

Me Tā Tāua Mokopuna

THE TE REO MĀORI WRITINGS OF H.K. TAIAROA AND TAME PARATA



THE TITLE OF THIS ARTICLE HAS BEEN TAKEN from a letter between Tame Parata and Hori Kerei Taiaroa (H.K), two influential southern Māori leaders of the later nineteenth century.¹ The letter acknowledges with affection their shared grandchild, ‘me tā tāua mokopuna’, Te Matenga Taiaroa. Both men were important figures in both tribal and parliamentary politics whose legacies endure through their descendants, their political careers and their written work. Parata and H.K. left a considerable archive of writings in their native language, te reo Māori, and those texts are the focus of this essay.

H.K. and Parata were born in the early nineteenth century, so their lives straddled the old Māori world and the modern world. As influential figures in a new generation of leaders they skilfully confronted the challenges posed by colonial rule, which was a fundamental element of their political reality, but they were both heavily influenced by the previous generation. Their fathers, who were veterans of tribal battles like that with Te Rauparaha in Ōraumoanui, were dominant forces in their lives. H.K. and Parata each took up the mantle of leadership, acting as raketira (chiefs) and representing their people within the colonial political system. Both established extensive relationships amongst Māori and Pākehā and became skilful political and cultural negotiators.

Exploring their writing in te reo, especially their correspondence, adds depth to our understanding of these key figures in tribal history and in the politics of southern New Zealand. I show here that these texts reveal these men were not simply assertive, committed and skilled leaders, but that they were linked by strong personal bonds, especially their aroha (affection) for their shared mokopuna (grandchildren). Their correspondence gives this insight: there is no need to speculate, as the evidence is clear. Their Māori-language writings allow the reader to gain an understanding of their unique familial connections and see the men not only as leaders, but also as heads of their whānau and affectionate grandparents.

H.K. and Parata’s writings in te reo Māori can be sourced in a number of places, including old newspapers, parliamentary records and libraries, while some of their other te reo Māori texts are held only in private family collections. These texts are part of a large body of southern Māori-language

written works by key native speakers of the later nineteenth century. This corpus of writing is especially important since the interconnecting tribes of southern New Zealand, including Kāi Tahu,² Kāti Mamoe and Waitaha, are now void of native speakers. Therefore, given this experience of language loss through the twentieth century, their te reo Māori writings contribute significantly not only to our historical understanding but also to a widening tribal knowledge base focused on revitalization of te reo. Reflecting on the depth of intimacy and searching for meaning in their words creates a stronger impetus within the iwi, hapū and whānau to learn and share their stories.

Furthermore, their written te reo Māori correspondence reminds us of the importance of place in knitting people together and thus provides another unique aspect with which to view these men and their writings. Both men are connected to two villages in the area of Otago, which are closely linked both geographically and genealogically. H.K comes from Ōtākou³ and Parata resided and made his home at Puketeraki.⁴ There is less than 20 kilometres distance across the Otago coast between the villages. The relationship between these men that stems from whakapapa (genealogy) and intermarriage is cemented in their connections to Ōtākou. The Māori history of Ōtākou has been the subject of much research; however, the Māori-language documents relating to this area and its people have been largely underutilized due to limited understanding of te reo Māori and access to the written documents.⁵ The Māori-language documents and written archives of Parata, H.K. and others contribute considerable detail about and insight into the period of early colonization and nineteenth-century Māori life.

Assessing these te reo Māori sources can make a very significant contribution to a growing body of publications that have documented Māori history and explored Māori leadership in the Otago region.⁶ The very language of these texts, and the social connections they reveal, demonstrate a complex self-reflection that is not available in the English sources that have dominated the scholarship on the development of southern Māori communities. Historians such as Atholl Anderson and Harry Evison have been able to carve rich accounts of these men and their place in the world of colonial New Zealand utilizing mainly English-language documents.⁷ H.K. and Parata were exceedingly capable communicators in English and in Māori and their written material in English provides a valuable layer to our understanding of the colonial period. More recently, historians have suggested that written communication in English became an important element of tribal politics and culture by the close of the nineteenth century. Tony Ballantyne and Michael Stevens have both argued that the world of literacy, paper and print became a key aspect of Kāi Tahu's political and cultural life. Ballantyne

has emphasized the usefulness of writing for Kāi Tahu raketira, including H.K. He claims that writing became the key instrument through which these raketira could maintain their personal political connections and ensure that the Crown fully understood the extent of their traditional authority and the depth of their mana.⁸ Stevens places importance on the traditions of everyday reading and writing amongst Kāi Tahu that had emerged around 1900, claiming that these pieces of writing are fundamentally important as they underscore the importance of literacy, popular literature and the English language in shaping how Kāi Tahu people formed and communicated their world view and aspirations within the colonial public sphere.⁹

Given the demography of the south, research using English-language texts written by Kāi Tahu and about Kāi Tahu is undoubtedly crucial to a wider understanding of early colonization in the South Island. However, unlocking the intimate thoughts and sensibilities of the written Māori word is essential if historians truly want to engage with and recover the world views of these influential leaders who navigated a world that was fast-changing, as the old Māori order was reshaped by the surging tide of modernity.

Nō Hea Rāua? / Where Do They Come From?

The leadership of both Parata and H.K. was heavily influenced by their fathers. Tame Haereroa Parata's birth father, Captain Trapp, an American whaler, died when he was very young. Tame's great-uncle Haereroa raised him as his own. Tame's mother Koroteke, of Kāi Tahu and Kāti Mamoe lineage, raised him in his early years in Tairoahua, the southernmost village in the south, situated on Ruapuke Island. Parata was born between 1832 and 1838 and lived until 1917. He spent his early childhood years on Ruapuke Island situated in the Foveaux Strait. He then moved to Waikouaiti with Haereroa and that became his home. Haereroa was named 'Tommy Roundhead' by the whalers. An undated photograph of Haereroa records him as a hardened, fully facially tattooed Māori.¹⁰ He was a leading chief who moved in the same circles as other well-known southern raketira such as Tuhawaiki, Te Matenga Taiaroa, Horomona Pōhio, Karetai and Wī Pōtiki. Haereroa was born into a time of upheaval and collision between iwi and between Pākehā and Māori: he fought in battles against Te Rauparaha¹¹ and in repulse of Te Pūoho's Raid.¹² Parata was strongly influenced by Haereroa's life experiences and expectations, and the very fact that Haereroa became a Christian would have had significant impact on Parata's choices.¹³ Parata constructed a place for himself in the old Māori world and the modern world that was shaped by Haereroa's assurance that he would assume raketira status. The whakapapa provided below illustrates the whakapapa connection Tame Parata had to H.K. Taiaroa:¹⁴

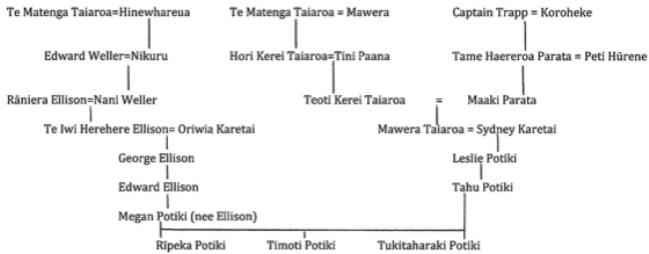


Figure 1: The genealogical connections of Tame Parata and H.K. Tairaoa

H.K. Tairaoa was born at Ōtākou: it is more than likely that this occurred in the 1830s rather than the 1840s. Kāi Tahu elders knew H.K. by his birth name, Huriwhenua, but he was better known by his Christian name Hori Kerei, after the former Governor Sir George Grey. He was the son of Te Matenga Tairaoa, an important chief at Ōtākou whose name has been enshrined in the place name on the Otago Peninsula, Tairaoa Heads. Bill Dacker has described Te Matenga as ‘H.K.’s warrior father’ in reference to his fighting against Te Rauparaha.¹⁵ Te Matenga was born about the 1790s at Waikakahi, at the northern end of Lake Waihora in Canterbury.¹⁶ He lived a very full life, one marked by conflict and turmoil within his own people and with Pākehā. It is feasible he met his first European, Captain John Kent, in 1823 at Ruapuke Island on board the *Mermaid*.¹⁷ Te Matenga fought in battles against Te Rauparaha and was active in the efforts against Te Pūoho’s raid. He was also involved in a number of skirmishes in the South Island with incoming Europeans.¹⁸ Nevertheless, he encouraged trading at his home of Ōtākou, and was well travelled. He journeyed to Sydney negotiating land sales, moved around the South Island at moments of intertribal conflict and warfare, and later attended the intertribal meeting in Pūkawa at Lake Taupō to elect the first Māori King. His name was widely known and recounted in waiata, and is etched into place names and family histories.

Such a high-profile father shaped H.K.’s identity and his role as a leader. Te Matenga had a number of wives and Māwera, his third wife, was mother to H.K. Tairaoa. The mothers of both H.K. and Parata were present in their sons’

early years, but the successful male leadership that both men manifested was nurtured and energized under the eye of their fathers.

But these two leaders were also shaped by the places they had strong connections to. The area of Ōtākou provides a particularly important backdrop for the relationship between these men. Through marriage, whakapapa and politics, H.K. and Parata are connected to Ōtākou. The geographic location of Ōtākou is on the eastern side of the Otago Harbour, approximately 25 kilometres from Dunedin itself.¹⁹ It is known that Captain Cook, sailing along the Otago Coast in 1770, left a few place names behind, like Cape Saunders on the Otago Peninsula, but did not venture into the Otago Harbour. It took some time for Europeans to discover the entrance into the harbour: Atholl Anderson suggests that Europeans knew this waterway by at least 1809.²⁰ Kāi Tahu welcomed newcomers to the South Island from the 1790s, and from this moment were engaged in trade and exchange and adapting and integrating European technologies.²¹ By the 1830s whaling stations were dotted along the Otago coastline, and through these ongoing contact, good and bad, was established with Europeans. Ōtākou functioned as one important contact point: the Weller brothers' whaling station was established there in 1831 and it functioned as a key site of cross-cultural trade.

The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 at the head of Ōtākou²² by chiefs Karetai and Korako, the demise of the Wellers' station in the early 1840s, and the selling of the Ōtākou Block to the New Zealand Company in 1844 rapidly changed Ōtākou itself. The influx of disease, technologies and education was swift and Ōtākou was transformed. After the onset of formal colonization in 1848, Dunedin city grew and became the capital of the newly constituted Otago Province in 1852. The gold rush and trade allowed for the population to grow significantly and this impacted directly on the people of Ōtākou. The rushes completely changed the balance between capital, labour and land, and the local market moved in a matter of months from village to small city, through which flowed immense influxes of capital.²³

The children of the generation who were at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi inherited the political fight with Pākehā that grew out of these upheavals. The colonial government's failure to deliver on the agreements within the land purchase of Otago and ongoing disregard of the Treaty of Waitangi gave rise to a political struggle that would last for generations. Parata and H.K. came of age politically in this era of clashes and conflicts with settlers and rulers of the colony. But while both men are principally remembered for their work in southern Māori politics, their vast written work – a rich legacy for their descendants – adds texture and richness to the Ōtākou story and to the broader story of Kāi Tahu Whānui.

Mātauraka/Education

Parata and H.K. proved to be learned scholars of English, though it is not exactly clear when and where they learnt that language. It is unlikely their fathers were literate in English. Te Matenga Taiaroa wanted to learn to read and write, as the sealer John Boulton recorded in his diary in 1827. Te Matenga Taiaroa asked Boulton to show him how to write on the sand.²⁴ Little is known about this aspect of H.K.'s childhood and whether he had any formal education; it is clear, however, that he became a literate and a well-read man in English. H.K. worked the significant land holdings he had around the Kāi Tahu rohe (area) and began to work tirelessly on addressing the grievances of his people. He began as a Southern Māori Member of Parliament in 1871²⁵ and it was in parliament that he would prove himself to be the most able and experienced person to represent his people. H.K. navigated a ferocious political arena with his skills as a writer. Communication in his father's time was determined by travel and face-to-face interactions. By H.K.'s time, paper and pen were very important in communication and politics. As Ballantyne states, 'Letter writing, drafting petitions, reading both English and Māori-language newspapers became important cultural practices. The oral culture was not destroyed, but it was no longer self-sufficient.'²⁶

H.K.'s writings in English and in Māori reflect a man with a strong vision and foresight. His personal writings in Māori include genealogies, a personal diary, texts on place names and traditions, obituaries, records of meetings, detailed food-gathering information, traditional songs, and lengthy accounts of incredible supernatural interactions with Māori deities. H.K.'s extensive writings in Māori confirm his innate understanding, and the ability he had in his native language. H.K. was clearly an intelligent and astute man able to write beautifully in Māori and in English. He may have had more calculated reasons to write his innermost thoughts in te reo Māori; however, it can be argued that by virtue of te reo Māori being his native tongue it was natural for him to articulate his most personal thoughts and life experiences in Māori. Unfortunately, much of his writing in Māori remains largely unknown, due partly to whakapapa accessibility restrictions.²⁷ However, the Māori-language works of H.K. that are publicly available have rarely been utilized or commented on in publications.²⁸ Research and publications about H.K. have predominantly been by historians who haven't had a strong understanding of te reo Māori.²⁹ Moreover, recent work by Ballantyne and Stevens has highlighted Kāi Tahu literacy in English; yet the extensive collection of writings in Māori by the likes of H.K. continue to inhabit an area of historical research that hasn't been traversed. H.K.'s writings in Māori are commentaries with detail and connection to his innermost thoughts. His

writings share an exchange of ideas with the reader as if having a conversation, as the following example illustrates:

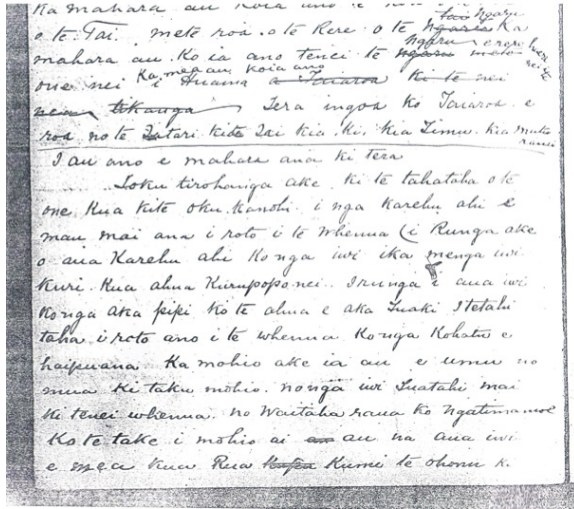


Figure 2: H.K. Taiaroa, personal text, December 6, 1892

Source: H.K. Taiaroa, unpublished manuscripts, c. 1875–1885, private collection, Ōtākou

The following is a transcription of this personal text of about 400 words in length:³⁰

HK Taiaroa

Tihema 6. 1892

I etahi ra e noho ana au i toku kainga. Ka haere au ki tetahi wahi e wahi pai e ngari e akau one tona. Ko taua one e one Roa. Kaore e taea e te konohi te titiro atu ki te mutunga mai o taua one. Ka mahara au ki te ahua o taua one e one i noho ia e nga iwi maori o mua. nona taua one. Ka rongo au ki te ngaru kua whati ki te one e rere haere ana te pito kia mau te mutunga o te ngaru ka titiro noa au. Karo ana i oku konohi te mutunga. Ka mahara au koia ano te roa o te rere o te tai. Me te roa o te rere o te ngaru. Ka mahara au ko ia ano tenei te ngaru e rere haere nei te one nei. Ka mea au koia ano i huaina tera ingoa Taiaroa e roa no te tataru ki te tai kia kii kia timu kia mutu ranei.

I au ano e mahara ana ki tera. Toku tirohanga ake ki te tahataha o te one kua kite oku kanohi i nga karehu ahi e mau mai ana i roto i te whenua i runga ake o aua karehu ahi ko nga iwi ika me nga iwi kuri. Kua ahua kurupopo nei. I runga i aua iwi ko nga aka pipi ko te ahua e aka tuaki i tetahi taha i roto ano i te whenua ko nga kohatu e haipu ana. Ka mohio ake ia ai e umu no mua

ki taku mohio. no nga iwi tuatahi mai ki tenei whenua. No Waitaha raua ko Ngatimamoe. Ko te take i mohio ai au na aua iwi. E mea kua Rua kumi te ohonu ki Raro i te whenua. Ka mahara au ki te ahua oku kanohi. Kaore rawa e mau te ahua o te mahi o te tai.

Waiata

Ka waia te nganohi ki te
 Tirohanga atu ngau mata
 Koe a whakapaumahara e
 Manu ko ake au e taea
 Te rere atu e taea te
 Oka oka e Parirau
 Mohoku e

This is my translation of the text:³¹

HK Taiaroa

December 6. 1892

Occasionally when I am at my home, I go to a place, a nice place. However there is a rocky coastline there. It is a long coastline. You are unable to see the end of the coastline. I have thought about how that coastline looks, a coastline that was once inhabited by Māori of the past. This was their coastline. I listen to the waves crashing on the shore, over and over, down the beach to its end point, beyond view. The end is lost from sight. I deliberate that it takes considerable time for the tide to roll in. As far as I am concerned, this is the reason Taiaroa is named thus, because of the length of time it takes for the tide to be full, to then abate, or to then desist.

As I am indeed pondering this idea. My view takes me to the side of the beach. I look upon the cindering embers encased in the land. On top of those embers are fish bones and dog bones. These appear rotten. Shells are on top of the bones, they look like cockle shells. To the side but in the earth are heaped up stones. There is no doubt in my mind that this was an oven from the past, from the first inhabitants of this land. From Waitaha and Ngāti Mamoe. The reason I know they are from those tribes is because it is two forearm lengths deep under the ground. I think about what I am looking at. I haven't retained the description about tide.

Song

The eyes have become accustomed to
 gazing, you are captured with passing thoughts
 I am a bird able to take flight,
 able to glide on my wings.

Here H.K. starts these reflections on place and identity by describing himself at his home in Taumutu, a small Kāi Tahu village in South Canterbury very near Lake Ellesmere. At that location he had a homestead with his wife Tini Burns, originally of Kaiapoi. H.K. describes how occasionally as he walks along the beachfront at Lake Ellesmere he observes the waves splashing

onto the beach. The beach is imposing with its dark shore of pebbles running into the impressive crashing waves. This is most probably Kaitorete Spit, a huge bank of shingle, which separates Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere) from the Pacific Ocean. He discusses not being able to see the end of the beach because of its lengthiness. He then moves from this detailed evocation of place to reflect on how the name Taiaroa³² came to be. He writes about hearing the waves breaking on the beach and flowing back out to sea, disappearing from his eyes, and about the length of time that this movement takes. He concludes his enquiry by stating that perhaps this is the origin of his name, the ‘Long Tide’, which is about the length of time the tide takes to ebb and flow.

Subsequently he talks of looking at a midden and calls it an umu – an oven. H.K. describes each layer of the midden, starting with the old embers of a fire in the earth and then dog bones, fish bones and cockleshells. He clearly understands that this is a Māori oven of the past (‘e umu no mua’). He states that the reason he knows that this midden is from the two tribes that preceded Kāi Tahu, namely Waitaha and Kāti Mamoe, is the depth of the layered materials. He says that the midden is exactly two ‘kumi’ deep. ‘Kumi’ is not used today, as it is an old measurement unit. Kumi is a measurement of the length of your forearm: therefore the midden was two forearms in depth. It is probable that H.K. had learnt the archaeological information about middens from Pākehā sources. Despite the fact that H.K.’s great-grandmother on one side was of Waitaha lineage and his grandparents on another were predominantly of Kāti Mamoe lineage, he describes these as past tribes who inhabited the land, emphasizing their antiquity.

Through this text, H.K. sporadically uses the ‘k’ dialect which replaces the ‘ng’ in the south: for example it would have been written as ‘Ngarehu’ in the north rather than ‘Karehu’ in south.³³ Tahu Pōtiki’s extensive research in the area of Kāi Tahu dialect includes the detailed study of six manuscripts written by native speakers of Kāi Tahu between 1850 and 1910.³⁴ In this research he claims that five out of the six speakers consistently used Kāi Tahu dialect, utilizing particular words, phrases and idioms in a distinctive manner. When Kāi Tahu were becoming writers and readers, many of the missionary teachers had originally learnt a North Island dialect. This was one source of the confusion between the dialects that is visible in many of the written archives. Pōtiki states that H.K.’s writings demonstrate a confused pattern where the ‘k’ and ‘ng’ become interchangeable, as well as dropping of the initial ‘h’ in the first word of a sentence, particularly in the particle ‘He’ being recorded as ‘E’.³⁵ In this excerpt H.K. writes ‘nganohi’ for ‘eyes’, which in fact should be ‘kanohi’. ‘Nghanohi’ is not a word in any Māori dialect. H.K. was not unique in this confusion of dialects. Such language idiosyncrasies are

also illustrated in the writing of Matiaha Tiramorehu (a well-known literate Ngāi Tahu leader of the generation before H.K.)

The waiata that H.K. includes at the end of this text is most probably a song from another tribal area. It appears in a number of written works, including Sir George Grey's collection of poems, traditions and chants. In Grey's collection this waiata is the first of three verses and it is written differently to that in H.K.'s excerpt.³⁶ The inclusion of this waiata illustrates H.K.'s propensity for crafting a text. The waiata is an analogous example supporting his discussion, not unlike including a Shakespearean or scriptural quotation to reinforce a point or argument in an English text.

H.K. was one of the first southern Māori leaders born on the cusp of a merging European and Māori society. Simply because of his intellectual and linguistic capacity, he could be heard in the most senior level of Māori society and in the new colonial parliament. His command of the English language was impressive; however, the legacy of his written work in Māori is immeasurable because it not only illustrates layers of insight from a past Māori world view but it also contributes to developing a broader history about H.K. and his world.

Tame Parata also straddled worlds. In an obituary written on Tame Parata on 8 March, 1917, it was stated that he spoke English equally as fluently as he did the language of his native race.³⁷ Earlier, in 1878, an *Otago Daily Times* account of Parata characterized him as having 'never received any education in English, but he reads and writes the Maori language, and is naturally a man of intelligence, sound judgment, honesty, and energy'.³⁸ Parata's son stressed his father's strong command of language: 'He is a very intelligent man and speaks English as fluently as he does his own language and thoroughly understands European customs and politics as much as any Pakeha (European)'.³⁹ It is probable that Parata was educated on Ruapuke Island under the instruction of Reverend Wohlers,⁴⁰ as he did not leave the island until he was at least 16 years old. A newspaper article written in 1878 on the Native Land Commission at Kaiapoi stated that Parata provided evidence. Parata claimed: "'I live at Waikouaiti, I came there ten years after Mr Kemp was there. I was sixteen or seventeen years of age at the time. It is my home.'"⁴¹

Literacy and education were a means to success; however, Parata and H.K. were ultimately able to use their literacy skills in English and Māori to fight the injustices of the Crown on their people. Ballantyne's work on literacy and native agency has provided a different lens through which to view nineteenth-century colonial power in the South Island. Ballantyne states: 'In such contexts, where colonial rulers stressed the value of education

and upheld liberty as an ideal (albeit a distant one), literacy and print were powerful anti-colonial weapons because they were deeply valued by the British Protestant tradition and were closely associated with liberty itself.⁴²

Te Kerēme / The Claim

Although H.K. and Parata were connected by whakapapa, they were also drawn together in an intense political arena as they developed their ability to argue in both languages to forward the interests of their communities. H.K. and then Parata served as Members of Parliament for Southern Māori and the urgency of the Ngāi Tahu claim drove their politics.⁴³

Parata married a Kāi Tahu woman who came from the Taieri Mouth and they had ten children. Parata was a successful farmer in Karitāne⁴⁴ before being elected as a Southern Māori Member of Parliament.⁴⁵ In 1881 Judge Alexander Mackay described Waikouaiti⁴⁶ under Parata’s leadership as the only thriving settlement amongst those in the lower South Island. He stated that the ‘improved condition of these people is mainly attributable to the example and energy displayed by a half-caste named Tame Parata’.⁴⁷ Parata not only worked hard to improve the material base of his people, but also directed his astute leadership and political clout to claim justice for his people over land

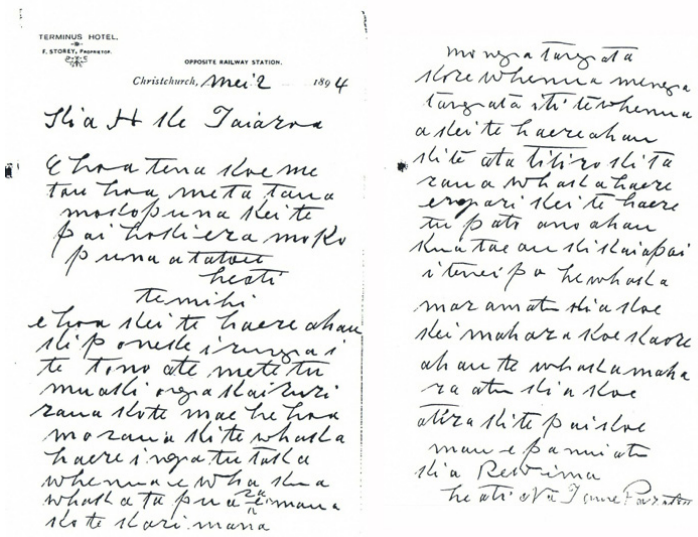


Figure 3: Tame Parata, Letter to H.K. Taiaroa, May 2, 1894

Source: Tame Parata, unpublished manuscripts, c. 1880–1895, private collection, Waikouaiti

grievances. The following letter is a fine example of a political letter of the time and the language reflects this. Parata wrote this letter, dated May 2, 1894, to H.K. Tairaroa. He starts with an affectionate enquiry about their grandchildren, as Parata's daughter and H.K.'s son are married with children:

The transcription is below:

Mei 2 1894

Kia H K Tairaroa

E hoa tena koe me tau hoa me ta taua mokopuna

Kei te pai hoki era mokopuna a tatou

Heoti te mihi

e hoa kei te haere ahau ki poneke i runga i te tono a te mete

tumuaki i nga kairuri raua ko te mae he hoa mo raua ki te whakahaere i nga tutuku

whenua e wha kua whakatupua ra e maua ko te Karimana mo nga tangata

kore whenua me nga tangata iti he whenua a Kei te haere ahau ki te ata titiro ki

ta raua whakahaere engari Kei te haere tupato ano ahau Kua tae au ki Kaiapoi i tenei po he

whakamaramatanga ki a koe kaore ahau te whakamahara atu ki a koe otira ki te pai koe mau e

panui atu ki a Reitima

heoti era Tame Parata

This is my translation of the text:⁴⁸

May 2 1894

To H K Tairaroa

Dear friend

Greetings to you, your wife and our grandchild. It is wonderful having shared grandchildren, therefore greetings.

My friend, I am going to Wellington tonight requested by S Percy Smith, the Land Surveyor General, and Mackay, an associate of theirs, to organize the distribution of the four land areas that Cadman and I raised for landless natives and those natives with minimal land. Furthermore, I will make a considered observation of their process, but I will tread carefully. I have arrived in Kaiapoi tonight and I am informing you of this so that you are not taken unaware. In conclusion, could you let Reitima know?

Yours faithfully

Tame Parata

In this letter Parata calls Smith 'Te Mete', and this name was referred to in many other writings. He was also meeting Judge Alexander Mackay ('Te Make')⁴⁹ to observe their process of distributing particular land to landless natives within the southern Kāi Tahu area. Parata concludes his letter by asking HK to inform Reitima of his intent. Despite an extensive search it is inconclusive who Reitima is. Paerau Warbrick suggests that Reitima could be

a transliteration for Major Richmond (Meiha Reitima / Meiha Retimana),⁵⁰ however, the transliteration from Reitima to Richmond in this letter is not certain.⁵¹

The letter is about Crown acquisitions of large tracts of Kāi Tahu lands from the 1840s, in which promises of reserves to be made to Ngāi Tahu were never kept. By the time Parata wrote his letter, Kāi Tahu leaders had taken numerous futile complaints to the Crown. From 1879 to 1880 the Smith-Nairn Commission⁵² enquired into the 'Middle Island Native Land Question', but a change of government prevented the commission from completing their work. In 1886 the Royal Commissioner, Judge Alexander Mackay, was charged with enquiring into the 'Middle Island Native Land Question' and he found that there was insufficient land available for the Natives based on the original principles in acquiring the Middle Island. He suggested establishing a fund that would support important initiatives for Kāi Tahu, such as establishing schools, providing medical aid and facilitating the drainage of land. Mackay also recommended that 50-acre blocks of land per head be set aside for each landless Kāi Tahu individual. In 1888 a Joint Middle Island Native Claims Committee was appointed by the House of Representatives and the Legislative Council to consider Mackay's report. In 1890 it was recommended that a similar committee be appointed to consider the various Native claims. There were some very strong objections to Mackay's report, including that of prominent Canterbury settler and politician William Rolleston, who asserted that all he would wish for was that Kāi Tahu would become industrial labourers.⁵³

In 1889 a further joint Committee on Middle Island Native Claims was charged with completing the work of their 1888 predecessor. This committee's findings were inconsistent with those of the previous committee, and it was recommended that a careful enquiry be made into the condition of the Kāi Tahu people. In 1890 another investigation was arranged that was solely concerned with the Ōtākou purchase. Judge Alexander Mackay was appointed again in 1890 to inquire into the position of the Kāi Tahu people, despite his previous report having been largely ignored. Mackay's significant findings on the state of Kāi Tahu were presented after this new investigation.⁵⁴ His report revealed that 90% of Kāi Tahu possessed either no land or insufficient land. Furthermore, of the 10% who owned more than 50 acres, few could make a living due to the poor quality of the land. These findings gave Māori politicians like Parata evidence to advocate on behalf of their people and protest successive governments' failure to deliver on past promises. Parata pressed the Native Minister of the time, A.J. Cadman (known to Māori as 'Karimana') to respond. There was no immediate response from Cadman,

but in December 1892 he came to Ōtākou to meet Kāi Tahu at Taiaroa Heads. At this meeting Cadman suggested that specific Crown lands could be made available to landless or near landless natives. In the *Otago Witness* the meeting with Cadman was extensively reported. In one part of the meeting Cadman stated that:

... before I leave Otago the proposals I shall make will be in a definite form to give land to the Landless Natives. The land which I have to offer to them has to be, of course, in the only position in which it is available ... I know there are many who want certain spots but they are spots which I shall be altogether unable to give them ... They will understand that what land is available this year may not be available next year, because Europeans are taking it up in all directions, so any proposals I make in that respect they will have to deal with promptly.⁵⁵

In late December 1892, Cadman wrote to Parata about the lands available, with no apparent consultation with Kāi Tahu. The blocks available were at Tautuku, Wānaka, Te Waewae Bay and Stewart Island. These are the four sections of land referred to in Parata's letter ('whenua e wha'). In 1893, Cabinet appointed Mackay and Smith, also mentioned in Parata's letter, to complete the list of landless natives and assign the blocks of land accordingly. The list was completed in 1895. In 1898 a third interim report was completed, and eventually the land was allocated in 1905. The land that was allocated at that time was remote and generally unsuitable for farming or making a living. H.K. himself was not satisfied with the allocation of poor-quality land and made his strong views clear, claiming that Kāi Tahu would accept the land as an act of charity but would not accept it in satisfaction of their claims.⁵⁶ As stated in the Waitangi Tribunal's *Ngai Tahu Report*, the Crown was well aware by 1904, if not much earlier, that substantial parts of the land to be allocated in Otago and Southland were quite unsuitable for settlement.⁵⁷

The language of the letter strongly suggests that Parata was concerned about the underhanded intent of the Pākehā Ministers of the time. One of Parata's main concerns was that John Mackenzie, the Minister of Lands, was taking Māori land and giving it to the landless Pākehā. This was occurring at the same time as S. Percy Smith, Judge Alexander Mackay and Cadman were instructed to give up to 50 acres per head to southern Māori by the Prime Minister of the time. Mackenzie had also introduced a new system of landlords in 1894, which denied Māori the capital to convert their lands but gave land to Pākehā to divide and farm. This allowed 2,700,000 acres of land to be brought by the government between 1892 and 1900. John Mackenzie himself was the product of the forced displacement of people from traditional land tenancies in the Scottish Highlands during the eighteenth and nineteenth

centuries. Tom Brooking states that in attempting to ensure that the horrors of the Highland clearances were not repeated in New Zealand, John Mackenzie effectively dispossessed Māori.⁵⁸

The familiarity between Parata and H.K. is obvious in this te reo text, particularly in the introduction, which acknowledges their familial connections. Parata's respect for H.K. is also clear, as he wants to be clear about his whereabouts and political operations. The power of this type of literacy was pivotal to Parata's political work, allowing him the freedom to communicate with leading politicians and exercise the power that pen and paper had within Pākehā political life. The value of strong literacy in the English language was imperative for Parata to successfully navigate his way in the colonial political world. Parata's writing in English primarily served a political purpose with his Pākehā political counterparts in public life. Conversely, this example of his writing in Māori illustrates an informal style of communication. Parata employed this conversational mode because the letter is between friends and they are bonded through whānau. The language connected them to their origins, naturally intoning affection and warmth. This example of writing not only opens a window on a language that is now moribund but also offers an insight into the world Parata lived in. It also shows the ways in which Pākehā were woven into the Māori world and the linguistic primacy of te reo for these men. This is suggested by Parata's use of Māori names for people, for example Cadman as 'Karimana', rather than the English names that major figures were routinely known by in the world of politics.

Reflecting on the importance of such texts, Sir Tipene O'Regan writes, 'it is important also to bear in mind that the extraordinary flowering of Maori manuscript in the nineteenth century, which came with the adoption of writing, is a valuable and important source. It should be accepted that it was an attempt to record the state of oral tradition at the time, and that, to some extent, it concretises that tradition at that stage of development.'⁵⁹ That linguistic development was shaped by the world of politics: leaders like H.K. and Parata had to move between two cultural worlds and be adept at navigating the conventions of each as well as capable of switching idioms as they crossed between these worlds. H.K.'s political correspondence in te reo Māori reflects his drive and illustrates the burden of the Ngāi Tahu claim he carried. He fought tirelessly the injustices on his people and died before he saw the claim to its end. H.K.'s drive to fight for his people is exemplified in this quote. His statement was made in writing, on the report by Judge Fenton, on the petition of the Ngāi Tahu Tribe. He stated, 'You also refer to the Europeans having brought peace. I reply to that, that I would rather be dead

than live to witness the distress and pain which my people suffer through the deceitful and unfulfilled words of the false-speaking race the Europeans ... but I have not seen any benefit derived by myself and my people from the Europeans. This is what I say: He who speaks falsely to another ought to feel the flames of hell.’⁶⁰

Parata and H.K. fervently corresponded with each other in regard to the politics of their people and land. The letter below illustrates the way in which H.K. would acknowledge the familial relationship between them with the words ‘Na to hoa aroha’, ‘from your dearest friend’, a formulation that would be later use in the correspondence between Apirana Ngata and Te Rangi Hiroa.⁶¹

*Whare Runanga Paremata
Hune 27 - 1881*

*Kia Tame Parata
Tena koe*

*Koutou koto hoa meo tamariki mete Runanga
Ka nui toku pouri moku kaore nei i tae atu ki
koutou Runanga. Koia ano taku kupu kua
korerotia atu e au kia Aape mana e korerotia
kia koutou kua tonu ahau ki te Kawamata
mo teua Ripoa. anga Konihana Kua meo
Kawamata katakua mai kia Oti Isaria te
ta, a tana poukapanaka*

*Kamutu atu kupu i tenei
~~wa~~ wa na to-hoa aroha
na H.K. Taiaroa*

Figure 4: H.K. Taiaroa, Letter to Tame Parata, June 27, 1881

Source: H.K. Taiaroa, unpublished manuscripts, c. 1875–1885, private collection, Ōtākou

A transcription follows:

Whare Runanga Paremata
Hune 27 – 1881

Kia Tame Parata

Tena koe

Koutou koto hoa me nga tamariki mete Runanga. Ka nui toku pouri moku kaore nei i tae atu ki

to koutou Runanga. Koia ano taku kupu kua korerotia atu e au ki a Hape. Mana e koreroatu kia koutou. Kua tono ahau ki te Kawanatanga mo taua Ripoata anga Komihana. Kua mea te Kawanatanga katukua mai kia oti maria te ta a raua pukapuka.

Ka mutu aku kupu i tenei wa
Na tohoa aroha,
na HK Tairaoa

This is my translation of the text:⁶²

Parliament
June 27, 1881

To Tame Parata

Greetings to you, your wife, children and the tribal council. I am personally very sorry that I did not make it to your tribal council meeting. I also shared my sentiments with Hape, he will let you know. I have requested of the Government that Committee Report. The Government have said that they will forward it so that their book can be promptly published.

I will sign off for now,
From your dearest friend
H.K. Tairaoa

This compassion between Parata and H.K. is characterized by the familiarity in the language and reflected the shared responsibility they took for their people.

Tā Momoho ko Akitū / Success Breeds Success⁶³

H.K. and Parata's descendants were successful in the modern world. H.K.'s son Teone Wiwi Tairaoa was one of the first Māori to play rugby for New Zealand in 1884. He was also a champion long jumper and held a New Zealand record for a period of time. His brother Riki Te Mairaki became a member of the 1888–1889 'Natives' rugby team. Perle Winter (nee Tairaoa), the granddaughter of both H.K. and Parata, was the first Māori dental nurse and married Frank Winter, who became the Chair of the Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board. Through the adversity that the tribe continued to face while the injustices behind Te Kerēme remained unsettled, the children and grandchildren of H.K. and Parata exhibited extraordinary success. But with success came loss, as the descendants of H.K. and Parata relinquished specific cultural characteristics in the face of colonization. Māori language was an early victim, as it is unlikely that the language was transmitted to H.K.'s and Parata's grandchildren.

Documents written by Māori leaders and scholars are a doorway into the past world.⁶⁴ The written examples used in this article are simply examples

of a much larger pool of work that remains. These textual archives, which largely remain with whānau in private collections, are a record of the dynamic Māori political and linguistic environment these men lived in and which existed into the twentieth century. Research has only touched the surface of what is a collection of major te reo Māori works by southern native speakers, particularly those with a link to Ōtākou.

As could only be expected, H.K. and Parata wrote in voices that were distinct from each other. Parata's writings regarding the political world of the time are insightful and the fluency of his native language not only opens a doorway to a crucial moment in tribal politics, but also reconnects Kāi Tahu with a dialect that became moribund. His written records are diverse, spanning many genres. But Parata rarely shared his intimate and personal thoughts: these appeared occasionally in letters to H.K. about whānau and mokopuna (grandchildren). More broadly, Parata's recording of waiata and whakapapa illustrate his foresight to retain knowledge in perpetuity. H.K.'s breadth of writing was also impressive, but he was more comfortable writing in a revelatory and reflective manner than Parata. In the example explored in this essay, H.K. writes as if he is having an intimate conversation with the reader. H.K.'s exceptional ability to relay his thoughts in te reo Māori in a familiar way is awe-inspiring. His contribution to Kāi Tahu language archives is exceptionally important, especially in the wake of the death of the last native speaker of Kāi Tahu in 2011.⁶⁵ The words of these raketira are vitally important cultural touchstones as Kāi Tahu communities pursue the revitalization of their dialect. In deciphering the meaning of this written work, moribund nuances, striking phrases, lost idioms and unfamiliar words are uncovered and this contributes to the arduous process of tribal language revitalization. Thus these texts not only speak to us from the past, enriching our sense of history and understanding of this particular te reo Māori dialect, but they might also help our tribal community build a future where a form of te reo linked to our places and histories will be central.⁶⁶

The translations that I have offered here are also included purposefully as another significant source of inspiration for historians, particularly for those historians who are writing about H.K. and Parata. The written Māori words of these men provide an immeasurable contribution to the growing body of historical work on Kāi Tahu, research that has been primarily grounded in English-language archives. In these texts we can see not only the political struggles that have been a defining part of the tribe's history, but also the more intimate aspects of these chiefly lives. Their words are resonant with meaning and capture bonds of affection and compassion, underscoring the

importance of whanaungatanga and aroha in their moment of rapid social change and political struggle.

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NOTES

1 H.K. Tairaroa will be referred to as ‘H.K.’ from this point in the article. He is affectionately known today as H.K. by his descendants.

2 For the purpose of this article the tribal Southern dialect will be used. The ‘k’ replaces the velar nasal ‘ng’.

3 The rohe of the Kāi Tahu tribe extends across most of the South Island, from Te Parinuiowhiti (the white cliffs south of Blenheim) to the southernmost tītī (muttonbird) islands beyond Bluff. Within this tribal area there are many traditional village areas, of which Ōtākou is one. A traditional village (kāika) based at the eastern point of the Otago Peninsula in Dunedin, Ōtākou, originally the waterway leading into Dunedin city, gave its name not only to the kāika, but also to the wider Otago region. According to our people, this was an old name that links back to our homeland, Hawaiiki. Whakapapa confirms that various different Māori subtribes inhabited this area over a long period. The most recognized iwi (tribes) connected to this village are Waitaha, Kāti Mamoe and Kāi Tahu.

4 Puketeraki (30 kilometres north of Dunedin) is the village that Tame Parata resided in.

5 Many authors have commented or written about the Ōtākou area. Some key authors of the past include Canon Stack, *South Island Maoris: A Sketch of their History and Legendary Lore*, Christchurch, 1898; John Boulton in June Starke, ed, *Journal of a Rambler: The Journal of John Boulton*, Auckland, 1986; W.A. Taylor, *Lore and History of the South Island*, Christchurch, 1950; T.A. Pybus, *Maori and the Missionary: Early Christian Missions in the South Island of New Zealand*, Wellington, 1954; Herries Beattie, *Maori Placenames of Otago*, Dunedin, 1944. In response to Herries Beattie’s time at Ōtākou gathering evidence from Māori, Tahu Pōtiki suggests that Beattie spent very little time at Ōtākou. In fact Pōtiki’s research shows that he was present at Ōtākou a mere two or three times (personal communication, 2014). A key text on the archaeology of the Ōtākou area is Jill Hamel, *The Archaeology of New Zealand*, Wellington, 2001. Recent literature on the area of Ōtākou and its history include Angela Wanhalla, *In/visible Sight: The Mixed-Descent Families of Southern New Zealand*, Wellington, 2009; Tony Ballantyne, ‘Paper, Pen, and Print: The Transformation of the Kai Tahu Knowledge Order’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 53, 2 (2011), pp.232–60; Harry C. Evison, *Te Wai Pounamu, The Greenstone Island: A History of the Southern Maori during European Colonization of New Zealand*, Christchurch, 1993; Ian Church, *Gaining a Foothold: Historical Records of Otago’s Eastern Coast, 1770–1839*, Dunedin, 2008; Jonathan West, ‘An Environment History of the Otago Peninsula: Dialectics of Ecological and Cultural Change from First Settlement to 1900’, PhD thesis, University of Otago, 2009. Local authors (by whakapapa or geographically based) have written on the area of Ōtākou, including Bill Dacker, *The Pain and the Love – Te Mamae me te Aroha: A History of Kāi Tahu Whānui in Otago, 1884–1994*, Dunedin, 1994; Atholl Anderson, *A Welcome of Strangers: An Ethnohistory of Southern Maori A.D. 1650–1850*, Dunedin, 1998. Other local historians have unpublished material and are often referred to for comment on Ōtākou Māori history, particularly Edward Ellison and Tahu Pōtiki, Dunedin.

6 See Anderson; Ballantyne, ‘Paper, Pen, and Print’; Wanhalla, *In/visible Sight*; Bill Dacker, ‘H.K. Tairaroa and Te Kerema: Crisis and Leadership in the Nineteenth Century’, in Michael Reilly and Jane Thompson, eds, *When the Waves Rolled Upon Us: Essays in Nineteenth Century Maori History*, Dunedin, 1999, pp.75–91; Harry C. Evison, ‘Tairaroa, Hori Kerei’, from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography: www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2t1/tairaroa-horikerei; John Broughton and Matapura Ellison, ‘Parata, Tame Haereroa’, from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography: www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2p4/parata-tame-haereroa; D.J. Laracy, ‘Tame Parata: South Island Spokesman’, BA Hons thesis, University of Otago, 1980; Tom Brons, ‘Ellison family history’, 2014: www.tomswhakapapa.co.nz/brons_family_

history_026.htm; Lloyd Carpenter, 'Finding "Te Wherro" in Ōtākou: Māori and the early days of the Otago Gold Rush', *MAI Journal*, 2, 2, (2013), pp.105–20.

7 See Anderson; Evison, 'Taiaroa, Hori Kerei'.

8 Ballantyne, 'Paper, Pen, and Print'.

9 Michael. J. Stevens, 'Kāi Tahu Writing and Cross-Cultural Communication', *Journal of New Zealand Literature, Special Issue: Culture of Print in Colonial New Zealand*, 28, 2, (2010), p.130.

10 Hocken Collections, University of Otago Library, Dunedin: hockensnapshop.ac.nz/nodes/view/17141

11 Te Maire Tau and Atholl Anderson, eds, *Ngāi Tahu: A Migration History: The Carrington Text*, Christchurch, 2008, p.178.

12 Tau and Anderson, p.194.

13 Anderson, p 200.

14 This whakapapa (genealogy) includes Tame Parata and H.K. Taiaroa descending to the children of the author and including the author's connections.

15 Dacker, 'H.K. Taiaroa and Te Kerema', p.75.

16 This background information on Te Matenga Taiaroa can be found in Steven Oliver, 'Taiaroa, Te Matenga', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography: teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t2/taiaroa-te-matenga

17 It is possible that Te Matenga Taiaroa met other Europeans between the years 1790 and 1820. The Otago Harbour was active in trade with Pākehā in that period but there are very few records from that time.

18 Church, pp.81–83.

19 Today it would take an approximate 30-minute drive to reach Ōtākou, with a further five minutes to the tip of Peninsula known as Taiaroa Heads. Taiaroa Heads is famously known as the world's only mainland colony of Royal Albatross.

20 Anderson, p.71.

21 Angela Wanhalla, 'Ngai Tahu Historiography', *History Compass*, 5, 3, (2007), pp.802–17.

22 The traditional name for this headland is Pukekura; however, the area became known as Taiaroa Heads due to the chief Taiaroa's influence in that area.

23 Jonathon West, 'Owning the Otago Peninsula: The Role of Property in Shaping Economy, Society and Environment, 1844–1900', *New Zealand Journal of History* (NZJH), 46, 1 (2012), p.61.

24 A. Charles Begg and Neil C. Begg, *The World of John Boulton, Including an Account of Sealing in Australia and New Zealand*, Christchurch, 1979, p.204.

25 H.K. was a Member of the House of Representatives from 1871 to 1879 and 1881 to 1885. He became a Member of the Legislative Council from 1885 to 1905.

26 Tony Ballantyne, *Talking, Listening, Writing, Reading: Communication and Colonisation, The Allan Martin Lecture (2009)*, Canberra, 2009, p.23.

27 Some H.K. Taiaroa papers and Tame Parata papers are in private collections.

28 H.K. Taiaroa had recorded 'Mahinga Kai' word lists in 1880. These were lists of traditional food resources and their locations within the Ngāi Tahu area. Maps and some other details were included in these lists, which were later translated and utilized as evidence for the Waitangi Tribunal and are available publicly. Others who have written about or used this information include Herries Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori: The Otago University Museum Ethnological Project, 1920*, ed. Atholl Anderson, Dunedin, 1994; Jim Williams, 'Mahika Kai: The Husbanding of Consumables by Māori in Precontact Te Wāipounamu', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 119, 2, Auckland (2010), pp.149–80; Jim Williams, 'Food and the Maori', *Encyclopaedia of the History of Science, Technology, and*

Medicine in Non-Western Cultures, Netherlands, 2014, pp.1–8; Rawiri Te Maire Tau, ‘Cultural Report on the Southwest Area Plan’, Christchurch City Council, Christchurch, 2008.

29 Bill Dacker has dedicated the majority of his writings to the life of H.K. Taiaroa without using H.K.’s Māori-language archives or referencing H.K.’s work on ‘Mahinga Kai’: Bill Dacker, *The People of the Place: Mahika Kai*, Wellington, 1990. Harry Evison has also written on H.K. Taiaroa without utilizing H.K.’s extensive writings in Māori.

30 This has been transcribed as it was written. No changes have been made to grammar or punctuation, nor have there been any word alterations. Pōtiki refers to H.K.’s omission of the ‘H’ in the word ‘He’. He writes this as ‘E’. Tahu Pōtiki, ‘Kāi Tahu Dialect’, unpublished paper tabled at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, Christchurch, 2003.

31 Translation by Megan Potiki for the purpose of this article, 2014.

32 ‘Tai’ can be literally translated as ‘tide’ and ‘roa’ is ‘long’.

33 Ray Harlow, *A Word-List of South Island Māori*, Auckland, 1987. Harlow’s extensive research on dialects in te reo Māori distinguished the Southern Māori dialect as unique. Harlow claims that the dialect itself may have an alternative origin to that of te reo Māori in the North Island.

34 Pōtiki, ‘Kāi Tahu Dialect’.

35 Pōtiki, ‘Kāi Tahu Dialect’, p 6.

36 Sir George Grey, *Nga Moteatea me nga Hakirara o nga Maori*, Wellington, 1853, p.62. Grey claims the waiata was composed by Haruru for Kurukanga and recorded as:

‘Ka waia te kanohi, kei te tirohanga atu,

Nga taumata koe, o Whakapaumahara

He manu ko angeau, e taea te rere atu

E taea te hokahoka, he parirau moku’

37 ‘Obituary, Hon. Tame Parata, M.L.C.’, *Oamaru Mail*, 8 March 1917, p.8.

38 ‘Chats with the Farmers’, *Otago Daily Times*, 23 October 1878, p.6.

39 Tame Parata, unpublished manuscripts, c. 1880–1900, private collection.

40 J.F.H. Wohlers, *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, Vol. 14: rsnz.natlib.govt.nz/volume/rsnz_14/rsnz_14_00_001160.html

41 *The Press*, 15 May 1879, p.3: paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=CHP18790515.1.3&e

42 Tony Ballantyne, ‘Contesting the Empire of Paper: Cultures of Print and Anti-Colonialism in the Modern British Empire’, in Jane Carey and Jane Lydon, eds, *Indigenous Networks: Mobility, Connections and Exchange*, New York & London, 2014, p.235.

43 The Ngāi Tahu claim was based on a series of Crown breaches around the purchase of Ngāi Tahu land in the South Island dating back to 1844. The claim took 150 years to resolve: ‘By 1864, when Rakiura (Stewart Island) was bought, more than 34 million acres (138,000 sq km) had been acquired from Ngāi Tahu in return for just over £ 14,7850 ... about 37,000 acres (150 sq. Km) were reserved for the tribe’s use. Ngāi Tahu were left with about one-thousandth of their original lands.’ ‘The Ngāi Tahu claim’, Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014, p.7: www.nzhistory.net.nz/politics/treaty/the-treaty-in-practice/ngai-tahu

44 Karitāne, which is adjacent to Puketeraki, is located within the limits of the city of Dunedin, 35 kilometres north of the city centre.

45 Tame Parata was a Member of House of Representatives from 1885 to 1911. He was a Member of the Legislative Council from 1912 until his death in 1917.

46 Waikouaiti is another village just north of Karitāne within the boundary of Dunedin city. This was known as Hawkesbury for a period of time.

47 Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR), 1881, G-8, 15, p.16.

48 Translation by Megan Pōtiki for the purpose of this article, 2014.

49 This is written as Te Mae in Parata's letter; however, he may have omitted the 'k' in 'Te Make' as Mackay is well known by Māori as Te Make.

50 Paerau Warbrick, personal communication, 2014. Warbrick is the leading Barrister in Maori Land Court matters in the South Island.

51 Searching has revealed that there is a Meiha Retimana, the Superintendent of the South Island (New Munster) at the time of purchase of the wider Ngāi Tahu area in 'Ngā Kōrero Paremete', *Ngā Whaikōrero a ngā Mema Māori*, 1882, p.58.

52 It was the Grey Ministry (1878–1879) that established the Smith-Nairn Commission. They were seen as a bit more sympathetic to Māori aspirations than their opponents in the House. This grouping gained power again in the Stout-Vogel Ministry (1884–1887), which was when the 1886 Royal Commission was established.

53 *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Ngai Tahu Claim* (Wai 27), Vol. 3, Wellington, 1991, p.984.

54 *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Ngai Tahu Claim* (Wai 27), Vol. 3, Wellington, 1991, p.986.

55 'Native Meeting at Otakou', *Otago Witness*, 15 December 1892, p.13.

56 Evison, *Te Wai Pounamu*.

57 *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Ngai Tahu Claim* (Wai 27), Vol. 3, p.1000.

58 Tom Brooking, "'Busting Up" the Greatest Estate of All: Liberal Maori Land Policy, 1891–1911', *NZJH*, 26, 1 (1992), pp.78–98.

59 Tipene O'Regan, 'Old Myths and New Politics: Some Contemporary Uses of Traditional History', *NZJH*, 26, 1 (1992), p.25.

60 Statement by H.K.Taiaroa, MHR on the Report by Judge Fenton on the petition on the Ngai Tahu Tribe (G – 7A.,1876), p.5: nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-BIM872Puka-t1-g1-t2.html

61 M.P.K. Sorrenson, ed., *Na to Hoa Aroha: From Your Dear Friend: the Correspondence of Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck, 1925–50. Volume I, 1925–29*, Auckland, 1986.

62 Translation by Megan Pōtiki for the purpose of this article, 2015.

63 Julian Wilcox, Whakatauaākī, April 2015.

64 Arini Loader refers to the growing body of research on Māori manuscripts in her thesis on Raukawa-Toarangatira manuscripts. Arini Loader, 'Tau mai e Kapiti Te Whare Wananga o ia, o te nui, o te wehi, o te toa: Reclaiming Early Raukawa-Toarangatira writing from Otaki', PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2013, pp.157–63.

65 Jack Tūpae Reihana (Jacko) was the last native speaker of Kāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe and Waitaha. He died in December 2011 at Temuka (a small traditional Kāi Tahu village in the South Island).

66 Several historians have made comment about needing a strong knowledge of Māori language and culture in order to gain a fuller understanding of the Māori world view and past: Nēpia Mahuika "'Closing the Gaps": From Postcolonialism to Kaupapa Māori and Beyond', *NZJH*, 45, 1, (2011), pp.15–32; Rāwiri Te Maire Tau, 'Tirohia Atu Nei Ka Whetū Rangitia: Minding the Past', *Te Pouhere Kōrero*, 5 (2011), pp.7–32; Arini Loader, 'Casting the Net Wider: Native American Literary Nationalism in Aotearoa', *Te Pouhere Kōrero*, 4 (2010), pp.51–60; Monty Soutar, 'A Framework for Analysing Written Iwi Histories', *He Pūkenga Kōrero, A Journal of Māori Studies*, 2, 1 (1996), pp.43–57.