

**Title:** Mahinga Kai in Wairarapa Moana and 5 principles for the Ruamāhanga Whaitua

**Purpose:** To show the importance of Mahinga Kai in Wairarapa Moana to Māori

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## Contents

<b>Key points</b> .....	<b>3</b>
<b>1. Introduction</b> .....	<b>4</b>
1.1 Structure of paper .....	4
1.2 Statutory obligations.....	4
<b>2. Mahinga Kai in Wairarapa Moana and 5 Principles for the Ruamāhanga Whaitua</b> .....	<b>6</b>
2.1 Ki Uta Ki Tai .....	6
2.2 Kaitiaki.....	8
2.3 Mahi Tahī .....	10
2.4 To Matou Whakapono .....	12
2.5 Wairua.....	14

## Key points

- Although Wairarapa Moana has been heavily manipulated through drainage schemes, the mahinga kai values exist and can be expanded.
- Many of the indigenous fish species in the Ruamāhanga Whaitua need to migrate between freshwater and the sea to complete their life cycles. Each of these fish must therefore pass through the mouth of the Ruamāhanga River at Lake Onoke.
- The opening to the sea at Lake Onoke was often closed and during this time it was a valuable site for fishing, and local iwi depended on seasonal harvests of tuna and other fish species for year-round food supplies and for commercial activities.
- When the opening was closed, the waters in the river and the lake backed up and the surrounding land was flooded. This was not beneficial to the Pakeha farmers who grazed sheep in the lowlands.
- When the iwi transferred management (?) to the Crown in 1896, the agreement was that “there shall be a piece of land set aside, so that when the Natives go to fish they will be able to camp upon that land... the Acclimatisation Society shall not come and put their fish into the lake... that would be against the spirit of our agreement to-day.”
- Currently the values of mahinga kai are degraded, however these values can be enhanced.
- Establishing a traditional connection with Wairarapa Moana through mahinga kai values will be beneficial for the wider community.
- The extent of the traditional connection needs to be given to comply with section 6(e) of the RMA (Past).
- The planning for freshwater management requires decision makers to understand the aspirations of tangata whenua (Future).
- The aspirations of tangata whenua are derived from their values and interests both of which should be reflected in the Whaitua Implementation Programme (WIP).
- The aspirations of tangata whenua can move from the current position through defendable development processes (Present).

# 1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to show the importance of mahinga kai in Wairarapa Moana to Māori .

## 1.1 Structure of paper

This paper is split into 5 sections in line with the 5 principles of the Ruamāhanga Whaitua. These sections will look at the significance of mahinga kai in the Wairarapa Moana overtime in general areas of discovery, past, current and future. The Resource Management Act (RMA) that regulates development with regard to environmental imperatives will be taken into account below with these sections, especially with respect to section 6 (e) and establishing a traditional connection.

## 1.2 Statutory obligations

The RMA is critical to the Whaitua Implementation Programme (WIP), so what follows is a brief connection between the RMA and Māori values.

The purpose of the RMA is to promote the sustainable management of natural and physical resources.<sup>1</sup>

Sustainable management has been defined further to mean;

- managing the use, development and protection of natural and physical resources which enables people (and communities) to provide for social, economic, and cultural well-being
- whilst sustaining resources for the foreseeable needs of future generations, safeguarding the life supporting capacity of our environment, and mitigating adverse effects on the environment from our activities.<sup>2</sup>

The role of the Crown (and Her agents) to govern New Zealand was granted from Iwi Māori through the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and as a consequence of this provision Iwi Māori have been included in the Resource Management Act. In section 6, Matters of National Importance, there are two references for people administering the Act to recognize and provide for Iwi Māori and their customs.

- **The first is section 6(e)** - those exercising the law must recognize and provide for ‘the relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, Waahi tapu, and other taonga’.<sup>3</sup>
- **Section 6 (g)** and recognizes the role that local and regional authorities have in ‘recognising and providing for the protection of recognized customary activities’.<sup>4</sup>
- **Section 7(a)** ‘managers’ shall have particular regard to Kaitiakitanga.
- **Section 8**, ‘managers’ shall take into account the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi
- Within the RMA Iwi Māori and/or the mandated Iwi authority is mentioned a number of times which are additional ways in which Iwi Māori are able to become engaged with the management of our natural resources

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<sup>1</sup> Resource Management Act 1991 (as at Dec. 2010) section 5(1)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid section 5 (2)

<sup>3</sup> Ibid section 6 (e)

<sup>4</sup> Ibid section 6 (g)

mahinga kai, “the customary gathering of food and natural materials, the food and resources themselves and the places where those resources are gathered,”<sup>5</sup> came in the valuable stocks of birds, fish and plants. The birds of greatest interest to Māori with respect to mahinga kai were ducks and kereru. While kereru came to Wairarapa Moana, they were more associated with the bush areas of the mountains. There is strong evidence of extensive horticulture, but mahinga kai is usually associated with extracting kai from naturally occurring sources of food. The food source most strongly associated with Wairarapa Moana is fish, specifically eels, both long fin and short fin eels.

Wairarapa Moana consists of Lake Onoke, Lake Wairarapa, the edge wetlands and the stretch of the Ruamāhanga River that connected them. While this area has been heavily manipulated through drainage schemes the mahinga values exist and can be expanded on in today’s Wairarapa Moana.

In the **National Policy Statement for Fresh Water Management** the objective of tangata whenua roles and interests are:

*To provide for the involvement of iwi and hapū, and to ensure that tāngata whenua values and interests are identified and reflected in the management of fresh water including associated ecosystems, and decision-making regarding freshwater planning, including on how all other objectives of this national policy statement are given effect to.*<sup>6</sup>

The Whaitua Implementation Programme (WIP) is required to follow the requirements given above. This paper will outline these considerations.

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<sup>5</sup> Greater Wellington Regional Council, Draft Regional Plan

<sup>6</sup> Ministry for the Environment, National Policy Statement for Freshwater Management, Section D

## 2. Mahinga Kai in Wairarapa Moana and 5 Principles for the Ruamāhanga Whaitua

### 2.1 Ki Uta Ki Tai: Wairarapa Ki Uta, Wairarapa Ki Tai (From the mountain to the sea, Wairarapa from the mountain to the sea)

*He taura whiri kotahi mai ano. Te kopunga tai no I te pu au.*

**From the source to the mouth of the sea, all things are joined together as one.**

*While Wairarapa Moana is one specific place, it connects with the headwaters of the northern parts of the whaitua through the four species of upland indigenous fish and, the long fin eel migrating to these head water locations.*

#### Past

Hinurangi is a Wairarapa Māori term for flooding. Traditionally the waters throughout the whaitua would lead to flooding especially when the mouth of Lake Onoke was closed. The attenuation are for flood waters was Wairarapa Moana. The size of the freshwater fishery would increase, but other consequences of flooding would contribute to the quality of the freshwater fishery like the increase of tree litter in the water; the forming of new habitat in the form of deeper holes in the waterways. Adapting to the seasonal ebb and flow of the waterways is what Wairarapa Māori learnt to do as they understood the mahinga kai landscape around them.

In a hearing into Wairarapa Moana expert evidence was given about the state of the fishery at Wairarapa Moana, but it should be remembered that these fish came from throughout the Ruamāhanga Whaitua. According to one of these experts, Te Whatahoro:

*“The hao, te heko, and kokoputuna description of eels could not be caught until the lake was closed, and then these were obtainable only at the mouth; the other kind could be got at any time. As the flood-water ascended the creeks, the Natives placed their baskets in these creeks; but, on the water rising above a certain level, the hinakis were of no service. After this the system followed was to make dams to catch them. Large quantities of the kind called te hao and kapakopako were dried and stored for several years, two and three years together. The whitebait and kokopu were also dried, and kept for several years”.<sup>7</sup>*

#### Current

Wairarapa Moana’s location can be viewed as a gateway to the rest of the Ruamāhanga Whaitua especially with respect to freshwater fish. The Ruamahanga River via Lake Onoke provides the sole migrational pathway for our native fish species for the Wairarapa valley river system. This dependence on the Ruamahanga River and the opening of Lake Onoke to the sea underpins the essential value of ‘ki uta ki tai’ (from the mountains to the sea) which is of paramount importance to Iwi Māori . All stream and river systems within the scope of this project rely on this physical connection of the Ruamahanga River to provide the migrational highway for our native and sometimes endemic species to complete their lifecycle.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Mackay, ‘Claims of Natives’, p 19

<sup>8</sup> Royal, Caleb; Cultural Values for Wairarapa Waterways; Produced by Ohau Plants Ltd For Greater Wellington Regional Council; November 2011, pg 12

“One important characteristic of our freshwater fish fauna that needs to be understood is that half of the species spend a significant part of their life histories in the sea.”<sup>9</sup>

The significance of the migrational pathway that the Ruamahanga River plays is crucial with a large proportion (16 of the 20) of native freshwater fish species that occur in the whaitua rely on this connection to the sea to complete their lifecycle. If the connection to the sea ceases to exist, so too will the native fish species found in the waterways of Wairarapa.<sup>10</sup> The values in the Upper Ruamāhanga, such as mahinga kai are dependent on the connection of the Ruamahanga River with Lake Onoke, and the sea.

## Future

The Waitangi Tribunal recommended<sup>11</sup> the return to Wairarapa Māori ownership of the bed of Wairarapa Moana. In doing so they further recommended work with tangata whenua to design a special arrangement for management and control of Wairarapa Moana (including Lake Wairarapa, Lake Ōnoke, and such of their surrounds that are not in private ownership). As Wairarapa Moana is down stream of the Ruamāhanga Whaitua, decisions made in the rest of the whaitua will affect some aspects of future management of the moana.

The iwi would particularly like to see the restoration of the Wairarapa eel fishery (Te Whaiti 2007 pers. comm.). Wairarapa Moana (Lake Wairarapa) is used extensively by tangata whenua for food gathering.

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<sup>9</sup> McDowall, R. M. 2000, pg 13

<sup>10</sup> Royal, Caleb; Cultural Values for Wairarapa Waterways; Produced by Ohau Plants Ltd For Greater Wellington Regional Council; November 2011 pg 13

<sup>11</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, Waitangi Tribunal Report, June 2010 chapter 15

## 2.2 Kaitiaki - Nga Kaitiaki O Wairarapa Moana

*He wai maru tuna, he wai rakau.*

***Water full of eels, water full of logs***

*A part of being a kaitiaki is understanding the nature of entities like lakes so the treasure is protected and dangers are watched for. Be careful when working in Wairarapa Moana a water system with an abundance of eels and an abundance of logs than can cause damage to waka and fisherman.*

### Past

The deeds of sale around Wairarapa Moana indicated that the kaitiaki of mahinga kai was a responsibility Wairarapa Māori wished to maintain after the land sales. Fishing rights were reserved at lakes Wairarapa and Ōnoke. Of the four deeds transacting the land surrounding the lakes, only the first – that for tūrakirae or the west side – explicitly reserved land for fishing, but there was a common understanding between Māori and Crown that none of the lakeside purchases extinguished any Māori fishing rights. The distinction was that on the west side, settlement would have priority over customary resource use. Eel fishing was reserved but only in ‘such places as are or may not be drained by the Europeans’. That statement was later interpreted to mean that Māori had sold below the flood line. At Tūranganui, on the east side, however, Māori deliberately retained the lakes right up to the floodline, together with Ōnoke spit, which was key to controlling the outflow from Wairarapa Moana, and the eel catch.<sup>12</sup>

The government has always understood the importance of Wairarapa Moana to Wairarapa Māori as can be seen in the following statement made by Richard Seddon, “there shall be a piece of land set aside, so that when the Natives go to fish they will be able to camp upon that land... the Acclimatisation Society shall not come and put their fish into the lake... that would be against the spirit of our agreement to-day.”<sup>13</sup> While this awareness was soon suppressed by political interest, political protest was to put in front of the nation tangata whenua aspirations.

The ‘Māori renaissance’ of the 1970s coincided to some extent with the burgeoning environmental movement. Just as awareness of the value of what had been lost in the natural environment, and of the value of what remained, was growing, Māori were also seeking to reclaim some of what had been lost to them from their cultural landscape. To some extent the focus was on the remnant of Māori land (for instance, the 1975 land march) and on key aspects of culture (such as te reo Māori), but Māori too still had a very strong interest in the customary values associated with the natural environment, and a strong attachment to wahi tapu that endured even on land that had long since been alienated from their legal ownership. They may not have shared the strong preservationist views of conservationists – mahinga kai (wild foods) and kai moana were, after all, kai rather than untouchable icons – but they were even more aware of the importance of maintaining what remained of the natural environment if they wanted to ensure future access to customary foods, such as *tuna*.<sup>14</sup>

### Current

In Wairarapa Moana the local DOC, GWRC, SWDC staff and iwi have been working together to put into practice the Lake Wairarapa action plan for 2000 to 2010. The plan calls for iwi and hapū, as kaitiaki (environmental guardians) of the area, to be involved in any decision that has potential effects on the lake’s wetlands

<sup>12</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, Waitangi Tribunal Report, Jun 2010

<sup>13</sup> Premier Richard Seddon at Tīpāpaku (Pigeon Bush), 18.01.1896

<sup>14</sup> Stirling, Bruce; *Wairarapa Moana Heritage Study* pg 125



Currently there are a number of initiatives in front of the community including the Ruamāhanga Whaitua Committee to develop further the kaitiaki roles. Restoring the mauri of the wetland area is a part of what kaitiaki expect as one of their responsibilities. Restoration projects to restore the balance of nature on the public land are supported by farmers and the wider community, with the Department of Conservation, iwi, regional and local councils working together to protect the wetlands for future recreational enjoyment.<sup>15</sup>

## Future

The Waitangi Tribunal recommended<sup>16</sup> the return to Wairarapa Māori ownership of the bed of Wairarapa Moana. In doing so they further recommended work with tangata whenua to design a special arrangement for management and control of Wairarapa Moana (including Lake Wairarapa, Lake Ōnoke, and such of their surrounds that are not in private ownership) that recognises and gives effect to the status of Wairarapa Māori as its rightful owners and kaitiaki (guardians).

In an interesting discovery by Amber Mc Ewen on behalf of the Greater Wellington Regional Council has been a significant number of Long Fin Eel. “The relatively large numbers of longfin eels found at Hayward’s Lagoon are likely a result of access restrictions to eelers which are imposed by the landowner. This species is declining throughout New Zealand and Hayward’s Lagoon – due to its privately-owned status – is likely functioning as one of very few informal longfin ‘reserves’ in the Wairarapa Moana area.” In the future having Long Fin Eel sanctuaries can be a method used by kaitiaki to look after eel.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> <http://www.gw.govt.nz/assets/Parks-and-Recreation/Wairarapa-Moana/wairarapa-moana-wetlands-park-brochure.pdf>

<sup>16</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, Waitangi Tribunal Report, Jun 2010

<sup>17</sup> McEwen, Amber; <http://www.waiwetlands.org.nz/assets/Wairarapa-Moana/Environment/Wairarapa-Moana-wetland-baseline-fish-surveys-2013.pdf>

## 2.3 Mahi Tahī – Ko te Kotahi o Nga Wai (*Working together – The unity of the waters*)

### *Ko te wai to oranga mea katoa*

#### ***Water is the life giver of all things***

*In order for water to be valuable for all things the appropriate water quality that will satisfy all things needs to be considered. Traditionally water was valued by Māori because it was a part of all things.*

### **Past**

The abundance of resource in Wairarapa Moana meant that mahinga kai operations could extend wider than one hapu group, so the philosophy of mahi tahi was a part of the thinking of Wairarapa Māori here. Prior to the artificial opening of the lake mouth, in mid or late summer, the combination of reduced river flows and prevailing sea currents would cause the sand bar at the mouth of the lake to grow to the point that it blocked the outlet to the sea. This would cause lake levels to rise by up to four metres, and the two lakes would combine into one enormous expanse of water. The area covered by water would increase in the annual floods from 24,000 to 52,500 acres.<sup>18</sup>

This natural flood cycle played a vital role in the economic life of Wairarapa Māori. During the floods, enormous quantities of tuna (eels) – between 20 and 30 tonnes a year – and other fish could be caught as they gathered in the backed-up waters behind the Lake Ōnoke spit.<sup>19</sup>

The abundance of tuna made the lake mouth a perfect place to live, and many hapū had rights in the lakes and wetlands. According to Hoani Tunuiarangi, ‘all the people fished together at the mouth of the lake, but it was a different matter in the creeks and rivers ; each hapū had their own rights to these places’.<sup>8</sup> Hapū of Rangitāne and Ngāti Kahungunu occupying areas around the lakes included Ngāi Te Aomataura, Ngāti Te Aokino, Ngāti Pakuahi, Ngāi Tūkoko, Ngāti Te Whakamana, Ngāti Rākaiwhakairi, (Rākaiwhakairi), Ngāti Komuka, Ngāti Hinetauira, Ngāti Rangitawhanga, Ngāti Te Hangarākau, Ngāi Tūtemiha, and Ngāti Rangiakau.<sup>20</sup>

### **Present**

Overall, *we find* that the Crown’s conduct in respect of Wairarapa Moana and Pouākani prejudiced Wairarapa Māori in that:

- Because the Crown did not grant reserves beside or near Wairarapa Moana, Wairarapa Māori had no base there for fishing or other hapū or tribal activities, nor any presence there as tangata whenua. Their connection with their ancestral lakes has thereby been reduced and diminished.
- Their traditional leaders were undermined by the unavailability, as a result of the Crown’s conduct, of options that would really promote the welfare of Wairarapa Māori – either the lakes themselves, or the reserves that were promised. as a result, leaders were left with no alternative but to lead their people towards options they would never have chosen or promoted had real choice been available.

<sup>18</sup> Crocker, Therese, Alienation of Lake Wairarapa, A Report commissioned by Crown Forest Rental, July 2001, p 12

<sup>19</sup> Document A5 (White), p 33

<sup>20</sup> Document A36 (Kawharu and Poledniok), pp 56–58, pp 72–74,

## Future

One day Wairarapa Māori will return to Wairarapa Moana and fish together from a sustainable resource for the good of all.

### **We will know we're from Wairarapa in the future when mahinga kai:**

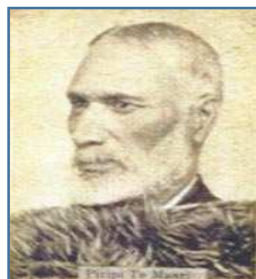
- Is seen not only in the commercial value of our taonga fish species,
  - But in the environmental value of our taonga fish species;
- Is heard not only in people taking kai from around Wairarapa Moana,
  - But in the morning chorus of native birds left for Wairarapa Moana;
- Is smelt not only from the BBQs around Wairarapa Moana,
  - But in the smell of wetlands cleaning our water;
- Is tasted not only in the on Wairarapa Moana confines,
  - But in the food shared with kaumatua;
- Is felt not only on the skin as the slimy eel wriggles,
  - But in the feeling of a community coming together;
- Is sensed at Wairarapa Moana not only when we're working together,
  - But in the sense of solitude that a community loves

### **We will know we're from Wairarapa in the future when:**

- Our Wairarapa identity is associated with the high quality of our waterways;
- Our Wairarapa identity is associated with the high quantity of our waterways;
- Our Wairarapa identity is associated with everyone benefitting from water;
- Our Wairarapa identity is associated with caring for indigenous fauna found in water;
- Our Wairarapa identity is associated with caring for indigenous flora found around water;
- Our Wairarapa identity is associated with agriculture grown on our water resource;
- Our Wairarapa identity is built on traditional values seen in shopping and water recreation;
- Our Wairarapa identity is a water concept that residents understand what visitors want;
- Our Wairarapa identity is glistening water in the eyes of the appreciative, us;
- Our Wairarapa identity is acknowledging our earliest fishing stories;

### **We will know we're from Wairarapa in the future when:**

- Our Wairarapa community includes lifestyleers who value the water that grows their lifestyle;
- Our Wairarapa community is what a parent wants to pass on to a child;
- Our Wairarapa community is what a child wants to inherit from a parent;
- Our Wairarapa community includes knowing the price of keeping our waterways clean;
- Our Wairarapa community includes knowing the price of not keeping our waterways clean;
- Our Wairarapa community values its waterways for quality and quantity;
- Our Wairarapa community polices its waterways to our community's expectations;
- Our Wairarapa community demands the enhancement of Wairarapa Moana every year
- Our Wairarapa community knows its stories and values its stories.
- Our Wairarapa community sets its own rules and champions them



## 2.4 To Matou Whakapono – Te Wairarapa Moana, Nga Tohu o Te Iwi

### *Ka pu te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi*

#### *As a net is worn out, a new one takes its place*

*One way to be more effective with respect to water is to bring new thinking that cater for all water users. Traditionally new and improved ways of doing things extended from the older ways of thinking.*

### Past

Evidence about mahinga kai resources in Wairarapa Moana can be found in the earliest arrivals of people not only to Wairarapa, but to Aotearoa too. Archaeological evidence indicates that land near Palliser Bay, around the southern part of Wairarapa Moana, has been occupied by Māori for nearly 1,000 years.<sup>21</sup> During that time, Wairarapa Moana has been a vital food source for the tangata whenua of the area. *Tuna* (eels) have long been seen as the most historically and culturally important resource of the lakes, but many other plentiful fish as well as water fowl were also obtained from the lakes and the adjacent wetlands. Those wetlands were also a source of plants such as harakeke (flax) and raupo that had a range of customary uses. *Tuna* were important not only as a local seasonal food source, but – once preserved (typically through drying) – also as a tradeable commodity; exchanged for other goods with tribal groups in northern Wairarapa and across Raukawa Moana (Cook Strait) who lacked access to the delicacy.<sup>22</sup>

The natural rhythms of the land including flooding was what Māori in Wairarapa worked with. While in Wairarapa Moana the procurement of tuna was not only essential for kai, but was a source of innovation as Māori sought to improve the quality of life. Standard improvements in food gathering like improving methods of catching fish like improved hinaki, developing pa tuna or eel weirs, trapping eel on the sand bar by digging drains to traps and understanding migration patterns. Improving the storage of the catch through drying and salting eels meant that the seasonal excess could last longer than the catch. This would also allow for trade from stores to as far north as Gisborne and as far south as the West Coast of the South Island. At home Wairarapa Māori could host manuhiri or visitors from the stores of preserved eel.

With Pakeha settlement there was a clash of economies, from one working with flooding to another economy where flooding damaged crops and stocks. Control over Wairarapa's fresh water waterways would become a theme that would dominate the landscape. Starting with raupatu that was a punishment for anger with a settler who moved his sheep away from floods on to native lands to Wairarapa Water Use Project that might dam fresh water waterways the control of waters has divided Māori from their mahinga kai.

From the Māori perspective, the hinurangi (the Māori term for the annual flooding) was an essential part of the seasonal *tuna* catch, and not only were their rights to fisheries guaranteed to them by the Treaty of Waitangi (and in early fisheries legislation) but they had retained not only the lakes but also much of the lowlying land affected by the hinurangi. They had ensured that the boundary of the land sold to the Crown around the lake in the 1850s was at the higher seasonal lake level prevailing

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<sup>21</sup> Occupation has been dated by some archaeologists from about 1050 ad (Janet Davidson, 'The Polynesian Foundation' in Geoffrey Rice (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd ed, Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1992, pp.9-10).

<sup>22</sup> Stirling, Bruce; *Wairarapa Moana Heritage Study* pg 16

during the annual hinurangi, but the Crown presumed to have acquired the land between the 'flood' line and the lower lake level. The lakeside boundary was somewhat muddled (as it were) by the 1855 earthquake, with the Crown also seeking to claim land that was uplifted, but which had formerly been part of the lake bed (or at least land that was lake bed during hinurangi). Long before the situation was clarified, the Crown simply passed the problem on to settlers; selling them land over which Māori claims had yet to be extinguished.<sup>23</sup>

It was owing to the advantages alluded to that the Natives did not desire to dispose of the lake and the fishing rights pertaining to it. At the time the sales were made, the Natives were unacquainted with the use of sheep and cattle as food. The hapus who need to procure eels from the lake were: Ngatihineraumoa, Rakaiwakairi, Ngatirakairangi, Ngatihemingi, Ngatihinetaura, Ngatimuretu, Ngaitukoko, Ngaitehangarakau, Ngaitahu, Ngaitaneroa, Hamua, Ngatimoe, Ngatirnhu, and the other hapus at a distance used to receive presents of dried eels from the hapus in the Lower Valley. Used to send presents also to Napier and to Natives in the Wellington District.<sup>24</sup>

## Present

Six wetland waterbodies located in Wairarapa Moana have been selected to be restored and monitored as part of the Fresh Start for Freshwater Program. Fish are one of the variables to be monitored as indicators of restoration success, so in 2013 these wetlands were surveyed by Amber McEwen using a variety of techniques to explore two different habitat types – open-water and ephemeral.

In total, 1503 fish (including five native species and four exotic species) were captured and identified. Of the large-bodied species, the most numerically dominant was the native shortfin eel, followed by the exotic perch. Of the small-bodied species, the most numerically dominant was the endemic common bully.<sup>25</sup>

## Future

Some indicators of mahinga kai health in the future will be:

- A fish survey in Wairarapa Moana will indicate we have a sustainable fishery to fish from.
- Our old names reconnected to the places, especially mahinga kai places.
- Native fish sanctuaries can be proven in better quantities returning to Wairarapa.
- Community science that includes a place for tangata whenua groups who are kaitiaki.
- Matauranga Māori being accepted by the community, especially the Environment Court.
- Wairarapa bling glistens in our waters

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<sup>23</sup> Stirling, Bruce; *Wairarapa Moana Heritage Study* 2011 pg 16

<sup>24</sup> Alexander Mackay, 'Claims of Natives to Wairarapa Lakes and Adjacent Lands,' AJHR, 1891, G-4, p 19

<sup>25</sup> McEwen, Amber; <http://www.waiwetlands.org.nz/assets/Wairarapa-Moana/Environment/Wairarapa-Moana-wetland-baseline-fish-surveys-2013.pdf>

## 2.5 Wairua – Te Wai Māori Raua Ko Te Wai Ora *The two waters, the ordinary water and the water of life.*

***Tuatahi ko te wai. Tuarua whanau mai te tamaiti. Ka puta ko te whenua.***

*When a child is born, the water comes first, then the child followed by the afterbirth  
The wairua of each part of the process in its order can add life to the whole group.*

The length and strength of wairua associated with Wairarapa Moana through mahinga kai can be seen in the deep history of Wairarapa Moana.

- In reference to Tongaroa, the god of the waterways, the abundance is evidence that Wairarapa Māori around the Moana are being blessed
- As Te Karu o Te Ika a Maui Wairarapa Moana is a fishing site wrapped in a story about a fishing expedition.
- Kupe is another fishing story as he chased a wheke, octopus down the Hikurangi Trench to Wairarapa
- Haunuihanaia, the mokopuna or the great grandson of Kupe, also named many parts of Wairarapa

Kupe, the famed early explorer, named many places around southern Wairarapa including Matakītaki a Kupe ('the view that was Kupe's' [Cape Palliser]), Nga Ra a Kupe ('Kupe's sails', the unique rock formation near Cape Palliser), and Nga Waka a Kupe, the hills behind Martinborough. By some accounts, Kupe is also said to have named Wairarapa when he stayed near the lake during his journeys, and it has been said that the name means 'gift of Kupe'. Kupe's daughter, Mohuia, is reputed to have said to him, "me waiho to moana ko te rarapatanga o ou whatu [let us remain here at this lake you have described, your anchor stone]". Kupe responded, 'E pai ana, me waiho ko Wairarapa [good, let it remain Wairarapa]'.<sup>9</sup> A less reliable version of Kupe's naming has it that he looked at the area from his waka at sea but without turning in his seat: 'rarapa' refers to his glancing at it.<sup>26</sup>

At the investigation into Wairarapa Moana it was clearly understood how the eel fishery was vital to tangata whenua. Alexander Mackay, the royal commissioner who conducted the inquiry, was fully persuaded of this by the evidence presented to him, by many witnesses. In his report, he wrote, 'Eels were a favourite food with the Māoris, and a good eel-fishery like the Wairarapa Lakes is of as much value to them as the banks of Newfoundland are to those who deal in cod-fish.'<sup>27</sup>

Alexander Mackay was able to understand the value to tangata whenua of the mahinga kai part of the lake value even in a different trading system, Kai Hau Kai. This is where making a present of a resource and giving to a group you wished to trade with is how trading started traditionally. The Mahinga kai allowed to be traders, innovators as discussed above.

With respect to mahinga kai and Wairarapa Moana the value added parts of each of the sections above come to a cumulative effect in this section about wairua. Not only was kai important for subsistence, but for trading; for being a good host; for being a part of a mauri ora environment, or to live life more abundantly; to being a part of a collective with the rest of the peoples of the Ruamāhanga Whaitua; to enabling innovation to occur and this is only the Wairua of Wairarapa Moana with respect to mahinga kai. Wairua aspects include much more: a place of learning to what

<sup>26</sup> A. G. Bagnall, *Wairarapa. An Historical Excursion*, Masterton, 1976, p.4.

<sup>27</sup> Alexander Mackay, 'Claims of Natives to Wairarapa Lakes and Adjacent Lands,' AJHR, 1891, G-4, p 5

is now considered a tertiary level; a place where atua are observed; a place of mana and mauri for more than the tinana or the body, but mana and mauri for the whanau, the hinengaro or the mind and for the wairua.

## Present

The process Māori have undertaken with the crown currently can be characterized as moving through the Treaty of Waitangi process of settling historical grievances. Currently government is around the Agreement in Principle (AIP), with one large natural grouping having an AIP with the crown and the other large natural grouping working towards AIP. Overall, *the Waitangi Tribunal find* that the Crown's conduct in respect of Wairarapa Moana and Pouākani prejudiced Wairarapa Māori in that:

- Their mana in and around Wairarapa Moana, and their spiritual connection with the Moana was, if not lost, then dramatically undermined.
- This loss of mana affected their status and identity.<sup>28</sup>

While there is more to mana restoration than mahinga kai, it is a significant part.

## Future

In controlling the flooding, engineering and hydrological decisions were made, but as a consequence the mauri of Lake Wairarapa did not connect with the mauri of the Ruamahanga. The diversion of the Ruamāhanga River to prevent its flowing into Wairarapa Moana must have been one of the most drastic changes. If the moana is the beating heart of the Wairarapa, changing the course of the Ruamāhanga is like draining the land of its life-giving blood.<sup>29</sup> In the future the connecting of the mauri from each waterway will again bring life to the whole of the moana.

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<sup>28</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, Waitangi Tribunal Report, Jun 2010 chapter 15

<sup>29</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, Waitangi Tribunal Report, Jun 2010 pg 851