coast to enlist the support of Te Ruruku, a prominent fighting chief. He enticed Te Ruruku with the promise of an abundance of kaimoana at Arapawanui.

Te Ruruku joined forces with Ngati Tu and drove off the aggressors. This restored the balance of power between the sub-tribes and Te Ruruku was accorded personal rights for his services.

One account of this conflict[18] includes Ngati Hinepare in the proceedings. According to Te Wahapango, "Hinepare came to set their nets but were driven off at a great battle called Otoparuparu at Otaia River.

The battle raged on to Otiere near Petane. Rongomaiaia of Ngati Hinepare acknowledged the ringakaha and gave up all land around that district including Puketitiri. Te Ruruku established peace and gave his daughter, Te Herepao, in marriage to Haemania, the child of Ruruarau."

Ngati Tu tribal archives don't mention Ngati Hinepare but speak of the defeat of Te Hika O Te Rautangata. It is clear from evidence of later activities at the three island pas that no one's rights were extinguished as a result of Te Ruruku's intervention. Ngati Hineterangi, Te Hika O Te Rautangata, Ngai Te Ruruku, Ngati Tu, Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Mahu are all documented as having occupation during the period 1760-1820.

In his evidence in the Omahu case[19], Meihana Takihi speaks of

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[18]ref. N.M.B. 70, page 190.

[19]ref. N.M.B. 19, page 100.

Ngati Hinepare occupying Otaia pa. "When Hawea reached Te Awanga with the Ngati Hineiao they went to attack the pa of Te Whakapakaru's descendants named Otaia at Te Whanga."

Wiramina Ngahuka speaks of Otiere pa in her evidence in the Pirau case[20], "My mother went to live with her parents at Petane. My father died there." Wiramana states, "It is quite correct my father died at Otiere and was buried there"[21]. Wiramina's father was Tahana Pura of Ngati Hinepare.

Haemania, chief of Ngati Hinepare, was living at Te Iho O Te Rei when his brother, Pakapaka, was resident at Ohuarau pa. "Pakapaka then sent messengers to Te Iho O Te Rei where the Ngati Hinepare were living, to inform them of Punawaitangi's message."[22]

Haemania may have been living at Te Iho O Te Rei through the rights of his wife, Te Herepao, a daughter of Te Ruruku.

After the battle of Te Kaipo when Ngati Kahungunu of Wairoa confronted Ngai Te Upokoiri they passed Te Iho O Te Rei. "When they reached Te Iho O Te Rei they found Ngati Kahungunu and Ngati Hinepare in the pa. They erected about twenty posts at low water mark and set the heads of the people slaughtered at these fights on the posts. When Ngai Te Upokoiri heard this, they nicknamed Wi Te Ota, Taipakihi."[23]

Ngati Tuwharetoa, Ngati Raukawa and Waikato tribes were involved in a battle at Te Iho O Te Rei where the musket or pu was first experienced in Hawkes Bay. This was about 1820[24]. "The first

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[20]ref. N.M.B. 17, page 184.

[21]ref. N.M.B. 18, page 313, 323.

[22]ref. N.M.B. 17, page 207.

[23]ref, N.M.B. 19, page 107.

[24]ref. J.G. Wilson, page 93.

island pa to be attacked at Parapara. There was a very stubborn resistance by the defenders. They even came out of the pa to fight the invaders who mowed them down with guns. The invaders now attacked the larger pa on Iho O Te Rei. There again the fight was uneven and the defenders succumbed to the pu. The two chiefs, Kumara and Te Aitu O Te Rangi, as well as most of their followers were slain. The new pu caused such devastation that the tribe took the name, Ngati Matepu (the tribe killed by guns)." The hapu who took the name Ngati Matepu were formerly a section of Ngati Hineterangi. The chief Te Aitu O Te Rangi who was slain at Te Iho O Te Rei was a grandson of Te Ruruku.

Hohaia Te Hoata gave evidence to the effect that his mother, Maata Puti, was captured at Te Iho O Te Rei. "My mother when young was taken prisoner by Ngapuhi. I don't know that Raukawa took her. Her foster parents went with her. They came for her at Otiere. She was not taken prisoner at Puketitiri. She was taken at Te Iho O Te Rei."[25]

Te Teira Te Paea, the last chief of Ngati Tu is remembered by his grandchildren as exercising rights of mahingakai at Whareponga and near the mouth of Te Waiohinganga before his death in 1940 at the age of 102.

The above evidence demonstrates that each of the hapu mentioned occupied the island pas Otiere, Otaia and Te Iho O Te Rei prior to the exodus to Mahia in or about the year 1824. They were not re-occupied upon their return because they had blood spilt on them and were used as urupa or burial grounds.

4. TE PAKAKE

Te Pakake was a low island or sandbank inside the Ahuriri heads. It was possible at low tide to wade to it from the eastern or Scinde Island side. It shouldn't be confused with the neighbouring Te Koau Island shown as Gough Island on early maps.

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[25]ref. M.N.B. 18, page 422.

Te Pakake Island served a similar function to Karamea Island south of Waimarama and Te Rae O Tahumata near Omahu between 1800 and 1824. "The war party marched on to Waimarama and captured Karamea Pa. It was a general rendezvous for all the tribes of Heretaunga at this time".[26] "Te Rae O Tahumata was the place where the people used to congregate when war parties came from the north."[27]

Raniera Te Ahiko, a leading historian in Heretaunga last century, described the pa at Te Pakake as belonging "to us all"[28]. In times of trouble it became a communal gathering place. Ngati Hinepare, Ngati Mahu, Ngati Parau, Ngati Hawea and Ngati Kurumokihi are all recorded as having occupied the pa when under threat of invasion.

The battle of Te Pakake is generally dated at 1824[29] or 1825[30]. No single event in the history of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu caused such devastation to the local people as this battle. According to Percy Smith, "The Waikato and Hauraki tribes, together with some Ngapuhi, Ngati Maniapoto and Ngati Raukawa now assembled at Taupo and from there returned to Ahuriri with some of the Taupo people, in all one thousand warriors, and besieged the pa of Te Pakake in revenge for the death of Tukorehu's son, Te Arawai, killed at Roto A Tara".

The following two quotes were given by eye witnesses who survived the battle at Te Pakake. The first is by Te Meihana Takihi who was not old enough to fight[31].

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[26]ref. N.M.B. 19, page 119.

[27]ref. N.M.B. 19, page 434.

[28]ref. N.M.B. 26, page 185.

[29]ref. Maori Wars of the 19th Century by S. Percy Smith, page 302.

[30]ref. Tuwharetoa, page 303.

[31]ref. N.M.B. 19, page 125.

"Ngapuhi, Ngati Kahungunu and Ngati Whatuiapiti went on to Pakake. Pareihe said to Whakato, Hauwaho and Pakapaka, 'Go to Nukutaurua - all of you leave this district. Let us abandon this country.'

Te Hauwaho (chief of Ngati Parau) replied that he would not go. 'Am I a fit person to come after you? I will remain so that when my head is severed it will be on my own land.' Te Pareihe answered, 'Very well then, remain and be fuel for my fire lighted at Te Whiti O Tu'.

Pareihe and Te Wera had thought it inadvisable that all the people should go to Nukutaurua. The fighting at that time was by people wishing to take Heretaunga. Their advice was to go to Nukutaurua and from there attack any people who came to occupy the land. Ngati Whatuiapiti, Ngati Kahungunu and Ngapuhi went to Nukutaurua and those in the pa remained.

About three months after this the Waikato's came and attacked Te Pakake pa. This war party was to seek revenge for Te Arawai, some of Te Korehu killed at Roto A Tara. These were not the Waikato's who had come previously. They assaulted the pa and took it.

There were four hundred and fourteen men with guns. The people in this district had not at that time any guns. Three hundred men and two hundred women were in this pa. Not one escaped. Te Hauwaho, Whakato, Pakapaka and Humenga were killed.

Tareha and his father, Oneone, were returning from the Wairoa (by canoe). They found the mouth of the river (Iron Pot) blockaded with the enemy. They went back to Wairoa.

The following were amongst those taken prisoners:- Te Karawa, Tiakitai, Te Hapuku, Te Moananui, Te Matenga and others, young chiefs. I was at that fight and taken prisoner. I was not big

enough to fight. Te Katene was there with me. He was about my age. He belongs to Ngati Hinepare.

When Waikato returned home they left Tiakitai and Karawa. They left them guns and powder, and the wounded who were unable to walk." Te Meihana observed that Potatau Te Wherowhero wept over the prisoners from Heretaunga when they reached his kainga because they had been slaughtered without sufficient cause.

Paora Kaiwhata chief of Ngati Hinepare was also at Te Pakake, just able to run about but not able to carry arms. He walked to Waikato with his father. "When my father was taken prisoner at Pakake all the prisoners came together to lament over him. They mingled their tears in fact. He mentioned places to them that they might go if they escaped. This was done in his lament. Matahorua was one as they had cultivated there."[32]

Rukarei of Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Mahu lost his grandmother, Mahue, at Te Pakake and his mother, Hana Te Here, was taken prisoner. "I was born at Heruiwi between Tarawera and Runanga. My mother was taken prisoner at Te Pakake and taken to Heruiwi where she married a Ngati Hineuru."[33]

People were gathered up from outlying districts by the Waikato's regardless of hapu. Erena Ngotokuku of Ngati Hinemanu was at Ohiti. "I was living at Ohiti when Pakake happened. Paerikiriki came and fetched me to the Waikato force to exchange for his wife, Wara. They would not take me in exchange for Kawhana so I was exchanged for Wara. I was not considered sufficient payment for Wara so a mat was given as well."[34]

Taihoa Toperu, sister of Tareha, escaped Te Pakake. "We went to Wairoa just before Paakake to 'Tangi'. When we returned we found

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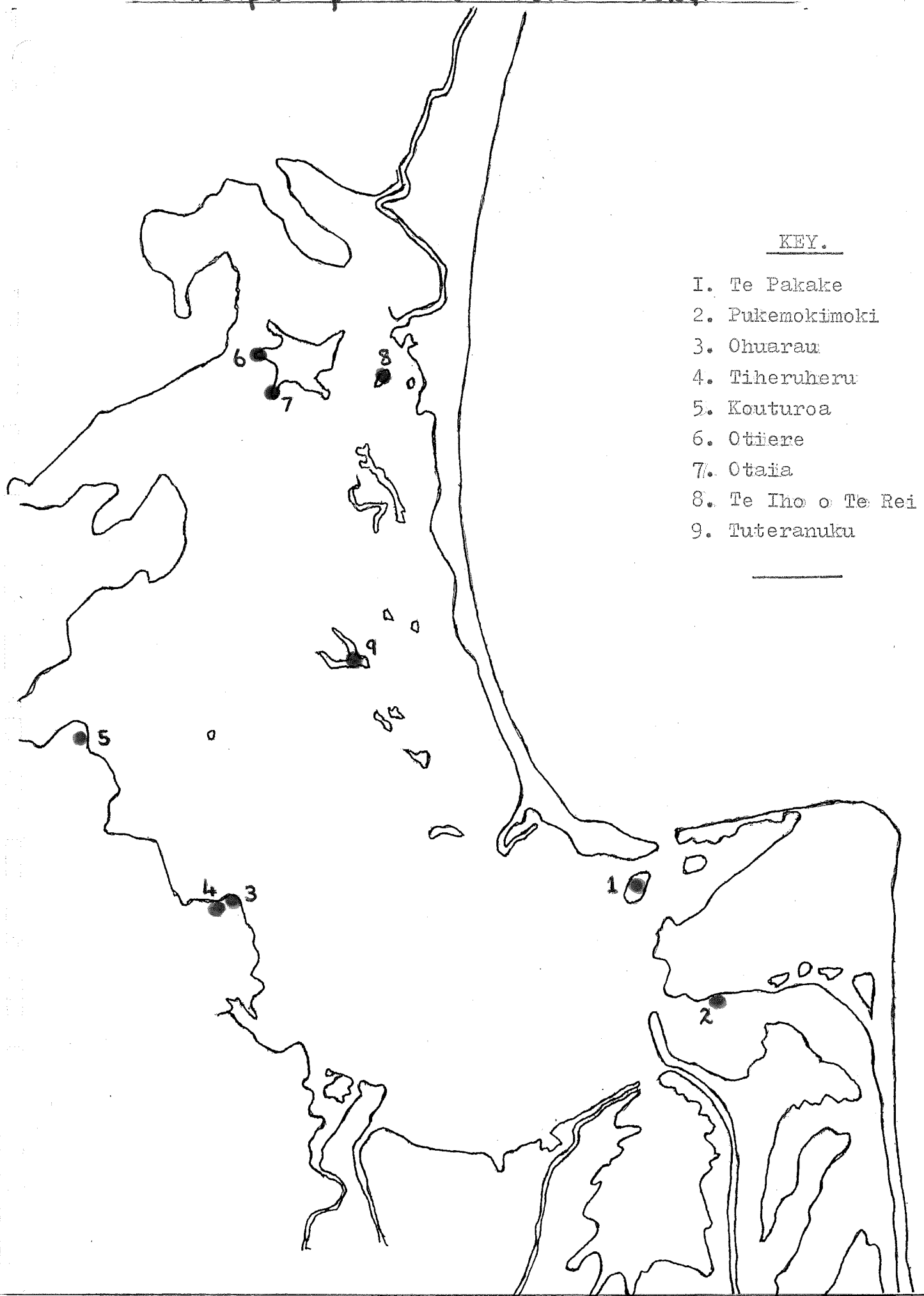
[32]ref. N.M.B. 19, page 435.

[33]ref. N.M.B. 27, page 431.

[34]ref. N.M.B. 26, page 148.

TE WHANGANUI A OROTU.

Principal pa sites 1810 - 1824.



a battle had been fought and we ran away to Nukutaurua. We didn't remain there long but we came back." "Oneone fled to Nukutaurua after Pakake and a short time later came back to cremate the bodies at Pakake."[35]

5. TUTERANUKU

Tuteranuku was an island pa in Te Whangannui-a-Orotu at the north end of the present day airport.

Paora Kaiwhata chief of Ngati Hinepare refers to it in his evidence in the Pirau case. "Rawinia (his sister) was born at Tuteranuku, a pa of the Ngati Hinepare"[36].

Another reference by Paora Kaiwhata is in the above volume, page 222. "Te Whanga was a settlement of my father. Tuteranuku was too."

This period of occupation ceased in the 1820's when Te Pakake fell.

6. RETURN FROM EXILE : 1840-1845

After Te Pakake the people of Heretaunga remained in exile at Nukutaurua until after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. Under their chief Pareihe they occasionally travelled down to drive out would be squatters. Roto A Tara II was one occasion.

Botanist F.W.C. Sturm was resident at Mahia from 1839. Just before Christmas 1839 he left for a visit to Wellington. He returned to Nukutaurua at Mahia in 1840 and saw the H.M.S. Herald arrive carrying the Treaty of Waitangi on board in quest of signatures. "It was signed at Nukutaurua after my return from

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[35]ref. N.M.B. 26, pages 193, 198.

[36]ref. N.M.B. 17, page 210.

Wellington. Te Hapuku and Puhara signed. I saw them go on board and return with two red blankets apiece. Others went on board at Mahia. Hapuku told the natives that he touched a little stick and got two red blankets for doing so. The officers on the "Herald" came on shore. Major Bunbury and others. No signatures were obtained on shore. Did not see Mr Edward Williams on shore. Saw the Treaty but did not look at it very particularly."[37]

The H.M.S. Herald entered Waipureku Harbour at the mouth of the Tukituki River in June 1840, where three chiefs signed - Te Hapuku, Harawira Te Mahikai and Hoani Waikato. Documents supplied by the descendants of Harawira, state that he signed the Treaty on board the Herald in Waipureku Harbour on June 23rd, 1840. Captain Wright witnessed.

Three other chiefs of Heretaunga signed the Treaty of Waitangi. The Ngati Matepu chief Te Tore of Petane signed at Uawa. Rawiri Paturoa and his brother, Wirimu Te Ota of Ngai Te Upokoiri signed in the Manawatu. A seventh chief to sign was Matenga Tukareaho of Nuhaka.

A period of gradual repatriation followed as Bishop William Williams recorded in the Turanga Journals. In his journal of October 7th, 1840 he records, "Proceeded to Ahuriri to a small settlement where the natives did not exceed fifty"..

William Williams was at Ahuriri again on December 8th, 1843. "Reached Ahuriri at 5pm. About half an hour later a party arrived from Table Cape who came to cry with the friends of a deceased chief."

Williams visited Mohaka on October 23rd, 1845. "Arrived at Mohaka. A large party of natives formerly refugees at Mahia are now returning home and will make Mohaka a place of consequence again." Four days later on October 27th he arrived at Tangoio where he found a large population.

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[37]ref. N.M.B. 13, page 268.

The victims of the massacre at Te Pakake never reoccupied the pa. Te Meihana Takihi explained why in his evidence in the Omahu case[38]. "After defeating Ngati Raukawa the war party returned to Ahuriri. We also returned. Ngapuhi and Ngati Whatuiapiti occupied Pakake. We stayed at Koau pa. Pakake was "tapu" to us through Te Hauwaho and others being killed there."

The Koau pa mentioned above was on Gough Island close to Te Pakake. An extract from the Hawkes Bay Herald dated October 16th, 1874 entitled "Settlement at the Spit 1859" states, "Gough Island was at that time much frequented as a camping ground by parties of Natives engaged in fishing expeditions, and numerous remains of an old pa in the shape of posts and pallisading still raised aloft their grim heads."

7. OCCUPATION IN COLENSO'S DAY : 1845-1852

The best documented record of occupation around Te Whanganui-a-Orotu after the return from exile is found in the journals of the missionary William Colenso. He took up permanent residence in the Ahuriri district in December 1844 at Waitangi and kept daily journals through till 1852. It is interesting to note that no pa or kainga in use prior to the exodus was reoccupied upon the return to Heretaunga.

Having been subjected to a succession of attacks at the hands of various war parties, which resulted in nearly two decades of exile at Mahia, the Ngati Kahungunu of Heretaunga were understandably security conscious.

They chose to live within calling distance of each other and spent extended periods at flax growing swamps such as Lake Oingo dressing flax to sell for guns.

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[38]ref. N.M.B. 19, page 127.

When William Colenso arrived at Ahuriri in December 1844 he set up his mission station at Waitangi which was situated at the Ngaruroro river mouth. The principal Maori settlement Te Awapuni was located to the north of Waitangi, across a stretch of water. Pareihe had established it on his return from Nukutaurua and died there in August 1843.

Tareha, chief of Ngati Parau, abandoned Te Pakake and Pukemokimoki establishing his people briefly at Awatoto, a little north of Te Awapuni. Ngati Hawea under their chief Te Moananui established themselves at Waipureku a few hundred yards south of Colenso's mission station, on the Tukituki River.

Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Mahu reoccupied their ancestral lands at Te Poraiti and Wharerangi. They didn't return to Ohuarau or Kouturoa. On June 21st, 1847 Colenso recorded in his journal, "At sunset crossed the inner waters of Ahuriri Harbour in a little canoe. An hour's wading through mud and water brought us to Wharerangi, an old and deserted village where the Ngati Hinepare tribe have at length consented mainly to dwell, and have commenced erecting a chapel."

Two days later Colenso visited another pa of Ngati Hinepare. "A short two miles took us to Te Poraiti (another village belonging to this tribe, on the inner shores of the harbour), where we found old Mapu, the principal man of the tribe but utterly careless as to religion."

Colenso visited Te Poraiti on January 16th, 1850 and talked with the legendary old chief Tareahi whom he had previously baptised Rawiri or David. "Leaving Wharerangi at 4pm, we soon reached Te Poraiti, where were the two chiefs Mapu, and the venerable old David, whose children and grandchildren compose the majority of this tribe. As we could not possibly cross the harbour at present (owing to the roughness of the sea and th smallness of the canoe), I sat and talked with the old man, who was busily employed in making ropes for his fishing nets."

Te Poraiti was a fortified pa on the shores of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu a few hundred yards west of Tiheruheru. The chief Mapu mentioned above was Porokoru Mapu, eldest son of Tareahi. Tareahi died at Te Poraiti a few years later and was buried at Te Rere A Tawhaki just inside Wharerangi Native Reserve[39].

The sub-tribes who had previously occupied the island pas at the northern end of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu had abandoned them in favour of two locations further north. Kapemaihe was occupied first and was located near the beach on the south side of the present day Esk River mouth.

Colenso visited Kapemaihe regularly in his travels and revealed the identifies of a variety of chiefs and Native teachers who were present. On July 3rd, 1846 Colenso wrote, "Left station again this morning, a short time after sunset arrived at Te Kapemaihe, found only two or three persons, a few more, however soon gathered together from their plantations."

Colenso visited Kapemaihe again on August 27th, 1847. "At sunset we reached Te Kapemaihe Village, but not a single Native welcomed us! - a poor sign this. At last two or three made their appearance. Having pitched our tent, we rang the bell, when a few Natives (14) assembled, to whom I preached from John IV 10. Spent the evening talking with Paul Toki and Walker Te Takahari, the two Natives of the village who (for the present) hold the situation of monitor."

On October 16th, 1848 Colenso met Noah Te Kariwhenua, the aged son of Te Ruruku at Te Kapemaihe. "Found also, Paul Kaiwhata and his party from Wharerangi, come to meet me. Talked with Kariwhenua, one of the principal men of the place, a quiet old man..."

Petane pa was located on the northern side of the present day Esk River and still exists today reputedly further inland than the

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[39]ref. N.M.B. 17, page 170.

original. It was in existence in 1848. On June 18th, 1849 Colenso commented on the chapel under construction at Petane. "While my tent was pitching, I went to look at their chapel, a large, high building, fifty by twenty or more, which they have commenced adorning, after their fashion, in a superior and elaborate manner."

Colenso was disappointed on December 23rd, 1850 to find a congregation of only thirty-five at his service at Petane. "...the greater number not having yet returned from Ahuriri, where, I was grieved to find, they had also spent their Sabbath. Yet I could not shut my eyes to the fact, that here they had scarcely anything to eat, their crops not being near ripe, while there they had fish of many kinds in abundance..."

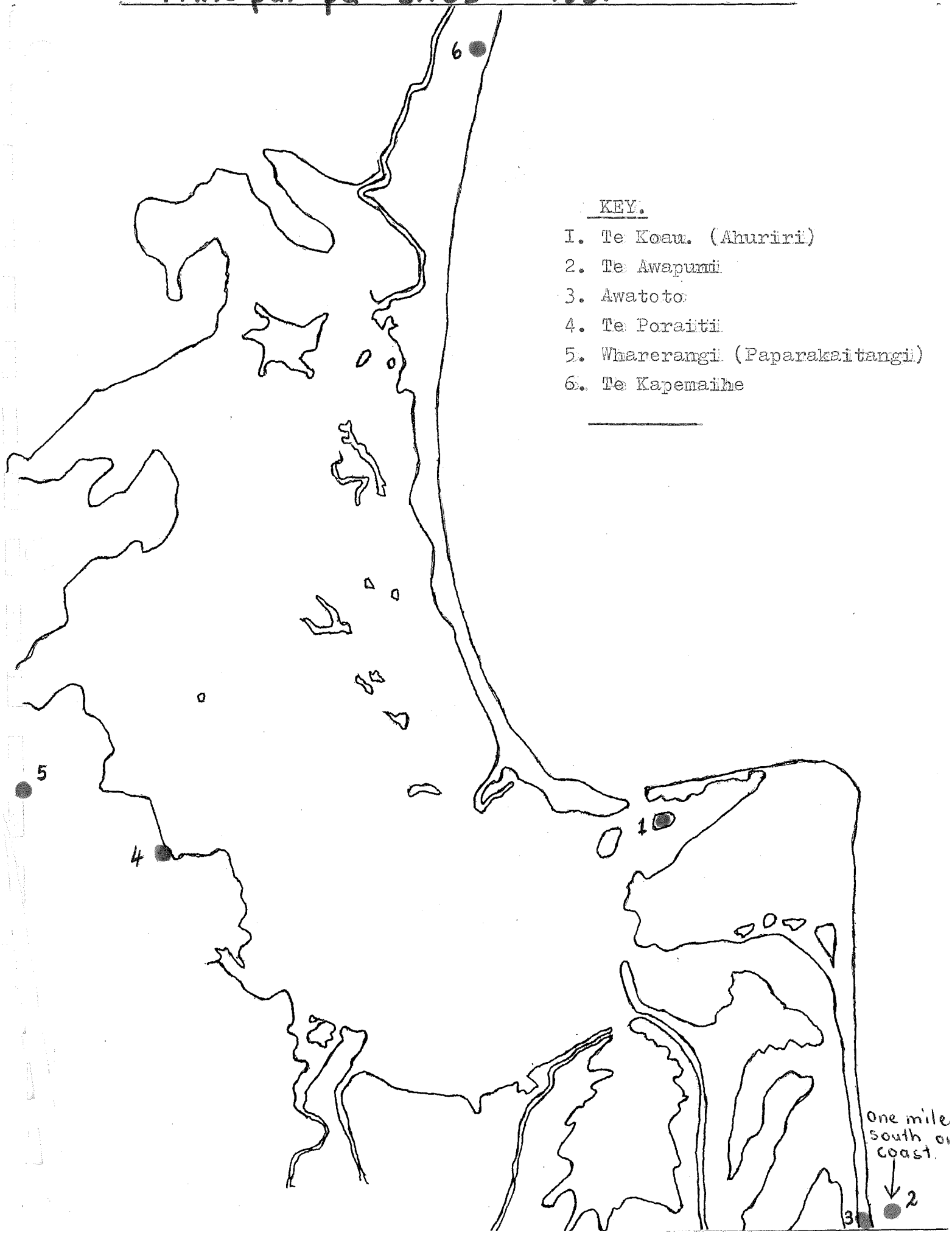
On March 8th, 1851 held a service at Petane Chapel at which the congregation was nearly two hundred. Present was Te Tore, a signatory to the Treaty of Waitangi. "...of whom, Te Tore and Kariwhenua, the two ancient chiefs of the tribe, deserve particular mention. The latter Kariwhenua, a simple, quiet, venerable man, was attended by his son, granddaughter and great granddaughter."

Colenso called at Otiere on June 20th, 1849 to see Akuhata Te Hapua also known as Te Hokomako. "Landing, at sunset at Otihere, where was only a single hut, to see Te Hokomako, a sick chief and candidate for Baptism."

The purpose of the above quotes from Colenso's journals is to establish who was in occupation at or near Te Whanganui-a-Orotu in the period leading up to the Ahuriri purchase. After the November 1851 purchase the customary dwellers of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu no longer had the right to occupy land within the purchase boundaries.

TE WHANGANUI A OROTU

Principal pa sites 1851



KEY.

1. Te Koau. (Ahuriri)
2. Te Awapuni
3. Awatoto
4. Te Poraiti
5. Whare rangi (Paparakaitangi)
6. Te Kapemaihe

8. CONCLUSION

A period of seventy years separates the documented occupation of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu prior to the Ahuriri purchase and the earliest oral accounts of customary usage.

Isolated records such as the Elisabeth Hill diaries demonstrate that Te Whanganui-a-Orotu remained undiminished as a food source around the turn of the Century. Kenrick and Elisabeth Hill purchased Ohuarau at Poraiti in September 1897. The following random diary entries illustrate the ease with which fish and shellfish were gathered.

2.4.1898	-	Netted a schnapper and a lot of flounders.
17.4.1898	-	Got a lot of fish in the net.
12.1.1899	-	Went down to the beach and got a lot of pipis.
17.1.1900	-	We all went to Kopaki and bathed, all the dogs came. Took a basket of apricots to the Maoris.
28.6.1900	-	Dudley didn't go, he rowed us round the island. Got a lot of fish.
6.6.1908	-	Went on the beach, the sea exquisite. A lot of Maoris went past getting mussels.

The above mentioned Maoris came from Wharerangi and were Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Mahu. Ohuarau and Kopaki were within their traditional fishing boundaries and they gathered kaimoana on a seasonal basis till after the 1931 earthquake.

The principal source of information on the customary usage between 1851 and 1920 is the evidence taken at the Native Land Claims Commission of 1920. Nepata Puhara, Porokoru Mapu, Te Wahapango, Mohi Te Atahikoia and Te Roera Tareha all gave evidence which is contained in the Report and recommendation on [illegible]ion No. 240 of 1932 (G-6A) pages 36 to 38. A summary of the points of this evidence is contained in the claimants report Whanganui-a-Orotu, Section 14 page 4.

PART B: ORAL ACCOUNTS OF TRADITIONAL CUSTOMS

1. INTRODUCTION

This section of the Customary Usage Report focuses on the recollections of the oldest living generation of Maori people who accompanied their old people to gather kaimoana at Te Whanganui-a-Orotu and Ahuriri. All Maori evidence is on tape. Supporting testimony from elderly European witnesses has also been included. The main points arising from this evidence have been isolated and dealt with under the following headings:-

1.1 The observation of Maori custom.
1.2 Observation of tribal fishing zones.
1.3 Kaimoana boundaries and boundary markers.
1.4 Types of Kaimoana gathered in Te Whanganui-a-Orotu.
1.5 Moremore, kaitiaki of the waters.
1.6 Hinewera, the lady from the sea.

2. THE OBSERVATION OF MAORI CUSTOM WHILE GATHERING KAIMOANA

Most of the Maori witnesses interviewed emphasised the importance their elders attached to Maori custom when gathering kaimoana from the Te Whanganui-a-Orotu. Speaking of the rituals her old people observed, Selina Sullivan of Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Mahu commented, "The old people were very religious about this. They were religious about everything."

(a) Food Baskets

A custom observed by all was the use of new food baskets or flax kits, each season. No kit previously used for gathering or carrying food was permitted. Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Mahu kaumatua John Hohepa recalls, "Each fishing season our mother prepared new flax baskets to gather the shellfish in. We never went to the beach with an old basket."

Selina Sullivan also spoke of this custom. "No cooked food was allowed in these baskets. They were used exclusively for gathering kaimoana. The old people reckoned that if you used food baskets at Te Whanganui-a-Orotu, Moremore (a kaitiaki) would come."

(b) Karakia

No one was allowed to enter the water before karakia or prayers were said. Mrs Rangiaho Brown of Ngati Parau, the oldest surviving Tareha believed her grandfather Kurupo Tareha said karakia before they even arrived at the beach. "He opened up the way first."

Selina Sullivan endorsed this. "The old people said their prayers before they got into the water." The function of the karakia was to protect people from the dangers concealed beneath the waters. Moremore, their ancestral kaitiaki who appeared in many forms but often as a shark, responded to the karakia. He would manifest himself if danger was looming.

Those who didn't know the purpose of the karakia and Moremore sometimes became alarmed. Rangiaho Brown witnessed this. "Some of them came running out yelling 'Shark! Shark!' and my grandfather used to say, 'No, that's Moremore protecting you lot there, just keeping the others away.', so the others went back."

(c) Other Restrictions Observed

Three other restrictions were given in oral interviews which applied to people going into the water to gather kaimoana.

1) No woman was permitted to enter the water during menstruation. Selina Sullivan commented, "When we came to get the pipis a woman was not allowed in during her period. The old people said if a women went in, the kaimoana would move from where you usually caught it. The kaimoana would change its grounds. That was the explanation they gave me."

2) Nobody was allowed to eat anything on the shore while anyone was in the water. John Hohepa stressed this. "Nobody was allowed to eat any seafood while someone was still in the water. We had to wait till everyone got out before eating."

Selina Sullivan also observed this restriction. "If you ate while someone was in the water Moremore would come. That was a warning!"

3) If any of the above customs were ignored Moremore could be expected to show himself. If you were in the water and Moremore appeared there was a correct procedure to follow. As Selina Sullivan explained it, "And if you were in the water, deep water, with a bag of kina and you saw him, you just dropped it and left it there and came out. He wouldn't touch you. You left the bag of kina as a payment for what you had done wrong."

(d) Distribution and Eating Kaimoana

The old Maori never ate his catch of kaimoana on the beach. Polly Rakuraku observed this with her old people. "We didn't eat our kaimoana on the beach. We had to take it home. We never ate anything like that there. They reckoned it would disappear if you did that. They break all the rules now."

The catch was transported back to the pa by horse and dray. Monty Murton who lived on the Wharerangi Cemetery hill, before the 1931 quake recalled the Moteo Maori arriving by horse and trap and camping on the island known as Te umuroimata where there was a good fresh water spring. They stayed two or three nights gathering pipis and eels which they put in sacks and loaded on the dray to take home.

Selina Sullivan also travelled by horse and dray with her old people. It gives an indication of the size of the catch that a dray was needed to transport it and there was enough to supply each family at the pa.

Selina lived in Omahu at the time. "When we got the kaimoana home we shared it out. We shared it with everybody and we children, that's what we lived on, the round pipis."

3. OBSERVATION OF TRIBAL FISHING ZONES

Most of the witnesses interviewed gathered their kaimoana in the areas where their ancestral lands bordered Te Whanganui-a-Orotu. There were, however, communal zones where the various sub-tribes with ancestral and occupational rights all appear to have felt free to fish. Some families through intermarriage exercised fishing rights in two zones.

(a) Communal Fishing Areas

The Ahuriri area from the heads to Westshore embankment bridge appears to have been the one communal area for gathering kaimoana. The area outside the Ahuriri heads from Westshore along in the direction of the wharfs was also fished by several hapu. The Tareha family had individual rights off Sturms Gully through a particular association with Moremore.

This communal right is illustrated by the evidence of Polly Rakuraku of Ngai Te Ruruku, Mere Ratima of Ngati Tu, Selina Sullivan of Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Mahu and Rangiaho Brown of Ngati Parau, all of whom gathered kaimoana at Ahuriri.

Ahuriri as a communal food source was reinforced by the combined factors of causeway construction, reclamation and the 1931 quake. It was the last remaining portion of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu that was fishable. The various hapu continued to exercise their traditional mahingakai rights until pollution affected the kaimoana.

(b) Ancestral Zones

As stated earlier, the evidence of living witnesses demonstrates a correlation between ancestral land boundaries and the parts of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu they bordered. Apart from respecting the territorial rights of each hapu it was practical to gather kaimoana at the closest point to where they lived.

Ngati Tu, Ngati Matepu and Ngai Te Ruruku had ancestral rights at the northern end of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu. Charlotte Taurima, Polly Rakuraku, Mere Ratima, Mick Brown and Laddie Anaru, present-day representatives of these hapu, witnessed their elders exercising their rights of mahingakai from Keteketerau round to Whareponga Bay.

Ngati Hinepare, Ngati Mahu and Ngai Tawhao occupied the western portion of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu's shoreline. Witnesses John Hohepa and his sister, Te Awhina Riki, gathered kaimoana at Kopaki Bay, Kouturoa Bay and Ohingora Bay. Monty Murton witnessed the people of Moteo gathering kaimoana at Park Island. All these people came from the three hapu mentioned above.

Ngati Parau had ancestral rights to the southern portion of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu. Several witnesses spoke of the Tareha family having a close association with the kaitiaki Moremore and special rights to kaimoana. The late Jimmy Mapu witnessed Kerei Te Aho collecting shellfish near the causeway bridges on the Napier-Taradale Road for the people of Waiohiki and Moteo.

(c) Access to Two Zones

Mahingakai rights could be exercised in different zones where ancestry from both hapu existed, for example, the Ngati Matepu chief, Paraone Kuare, married Hareti Te Kuru of Moteo and went to live with her people. Although his descendants lived amongst Ngati Hinepare, they were regular seasonal visitors to Whareponga Bay where they were seen in the 1920s by Alan Lopdell.

Tareha's grandmother, Hineioroia, was a daughter of Te Ruruku. Although the family's principal rights were at the southern end of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu they were regular visitors to the north. Te Roera Tareha's twin daughters, Pussy Mapu and Bella Gillies, were born at Marae a Tara and Rangiaho Brown spoke in her interview of camping holidays with her uncle, Tuiri Tareha, each summer at Roro O Kuri Island in the 1920s.

Though these connections weren't always immediately apparent, they were known to and recognised by the old people. A code was in operation and, providing it wasn't abused, the various hapu lived in relative harmony.

4. KAIMOANA BOUNDARIES AND BOUNDARY MARKERS

(a) Location of different kaimoana species

Different parts of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu favoured different types of kaimoana. The different species didn't grow at random all over Te Whanganui-a-Orotu.

Mick Brown emphasised this in his interview.

"Right opposite the pub (at Bay View) by the butchers (in the Petane Stream) was an excellent place for inanga. You could pull up a drum if you wanted, that's how thick they were. My uncle used a scoop with a net. They didn't need driving. They were that thick you could fill up a drum easy!"

The best eeling ground was out in the tidal flats where the Petane domain is today. Mick went eeling with his uncle, Tuahine Hata. "He used a spear and I used to pull the bag. We went during the day. There was plenty of weed there. There was plenty of eels there. It was covered. He did all the spearing. I threaded the eels onto a flax string through the gills and dragged them along behind. Nice eels, good size."

Patiki or flounder weren't found in the Petane domain area. Mick Brown recalls, "We never got patiki there. We used to get those up by the beacons. It was near Keteketerau. It all depended on the wind. You could jump off the gig and get them with the pocket knife. It was tidal there. The water came underneath. The patiki liked these conditions. It (the water) comes from the sea and seeps through. There were plenty of patiki there. It was a great spot."

Polly Rakuraku also spoke of the inanga or whitebait in the Petane River. She also recalled Keteketerau as a good floundering spot. "My father used to catch patiki just past Quarantine Island towards Keteketerau. At low tide you could see the patiki as you walked along - bit ones."

Polly spoke too of the best places for whetiko or periwinkles. "The best place to get whetiko was on the mudflats. There were some around by the beacons. A good place was right in front of Westshore, right by the airport but nearer the road."

(b) Boundary Markers

The old Maori used natural markers to get his bearings on particular fishing grounds. Charlotte Taurima's grandfather, Te Teira Te Paea, and father Manuka Taylor used this method. Charlotte spoke of it. "What do you call those lights going into Westshore? The Beacons. There's one there (a manuka tree), if you look straight to the hill. And from that hill they can see it from the beach at Tahui, at Whakaari. You see a manuka tree on the hill and that's the sign. Our father goes to the beach and he'll look inland at the back of the light. And then he'll put his boat in the water and paddle along Te Whanganui - about there. If he sees Tongoio and that Manuka tree."

The location of different types of kaimoana in specific areas is supported by John Hohepa who recalls old Karaka trees being used as markers.

"The two old Karaka trees on Kouturoa pa were the boundary for pipis. The pipis lay on the top when the tide went out at Kopaki on the north of Kouturoa Bay."

"A single Karaka tree further along Ohingora Bay marked the area for Whetiko and Pupu."

Only a few of these karaka trees survive today. A single specimen of great age still exists at Te Poraiti pa today. To John Hohepa it is a venerated tree but he didn't indicate whether it was a kaimoana boundary mark.

5. TYPES OF KAIMOANA GATHERED IN TE WHANGANUI-A-OROTU

The emphasis in this section is on types of kaimoana gathered or seen being gathered by living witnesses. The timespan represented here is the thirteen years from 1918 to 1931. Few witnesses are old enough to recall beyond 1918 but recall the end of World War I. Likewise, the 1931 earthquake provides a clear point in time. Certainly all the kaimoana types mentioned below were gathered in Te Whanganui-a-Orotu in the 1920s.

(a) The Esk River Mouth

In the 1920s the Esk River or Te Wai O Hingaanga flowed through the Pahou block south towards Te Whanganui-a-Orotu. A bend in the river skirted Bay View township behind the butchers shop then followed the main road on its coastal side to Ranginui shop on the corner of Rogers Road.

Polly Rakuraku referred to this branch of the Esk River as the Petane River Stream. She explained, "There was a big lake where the main Esk flowed into the sea by Ararata (Mount Ararat Cemetery). The Esk River emptied into that. The source of the Petane River was also that lake in those days. After Ranginui it flowed across present-day Petane Domain and into Te Whanganui-a-Orotu by Quarantine Island."

In fact the Petane River was one of two beds the Esk River followed, various natural factors deciding its course.

The witnesses interviewed who had long association with the Petane River were in agreement as to the types of kaimoana found there. Kakahi or freshwater mussels grew on the Rimurimu weed. Tuna or eels of a good size were also caught there. . Whitebait, known as inanga in its later stages, was particularly abundant. Koura, a small freshwater crayfish, and shrimps too, used the Petane River as their habitat. Kahawai and herrings used to make their way up the river too.

The tidal flats on the north side of Onehunga Road including Petane Domain and Crab Farm were an excellent eeling ground. Mick Brown explained that there was a good covering of weed for the eels on the tidal flats and his uncle used to spear them.

(b) Keteketerau

Although there were whetiko on these flats near the river mouth, it wasn't particularly good for pipis or flounders. You didn't have to go much further for patiki or flounders, however. Between Quarantine Island and the Beacons in the vicinity of Keteketerau was an excellent floundering spot. Tidal seepage through Keteketerau attracted flounders. According to Mick Brown they were so plentiful you could jump off your gig and spear them with a pocket knife.

Polly Rakuraku recalled catching eels at Keteketerau. "You know, when the eels migrated to the sea. Keteketerau was blocked in my day but the eels came in there."

(c) The Beacons Airfield

Polly Rakuraku considered the mudflats between the airport terminal and the beach a good place for Whetiko. There were some around by the Beacons and plenty under the Westshore embankment bridge.

(d) Whareponga Bay

Whareponga Bay on the north-west side of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu was a good place for pipis and other shellfish. Alan Lopdell recalled the Whareranga and Moteo Maori camping there near the mouth of the creek each eeling season. They gathered pipis, cockles and other shellfish on the tidal flats near the creek mouth.

As with the river mouth at Petane Domain, eels were caught out on the tidal flats at Whareponga and in the creek. Mr Lopdell saw the Maori set Hinakis out in the tide in front of the creekmouth and in the creek.

The creek itself was excellent for seafood. Whitebait, inanga, herrings, freshwater flounders and crayfish, a few shrimps and freshwater mussels were all caught.

(e) Wairoaiti Bay

Wairoaiti Bay was farmed by the father of Gordon Hart from about 1912 to 1922. Mr Hart recalls the Maori coming by horse and gig to Wairoaiti several times a season to gather shellfish. Both pupu and cockles were plentiful in Wairoaiti Bay and some mussels were found on the rocks at Karaka Point.

Mr Hart said the Maori came mainly for pupu on the tidal flats. They gathered them in kits and emptied them into sacks on the gig. He doesn't recall them gathering cockles which lived further out in the deeper water. The Wairoaiti Stream was an excellent eeling place. He believed the Maori came from Petane and Tangoio.

The tidal flats at Wairoaiti were also excellent for floundering. Mr Hart caught many personally and recalls his sister and a friend netting sixty on one occasion.

(f) Kopaki, Kouturoa and Ohingora Bays

These three bays are all located on the western shores of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu bordering the Wharerangi Native Reserve. John Hohepa and his sister, Awhi, visited these bays often with their elders because they were handiest to where they lived. Kouturoa Bay was the main pipi gathering area. Kopaki on the north side of Kouturoa was good too.

Ohingora Bay was different in character. Whetiko and pupu were plentiful there. The Kaikoura Stream had earlier been diverted into Ohingora Bay and the freshwater flounder or mohoao went upstream with the tide. They used to set their nets to catch the flounder on the outgoing tide. While they waited they gathered whetiko and pupu.

At the southern head to Ohingora Bay were the Hinewaka Cliffs. John Hohepa remembers gathering mussels from the mussel bed at the base of these cliffs when the tide was out.

(g) Park Island, Te Umuroimata and the Taipo Creek

The tidal inlet between the Wharerangi Cemetery and the Park Island Cemetery was an abundant source of pipis in the 1920s. The Taipo Creek flowed through this inlet and entered Te Whanganui-a-Orotu between the mainland and Te Umuroimata, an island pa.

Monty Murton witnessed Maori people from Moteo gathering pipis in this inlet on a seasonal basis. They also got a longer shellfish there in a flooded quarry. Eels too were plentiful probably through the influence of the Taipo Creek.

Mr Murton used to catch herrings with a net on the outgoing tide. This was where the Taipo Creek entered the tidal inlet.

(h) The Southern Bays, Saltwater Creek and Purimu Stream

In a taped interview for Colenso High, Fred Brewster commented on the streams entering Te Whanganui-a-Orotu at its southern end. These included the Saltwater Creek and the Purimu Stream. He said they served a very useful purpose as a seed bed and nursery for young flounder. He used to notice the mass of young flounder when travelling from Napier to his work place at Wharerangi. This was in the late 1920s and up till the 1931 earthquake.

Selina Sullivan spoke too of the southern reaches of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu. "We came back before you get to Taradale to get the pipis and whetikos. There was a creek there where we used to go and get herrings at night. The herrings swam up the creek." The name Selina gave for the round pipis was Marekoroua.

(i) The Ahuriri Estuary

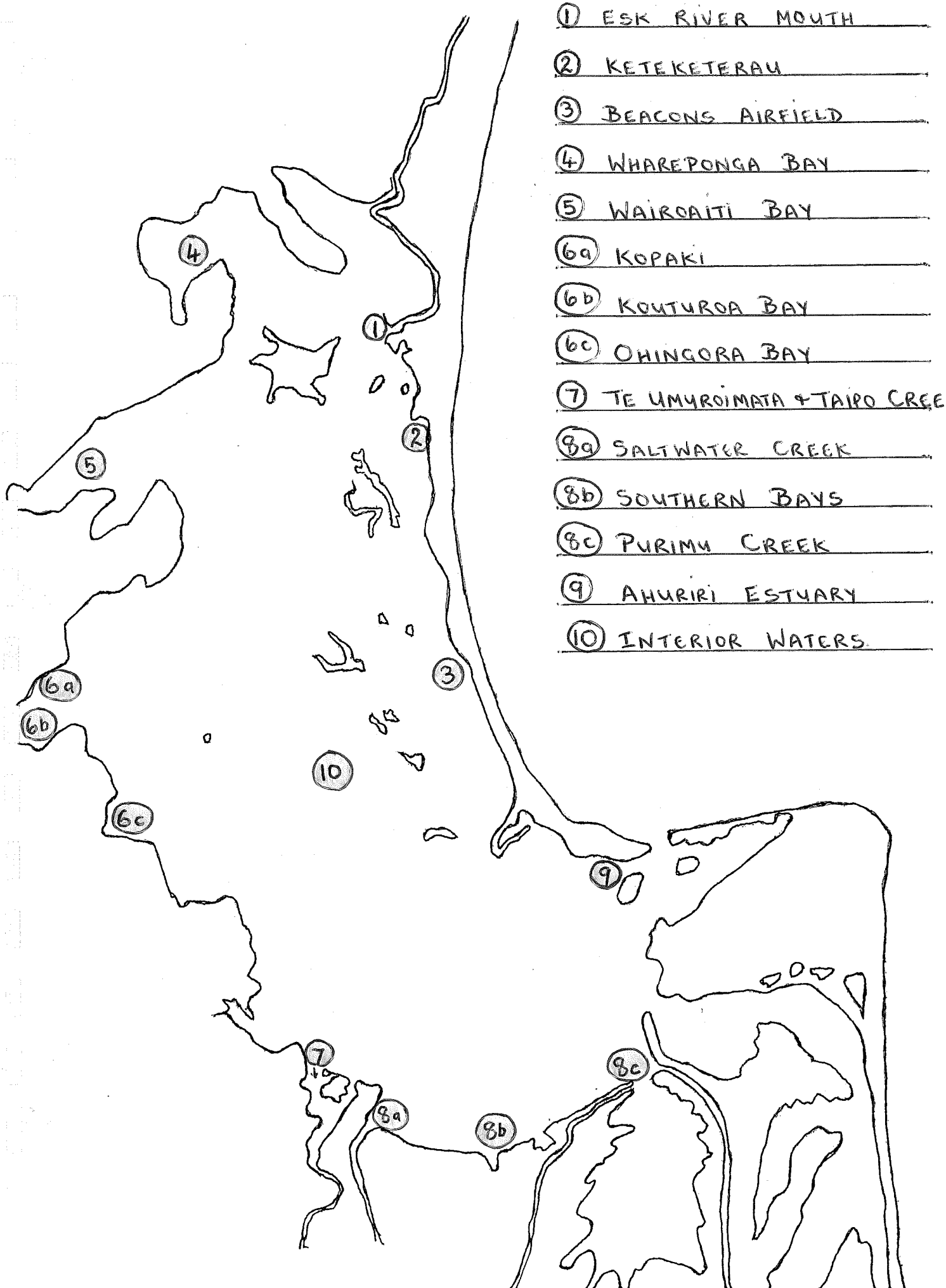
For the purposes of this report the Ahuriri Estuary refers to the area from the Ahuriri heads up to the Westshore embankment bridge. Kaimoana was found in this estuary long after the 1931 quake but health notices gradually discouraged the Maori from using this area.

Polly Rakuraku considered the Ahuriri Estuary the best place to go for pipis. Both pipis and kukus were plentiful in the vicinity of the sailing club.

Selina Sullivan recalled Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Mahu getting their pipis on the Meeanee Quay side of the Ahuriri Estuary near the North British Freezing Works. Most of the people interviewed recall this area as the place they most recently gathered kaimoana.

Polly Rakuraku named the round cockle shell as Tuangi in Maori. It was located near Pandora Point. The elongated white pipi was found near the Westshore railway embankment bridge.

LOCATION MAP – ORAL EVIDENCE



1. ESK RIVER MOUTH
2. KETEKETERAU
3. BEACONS AIRFIELD
4. WHAREPONGA BAY
5. WAIROAITI BAY
6a. KOPAKI
6b. KOUTUROA BAY
6c. OHINGORA BAY
7. TE UMYROIMATA & TAIPO CREEK
8a. SALTWATER CREEK
8b. SOUTHERN BAYS
8c. PURIMU CREEK
9. AHURIRI ESTUARY
10. INTERIOR WATERS

(j) The Interior Waters of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu

Few of the persons interviewed fished from a boat in the 1920s. An abundant supply of kaimoana could be had by wading into tidal flats. John Hohepa spoke of the island Tapu Te Ranga as a source of crayfish. He also spoke of the big horse mussels called patu because of their shape which stood on the bottom of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu. Photos taken straight after the 1931 quake show masses of these mussels looking out across the airport towards Tapu Te Ranga.

No one interviewed had personally gathered kaimoana from the low lying islands like Te Mara a Tawhao or Matawhero. The biggest island Roro O Kuri appears to have been used as a camping place by the Tareha family in the 1920s. At that stage it was owned by Kinross White. Mrs Rangiaho Brown described summer holidays camping in the bay between Otaia Head and Otiere pa. Her uncle Tuiri Tareha used to set his net out from there. She recalls that occasionally dogfish got caught in it. The main catch was likely to have been patiki or flounder.

6. MOREMORE

A strong and recurring theme in the oral interviews with elderly Maori concerning Te Whanganui-a-Orotu was the protective influence of the kaitiaki Moremore. Moremore lived in a cave in the sea just off Sturm's Gully. His mother, Pania, is identified with the same locality. A rock, visible at high tide, used to mark the location but has since disappeared in the course of wharf construction.

Moremore used to frequent the Ahuriri heads in particular. Elderly Maori witnesses saw him while gathering shellfish off Hardinge Road and he was seen by Wereta Te Kape on the morning of the 1931 quake, inside the Ahuriri heads.

A characteristic of Moremore was his ability to appear in any guise. He was sometimes seen as a shark, on other occasions as a

stingray and also as an octopus. Because of his descent from the sea taniwha Tangaroa, he had command of the forces of the deep. In oral accounts he comes across as a guardian of the people occupying the shores of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu who are his descendants.

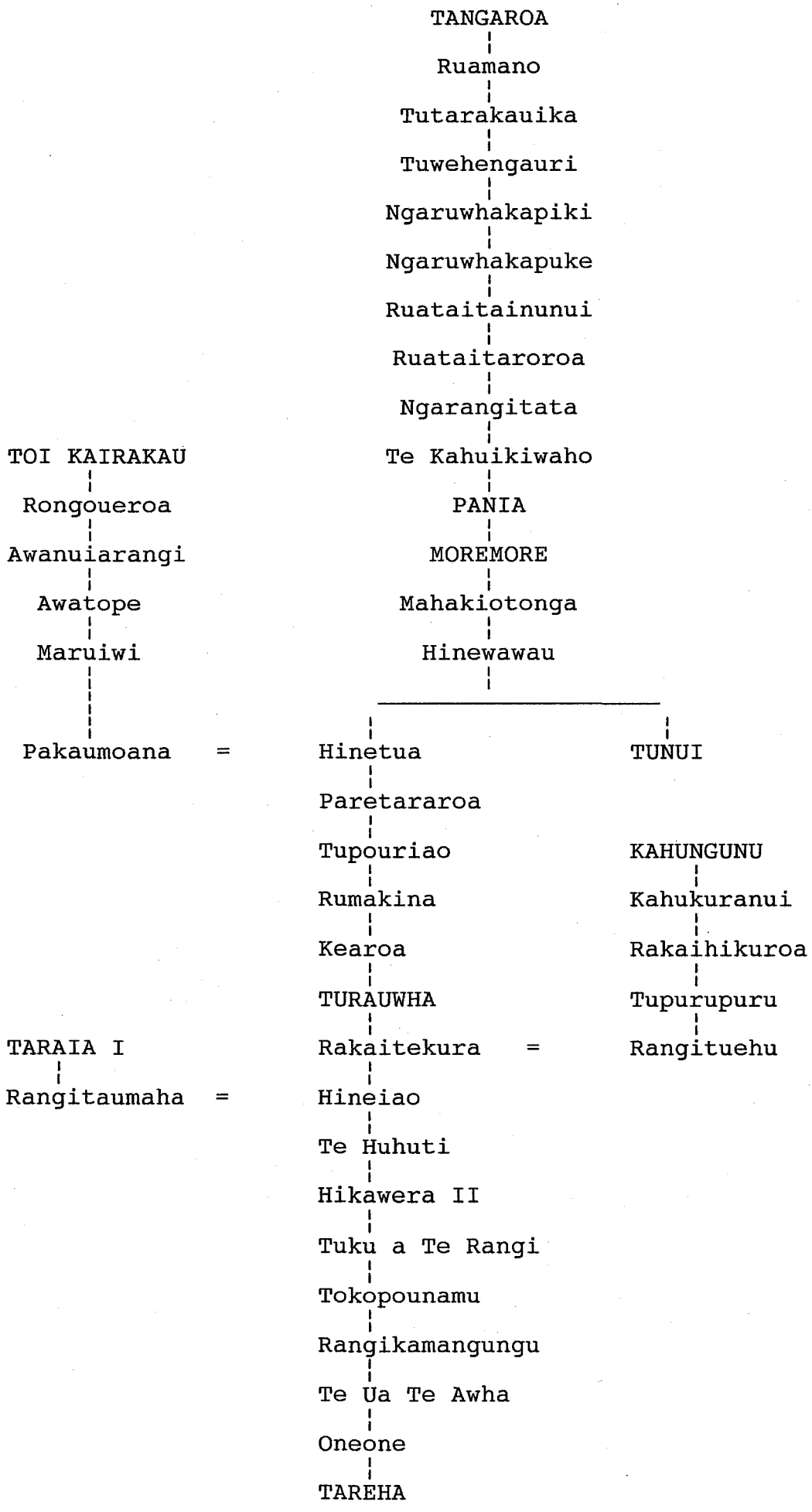
It is interesting to note that Tunui, the powerful tohunga chief of Heipipi pa was a great grandson of Moremore. Tunui, who is described in Section 1, page 8 of the Claimant's report, also possessed a mystical affinity with the sea. He could summon forces denied to others. His authority over the taniwha Ruamano, riding it out to sea, demonstrates his mastery of the forces of the deep.

Descent through Moremore is the probable origin of the hapu name Ngai Tangaroa. Some of Tunui's descendants still used that hapu name in the late 1800's. Tunui's sister, Hinetua, married Pakaumoana of Ngati Awa. Turauwha, high chief of Otatara pa was their descendant.

A glance at the whakapapa showing Moremore's descent from Tangaroa and the continuation down to Tareha demonstrates the long association his descendants have had with Te Whanganui-a-Orotu. He and his mother, Pania, lived several generations before the visit of Tamatea and his son, Kahungunu, to these shores.

The descendants of the Chief Tareha manifested a close affinity with Moremore according to witnesses in oral interviews. Mrs Beattie Nikera, at 91 the oldest witness interviewed, spoke of Moremore's rock off Hardinge Road. She explained that the area surrounding this rock was abundant in seafood but that her family never touched anything there. Only the Tareha family had the right to gather kaimoana in that vicinity.

The following whakapapa, mentioned earlier, shows the descent of Moremore through Tangaroa and continuing down to Tareha.


TANGAROA
Ruamano
Tutarakauika
Tuwehengauri
Ngaruwhakapiki
Ngaruwhakapuke
Ruataitainunui
Ruataitaroroa
Ngarangitata
Te Kahuikiwaho
PANIA
MOREMORE
Mahakiotonga
Hinewawau
TOI KAIRAKAU
Rongoueroa
Awanuiarangi
Awatope
Maruiwi
Pakaumoana
=
Hinetua
Paretararoa
Tupouriao
Rumakina
Kearoa
TURAUWHA
Rakaitekura
=
TUNUI
KAHUNGUNU
Kahukuranui
Rakaihikuroa
Tupurupuru
Rangituehu
TARAIA I
Rangitaumaha
=
Hineiao
Te Huhuti
Hikawera II
Tuku a Te Rangi
Tokopounamu
Rangikamangungu
Te Ua Te Awha
Oneone
TAREHA

Selina Sullivan endorsed the Tareha association with Moremore. She spoke of the kina and paua they got being plentiful but not very big. By contrast the Tareha's were free to go out and get the big ones. She saw them gathering this kaimoana. The Tareha's had access to this through the connection with Moremore.

The clearest picture of Moremore and his function comes from the witnesses over eighty. As Selina Sullivan observed, the old people she accompanied to gather kaimoana were very religious and strictly observed certain customs. Karakia or prayers were always performed before anyone entered the water.

A custom apparently observed by all was the use of new baskets or kits each season for gathering kaimoana. As kaumatua John Hohepa observed, "Each fishing season our mother prepared new flax baskets to gather the shellfish in. We never went to the beach with an old basket."

Selina Sullivan also spoke of the baskets. No cooked food was allowed in these baskets. They were used exclusively for gathering kaimoana. She further claimed that the old people believed that if you used food baskets Moremore would come.

Moremore's task apart from warning of danger from the sea was to reinforce the customs practised by the old people. No one was permitted to eat on the shore while anyone was still in the water. No woman was permitted to enter the water during menstruation. As Selina Sullivan expressed it, "He'll come and show himself to you, then you'll know what you've done wrong and get out of the water. He was a kaitiaki. We always observed the law of Moremore. You could see his fins coming up. He wouldn't attack you but he'd warn you."

If Moremore appeared while you were well out in the water you had to abandon your catch. Selina Sullivan explained that if you were well out with a bag of kina and you saw Moremore, you left the bag there and came out. He wouldn't touch you. You left the bag of kina as a payment for your wrong-doing.

The dangers that Moremore protected his people from could be very real. Napier City Historian, Peggy Higgins, vividly recalls seeing three sharks herding kahawai into the shallows near Moremore's rock. They worked them just like sheepdogs handling sheep. Peggy witnessed a spectacular dog-fight between the sharks who turned on each other in the frenzy of the chase.

From his headquarters at Ahuriri, Moremore's influence spread into Te-Whanganui-a-Orotu and along the coast to Tangoio and Flat Rock. On the occasions Selina Sullivan saw him, he appeared in the vicinity of the Iron Pot.

The strength of belief in Moremore's powers is illustrated in a story related to John Hohepa. On the morning of the 1931 earthquake, Moremore was seen by old Wereta Te Kape inside the Ahuriri Heads. Two young men saw him too. One raised a rifle and fired at him. Shortly afterwards the great quake struck.

7. HINEWERA, THE LADY FROM THE SEA

Along with the privilege the Tareha family enjoyed in the domain of Moremore, a less well-documented element was the sacrifice that accompanied it. Mrs Rangiaho Brown, the oldest surviving Tareha, spoke of the family link with the sea people.

"This is the story that was handed down through the Tareha family. They all know the story. Mr grandfather, Kurupo Tareha, had a big house at Waiohiki and he built two bathrooms in it. He built the first bathroom right next to his bedroom because he didn't want women using it. He built the other one for the rest of the house down at the other end.

One night, shortly after the birth of his son, Kapi, he had a visitation from Hinewera of the sea people. He happened to go into his bathroom and he saw Hinewera sitting in the bath, no water, just sitting there, and he looked at her. He knew who she was and he said to her in Maori, 'What are you doing here?'

She replied, 'I've come for my mokopuna.'

My grandfather had just had his son, Kapi. My koro said, 'No, you can't have him. That's my firstborn. Wait for the next ones. You can have those ones - whatever you want!'

Hinewera wasn't satisfied. According to tradition she had the right to claim the firstborn of each generation. They said she cursed him and said, 'That's it! No more! No more issue for you.' He wouldn't hand over the firstborn."

Mrs Brown explained that she and her husband, Mick Brown, lost their firstborn son to Hinewera while living at Petane pa. "Dad and I got married. Our first boy, that's when she appeared. When I woke up in the morning he said to me, 'Did you see the ghost?'

I said, 'No' and then he told me how he heard the shuffle in the kitchen because we only had curtains separating the bedroom from the kitchen. He heard the shuffle - just like my old grandfather Kurupo shuffling. The curtains parted and she came through past our bed. That's when he (Mick) drew up his knees to kick her away. But she turned and went towards the cot where the baby was. The baby was named Tuahine Hata after Dad's uncle.'

Mick Brown described the meeting with Hinewera who appeared in human form. 'Yes, I saw her come through the curtains, shuffling away. I knew straight away it was one of them (the Tareha's) coming straight up to the bed. She wouldn't show her face. I was wanting to see her face. She had long hair right down to here. She was turned aside. She wouldn't let me see her face. Her hair was auburn, a coppery red.

She stood there for a while side on, then she went over to our baby. She stood over him for a while and, next thing - whsssh! Away she went, she just disappeared. She didn't walk out. Not a word was said.

Our son didn't last long after that. They said it was dysentery brought back by the soldiers in the Second World War. He wasn't even in hospital a week.

I knew she (Hinewera) wasn't a human being. I talked to my wife straight away about what happened but I wasn't concerned for my boy then. We didn't link the two together at all until afterwards.'"

Rangiaho Brown took up the story. "Until the old people came to our place to, you know, dig it all up what really happened. Dad told them what he saw. They knew straight away. They told us that the woman was Hinewera."

Although the whakapapa for Hinewera hasn't surfaced yet the Tareha family has always associated her with Moremore and the sea people. The special rights enjoyed by the Tareha's to kaimoana near Moremore's cave were balanced by Moremore's right to the firstborn son of each generation. Tareha Te Moananui was also affected by this lore. None of the children of his first marriage survived.

Hinewera is associated essentially with the water. She is said to have swum up the Tutaekuri River to Waiohiki. Likewise her access to Petane pa was via. the Esk River. When Kurupo Tareha saw her appear in his bath he knew who she was and what her mission was.

PART C : THE DECLINE OF RIGHTS TO TRADITIONAL FISHERIES AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE

1. INTRODUCTION

A. "Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand, and to the respective families and individuals thereof, the full,

exclusive, and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of pre-emption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate, at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf."

- Article the Second, Treaty of Waitangi.

B. "There are several portions of land such as the headland, and water frontage, at the Ahuriri river and harbour, which the Natives are retaining for the purposes of fishing and trading, and which, together with some belts of timber reserved by them it would be very desirable to purchase,, even at a higher price than is usually paid for waste lands."

- Ahuriri Purchase[40].

C. "It is agreed that we shall have an equal right with the European to the fish, cockles, mussels and other productions of the sea, and that our canoes shall be permitted to land at such portions of the town as shall be set apart by the Governor of New Zealand as a landing place for our canoes."

- Ahuriri Deed of Purchase[41].

<u>Issues Arising from the Three Extracts quoted above</u>

Extract A from the Treaty of Waitangi guarantees the Maoris "full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession", in this case of

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[40]ref. McLean to Colonial Secretary, 23.I.1851.

[41]ref. Turton's Deeds, page 491.

their fisheries. Anything which interferes with this situation, be it legislative or physical in nature, surely contravenes the terms of the Treaty.

The Crown contended that Te Whanganui-a-Orotu was, at the time of the signing of the Ahuriri Purchase on November 17, 1851, a lagoon or arm of the sea and, being subject to the rise and fall of the tide and being within territorial limits, was by common law the property of the Crown[42].

The right of the Crown to tidal waters "by common law" needs to be challenged. This appears to be an interpretation imposed by the Crown after the signing of the Treaty. Nowhere in the Treaty of Waitangi, our founding document, does it state that the United Tribes ceded their rights "to lagoons or arms of the sea being subject to the rise and fall of the tide within territorial limits". Had such a clause been inserted it is highly questionable whether the chiefs would have signed. Such an interpretation contravenes the guarantee contained in Article the second of the Treaty of "full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties".

The conclusion to be drawn from the above is that when the Crown introduced legislation vesting the title to Te Whanganui-a-Orotu in the Napier Harbour Board in 1874, they violated the guarantee of "full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession" of traditional Maori fisheries.

Extract B, quoted from McLean's report to the Colonial Secretary ten months before the Ahuriri Purchase, refers to two purposes for retaining the harbour, fishing and trading. The importance of the trading aspect should not be neglected as it was the one means by which the Maori could acquire the things he could not produce himself. Access to markets in those days was by sea and a sheltered harbour was a necessity. The wording of McLean's

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[42]ref. Te Whanganui-a-Orotu report G-6A of 1948, page 33.

extract suggests he considered the Maori had the right to retain their water frontage.

The sub-tribes occupying Te Whanga were familiar with European trade. Wiramina Ngahuka states in her evidence in the Pirau Rehearing[43], "I lived with Paora (Kaiwhata) at Marumaru (on Lake Oingo), when we were scraping flax. He came there with Te Aria, his brother-in-law. He remained five or six months scraping flax and catching eels for the purpose of buying horses." Flax was traded in earlier times too to purchase muskets.

Hawkes Bay's first permanent European trader, Alexander Alexander, took up residence at Ahuriri in 1846. A sketch of his trading station in the 1850's by J. Rhodes shows four Maori canoes beached in front and three more approaching the shore. Alexander traded extensively with the Maoris and set up his trading post at Onepoto in present-day Corunna Bay. He began shipping and bacon-curing ventures. The bacon factory, on the Eastern spit, processed pigs brought in by the Maoris[44].

The Maoris of the Ahuriri area were well aware of the value of retaining their water access to the sea for the purposes of trading. In his journal of November 11, 1851, Donald McLean refers to William Colenso advising the Maoris, "...and Mr Colenso advised them to have a clause inserted in the Deed, giving them free rights to their vessels entering and leaving the harbour, besides such other hints as would no doubt be to their advantage. Although it does not appear to me essential that the natives require such advice, when they are in treaty with the British Government."

Yet despite the faith McLean expresses in the British Government, within twenty years the Crown had assumed by legislation the title to Te Whanganui-a-Orotu. This was done without the

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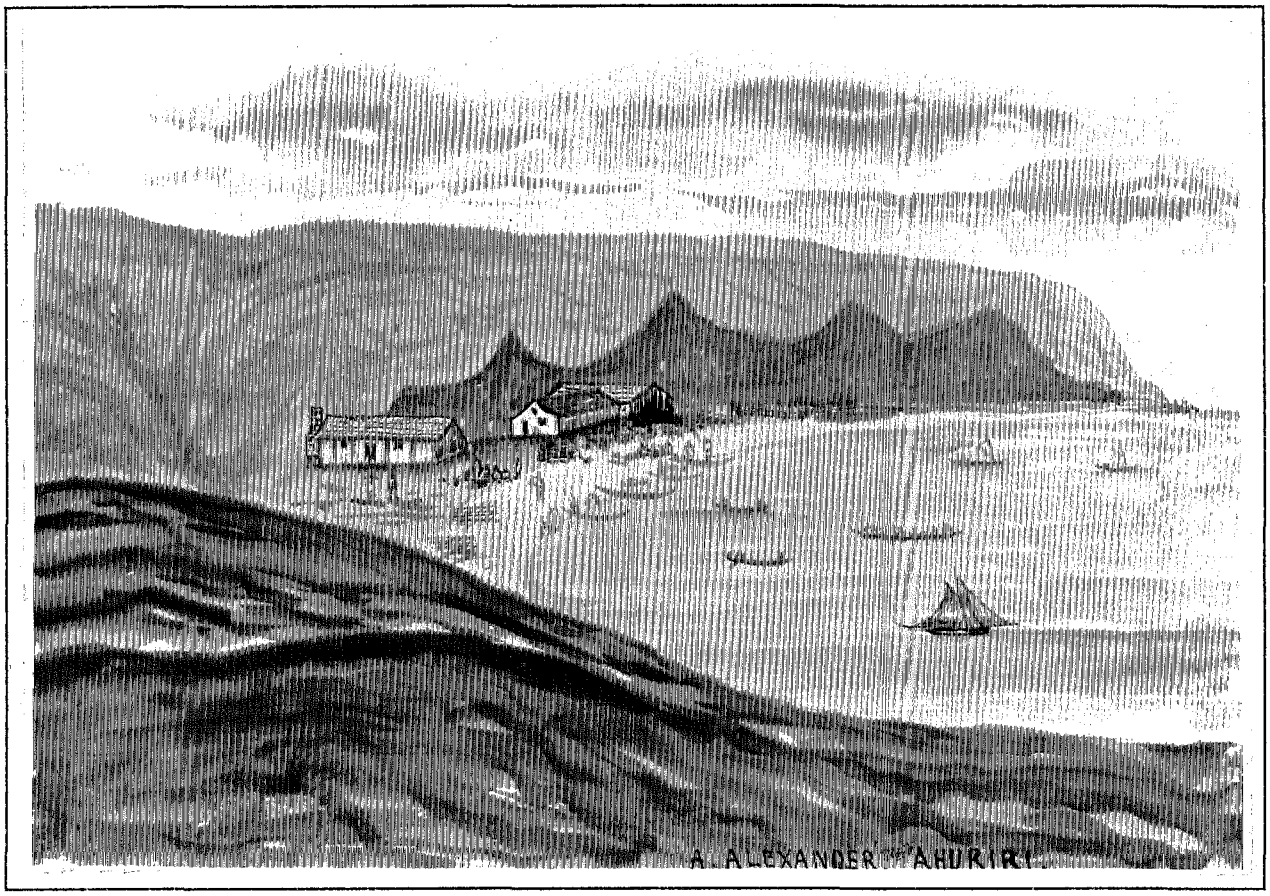
[43]ref. NMB 20, page 320.

[44]ref. The Story of Napier by Dr M.D.N. Campbell, page 3.



Alexander Alexander's Trading Station
Onepoto Gully, Napier - 1850's

knowledge of the customary owners. The Crown saw no need to inform them.

Extract C from the Ahuriri Deed of Purchase gives the Maoris "an equal right with the European to the fish, cockles, mussels and other productions of the sea" and the right to land canoes at specific landing places. So much for the "full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession" of their fisheries. Had Te Whanganui-a-Orotu been included within the boundaries of the Ahuriri Purchase, McLean would have had the right to insert the clause giving the Europeans equal rights to the "productions of the sea", but such wasn't the case. The Crown had succeeded in legislating over territory adjoining the Ahuriri Purchase.

McLean's report to the Colonial Secretary after the Ahuriri Purchase, dated December 29, 1851, reveals Maori concern over their fisheries that shouldn't have been an issue according to the Treaty.

"Tareha and other Chiefs at Ahuriri were anxious to have several portions of valuable land reserved for them on both sides of the harbour, especially on Mataruahou Island, which they had always considerable reluctance in transferring, from a fear that they might eventually be deprived of the right of fishing, collecting pipis and other shellfish which abound in the Bay."

The purpose of this section of the report is to demonstrate how the Crown, through legislation, effectively deprived the Maoris of rights Guaranteed by the Treaty of Waitangi. McLean's report quoted immediately above gives the impression that the Maoris were unaware of their rights under the Treaty of Waitangi. By this legislation the Crown, via. the Napier Harbour Board now acquired the right to divert, dredge, bridge or reclaim Te Whanganui-a-Orotu.

2. DREDGING AND RECLAMATION

[- Note - Some of the material quoted in this section is contained in Section 16 of the claimants report on Te Whanganui-a-Orotu, starting from page 3.]

The Crown wasn't slow in beginning modifications to Te Whanganui-a-Orotu. Using the Public Works Act of 1854 as their authority, the Crown vested a portion of the Ahuriri outlet in the Superintendent of Hawkes Bay by a transaction dated January 9th, 1861. The purpose of securing this area of the Ahuriri heads was "for the Improvement of the Harbour of Napier and for the construction and Maintenance of such Docks, Piers and other works therein as may be deemed advisable for facilitating the Trade and Commerce of the Town and Port of Napier aforesaid."

Maori reaction to reclamation wasn't slow in coming. Five months after the Ahuriri heads was vested in the Superintendent of the province, G.S. Cooper, the District Commissioner, stated in a report to the Chief Commissioner, dated June 20th, 1861, "I am only aware of five cases of claims being made on completed purchases. The first is with regard to the land being reclaimed at Napier. Tareha one day said to me that he had only sold the land as far as high water mark, and that all that is now being reclaimed is his property, as having been under the sea when he sold the Ahuriri Block".

The surveyor, O.L.W. Bousfield, prepared a report for the Commissioner on Napier Harbour and roadstead which was published on November 25th, 1865. He concluded:-

(a) That the formation of mudflats and sandbanks on the southern end of the lake was probably caused by the combined action of the west and north-west winds, and flood tide of earth, washed down by the Tutaekuri River when in flood.

(b) That the Iron Pot was becoming more shallow and that since the commencement of what are called "Harbour Improvements" a very great change for the worse has taken place.

(c) That the entrance to Port Napier had increased to twice its previous width in 15 years and decreased in depth from five fathoms to four, affecting navigability.

The Harbour Improvements referred to by Bousfield included the dredging of the Ahuriri heads and Iron Pot, begun as early as 1859 by Edward Wright. Wright joined Te Pakake and Gough Islands together, built a timber breast-work on the south side of the Iron Pot. Two wharves, Watts Wharf and Routledge's Wharf, were constructed on the north side of the Iron Pot[45].

A map prepared for the Harbour Commission in 1865 may have accompanied Bousfield's report. Of particular interest are a series of depth soundings spanning Te Whanganui-a-Orotu at high water. The deepest parts of the lake are the central and western sections. The waters surrounding Tapu Te Ranga Island are a uniform eight feet in depth. The deepest section of the lake at nine feet six inches is half way between the present-day Westshore embankment bridge and Poraiti. The waters shallow noticeably near the embankment bridge.

The well-known watercolour painting of Ahuriri heads and Te Whanganui-a-Orotu by C.D. Barraud dated 1866 shows the Harbour Improvements referred to by Bousfield. At that date most activity centred on the Iron Pot.

A description of Gough Island in 1859 was printed in the H.B. Herald, October 10th, 1874:-

> "Gough Island we may add, was at that time much frequented by parties of natives engaged in fishing expeditions and

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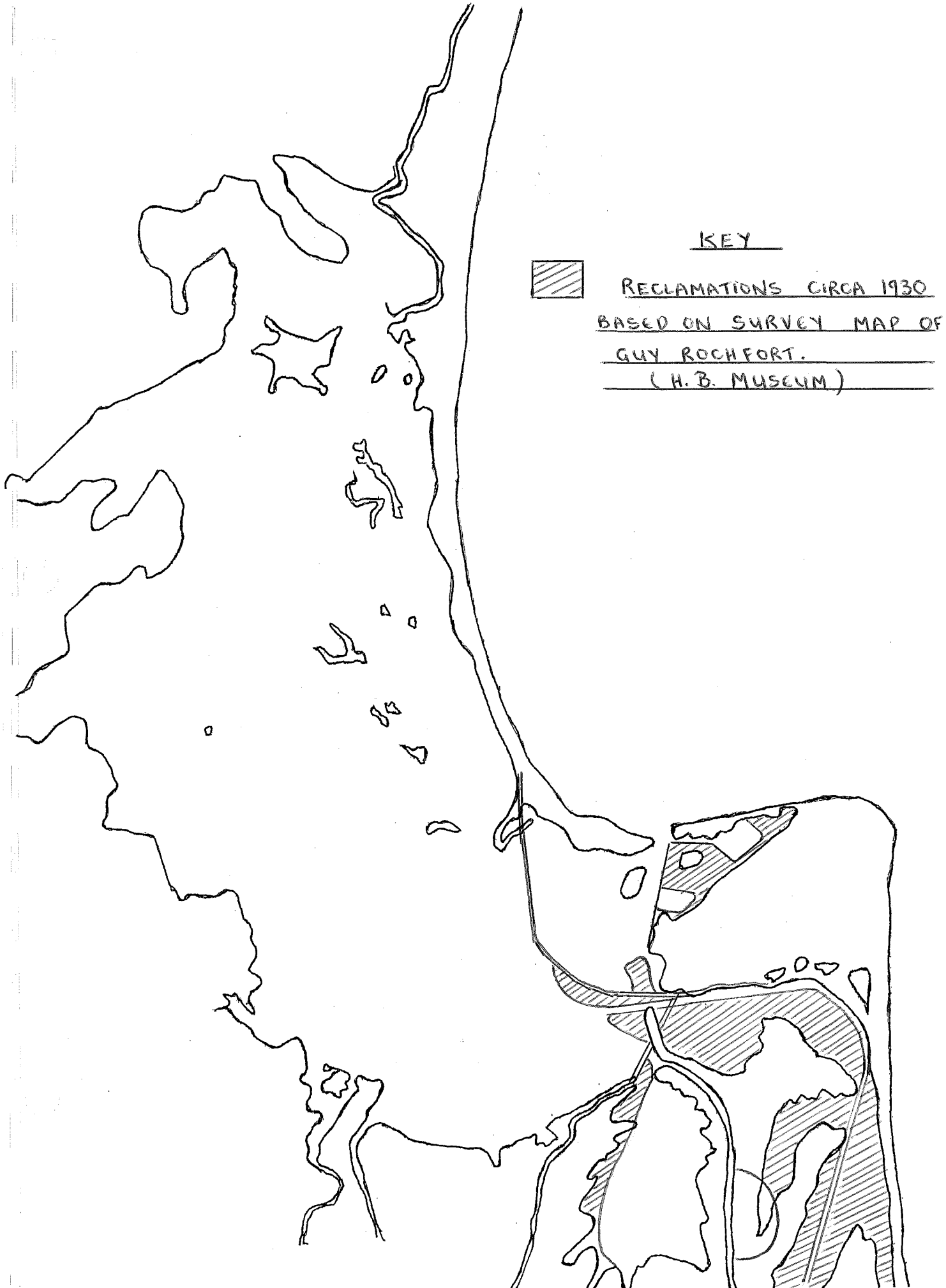
[45]ref. Port and People, page 4.

TE WHANGANUI A OROTU – PRE QUAKE RECLAMATIONS



numerous remains of an old pa, in the shape of posts and palisading, still raised aloft their grim heads."

3. THE CAUSEWAY TO TARADALE

Along with the dredging and reclamation at Ahuriri, other projects were having their effect on Te Whanganui-a-Orotu. Late in 1872 work began on the construction of a causeway linking Scinde Island and Taradale. With each succeeding flood of the Tutaekuri River, deposits of silt banked up against the causeway. The result was inevitable. W.R. Jourdain describes the effect of the 1897 flood in his memoirs of 1938:-

> "When the flood waters had drained away by the next week it was found that the silt deposited by the flood waters had filled the Inner Harbour and reclaimed the swamp area, and with a certain amount of filling in, the new suburb of Napier South was formed with streets, houses, parks, etc. - over what was once a lagoon and swamp."

Thus by the intervention of man, the boundaries of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu began to shrink.

4. EFFECTS ON THE ECOLOGY

Effects on the ecology of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu were inevitable. The dredging of the Ahuriri heads increased the tidal flow of salt water into Te Whanganui-a-Orotu, introducing species which had not previously been in any quantity. In his evidence before the Native Land Claims Commission of 1920, Nepata Puhara commented on these effects[46]:-

> "The new opening (Ahuriri outlet), was in existence in 1851. It has been made deeper by dredging. In 1874 I saw workmen digging it. Since the deepening salt water fish is caught - flounders and other fish. The natives fished

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[46]ref. G-6A, 1948, page 36.

for these fish after the deepening. The reclamation works are covering some of the pipi beds and killing the pipis in other beds. Cannot say when they finished getting freshwater fish out of the lake, but it was when Napier South was reclaimed. It was then we ceased to fish for eels and other fish."

Te Roera Tareha gave evidence at the hearing of Hori Tupaea's Petition of 1932. He referred to the effect of the Westshore embankment bridge, constructed between 1915 and 1921, on the ecology.

"There were no pipis found at this time in the lagoon or Toroanui as the place in the lagoon immediately above the bridge. No pipis are to be found there now. It was through the salt water coming into the Inner Harbour that the pipis grew there - they followed the tide in. Pipis were also found at Okahu on the Taradale side of the new bridge but on the Spit side[47]."

Later in his evidence Te Roera named the fish caught before and after dredging deepened the entrance to Te Whanganui-a-Orotu.

"The pauas were outside. The fish were there at high tide when the salt water was there. The fish found in the harbour were upokororo, tuna, inanga, kokopu, patiki, mohoao - these are all freshwater fish and were all that were caught there. At the present time patiki, mohoao and inanga. The kokopu and tipohororo have disappeared. Taniwe, kahawai and mango have only come into this since the salt water began to come in. Kahawai and kanae are not plentiful now but were plentiful in old days. When a net was spread enough were caught to last a week."

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[47]ref. NMB 77, page 173.

5. THE LOSS OF CANOE ACCESS AND LANDING PLACES

McLean was quite indignant when William Colenso advised the Maoris to have a clause inserted in the Ahuriri Purchase Deed giving them free rights to their vessels entering and leaving the harbour. He didn't see that the Natives required such advice when dealing with the British Government.

The actual wording in the Ahuriri Purchase Deed didn't heed Colenso's recommendation. The relevant section reads, "and that our canoes shall be permitted to land at such portions of the town as shall be set apart by the Governor of New Zealand as a landing place for our canoes."

The above guarantee in the Deed of Purchase didn't protect Maori rights in terms of allowing their canoes the freedom of entering and leaving the harbour. Only one canoe reserve was allocated.

The construction of a bridge linking the two sides of the Ahuriri heads, crossing in the vicinity of the present-day sailing club, effectively blocked off any access between the sea and the canoe reserve which was above the bridge. Opened in August, 1880, it did have swinging sections but, as H.K. Stevenson notes in his book "Port and People": "as far as can be recalled, only once was the swinging section opened"[48].

As a result of this construction, only canoes inside Te Whanganui-a-Orotu could use the canoe landing reserve. Seagoing canoes would have needed a landing place below the bridge. This bridge started to collapse in 1922 and was finally demolished in 1929.

The construction of another bridge, the Westshore Embankment bridge, was to have much more drastic consequences for Te Whanganui-a-Orotu. By 1911 the Government was showing an interest in extending the railway from Napier to Gisborne.

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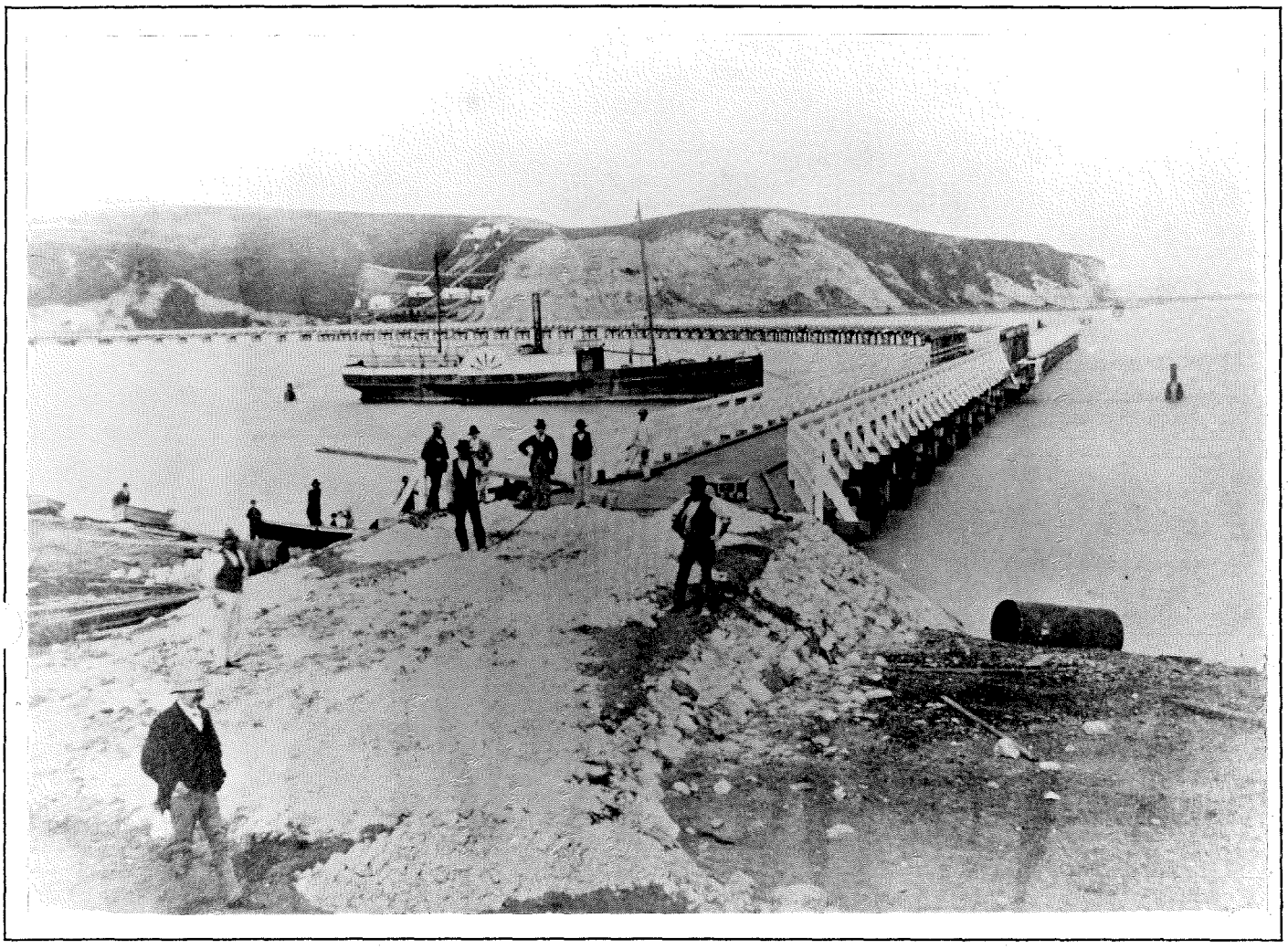
[48] at page 17.



View of Ahuriri - 1880
showing the bridge linking the
Napier Hill with Westshore
This bridge prevented access to
Te Whanganui A Orotu from the sea

Crossing the harbour was a vital factor. Funded by the Napier Harbour Board, the County and the Government, an embankment of 2 miles and 61 chains was built with a concrete bridge providing the only access to the Inner Harbour. A dredge, the Waikaka, was purchased to dredge out the Ahuriri basin and build the embankment. Heavy traffic was able to use the Embankment road by the end of 1921.

The effect of the Embankment bridge was to restrict the tidal flow in and out of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu. Two miles of tidal influence was lost by this action. The effect on traditional Maori food resources wasn't a consideration. Today the damage to the ecology can only be guessed at.

The canoe reserve was reduced to a place name on a map. Before, access to the canoe reserve had been cut off from below. Now access was cut off from above.

6. POLLUTION OF THE AHURIRI ESTUARY

To research the full extent of pollution and its effect on the ecology would require a specialist study of its own. To what degree it drove the Maori away from their traditional food source is hard to gauge, though an indication comes through in oral reports. The three major causes have been isolated below which affected the Ahuriri estuary.

(a) The Hawkes Bay and North British Freezing Company

This freezing company was located inside the Ahuriri Heads. According to "Port and People", page 50, the freezing works was still under construction in 1888. Dr M.D.N. Campbell in his book "The Story of Napier" states: "Another important industry began with the construction of the North British and Hawkes Bay Freezing Company works on the Western Spit in 1887-1888[49]."

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[49] at page 69.

During the forty odd years this freezing works was in operation, effluent was discharged at high tide, the theory being that the outgoing tide from Te Whanganui-a-Orotu would carry it out to sea. Although the exact point of discharge has not been ascertained, Napier City historian, Peggy Higgins, commented that the discharge of effluent attracted sharks inside the Ahuriri Heads.

According to Dr Campbell, the freezing works ceased operation in 1930. Doubtless comment was passed in local newspapers over the years on the discharge though time hasn't permitted exhaustive research. The effect on traditional Maori food sources inside and outside the Ahuriri Heads may never be accurately assessed. It is recorded that heavy seas pounded the freezing works area on July 4th and 5th, 1925 causing the stonework on the freezing works side of the estuary entrance to collapse. Under circumstances such as these, effluent would have penetrated further up the Ahuriri estuary.

(b) The Perfume Point Sewage Outlet

At a seminar on Disposal of Sewage in Hawkes Bay held at Napier on July 25th, 1987, Clive Squire, the City Engineer Designate, addressed the assembly. "At the turn of the century septic tanks were causing enough problems on the (Napier) hill for the residents to get together and lay pipes down to the sea and discharge their sewage into the sea never to be seen again. Not so. Problems continued."

A sewage system was discussed as early as 1898 to service the Napier hill area in particular. In the book, "History of Hawke's Bay" J.G. Wilson isolates 1904 as the year it was decided on, and that it put an almost immediate stop to the recurrent epidemics of fever[50].

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[50] at page 416.

Using the same principal as the Hawkes Bay and North British Freezing Works, the raw sewage was discharged into the sea fifty feet off the Ahuriri Heads. The outgoing tide was intended to do the rest. This was the origin of the nickname, Perfume Point.

As Clive Squire, previously quoted, commented, "In the 1930's pressure had built up sufficiently to decide to build a holding tank and discharge the sewage on the outgoing tide only, at Perfume Point. Hopefully the sea would remove the problem from the beaches. Not so."

Discharge of raw sewage at Perfume Point discontinued in mid-1974. In August, 1973 the then Mayor of Napier, Mr Peter Tait, opened the new submarine sewer outfall at Awatoto. He commented on other schemes they had looked at. "All these schemes had the objective of removing the sewage from the present position where it adversely affected the Ahuriri and Westshore beach areas[51]."

According to oral accounts, the discharge of sewer at Perfume Point finally dissuaded the Maori people from gathering shellfish. Notices were erected warning people not to eat shellfish from that area. Further up the Ahuriri estuary at the Westshore embankment bridge similar notices warned that kaimoana could be contaminated.

Beattie Nikera spoke of this. "After the 1931 earthquake we carried on gathering kaimoana for a while until they decided about the hospital. It stopped the Maoris coming there. The hospital discharged its sewer into the sea there. That's it, the sewage. It stopped us getting kaimoana there. It's a shame, you know. I reckon they shouldn't have done it. It's not the place for that, because all the ships are there."

Selina Sullivan had similar experiences. She felt the boats were discharging effluent in their traditional shellfishing area. "I'll tell you what killed the food there was those boats. You

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[51]ref. Daily Telegraph 9/8/1973.

see the Moteo Maoris, they got their pipis right across from the wharves there. There used to be a freezing works there. No matter how deep, the Ngati Mahu and Ngati Hinepare got it - where that channel comes in, on that side. But it was those boats. And then one time my daughter and I went to get some pipis. We went along picking up these things and I had a look - toilet paper! That stopped me from going there."

Polly Rakuraku also experienced the effects of pollution. "The 1931 earthquake didn't destroy our kaimoana all together. When the hospital emptied out there it killed the seafood. Then when they put those farms on the lagoon they emptied all their stuff into the creek there and it came down. We had to stop getting kaimoana. They put a notice up there not to gather the seafood. They put a board there. Don't go there, it's polluted. The pakehas reclamations destroyed our food source."

(c) Industrial Pollution

Two industrial zones drain into the Ahuriri estuary. The Ahuriri or Pandora Industrial Area borders the Ahuriri estuary on the south side between the Pandora and Westshore Embankment bridges. This industrial area which was established in 1962, drains into the Ahuriri estuary.

The Onekawa Industrial area was established earlier, in 1948 and has expanded greatly since. It is located well south of the Ahuriri estuary but its drainage system flows into it.

Statistics on discharge from these industrial zones into the Ahuriri estuary rest with the Regional Council and other bodies. Time hasn't permitted a breakdown of records.

A spokesperson for Community Health spoke of tests on spillage from the Pandora Industrial area. The Hawkes Bay Catchment Board investigated and results were returned in 1987. Shellfish tested contained small amounts of heavy metal contaminates.

It would need constant monitoring to accurately assess the effects of industrial drainage, spillage etc., on the ecology. Dead fish floating on the surface may draw attention to major spillages but less evident effects could escape monitoring. In the absence of comprehensive statistics it is reasonable to assume that any discharge would have a detrimental effect on the ecology.

7. THE IMPACT OF THE 1931 EARTHQUAKE

It is a common misconception that the traditional food source of the Maori at Te Whanganui-a-Orotu was undamaged at the time the 1931 quake struck. As has been demonstrated in the previous section, it had already suffered damage at the hands of man. To claim that the great quake destroyed Te Whanganui-a-Orotu as a food source is only partly true and is evasive of responsibility.

How accurate is the assumption that Te Whanganui-a-Orotu was totally drained by the quake? As late as the beginning of 1932, the field superintendent of the Department of Agriculture, Palmerston North, W.J. McCullough, reported that "from appearance one-third to one-half of the lagoon area was still more or less under water[52]."

Geoff Conly in his book, "The Shock of '31" expresses aptly the Napier Harbour Board's stance after the quake: "It was this sprawling, smelly mudflat of 2,230 hectares which the Napier Harbour Board covetted and which it claimed with an alertness which anticipated any other claimant[53]."

The Napier Harbour Board instructed its consulting reclamation engineer, Guy Rochford, to report on the draining of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu, preparatory to developing the land for farming. Work on the draining project, which reached from

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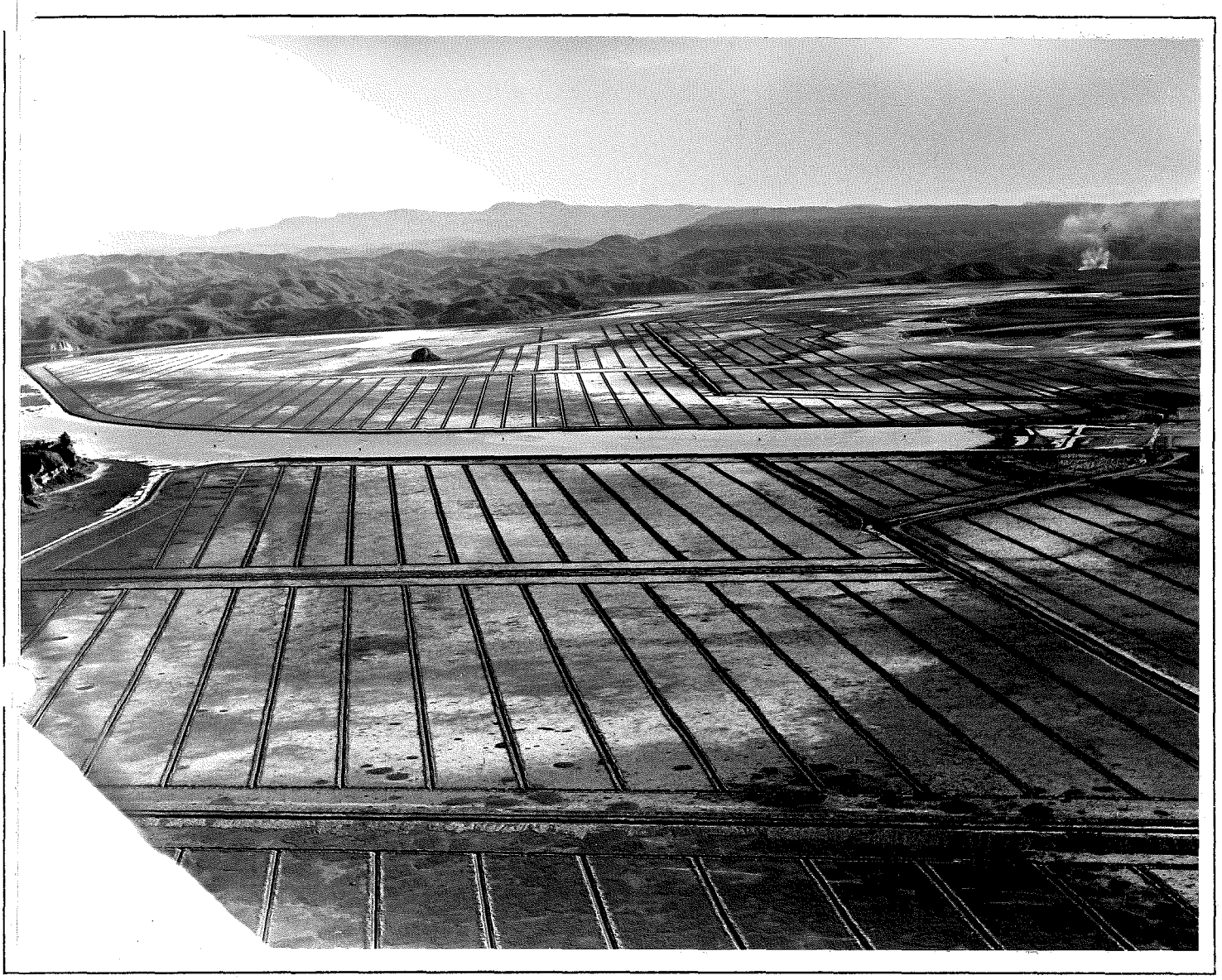
[52]ref. Shock of '31, page 193.

[53]at page 194.

View of Te Whanganui A Orotu - 1931 showing stranded horse mussels after the great Earthquake



An aerial view of Te Whanganui A Orotu

1936

showing Reclamation Works

Greenmeadows to Petane, was started in February, 1934, after the Harbour Board leased the area to the Crown for 21 years.

By the end of 1937 permanent pasture was carrying 200 cattle and 3,300 sheep. Spread over the reclaimed area were 17 kilometres of stopbanks, 55 kilometres of drains, 560 kilometres of lateral drains, as well as 13 kilometres of piping, 60 drinking troughs, plus floodgates, fencing and cattlestops[54].

In 1950 the Crown and the Napier Harbour Board reached agreement to surrender the lease. By the terms of the surrender the 4,790 acres north of the estuary were vested in the Crown as Crown Land subject to the Land Act, 1948, freed and discharged from all reservation, restrictions and encumbrances. In addition the Harbour Board agreed to pay the Minister of Lands the sum of £60,000. The land south of the estuary was vested in the Napier Harbour Board.

Of the traditional Maori fishing grounds, once far-famed, little remained. Constricted by 17 kilometres of stopbanks, Te Whanganui-a-Orotu was reduced to the tidal channels it courses today. The Ahuriri Lagoon as it is now known still supports some sea life but is better known for two contradictory pursuits, serving as a wildlife refuge and a duckshooting habitat.

8. RIVER DIVERSION

(a) Tutaekuri River

The Tutaekuri River continued to flow into Te Whanganui-a-Orotu for 5 years after the 1931 quake. The lower section of the river from Powdrell's bend, through Meeanee was subject to flooding. The changes in depth of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu occasioned by the earthquake are said to have caused a more sluggish flow in the lower reaches of the river. For these reasons and to improve

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[54]ref. The Shock of '31, page 196.

housing and land development the Hawkes Bay Rivers Board decided to divert the Tutaekuri from Powdrell's bend.

A letter from the Hawkes Bay Rivers Board to the Minister of Labour dated 23 December 1933 informed him of the Board's intention to proceed with the Tutaekuri River control Scheme within the next month or two. Expenditure was estimated at £96,000 with an additional £16,000 to build the Waitangi Washout traffic bridge.

On 21 May 1936 the Daily Telegraph reported under the heading, "Tutaekuri Diversion" - closing of channel commenced today. "Making a definite start with the final work of enclosing the diversion channel, Hawkes Bay Rivers Board workmen today entered upon the final stages of the Tutaekuri River diversion. Commenced in the autumn of 1934, the diversion scheme which has involved an expenditure of well over £100,000 is within a few weeks of completion."

Work was hastened by the threat of the 40 hour week and increased wages. On June 4th, 1936 the Hawkes Bay Herald Tribune announced the completion of the diversion. "The opportunity is now given for the development of large areas of land contiguous to Napier including valuable Harbour Board endowments. Evidence of this is already to be seen in the new houses recently erected in the extended boundaries of Napier. With no further interference with roading and drainage from the river, the local authorities are enabled to undertake any work of benefit to the community without fear of inundation and destruction."

This diversion sealed off the Tutaekuri from any further input into Te Whanganui-a-Orotu. Thus, the link between the two, preserved since ancient times, was severed.

(b) Petane Stream

The Petane Stream was formerly the bed of Te Wai-o-hinganga, the Esk River. In the 1920s the Esk had two exits. There was a

large lagoon near the present river mouth in those days. Polly Rakuraku recalls part of the water flowing into the sea from the lagoon while the rest flowed down the old river bed to Whanganui-a-Orotu and was called the Petane River or stream.

The 1931 quake reduced the flow via. the Petane Stream. Mrs Marge McHardy who was resident at Bay View at the time recalled the stream being reduced to a trickle through the land lifting. The market gardeners who had used the Petane Stream for irrigation pooled finances and installed a powerful pump where the steam left the Esk Lagoon. They pumped water along the Petane Stream and this worked quite successfully until the great flood of 1938 swept the pump out to sea. The irrigation scheme was never revived.

A letter from the District Commissioner of Works D.O. Haskell to the Chief Engineer, H.B. Catchment Board dated 18 April 1958 states, "The stream diversion required for the proposed highway deviation might well be done during the course of your work".

A letter from the Chief Engineer to the District Commissioner of Works dated 18 July 1958 states, "This has been a particularly dry season but it is now mid-July and the stream is dry enough for dozers to be operated in the stream bed and any falls of rain that have occurred have been swiftly absorbed by the country".

The Chief Engineer, Mr R.G. Drummond in a letter to Bay View landowners on the Petane Stream, dated 7 May 1959 states, "Now that the Petane Stream has been regraded and the pumphouse at Onehunga Road has been installed, it means that adequate stormwater disposal is available and the internal drainage which is the responsibility of land owners should now be attended to so that the most benefit may be obtained".

9. CONCLUSION

Today the major part of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu is farm land. The rest is made up of industrial zones and residential leasehold and

freehold. Since 1950 the Crown has reaped the profits from the northern section. The Hawkes Bay Airport Authority has control of the airport lands.

The southern section was retained until 1988 by the Hawkes Bay Harbour Board when it became a casualty of Government restructuring. In the carve up of its assets three parties benefitted; Port of Napier Ltd, the Napier City Council and the Hawkes Bay Regional Council.

Everyone has profited from Te Whanganui-a-Orotu, it seems, except the traditional owners, the Maori, systematically deprived of rights and benefits. Where possible both Crown and Napier Harbour Board have chosen to ignore Maori rights. When forced to respond to Parliamentary petitions or commissions they have defended themselves rigorously and tirelessly. When the hearing has appeared to go against them they have changed tack promptly demonstrating a determination to have and to hold.

It is paradoxical that the Crown should have unleashed the means by which the Maori claimants of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu should get their fairest hearing - the Waitangi Tribunal.

A recent clipping from the Hawkes Bay Herald Tribune illustrates the magnitude of Maori losses[55].

> "Warehouse passed in.
>
> The Coca-Cola warehouse in Niven Street, Onekawa, was passed in at auction yesterday. There were two prospective buyers when bidding began at $300,000.00. The property had an area of 9042 square metres and was at present leased to Oasis Industries Ltd. Present rental rate was $108,070.00 a year."

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[55] 13/12/1991, page 3.