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Taihoru Nukurangi

**A bibliography of Maori fisheries
in New Zealand fresh waters**

R.M. McDowall

New Zealand Freshwater Research Report No. 8

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in New Zealand fresh waters**

by

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**NIWA Freshwater
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INTRODUCTION

Freshwater fishes were probably amongst the important food resources for Maori from the time of their first arrival in New Zealand from elsewhere in Polynesia, perhaps 1000 years ago. Although the freshwater fish fauna they would have encountered on arrival here was sparse in terms of the number of species present (McDowall 1990), what is known of their numerical abundance, even at the time that Europeans first arrived here during the early to mid 1800s, suggests that some of the species were very prolific, and they were keenly sought by Maori as food. This is no surprise, given the lack of large herbivorous mammals and the absence of highly nutritious grains that form the staple diets of neolithic hunter/gatherers and farming cultures of the world. Obtaining plentiful foods, especially at inland sites remote from sea coasts, would probably have been a major concern for Maori, whether living in villages and hamlets, or travelling through the countryside. It could therefore be predicted that any freshwater fishes available in abundance and/or of large size, would have been actively sought by Maori. Published accounts of foods exploited by Maori, listed in this bibliography, are consistent with such claims concerning the importance to Maori of freshwater fishes.

The New Zealand Government has obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi for resources of cultural and economic value to Maori, and these include freshwater fishes. For this reason it is of considerable importance that documentary evidence of the significance of these fishes to Maori should be readily accessible. In the past, we have tended to depend on relatively few important sources of Maori knowledge (e.g. Best 1903 1929; Buck 1921, 1926; Poata 1919) for our understanding of Maori freshwater fishes and fisheries; this knowledge has been reviewed in recent times within the context of modern understanding of the fauna (McDowall 1984, 1990). However, throughout the history of the European settlement of New Zealand, there has been continual mention of freshwater fishes in numerous publications. These vary from misleading and trivial to accurate and of profound significance. Regardless of their value, a great many of these documentary sources have remained unknown to modern observers, and the information in them has remained untapped, and unacknowledged in the more recent analyses of Maori freshwater fisheries. In part, this derives from the fact that studies have been undertaken in discrete, and often isolated areas of knowledge. Ichthyologists and fisheries biologists have worked apart from anthropologists and archaeologists, and all these have worked separately from historians. The extent of this isolation can be seen from a comparison of the present bibliography with a quite

recent bibliography of New Zealand's indigenous freshwater fishes (Richardson and McDowall 1987). The latter, was assembled carefully over a period of more than 20 years (building on McDowall 1964), contains 2012 references, and was thought to be a comprehensive listing of all references to the fauna; but it includes only a small proportion of references to Maori freshwater fisheries listed herein. Yet in all these areas of scholarship — anthropology, archaeology and history — there are significant contributions to developing a synthesis of how Maori viewed freshwater fishes and what uses they made of them. In addition, much of what Maori knew of freshwater fishes has depended on oral tradition, a great deal of which has never been recorded in print.

Maori exploitation of, and involvement with, freshwater fishes has declined over the past 150 years, as more easily available foods brought to New Zealand by the settlers became available (potatoes and wild pigs are early examples), and as some of the native freshwater fishes became much less abundant (or even extinct) as a result of the impacts of deforestation, land development, and exploitation of the fish themselves. While much knowledge of the fish species with which Maori were involved dates from the early 1900s, scientific knowledge of the fishes themselves was much slower to develop, and the present foundations of our understanding of the fauna itself date only from about the 1950s and since then (see McDowall 1990, 1992 for a review of the development of this knowledge).

This bibliography therefore forms a foundation for increasing this knowledge, for developing a synthesis of documented Maori understanding of freshwater fishes and fisheries, and thus establishing a foundation for Government in meeting its Treaty of Waitangi obligations, and for Maori in determining how what is known or recorded about their involvement with freshwater fisheries relates to a modern scientific understanding of these fisheries.

The nature of the references listed in this bibliography varies widely. They range from carefully documented scientific or historical records, to trivial comments in passing. They may have originated with studies of Maori archaeology, anthropology or history. Some have their sources in the literature of freshwater fish and fisheries science. Some come from autobiographical, biographical or historical sources. They differ according to whether they are primary sources of information or are derivative in character; some of the former may be authentic but erroneous, while some of the latter may be rigorously derived but may also involve misinterpretation from either a Maori/anthropological perspective or a scientific/fisheries biology perspective.

Amongst the derivative accounts, some source documents have been republished again and again. The most striking example of the latter has to be the story of Thomas Brunner's epic journey down the Buller River and along the West Coast. This was published in its original form at least three times (see Brunner 1850); but then it was published again, in various forms and guises, by at least Broad (1892), Lord (1940), Matthews (1957), Taylor (1959), Hogg (1963), McClymont (1959), May (1967), and Brailsford (1984). Another notable example is J.T. Thompson's (1867) account of Maori catching lampreys at the Matura Falls, which has been republished (in part or in whole) by May (1967), Hall-Jones (1971 1992), Taylor (1959), and Temple (1985). Other accounts undoubtedly either allude to Brunner or Thompson, or are in part derived from them without giving credit to their source.

There are many apparently minor references, but some of these, when seen together, can combine to make a useful contribution to an overall understanding of what Maori knew about freshwater fishes, how they exploited them, and how they valued them. Much of the material in these many references needs careful interpretation within the context of our overall knowledge of the fauna. Much, regardless of its source and the credentials of its writer, cannot be taken fully at face value. The boundaries between error, myth and legend, individual experience, common knowledge and scientific fact become blurred with time, with the diverse sources of knowledge, and the varied backgrounds of those who document it. But it is hoped that, taken together, the many references listed here will, with careful and discriminating interpretation, provide the fabric from which an authentic understanding of the importance of freshwater fish to Maori can be developed.

All references are briefly annotated with a description of the nature of the contents. Where appropriate, references are described as trivial and/or derivative, or minor, or popular. Description by such qualifiers does not, of course, mean that the entire publication should be regarded in this way. Not all of the minor references are trivial; an example is that Thomas Cheeseman, in his classic account of the flora of New Zealand (Cheeseman 1925), mentions that the stems of the fern *Lygodium* (or mangemange) were used by Maori to construct eel traps, but makes absolutely no other reference to freshwater fishes, though this is not surprising in a botanical text. Other less botanically authoritative sources concur with Cheeseman (e.g. Johnstone 1874). Nor would I regard Anne Salmond's "Hui" (Salmond 1975) as a minor publication, though its references to eels are, in my view, minor, in the context of our knowledge of eels and the Maori.

I confess to having been totally indiscriminating with regard to inclusion of references. Any publication which makes any statement about Maori and freshwater fishes, which has come to my notice, has been included. This is for several reasons. There is some virtue in comprehensiveness. Other observers may find value in references which I could have excluded as too trivial to be worth including. Readers may have encountered references which I had seen and had excluded, and wonder at their relevance in the context of other references listed (and they would have lacked the benefit—or otherwise—of my views of the importance of such references). So the listing is as comprehensive as was possible within the constraints of time and funding available.

Assembly of the bibliography began with references annotated "Maori" in Richardson and McDowall (1987). That bibliography was current up to about 1984. A considerable amount of material was published after 1984 and so was new in the context of the earlier bibliography. In addition, whole new areas of literature and scholarship opened up as having interesting material on freshwater fishes. This applies particularly to the anthropological and archaeological literature. There are fragments of this literature in Richardson and McDowall (1987), but most of it escaped inclusion there, through accident and ignorance and not as a result of deliberate choice. Additional references in these fields were uncovered by various strategies. Many, of course, came to light by pursuing the relevant references listed by other publications which made some mention of freshwater fishes. But others came to light only by chasing likely-looking titles. C.R.H. Taylor's (1972) "Bibliography of publications on the New Zealand Maori ...", though far from complete (from the freshwater fish perspective, at least), was a fruitful if rather laborious source of references. Some authors were commonly productive; anything by Elsdon Best with even a slightly relevant title, and much by Herries Beattie, were typically fruitful. Papers or books by either could be neglected at some risk of omissions. The same is true of Johannes Andersen, while the more recent scholarly works of anthropologist Athol Anderson are of distinctive and high significance. Some journals were highly productive. Early volumes of *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* (beginning in 1868) contain much of value, e.g. a series of rather obscure-sounding papers by William Colenso. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* was a productive source of early material from the late 1800s. In later decades, the primary New Zealand literature of archaeology and anthropology, e.g. *Newsletter* and *Monographs of the New Zealand Archaeological Association*, and the *New Zealand Journal of Archaeology*, were also productive sources

of material. Publications of the various national and regional museums contain works of value, particularly those emanating from the Museum of New Zealand (formerly the Dominion and later National Museum), and the Auckland and Canterbury Museums. Books of a wide variety were scanned. Sometimes obscure index references revealed gems of information; references to "feasts" might reveal accounts of quantities of dried eels assembled as part of the meals to accompany tangi or hui. New Zealanders seem to have a passion for writing regional or local histories - perhaps because our documented history is so sparse and recent. Very often these histories contain general, unsupported, and mostly trivial comments, especially in early chapters with titles like "In the beginning", that report that "whitebait and eels abounded", and so on. But occasionally useful and reliable morsels of fact can be found. I have browsed rather superficially though a great many New Zealand local and regional histories. I have listed what I have found, but have no doubt that some useful material has been missed; I could not carefully read them all. As far as possible, I have pursued and listed what I could find.

Some claims by Maori to the Waitangi Tribunal include reference to freshwater fishes and their value; evidence to support these claims includes many recent and very valuable documentations of historical oral traditions relating to freshwater fish and fisheries, as well as reports of the experiences of living Maori with regard to freshwater fishes. These documentations comprise an important and rapidly growing part of this bibliography. (Some of the documentary evidence presented to the Waitangi Tribunal has not yet been scanned for references to freshwater fish and fisheries.) Increasingly, Maori commentators are seeking a

synthesis of their knowledge based on oral traditions and personal experiences, with historic published sources of information, and scientific knowledge. All three areas of knowledge are valid and authentic; but they are not explicitly discrete from one another, and flow together and merge from time to time and subject to subject. And they may not always be entirely in conformity and agreement. This should be an expected outcome of the different logical and philosophical bases upon which the various sources of information are based. Together, the many publications listed below provide the material by which individual reports can be tested for authenticity and validity.

I make no claim that this bibliography is comprehensive; nevertheless, very much more literature is identified and listed here, that provides information on New Zealand's freshwater fishes and the Maori, than has ever before been drawn together in one place. Given the highly variable authenticity and authority of the many references listed here, use of this bibliography to derive reliable descriptions and syntheses of Maori freshwater fishes will take considerable care and discrimination. That is the responsibility of anyone using the bibliography as a source of publications on the subject. The bibliography is offered as a contribution to ensuring that decisions made about the future of our freshwater fishes and fisheries are as well informed as possible.

Acknowledgements: The assistance of NIWA Freshwater Librarian, Jean Potter, and of staff at Canterbury Public Library and Turnbull Library, Wellington, has been much appreciated.

- Acland, L.D.G. 1951. "The early Canterbury runs complete edition) and glossary of station words". Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch. 472 p. *Discusses and confuses "cockabully, kokopu and Gobiomorphus gobioides"*.
- Adams, M. 1990. Ngai Tahu - a hidden reality. Terra Nova 1(1): 30-33. *Shows Maori trenches at Lake Forsyth to catch eels.*
- Adkin, G.L. 1941. On the nomenclature of the Waikanae River, western Wellington. Journal of the Polynesian Society 50: 232-238. *Disputes the connection of Waikanae with mullet (kanae).*
- Adkin, G.L. 1942. Former food stores (pataka) in Lake Horowhenua. Journal of the Polynesian Society 51: 181-186. *Text note added by Editor from Taylor, 1845, which describes small houses built over water in which eels were stored.*
- Adkin, G.L. 1948. "Horowhenua". Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington. 446 p. *Substantial and very valuable discussion of eels and eel weirs in Horowhenua, and distinctive accounts of storage ponds for eels.*
- Adkin, G.L. 1959. "The great Harbour of Tara - traditional Maori place names and sites in Wellington Harbour and environs". Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch. 145 p. *A few names with derivations relating to Maori names of fish.*
- Alpers, A. 1964. "Maori myths and tribal legends retold". Blackwood Janet Paul, Auckland. 252 p. *Several mentions of eels in Maori myths.*
- Andersen, J.C. 1926. Eels. New Zealand School Journal 1926(3): 81-89. *Relates a Maori legend relating to eels, and discusses Maori methods of catching eels.*
- Andersen, J.C. 1927. Place names of Banks Peninsula: a topographical history. New Zealand Board of Art and Science Manual 6: 1-230. *A number of significant references to freshwater fish, mostly eels, and Maori history and place names.*
- Andersen, J.C. 1942. "Maori place names - also personal names and names of colours, weapons and natural objects". Polynesian Society, Wellington. 494 p. *Quite extensive and important discussions of Maori use of a variety of freshwater fish species.*
- Andersen, J.C. 1946. Maori words incorporated into the English language. Journal of the Polynesian Society 55: 141-162. *Mention of a number of Maori names for fish species.*
- Andersen, J.C. n.d. "Maori life in Ao-tea". Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch. 675 p. *Eels mentioned; many Maori/English definitions.*
- Andersen, J.C. and Petersen, G.C. 1956. "The Mair family". Reed, Wellington. 345 p. *Discussion of koura, whitebait and goldfish, and of the impact of trout on native fish in lakes.*
- Anderson, A.J. 1980. Towards an explanation of protohistoric social organisation and settlement patterns amongst the southern Ngai Tahu. New Zealand Journal of Archaeology 2: 3-24. *Mention of eels in diet.*
- Anderson, A.J. 1982a. West Coast, South Island. Pp. 103-111 in: Prickett, N. 1982. The first thousand years. New Zealand Archaeological Association Monograph 13:1- 204. *Maori use of grayling, eels and whitebait.*
- Anderson, A.J. 1982b. North and Central Otago. Pp. 112-126 in: Prickett, N. 1982. The first thousand years. New Zealand Archaeological Association Monograph 13: 1-204 p. *Maori use of eels.*
- Anderson, A.J. 1982c. A review of economic patterns during the Archaic Phase in southern New Zealand. New Zealand Journal of Archaeology 4: 45-76. *An important paper providing integration of times and places that Maori made use of freshwater fishes, especially eels.*
- Anderson, A.J. 1982d. Maori settlement in the interior of southern New Zealand from the early eighteenth to the late nineteenth centuries A.D. Journal of the Polynesian Society 91: 53-80. *Mention of lampreys and eels.*
- Anderson, A.J. 1983 "When all the moa ovens grew cold". Otago Heritage Books, Dunedin. 52 p. *Discusses chronological and geographical variation in freshwater fish exploitation by*

- southern Maori, based on anthropological evidence.
- Anderson, A.J. 1986a. "Te Puoho's last raid: the march from Golden Bay to Southland in 1936 and defeat at Timaru". Otago Heritage Books, Dunedin. 100 p.
Important description of capture of lampreys; also discusses use of eels in daily economy of Maori.
- Anderson, A.J. 1986b. Mahinga Ika o te Moana: selection in the pre-European fish catch of southern New Zealand. Pp. 151-165 in: Anderson, A.J. (Ed.) Traditional fishing in the Pacific - ethnographical and archaeological papers from the 15th Pacific Science Congress. Pacific Anthropological Records 37: 1-213.
Lamprey mentioned.
- Anderson, A.J. 1987. Food from forest and coast - hunting and fishing. Pp. 73-84 in: Wilson, J. (Ed.) "From the beginning - the archaeology of the Maori". 175 p.
Use by Maori of eels and lamprey.
- Anderson, A.J. 1988. Transcript of evidence presented at the Ngai Tahu Mahinga Kai hearing of the Waitangi Tribunal, Tuahiwi Marae, April, 1988. 95 p.
Extensive and important review of South Island Maori uses of freshwater fishes as food, and the places for gathering them, especially eels and lampreys.
- Angas, G.F. 1847. "The New Zealanders illustrated". McLean, London. Unpaged.
Shows Maori fishing in lakes with seine and tufted pole to scare fish; eel weir at Mokau; kupenga; and cage-like structure for storing dried fish.
- Anglem, K. 1988. Evidence from the Arowhenua area. Transcript of evidence presented at the Ngai Tahu Mahinga Kai hearing of the Waitangi Tribunal. Wai. 27, Document 10: 19-24.
Discusses Maori historic uses of lamprey, eel, inanga, kokopu and flounder.
- Anon. n.d. "The Wanganui River - a scenic, historic and wilderness experience". Wanganui River Reserves Board, Wanganui. 112 p.
Usual discussion of eels and eel weirs in river.
- Anon. n.d. (1993). "The eels that climb over a dam: Matahina dam fish pass". Electricity Corporation of New Zealand, Hamilton. 8 p.
Refers to Maori interest in eels.
- Anon. 1860. Kohimarama Conference - proceedings of a conference of native chiefs convened by His Excellency the Governor on Tuesday the 10th day of July, 1860 at Kohimarama in the Province of Auckland, New Zealand. Journal of the House of Representatives Appendix E-9: 1-26.
Talk of use of lampreys from the Waitara River in barter.
- Anon a. 1901. Extract from Mataura Ensign 28 September, 1901.
Discussion of lampreys in Mataura River.
- Anon b. 1901. Extract from Mataura Ensign 12 October, 1901.
Significant discussion of lampreys in Mataura River
- Anon. 1909. Extract from Otago Daily Times 23 September 1909.
Reference to lamprey fisheries in Wyndham and Mimihau Rivers.
- Anon. 1927. Eel pots fashioned from bark. Journal of the Polynesian Society 36(3): 299.
Describes how an eel pot was made from totara bark, for travellers.
- Anon. 1942. Pioneer of acclimatisation activities: the story of Hatupatu. New Zealand Outdoor 4(11): 27-29.
Discussion of Maori transferring fish between lakes.
- Anon. 1972b. Those Maori fishing calendars - fact or mere moonshine? Commercial Fishing 11(10): 17-19.
A brief and light-hearted look at Maori fishing calendars based on the lunar cycle; authenticity dubious.
- Anon. 1981. "The Wanganui River: a scenic, historic and wilderness experience". Department of Lands and Survey, Wellington. 112 p.
Photos of Maori lamprey and eel weirs on river.
- Anon. 1983. "Land of the mist: the story of Urewera National Park". Department of Lands and Survey, Gisborne.
Mention of fish in Park waters and minor mention of Maori use of them.
- Anon. 1987. The food basket of Rakaihautu: Taumutu. Tu Tangata 35: 28-30.
Discusses fish resources of Lake Ellesmere area, including eels, flounder, lamprey, whitebait and koura.

- Anon. 1989. "Effects of commercial fishing on the fisheries of the Manukau Harbour and lower Waikato River". MAFFish North, Auckland. 118 p.
Very minor mention of Maori eel fisheries in the lower Waikato River.
- Anon. 1990a. Inanga (whitebait). Whanganui Annual Report 1990:39
A brief account of how inanga were caught.
- Anon. 1990b. Access courses seek to preserve traditional fishing skills. Whanganui Annual Report 1990:39
Discussion of traditional Maori fishing methods.
- Anon. 1990c. "1990 Application for water rights: Waitaki River system—hydroelectric operations". Electricorp Production, South Island Hydro Group, Dunedin. 2 vols.
Refers to Maori interests in eels, lampreys, whitebait, and mahinga kai in the Waitaki River valley.
- Anon. 1992. "A proposal: Taiapure (local fishery) east Otago". Kati Huirapa Runanga, Puketeraki. 36 p.
Discusses both traditional and contemporary Maori interest in eels and whitebait along the north Otago coast.
- Appleton, M. 1958. "They came to New Zealand: an account of New Zealand from earliest times up to the middle of the nineteenth century". Methuen, London. 318 p.
Trivial and derivative mention of eels, koura and mussels.
- Armstrong, J.S. 1935. Notes on the biology of Lake Taupo. Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand 65(2): 88-94.
Brief discussion of some usage of koaro by Maori in earlier times, with mention of names used.
- Ayson, L.F. 1912. Rotorua and Taupo trout fisheries. Journal of the House of Representatives, Appendix 3H-15B: 1-25.
- Bagnall, A.G. "Wairarapa: an historical excursion". Hedley, Masterton. 607 p.
Catching, drying and barter of eels mentioned, including role in economy.
- Baldwin, P.E. 1906. Early native records of the Manawatu block. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 38: 1-11.
Mention of eels and eel weirs as property
- Balouet, J.C. 1990. "Extinct species of the world - lessons for the future". Letts, London. 192 p. (transl. K.J. Hollyman; Ed. J. Robb).
Mention of grayling being taken by Maori; derivative
- Barber, L.H. 1978. "The view from Pirongia: the history of Waipa County". Richards, Auckland. 195 p.
Minor reference to eels.
- Barker, F.N. 1973 [1870]. "Station life in New Zealand". Golden Press, Christchurch. 238 p. [facsimile reprint]
Maori bartering whitebait.
- Barnicoat, J.W. Extract from Journal April-October 1884, relating to the survey of Otago. Hocken Library, Dunedin. MS M1/440/1.
Discusses Maori catching eels and lamprey from the Clutha River.
- Bates, A.P. 1985. "A pictorial history of the Wanganui River". Wanganui Newspapers, Wanganui. 207 p.
Illustrations of Maori eel weirs in river.
- Bathgate, A. 1874. "Colonial experiences: or sketches of people and places in the Province of Otago, New Zealand". Macle hose, Glasgow. 286 p.
Early discussion of Maori methods for catching eels.
- Bathgate, M.A. 1969. Maori river and ocean going craft in southern New Zealand: a study of types and change in relation to the physical, social, and economic environment, 1773-1852. Journal of the Polynesian Society 78: 344-373.
Minor mention of eels.
- Baucke, W. 1905. "Where the white man treads". Wilson and Horton, Auckland. 307 p.
Trivial mention of eels.
- Baucke, W. 1928. The Moriori - the life and customs of the Moriori. Memoirs of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum 9(5): 359-384.
Discusses capture and use of eels on Chatham Islands.
- Beaglehole, E. and P. 1946. "Some modern Maoris". Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch. 350 p.
Brief and inconsequential mention of eels.
- Beattie, J.H. 1920. The southern Maori and greenstone. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 52: 45-52.

- Discusses myth of origin of name inanga for greenstone, relating it to river being full of whitebait when greenstone found.*
- Beattie, J.H. 1921. Nature lore of the southern Maori. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 53: 53-77.
Discussion of Maori names for various freshwater fishes.
- Beattie, J.H. 1939. "First white boy born in Otago - the story of J.P. Kennard". Reed, Wellington. 204 p.
Very minor mention of eels.
- Beattie, J.H. 1939. "Tikao talks - traditions and tales told by Teone Taare Tikao to Herries Beattie". Reed, Wellington. 163 p.
A significant Maori description of freshwater fisheries of the Canterbury area.
- Beattie, J.H. 1944. "Maori place names of Otago". Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspaper, Dunedin. 95 p.
Alludes to Maori fish names used in place names.
- Beattie, J.H. 1945a. "Maori lore of lake, alp and fiord - folklore, fairytales, traditions and placenames of the South Island". Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspaper, Dunedin. 150 p.
Reference to eels, and to fish that "disappear for six months" in the Rotorua lakes.
- Beattie, J.H. 1945b. "Maori place names of Canterbury". Otago Daily Times, Dunedin. 120 p.
Alludes to Maori fish names and their use in place names; highly significant.
- Beattie, J.H. 1947. "The pioneers explore Otago". Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspaper, Dunedin. 160 p.
Brief mention of Maori and eels.
- Beattie, J.H. 1949. "The Maoris and Fiordland - Maori myth, fascinating facts, legendary lore, typical traditions, and native nomenclature". Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspaper, Dunedin. 104 p.
Discusses eels, and methods of capture and preservation, grayling, smelt and other species.
- Beattie, J.H. 1954. "Our southernmost Maoris: Their habits, nature notes, problems and perplexities, controversial and conversational, further place names, antiquity of man in New Zealand". Otago Daily Times and Witness, Dunedin. 160 p.
Mentions Maori use of a variety of species - eels, lamprey, koaro, inanga, kokopu, smelt, etc.
- Beattie, J.H. 1956. "Pioneer recollections, mainly of Gore. Fourth Series". Gore Publishing Company, Gore. 60 p.
Again, mentions a variety of freshwater fishes but little of substance.
- Beattie, J.H. 1979. "The southern runs". Gore Historical Society, Gore. 485 p.
Numerous, mostly minor references to Maori and early settlers in southern districts exploiting freshwater fish.
- Beckett, P. 1957. Ancient occupied sites of the Paraparaumu District. Journal of the Polynesian Society 66: 357-364.
Discusses pa-tuna.
- Begg, A.C. and Begg, N.C. 1966. "Dusky Bay: in the steps of Captain Cook". Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch. 240 p.
Reports Maori names recorded by George Forster, naturalist with Cook.
- Begg, A.C. and Begg, N.C. 1979. "The world of John Boulton: including an account of sealing in Australia and New Zealand". Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch. 329 p.
Use of eels by Maori during travels.
- Bellwood, P. 1972. A prehistoric Maori settlement at Lake Mangakawere: Te Rore. Pp. 27-29 in: Goodall, D.M. (Ed.) The Waikato: man and his environment. Waikato Branch of the New Zealand Geographical Society Publication 2. 1-99.
Mention of eels, eel drying racks and mussels.
- Bellwood, P. 1978. Archaeological research at Lake Mangakaware, Waikato, 1968-1970. New Zealand Archaeological Association Monograph 9: 1-79.
Reference to hinaki and other eel fishing equipment, and drying racks for eels
- Best, A.B.W. 1966. "The journal of Ensign Best, 1837-1843" (edited by Taylor, N.M.) . Government Printer, Wellington. 465 p.
Several times used eels as food, in association with Maori and discusses various sorts of eel catching in the Waikato.
- Best, E. 1898. Omens and superstitions. Beliefs of the Maori. Journal of the Polynesian Society 7: 119-136, 233-243.
Omens relating to fishing generally.
- Best, E. 1902. Maori magic: Notes upon witchcraft, magic rites, and various superstitions as practised or believed by the old-time Maori. Transactions

and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 34: 69-95.

Mention of eels.

- Best, E. 1903. Food products of the Tuhoeland: being notes on the food-supplies of a non-agricultural tribe of the natives of New Zealand, together with some accounts of various customs, superstitions, etc. pertaining to foods. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 35: 45-111.
An extensive discussion of foods used by Tuho Maori of the northeastern North Island, including detailed discussions of freshwater fishes; a prelude to Best (1929), see below.
- Best, E. 1904. Notes on the custom of rahui. Journal of the Polynesian Society 13: 83-88.
Rahui in the management of eels.
- Best, E. 1908. Maori forest lore: being some account of native forest lore and woodcraft, as also of many myths, rites, customs, and superstitions connected with the flora and fauna of the Tuho or Ure-wera District. Part. I. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 40: 185-254.
Minor but not trivial reference to eels and eel pots.
- Best, E. 1909. Maori forest lore: being some account of native forest lore and woodcraft, as also of many myths, rites, customs, and superstitions connected with the flora and fauna of the Tuho or Ure-wera District. Part. II. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 41: 231-285.
Minor and various myths relating to bittern, shag and "tue-re", i.e. eel.
- Best, E. 1910. Maori forest lore: being some account of native forest lore and woodcraft, as also of many myths, rites, customs, and superstitions connected with the flora and fauna of the Tuho or Ure-wera District. Part. III. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 42: 433-481.
Adds a little to material in Best, 1903, on eels, kokopu, and upokororo.
- Best, E. 1912. Pounamu or greenstone (nephrite). Bulletin of the Dominion Museum 4: 156-196.
Discusses inanga being the colour of greenstone.
- Best, E. 1916. Maori storehouses and kindred structures: houses, platforms, racks and pits used for storing food etc. Dominion Museum Bulletin 5: 1-111.
- Notes on the catching and drying of eels.*
- Best, E. 1919. A Maori fish trap showing unusually fine workmanship. New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology 2(1): 35-37.
Description of Maori hinaki or eel pot.
- Best, E. 1922. An eel fiesta. New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology 5(1): 108-109.
Brief discussion of Maori lore relating to freshwater eels.
- Best, E. 1923. A Maori korotete, or corf. New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology 6(2): 118-119.
Description of a corf in which to keep captured eels.
- Best, E. 1924a. Maori religion and mythology: being an account of the cosmogony, anthropogeny, religious beliefs and rituals, magic and folklore of the Maori folk of New Zealand. Part I. Dominion Museum Bulletin 10: 1-424.
Mention of eels and some other native fish in Maori myth and legend.
- Best, E. 1924b. The utu piharau, or lamprey-weir, as constructed on the Wanganui River. New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology 7(1): 25-30.
Describes construction and operation of a weir to catch lamprey as used in the Wanganui River.
- Best, E. 1924c. "The Maori as he was". Government Printer, Wellington. 296 p.
A detailed account of traditional Maori culture; includes a brief account of fishing, including fresh water.
- Best, E. 1924d. "The Maori". Polynesian Society, Wellington. 2 vol.
Extensive discussion, especially eels but also grayling, kokopu, torrentfish, smelts and bullies.
- Best, E. 1924e. Maori religion and mythology: being an account of the cosmogony, anthropogeny, religious beliefs and rituals, magic and folklore of the Maori folk of New Zealand. Part I. Dominion Museum Bulletin 11: 1-264.
Quite extensive notes on eels; mention of inanga.
- Best, E. 1925a. Tuho - children of the mist. Memoirs of the Polynesian Society 6: 1-1211.
Mention of lamprey, eels and inanga.
- Best, E. 1925b. The burning of Te Arawa. Journal of the Polynesian Society 25(4): 292-320.
Minor but perhaps locally significant reference to eels and freshwater fish taken at inland sites.

- Best, E. 1927. The Pa Maori. An account of the fortified villages of the Maori in pre-European and modern times; illustrating methods of defence by means of ramparts, fosses, scarps and stockades. Dominion Museum Bulletin 6: 1-339. *Brief mention of lamprey and eel weirs.*
- Best, E. 1928. Maori and maruiwi: the arrival of the first Polynesian settlers at Whakatane. Origin of the mixed Tuhoe tribes. Journal of the Polynesian Society 37: 175-225. *Discusses use of diverse freshwater fish, including lamprey, eel, inanga, koaro, para, panoko and mussels.*
- Best, E. 1929. Fishing methods and devices of the Maori. Dominion Museum Bulletin 12: 1-230. *A detailed and comprehensive account of Maori usage and knowledge of freshwater fishes; an account still not supplanted in any way for either breadth or detail; some inconsistency over scientific nomenclature used makes for some confusion.*
- Best, E. 1975. "Waikare-moana: The Sea of Rippling Waters". Government Printer, Wellington. 110 p. *Provides an account of Maori locations and legends around Waikaremoana, including very brief mention of fish in the lake.*
- Bidwell, J.C. 1841. "Rambles in New Zealand". Orr, London. 104 p. *Minor but early mention of eels, inanga and crayfish as foods.*
- Boubee, J.A.T. and Ingram, J.R. In press. The commercial and recreational fisheries of the lower Waikato. The whitebait fishery. New Zealand Journal of Marine and Freshwater Research *Places Maori in the modern context of the Waikato whitebait fishery.*
- Bowden, P. 1987. "The years before Waitangi - a story of early Maori/European contact in New Zealand". Publ. Author. 169 p. *Brief mention of freshwater fishes and the Maori, but largely trivial and entirely derivative.*
- Bower, H. 1992. Poenamū: the touchstone of New Zealand. Pacific Way 55: 56-61. *Alludes to "inanga" and "kokopu" as Maori names for fish and greenstone; authority unclear.*
- Boyd, M.B. 1984. "City of the plains: a history of Hastings". Victoria University Press, Wellington. 464 p. *Trivial mention of Maori and eels.*
- Boyle, G.D. 1974. "Eels in New Zealand prehistory". M.A. research essay, Anthropology Department, University of Auckland, Auckland. 85 p. *An extensive, largely literature review of New Zealand eels and their use by Maori; tends to be superficial in Maori detail.*
- Bradshaw, T.H. 1988. Evidence from the Murihiku area. Transcript of evidence presented at the Ngai Tahu Mahinga Kai hearing of the Waitangi Tribunal. Wai. 27, Document 13: 21-30. *Discusses historic Maori uses of a variety of native freshwater fish species.*
- Brailsford, B. 1981. "The tattooed land: the southern frontiers of the pa Maori". Reed, Wellington. 262 p. *Many allusions to eels and eel fisheries and the Maori, largely derivative, but placed in context.*
- Brailsford, B. 1984. "Greenstone tails: the Maori search for pounamu". Reed, Wellington. 262 p. *Numerous, largely derivative references to eels, whitebait and grayling.*
- Brett, H. and Hook, H. 1927. "The Albertlanders: brave pioneers of the sixties". Brett Printing, Auckland. 436 p. *Mentions eel fishing grounds of the Kaipara, and the trading of fish.*
- Broad, L. 1892. "The jubilee history of Nelson. From 1842 to 1942". Bond, Finney, Nelson. 205 p. *Relates part of Brunner's West Coast trip referring to grayling.*
- Brown, R. 1988. Evidence from the Waihora area. Transcript of evidence presented at the Ngai Tahu Mahinga Kai hearing of the Waitangi Tribunal. Wai. 27, Document 9: 38-45. *Discusses historic Maori uses of eels, lamprey, inanga and flounder.*
- Bruce, M.E. 1988. Evidence from the Arowhenua area. Transcript of evidence presented at the Ngai Tahu Mahinga Kai hearing of the Waitangi Tribunal. Wai. 27, Document 10: 25-30. *Discusses historic Maori use of a wide variety of freshwater fish species.*
- Brunner, T. 1850. Journal of an expedition to explore the interior of the Middle Island of New Zealand. Journal of the Royal Geographical Society 20: 344-378. (Also published in Nelson Examiner 7 November, 1848; also 1849: The New Zealand Journal 9: 80-82, 90-94, 197-198, also Pp. 257-320 in: Taylor, N.M. (Ed.) 1959. "Early travellers in New Zealand". Oxford, London. 594

- p.; also The New Zealand Journal 9: 80-82, 92-94, 197-198)
Describes first-hand experience of travelling with Maori guides and how they caught eels and grayling; also discussion of Maori use of whitebait.
- Buck, P.H. (Te Rangi Hiroa). 1921. Maori food supplies of Lake Rotorua, with methods of obtaining them, and usages and customs appertaining thereto. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 53: 433-451.
A detailed and authoritative account of Maori usages of freshwater fishes from Lake Rotorua and vicinity; some confusion of fish nomenclature makes clarification of details difficult.
- Buck, P.H. (Te Rangi Hiroa). 1923. Maori plaited basketry. 1. Mats, baskets and burden carriers. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 54: 705-742.
Mention of methods of making traps for inanga and eels.
- Buck, P.H. (Te Rangi Hiroa). 1926. The Maori craft of netting. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 56: 597-646.
Describes how Maori constructed nets and netting, and how these were used to catch various fish species.
- Buck, P.H. (Te Rangi Hiroa). 1949. "The coming of the Maori". Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch. 551 p.
Quite broad and important discussion of Maori fish and fishing.
- Buick, T.L. 1900. "Old Marlborough: or the story of a province". Hart and Keeling, Palmerston North. 478 p.
Eels mentioned but entirely trivial.
- Buick, T.L. 1903. "Old Manawatu, or the wild days of the west". Buick and Young, Palmerston North. 407 p.
Largely trivial mention of Maori and whitebait.
- Buick, T.L. 1937. "The moa hunters of New Zealand - sportsmen of the stone age". Avery, New Plymouth. 260 p.
Mostly brief accounts of eels, grayling, smelt and a few other species.
- Buller, W.L. 1894. The history of Papaitonga; or, a page of Maori history. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 26: 572-584.
Mentions noted eel fisheries in Lakes Horowhenua and Papaitonga.
- Burstall, P.J. 1980. The introduction of freshwater fish into Rotorua lakes. Pp. 115-121 in: Stafford, D., Steele, R., and Boyd, J. (Eds) "Rotorua 1880-1980". Rotorua and District Historical Society, Rotorua. 224 p.
Attributes presence of native freshwater fish in Rotorua lakes to Maori introductions, and discusses their involvement with fishes of area.
- Burstall, P.J. 1983. Trout fisheries - history and management. Pp. 119-131 in: Forsyth, D.J. and Howard-Williams, C. (Eds). Lake Taupo - ecology of a New Zealand lake. New Zealand Department of Scientific and Industrial Research Information Series 158: 1-163.
Brief mention of Maori and koaro.
- Butts, D. 1981. The archaeology of a Wanganui River tributary - the upper Reteruke River. Newsletter of the New Zealand Archaeological Association 24(1): 10-24.
Alludes to swamps being an important source of eels as food; mentions finding of hinaki there.
- Campbell, R.D. 1990. "Rapids and river boats of the Wanganui River". Wanganui Newspapers, Wanganui. 272 p.
Brief mention of Maori eel weirs on Wanganui River.
- Canavan, E. O'H. On eels. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 25: 191-193.
Some minor and largely trivial references to Maori knowledge of eels, eel behaviour and life history.
- Carkeek, W.C. 1966. "The Kapiti coast: Maori history and place names". Reed, Wellington. 187 p.
Many significant references to Maori eels and eel weirs, and also mussels.
- Cassels, R.J.S. 1972a. Prehistoric man and his environment. CONTENTS p. 20-26 in: Goodall, D.H. (Ed.) The Waikato: man and his environment. Waikato Branch of the New Zealand Geographical Society Publication 2: 10-99.
Minor reference to eels, including eel migration to sea.
- Cassels, R. 1972b. Human ecology in the pre-historic Waikato. Journal of the Polynesian Society 81: 196-247.
Discusses eels: trapping in hinaki and use of narrowed channels to concentrate them; discusses

seasons and contribution to Maori economy at times.

Cassels, R.J.S., Jones, K.L., Walton, A. and Worthy, T.H. 1988. Late prehistoric subsistence practices at Parewanui, lower Rangitikei River, New Zealand. New Zealand Journal of Archaeology 10: 109-128.

Significant mention of eels, and also discussion of eel channels.

Castle, H.S. n.d. Reminiscence of early West Coast days. Pp. 41-43 in: Pfaff, C.J. (Ed.) "The diggers' story, or reminiscences of the Golden Coast from Westland's earliest pioneers". West Coast Miners' Association. 156 p.

Mentions Maori woman providing eels as food for miners.

Chapman, F.R. 1892. On the working of greenstone or nephrite by the Maoris. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 24: 479-539.

Mentions eels used by war parties on the move; also inanga as a form of greenstone.

Cheeseman, T.F. 1925. "Manual of the New Zealand flora". (2nd Ed.) Government Printer, Wellington. 1199 p.

Discusses use of stems of fern Lygodium in making eel traps.

Clarke, A. 1977. Maori modified soils of the upper Waikato. Newsletter of the New Zealand Archaeological Association 20(4): 204-222.

Points to historical mention of eels and Maori by several mid 19th century commentators on Waikato.

Close, I. 1991. Eels: are we pushing them to the edge? Forest and Bird 23(2): 10-15.

Mentions Maori exploitation of eels, with concern about status of fishery; entirely derivative.

Coates, G.D. 1976. Management of the wild eel fishery in New Zealand and the Whenua Apanui experiment in eel culture. "Report of the Seminar on Fisheries for Maori Leaders". Centre for Continuing Education, University of Auckland, Auckland. 9 p.

Summarises Maori exploitation of eels.

Colenso, W. 1868. On the Maori races of New Zealand. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 1: 339-424.

Brief mention of eels, including their use in barter.

Colenso, W. 1879. Contributions towards a better knowledge of the Maori race. On the ideality of the ancient New Zealanders. Part I. Legends, myths and fables. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 11: 77-106.

Use of whitebait incorporated in a Maori myth.

Colenso, W. 1880. Contributions towards a better knowledge of the Maori race. On the ideality of the ancient New Zealanders. Part II. Proverbs and proverbial sayings. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 12: 108-147.

Occasional mention of freshwater fish in Maori proverbs.

Colenso, W. 1881a. On the vegetable food of the ancient New Zealanders before Cook's visit. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 13: 3-38.

Mentions use of cabbage tree fibre to catch eels.

Colenso, W. 1881b. Historical incidents and traditions of the olden times, pertaining to the Maoris of the North Island (East Coast), New Zealand; highly illustrative of their national character, and containing many peculiar, curious, and little-known customs and circumstances, and matters firmly believed by them. Now for the first time faithfully translated from old Maori writings and recitals. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 13: 38-57.

Mention of eels at a feast.

Colenso, W. 1892. Vestiges: reminiscences: memorabilia of works, deeds, and sayings of the ancient Maoris. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 24: 445-467.

Taking and drying of inanga and eels by Maori mentioned.

Cooper, B. 1989. "The remotest interior: a history of Taupo". Moana Press, Tauranga. 130 p.

Minor, derivative reference to Maori and inanga, kokopu, koura and kakahi.

[Cooper, G.S.] 1851. "Journal of an expedition overland from Auckland to Taranaki by way of Rotorua, Tauranga and the West Coast in the summer of 1849-50 by His Excellency the Governor in Chief of New Zealand". Williamson and Wilson, Auckland. 309 p.

Mentions bartering for eels, a method for spearing them, and reference to inanga.

Couch, A. 1975. "Rapaki remembered". Te Waihora Press and Canterbury Maori Studies Association, Christchurch. 96 p.

Role of eels in Maori life mentioned.

- Coutts, P.J.F. 1969a. The Maori of Dusky Sound: a review of the historical sources. Journal of the Polynesian Society 78: 178-211.
Discusses Maori use of eels and records presence of banded kokopu.
- Coutts, P.J.F. 1969b. Merger or takeover: a survey of the effects of contacts between European and Maori in the Foveaux Strait Region. Journal of the Polynesian Society 78: 495-516.
Mentions taking of eel and lamprey, placing in the context of community life.
- Coutts, P.J.F. 1970. Archaeological reconnaissance around Lake Manapouri. New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter 13: 178-190.
Brief mention of eels that abounded in the lake and vicinity.
- Coutts, P.J.F. 1971a. Greenstone: the prehistoric exploitation of bowenite from Anita Bay, Milford Sound. Journal of the Polynesian Society 80: 42-73.
Eels taken by Maori up Arthur Valley, beyond Lake Ada.
- Coutts, P.J.F. 1971b. Archaeological studies at Martins Bay. Journal of the Polynesian Society 80: 171-203.
Whitebait and eels obtained from the lower Hollyford River, in season.
- Coutts, P.J.F. 1977. Archaeological studies at Dusky and Breaksea Sounds, southwestern Fiordland: a summary. Journal of the Polynesian Society 86: 37-72.
Minor references to taking lamprey, eels and whitebait.
- Coutts, P.J.F. 1982. Fiordland. Pp. 142-158 in: Prickett, N. (Ed.) "The first thousand years". New Zealand Archaeological Association Monograph 13: 1-204.
Maori use of eels.
- Cowan, J. 1905. The last of the Ngatimamoe. Journal of the Polynesian Society 14: 193-199.
Fishes at Lake Te Anau, including eels, and pa tuna.
- Cowan, J. 1911. "The adventures of Kimble Bent: a story of wild life in the New Zealand bush". Whitcombe and Tombs, Auckland. 336 p.
Various mention of eels and related lore.
- Cowan, J. 1930a. "Fairy folk tales of the Maori". Whitcombe and Tombs, Auckland. 173 p.
Mention of eels and inanga in Maori myth.
- Cowan, J. 1930b. "The Maori yesterday and today". Whitcombe and Tombs, Auckland. 266 p.
Significant though brief discussions of diverse Maori fisheries.
- Cowan, J. and Pomare, M. 1930/34. "Legends of the Maori". Tombs, Wellington. 2 vols.
Whitebait and eels mentioned in various legends and stories.
- Cowan, J. 1940. "Sir Donald Maclean - the story of a New Zealand statesman". Reed, Wellington. 157 p.
Mention of eels taken when travelling with Maori companions.
- Craig, E.W.G. 1964. "Man of the mist: a biography of Elsdon Best". Reed, Wellington. 247 p.
Very important account of Best's life, establishing his place in Maori ethnology and history; minor discussion of Maori and eels.
- Cudby, E.J. 1984. Fishery aspects of the Wairehu Canal hydro-electric scheme. New Zealand Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Fisheries Environmental Report 39: 1-28.
Makes brief mention of historic and current Maori exploitation of koaro from Lake Rotoaira and waters nearby.
- Curtis, C.S. 1964. Notes on eel weirs and Maori fishing methods. Journal of the Polynesian Society 73: 166-170.
Discusses Maori capture of eels and other freshwater fishes in Lake Horowhenua and associated waters, with emphasis on methods and gear used.
- Davidson, J. 1984. "The prehistory of New Zealand". Longman Paul, Auckland. 270 p.
Brief though modern comment on exploitation of eels and galaxiids.
- Day, D. 1981. "The doomsday book of animals: a unique natural history of three hundred vanished species". Edbury, London. 288 p.
Mention of Te Rangi Hiroa taking grayling, but entirely derivative and trivial.
- Del Mar, F. 1924. "A year among the Maoris: a study of their arts and customs". Benn, London. 176 p.
Some apparently original but minor observations on Maori and freshwater fish.

- Diamond, J.T. 1955. The Maori in the Waitakere Ranges. Journal of the Polynesian Society 64(3): 304-314.
Eels and crayfish abounded in the streams.
- Dieffenbach, E. "Travels in New Zealand". Murray, London. 2 vols.
Mentions freshwater fishes in lakes forming food of Maori; includes eels from some central North Island lakes.
- Dijkgraaf, A. and Schneider, M. 1992. Princely puriri. New Zealand Geographic 13: 102-117.
Puriri timber used in hinaki for eels because it sinks.
- Dobson, A.D. 1930. "Reminiscences of Arthur Dudley Dobson engineer, 1841-1930". Whitcombe and Tombs, Auckland. 225 p.
Eels used when working with Maori.
- Downes, T.W. 1910. Early history of Rangitikei, and notes on the Ngati Apa tribe. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 42: 74-114.
Eels mentioned several times, in Rangitikei and Manawatu; mostly minor; published map showing Kaikokopu Lake eel fisheries; relates myth regarding getting eels to fatten.
- Downes, T.W. 1915. "Old Whanganui". Parkinson, London. 334 p.
Minor reference to eel weirs.
- Downes, T.W. 1918. Notes on eels and eel-weirs (tuna and pa-tuna). Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 50: 296-316.
A detailed discussion of Maori names for eels and lampreys, followed by a description of weirs constructed to catch these fish, primarily on the Wanganui River.
- Downes, T.W. 1921. "History of and guide to the Wanganui River". Wanganui Herald Newspaper, Wanganui. 97 p. (Capper Reprint 1983).
Various mention of lamprey and eel weirs in Wanganui River.
- Downes, T.W. 1926. Notes on the moa. Journal of the Polynesian Society 35(1): 36-37.
Suggests inanga, kokopu and other fish eaten by moa.
- Downes, T.W. 1932a. Old stone cut artifacts from Waverley. Journal of the Polynesian Society 41(1): 50-58.
Reports many patu for tuna, and mentions mussels, koura and lamprey.
- Downes, T.W. 1932b. Additional stone cut artifacts from Waverley. Journal of the Polynesian Society 41(4): 312-316.
Discusses possible timber for hinaki and a mussel rake.
- Downes, T.W. 1937. Maori mentality regarding the lizard and taniwha in the Whanganui River area. Journal of the Polynesian Society 46: 206-224.
Mention of eels.
- Drummond, A. 1964. "Early days in the Waikato: a centennial volume". Pauls Book Arcade, Hamilton. 63 pp
Trivial references to eels.
- Drummond, A. 1982. "The Waikato journals of Vicesimus Lush 1864-8, 1881-2". Pegasus, Christchurch. 210 p.
Minor reference to eels and whitebait.
- Duncan, A.H. 1888. "The Wakatipeans: Or early days in New Zealand". Simpkins and Marshall, London. 111 p.
Relics of early Maori eeling at Lake Wakatipu.
- Eldon, G.A. 1991. A miscellany of eely thoughts. Freshwater Catch (New Zealand) 45:17.
Largely trivial miscellanea about eels, including Maori interests.
- Eldred-Grigg, S. 1980. "A southern gentry: New Zealanders who inherited the earth". Heinemann-Reed, Auckland. 192 p.
Reference to Maori selling whitebait in 1865 (ex Barker).
- Ellison, E. 1988a. Evidence from the Otakau area. Transcript of evidence presented at the Ngai Tahu Mahinga Kai hearing of the Waitangi Tribunal. Wai. 27, Document 12: 1-7.
Discusses historic Maori uses of lamprey, eels, inanga and kokopu .
- Ellison, M. 1988b. Evidence from the Puketeraki area. Transcript of evidence presented at the Ngai Tahu Mahinga Kai hearing of the Waitangi Tribunal. Wai. 27, Document 11: 1-7.
Discusses historic Maori use of inanga.
- Elsmore, B. 1989. "Mana from heaven". Moana Press, Tauranga. 398 p.
Relates eels to several Maori myths.
- Elvy, W.J. 1949. "Kaikoura coast: the history, traditions and Maori place names of Kaikoura". Hundalee Scenic Board, Kaikoura. 103 p.
Several largely local references to eels.

- Elvy, W.J. 1957. Kei puta te Wairau: a history of Marlborough in Maori times". Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch. 120 p.
Mention of Wairau canals and their role in catching eels, and some trivial comment.
- Evison, H.C. 1986. Ngai Tahu land rights and the crown pastoral leases in the South Island of New Zealand. Ka Roimata Whenua Series 1: 1-56.
Reference to importance of lamprey, eels and inaka as food resources
- Featon, J. 1863. "The Waikato wars, 1863-4". Field, Auckland. 100 pp (Copper Reprint 1971).
Whitebait, eels, and Maori in Waikato.
- Firmin, P. 1990. Whitebaiting in the 1930s. Whanganui Annual Report 1990: 34.
Brief description of catching and drying of whitebait.
- Firth, R. 1925. The Korekore Pa. An ancient Maori fortress. Journal of the Polynesian Society 34: 1-18.
Eels and kakahi taken from lake nearby.
- Firth, R. 1929. "Primitive economics of the New Zealand Maori" Routledge, London. 508 p.
Significant discussion of Maori exploitation of lampreys, eels, grayling, inanga, integrated into Maori culture and attitudes.
- Firth, R. 1959. "Economics of the New Zealand Maori". Government Printer, Wellington. 519 p.
Includes an important account of fishing practices and fishing rights, and the way Maori dealt with catches, all as a small part of a detailed discussion of the pre-European Maori economy.
- Fletcher, H.J. 1919. The edible fish of Taupo-nui-a-Tia. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 51: 259-264.
Describes Maori knowledge of fish in Lake Taupo, how they were caught, and the uses made of them.
- Fletcher, H.J. 1931. A few of the Maori wise sayings from Lake Taupo. Journal of the Polynesian Society 30: 29-36.
Story about capture of koaro in Lake Rotoaira.
- Fletcher, H.M. 1980. "Tales of early Taupo". Times Commercial Printers, Hamilton. 132 p.
Inanga in Maori tradition - minor.
- Fox, A. 1976. Prehistoric Maori fortifications in the North Island of New Zealand. New Zealand Archaeological Association Monograph 6: 1-74.
Several, mostly minor, mentions of eels, including eel drying racks.
- Fox, A. 1982. Hawkes Bay. Pp. 62-82 in: Prickett, N. (Ed.) The first thousand years: Regional perspectives in New Zealand Archaeology. New Zealand Archaeological Association Monograph 13: 1-204.
Freshwater mussels and Maori in Hawkes Bay.
- Fox, A. and Cassels, R. 1983. Excavations at Aotea, Waikato, 1972-75. Records of the Auckland Institute and Museum 20: 65-106.
Minor mention of occurrence of eels.
- Fraser, T. 1990. Maori and their resources. Pp. 215-218 in: "Climate change: Impacts on New Zealand - implications for the environment, economy and society". Ministry for the Environment, Wellington. 244 p.
Concern about impacts of climate on eels, and Maori exploitation of them.
- Fuller, D. 1978. "Maori food and cookery". Reed, Wellington. 92 p.
Brief mention of eels, kokopu and also carp, used by Maori.
- Galbreath, R. 1988. "Walter Buller - the reluctant conservationist". Government Printer, Wellington. 336 p.
Mention of eel weirs in Lake Papaitonga.
- Garrett, H. 1991. "Te Manihera: the life and times of the pioneer missionary Robert Maunsell". Reed, Auckland. 321 p.
Mention of whitebait season in Waikato.
- Gifford, W.H. and Williams, H.B. 1940. "A centennial history of Tauranga". Reed, Wellington. 351 p.
Several interesting references to eels used in Maori feasts.
- Gillespie, O.A. 1958. "South Canterbury: a record of settlement". South Canterbury Centennial History Committee, Timaru. 507 p.
Several minor but locally interesting comments on Maori and eels.
- Gilroy, P. 1988. Evidence from the Murihiku area. Transcript of evidence presented at the Ngai Tahu Mahinga Kai hearing of the Waitangi Tribunal. Wai. 27, Document 13: 5-19.
Discusses historic Maori uses of lamprey, eels and whitebait.
- Glova, G.J. and Todd, P.R. 1987. "Submission to the Water Conservation Order Application for Lake

- Ellesmere (Waihora)". Fisheries Research Division, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Christchurch. 9 p.
Discusses Maori fisheries in Lake Ellesmere, and particularly mentions exclusion area for commercial eel fishing.
- Goodall, A. 1990. "Ko Waitaki te awa, ka roimata na Aoraki i riringi: a Kai Tahu perspective on proposed development of the lower Waitaki River". Aoraki, Wellington. 92 p.
A highly significant modern synthesis of values of the Waitaki River to Maori, including its fisheries values; refers to lamprey, eels, whitebait and flounder.
- Gordon, M. 1963. "The golden age of Josiah Clifton Firth". Pegasus, Christchurch. 296 p.
Several references to the Waihou River and eels, including removal of snags from the river.
- Gorst, J.E. 1964. "The Maori King: or, the story of our quarrel with the natives of New Zealand". McMillan, London. 409 p.
Early but minor references to eels and eel weirs, mostly in the Waikato.
- Grace, J. Te H. 1959. "Tuwharetoa. The history of the Maori people of the Taupo district". Reed, Wellington. 567 p.
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Brief and inconsequential mention of eels, taken mainly March to April; communal construction of eel weirs.
- Miles, S. 1984. "The river: the story of the Waikato". Heinemann, Auckland. 128 p.
Mention of Maori eel fishing.
- Mikaere, B. 1988. "Te Mahora and the promised land". Heinemann, Auckland. 155 p.
Lamprey at Mautara, and eels, whitebait and kokopu; eeling at Omarama and Lake Hawea.
- Miller, F.W.G. 1961 (1949). "Golden days of Lake County". Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch. 364 p.
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- Miller, J. 1958. "Early Victorian New Zealand: a study of racial tensions and social attitudes, 1839-1852". Oxford University Press, London. 217 p. (Greenwood, Westport. 1986).
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- Mitchell, G.G.M. 1948. "Maori place names in Buller County". Reed, Wellington. 59 p.
Information on Maori traditions of whitebait in Buller River.
- Money, C.L. 1871. "Knocking about in New Zealand". Miller, Melbourne. 151 p. (Capper Reprint 1977).
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- More, D. 1976. "Between the river and the hills: Waikato County Council 1876-1976". Wilson and Horton, Auckland. 383 p.
Mention of eels, including eel weirs and canals near Hamilton.
- Morton, H. and Johnston, C.M. 1988. "The farthest corner - New Zealand, a twice discovered land". Century Hutchinson, Auckland. 315 p.
Mention of eels, whitebait and grayling; some interesting material but all derivative.
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Accounts of Mueller's Maori guides making hinaki and their use of eels when travelling.
- Natusch, S. 1974. The Maori and animals. New Zealand Nature Heritage 1(2): 38-42.
Lists eels and whitebait amongst the foods taken by Maori.
- Newman, A.K. 1905. On Maori dredges. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 37: 138-144.
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- Newman, A.K. 1906. On a stone-carved ancient wooden image of a Maori eel god. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 38: 130-134.
Mythology relating to eel fishing.
- Newport, J.N.W. 1962. "Footprints: the story of the settlement and development of the Nelson back country districts. Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch. 428 p.
Mention of Maori and mussels.

- Norman, W. 1989. The Muriwhenua claim. Pp. 181-210 in: Kawharu, I.H. (Ed.) "Waitangi: Maori and pakeha perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi". Oxford University Press, Auckland. 329 p.
Mentions eels and Muriwhenua; minor.
- O'Connor, K. 1988. Evidence from the Murihiku area. Transcript of evidence presented at the Ngai Tahu Mahinga Kai hearing of the Waitangi Tribunal. Wai. 27, Document 13: 36-40.
Discusses historic Maori uses of eels and flounders.
- O'Donnell, E. n.d. (1929) "Te Hekenga. Early Days in Horowhenua: being the reminiscences of Mr. Rod. McDonald". Bennett, Palmerston North. 207 p.
Important chapters on eeling and whitebaiting by Maori in Horowhenua.
- Oliver, W.H. 1991. "Claims to the Waitangi tribunal". Department of Justice, Wellington. 108 p.
Important review of work of Waitangi Tribunal, including involvement in mahinga kai and inanga harvesting.
- Orbell, M. 1985. "The natural world of the Maori". Bateman, Auckland. 230 p.
Mentions a variety of freshwater fish in the myth and life of the traditional Maori.
- O'Regan, S. 1984. Maori perceptions of water in the environment. Pp. 8-14 in: Douglas, E.M.K. (Ed.) Waiora, Waimaori, Waikino, Waimate, Waitai: Maori perceptions of water and the environment. Centre for Maori Studies and Research, University of Waikato, Occasional Paper 27: 1-94.
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- O'Regan, T. 1989. The Ngai Tahu claim. Pp. 234-262 in: Kawharu, I.H. (Ed.) "Waitangi: Maori and pakeha perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi". Oxford University Press, Auckland. 329 p.
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Mentions role of eels as food in Maori settlement plus modern interest in eel populations.
- Palmer, D. and Goodall, A. 1988. Water resources and the Kai Tahu claim. Ministry for the Environment Resource Management Law Reform Working Paper 29(B): 1-38.
Provides an important summary of Kai Tahu perspectives on the impacts of pakeha settlement and management on important freshwater fisheries, particularly in Lake Ellesmere, but also elsewhere, and including lamprey, eels, whitebait, kokopu and flounder.
- Palmer, J.D. 1982. "Ellesmere, a critical area: coastal resource investigation". Department of Lands and Survey, Christchurch. 120 p.
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Mention of eel weir on Patea River.
- Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment. 1988. "Environmental management and the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi: report on the Crown response to the recommendations of the Waitangi Tribunal, 1983-1988". Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, Wellington. 118 p.
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- Parsonson, A. 1979. The pursuit of mana. Pp. 140-167 in: Oliver, W.H. (Ed.) "The Oxford history of New Zealand". Oxford University Press, Oxford. 572 p.
Mention of eel weirs as property and sign of occupation.
- Peace, M. 1993. Wairau Lagoons: important wetlands under threat. Forest and Bird 267: 34-38.
Lagoons used by Maori for fishing.
- Penniman, T.K. (Ed.) 1938 (1986). "The old time Maori - Makeriti". New Women's Press, Auckland. 352 p.
Quite extensive discussion of Maori taking of eels, whitebait, smelt, kokopu, grayling and other species.
- Petersen, G.C. 1973. "Palmerston North: a centennial history". Reed, Wellington. 254 p.
Several minor, though some interesting comments on eels.
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- Phillipps, W.J. 1925. The black or river flounder of New Zealand. New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology 7(6): 368-369.
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Some brief discussion of Maori exploitation of smelt, inanga, bullies and torrentfish.
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- A detailed listing of names applied by Maori to freshwater fish names.*
- Phillipps, W.J. 1949. Our native grayling. The Public Service Journal Nov. 1940: 711.
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Mentions eel weirs as individual property rights for traditional Maori.
- Pine, T. 1889. A local tradition of raukawa, a legend of Maungatahi. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 21: 416-418.
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Discusses Maori mythology relating to fishes and the use of some, mainly marine species, but also including eels at some length and inanga.
- Polack, J.S. 1838. "New Zealand: being a narrative of travels and adventures during a residence in that

- country between the years 1831 and 1837". Bentley, London. 2 vols.
Occasional trivial mention of eels; also flounder.
- Polack, J.S. 1840. "Manners and customs of the New Zealanders". Madden, London. 2 vols.
Minor references to eels.
- Porter, F. (Ed.) 1974. "The Turanga journals 1840-1850: letters and journals of William and Jane Williams, missionaries to Poverty Bay". Price Milburn, Wellington. 659 p.
Occasionally mentions eels; also mullet.
- Potts, T.H. 1882. "Out in the open: a budget of scraps of natural history gathered in New Zealand". Lyttelton Times, Christchurch. 301 p.
Discusses taking of eels in Canterbury, by Maori, in some detail.
- Powell, A.W.B. 1954. "Native animals of New Zealand". Unity, Auckland. 96 p.
Mention of Maori and eels, whitebait, koura and mussels - minor.
- Power, W.T. 1849. "Sketches in New Zealand with pen and pencil. From a journal kept in that country from July 1846 to June 1848". Longman, Brown, Green and Longman, London. 290 p.
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Lists lunar months when fishing for eels is best.
- Poynton, J.W. n.d. [1913?] The pioneer: from a boy's experience. Pp. 9-15 in: Pfaff, C.J. (Ed.) "The diggers' story, or reminiscences of the Golden Coast from Westland's earliest pioneers". West Coast Miners' Association. 156 p.
Mentions abundance of whitebait in the Grey River in 1867, and Maori selling it.
- Prentice, W.T. 1939. The Maori history of Hawkes Bay. Pp. 17-109 in: Wilson, J.G. (Ed.) "History of Hawkes Bay". Reed, Dunedin. 468 pp (Copper Reprint 1976)
Several references to eels, also kokopu, inanga, mussels; mostly minor.
- Prickett, N. 1990a. Archaeological excavations at Raupa: the 1987 season. Records of the Auckland Museum 27: 75-153.
Brief mention of lampreys, eels and whitebait.
- Prickett, N. 1990b. "Historic Taranaki: an archaeological guide". GP Books, Wellington. 64 p.
Minor mention of lamprey, eels and whitebait.
- Pullar, R.G. 1957. "By Blueskin Bay". Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspaper, Dunedin. 92 p.
Mention of Maori visiting area to catch eels from tidal pools.
- Pullar, W.A. 1975. Notes and queries No. 66. Fish weir discovery, Rotorua. Historical Review: Journal of the Whakatane and District Historical Society 23: 98.
A highly significant though brief and informal report of a fish weir in a stream draining into Lake Rotorua.
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Discusses capture of eels, whitebait, smelt, kokopu and mussels in the Whanganui River.
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Discusses traditional Maori fisheries of the Whanganui River.
- Reed, A.W. 1953. "The story of New Zealand place names". Reed, Wellington. 143 p.
Discusses use of fish names in several place names - kakahi, tuna, and inanga; authority unclear.
- Reed, A.W. 1963a. "An illustrated encyclopaedia of Maori life". Reed, Wellington. 208 p.
Mention of eels and whitebait; entirely derivative.
- Reed, A.W. 1963b. "Treasury of Maori Folklore". Reed, Wellington. 491 p.
Mentions legends involving eels, kokopu and inanga.
- Reed, A.W. 1975. "Place names of New Zealand". Reed, Wellington. 510 p.
Incorporation of Maori names of fishes in Maori place names.
- Reed, J.J. 1961. New Zealand greenstone. Australian Museum Magazine 13: 381-384.

- Mentions relationship between inanga as name for fish and for stone.*
- Reihana, J.T. 1988. Evidence from the Arowhenua area. Transcript of evidence presented at the Ngai Tahu Mahinga Kai hearing of the Waitangi Tribunal. Wai. 27, Document 10: 1-3.
Discusses historic Maori uses of eels and flounder.
- Reischek, A. 1930. "Yesterdays in Maoriland: New Zealand in the 80s". Cape, London. 311 p. (transl. H.E.L. Priday).
Eels hung up to dry; and discussion of eel traps and eels in feasts.
- Repa, W. 1932. The Maori and civilisation: Modern Aotearoa and the Maori outlook—what is the future of the race? p. 80-94 in: "Echoes of the past. Tairāwhiti Maori Association's Research Proceedings 1931-1932". Tairāwhiti Maori Association, Gisborne. 132 p.
Writes of traditional Maori teaching children the mysteries of fishing in rivers.
- Reynolds, T. 1990. The treaty today: what went wrong and what are we doing about it. New Zealand Geographic 5: 32-71.
Very minor mention of eels.
- Robertson, J.B.W. 1965 (1982). Maori settlement of the Waikato District. Te Awamutu Historical Society Bulletin 2: 1-46.
Mention of a squabble over an eel weir at Kakepuku.
- Roberts, W.H.S. 1912. "Maori nomenclature". Otago Daily Times, Dunedin. 103 p.
Discusses place names, and where relevant involvement of Maori names for freshwater fishes: eels, inanga and grayling.
- Robertson, G.J. 1929. "Kohinga: reminiscences and reflections of "Ropata"". Whitcombe and Tombs, Auckland. 322 p.
A miscellany of stories from the lake 1800s, include mention of eels and whitebait.
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Mentions eels and inanga.
- Rogers, L.M. (Ed.) 1961. "The early journals of Henry Williams, Senior missionary in New Zealand of the Church Missionary Society, 1826-1840". Pegasus, Christchurch. 525 p.
- Mentions use of eels and mussels in several places while travelling in the 1830s with Maori guides and porters.*
- Rolston, R. 1948. Results of further excavations at pa-site, Lake Horowhenua. Journal of the Polynesian Society 57: 279-300.
Mention of a mussel rake.
- Rout, E. 1926. "Maori symbolism: being an account of the migrations and culture of the New Zealand Maoris recorded in certain sacred legends". Kegan, Paul, Trench and Trubner, London. 322 p.
Eels and whitebait - derivative and trivial.
- Rowe, D.K. 1990. Who killed the koaro? Freshwater Catch (New Zealand) 43: 15-18.
Discusses loss of Maori fisheries in central North Island lakes and its relation to trout and other fish introductions.
- Rudsen, G. 1888. "Aureretanga: groans of the Maoris". Ridgway, London. 178 p.
Occasional mention of eels; minor historical significance.
- Sage, E. 1990. Mending the holes in the food basket. Terra Nova 1(1): 27-19.
Some discussion of modern Maori exploitation of eels and whitebait.
- Salmond, A. 1975. "Hui: a study of Maori ceremonial gatherings". Reed Methuen, Auckland. 226 p.
Eels in diet; minor.
- Salmond, A. and Stirling, E. 1986. "Eruera - the teachings of a Maori elder". Oxford, Auckland. 288 p.
Relates use of eels in Maori family activities.
- Saunders, J.L. and Taylor, R.M.S. 1937. The dental condition and diet of the Maoris of Maungapohatu village. Journal of the House of Representatives 1937 H-31: 64-66.
Notes that eels were caught locally and refers to dried eels still being used.
- Schwimmer, E. 1966. "The world of the Maori". Reed, Wellington. 160 p.
Trivial and derivative.
- Scott, D. 1981. "Ask that mountain: the story of Parihaka". Heinemann/Southern Cross, Auckland. 216 p.
References to eels and eel weirs; some of significance.

- Servant, C. 1973. "Customs and habits of the New Zealanders - 1838-42". Reed, Wellington. 84 p. (Ed. D.R. Simmons, Transl. J. Glasgow).
Use of kauri resin flares to attract eels.
- Shand, A. 1892. The occupation of the Chatham Islands in 1835. Part II. The migration of Ngatiawa to the Chatham Islands. Journal of the Polynesian Society 1(2): 154-163.
Mention of eels.
- Sharp, A. 1990. "Justice and the Maori". Oxford University Press, Auckland. 305 p.
Primarily legal discussion of Maori fisheries, including those in fresh water.
- Sharpe, C.A. (Ed.) 1971. "Duperry's visit to New Zealand in 1824". Turnbull Library, Wellington. 125 p.
Describes Maori ways of preserving fish, including both drying and wrapping in leaves.
- Shaw, M.S. and Farrand, E.D. 1949. "The Taieri Plain: tales of the years that are gone". Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch. 238 p.
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- Shawcross, F.W. 1970. The Cambridge University Collection of artifacts made on Captain Cook's first voyage. Journal of the Polynesian Society 79: 305-308.
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- Shawcross, K. 1967. Fern roots and the total scheme of 18th century Maori food production in an agricultural area. Journal of the Polynesian Society 76(3): 330-352.
Lake Omapere an important source of eels, during winter.
- Shawcross, W. 1967. An investigation of prehistoric diet and economy on a coastal site at Galatea Bay, New Zealand. Proceedings of the Prehistorical Society 33: 107-137.
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- Sheppard, B., and Walton, T. 1983. Eel trapping channels at Tangimate Lagoon, Horowhenua. New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter 26: 137-144.
An important discussion of sites and methods for catching eels.
- Sherrin, R.A.A. 1886. "Handbook of the fishes of New Zealand". Wilson and Horton, Auckland. 307 p.
Some early but often minor references to Maori names and knowledge; mostly derivative quoting other early commentators; also mention in feasts.
- Shortland, E. unpubl. (ca 1844). Journal of notes kept while in the Middle Island, 1843-44.
Very early references to lamprey.
- Shortland, E. 1851. "The southern districts of New Zealand: a journal with passing notice of the customs of the aborigines". Longman, Brown, Green and Longman. 315 p.
Mention of various native fish, including bartering of eels, and Maori women drying whitebait.
- Simmons, D.R. 1976. "The great New Zealand myth: a study of the discovery and origins of traditions of the Maori". Reed, Wellington. 504 p.
Eels, para and koura mentioned in a translation of J.M. Jury MS.
- Simmons, D.R. 1980. George Graham's Maori place names of Auckland. Records of the Auckland Institute and Museum 16: 11-39.
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- Simmons, D. 1987. "Maori Auckland, including the Maori place names of Auckland collected by George Graham". The Bush Press, Auckland. 96 p.
Discusses eels, and mentions many Auckland place names involving fish, including eel weirs.
- Skinner, H.D. 1912. Maori life in the Poutini Coast, together with some traditions of the natives. Journal of the Polynesian Society 21: 141-151.
Eels and whitebait dried.
- Skinner, H.D. 1921. The Kaitaia carving. Journal of the Polynesian Society 30: 92-95.
Brief mention of eels.
- Skinner, H.D. 1922. The Kaitaia carving. Journal of the Polynesian Society 31: 57-58.
Drains used as eel preserves.
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- Skinner, W.H. 1912. Ancient Maori canals. Journal of the Polynesian Society 21: 105-108.
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Mention of eels taken on Chatham Islands.
- Skinner, W.H. 1935. New Zealand greenstone. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 65(3): 211-220.
Inanga a name for greenstone, derived from colour of whitebait; derived from Best, 1912.
- Smart, M.J.G. and Bates, A.P. 1972. "The Wanganui story". Wanganui Newspaper, Wanganui. 318 p.
Eels and eel weirs in the Wanganui, Waitotara and other rivers.
- Smith, N. 1942. "Native custom and law affecting native land". Maori Purposes Board, Wellington. 135 p.
Discusses role of fishing places in land ownership.
- Smith, S.P. 1905. Some Whanganui historical notes. Journal of the Polynesian Society 14: 131-158.
Discusses protocols regarding capture of large eels.
- Smith, S.P. 1910a. "Maori wars of the nineteenth century: the struggle of the northern against the southern Maori tribes prior to the colonisation of New Zealand". Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch. 490 p.
Diverse freshwater fish mentioned, mostly minor.
- Smith, S.P. 1910b. History and traditions of Maoris of the west coast of the North Island of New Zealand prior to 1840. Memoirs of the Polynesian Society 1: 1-562.
Talks of travellers depending on wekas and eels that they could catch as they travelled; lakes and rivers teemed with eels, silveries and whitebait; lampreys mentioned.
- Smith, S.P. 1913. "The lore of the whare-wananga: teaching of the Maori College on religion, cosmogony and history". Avery, New Plymouth. 193 p.
Eels in Maori myth.
- Smith, S.P. 1959. Notes of a journey from Taranaki to Mokau, Taupo, Rotomahana, Tarawera and Rangitikei, 1858. Pp. 351-386 in: Taylor, N.M. (Ed.) "Early travellers in New Zealand". Oxford, London. 594 p. (originally published 1858 by Taranaki News, New Plymouth. 46 p.).
Whitebait from Lake Taupo; preservation.
- Smith, T.H. 1894. Maori implements and weapons. Transactions and Proceedings of the N.Z. Institute 26: 423-452.
Describes equipment used to take eels.
- Solomon, W.T. 1988. Evidence from the Kaikoura area. Transcript of evidence presented at the Ngai Tahu Mahinga Kai hearing of the Waitangi Tribunal. Wai. 27, Document 7: 1-24.
Discusses historic Maori uses of lamprey and kokopu.
- Stack, J.W. 1878. Sketch of the traditional history of the South Island Maori. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 10: 57-92.
Eels mentioned.
- Stack, J.W. 1893. "Kaiapohia: the story of a siege". Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch. 94 p.
Mention of various freshwater fishes taken by Maori along Canterbury coast, especially eels, smelts and whitebait; mention also of use of eels while travelling.
- Stack, J.W. 1898. "South Island Maoris: a sketch of their history and legendary lore". Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch. 134 p.
Occasional, largely trivial mention of eels.
- Stafford, D.M. 1967. "Te Arawa. A history of the Arawa people". Reed, Wellington. 573 p.
Relates stories of Maori transfers of eels, koaro and other fish to Lake Rotorua.
- Stafford, D.M. 1986. "The founding years in Rotorua - a history of events to 1980". Ray Richards/Rotorua District Council, Rotorua. 448 p.
Alludes to Maori use of fish resources from the lakes, including concerns about decline.
- Stancliff, A.G., Boubee, J.A.T. and Mitchell, C.P. 1988. The whitebait fishery of the Waikato River. New Zealand Freshwater Fisheries Report 95: 1-68.
Discusses role of whitebait in modern Maori economy.
- Stedman, G.N. 1966. "The south Dunedin flat: a study in urbanisation 1849-1965". Unpublished MSc thesis, University of Otago, Dunedin. 332 p.
Discusses taking of eels from swamps formerly where south Dunedin is now built, including weirs and pots, and the drying of eels for winter use.
- Stevenson, G.B. 1947. "Maori and Pakeha in North Otago". Reed, Wellington. 156 p.
Sundry mention of eels and lampreys.

- St John, J.H.H. 1959. Pakeha rambles through Maori lands. Pp. 515-579 in: Taylor, N.M. (Ed.) "Early travellers in New Zealand". Oxford, London. 594 p. (Originally published 1873, by Burrett, Wellington).
Maori taking carp from Lake Taupo.
- Stokes, E. 1977. Te iwi o Waahi: the people of Waahi, Huntly. Waikato University Centre for Maori Studies and Research Occasional Publication 1: 1-22.
Reports of whitebait and eels from Waikato and lakes.
- Strickland, R.R. 1985. Fisheries aspects of the Taharoa lakes and Wainui Stream. New Zealand Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Fisheries Environmental Report 55: 1-48.
Discusses historical Maori use of grey mullet and eel stocks in lakes, the impact of impoundment, and methods for alleviating these impacts.
- Strickland, R.R. 1990. Nga tini a tangaroa - a Maori-English, English-Maori dictionary of fish names. New Zealand Fisheries Occasional Publication 5, 64 pp (unnumbered).
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Discusses distribution of smelt around Rotorua and Taupo and the role of Maori in making introductions there.
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Eels taken and dried for food; mention also of whitebait, bull trout and smelt.
- Tapsell, E. 1972. "A history of Rotorua: a brief survey of the settlement of Rotorua and environs by our pioneers, Maori and Pakeha". Hutcheson, Bowman and Stewart, Wellington. 152 p.
Legend of Ihenga and discovery of Lake Rotorua related; koura mentioned.
- Tau, R. Te M. 1988. Evidence from the Kaikoura area. Transcript of evidence presented at the Ngai Tahu Mahinga Kai hearing of the Waitangi Tribunal. Wai. 27, Document 7: 1-41.
Discusses historic Maori uses of a wide variety of native freshwater fishes.
- Tau, Te M., Goodall, A., Palmer, O., and Tau, R. 1990. "Te whakatau kaupapa - Ngai Tahu resource management strategy for the Canterbury Region". Aoraki Press, Wellington. 183 p.
Important modern discussion of Maori fisheries in Canterbury area, covering a wide range of species.
- Taylor, A. 1984. Think big projects in Taranaki - a Taranaki tribal view. Pp. 19-30 in: Douglas, E.M.K. (Ed.) Waiora, Waimaori, Waikino, Waimate, Waitai: Maori perceptions of water and the environment. Centre for Maori Studies and Research, University of Waikato, Occasional Paper 27: 1-94.

Talks of Maori attitudes towards resources, like water and its relation to fisheries; also mention of eels and lamprey provided in traditional fashion for food on marae.

- Taylor, R. 1855. "Te ika a Maui: or New Zealand and its inhabitants". Wertheim and MacIntosh, London. 490 p. (Reed Reprint, 1974).
Anecdotal but very early mention of Maori and a variety of freshwater fish, including myths and capture methods.
- Taylor, W.A. 1944. "Waihora: Maori associations with Lake Ellesmere". Ellesmere Guardian, Leeston. 26 p.
Discusses role of eels, as well as other fish such as flounder to Maori around the lake.
- Taylor, W.A. 1952. "Lore and history of the South Island Maori". Bascands, Christchurch. 196 p.
Eels discussed.
- Teihoka, M.K.E. 1988. Evidence from the Waihora area. Transcript of evidence presented at the Ngai Tahu Mahinga Kai hearing of the Waitangi Tribunal. Wai. 27, Document 9: 8-12.
Discusses historic Maori uses of eels, smelt, whitebait and flounder.
- Temm, P. 1990. "The Waitangi Tribunal: the conscience of a nation". Random Century, Auckland. 129 p.
Writes of Maori separating and throwing back the female ["mother"?) whitebait; also of the Treaty giving Maori possession of fishing grounds and the mana to control them according to their own custom; and of legal decisions that decided Maori had no special rights to fish for whitebait under the treaty.
- Te Maiharoa, R. 1988. Evidence from the Arowhenua area. Transcript of evidence presented at the Ngai Tahu Mahinga Kai hearing of the Waitangi Tribunal. Wai. 27, Document 10: 39-46.
Discusses historic Maori use of lamprey, eels, smelts and whitebait.
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Discusses historic Maori uses of a wide variety of native freshwater fish species.
- Temple, P. 1985. "New Zealand explorers - great journeys of discovery". Whitcoulls, Christchurch. 192 p.
- Lampreys taken by Maori at Mataura Falls.*
- Thomson, A.S. 1859. "The story of New Zealand: past and present - savage and civilized". Murray, London. 2 vols.
Brief allusion to Maori use of lampreys, eels and inanga,
- Thomson, G.M. and Anderton, T. 1921. History of the Portobello marine fish hatchery and biological station. New Zealand Board of Science and Art Bulletin 2: 1-131.
Trivial references to Maori taking lamprey at places like Mataura Falls.
- Thomson, J.T. 1959. Extracts from a journal kept during the performance of a reconnaissance survey of the southern districts of the Province of Otago, New Zealand. Pp. 325-348 in: Taylor, N.M. (Ed.) "Early travellers in New Zealand". Oxford, London. 594 p. (originally published 1858 in Journal of the Royal Geographical Society 28: 298-329).
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- [Thomson, J.T.] 1867. "Rambles with a philosopher; or views at the Antipodes". By an Otagonian. Mills, Dick, Dunedin. 250 p.
Maori capture of lampreys from Mataura Falls.
- [Thomson, J.T.] 1991. Lamprey hunt. Freshwater Catch (New Zealand) 47: 13. (extract from Thomson, 1867).
Maori capture of lampreys from Mataura Falls.
- Todd, P.R. 1978b. Wairewa Maoris stick by old eeling methods. Catch 5(2): 24.
A brief summary of Maori eel fishing and use from Lake Forsyth.
- Todd, P.R. 1979b. Wanganui lamprey fishery. Catch 6(2): 19-20.
Looks at modern fishing for lamprey in the Wanganui River.
- Todd, P.R. 1990. Utu piharau: the traditional weir. Whanganui Annual Report 1990: 3-7.
Brief account of Maori fishing for lamprey.
- Torepe, W. 1988. Evidence from the Arowhenua area. Transcript of evidence presented at the Ngai Tahu Mahinga Kai hearing of the Waitangi Tribunal. Wai: 27, Document 10: 4-18.
Mention is made of use of eels.
- Travers, W.T.L. 1870. On the change effected in the natural features of a new country by the introduction of civilised races. Transactions and

- Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 2: 299-330.
Trivial references to Maori and lampreys.
- Travers, W.T.L. 1871. On the absence of the eel from the upper waters of the Waiau-ua and its tributaries. Transactions and Proceedings of the N.Z Institute 3: 120-122.
Mention of Maori track to West Coast to get greenstone and the finding of an eel trap near Lake Guyon, on the way and of abundance of eels at "Tarnedale" (upper Clarence River).
- Tregear, E. 1904. "The Maori race". Willis, Wanganui. 592 p.
Brief mention of Maori capture of freshwater fishes.
- Trotter, M.H. 1979. Ellesmere: the prehistory. Pp. 2-5 in: Penney, S.E.W. (Ed.) "Lake Ellesmere to Te Pirita: the land and its people". Penney-Ash, Christchurch. 262 p.
Mention of Maori and eels, flounder and mussels - largely trivial.
- Tu-Nui-O-Rangi. 1904. Kakahi-Makatea Pa, lower Wairarapa. Journal of the Polynesian Society 13: 126-129.
Mention of kokopu, and protocols relating to capture and eating.
- Venell, C.W., Gordon, M, FitzGerald, M.E.W., McMillan, T.E. and Griffiths, G.G. 1951. "Centennial history of Matamata Plains". Whitcombe and Tombs, Auckland. 318 p.
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- Vinnell, C.D. and Williams, S. 1976. "Raglan County: hills and sea - a centennial history 1876-1976". Wilson and Horton, Auckland. 343 p.
Eels in waterways: trivial.
- Wade, W.R. 1842. "Journey in the Northern Island of New Zealand". Pratt, Hobart. 206 p.
Eels feature in a number of contexts - at feasts, and being dried.
- Waitangi Tribunal. 1988. "Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Muriwhenua Fishing Claim (Wai.22)". Department of Justice, Wellington. 372 p.
Extensive discussion of traditional and modern Maori fisheries in the Muriwhenua district throughout report.
- Waitangi Tribunal. 1990. "The Ngai Tahu report 1991". Brooker and Friend, Wellington. 3 vols.
Profoundly important synthesis of information on traditional and modern South Island Maori use of freshwater fishes and their cultural attitudes towards them.
- Waitangi Tribunal. 1992. "The Mohaka River report (WAI 119)". Brooker and Friend, Wellington. 113 p.
Discusses significance of pa-tuna to local Maori on Mohaka River; also minor reference to whitebait.
- Wakefield, E.J. 1845. "Adventures in New Zealand from 1839-1844; with some account of the beginning of the British colonization of the islands. Murray, London. 2 vols.
Mention of "hinanga" also eels and eel weirs.
- Wakefield, E.J. 1848. "The handbook for New Zealand: consisting of the most recent information compiled for the use of intending colonists. By a late Magistrate of the Colony who resided there during four years". Parker, London. 493 p.
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- Walker, R.J. 1976. "Report on the seminar on fisheries for Maori leaders". Centre for Continuing Education, Auckland. 16 p.
Primarily a substantial list of recommendations from Maori for the protection and management of Maori values/resources in fisheries, including some relevant especially to eels.
- Warburton, C.E. 1965. "The Wanganui River: the Rhine of New Zealand, as edited by A.D. Mead". Keeling and Mundy, Palmerston North. 152 p.
Lamprey and eels: derivative and trivial.
- Ward, J. 1840. "Information relative to New Zealand compiled for the use of colonists". Parker, London. 168 p.
Mention of eels taken and dried; early but uninformative.
- Ward, J.P. 1883. "Wanderings with the Maori prophets Te Whiti and Tohu: being reminiscences of a twelve months' companionship with them, from their arrival in Christchurch in April 1882, until their return to Parihaka in March, 1883". Bond and Finney, Nelson. 136 p.
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- Ward, R. 1872. "Life among the Maories of New Zealand, being a description of missionary,

- colonial and military achievements". Lamb, London. 472 p.
Trivial mention of eels abounding.
- Ward, R.G. 1956. Maori settlement in the Taupo County, 1830-1880. Journal of the Polynesian Society 65: 41-44.
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- Wheeler, M.R. 1983. Kaipara Manukau Port Waikato grey mullet fisheries. Unpublished report, New Zealand Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Auckland. 23 p.
Discusses Maori exploitation of grey mullet in fresh waters.
- White, T. 1893. A Maori pa at Lake Te Anau. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 26: 513-515.
Mention of eels.
- White, T. 1896. The ceremony of rahui. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 28: 54-62.
Discussed declaration of rahui and its effect on resources, including use of eel weirs.
- Williams, H.W. 1913. A plea for the scientific study of Maori names. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 45: 354-364.
Mentions Maori name for eels, use of para, etc.
- Williams, H.W. 1975. "A dictionary of the Maori language". Government Printer, Wellington. 499 p. Seventh Edition.
The authoritative source for uses and meanings of Maori words, including fish names.
- Wilson, D.M. 1921. Ancient drains, Kaitaia swamp. Journal of the Polynesian Society 30: 185-188.
Mention of use of drains for eeling by Maori.
- Wilson, D.M. 1922. Ancient eel drains: Maori drains, North Auckland. Journal of the Polynesian Society 31: 130-133.
- Trivial mention of use of drains for eeling by Maori.*
- Wilson, J.A. 1907. "The story of Te Waharoa: a chapter in early New Zealand history, together with sketches of ancient Maori life and history". Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch. 255 p. (2nd. Ed.).
Trivial mention of catching eels in swamps.
- Wilson, J.G. 1914. "Early Rangitikei: a few notes collected from various sources of the settlement of the Rangitikei River, a short history of the purchase and colonisation of the land between the Turakina and Oroua Rivers, and an account of the various pioneers". Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch. 266 p.
Discusses eels and whitebait; locally important.
- Wilson, J.G. 1939. Early Hawkes Bay. Pp. 11-404 in: Wilson, J.G. (Ed.) "History of Hawkes Bay". Reed, Dunedin. 468 p. (Capper Reprint, 1976)
Minor eel reference, but highly distinctive comment on grayling.
- Winitana, C. 1990. The meaning of mana. New Zealand Geographic 5: 107-111.
Minor mention of eels
- Wohlrs, J.F.H. 1875. The mythology and traditions of the Maoris of New Zealand. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Inst. 7: 3-53.
Myth about origin of eels.
- Woods, K., Peterson, D.R. and Wickliffe, C. 1993. "Investigation into the management of the Whakaki Lagoon". Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, Wellington. 52 p.
Significant discussion of Maori fisheries in estuarine lagoon, Hawkes Bay; has high local significance in area with little documentation - eels, inanga, kokopu, goldfish and other species.
- Woods, K., Peterson, D.R. and Wickliffe, C. 1993. "Investigation into the management of the Whakaki Lagoon: background report". Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, Wellington. 64 p.
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Yate, W. 1835. "An account of New Zealand and the Church Missionary Society's mission in the North Island". 310 p.

Mention of eels, including drying them.

Young, D. 1990. Eel weirs and river steamers. Whanganui Annual Report 1990: 36.

Discusses conflicts between Maori eel weirs and river boats.

Young, D., and Foster, B. 1986. "Faces of the river - New Zealand's living water". Television New Zealand Publishing, Auckland. 224 p.

Mention of lampreys, eels and grayling taken by Maori in Wanganui River.

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Looks briefly at the Whanganui eel fishery; largely derivative.