

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

# **Attachment and Belonging**

## **Nineteenth Century Whananaki**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in  
History

Massey University  
New Zealand

Rowan Tautari

2009

## **ABSTRACT**

Attachment and belonging to place can be expressed in a myriad of ways. At its core is the need to legitimise presence. Historically, several strategies have been employed by different individuals or groups to establish their claim to Whananaki. This thesis explores attachment and belonging from several perspectives – from that of hapu who competed amongst each other for resources, a settler who affected to legalize a pre-Treaty of Waitangi transaction, government officials securing Crown ownership culminating in a sale in 1864, Maori drawn to the developing village settlement who married into local families, and finally the village settlers who attempted to transform the land into a familiar countryside.

The paradox of belonging but not quite belonging was played out in many contexts at Whananaki, including through landmarks and their associated narratives. Landmarks can be sites asserting ancient beginnings, carefully crafted props validating legal title, symbols of progress and development, memorials denoting loss and abandonment, or neutral ground. In looking at the narratives that affix landmarks to place, we can arrive at a closer understanding of how residents of nineteenth-century Whananaki viewed and defined their environment.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

I am grateful to my supervisor, Michael Belgrave, for encouraging me to engage creatively with my topic. I would like to acknowledge Alfreda Berryman, Neville Edge, Arthur McInnes, David Peters, Joan Merle Peters, Marie Tautari and Verdon Symmons who participated in informal discussions and interviews with me. I would like to thank Garth Macken who provided invaluable information on several of Whananaki's settler families.

I wish to thank Mrs Rangi Parker of the Kia Ngawari Trust, Templeview, for allowing me access to her collection of nineteenth-century Mormon missionary journals and photographs. The online digital database Papers Past also deserves acknowledgement as an essential aid in my research. The Whangarei Public Library supplied copies of the Northern Luminary (on microfilm) and the Whananaki Community Library provided backdated copies of an exceptionally helpful newsletter called The Bridge.

I am especially grateful to family and friends for their support, in particular my uncle, David Peters for the use of his house at Whananaki. Finally, I would like to acknowledge my grandfather Kihirini (Len) Peters whose childhood stories about Whananaki inspired my choice of topic.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract .....	i
Acknowledgements .....	ii
Table of Contents .....	iii
List of Figures.....	vi
Map of Northland Locating Whananaki.....	vii
Map of Whananaki.....	viii
INTRODUCTION: TE WAHA O TE PARATA.....	1
CHAPTER 1: WHANANAKI BLOCK - THE NORTH SIDE .....	13
Differing Views of the Village Centre Over Time .....	13
Maori Occupation.....	15
War Expeditions and Alliances .....	16
Waikato Decides to Sell.....	20
Identifying the ‘Kawakawa natives’ .....	21
Dispute at Waitangi .....	22
Waikato’s Sale Proceeds .....	25
Defining the Boundaries of Salmon’s Claim .....	26
Tupai’s Objection to Salmon’s Claim .....	27
Land Claims Commission.....	28
CHAPTER 2: FISHING RESERVE .....	31
Williams Investigates Salmon’s Claim, 1850.....	32
Two Letters from Maori Residents .....	32
Maori Gathering at Ahi Koroamo.....	34
Payment Suggested for Whananaki Block .....	35
Reappearance of Kawakawa Natives .....	36
Tipene Hari Agrees to Sell .....	36
The Second Sale of Whananaki Block.....	37
Maori Settlement of 1863.....	39

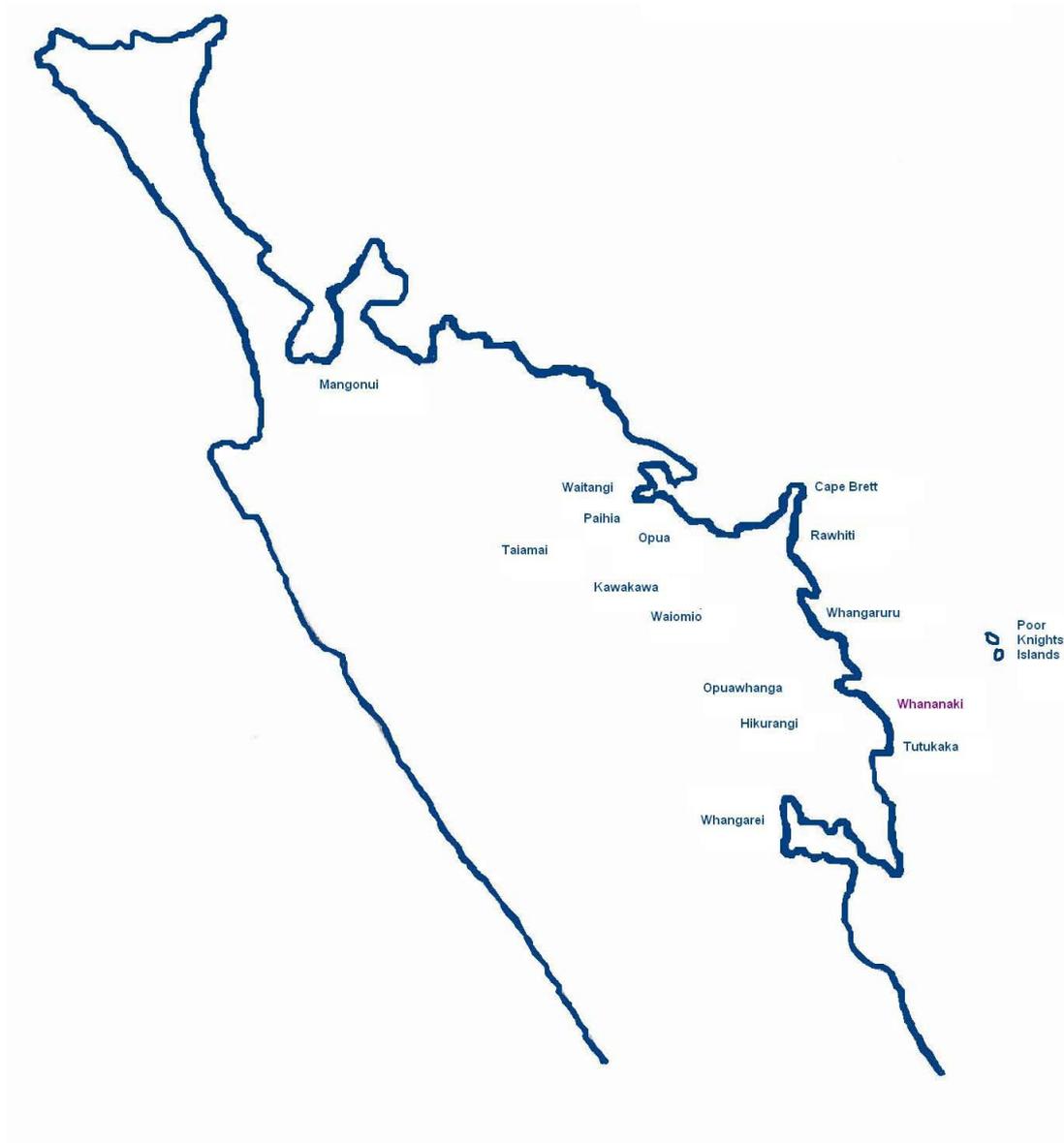
Purchase Deed, 1864.....	40
Opposing Views from Barstow and Clarke.....	41
Application for a Fishing Reserve .....	42
Maori and the First Store .....	44
Hirini Tamihana Seeks Return of Land.....	46
From Fishing Reserve to Cattle Run .....	46
From Cattle Run to Village Settlement, 1886.....	47
CHAPTER 3: ORIWA - THE SOUTH SIDE .....	50
Two Wahi Tapu .....	50
‘New’ Influences .....	53
‘Old’ Influences.....	54
The Court Decides Ownership.....	55
Kinaki and Whenua.....	57
Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu .....	60
Runanga at Whangaruru.....	65
Petitions and Partitions.....	66
Locating Te Ruaki.....	66
European Settlement and Impact.....	69
Eruana Maki .....	70
Pitokuku and Rangitoto.....	73
CHAPTER 4: VILLAGE SETTLEMENT .....	77
Misplaced Perceptions .....	77
Settler Geography .....	78
Land Settlement Scheme .....	79
Mobility.....	81
Settler Attitudes Toward Maori .....	83
People .....	86
The ‘History of Whananaki School and Districts’ .....	91
Six Assertions Concerning Whananaki’s Past .....	92
CHAPTER 5: SETTLER LANDMARKS .....	100
The Recreation Reserve.....	100

The Cemetery .....	102
The Wharf.....	105
Faulkner’s Landing.....	107
The First Saw Mill .....	111
The School.....	115
Attendance by Maori Children.....	118
Morris’ Store .....	119
The Public Hall .....	123
CONCLUSION: SHIFTING SANDS .....	125
Glossary.....	132
Abbreviations .....	134
Bibliography.....	135

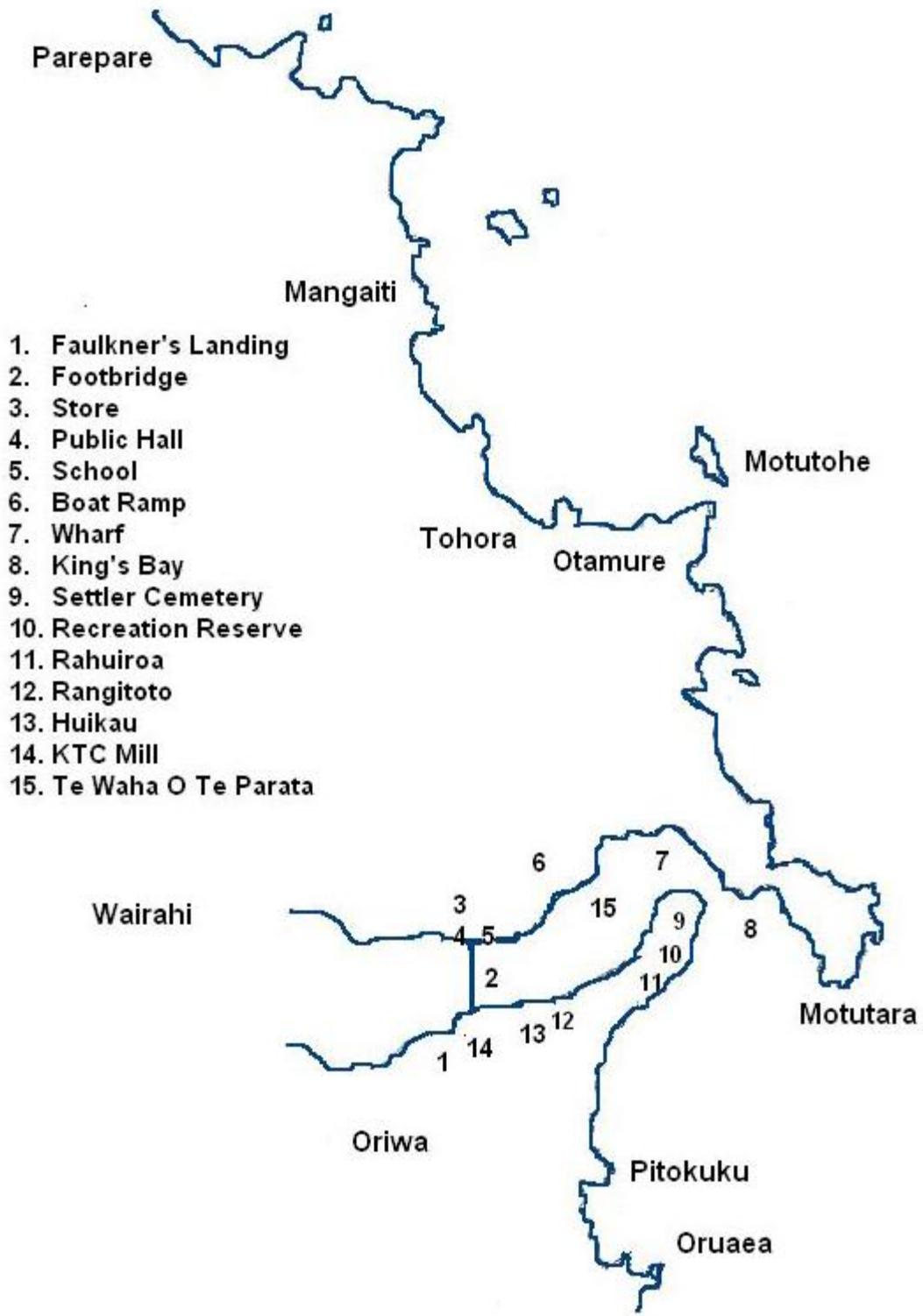
## LIST OF FIGURES

<i>Number</i>	<i>Page</i>
1. Map of Northland locating Whananaki	vii
2. Map of Whananaki	viii
3. ‘Seagull’ rock seen through pohutukawa branches at low tide	1
4. Map of Salmon’s claim, 1841 and Whananaki deed, 1864	12
5. Village centre overlooking the school at Whananaki north	13
6. Boat ramp at fishing reserve, Whananaki north	31
7. Map of Ruatahi, Wairahi, Oriwa land blocks	49
8. Mouth of estuary overlooking sand spit and Oriwa block at Whananaki south ocean beach	50
9. Rangitoto Pa at Huikau, Whananaki south	51
10. Pitokuku wahi tapu, Whananaki south	52
11. Whakapapa for Pita Tunua, Tamihana Te Puai and Hirini Tamihana	58
12. Whakapapa for Kinaki, Waikato and Karena Puhi	59
13. Village centre overlooking houses and baches, Whananaki north	77
14. Wedding of Ellen Nankivell to Thomas Freer, 6 June 1904	85
15. Sand spit, Whananaki south	100
16. Settler cemetery, sand spit, Whananaki south	102
17. Family Tree for Garth Macken	105
18. Oriwa river mouth above Faulkner’s Landing with footbridge in the distance	109
19. Baches near the estuary entrance, Whananaki north	105

# Map of Northland



# Map of Whananaki



## *INTRODUCTION:*

### **TE WAHA O TE PARATA**



'Seagull' rock seen through pohutukawa branches at low tide

---

There was once a taniwha that resided near a rocky island at the mouth of the Whananaki estuary. One day, while swimming nearby the taniwha reached out and touched the island, leaving marks from its claws behind on the cliff's face. Over time, seagull droppings covered the entire island and the taniwha's imprint faded.<sup>1</sup> As a piece of historical evidence, the taniwha while interesting held little significance. However, in the context of the storyteller's life, it revealed an attachment to a past landscape where Maori once occupied the northern shores of the estuary. The person who told this story was born in 1906. His grandfather, who died in 1910, had lived at this kainga.

In 1864, a land deed confirmed the sale of Whananaki block, the land upon which the kainga was located. A decade later a letter was written to protest the

---

<sup>1</sup> Personal communication with Len Peters, 1990

sale of the same block.<sup>2</sup> Both documents revealed that the estuary was called Te Waha O Te Parata.<sup>3</sup> Parata was a supernatural sea creature said to occupy harbours and estuaries. The ebb and flow of the tide was caused by the opening and closing of its mouth.<sup>4</sup> The kainga had long faded from living memory. Establishing what happened to it was one of the purposes of this study. Te Waha O Te Parata as a place name had also disappeared from common usage having last been recorded in 1874. As an isolated story the taniwha was simply a childhood fairytale. In combining all three pieces of historical 'text' a differently imagined landscape was revealed. This study seeks to make similar connections between seemingly unrelated and disconnected events, in the process revealing a history of attachment and belonging.

The above letter and deed also indicate a connection between the person who told the story and the people who once lined the northern shore of the estuary, one that suggests continuity. Initially, the taniwha's presence was used to explain tidal movement within the estuary and the people of the kainga imagined themselves as part of the same natural environment. However, in tracing the demise of the kainga and of the later timber village, another characteristic of life at Whananaki is apparent - mobility and transience. This study acknowledges the paradox and power of place. It accepts that places contain elements of continuity and change.

In posing the question as to why people came to Whananaki and why they left, it is argued that settlement, followed by unsettlement, was a common experience rather than an exceptional one, and that this applied to both Maori and Pakeha. However, Maori who left the district did not necessarily sever their attachments. Descendants of people who lived at the kainga in the 1860s continue to reside at Whananaki today. Unlike most Maori who claim attachment to the area through

---

<sup>2</sup> Northland Crown Purchase Deeds, compiled by CFRT, Wellington: Sale of Whananaki block, 1864; NA AKL AP 2 19 2492/74: Letter from Hirini Tamihana to Superintendent Williamson, Auckland Provincial Government, July 1874

<sup>3</sup> Translates as the 'mouth of the parata'.

<sup>4</sup> Williams, Herbert W., Dictionary of the Maori Language, 7<sup>th</sup> ed, P.D. Hasselberg, Wellington, 1985

various descent lines, few Pakeha residents can claim descent from Whananaki's late nineteenth-century settlers. Instead, their attachment is derived from an idea of the settlers and of themselves as their beneficiaries. Linked to this idea is an assumption that all positive change that occurred in the district was primarily due to the efforts of the pioneers.

Ironically, while some Maori may claim an older connection to Whananaki, the kainga itself was a 'new' development. It had derived from people who had lived at Whananaki in the 1820s, but had been forced to leave. Chapter One, Whananaki Block – The North Side, begins in the early 1800s when coastal settlements like Whananaki were made vulnerable by the rising power of a Nga Puhī confederation of shifting alliances. Historians have claimed that this was a period of unprecedented turmoil marked by an 'extraordinary explosion of tribal conflict' on a scale never seen before.<sup>5</sup> Loosely divided into northern and southern divisions, Nga Puhī leaders set out on campaigns that could last several months, taking them as far south as Wellington. The 'Musket Wars' as they later became known, spread throughout the entire country leaving few unaffected. Whananaki was only one of several northern coastal settlements impacted upon by these political developments.

It is important to note that this study does not attempt to define who was/are the tangata whenua of Whananaki. One reason for this is the scarcity of written evidence concerning the hapu that occupied the area. While Maori may have been able to identify who had mana whenua, this was not necessarily communicated to European observers whose writings are referred to in this study. The observations of European travelers, who visited Whananaki during the 1820s and 1830s, may have provided useful information on residents' rights and connections to specific places. However, given that this was a period of upheaval

---

<sup>5</sup> Belich, James, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, Penguin Books, Auckland, 1996, p. 157

with the area at times almost completely depopulated, European observers would have received only limited information.

In addition, Whananaki unlike other Maori settlements in Northland was not a centre of political activity. Its leaders did not, generally, have national profiles. Government officials did not often seek their opinions, or record them. Evidence suggests that in times of war, Whananaki people came under the patronage of more powerful, outside leaders. However, such leaders had only limited, temporary control over Whananaki residents. While they may have demanded their allegiance during times of war, in times of peace they may have had little say. In assessing who the tangata whenua were, one must be mindful of a confusing array of intersecting groups who may, at one time or another, have shown an interest in Whananaki, but did not actually settle there or become tangata whenua themselves.

While lack of historical evidence makes it difficult to assess who was living at Whananaki in the 1820s, it is evident that a severe reduction in the population influenced the first sale. During the mid-1830s Whananaki had few residents. Waikato, a leader of the Te Hikutu people from Kaihiki in the Bay of Islands, quickly sought to exploit this power vacuum as can be seen in James Busby's recording of events. Despite a scattered population, it is clear that the sale of Whananaki was not unopposed or straightforward in any sense. A meeting of opposing parties held at Waitangi in 1836 before the sale had taken place had quickly erupted into a gunfight causing loss of life and several injuries. Opposition to Waikato's sale gained momentum after 1845 when peace was re-established following the Northern Wars and former people began to repopulate Whananaki.

Although opposition to the sale continued for some 30 years, the central issue, identifying who had rights and what those rights entailed (in effect, who were tangata whenua), proved to be an elusive goal. Despite the efforts of some

officials sympathetic to the needs of Whananaki Maori, a second, equally controversial sale was completed in 1864. By then the district comprised a sizable Maori population. Residents were cultivating land and trading in goods along the coast. Boats owned by Europeans and Maori visited the settlement with passengers as well as food stocks. A community had re-established itself with members who were willing to defend their rights. On a day-to-day level, Waikato's sale had little impact on their lives.

Nevertheless, the second sale of Whananaki block presented an unavoidable intrusion. Like the first transaction, Whananaki's residents were not party to the deal. Conducted by Maori non-residents, located at Whangaruru and Whangarei, officials ignored the interests of local people. Three years later the state intervened further in the activities of Whananaki Maori. The Native Land Court awarded title over three adjoining land blocks, Oriwa, Wairahi and Ruatahi. Some individuals claimed an interest in all three blocks however, the court's decisions regarding ownership separated these interests, redefining the boundaries of land ownership, influencing Maori settlement patterns at the time and for generations to come.

While interpretations of Whananaki's history have tended to portray resident Maori as a uniform group, the concept of an homogenous Maori community is flawed. In perusing the Native Land Court's investigations and subsequent partitions, differences can be noted in the evidence submitted by witnesses and claimants for each block. Individuals were awarded land according to different criteria, revealing a range of attachments and activities carried out on the land. While the court's decisions resulted in the development of three distinct 'communities' located on Oriwa, Wairahi and Ruatahi blocks respectively, the history of Oriwa, explored in Chapter Three reveals that even within one land block the owners could have diverse opinions.

It would also be a mistake to assume that the second sale of Whananaki block in 1864 facilitated immediate European settlement. Chapter Two discusses a Fishing Reserve of 500 acres located on the block. While the government had clearly expressed its intention of allocating the block for settlers, Maori residents continued to live on the most useful areas which were located on the northern shore close to resources that sustained their families. A sheltered area containing mahinga and landing places for their waka and boats, the remaining land was practically useless without it. Given that Maori remained unconvinced of either the first or second sale's validity, they were naturally reluctant to move. One Whananaki leader, Hori Te Ngere was prepared to take a pragmatic approach. Shortly after the second sale was confirmed, he sought to secure the interests of his Whanau Whero people, offering to purchase the entire block from the government. His request was denied in favour of European settlement.

Seeing that Maori were unwilling to relinquish their rights to Whananaki, in 1872 the Auckland Provincial Government sought Maori support for a fishing reserve. Although it was called a fishing reserve, it was actually land intended for a fishing station as opposed to a marine reserve. The reserve was leased to two high profile entrepreneurial settlers. While the evidence is vague, it seems that Maori expressed initial support for the plan, leaving their waterfront settlement and moving to adjoining blocks, so that the reserve could be developed into a fishing station. Perhaps they saw possible benefits for their community.

However, for reasons that are not mentioned on file, the fishing reserve never eventuated. The Auckland Provincial Government was abolished in 1876, and the reserve was then leased by central government to a settler who owned a station at Whangaruru. A letter written by a Maori resident in 1874 indicates Maori understanding regarding the fishing reserve. In the event that the proposed development did not take place, the writer had assumed that the land, previously occupied by them, would be returned. Perhaps not wishing to challenge them on this, at the same time wishing to retain the land, in 1875 the

Auckland Provincial Council leased the 500-acre fishing reserve to a settler called Thomas Hamlyn Greenway for use as a cattle run. Greenway leased the fishing reserve for a decade. By 1885, a timber mill had been established in the district. With employment now available, the entire Whananaki block, including most of the fishing reserve (apart from a small strip of land along the estuary's northern waterfront), was surveyed and prepared for European settlement.

In 1886, Whananaki block was subdivided into 50-acre sections and settlers were encouraged to apply for residence under the homestead village settlement scheme. By this time, Maori had been living on adjoining Maori land for at least a decade, having left the fishing reserve in the early 1870s or earlier. Since the initial sale in 1838, a new generation had taken on the role of local leadership. An older generation who had openly opposed Waikato's interventions had passed away, as had Waikato himself. With the establishment of a timber mill on Maori owned land, the lives of Maori residents were given a completely new focus.

Chapter Three, Oriwa – The South Side, discusses how Maori responded to these challenges by looking at events that occurred on Oriwa block. It identifies two wahi tapu, Pitokuku and Rangitoto, using evidence submitted to the Native Land Court to trace who was buried there and why. The transformation of Pitokuku from an ancient burial ground to a modern day cemetery and the establishment of Rangitoto in the early twentieth-century provides two examples of the court's impact on the daily lives of Maori living in a small settlement. In its 1895 decision to incorporate the claims of newcomers to the block, a decision made in 1867 about the original ownership was effectively revoked. Chapter Three examines evidence presented in court offering insight into how the past was used, manipulated and manufactured by opposing claimants to achieve a ruling in their favour.

The timber mill, while presenting opportunities of employment for Oriwa Maori, challenged them in other ways. An influx of Maori and European to the district

placed pressure on resources, namely land. Between 1881 and 1903 one original owner called Pita Tunua unsuccessfully lodged three petitions to the government requesting 200 acres on an adjoining block, Opuawhanga No 2 to be set aside for his family. He claimed that they were at risk of becoming landless. Another issue affecting Oriwa residents on a more personal level, was conflict between Pita Tunua and Eruana Maki who clashed over the right to control the block. This was to culminate in Eruana Maki's sale to a settler in 1916.

It is debatable whether all Maori saw themselves as victims of the Native Land Court process. One newcomer called Eruana Maki successfully used the court to award himself rights at Oriwa. Whananaki Maori had denied involvement in selling land in 1838, and again in 1864. Many had questioned the sale of Opuawhanga No 2 block, which had taken a number of years to conclude. Within this context, Eruana Maki's decision to sell land was inexplicable. The sale of Oriwa land to Europeans can be interpreted as a sign that Maori control over their destinies was weakening. This can partly be attributed to Eruana Maki. For this reason, his motivations and life are explored in the latter part of Chapter Three.

Chapter Four, titled Village Settlement, begins by discussing some common assumptions made about settlers. Namely the tendency to present the settlers as members of successful, close-knit communities. The chapter shows how all developments and business ventures were and to some extent still are perceived as being settler initiated. However, despite its initial successes and rapid pace of growth, ultimately Whananaki failed as an intended township. In this context, Miles Fairburn's observations concerning geography, physical isolation and the piecemeal occupation of land within rural localities, have some application. However, while these factors contributed to its demise, the main cause for Whananaki's failure as a township was the decline of the timber industry which was the lifeblood of the fledgling community.

Exaggerating the role played by the settlers in the community has to some extent undermined Maori involvement, minimizing their participation in the district's development. The tendency to attribute positive change to the settlers and associate a lack of change with Maori, leads us to examine settler attitudes toward Maori. There is evidence to suggest that Maori who mixed in European circles were required to suppress their identity in order to gain acceptance from Europeans. In this context, the life of Elizabeth Macken, a Maori woman married to a settler, is discussed. While family sources identified her as having Maori ancestry, official records identify her as being European.

The same chapter also lists individuals and families who comprised the village settlement. It is intended to show the diversity that existed amongst European settlers at Whananaki while also showing areas of commonality. It explains their vocations, landholdings, and where possible, community involvement. One common characteristic amongst the settlers that apparently unified them was an attitude of patriotism. In this study a connection is made between volunteers from the district who participated in World War One and the families that settled under the homestead village scheme. Chapter Four concludes by critiquing Whananaki's pioneering past. It looks at six assertions summarized from a school centennial booklet produced in 1987 that details the history of Whananaki. The text attempts to lay the foundations of European settlement presenting Maori history as a corollary to this. In seeking to represent the past in this way it subconsciously reflects the views of the settlers who saw themselves at the centre of all developments.

Chapter Five, titled Settler Landmarks, looks at several sites that are still retrospectively associated with the settlers. This includes the recreation reserve (more specifically, what remains of the original fishing reserve), the wharf, cemetery, timber mill, school, store and public hall. It is argued that such landmarks have become synonymous with a spirit of progress and self-reliance that characterized settler communities of the late nineteenth-century. However,

the early demise of the township, and the present day dilapidated appearance of some landmarks, hints at a dissonance between the settlers' perceptions of their achievements and the reality of what actually was achieved. In the presentation of some landmarks as evidence of settler endeavor, the arguably equally important role of Whananaki Maori who participated as bush contractors, timber millers, bullock drivers, landlords, employers, employees, workmates and school pupils, was minimized.

By the early 1900s, the dreams of a prosperous township espoused in newspaper articles of the day had disappeared and the few village settlers who remained were left with a choice, to stay or leave. With most deciding on the second option, not surprising given the lack of employment opportunities, impermanence and transience can be said to have characterized European settlement at Whananaki. Many left the district when their areas of bush were worked out or the timber mills shut down. By the mid-1940s, only one family connected to the homestead village settlement remained at Whananaki. Today, only one descendent from this family resides in the district.

In concluding the Introduction, it could be said that leaving Whananaki is as old as Puhī's journey of discovery.<sup>6</sup> Surveying the east coast on the Mataatua waka, Puhī arrived at a peaceful estuary and decided to spend the night there. During a restless sleep he was overcome with cramp causing him to kick the ground violently. His action was immortalized in the phrase 'ka whana te nanakia.'<sup>7</sup> The words were later condensed to form 'Whananaki'. Puhī's kick resulted in a hillock being formed and his mark remained etched on the landscape for successive generations. The hillock has since disappeared, a victim perhaps of late twentieth-century development. Yet the memory of this landmark remains embedded in Whananaki's place name. The landmarks discussed in this study have both witnessed and experienced change. As signposts marking the past and

---

<sup>6</sup> For written accounts please refer to Morore Piripi, Ngati Wai, Te Ao Hou, No. 37, December 1961; See also Keene, Florence, Taitokerau, Whangarei, 1975, p. 60

<sup>7</sup> Keene, Florence, Taitokerau, Whangarei, 1975, p. 60: Translated as 'the crafty one kicks'.

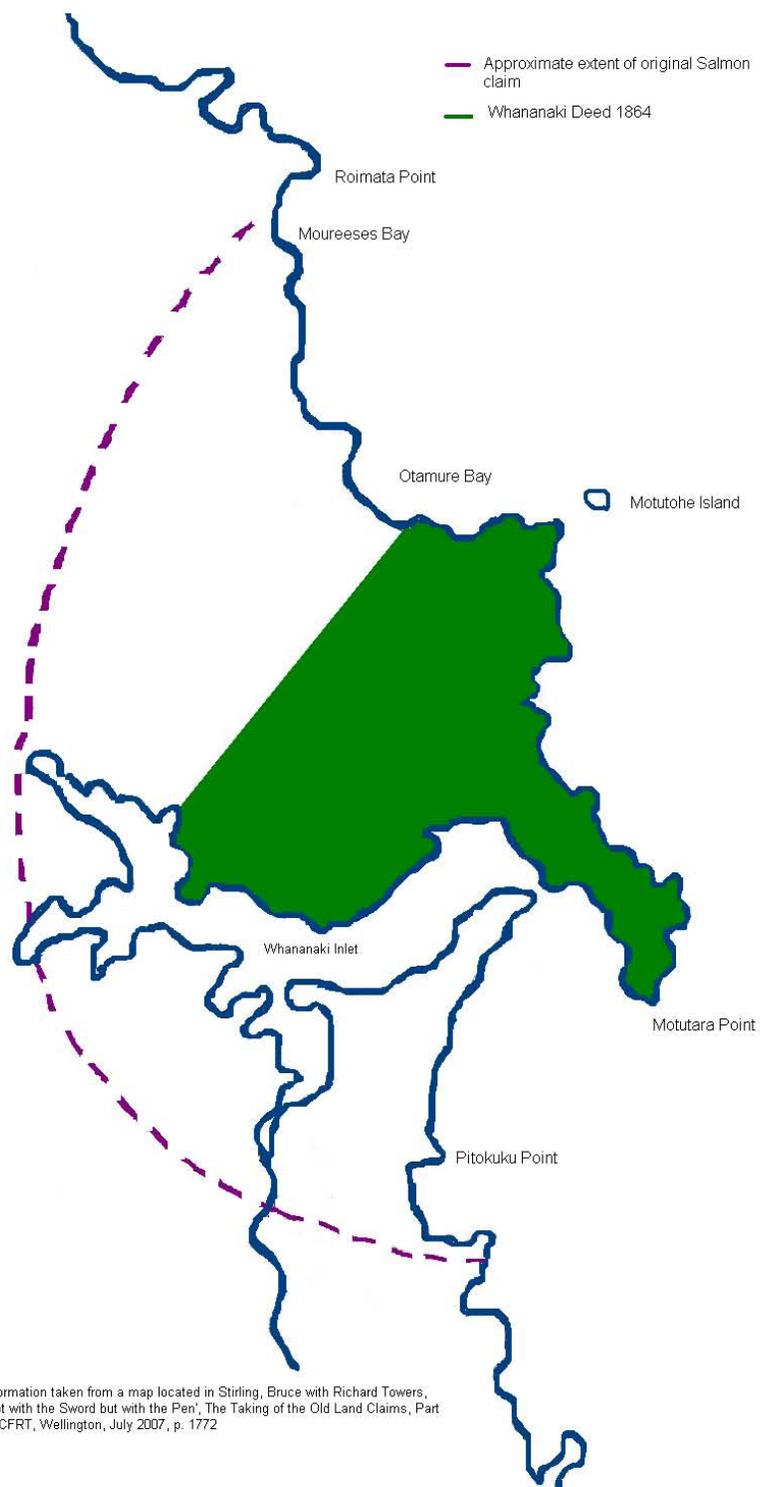
future they occupy a unique vantage point. Some, like Puhī's hillock no longer exist. Others such as the school and shop have simply been replaced giving them a more modern appearance. Whether landmarks remain a visible presence on the landscape or not is unimportant. Their significance lies in their relationship to the people who once resided there, and what this tells us about their connections to place.

This study will show various ways that attachment and belonging were expressed in nineteenth-century Whānaukī. Relationships to place altered like shifting sand, with the changing circumstances and composition of its residents. This can be observed in the treatment of landmarks: a Māori settlement replaced twenty years later by a colonial village, a pre-contact urupa transformed into a Christian cemetery, three wharves at three different locations each serving a community with changing needs, a school squatting on a fishing reserve for several decades before it was legally made a school reserve. Judith Binney, writing about Kerikeri noted the symbolic value to Māori and Pākehā of shared sites and the power of place.<sup>8</sup> Beginning with Puhī's hillock, Whānaukī's landmarks stress both the permanence and impermanence of human occupation. They are an enduring legacy of the human need to belong.

---

<sup>8</sup> Binney, Judith (ed.), *Te Kerikeri 1770-1850: the Meeting Pool*, Bridget Williams, Wellington, 2001, p. 9

## Map of Salmon's claim, 1841 and Whananaki deed, 1864



## *Chapter 1:*

### **WHANANAKI BLOCK - THE NORTH SIDE**



Village center overlooking the school at Whananaki north

---

#### **Differing Views of the Village Centre**

Whananaki is located on the east coast of Northland, New Zealand, some 60 kilometers north of Whangarei. Whananaki's village centre is located on a strip of coastal land that begins near the footbridge and extends along the waterfront to Wharf Road. About 2.5 kilometers long and 200 meters wide in some places, it is flat and well maintained. From the direction west to east are located a small grove of native trees, a school, a small recreation ground, an air strip that is approximately 100 meters long, a boat landing, an emergency centre, another park, another boat landing, public toilets and finally several baches. The area is clean and neat.

During the summer, the entire frontage becomes a walkway for holiday makers. The school transforms into a camping ground. Riders exercise their horses along the beach while owners walk their dogs. The public road, which follows the estuary around the coast, has a constant flow of traffic. Vehicles towing boats arrive and depart from the landing. Occasionally, small planes arrive and take off from the airstrip. It is a busy scene reflecting community success.

In the early 1900s, the village centre was quite altered. At the west end, adjacent to the grove of native trees was a nikau whare with thatched roof and walls. The courtyard was bare soil swept clean. A waka was kept on the shore in front of the whare. There was a jetty next to the school for the children who were rowed across the estuary. Beyond the jetty was a weatherboard single-room building used as a schoolroom. The recreation ground and airstrip was an unfenced paddock filled with thorns, roaming cattle and grazing horses. At the end of the paddock was a public hall that had been dismantled and floated down the estuary from Foote's timber mill a decade earlier. The road was a humble, but serviceable bridle track.

Barely 40 years earlier, in the 1860s a kainga took in the entire flat. A river near the mouth of the estuary, large enough for canoes to manoeuvre, meandered past tidal wetlands containing wildlife reserves. Captain Cook, passing Whananaki's coastline in 1769 observed the area was densely populated and heavily wooded. Some one hundred years later little had changed. A population of some 240 people came and went, visiting their mahinga and collecting its resources, trading in tawai bark and honey. Some 12 acres of land were cultivated with crops. A 19-ton cutter owned by resident Hori Te Ngere took passengers and supplies to and from the district to other coastal settlements.

In opening this chapter, three scenes of human occupation are described. Each of these scenes convey different experiences of settlement: the present day community yielding to the demands of development and tourism, a village

settlement created and sustained by timber and a kainga that achieved stability following several years of displacement. This chapter argues that the kainga was created and shaped by events commencing in the early 1820s extending to the 1860s. It was the break-up of this kainga that enabled the village settlement to be established on the same space.

## **Maori Occupation**

It is acknowledged that large numbers of Maori occupied Whananaki several generations prior to European settlement. The existence of extensive occupation is supported by archeological research that has noted the existence of middens, pa, artifacts and human remains.<sup>9</sup> Samuel Marsden visited Whananaki in 1820 with Te Morenga, a Taiamai leader mistakenly identified by Vallance as being the ‘chief’ of Whananaki.<sup>10</sup> Staying overnight with a man named ‘Tinganga’ and his wife, Marsden spent an entire day exploring the ‘extensive settlement.’<sup>11</sup> Marsden’s account presents a somewhat enigmatic picture of Maori settlement providing few details about who the people were.

Despite the pleasant atmosphere and kindness extended to him, Marsden noted that a war party had recently passed through. Food stocks, including pigs and potatoes that would otherwise have been offered to the visitors, were depleted. There is no recorded purpose behind the supposed raid, whether they were friend or foe. Marsden’s account suggests that such visits were regarded as commonplace. Throughout the 1820s, war expeditions traveling along the coast were to visit Whananaki on a number of occasions. These visits were symptomatic of wider developments occurring throughout the Bay of Islands and came to influence the first sale of Whananaki.

---

<sup>9</sup> New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Historic Places Inventory, Whangarei County, July 1988; See also the William Fraser collection of artifacts stored at the War Memorial Museum in Auckland

<sup>10</sup> Vallance, Diana, *Story of Whangarei*, Whangarei, 1964, pp. 20, 23

<sup>11</sup> Ell, Gordon and Sarah (compiled), *Great Journeys In Old New Zealand: Travel and Exploration in a New Land*, Bush Pioneer Heritage, Wellington, 1995, p. 26

## War Expeditions and Alliances

Historians have argued that complex alliances characterized political activity in the Bay of Islands from the late eighteenth-century onwards.<sup>12</sup> By 1814, a recently formed Ngapuhi confederation had absorbed many earlier, older established descent groups already settled in the Bay. However, some descent groups in existence prior to the late eighteenth-century remained detached and intact. This seems to have been the case for coastal iwi. The coastal settlement of Rawhiti continued to be occupied by Ngare Raumati with their Ngati Wai kin continuing to occupy coastal settlements south of Rawhiti extending to and beyond Whangarei.

Today Ngati Wai is the main iwi said to occupy Whananaki. While it is beyond the scope of this study to define Whananaki's nineteenth-century tangata whenua, it seems apparent from the evidence that Ngati Wai were not exclusive occupants the entire time. Government reports identify several individuals from various hapu living at Whananaki in the 1860s.<sup>13</sup> However, it cannot be assumed that they all descended from people who resided at Whananaki in the 1820s, although some did.

It is known that in the 1820s, Ngare Raumati and Ngati Wai were closely connected by whakapapa. It can therefore be assumed that conflict affecting one coastal community could impact on other neighbour settlements. However it is difficult to untangle the nature of those relationships. Although whakapapa suggests that they were complex, written accounts are insufficient to explain these connections. For example, a man called Te Ngangi, possibly the same 'Tinganga' who hosted Marsden at Whananaki, was part of a taua that attacked Ngati Maru

---

<sup>12</sup> Ballara, Angela, *Taua: 'Musket Wars', 'Land Wars', or Tikanga?: Warfare in Maori Society in the Early Nineteenth Century*, Auckland, Penguin Books, 2003; Phillipson, Grant, *Bay of Islands Nga Puhi and the Crown, 1793-1853, An Exploratory Overview for CFRT, Second Draft*, Wellington, December 2004; Sissons, Jeffrey, *Wiremu Wi Hongi, Pat Hohepa, The Puriri Trees are Laughing: a Political History of Nga Puhi in the Inland Bay of Islands*, Auckland, 1987; Binney, Judith (ed.), *Te Keriikeri 1770-1850: the Meeting Pool*, Bridget Williams, Wellington, 2001

<sup>13</sup> AJHR 1862, E-7, p. 16: List of Northern Chiefs

at Te Totara Pa in 1821.<sup>14</sup> By the early 1820s, Ngare Raumati and Ngati Wai had acquired a number of take against Ngati Maru of Hauraki and Ngati Whatua. One may speculate that Te Ngangi was a Ngati Wai who had fought alongside his Ngare Raumati kin.

There is proof to suggest that Ngati Wai and Ngare Raumati lived and fought together, while remaining independent people. A conflict arose in 1821 or 1822 between Te Parawhau and Ngati Paoa. In 1826, Ngati Paoa returned to attack Ngati Wai at Whangaruru involving residents of Rawhiti and Whananaki. In the same year another conflict arose between Waimate and Rawhiti. It is said that a large number of Ngare Raumati fled south to their kin at Whangaruru, Whananaki and Ngunguru.<sup>15</sup>

Another fact of war impacting on Whananaki was temporary abandonment of settlements and the influx of people returning in peacetime. The relationship with Ngare Raumati is significant in this regard. At least two Rawhiti men moved permanently to Whananaki following the battle of Ruapekapeka, their descendents later claiming Whananaki land in the 1880s. Their story will be discussed in further detail in Chapter Four. While they appear to have been Ngare Raumati in origin, by the 1880s this identity was no longer used. Instead they called themselves Te Akitai.

Events occurring within Ngapuhi also affected political stability at Whananaki. By the mid-1820s, Ngapuhi had grown into a loose configuration of two broad alliances. Described as northern and southern, they were fluid, overlapping relationships shaped by negotiated arrangements. Of relevance to this study is Te Hikutu, a northern alliance member group, located at Te Puna and Kaihiki, and in particular, one of their leaders, Waikato. Waikato's early association with the almost legendary Nga Puhi leader Hongi Hika, (he was a nephew to Hongi)

---

<sup>14</sup> Ballara, Angela, *Taua: 'Musket Wars', 'Land Wars', or Tikanga?: Warfare in Maori Society in the Early Nineteenth Century*, Auckland, Penguin Books, 2003, p. 215

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, p. 197

increased his mana. As a young man in 1818, he had traveled to England and Australia with Hongi Hika and was arguably one of the most well travelled Maori of his generation. In trying to understand his decision to sell Whananaki land, it could be argued that this reflected his concept of himself as a leader and his knowledge of conducting business with Europeans.

Relationships between leaders such as Hongi Hika and Waikato, though difficult to quantify, appear to have been important to Whananaki. Both men visited Whananaki with their own waka taua. A missionary, George Clarke describes a visit by Hongi Hika and his taua of more than 400 warriors, women and children, in 1825.

on Saturday the seventh day from Kiddee Kiddee [Kerikeri], arrived at a place called Wana-nake [Whananaki]: at this place they were joined by a number of their friends; and the Chief of this place having lately died, a Chief living in the Bay of Islands sacrificed one of his slaves to appease the wandering spirit of the departed Chief having stopped at this place two days to procure fish for their support they proceeded on their voyage and the next day reached a place called Tai-Shadudu [Tai Haruru]<sup>16</sup>

Several prominent leaders and warriors accompanied Hongi on this trip to Whananaki, including Whareumu, Te Morenga (who had visited earlier with Marsden), Te Puhi, Te Auha, Taiwhanga, Te Kemara, Moka, Te Tirarau, Te Ihi, Patuone, Waka Nene, Moetara and Poutu. Residing at Whangarei, the Bay of Islands and the Far North, many would have commanded expeditions of their own. All would have been familiar with Whananaki as a stopover for procuring large supplies of fish and a place to rest for a few days. In one instance, Vallance refers to a war expedition by Te Morenga that traveled to Mercury Bay in 1820.

---

<sup>16</sup> Cloher, D. U., *Hongi Hika, Warrior Chief*, Viking, Auckland, 2003, p. 183

Te Morenga had purportedly mustered a force of 600 warriors, including 200 from Whananaki.<sup>17</sup>

While Whananaki people were loyal to their Ngare Raumatī kin it is logical to assume that they maintained alliances with Ngāpuhi leaders. To do otherwise could have proved fatal. However, the alliances worked both ways. For example, the famous battle Te Ika A Ranganui was intended to avenge the deaths of Houwawe, Hongi's brother, and his sister Waitapu at Moremonui in 1807. However, Hongi claimed the more recent death of Koriwhai, a Ngāti Wai as the cause. According to Ngāti Whatua and Ngāti Maru, Koriwhai had desecrated graves at Mahurangi.<sup>18</sup> Clearly it served Hongi's interests to broaden the scope of this conflict to garner widespread support for his cause, including support from coastal iwi such as Ngāti Wai.

An example of what could occur if relationships were not properly managed is the massacre at Tawhitirahi and Aorangi (the Poor Knights Islands) in the early 1820s. The story goes that Te Tatua, the leading figure on both islands had gone south on a war expedition with Hongi Hika. During his absence a Te Hikutu party decided to attack the islands. While Waikato, their leader, encouraged their actions, he decided not to participate because he was personally related to them.<sup>19</sup> The attackers landed at Roimata, at Whananaki before going across in canoes to Tawhitirahi and Aorangi and nearly all of the residents were killed.<sup>20</sup> Te Tatua's support of Hongi Hika did not prevent Waikato from encouraging his men to lay siege on Te Tatua's people.

From the above information a number of factors seem evident. Up to the early 1830s, the people of Whananaki were expected to participate in inter-tribal wars, and were drawn into conflicts involving coastal kin. They accepted refugee kin

---

<sup>17</sup> Vallance, Diana, *Story of Whangarei*, Whangarei, 1964, p. 23

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, p. 180

<sup>19</sup> Whangarei MB 14, Poor Knights, 15 April 1926, p. 185

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, p. 185

from other areas that in turn altered dynamics within their own community. They received visits from powerful Ngapuhi leaders and maintained careful relationships with them. War or the threat of war caused several displacements for a number of years. At this stage instability was a feature of life at Whananaki, making the people somewhat vulnerable to the influence of more powerful outsiders.

### **Waikato Decides to Sell**

From the beginning, the sale of Whananaki land was characterized by confusing sequences of events and contradictory accounts. Sold by Waikato, who had never lived at Whananaki and lacking the consent of actual residents, the 1838 sale was to involve some 30 years of government investigations before a second sale in 1864 was carried out to ratify the first. Identifying who were the residents and defining their rights appears to have been a problem that has never been successfully resolved. While research undertaken by historians has gone some way to explaining events surrounding the first sale, the disappearance of key primary documents hamper a comprehensive explanation.<sup>21</sup> Another concern, widely acknowledged by historians, is the exclusion of Maori perspectives in their research. This study attempts to address that imbalance although, given the loss of so much oral evidence, the articulation of Maori perspectives remains an enduring problem.

In 1835, Te Hikutu leaders Waikato and Wharepoaka took two settlers, Day and Bond to Whananaki to discuss the sale of a kauri forest.<sup>22</sup> Someone, whose identity is unknown, objecting to the proposed sale, approached Henry Williams,

---

<sup>21</sup>Stirling, Bruce, Northland Old Land Claims, CFRT, Draft, Wellington, July 2006; Berghan, Paula, Block Research Narratives Relative to Old Land Claims, CFRT, Wellington, 2005; Phillipson, Grant, Bay of Islands Nga Puhī and the Crown, 1793-1853, An Exploratory Overview for CFRT, Second Draft, Wellington, December 2004; Armstrong, David and Evald Subaic, Northern Land and Politics, 1860-1920; A Draft Overview Report Prepared for CFRT, Wellington, December 2006, 2 parts; Daamen, Rose, Hamer, Paul and Rigby, Barry, 'Rangahaua Whanui District 1- Auckland,' Waitangi Tribunal Working Paper, Wellington, July 1996

<sup>22</sup> Stirling, Bruce, Northland Old Land Claims, CFRT, Draft, Wellington, July 2006, p. 1736

in charge of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) at Paihia for advice. While Henry Williams was familiar with this person, their relationship to Whananaki is unclear. Williams, sensing the urgency of the impending sale, referred him to the British Resident, James Busby stating that without Busby's support the Whananaki residents would certainly 'lose their country.'<sup>23</sup>

To prevent the sale from occurring without their consent, a vaguely defined area of land perhaps incorporating the whole of Whananaki was placed in trust to the CMS. A deed was drawn up describing the boundaries of the area as being,

on the coast about 20 miles south of Cape Brett... partly covered with kauri but few natives living upon it, claimed by the Kawakawa natives, also by a tribe living near Te Puna called the Hikutu.<sup>24</sup>

The wording of the deed, while brief reveals significant information about Whananaki. Kauri grew close to water allowing easy access to the sea. The population of people living at Whananaki was small, and there was some undefined connection between Whananaki residents and Kawakawa. A man named Toenga signed the deed in December 1835, entrusting Whananaki to the CMS. Toenga's connection to Whananaki is unclear. Although he appears to have been a spokesperson for Whananaki's residents, he was apparently from Kawakawa and of Ngati Manu descent.

### **Identifying the 'Kawakawa natives'**

The expression 'Kawakawa natives' in the CMS trust deed is puzzling as Kawakawa was some distance from Whananaki and Ngati Manu are not known to be connected to Whananaki Maori. There are a number of possibilities for interpretation. The simplest is that as a result of some local upset, Whananaki

---

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, p. 1737

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p. 178

Maori sought refuge at Kawakawa, settling there while a small number of their kin stayed on at Whananaki. A second explanation could be that Kawakawa described a different area altogether. In the 1830s, Kawakawa extended from Opuia several miles inland, including the river and its component communities. As the Kawakawa River connected the interior to the coast, it is possible that coastal, rather than inland people expressed an interest in Whananaki.

A third explanation is that the Kawakawa district had close relationships with the CMS. In the 1820s, the CMS were involved in many joint timber ventures with Maori in the area.<sup>25</sup> The financial potential of Whananaki with valuable kauri forests, a safe anchorage and a small population, may have impressed the CMS who could have seen the trust deed as a way to extend their influence over another area with timber milling potential. Alternatively the CMS may have used the term 'Kawakawa natives' broadly and loosely to describe any Maori associated with the Bay of Islands. This could explain why Tipene Hari, a prominent Ngati Kahu leader living at Whangarei who objected to the proposed sale, was also described as a 'Kawakawa native' in relation to the Whananaki dispute. Whatever the case, failure to adequately identify Whananaki's residents was to remain an enduring problem.

### **Dispute at Waitangi**

Three weeks after the CMS deed was signed, Busby traveled to Whananaki. Busby writes about Whananaki in some detail suggesting that he took his role as mediator quite seriously. It is somewhat ironic that he opposed Waikato's sale, given his own subsequent purchases of coastal lands near Whananaki, at Ruakaka and Ngunguru.<sup>26</sup> Busby writes that he discussed Waikato's proposed sale with local (unidentified) residents. They challenged Waikato arguing that he had never

---

<sup>25</sup> Horsman, J., *The Coming of the Pakeha to Auckland Province*, Hicks Smith & Sons, Wellington, 1971, p. 14

<sup>26</sup> Pickmere, Nancy Preece, *Whangarei, the Founding Years*, published by Nancy Preece Pickmere, Whangarei, 1986, p. 27; Busby purchased 40,000 acres at Ruakaka in 1839 and 50,000 acres at Ngunguru in 1840. Both sales later became controversial old land claims.

resided there and was only connected to Whananaki through a distant ancestor named Puia. Based on this discussion, Busby concluded that Waikato's authority was insufficient to enable him to dispose of the land independently.<sup>27</sup>

On returning to Waitangi, Busby found a letter from Waikato requesting a meeting between the adverse claimants.<sup>28</sup> It seems that Waikato was determined to pursue his objective despite the apparent volatility of the situation.<sup>29</sup> Waikato had attached a gun to the letter, a gift from King George IV. A valuable item, it was probably intended to impress upon Busby the seriousness of his intent. Busby, unaware of its overtones, sought to downplay Waikato's intentions. Two days later Busby received a visit from Noa, another Ngati Manu leader, regarding the proposed meeting. Noa's interest in Whananaki, like Toenga who signed the CMS deed, is inexplicable. Attempts to identify who he was have been unsuccessful. Neither he nor Toenga appear in Whananaki whakapapa, neither are their names mentioned by witnesses giving evidence to the Native Land Court in the 1890s speaking about Waikato's sale.<sup>30</sup>

On 12 January 1836, a month after the CMS trust deed had been signed, both parties met at Waitangi. Waikato arrived first, accompanied by 35-40 men. While waiting for the others to arrive, Busby fed them and handed out pipes and tobacco. Noa and his party of 150 men, women and children arrived later. Other attendees included Reverend Baker, William Williams and Gilbert Mair, visiting Busby on private business.<sup>31</sup> Busby asked Waikato to explain his claim and received a vague response. Waikato seemed to be more interested in challenging the role of the CMS, suggesting that they were interfering in matters

---

<sup>27</sup> Stirling, Bruce, Northland Old Land Claims, CFRT, Draft, Wellington, July 2006, p. 1738

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, pp.1738-39

<sup>29</sup> Whangarei MB, No. 5, Oriwa, p. 331: Evidence of Karena Puhī presented to the Appellate Court, 25 July 1895.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, see also Chapter Four regarding Oriwa for relevant Native Land Court discussion concerning Waikato's sale.

<sup>31</sup> Stirling, Bruce, Northland Old Land Claims, CFRT, Draft, Wellington, July 2006, p. 1739: See also Jack Lee, *The Bay of Islands*, Reed, Auckland, 1983, p. 192

that did not concern them. Perhaps he saw them as representing a potential threat to his leadership. Busby wrote,

[Waikato] began an invective against the other party for having conveyed the land in question (which by the use of a possessive pronoun peculiar to the language of New Zealand he described as their mutual property) to the missionaries, who he said had nothing to do with such matters, having been sent here to teach the people, and that being their only duty.<sup>32</sup>

While Busby tried to steer the meeting back to a discussion about rights, Waikato refused to be drawn. Noa stood up to speak and was threatened by one of Waikato's men.<sup>33</sup> When Waikato's ancestry was questioned the meeting quickly dissolved. Waikato's men grabbed their concealed weapons and fired upon the unarmed crowd of men, women and children.<sup>34</sup> This was followed by much alarm and general panic until the wounded and the remainder of Noa's party took shelter in Busby's residence. The mediation had ended in disaster. Two people were killed and four wounded including Whangarei leader Tipene Hari who suffered a permanent limp as a result of this injury.<sup>35</sup> Waikato and the other offenders left unpunished, with Busby lacking the manpower to punish them. Noa's people were devastated, in Busby's words blaming him for his lack of foresight,

one of them said that, trusting to my protection, they had come to my residence without arms and accompanied by their wives and children, and they were murdered above me.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> Stirling, Bruce, Northland Old Land Claims, CFRT, Draft, Wellington, July 2006, p. 1739

<sup>33</sup> Phillipson, Grant, Bay of Islands Nga Puhī and the Crown, 1793-1853, An Exploratory Overview for CFRT, Second Draft, Wellington, December 2004, p. 209

<sup>34</sup> Stirling, Bruce, Northland Old Land Claims, CFRT, Draft, Wellington, July 2006, p.1740: See Phillipson, Grant, Bay of Islands Nga Puhī and the Crown, 1793-1853, An Exploratory Overview for CFRT, Second Draft, Wellington, December 2004, p. 209

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, see also Whangarei MB, No. 5: Oriwa, p. 331: Evidence of Karena Puhī presented to the Appellate Court, 25 July 1895. There is some discrepancy over numbers of wounded; See also Whangarei MB, No. 5: Oriwa, p. 334: Evidence of Erueti [sic] Maki presented to the Appellate Court, 26 July 1895.

<sup>36</sup> Stirling, Bruce, Northland Old Land Claims, CFRT, Draft, Wellington, July 2006, p. 1740

Lacking jurisdiction and power to punish, Busby wrote to the New South Wales Governor requesting a force to punish the perpetrators. His request was denied. Blood had been spilt and lives lost over Whananaki. In the aftermath, both sides kept their distance while a wary peace was maintained.

### **Waikato's Sale Proceeds**

Despite the tragic outcome of the attempted mediation, Waikato remained intent on selling Whananaki. Busby became increasingly concerned, having heard rumours about a proposed sale. Bond, who had gone to Whananaki with Waikato in 1835, was reported to have mentioned earlier, in March 1837 that,

the death of two men was a very small matter, and that he and Waikato were not to be deterred from going to Whananaki by that.<sup>37</sup>

Another rumour surfaced that the missionary John King had already entered into a transaction with David Salmon, a land speculator, to purchase Whananaki. Busby attempted to quell such reports, concerned that they might ignite further tensions.<sup>38</sup> In spite of Busby's efforts a transaction was concluded between Waikato and Salmon. Unfortunately the circumstances are vague. The deed of sale was lost and the date cannot be verified. However, given that reports about a proposed sale continued to surface until 1838, the sale probably did not occur until then. Salmon died shortly afterward although not, apparently, before he had visited Whananaki with Waikato and three canoes of his people.<sup>39</sup>

It is difficult to ascertain what people thought about Waikato's sale. Polack, a European observer passing along the coast in 1838 (but not going ashore), surmised that Whananaki was depopulated. This supports the view that there

---

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p. 1741

<sup>38</sup> Ibid

<sup>39</sup> Ibid

would have been no one present to object to the sale.<sup>40</sup> However disagreement with the sale must have been widespread. Missionary, William Colenso noted that when Maori gathered at Waitangi in February 1840 to discuss the Treaty, some had failed to attend apparently concerned about the conflict at Whananaki.<sup>41</sup> Colenso visited the small Whananaki settlement of Tohora the following year. Bagnall, his biographer, provides an interesting description of the area suggesting that as late as 1841, Whananaki was uninhabited. He also notes the impact of raiding parties,

Pressing southward the travelers spent the night at Tohora, a deserted village, the inhabitants of which had been massacred in some tribal battle, their bones now lying bleaching on the sand....As far as the eye could see there was no sign of human habitation. The whole countryside was depopulated or deserted.<sup>42</sup>

### **Defining the Boundaries of Salmon's Claim**

After David Salmon's death his brother John engaged a lawyer, George Cooper, to settle David's estate. In October 1840, a land claim was filed with the New South Wales government. Cooper wrote that Whananaki had been acquired in 1838 at a cost of £200. The boundary was defined as,

Manghati [Mangaiti] Bay and extending along the coast to a round hilly promontory in W[h]ananaki bay to the southward of the entrance to the W[h]ananaki River, which river with its right of fishery is included in it, containing about seven thousand acres of land.<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> Polack, J., *New Zealand: Being a Narrative of Travels and Adventures* Volume 11, London, 1838, pp. 222-223

<sup>41</sup> Colenso Papers, MS 1611, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington

<sup>42</sup> Bagnall, A. G., C. C. Peterson, *William Colenso, Printer, Missionary, Botanist, Explorer, Politician, His Life and Journals*, A.H. Reed, 1948, p. 100-101

<sup>43</sup> Bruce Stirling with Richard Towers, 'Not with the Sword but with the Pen', *The Taking of the Northland Old Land Claims*, Part 2, CFRT, Wellington, July 2007, p. 1734

Cooper's account of the sale was made some two years after Salmon's death, raising questions about its accuracy. Cooper outlined a substantial area taking in land on both sides of the estuary, although mainly on the north side. Several wahi tapu, cultivations, woods, wetlands, tidal rivers, pa and Maori settlements were located within these boundaries. Although it is unclear how Cooper had decided on these boundaries, it is possible that he discussed details of the transaction with Waikato. The inclusion of the fishery right is unusual suggesting at face value that fish had become an important commodity. However, the harbour was crucial for floating timber and this may explain why it was included.

The controversial nature of Whananaki's purchase was quickly made known to officials. Within a month, George Clarke, Protector of Aborigines, advised the Colonial Secretary that the claim was not straightforward. Salmon had transacted the land with,

a different party of natives to those whose signatures are affixed [to the CMS deed] and against the protestation of the party.<sup>44</sup>

### **Tupai's Objection to Salmon's Claim**

Another claim, which surfaced briefly in 1841, is intriguing because, like Waikato and Noa, the claimant was not from Whananaki. Tupai, whose English name was James Bailey was originally from Waitangi. He wrote to Governor Fitzroy objecting to Salmon's purchase claiming Whananaki for himself,

I also claim land along the coast from Cape Brin or Brett to Manowa Bay one way and to the southward from the same Cape to Wongroodoo running inland to Waikare River. I also claim a portion of land in

---

<sup>44</sup> Stirling, Bruce, Northland Old Land Claims, Part 1, CFRT, Wellington, Draft, July 2006, p. 185

Warahnakke river running from Whangahray point to Warahnakke and some other few spots of no great extent.<sup>45</sup>

Bailey intended returning to New Zealand the following month, however, he died unexpectedly that same year. His claim ended upon his death. It may not have mattered as Clarke had already suggested that Bailey's claim was too broad to be taken seriously. Given Whananaki's apparent volatility between 1820 and 1840, and the corresponding movement of people away from the district, we cannot assume that the only valid claimants to Whananaki were those actually residing there. At the same time there is little evidence connecting claimants living outside of Whananaki such as Noa, Toenga, Waikato or Bailey, to the district. This is not to suggest that people at the time were not aware of possible connections. A more probable explanation is that they were not recorded.

### **Land Claims Commission**

In April 1841, the matter was referred to the Land Claims Commission (LCC). The Commission was established to adjudicate hundreds of land transactions that had taken place between Maori and European before the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. These transactions later came to be known as 'Old Land Claims'. The first Land Claims Commission operated from 1841-1844 and reported on more than 1000 transactions. With some 551 transactions registered in Northland alone, they affected many Maori throughout the region. The Commission's practices, policies and procedures have been the subject of much debate by historians. A common problem was its inability, like that of the claimants themselves, to identify Maori right-holders and the nature of their rights. Given that its function was to extinguish Maori customary title, this is perhaps not surprising.

---

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, p. 274

In presenting evidence to the LCC, Cooper altered his initial statement changing Salmon's date of purchase from 1838 to 1834. This was possibly to pre-empt the CMS trust deed of 1835, the existence of which would have raised questions about the legitimacy of Waikato's sale. Despite George Clarke had informing the LCC of the claim's background, the Commission was prepared to approve Salmon's claim.<sup>46</sup> The report published in June 1842 and confirmed by the Governor in a Gazette 24 August 1842, was in Salmon's favor and recommended a grant to Salmon of 2,560 acres.<sup>47</sup> However, the Commission remained ambiguous about the rights of competing Maori claimants, advising the Governor that only land belonging solely to Waikato could be granted to Salmon.<sup>48</sup>

Having been granted the land, John Salmon exchanged it with Crown land in 1843. However, by 1847, the Surveyor General informed Governor Grey that the Crown's title to Whananaki land was negligible.<sup>49</sup> This is because the Commission's recommendation was conditional. It had ruled that an area of land be granted to Salmon in which Waikato was found to be the sole owner. As this could not be determined, Grey concluded that Salmon's claim was invalid.<sup>50</sup> The New Munster Executive Council, a provincial government operating between 1848 and 1853, accepted Grey's advice concluding that Salmon's claim needed to be revisited, and recommended another inquiry.<sup>51</sup> The LCC had not sufficiently resolved Salmon's claim. It was necessary to reopen the case.

Meanwhile Maori had begun moving back to Whananaki. The population was growing with people from other areas moving there as well. Rather than being unoccupied Crown land, Whananaki was in the process of becoming resettled. In the minds of many residents, Salmon's transaction with Waikato and the Old Land Claim Commission were distant events with little relevance to their daily

---

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, p. 342

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, p. 1750

<sup>48</sup> Ibid

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, p. 1752

<sup>50</sup> Ibid, p. 1753

<sup>51</sup> Ibid

lives. Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, despite the investigations, the ownership of Whananaki block was a matter of conjecture only slowly becoming important to Maori residents after several years. In the meantime they continued to live on the 'sold' land.

This chapter shows that the kainga came about as a result of political events occurring throughout the entire region, namely the reconfigurations of various hapu and their alliances. While people were reoccupying Whananaki a separate sequence of events that ran parallel to these developments was also taking place. This involved a transaction that took place in the late 1830s between two non-residents that in turn generated several years of investigation. In the next chapter a second sale in the 1860s became the pivotal point upon which two separate histories, one seeking to validate a transaction, the other representing the interests of the kainga's residents, were to intersect.

## *Chapter 2:*

### **FISHING RESERVE**



Boat ramp at fishing reserve, Whananaki north

---

By the late 1840s, two perceptions of Whananaki were beginning to emerge. The first had links to early nineteenth-century political developments occurring throughout the Bay of Islands. The second view concerned a pre-Treaty transaction and subsequent investigations that followed. In the minds of Maori residents, Whananaki was a kainga with resources, cultivations and people connected to each other through complex coastal and inland relationships. For officials, it represented untapped potential and a future European settlement. Over the next thirty years both views competed for dominance with a proposed fishing reserve marking an important turning point.

## **Williams Investigates Salmon's Claim, 1850**

A year after the New Munster Executive Council had decided to inquire further into Whananaki block, Salmon's case was referred to Waimate Resident Magistrate, E. Williams, son of Henry Williams of the CMS.<sup>52</sup> Resident Magistrates were responsible for reporting on Maori districts to the Native Minister. Williams visited Whananaki and, after speaking to the residents decided that Salmon had acquired his claim after a 'severe dispute' between Waikato and others claiming rights at Whananaki. However, William's inquiry did not extend to establishing who the exact owners were or the nature of their rights.<sup>53</sup>

Ten years had passed since the previous investigation. On the surface at least little had changed. Salmon's claim may have been recognised, and land exchanged, but the government's failure to communicate its intentions to Maori had convinced residents that the land remained in their possession. It was not until Maori discussed the investigation with Williams that they became aware, perhaps for the first time since the first Old Land Claims investigation, of the seriousness of the Crown's claim and the potential threat this represented. Their opposition was unequivocal.

## **Two Letters from Maori Residents**

Two letters written by Maori residents refer to matters that while familiar to the recipients, with the passage of time and loss of contextual oral history, are less clear to us. Although translated into English they have an emotional tone that conveys a sense of urgency and apprehension. Local leader, Hori Te Ngere wrote to Reverend Williams in May 1850 stating,

---

<sup>52</sup> Stirling, Bruce, Northland Old Land Claims, CFRT, Draft, Wellington, July 2006, p. 1753

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, p. 1754

I write to inform you that Whananaki (block) has been sold...Indeed this is an evil thing, this handing over of homes for the Pakeha and I say to you, sir, that I am displeased that land should be sold. But you know the intentions regarding the land and it was you who advised us to be obstinate regarding the land formerly, and the advice is followed that we should continue.<sup>54</sup>

Te Ngere would have had good oversight of the situation as his father had also lived at Whananaki since the 1820s.<sup>55</sup> It would appear that Te Ngere was referring to the CMS trust deed and the intention behind it, to protect Whananaki land being sold. Williams had presumably offered advice to Te Ngere on a former occasion.

Another long-term resident aware of the Crown's interest and suspicious of its motives was Tamihana Te Puai.<sup>56</sup> Te Puai is also discussed in Chapter Four. Referring to Whananaki and Pikiparia (the Great Barrier), he wrote to Governor Grey and Williams also mentioning a deed.

I do not agree to the Pakeha settling at Whananaki, but the Pakeha may have the timber. I did not see the writing of that deed although I am included in it... the foreigners are mere squatters.<sup>57</sup>

While not conclusive, Te Puai may have been referring to the same deed as Te Ngere. Alternatively he may have been referring to a permit of some kind issued by the government authorizing settlers to cut timber. Te Puai's reference to timber clearly shows Maori were aware of reasons for European interest in

---

<sup>54</sup> Jane McRae (comp.), *Catalogue of Maori-language Documents: Alexander Turnbull Library and Hocken Library*, Vol. 1, Part 1, CFRT, 2005: Letter from Hori Kingi Te Ngere, Ngawai, to Williams, 11 May 1850. (Translation only; Maori original not located.)

<sup>55</sup> Bruce Stirling with Richard Towers, 'Not with the Sword but with the Pen', *The Taking of the Northland Old Land Claims*, Part 2, CFRT, Wellington, July 2007, p. 1743

<sup>56</sup> Ibid: Letter from Tamihana Te Pu [Te Puai] to Governor Grey and Williams

<sup>57</sup> Ibid

Whananaki. Te Puai's statement also indicates that while Maori were not averse to sharing their timber, they did not want permanent European settlement.

The identity of the 'foreigners' is not clear. Was Te Puai referring to Europeans cutting timber in the area, or was he referring to Maori outsiders encroaching upon their land? Whatever the interpretation cast on both letters, they are significant as evidence of local Maori opposition to European settlement as well as signaling Maori awareness of their position as tangata whenua or residents.

### **Maori Gathering at Ahi Koroamo**

In August 1851, Salmon took Waikato to Auckland to present evidence in his favour to the second Land Claims Commission. Waikato had endorsed the original transaction making light of residents' concerns. Native Land Court evidence, while vague, suggests that Whananaki residents were aware of and angered by Waikato's continuing support for Salmon's claim. As a result several coastal and inland hapu went to Whananaki to offer public support to dissenters of Waikato's sale.

Supporters included neighboring coastal hapu Te Parawhau, Te Uripuka, Ngati Kahu, Te Patuharakeke, Ngati Hau, Te Tawera, Ngati Korora, Te Waiariki and Ngati Taka. Many were kin to Whananaki's residents. Upon arrival at Whananaki, the hapu stayed at Ahi Koroamo, presumably at Whananaki south, while waiting for Waikato's appearance. After two weeks, when it became evident that Waikato would not arrive, they disbanded and returned to their settlements.<sup>58</sup> In their minds, Waikato's non-appearance was implicit acknowledgement that Waikato knew he had no right to sell Whananaki and that he recognized the residents' superior rights.

---

<sup>58</sup> Whangarei MB, No. 5, Oriwa, p. 333: Evidence presented by Wiki Pirihi to the Appellate Court 25 July 1895

## Payment Suggested for Whananaki Block

In August 1852, the New Munster Executive Council decided to survey Whananaki block and resolve John Salmon's claim.<sup>59</sup> The following year, the Surveyor-General recommended that Salmon's claim be extended beyond 2,560 acres. While government policy had determined that this would be the maximum amount an old land claimant could apply for, Salmon's original claim had included some 7000 acres. The Surveyor-General recommended,

to examine the boundaries as actually sold to Mr Salmon by the natives and if he is of opinion that there was a quantity greatly in excess of the 2,560 acres that after remarking the old boundary lines in a manner to be conspicuous to the natives in the neighbourhood but not in the absolute manner required for measuring the length of lines etc.<sup>60</sup>

In effect, Salmon would be awarded 2,560 acres, while the balance of 4,440 acres would be awarded to the government. According to this proposal, Whananaki Maori would be left without coastal land, with a significant portion of inland area also being taken. Rather than dealing with the validity of Salmon's purchase, Salmon's transaction had become a pretext for appropriating a much larger area of land for government purposes. Aware that Whananaki Maori would not be amenable to this suggestion, Mangonui Resident Magistrate White recommended that a payment of some kind would be necessary to appease Maori objectors.

Presumably he was concerned about opposition from Hori Te Ngere, Tamihana Te Puai, as well as three brothers, Patuwhitu, Hokianga and Arama Karaka, who had recently arrived from Rawhiti. White was instructed by the Colonial Secretary to make a payment with the recipients signing a statement extinguishing

---

<sup>59</sup> Stirling, Bruce, Northland Old Land Claims, CFRT, Draft, Wellington, July 2006, p. 1759

<sup>60</sup> Ibid

all future claims to the land.<sup>61</sup> Salmon agreed to provide the money. Although White had discussed this offer with Whananaki residents, he reported they were not at all interested in accepting his offer.<sup>62</sup>

### **Reappearance of ‘Kawakawa natives’**

In December 1853, Native Secretary Nugent returned from a trip to the Bay of Islands. His visit revealed the ongoing links between the Whananaki and Kawakawa people. He had discussed the status of Whananaki land with Kawakawa residents. Once again, as their identities are not clarified, it is unclear whether they were actually Whananaki people who happened to be staying at Kawakawa or Kawakawa people somehow connected to Whananaki.

In any case, Nugent was informed of their rights at Whananaki. In their view, Waikato had alienated his own rights but no one else’s, and they assured Nugent that Whananaki could not be taken on the basis of his transaction.<sup>63</sup> Nugent’s report suggests the Kawakawa Maori were unaware of the government’s intention to extend Salmon’s claim to include the entire area. Evidently the ‘Kawakawa natives’ mentioned in the 1835 CMS deed, were still living at Kawakawa 18 years later and had maintained their rights at Whananaki in those intervening years. As mentioned in Chapter Two, they may have been refugees of some kind, perhaps former residents who had settled at Kawakawa in the 1820s or 1830s, however, lack of information prevents us from speculating further.

### **Tipene Hari Agrees to Sell**

Rather than continue the hopeless task of negotiating with Whananaki residents who clearly did not agree to a sale, government officials decided to deal with

---

<sup>61</sup> Stirling, Bruce, Northland Old Land Claims, CFRT, Draft, Wellington, July 2006, p. 1762

<sup>62</sup> Ibid

<sup>63</sup> Bruce Stirling with Richard Towers, ‘Not with the Sword but with the Pen’, The Taking of the Northland Old Land Claims, Part 2, CFRT, Wellington, July 2007, p. 1762

individuals who would. A few days after White had reported on this situation in February 1854, the Native Land Purchase Commissioner, John Grant Johnson wrote from Whangarei that,

considerable excitement is arising in this district relative to a tract of country called Whananaki, claimed by Captain Salmon of Auckland, and which the natives of this place hear is to be finally granted to that gentleman.<sup>64</sup>

Johnson explained that Whangarei's Ngati Kahu leader, Tipene Hari was willing to receive payment. Actually, Hari had threatened to prevent Europeans from occupying the block if he was not paid. It is difficult today to reconcile Tipene Hari's interest in Whananaki block given that he is more commonly associated with Whangarei. His connection to Whananaki, like that of so many others in this study is inexplicable. However given that his people were serious about preventing Europeans settling at Whananaki unless a payment was made, this could suggest that some Ngati Kahu were connected to people residing at Whananaki. Ngati Kahu was one of several hapu who had supported Whananaki residents in their opposition to Waikato's perceived interference in the early 1850s. Tipene Hari was also present at the bitter meeting that took place at Busby's residence in 1836. In light of the above, it seems reasonable to assume that his interest in Whananaki was financially motivated.

### **The Second Sale of Whananaki Block**

After several years of indecision, the government finally decided to act quickly to obtain Whananaki. In 1855, the Native Land Purchase Commissioner, Johnson, outlined his intention to enter into negotiations.<sup>65</sup> According to Johnson,

---

<sup>64</sup> Ibid

<sup>65</sup> Stirling, Bruce, Northland Old Land Claims, CFRT, Draft, Wellington, July 2006, p. 1765

the rights of the representatives of the late Captain Salmon have now I understand been given to the government and the natives hitherto in opposition to sale invited me to enter into negotiations with them with a view to the surrender of the whole to the Crown.<sup>66</sup>

Johnson's superior, Kemp referred the request to the Colonial Secretary. Kemp noted the ongoing, disputed conflict involving a 'large and widely scattered number of claimants.'<sup>67</sup> In his opinion, the matter would best be resolved if Maori were removed from the land and a European settlement established in their place. Kemp's reference to 'scattered' claimants is perhaps acknowledgement of the impact of this dispute on people living outside of Whananaki including those at Kawakawa and the Bay of Islands. However it also exaggerated the supposed divisions amongst claimants inferring that it would be impossible to define their rights.

Johnson reported on the completion of negotiations for Whananaki block. A much reduced area of 2,560 acres was set apart in February 1858. The block had gone from an initial claim by John Salmon of 7,000 acres, to 2,560 by the LCC, back to 7,000 by the Surveyor-General, before finally returning to the original 2,560 acres. Such fluctuations may have reflected the level of confusion between local and central government, as it seems unlikely that officials were concerned about possible impacts on Maori.

Payment was not made until 1863 when the new Native Land Purchase Commissioner, Searancke paid a deposit of £30 for Whananaki block to Tipene Hari. The balance was to be paid when the deed and survey were completed.<sup>68</sup> In July 1864, Tipene Hari signed a deed extinguishing the claims of Ngati Kahu and Ngati Wai to Whananaki block and was paid a further £20. The balance of

---

<sup>66</sup> Bruce Stirling with Richard Towers, 'Not with the Sword but with the Pen', *The Taking of the Northland Old Land Claims, Part 2*, CFRT, Wellington, July 2007, p. 1765

<sup>67</sup> Stirling, Bruce, *Northland Old Land Claims*, CFRT, Wellington, Draft, July 2006, p. 1765

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid*, p. 1769: See Deed Receipt No. 28, Turton's Deeds, p.727

£50 was paid to Hori Wehiwehi, a leading figure and major landowner at Whangaruru, in November 1864. The boundary extended from Okorora pa to Motutara point, up the Whananaki inlet to the Wairahi valley before crossing back in a line to Okorora.<sup>69</sup>

The amount fixed by the government of £100 had not altered in almost a decade. Meanwhile, a second sale had repeated the mistake of the first. Outsiders with undefined rights had sold land. Neither Tipene Hari, living at Whangarei, nor Hori Wehiwehi, living at Whangarei Heads and Whangaruru resided at Whananaki. Meanwhile residents' rights were ignored. Those actually living on the block and cultivating land were paid nothing.

### **Maori Settlement of 1863**

It would have been difficult for officials to avoid the reality of a Maori settlement, or the impact that this sale would have had on local Maori and their livelihood. This was observed by Resident Magistrate Barstow who visited Whananaki in May 1863,

competent authorities inform me that the flat, on which the Maori kainga are situated is within the boundary of the claim.<sup>70</sup>

Barstow noted that while the areas within Whananaki occupied by Maori were quite small, they were the most valuable. Given their location on the waterfront providing access to the sea, excluding the areas of Maori settlement and cultivation from the block would have rendered it useless for European settlement.<sup>71</sup> Barstow also noted that Whanau Whero, under Hori Te Ngere's leadership, was cultivating some 12 acres on the flat. Hori Te Ngere had also

---

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, p. 1771

<sup>70</sup> Bruce Stirling with Richard Towers, 'Not with the Sword but with the Pen', The Taking of the Northland Old Land Claims, Part 2, CFRT, Wellington, July 2007, p. 1770 - 71

<sup>71</sup> Grant Phillipson, Bay of Islands Nga Puhi and the Crown, 1793-1853, An Exploratory Overview for CFRT, Second Draft, Wellington, December 2004, p. 145

owned and operated the *Nymph*, a 19-ton cutter since 1857. Newspaper reports record the *Nymph*'s activity over several months transporting passengers, horses, vegetables, maize, wheat, and other sundries along the coastline.<sup>72</sup> Perhaps seeing potential for further growth, Barstow recommended that a resident Pakeha was needed to purchase their produce.<sup>73</sup>

Hori Te Ngere had also recently purchased extra land on the flat from Hoterene Tawatawa. Tawatawa, a Ngati Wai leader, is recorded as living at Whangaruru in 1862.<sup>74</sup> Although he did not live at Whananaki, it was said that he derived his right to sell from an uncle killed there by a Ngati Whatua war party.<sup>75</sup> This transaction suggests that amongst coastal Maori there was a shared understanding of individuals' rights to specific areas. While the government continued to redefine ownership on its own terms, coastal Maori continued to negotiate ownership matters based upon customary Maori tenure.

### **Purchase Deed, 1864**

The July 1864 deed was a typical Deed of Purchase. Giving no evidence of its controversial history, the deed made no reference to Waikato's pre-Treaty sale of 1838, Salmon's old land claim of 1840 or the un-extinguished rights of residents living on the land. It was as though the previous 30-years of ongoing conflict between Waikato, the Kawakawa people, Whananaki residents, investigations and officials had not existed. Anyone not aware of the previous events would have assumed a straightforward sale had taken place involving a simple exchange of money for land.

---

<sup>72</sup> Daily Southern Cross, 12 June 1857, 28 April 1857, 24 July 1857, 18 August 1857

<sup>73</sup> Daily Southern Cross, 2 June 1866: Daily Southern Cross, 4 June 1866

<sup>74</sup> AJHR 1862, E-7, p. 16: List of Northern Chiefs

<sup>75</sup> Armstrong, David and Evald Subaic, Northern Land and Politics, 1860-1920: A Draft Overview Report Prepared for CFRT, Wellington, December 2006, 2 parts, p. 462

## Opposing Views from Barstow and Clarke

Three months after the sale deed was signed, in October 1864, Barstow reported on an application by Hori Te Ngere and others to purchase some 2,500 acres extending from the estuary at Whananaki north moving inland, and including the area where they were already living. Te Ngere had decided that purchasing the land he and many others were already living on was the only way to secure their title and ensure the kainga's survival. Despite his request to purchase the block, his application was turned down with Barstow claiming that Te Ngere had no other interest apart from the 40 acres Hoterene Tawatawa had transferred to him.

As noted, Barstow had visited Whananaki and spoken to local Maori including Hori Te Ngere. He had observed their settlement and commented on the size of their cultivations. He knew the area well and was aware of the superior quality of the flat waterfront land occupied by Maori who had chosen it as a kainga for these reasons. With an estimated 240 people living at this kainga, 40 acres was obviously inadequate.<sup>76</sup> In spite of this, Barstow concluded that it would be in the interests of the residents if their land were sold to European settlers,

I do not know of any block of land more advantageously circumstanced for fertility, water conveyance, and timber for both building and fencing purposes.<sup>77</sup>

While Barstow supported the idea of European settlement, Waimate Civil Commissioner Clarke wrote in support of the local residents who were by now fully aware of their precarious position. Clarke, in his previous roles as Protector of Aborigines, with missionary connections, was well aware of the 'fatal

---

<sup>76</sup> See Chapter Five, Land Settlement Scheme: This section explains amounts of land considered necessary to enable individual Europeans to sustain a living, 50 acres being the bare minimum.

<sup>77</sup> Grant Phillipson, *Bay of Islands Nga Puhi and the Crown, 1793-1853, An Exploratory Overview for CFRT, Second Draft*, Wellington, December 2004, p. 145.

circumstances' under which Waikato sold the land.<sup>78</sup> He was aware that Waikato's transaction was opposed by all residents, and that neither Waikato nor any of his party had occupied the land. He expressed hope that the situation could still be resolved even at this late stage. In his opinion, if the land now belonged to the government it could be a simple matter to resolve.<sup>79</sup>

While Clarke believed the government could make provision for Te Ngere and the others, this did not eventuate. The residents were left in limbo. On 10 June 1871, an article appeared in the Daily Southern Cross stating that native title had finally been extinguished over Whananaki block. This appears to have been the first time that a newspaper notified the public about the availability of land, raising the public profile of Whananaki. In 1872 a 500-acre fishing reserve was proposed. This was to be located on the exact spot where the Maori settlement was located.

### **Application for a Fishing Reserve**

In January 1872, a lengthy article on fisheries in the Otago Witness endorsed a scheme planned by two individuals from Whangarei. McLeod and Perston had jointly requested grants of 500 acres each at Tutukaka and Whananaki to establish two fishing reserves. Perston succeeded Whangarei's first doctor Kenderdine in 1860-61 had been elected a member of the Auckland Provincial Council in 1868.<sup>80</sup> The Auckland Provincial Council had evolved from the New Ulster/New Munster provincial system that was disestablished in 1853. It is possible that Perston's position may have influenced the Council's decision to lease the land to him.

---

<sup>78</sup>Bruce Stirling with Richard Towers, 'Not with the Sword but with the Pen', *The Taking of the Northland Old Land Claims*, Part 2, CFRT, Wellington, July 2007, p. 1743

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Pickmere, Nancy Preece, *Whangarei, the Founding Years*, published by Nancy Preece Pickmere, Whangarei, 1986, p. 91

The article noted that McLeod and Perston's application to the Superintendent of Auckland included a request for land with harbour and coastal frontage and locally grown forests to provide suitable timber for building boats, ships and houses. Fishermen's cottages for settlers surrounded by gardens and cleared paddocks would be used to keep sheep and cattle. The article stressed the profitability of a fisheries industry which would provide employment for a large population. The government was encouraged to make concessions of coastal land to entrepreneurs, such as McLeod and Perston, who were prepared to develop such an enterprise.<sup>81</sup>

McLeod and Perston's application was initially turned down by the Superintendent of Auckland. The land was not at that time under the jurisdiction of the Auckland Provincial Government and the matter was referred to central government. Later that year, 500 acres at Whananaki were transferred to the Auckland Provincial Government on the condition that Perston and McLeod would lease the land to establish a fishing station. It was agreed that if the land was not used for this purpose, it would revert back to the government.

In spite of eight years having passed since the sale of Whananaki block, in reality little had changed. While adjoining land blocks had been investigated by the Native Land Court in 1867 it appears that Whananaki Maori continued to operate within their own world largely uninformed of outside interventions. With little evidence suggesting otherwise, they continued to cultivate on the north shore waterfront for some time after the sale. However, the promise of a fishing reserve represented real change.

A letter written by Whananaki resident Hirini Tamihana, discussed later, hints that Maori agreed to the reserve proposal because of the potential benefits it

---

<sup>81</sup> Otago Witness, 20 January 1872

would bring to their community, but did not give away their land.<sup>82</sup> Hirini Tamihana's father was Tamihana Te Puai, who also lived at Whananaki and would have been approximately 83 years old in 1872.<sup>83</sup> As mentioned previously, Te Puai, writing to Governor Grey and Reverend Williams in the 1850s, had objected to Europeans settling at Whananaki, but not to their taking timber. Clearly Maori support for the reserve was contingent upon their receiving benefits.

Support for the fishing reserve could explain why Maori left their kainga on the north side without any signs of conflict. They may have anticipated that the fishing reserve would improve their standard of living and give them an opportunity to participate in a wider economy. Despite such expectations, the Whananaki fishing reserve never eventuated. The land remained as it was for the next two years before being leased to a settler for a cattle run.

### **Maori and the First Store**

In the same year that the application for a fishing reserve was made, Charles John Hutchinson, a resident of Whangaruru set up a store at Whananaki.<sup>84</sup> Hutchinson, allegedly the first settler to live at Whangaruru, ran another store at Mimiha (Helena Bay). With the same Dr Perston who had applied for the 500-acre fishing reserve, he co-owned a cutter called the 'Blanche'. The cutter was famously destroyed in a storm at Whananaki in February 1872. Two anchors had broken, bringing it perilously close to shore. Three Maori men with ropes tied around their chests had waded into the surf and rescued two settlers from being washed back out to sea.<sup>85</sup>

---

<sup>82</sup> NA AKL AP 2 19 2492/74: Letter from Hirini Tamihana at Ngawae, to Superintendent Williamson, Auckland Provincial Government, July 1874

<sup>83</sup> Armstrong, David and Evald Subaic, Northern Land and Politics, 1860-1920: A Draft Overview Report Prepared for CFRT, Wellington, December 2006, 2 parts, pp. 1159-60

<sup>84</sup> Madge Malcolm, Where it all began: the story of Whangaruru taking in from Mimiwhangata to Whangamumu, M.S. Malcolm, Hikurangi, 1982, p. 1

<sup>85</sup> Daily Southern Cross, 27 February 1872

In September, a journalist visited what must have been Hutchinson's store at Whananaki. It is not evident whether the shop was located on the north or south side of the estuary, however, the writer describes a small freshwater stream near a bay which suggests it may have been near Oruaca on the south side or Parepare on the north side. On that particular visit, Maori had collected over 30 tons of kauri gum selling it all to Hutchinson.

The journalist noted that a schooner had recently arrived with goods to sell to Maori.<sup>86</sup> He also noted a disturbance. The store's location was apparently a cause for concern as it was on tapu ground and local Maori had asked the storekeeper to move it to a more suitable site. As Hutchinson had refused, tohunga were called to remove the tapu. The shop was eventually opened and was busy for the next two days. The journalist makes passing observations about the views held by Whananaki Maori. He noted their rather low opinion of European settlers who had migrated to New Zealand.

Waiatas were sung in all the whares, and one song pleasing the writer, he learned, on enquiry, it was to the effect that white men who had no land came out to New Zealand.

In light of previous events concerning the sale of Whananaki block, this observation by local Maori, sufficiently important to be made into a song, suggests a heightened awareness of land matters. By 1872, Maori would have been aware of increasing interest by Europeans in Whananaki. Their enthusiasm for Hutchinson's goods shows that they saw the usefulness, perhaps even necessity, of having a European in their midst to trade with. At the same time they were aware that European interest in their district came at a price.

---

<sup>86</sup>West Coast Times, 9 September 1872

## **Hirini Tamihana Seeks Return of Land**

Two years after the journalist's visit, on 21 July 1874, Hirini Tamihana wrote to the Auckland Provincial Council, requesting that land on the north side of the estuary be returned to the original owners.

Friend this is a word to you for a piece of land at Whananaki, by the side of the river Wahaparata, the name is Te Koko i Wangaroa [Whangaroa] to be returned to me, that is to us, the residents on this piece. For we did not dispose of that piece – it was disposed of stealthily. Therefore I say for us still let the land remain that is all.<sup>87</sup>

The timing of this letter is significant, written two years after the fishing reserve was leased to Perston and McLeod. The area of land referred to included part, if not the entire fishing reserve which stretched along the waterfront. Tamihana refers to the residents as though they may have still been living on that land. As mentioned earlier, it is probable that Maori residents were asked to leave the north side harbor frontage when the land was leased to McLeod and Perston. It seems likely that Maori supported the fishing enterprise and moved to adjoining land, so that it could be established. At the same time they continued to use it. When the planned fishing reserve did not eventuate, Hirini Tamihana and others expected that their interest would be returned to them.

## **From Fishing Reserve to Cattle Run**

Despite the failed fishing venture, European interest in Whananaki block did not abate. On 13 June 1875, an application was made on behalf of Mr Kenneth McKenzie to lease or purchase the block, mistakenly described as containing two hundred acres 'more or less'. A month later, another applicant, James Hamlyn Greenway, wrote to the Provincial Government requesting a lease for a term of

---

<sup>87</sup> NA AKL AP 2 19 2492/74: Letter from Hirini Tamihana at Ngawae, to Superintendent Williamson, Auckland Provincial Government, July 1874

21 years.<sup>88</sup> Greenway, a Clerk of the Court in Russell, was well placed to lease the reserve. He had purchased 400 acres at Mimiwhangata in 1875, the following year purchasing another 857 acres at Owai.<sup>89</sup> Mimiwhangata adjoined Parepare, the northern boundary of Whananaki. Europeans had not yet settled on land extending from Mimiwhangata to the Whananaki inlet, a distance of some 8 kilometers. This afforded Greenway an opportunity to lease the entire coastline for a cattle run.

### **From Cattle Run to Village Settlement, 1886**

By 1885, the area of land reserved for the fishing station was still being leased to Greenway. This means that his farming operation would have extended from Owai to Whananaki, a considerable area of coastline.<sup>90</sup> This was to change in 1885 when John Charles Johnson was granted land at Whananaki.<sup>91</sup> One of Whananaki's most celebrated of settlers, Johnson's activities will be discussed in further detail in the next two chapters. A year later in 1886 Whananaki block was surveyed into fifty-acre sections. This suggests that Johnson, arriving in 1885, initially settled on un-surveyed land. The 1886 survey notes a red strip along the estuary frontage labeled Crown Grant Road. This was to become the new fishing reserve which is now held by the Whangarei District Council. The reserve had been reduced in size from 500 acres to a small strip of land adjoining the waterfront. In the survey plan, Johnson was allocated 700 acres (14 sections), while other European settlers arriving a year or two later acquired the remaining 360 acres. Greenway's lease may have been formally terminated at this stage although he continued to own a cottage on the fishing reserve that was leased as a schoolhouse as late as 1889.<sup>92</sup>

---

<sup>88</sup> NA AKL AP 2 19 3278/75: Letter from T. H. Greenway to the Superintendent Williamson, Auckland Provincial Government, July 1875

<sup>89</sup> Madge Malcolm, *Where it all began: the story of Whangaruru taking in from Mimiwhangata to Whangamumu*, M.S. Malcolm, Hikurangi, 1982, p. 58

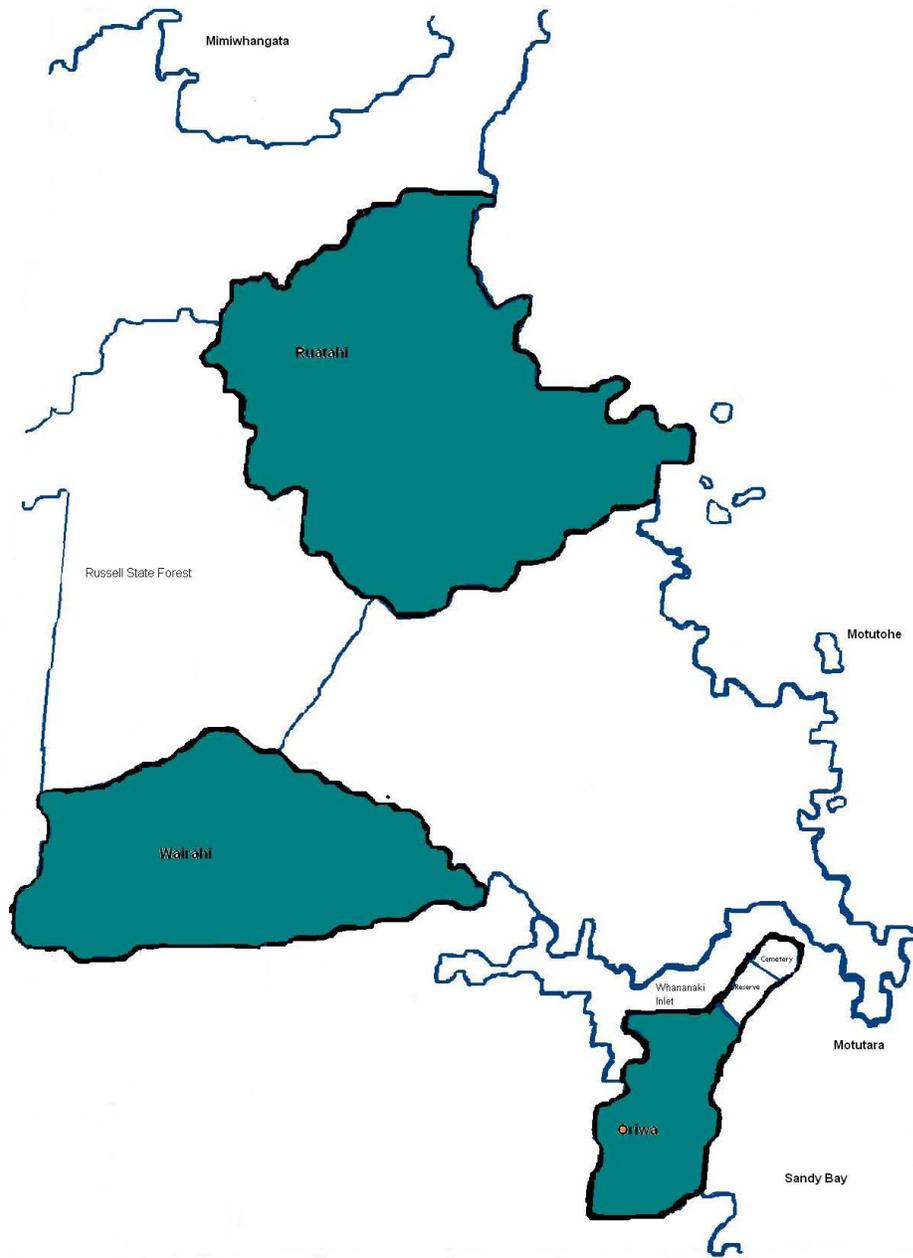
<sup>90</sup> *Ibid*, p. 59

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid*, p. 60

<sup>92</sup> NA AKL, Folder: Auckland Education Board, Vol I. 1889-1959, No. 1/570, Whananaki: Letter from John C Johnson, 16 March 1889, regarding the lease of Greenway's cottage.

In this chapter, events surrounding Whananaki block between 1850 and 1886 were explained. To summarize, while the kainga continued to operate independently for some years, the second sale of Whananaki block in 1864 effected deeper state intervention. Although the state's intentions were by now apparent, a pretext was required to remove the kainga from the waterfront and replace it with a settler village. This was because the sale did not provide sufficient justification to do so as Maori still legally occupied parts of the waterfront. Making the waterfront a fishing reserve, apparently with some support from Maori as they believed they would benefit from the proposed economic development, served this purpose. At Whananaki Maori and Pakeha settlement historically overlaps in the shared space of what became known as the fishing reserve. Following their displacement Maori residents moved to adjoining lands, Ruatahi, Wairahi and Oriwa. The following chapter will look at events occurring at Oriwa following Maori displacement from Whananaki block. It traces the gradual erosion of Maori self-sufficiency. Their dependence on the timber industry and inability to recover from the loss, economic and otherwise, of Whananaki block ensured that this would remain the case.

## Map of Ruatahi, Wairahi and Oriwa Land Blocks<sup>93</sup>



<sup>93</sup> Map taken from report by Walzl, Tony, Twentieth Century Overview Part II, 1935 – 2005, CFRT, Wellington, December 2007

## *Chapter 3:*

### **ORIWA – THE SOUTH SIDE**



Overlooking sand spit and Oriwa block at Whananaki south ocean beach

---

#### **Two Wahi Tapu**

At Whananaki south, two roads meet on the northeastern portion of Oriwa block. The first road is called Te Ara O Tunua, the pathway of Tunua, named in memory of Pita Tunua who was an original owner. Veering off Whananaki south road, it continues past a pa called Rangitoto in the direction of the sea. Before reaching the ocean it meets Pukekawa road, the moniker used for Eruana Maki who married a Tainui woman and had lived at Pukekawa, Franklin. Turn right at Pukekawa and you will reach Pitokuku, an urupa located at the end of the public transport road. Turn left and if you will eventually arrive at the other side of Rangitoto pa, where there is another urupa. Between these two burial grounds is a physical distance of not more than one kilometer. However as symbols expressing mana whenua, attachment and belonging, their distance is vast.

Beneath Rangitoto, a gnarled pohutukawa tree, bent and hollowed with age is all that remains of Rangihaha, an ancient battleground, where human bones lie buried. In summertime, holidaymakers in four-wheel drive vehicles go past this site, unaware of its significance as a place where blood was once spilt. A small corner of land on the edge of estuary and ocean, it is a peaceful setting. Yet the serenity that greets the holidaymaker belies Oriwa's history as contested ground where individuals clashed over the right to control its past and ultimately, its future.



Rangitoto Pa at Huikau, Oriwa

Pitokuku rests beneath a hillock, a lookout point at the south end of the long ocean beach. The origins of the name Pitokuku are undocumented. 'Pito' can refer to an end or extremity, belly button or umbilical cord. It can also be an offering or gift to atua. 'Kuku' is the name of a type of mussel.<sup>94</sup> On the foreshore beyond the wahi tapu is a rocky outcrop that extends into the sea and follows the curve of the bay. Mussels grow in abundance, their size and numbers closely monitored by tangata whenua. For some Maori, Pitokuku is the entire point, incorporating the hillock, the rocks that merge into the sea, and the urupa.

---

<sup>94</sup> Williams, Herbert W., Dictionary of the Maori Language, 7<sup>th</sup> ed, P.D. Hasselberg, Wellington, 1985

Pitokuku cemetery reserve is divided into two sections, now fenced. The front ‘older’ section is located on the ocean frontage. With no markers identifying who is buried where, the section is barely noticeable as a burial ground. Buffalo grass and flax plants grow in patches on uneven ground. Given its age and location, it is likely that the urupa extended further outward and sideways beyond the current fence line, which was erected after 1940.<sup>95</sup> The land on which the urupa is located would also have extended beyond the present sand bank that has clearly eroded some seventy meters.

As an old man, Tawai Kawiti of Waiomio recalled attending a hui at Pitokuku as a youth.<sup>96</sup> This would have been before the wooden crosses and tombstone pictured below were erected. Maori had gathered to rebury human bones that had become uncovered during a storm. While the bones were being cleaned, strong winds had lifted the pegs of a marquee. As the weather worsened, the crowd became more anxious. An old man had climbed the hill and delivered a karakia. The weather abated and the bones were eventually reburied.



Pitokuku wahi tapu

---

<sup>95</sup> NA AKL BAAI, 11466 64q 152: Letter from Romana Maki, 26 January 1939 discussing lease and fencing of the property

<sup>96</sup> The event would have taken place before 1920. Personal communication with Marie Tautari, 20 March 2008

## ‘New’ Influences

Located between the old urupa and Pukekawa road is the new cemetery, which presents a visual contrast. Rows of neatly arranged, small, white, wooden crosses adorn a well-maintained lawn. Dominating the section is a large, white gravestone featuring a cross. The base of this stone is inscribed with the words,

He tohu maharatanga mo Eruena Maki i mate 22 Oketopa 1921 ona tau  
105 me tona hoa wahine me Mihi Watara i mate 2 Hurae 1891 ona tau 70.

This translates as:

This is a memorial for Eruena Maki who died on 22 October 1921 aged  
105 years, and his wife Mihi Watara who died on 2 July 1891 aged 70  
years.<sup>97</sup>

The presence of this tombstone is significant because it signals the introduction of new influences and people to Whananaki south, or Oriwa, as the first surveyor named it. Actually Oriwa is a river at the western edge of the block. ‘Oriwa block’ was created by the Native Land Court in 1867 and supplanted several names already accorded to various places within its boundaries.

Other names inscribed on the tombstone are:

Te Rau Angaanga Te Arawaia

Tamihana

Te Awhi Mauhikitia

Riripeti Tuaahu

Te Rau Angaanga Arama Karaka

---

<sup>97</sup> Author’s translation.

The above names are presented in the manner of deep-rooted tradition yet their origins are recent, closer to a late nineteenth-century intervention. The newcomers were Maori, and they were to have an ongoing influence at Whananaki. Unlike many families who settled in the late nineteenth-century, their descendants continue to reside in the district. They share the family name Maki, commonly referred to as Mackie. Their tupuna was Eruana Maki. Following Eruana Maki's death, and the unveiling of his tombstone in the 1930s, an unwritten convention was established. In deference to his greatness no other headstone could be erected in the cemetery.<sup>98</sup> All other graves were to be marked by a small cross.<sup>99</sup> How Pitokuku came to be associated with Eruana Maki and his descendants is also the story of Oriwa block.

### **'Old' Influences**

Descendants of those buried in the older, adjoining urupa continue to live at Whananaki as well. However, in response to events that occurred at Oriwa, another urupa at nearby Rangitoto was established for Pita Tunua and his family. While Pita Tunua's ancestors, including his father, grandfather and great-great-grandfather, are buried at Pitokuku (the records do not state where his great-great-grandfather was buried), it is at Rangitoto that he asked to be buried before he died in 1910.<sup>100</sup> The reasons for this apparent break with tradition are not immediately obvious. On one level they are linked to a disagreement between two individuals. On another level they are tied to nineteenth-century colonialism and its impact on Whananaki Maori in general.

---

<sup>98</sup> Walzl, Tony, *Twentieth Century Overview Part II, 1935 – 2005*, CFRT, Wellington, December 2007, p. 1852: On 11 December 1975, Oriwa 1D was set aside as a burial ground for the descendents of Eruana Maki.

<sup>99</sup> Personal communication with Marie Tautari, 18 August 2008

<sup>100</sup> Whangarei MB, No. 5, Oriwa, p. 32: Evidence presented by Hirini Tamihana re. Partition of Oriwa, 10 May 1894

Pita Tunua's gravestone is shared with his son Te Rahui (Hugh) Peters who died eight years after his father's death at 42 years of age, victim of an influenza epidemic that swept through several northern Maori settlements in 1918. Florence Harsant describes in vivid detail the devastating effect of an epidemic at Oriwa in 1913. This revealed not only the lack of medical assistance available to Whananaki Maori at the time but their general poverty.<sup>101</sup> Another eyewitness recalled as a child attending his first Maori event, the unveiling of Pita Tunua's tombstone circa 1924. A large crowd had gathered on the flat below, at Huikau where Pita Tunua's wooden house had once stood, next to an orchard that he had planted several years earlier.<sup>102</sup>

Rangitoto, as the name suggests, dominates the skyline, with sweeping views that take in the estuary, the sand spit, the ocean and the river after which Oriwa the block was named. Most importantly perhaps it overlooks Pitokuku, the resting place of Kinaki and Whenua, ancestors of Pita Tunua, who, according to oral history, shaped the landscape creating place names that continue to resonate amongst their descendents today.

### **The Court Decides Ownership**

Before embarking on a discussion of Oriwa's social history, an explanation on the ownership of Oriwa block is required. What is known about Oriwa and relayed in this chapter largely derives from Native Land Court evidence. While helpful, the evidence is nevertheless confusing. In many instances dates are not provided. Events described are patchy with important information missing. Witnesses and claimants submitting evidence contradict each other and, given the lack of corresponding material, there is no way to check their statements for accuracy. During cross-examinations it is difficult to know whether the answers to

---

<sup>101</sup> Harsant, Florence, *They Called Me Te Maari*, Whitcoulls Publishers, Christchurch, 1979, p. 97

<sup>102</sup> Personal communication with Verdon Symmans, 28 August, 2007

questions and indeed the questions themselves were recorded in full. These factors combined make a full account of Oriwa's history difficult to ascertain.

In 1867, the Native Land Court adjudicated on Opuawhanga No 1 (9,450 acres), 2 (6,784 acres), 3 (1,782 acres), and 4 (15,157 acres). The above lands extended from Matapouri to Whangaruru. Opuawhanga No 1 included Matapouri, and Opuawhanga No 2 included Whananaki south. Both are relevant to this study of Oriwa. In the same year, approximately 410 acres was set aside from Opuawhanga No 2 and renamed Oriwa block. This small area was considered sufficient to provide for the needs of the Maori owners of Opuawhanga No 2 and their families who were expected to sell the larger block to the government. Unfortunately, no records survive of the initial investigation of title for Oriwa.

After a decision in 1867 that awarded Oriwa block to Pita Tunua and five others, Oriwa did not reappear in the Native Land Court until 1894. By that time many changes had occurred at Whananaki south due in part to the arrival of several newcomers. The new arrivals were related to two brothers, Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu who had moved to Oriwa in the late 1840s. While the brothers had not been awarded an interest in Oriwa in 1867, their relations later claimed ownership rights there arguing that Oriwa had been gifted to their ancestor, Te Ruaki.

In 1894, Pita Tunua applied to the court to partition Oriwa block. This appears to have been due to conflict over Pitokuku. Most of the evidence used in this chapter was presented at this hearing. In summarizing the case in 1895, the court decided that Oriwa had been gifted to Te Ruaki. His descendants had then handed the land back to Pita Tunua to manage. The block was partitioned to Pita Tunua, Hirini Tamihana, Eruana Maki, Tauhou Wiki Pirihi, Taiapa Te Rahui, Hori Matenga Tamaki and Karena Puhī.<sup>103</sup> It is interesting to note the late stage at which Eruana Maki's name appeared on a Whananaki land title, more than 25

---

<sup>103</sup> Whangarei MB, No. 5: Oriwa, p. 39: 11 Decision re. Partition of Oriwa, 11 May 1894

years after the initial investigation of title. A year later Pita Tunua, Karena Puhi and Hirini Tamihana unsuccessfully appealed to the appellate court to overturn that decision. Unfortunately for them they were unable to exclude those associated with Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu from Oriwa. Within twenty years of having been awarded Oriwa land, Eruana Maki sold approximately one third of the block.

### **Kinaki and Whenua**

Given that some claimants opposed Pita Tunua's claims to Oriwa, it is perhaps useful to explore the basis upon which his claim was made. Whakapapa indicates that four generations previously, two brothers, Kinaki and Whenua had lived at Oriwa. Both brothers were buried at Pitokuku and their descendants are amongst the earliest known residents of Whananaki. One descendent, Tamihana Te Puai, already mentioned in previous chapters in relation to Whananaki block, was quoted in 1866 as having belonged to a family that was 'nearly extinct'.<sup>104</sup> The 'family' was probably Ngati Manaia, who according to Florence Keene once occupied the entire coast from Mimiwhangata to Whangarei harbour.<sup>105</sup> Today, very little is known of Ngati Manaia. While they may have exercised considerable influence in pre-European times, surviving evidence is scarce.

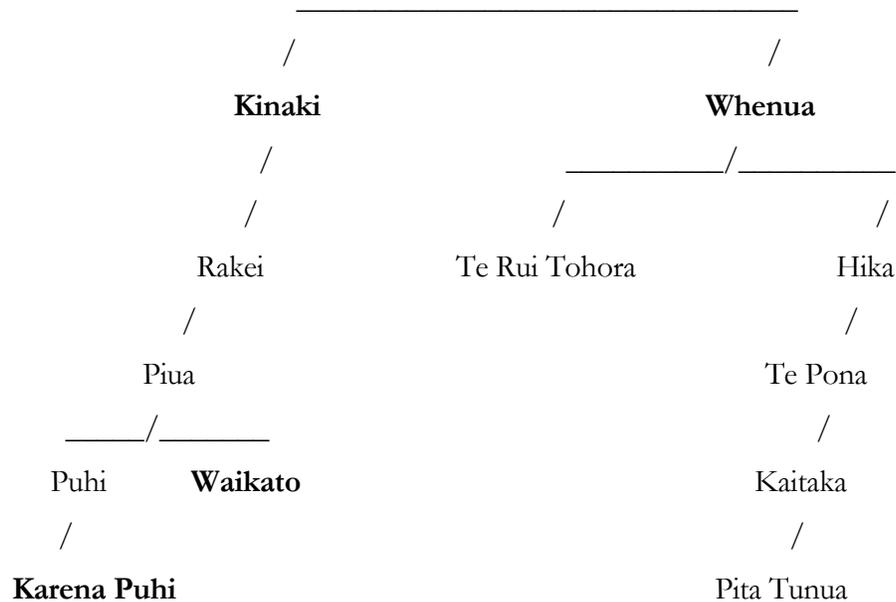
Manaia, after whom Ngati Manaia was named, was the father of Kinaki and Whenua. Manaia's father Hoturangi was identified as a key ancestor in relation to Oriwa. It has been suggested that there was more than one Manaia however a closer study of whakapapa, beyond the scope of this study, would be required to specify the relationship between the two. In this particular context, Manaia's two sons, Kinaki and Whenua settled at Whananaki. Many places on Oriwa block were named by or in association with Kinaki and Whenua including, Rangitoto, Rahuiroa, Waitepaua, Pitokuku and Rangihaha. Other places outside of Oriwa

---

<sup>104</sup>Armstrong, David and Evald Subaic, Northern Land and Politics, 1860-1920: A Draft Overview Report Prepared for CFRT, Wellington, December 2006, 2 parts, pp. 1159-60

<sup>105</sup> Florence Keene, Tai Tokerau, Whitcoulls, 1975: See the Battle of Mimiwhangata, p. 47





While he never lived at Whananaki, Karena Puhi's name figures prominently in Oriwa evidence in support of Pita Tunua. He identified several places at Whananaki south, emphasizing Kinaki and Whenua's mana.

The land belonged to our ancestors and we have the one claim on it. Kinaki and Whenua are our ancestors. They were brothers.... Kinaki was the man who had the great interest and arrangement about this land. There was a pa on it this block, sometimes called Rangitoto sometimes Kinaki's pa. He also had a rahui near this pa called rahuiroa to mark his land.<sup>110</sup>

Karena Puhi identified two wahi tapu at Oriwa.

Pitokuku and Rangihaha are burial places. They were the burial places of Kinaki .... My ancestors had mana over these two places.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Ibid, p. 330

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, p. 331

Although the written evidence is scarce, it seems reasonable to assume that places associated with Kinaki and Whenua were Ngati Manaia in origin.

### **Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu**

Like the brothers Kinaki and Whenua, two other brothers, Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu, were to settle at Whananaki several generations later. It has been noted by historians that the battle of Ruapekapeka in 1845 signaled a subtle shift in Maori attitudes throughout Northland. Ballara has asserted that after 1845 the boundaries of chiefly authority, especially with regard to land, became blurred while Belich has observed that after this time the power of the state increased significantly.<sup>112</sup> Given the uncertainty caused by such changes, it was inevitable some Maori would attempt to exploit the situation which partly explains the presence of Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu at Whananaki. The brothers settled in a 'wooden house' at Te Papapa, the sand spit on Oriwa block, about three years after the battle of Ruapekapeka.<sup>113</sup> Patuwhitu had no children while Arama Karaka had one son, Te Rau Angaanga, who died in 1890, and a daughter Tauhou Aoripo, who died in 1932.<sup>114</sup>

Originally from Rawhiti, the presence of these two brothers was to challenge those with a longer association to Whananaki and redefine what it meant to be tangata whenua. The details concerning their move are sketchy and the reason, presented forty years later in court, must be regarded with caution. However, it is evident that their presence met with resistance from Waikato.

---

<sup>112</sup> Ballara, Angela, *Taua: 'Musket Wars', 'Land Wars', or Tikanga? Warfare in Maori Society in the Early Nineteenth Century*, Auckland, Penguin Books, 2003, p. 457; Belich, James, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, Penguin Books, Auckland, 1996, p. 192

<sup>113</sup> Whangarei MB, No. 5, Oriwa, p. 31: Evidence presented by Hirini Tamihana, cross-examined by Sydney Wiki Pirihiri re. Partition of Oriwa, 10 May 1894

<sup>114</sup> Keene, Florence, *Milestone: Whangarei County's first 100 years 1876 – 1976*, Whangarei, 1976, p. 92

While occupying this land, Waikato came and ordered them off...Waikato replied, if you do not go, I shall not cease to urge you until you do.<sup>115</sup>

Why Waikato disputed their presence at Whananaki is unclear. Perhaps Patuwhitu and Arama Karaka had first attempted to settle at Whananaki north on land Waikato had sold. Evidently they had questioned his sale. Alternatively, Waikato may have believed that Oriwa belonged to him. Waikato who had been neutral in the Ruapekapeka battle may even have resented their role in that event. The story goes that Patuwhitu and Arama Karaka responded to Waikato's challenge, temporarily moving to a pa on the south side of the estuary at Ahi Koroamo near Oriwa River. Waiting with them were several coastal hapu including Parawhau, Te Uripuka, Ngati Kahu, Te Patuharakeke, Ngati Hau, Te Tawera, Ngati Korora, Te Waiariki, Te Panupuha and Ngati Taka, already mentioned in the previous chapter.<sup>116</sup> After a couple of weeks, finding that Waikato had not yet arrived, the hapu returned to their respective kainga while Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu remained.

It appears that between 1850 and the mid-1860s, Arama Karaka, Patuwhitu and Hokianga occupied land at Oriwa unchallenged, although one must qualify this by saying that challenges, if they had arisen, would not have been recorded. Ten years later, Resident Magistrate Clendon identified three Te Akitai chiefs, Patuwhitu, Hokianga and Puru Wiremu Kenea as living at Whananaki.<sup>117</sup> Hokianga was probably a brother of Patuwhitu and Arama Karaka. There are many accounts concerning Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu and how they came to settle at Whananaki. Hirini Tamihana described a teina-tuakana relationship between Arama Karaka, Patuwhitu and Tamihana Te Puai.

---

<sup>115</sup> Whangarei MB, No. 5, Oriwa, p. 341: Evidence presented by Wiki Pirihī to the Appellate Court, 26 July 1895

<sup>116</sup> Ibid

<sup>117</sup> AJHR 1862, E-7, p. 16: List of Maori chiefs

My father Tamihana Te Puai invited them to Oriwa as they were relations. What we call “teinas” but I cannot give the exact relationship.<sup>118</sup>

It is difficult to assess the accuracy of this statement. Certainly at the time of Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu’s arrival at Whananaki, Tamihana Te Puai and Hori Te Ngere would have been the leading chiefs in the district. While Te Puai shared ancestry with Pita Tunua, it is not inconceivable that he was related to Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu as well.

Hone Pama also gave evidence before the Native Land Court on Oriwa. Hone Pama was born on the Great Barrier and was awarded land at Wairahi block through an aunt. He had moved to Whananaki in 1890 and managed a timber operation in the Wairahi valley as well as a cattle farm.<sup>119</sup> Pama claimed that Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu came to Whananaki at the invitation of the Whanau Whero people.

I have heard from the Whanau Whero that Wharau invited Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu to this land and that was the origin of their coming to it. Wharau was a member of the Whanau Whero.<sup>120</sup>

While this is also possible, Wharau is not mentioned as an owner in earlier investigations suggesting that he was an older man at the time of their arrival and had died some years previous. Wiki Pirihi presented another explanation for Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu’s presence. Pirihi lived at Takahiwai and claimed Ngati Wai descent. Unlike Hone Pama, he supported arguments in favour of Arama Karaka. This was possibly due to his being married to Arama Karaka’s only daughter. As a Native Assessor he would have been more familiar with the

---

<sup>118</sup> Whangarei MB, No. 5: Oriwa, p. 31: Evidence presented by Hirini Tamihana re. the Partition of Oriwa, 10 May 1894

<sup>119</sup> Cyclopedia of New Zealand, Auckland Provincial District, Vol. 2, Cyclopedia Company Limited, 1902, p. 564

<sup>120</sup> Whangarei MB, No. 5, Oriwa, p. 37: Evidence presented by Hone Pama to the Appellate Court, 27 July 1895

court's processes than other claimants which may have given him more influence in court. Pirihi asserted that the gifting of land to Te Ruaki, combined with Arama Karaka's successful rebuff of Waikato had earned him and his brother the right to live at Oriwa. He further claim that long-term occupation, evidenced in extensive land use, further cemented their rights.

The cultivations of these two and their descendants have extended all over that portion of the block now claimed by Pita for himself and Tamihana.<sup>121</sup>

Pirihi further contended that both Tamihana Te Puai and Wharau had both supported Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu settling at Whananaki. Both had moved to Oriwa when they heard that Waikato had sold Whananaki as they were concerned that he might sell Oriwa as well. According to Wiki Pirihi, both Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu had returned to Oriwa to renew their claim presumably that inherited from Te Ruaki.

On arrival here they saw Te Puai [Tamehana Te Puai] at Taungahau settlement. They told him the reason of their return. He said "Go to Oriwa to our settlement".

At a kainga called Te Ruatahi they saw Te Wharau, who asked them whither they were going. They told him to Oriwa, he said yes go to your settlement. They went.<sup>122</sup>

Wiki Pirihi went so far as to say that Pita Tunua was given the task of looking after Oriwa by Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu in 1867,

---

<sup>121</sup> Whangarei MB, No. 5: Oriwa, p. 34: Evidence presented by Wiki Pirihi re the Partition of Oriwa, 10 May 1894

<sup>122</sup> Whangarei MB, No. 5, Oriwa, p. 341: Evidence presented by Wiki Pirihi to the Appellate Court, 26 July 1895

Patuwhitu brother of Arama Karaka invited Pita Tunua to Oriwa to look after the portion sale [sold] and the part to be retained for themselves. Pita had the conduct of the case at the Court, and [arranged] the part for sale and part retained.<sup>123</sup>

Eru Nehua, another witness, with no apparent links to Whananaki also presented evidence in support of Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu. Born in the Bay of Islands, later based at Whakapara, Nehua was well known throughout Northland for his controversial award of Puhipuhi block in favour of the claims of more traditional leaders like Maihi Kawiti.<sup>124</sup> Like Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu, Nehua had resettled in a new area following the battle of Ruapekapeka. A good friend of Eruana Maki, they shared much in common including a mixed European-Maori ancestry, openness to European ways and fluency in English.<sup>125</sup> Along with Eruana Maki's son, Hori, he was also connected to the Mormon Church suggesting openness to new ideas. Eru Nehua maintained that while some lands were selected for sale, Oriwa was set aside as a reserve for Pita Tunua and Eruana Maki.

Pita Tunua, Hirini Tamehana, Eru Maki, Arama Karaka, generally speaking it was left for Pita and his party and Eru Maki and his party.<sup>126</sup>

Despite the above comments, it is evident that Pita Tunua was not subordinate to Arama Karaka or Patuwhitu. Questions and responses in court touch upon the nature of their relationship. Pita Tunua had objected to Patuwhitu's attempt to sell the sand spit to a settler named Bateman. He overrode Patuwhitu's decision to authorize the felling of puriri trees on the block. Tunua had even, somewhat

---

<sup>123</sup> Whangarei MB, No. 5, Oriwa, p. 33: Evidence presented by Wiki Pirihī re the Partition of Oriwa, 10 May 1894

<sup>124</sup> Malcolm, Madge, *Where it all Began: The Story of Whangaruru Taking in From Mimiwhangata to Whangamumu*, M. S. Malcolm, Hikurangi, 1982, p. 71

<sup>125</sup> J.E. Magleby *Ordinations circa 1890*, Rangi Parker collection, Kia Ngawari Trust, Templeview Hamilton

<sup>126</sup> Whangarei MB, No. 5, Oriwa, p. 344: Evidence presented by Eru Nehua to the Appellate Court, 26 July 1895

inexplicably, paid Patuwhitu £5 for his interest in Pitokuku stating that Pitokuku 'belonged' to him, not Patuwhitu. These were not the actions of a subordinate.

### **Runanga at Whangaruru**

The arguments mentioned above in favour of Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu, submitted in 1894, are revealing when placed in a broader context. Prior to the investigation of Oriwa block in 1867, a land hui was held at Whangaruru. The purpose appears to have been to discuss ownership of previously mentioned blocks Opuawhanga No 1, 2, 3 and 4. Unfortunately, no records survive of the actual discussion that took place and we are reliant on one witness's recollection of events several years later. It appears that the hui was organized by a group called the Whangaruru runanga.

The runanga was part of a scheme created by George Grey in 1862 to give Maori greater decision-making responsibilities. Described as a 'Native County Council Court of Law' its purpose was to provide a level of local self-government to Maori.<sup>127</sup> Maihi Kawiti of Waiomio chaired the Whangaruru runanga. If this particular meeting held at Whangaruru was organized by the runanga, it can be assumed that the division and allocation of land was conducted within Maori parameters. The existence of this meeting suggests that Whananaki Maori were well informed about who owned particular blocks of land and had participated in discussions prior to their investigation in the Native Land Court. At that stage, Eruana Maki's name was not mentioned in relation to Oriwa. This may have been because he was not living there at the time and did not move there until some twenty years later.

---

<sup>127</sup> Ritchie, Rayma, *Cargoes: An Introduction to the History of the Bay of Islands*, Pukepuriri Publications, Ohaeawai, Reprint 1999, p. 34

## **Petitions and Partitions**

Despite the award of Oriwa block and the apparent sale of Opuawhanga No 2, Oriwa does not appear to have assumed a separate identity from Opuawhanga No 2, in terms of boundaries, until several years after the 1867 investigation. There is evidence to suggest that Pita Tunua continued to use resources on Opuawhanga No 2 after it too had been sold. In one account he felled two trees located at ‘Canoe Gully’, a valley that lies between Oriwa River and Oruaea before carving them into waka tiwai. The waka were dragged out of the bush until they reached the tidal part of Oriwa River and were then floated to the estuary.<sup>128</sup>

Such activity suggests that Oriwa Maori were only gradually aware that a transaction concerning Opuawhanga No 2 (begun in 1870 with the Auckland Provincial Council), was completed in 1879 by the Native Land Department. Concerned at how little land he had left, Pita Tunua petitioned the government (unsuccessfully) in 1881, 1882 and 1903 requesting 200 acres of land at Opuawhanga No 2 for himself and his family. Meanwhile, in 1894, Pita Tunua returned to court seeking partition of Oriwa. Pita Tunua continued to express doubt about Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu’s claims, questioning their rights or perhaps more accurately, the claims of their relative Eruana Maki, as Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu had both died by 1891. Meanwhile Eruana Maki continued to insist that a gift of land to his ancestor Te Ruaki had given him such rights.

## **Locating Te Ruaki**

Given that the story of Te Ruaki’s gift was accorded evidentiary status by the court, it is necessary to explain these claims in more detail. Certainly, the attempt

---

<sup>128</sup> Whananaki District by J.A.Edge, North Shore Teachers College, 1965; Personal communication with Verdon Symmans, 28 August 2007: The waka, in a dilapidated state, remains at Whananaki today.

to use Te Ruaki as a reference point for according another group rights, makes him significant. However, Te Ruaki's role in Whananaki's pre-European past is hampered by a lack of written evidence. Where such evidence exists, it is overlaid by the subjective interpretations of witnesses, all of which makes a retrospective analysis more difficult.

Eruana Maki argued that Te Ruaki was gifted Oriwa for avenging the death of Hika who lived three generations earlier and was Ngati Manaia. His explanation was that Ngati Whatua and Kawerau warriors had purportedly killed Hika in a battle that had taken place at Whananaki. The details of the battle were not clarified. Hika's son, Te Pona had gifted Oriwa to Te Ruaki as a token of his gratitude. Te Pona was Pita Tunua's grandfather. However, Te Ruaki never moved to Oriwa. Maki claimed that Te Ruaki's grandsons, Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu, eventually settled at Oriwa on the basis of this gift.

Even amongst Maori at the court there seems to have been some disagreement about the area of land that was included in the gift. Paratene Te Manu from Whangaruru explained that Te Ruaki was gifted Matapouri (Opuawhanga No 3). In his view, the gift of land had not extended to 'the other side of the river Oriwa' (Opuawhanga No 2).<sup>129</sup> Hirini Tamihana supported this saying that while Hika was killed at Whananaki, Te Ruaki was gifted land elsewhere, not at Oriwa, for his role in avenging Hika's death.<sup>130</sup> Hone Pama also questioned the location of the land gifted to Te Ruaki. He said that it was at Kokirikaiora, which is past Oriwa and nearer to Matapouri.<sup>131</sup>

Wiki Pirihi supported Eruana Maki's claims to land at Oriwa, arguing that Hawera had gifted Matapouri to Te Ruaki while Te Pona had gifted Oriwa to Te

---

<sup>129</sup> Whangarei MB, No. 5, Oriwa, p. 37: Evidence presented by Paratene Te Manu re. The Partition of Oriwa, 10 May 1894

<sup>130</sup> Whangarei MB, No. 5, Oriwa, p. 31: Evidence presented by Hirini Tamihana, cross-examined by Wiki Pirihi re. the Partition of Oriwa, 10 May 1894

<sup>131</sup> Whangarei MB, No. 5, Oriwa, p. 38: Evidence presented by Hone Pama to the Appellate Court, 26 July 1895

Ruaki. In his evidence Te Ruaki had lived at Rawhiti, Whananaki and Matapouri.<sup>132</sup> Pirihi added that Te Pona was the ‘sole survivor’ of his people, suggesting perhaps that the battle in which Hika died had killed many others at Whananaki. Following the battle, Te Pona lived on at Whananaki as Te Ruaki’s ‘dependant’. This is puzzling as several of Whenua’s descendants are recorded as having lived at Whananaki, including Tamihana Te Puai and Pita Tunua. The reference to a ‘sole survivor’ alluded to in government records, suggests that a significant proportion of Ngati Manaia’s population were killed in battle thus giving credence to the story of a battle having occurred.<sup>133</sup>

Despite the evidence presented by all, it seems unlikely that a gift to Te Ruaki could have explained Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu’s presence at Whananaki. This is because of the time delay involved between the gifting of land, and the much later occupation by his descendants. Te Ruaki lived three generations before Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu and there is no evidence indicating that Te Ruaki’s claim was ‘kept warm’ in the intervening years. It was not until Eruana Maki’s arrival at Oriwa in the mid-1880s, and more specifically the 1894 court hearing, that Te Ruaki’s story assumed prominence at Whananaki. Eruana Maki had however referred to Te Ruaki in the investigation of Opuawhanga No 3 in 1867.

Te Rauangaanga whose child was Te Ruaki whose child was Te Ketekao whose child was Patuiki [Patuwhitu] whose brother was Hokianga whose brother was [Parore] whose brother was Rauangaanga heke, Hokianga’s sister was Tapeke [Tapeka] from whom came Te Kahuitara whose child was Eruana Maki.<sup>134</sup>

---

<sup>132</sup> Whangarei MB, No. 5, Oriwa, pp. 340-341: Evidence presented by Wiki Pirihi to the Appellate Court, 26 July 1895

<sup>133</sup> Armstrong, David and Evald Subaic, Northern Land and Politics, 1860-1920: A Draft Overview Report Prepared for CFRT, December 2006, 2 parts, pp. 1159-60: A source describes Tamihana Te Puai’s family as being ‘almost extinct.’

<sup>134</sup> Whangarei MB, No. 1, Opuawhanga No. 3, p. 143: Evidence presented by Eruana Maki re. Matapouri

It is interesting that the name Te Rauangaanga also appears on Eruana Maki's tombstone at Pitokuku. While neither Te Rauangaanga nor his son Te Ruaki had lived at Whananaki, through Eruana Maki, their names were later transplanted to this burial ground. Eruana Maki never lived on Opuawhanga No 3 or indeed on the reserve Matapouri block. In the same way that Te Ruaki's 'gift' appears to have provided an explanation for gaining ownership of Opuawhanga No 3, Maki's decision to locate Te Ruaki at Oriwa may have achieved a similar result.

### **European Settlement and Impact**

By the mid-1890s when Oriwa was being adjudicated by the court, European settlement at Whananaki had brought many changes to the district including a school, a hotel, a blacksmith forge, a general store and at least two timber mills. Ten years earlier, Fred and Will Foote had built a timber mill near Taupiri River at the Wairahi end of the estuary.<sup>135</sup> Johnson and Galbraith's timber mill, built on land leased by Pita Tunua, was established in 1885 beside the Oriwa stream and estuary. The Kauri Timber Company (KTC) purchased this mill and continued to lease land from Pita Tunua until the early 1900s. According to Wazl, during the mid-1890s more than half of Oriwa block was leased to KTC.<sup>136</sup> While bringing the potential for economic prosperity, such change introduced a new set of concerns for local Maori.

On the same site as the mill was Whananaki's only store. Owned by Thomas H.W Morris who had become the proprietor in 1890, it serviced the entire district.<sup>137</sup> The location of the mill and shop on Pita Tunua's land must have created many opportunities for Oriwa Maori. Tunua's sons, like others living at

---

<sup>135</sup> Olwen Yates: Typed notes taken from notebook, 1980-1981, held by her daughter Alfreda Berryman: Haigh states the Footes timber mill was built in 1887. Bill Haigh, *Foote Prints Among the Kauri, the lives and times of seven brothers and six sisters in the Kauri Timber Days*, published by Bill Haigh, Kerikeri, 1990, p. 56

<sup>136</sup> Wazl, Tony, *Twentieth Century Overview Part II, 1935 – 2005*, CFRT, Wellington, December 2007, p. 1851

<sup>137</sup> Keene, Florence, *Milestone: Whangarei County's first 100 years 1876 – 1976*, Whangarei, 1976, p. 98: See also Whananaki School Centennial, *The History of Whananaki School and Districts*, 1987, p. 9

Whananaki were employed in the timber industry. One son, Te Rahui Pita worked with horse teams dragging logs from the bush on tram tracks to Faulkner's Landing near the Oriwa river mouth.<sup>138</sup> Another daughter is said to have married a Galbraith associated with the mill.<sup>139</sup> Pita Tunua's house, located on land adjacent to the mill at Huikau, reflected these changes and was made of timber and built on stilts.<sup>140</sup> Both European and Maori lived on Oriwa block during Whananaki's prosperous timber milling years with Karena Puhi noting the increase in what must have been temporary tenements at Oriwa.

I have seen a great many on it, some belonging to Pakehas, some to Pita and some to Taiapa.<sup>141</sup>

Between 1880 and 1895, the rapid rate of development fostered by a busy timber industry providing work for up to four timber mills. At the same time, the thriving economy brought other Maori to the district, inevitably leading to conflict amongst Maori themselves.

### **Eruana Maki**<sup>142</sup>

Given that Eruana Maki was to exercise a great deal of influence at Oriwa, it is helpful to provide some background on his life. In 1916, Eruana Maki sold just under one third of Oriwa block, some 126 acres, to Thomas Hugh Barron for £500.<sup>143</sup> The sale included land that had been obtained by Eruana Maki from other owners including, Oriwa 2 (9 acres) transferred to him in 1912 by Hori Matenga Tamaki and Oriwa 3B2 (56 acres) sold by descendants of Karena Puhi,

---

<sup>138</sup> Whananaki District by J.A.Edge, North Shore Teachers College, 1965: J Edge identifies Buckley's hole however Faulkner's Landing was the more likely place.

<sup>139</sup> Personal communication with Marie Tautari, 22 October 2008

<sup>140</sup> Whangarei MB, No. 5, Oriwa, p. 31: Evidence submitted by Hirini Tamihana re. the Partition of Oriwa, 10 May 1894.

<sup>141</sup> Whangarei MB, No. 5, Oriwa, p. 36: Evidence submitted by Karena Puhi to the Appellate Court, 25 July 1895

<sup>142</sup> While this study uses the name Eruana, sources record him as Eruera, Eru and Erueti

<sup>143</sup> NA AKL BAAI, 11466 64q 152: Blocks sold were Oriwa 2, 9.1.25: Oriwa 3B1 61.0.22: Oriwa 3B2 56.1.29

and Oriwa 3B1 (61 acres). Although land had been leased to Europeans before, ownership of the block had remained in Maori hands.

It could be argued that Eruana Maki's motivation for selling Oriwa land to an outsider was in part shaped by his personal circumstances. According to his gravestone he was born in 1816. As there is no corresponding evidence supporting this date, it is debatable whether he was 105 years old when he died. Described as a 'half-caste', his father was a Scottish seaman and a whaler who had formed relationships with several Maori women from the Bay of Islands and along the east coast. Eruana's mother, Kahuitara was from the Bay of Islands and Eruana was their only child.<sup>144</sup> Eruana Maki attempted to claim land in several areas including Kawakawa, Taumarere, Waiomio, Matapouri, Paremata Mokau, Okiato Point, Urupukapuka and Rawhiti with sometimes disastrous results.<sup>145</sup> Although his claims were not always locally supported, his consistency suggests a familiarity with Native Land Court procedures. Along with his fluency in English, this may have given him an advantage over other, mono-lingual claimants.

As mentioned previously, Eruana Maki was awarded Opuawhanga No 3 in 1867. Why he chose not to live on the block at Matapouri is intriguing. The block was four times larger than Oriwa, and could have yielded a productive lifestyle for Eruana Maki's family. After selling Opuawhanga No 3, Eruana Maki continued to live at Taumarere for several years. While land deeds are too brief to allow one to speculate about his character, in contrast, the Northern Luminary published in Kawakawa from 1880 onwards, provides interesting insights into his interests, pastimes and activities. Between 1880 and 1883, Eruana Maki and his sons Hori, Katene and Charles were mentioned in nine court cases with alcohol and violence linked to several of them.

---

2; See Whananaki School Centennial, *The History of Whananaki School and Districts*, 1987, p. 46: for further details on Eruana Maki's life.

<sup>145</sup> For Matapouri see Whangarei MB No. 1, 1902, Opuawhanga No. 3, pp. 142-3: For Paremata Mokau see Taitokerau MB, No 1, 1902, p. 20: For Rawhiti see Taitokerau MB, No 1, 1903, p. 179: For Urupukapuka see Taitokerau MB, No 1, p. 181

These include charges for indebtedness, stealing and assault.<sup>146</sup> In one case, Eruana Maki and three others smashed down a hotel door at Taumarere after being refused alcohol. They then beat a bystander who sustained several injuries. They were each sentenced to two months at Mount Eden prison.<sup>147</sup> Other cases involved obtaining money under false pretences, laying charges against a settler for illegally possessing a gun, supporting a niece claiming maintenance from a settler for a recently deceased child and causing another disturbance at a different hotel.<sup>148</sup>

Sometime prior to the mid-1880s, Eruana Maki and his family left Taumarere. We can only speculate as to why they moved to Oriwa. His uncles Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu had settled there twenty years earlier, which may have provided a precedent for their relatives to shift. In addition, the increasing prosperity of Whananaki as a timber milling settlement was attracting many newcomers to the district. Having arrived at Whananaki in the mid-1880s, within a short time Eruana Maki had established himself as Arama Karaka's successor. In this role it was inevitable that he would clash with Pita Tunua.

Between Eruana Maki's arrival at Whananaki and the partition in 1894, problems seem to have arisen between him and Pita Tunua which culminated in an attempt to remove Pita Tunua from Oriwa. It has been suggested that a gunfight between Eruana Maki and Pita Tunua occurred at Oriwa showing the seriousness of their conflict.<sup>149</sup> Perhaps in response to these concerns, Pita Tunua applied to the court for the block to be partitioned, saying,

---

<sup>146</sup> Northern Luminary, 29 May 1880, 9 October 1880

<sup>147</sup> Northern Luminary, 23 October 1880

<sup>148</sup> Northern Luminary, 30 October 1880, 21 May 1881, 17 March 1883

<sup>149</sup> Personal communication with David Peters, 22 October 2008

Some of the owners want to interfere and turn me off hence my desire for subdivision.<sup>150</sup>

By this time Eruana Maki had assumed the interests of Arama Karaka who had died four years earlier, in 1890. This is because Arama Karaka's only surviving child Tauhou had married Wiki Pirihi and was living at Takahiwai where she remained until her death in 1932 and was eventually buried. Tauhou's 'leadership' interests at Oriwa were passed on to Eruana Maki.

### **Pitokuku and Rangitoto**

While the details of the disagreements between Eruana Maki and Pita Tunua are not specified, one of the concerns was Pitokuku. This seems to have arisen gradually over time with the deaths and subsequent burials of certain people. Patuwhitu who died several years earlier was the first 'outsider' to be buried at Pitokuku. Some years later, in 1890, Te Rauangaaanga (named after an ancestor of the same name) died, followed by his father Arama Karaka in the same year. It seems that after settling at Oriwa, Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu relinquished ties to Rawhiti. They never returned there to live. The following year Mihiwatara, Eruana Maki's wife also died and was buried at Pitokuku. Mihiwatara was from Tainui and her sister Tiahuia was Te Puea's mother. Given that she had arrived at Oriwa only some six years previous, it seems unusual that she was buried at Pitokuku. With no apparent connection between the Ngati Manaia ancestors who lay buried there, and the later arrivals, such burials are puzzling.

The apparent expectation by Eruana Maki and others that he should have total control over Pitokuku prevented any chance of reconciliation or compromise with Pita Tunua. However, observers also noted Eruana Maki's control over the cemetery. Sydney Taka Pirihi noted,

---

<sup>150</sup> Whangarei MB, No. 5, Oriwa, p. 27: Evidence submitted by Pita Tunua re. the Partition of Oriwa, 7 May 1894

Eru Maki and Tauhou are the persons exercising authority over this burial place. It has been fenced by arrangement.<sup>151</sup>

Paratene Te Manu, who lived at Whangaruru, Hauturu and Ngunguru, and would have been about ninety years old when submitting evidence, observed that Eruana Maki, Arama Karaka and Patuwhitu exercised control over Pitokuku.<sup>152</sup> This was, he suggested, because neither Pita Tunua nor Tamihana Te Puai were at Oriwa, rather unusual given that Te Puai was a well known Whananaki leader in the 1860s.

Arama Karaka and his brother are buried at Pitokuku. Don't know any other person having authority there but those two. They cultivated there. I did not see them planting at Pitokuku at the Whau above Pitokuku. I don't know of Hirini Tamihana's father cultivating there. Never saw him. I never saw Pita cultivating there near to Te Whau.<sup>153</sup>

Eruana Maki's sale of Oriwa land in 1916 raises the question of possible motivations behind land sales. If 80 years earlier land sales were associated with the 'pursuit of mana', in the early twentieth-century when the little that remained was incapable of yielding a profitable return, could the same measure be applied? In the context of increasing landlessness, could those who sold, or their descendants, continue to claim an attachment to the places they had ceased to own? Beyond that, did such sales affect the intrinsic tapu of places and were those lands compromised as repositories of a Maori past?

---

<sup>151</sup> Whangarei MB, No. 5: Oriwa, p. 32: Evidence submitted by Hirini Tamihana cross-examined by Sydney Taka Pirihi, re the Partition of Oriwa, 10 May 1894

<sup>152</sup> Malcolm, Madge, *Where it all Began: The Story of Whangaruru Taking in From Mimiwhangata to Whangamumu*, M. S. Malcolm, Hikurangi, 1982, p. 91: Malcolm states that he was more than ninety years old in 1896.

<sup>153</sup> Whangarei MB, No. 5: Oriwa, p. 37: Evidence submitted by Paratene Te Manu, called by Wiki Pirihi re. Partition of Oriwa, 10 May 1894

Eruana Maki's life displayed a range of influences that may have affected his decision to sell. It is evident that he saw many changes at Whananaki. He welcomed European settlers and the short-term prosperity that came with the establishment of a timber milling industry. When farming followed he facilitated these changes by selling Oriwa land. A product of his times, the sale of land to Europeans may have been perceived by him as being a progressive step. Seen positively, it can be interpreted as a sign of Maori adaptation and conversion to European methods of land ownership and management. Alternatively, selling land may have simply taken place in order to maintain an affluent lifestyle. Whatever the case, there is evidence that many Whananaki Maori did not agree with Eruana Maki's methods.

If urupa are landscape 'texts' that can be interpreted to reveal Maori attachments to place, Pitokuku and Rangitoto provide an interesting perspective on this experience. Pitokuku's transformation from an ancient burial ground to the present-day cemetery reveals this history of belonging and displacement. In its rigid adherence to order and uniformity reminiscent of war memorial cemeteries, it could be argued that the new urupa reflects certain twentieth century anxieties concerning Maori identity. In this case, they can be traced to the Native Land Court and a decision made in 1895. Contrasted with the more fluidly arranged old urupa, the setting in stone of Maki's whakapapa reveals the extent to which his descendants have sought to provide proof of their own attachment to Whananaki and in particular, Oriwa block, over those of earlier residents.

In a curious twist, the marriage of Eruana Maki's granddaughter Riperata, to Pita Tunua's son, Te Rahui Kawhena, circa 1901, brought some measure of reconciliation to both urupa as sites of conflict. However this occurred through their grandchildren many decades later. Today, descendants of Eruana Maki are buried at Rangitoto, while descendants of Pita Tunua are buried at Pitokuku, showing perhaps that those who stay close to the land have the best chance of resolving the past. At Whananaki, where so few landmarks from the nineteenth-

century Maori past remain, where written sources concerning Maori are so few, wahi tapu offer unique insight into this world.

In concluding, whereas the previous chapter discussed Whananaki block and ended with the demise of the kainga, this chapter explored what happened to some of these residents after they had moved to a small area of land called Oriwa. Using Native Land Court evidence it showed the impact of the court's decisions and of the changes brought about by developing village settlement on the lives of Oriwa's residents. This chapter has also discussed the life of one individual, a newcomer to the area whose decisions were to impact upon the lives of all Oriwa residents, both past and present. In addition to providing a linear account of what happened to the block, several narratives surrounding two wahi tapu as sites expressing attachment and belonging were also explored.

## *Chapter 4:*

### VILLAGE SETTLEMENT



Village centre overlooking houses and baches, Whananaki north

---

#### **Misplaced Perceptions**

By 1886, the establishment of a timber mill and the accompanying promise of economic prosperity encouraged settlers to apply for sections on both sides of the estuary. The introduction of a village settlement scheme in the mid-1880s marked the beginning of European occupation of Whananaki. This is because, although European visits to Whananaki can be traced to 1820, apart from occasional visits, contact was brief and intermittent even as late as 1872 when a temporary store was established. Subsequent views about this community have tended to idealize the efforts of those early settlers, presuming that they were members of a stable, cohesive community who worked together for the greater good. In fact, they were closer to a group of disparate individuals brought briefly together by a shared interest in timber, separated equally quickly by the industry's demise. This chapter looks at various perceptions about this group and the

retrospective interpretations that have been accorded to their actions. Miles Fairburn's theories on atomization, isolation and bondlessness will also be discussed.

### **Settler Geography**

In his study of nineteenth-century Pakeha society, Fairburn has noted how geographical distances between settlers, even next-door neighbors, could be a significant barrier to communication and community building.<sup>154</sup> Initially with no roads and enclosed by two gorges colloquially called 'cuttings', Whananaki was separated from the outside world. Sections were often on hilly, bush-covered land, preventing close contact between neighbours. In 1888, Ephraim Magleby, on his first Mormon mission, described walking the north side 'cutting' on the way to Opuawhanga.

we leave, take a bag with us to gather oysters in. We gather about twenty pounds which we take turns in packing while climbing up and down the very steep hills for a distance of about 12 miles, when we arrive at Bro H Petersen, who are living a way out here in the bush upon a homestead.<sup>155</sup>

Crossing the estuary, much deeper then than it is today, was dependent upon tides and weather conditions and the availability of transport; waka or dinghy when the tide was high, by horse or on foot when low. Magleby also described crossing the estuary.

We are then ferried over the river in a little boat, being three with the rower we had to keep our hats on straight occasionally the water would come

---

<sup>154</sup> Fairburn, Miles, *Local Community or Atomized Society, The Social Structure of Nineteenth-Century New Zealand*, in Binney, Judith (ed.), *The Shaping of History: Essays from the New Zealand Journal of History*, Bridget Williams, Wellington, 2001, p. 236

<sup>155</sup> *Journal of John Ephraim Magleby*, 30 November 1888, Rangi Parker collection, Kia Ngawari Trust, Templeview Hamilton

over the side into the boat. Our horses had been taken around while the tide was low.<sup>156</sup>

The physical isolation of many settler households, with the minimum section being 50 acres, prevented close networks or social attachments from forming. Apart from race days, which occurred at Whananaki once a year, New Years day picnics, and church there was little else to draw families together. Church was held periodically, when preachers happened to be in the district.<sup>157</sup> While a school on the estuary frontage may have helped alleviate this sense of disconnectedness, many children did not attend regularly especially during winter months when roads were muddy trenches and the estuary was too rough to cross.

Another reason for Whananaki's failure was the piecemeal occupation of land. Having been awarded to applicants, sections could remain vacant for a long time. Some settlers leased more than their minimum entitlement of 50 acres, increasing the distances between homesteads. Once timber was obtained the surplus sections could be sold or leases forfeited without ever having been occupied. Owners could then leave the district severing their brief association with its recent past. Before looking more closely at the lives of individual settlers, some explanation is required on the land scheme that brought many settlers to Whananaki.

### **Land Settlement Scheme**

From the 1880s – 1890s extensive areas of Crown land in the north were settled under the Village Homestead Special Settlement scheme which derived from the

---

<sup>156</sup> Journal of John Ephraim Magleby, 27 November 1888, Rangi Parker collection, Kia Ngawari Trust, Templeview Hamilton

<sup>157</sup> The Bridge, Whananaki Community Paper, 37th Edition, December 2005: Article by Richard A Kirby on Will Percival Johnson: See also Journal of John Ephraim Magleby, 1888-1889, Rangi Parker collection, Kia Ngawari Trust, Templeview Hamilton

earlier Homestead system.<sup>158</sup> Selectors were required to live on their land for five years, build a house and clear a third of the area claimed in order to receive a Crown grant of freehold land. Initially sections were 40 acres, however this amount was later found to be too small and was eventually increased to 50 and then to 70 acres per European adult.

Village settlements were located in areas where employment was easily available, hence their proximity to timber mills. Under the village homestead scheme, a block of Crown land was made available to a group of between 10 to 30 families. The land was granted free offered on deferred payment, or leased in perpetuity conditional on building a house and cultivating a proportion of the property.<sup>159</sup> Many of these settlements were isolated units adjoining residual land blocks inhabited by Maori.

With regard to Whananaki, 50-acre sections were initially leased in perpetuity. While there appear to have been no recorded objections from Maori at the time of European settlement, this is perhaps because previous objections had been ignored. While the history of the first and second sales remained vividly etched in the minds of those linked to the block, by the time of the village settlement, Maori had already moved to adjoining land blocks Oriwa, Ruatahi and Wairahi. In addition, the arrival of the settlers, bringing opportunities to the district, may have been regarded with anticipation as much as trepidation.

Selectors arrived and took up their sections of land on Whananaki block at Whananaki north, and on Opuawhanga No 2 on the south side of the estuary. To claim more land, husbands, wives and even children had sections leased in their names. For many residents, Whananaki was a temporary stopover, a chance to make money before moving on. Not all sections were intended for living on.

---

<sup>158</sup> Horsman, J., *The Coming of the Pakeha to Auckland Province*, Hicks Smith & Sons, Wellington, 1971, p. 175

<sup>159</sup> Regan, C. P. D., *The Distribution and Character of the Population of Northland, 1874, 1906, 1926: Three Essays in Historical Population Geography*, M.A. Thesis, Auckland University, 1959, pp. 182-3

Some were leased purely to obtain timber before being sold. Despite government loans to clear land and build homes, poor land, isolation and a lack of capital meant that many families barely managed to stay solvent. Even if crops were successfully grown, Whananaki's remoteness prevented access to available markets.<sup>160</sup>

By 1887, Whananaki had a European population of 19 men, 10 women and 35 children, in total 64 settlers. By May 1888, the settlement had 11 houses with one more in the process of being completed. The government had donated 550 apple trees to the village, with another 550 that were privately owned. Approximately 50 acres of bush had been cleared and one acre grassed.<sup>161</sup> Some three miles and a half of road as well as a 10-foot bridge had also been completed.<sup>162</sup>

The area occupied by selectors of the scheme is recorded as some 909 acres. However, this is probably an underestimation of the real area of land in use. John Charles Johnson appears to have owned some 700 acres by himself alone. By the end of 1887, the government surveyor had increased the minimum section size to 200 acres.<sup>163</sup> Despite their efforts, the village homestead scheme was not a success. It seems that few settlers could achieve economic independence from their land, which was hilly and barren. While work at the timber mills and in the bush provided an income, complete dependence on the timber industry made individuals vulnerable to forces beyond their control such as fluctuating markets.

## **Mobility**

Late nineteenth-century Whananaki displayed many of the characteristics identified by Fairburn as common to Pakeha localities of the period, in particular,

---

<sup>160</sup> Bill Haigh, *Footprints Among the Kauri, the lives and times of seven brothers and six sisters in the Kauri Timber Days*, published by Bill Haigh, Kerikeri, 1990, p. 56

<sup>161</sup> AJHR, 1888, Vol. 1, C1-2, p. 9

<sup>162</sup> AJHR, 1888, Vol. 1, C1-2, p. 17

<sup>163</sup> Bill Haigh, *Footprints Among the Kauri, the lives and times of seven brothers and six sisters in the Kauri Timber Days*, published by Bill Haigh, Kerikeri, 1990, p. 56

an abundance of 'restless men and households' who did not stay long enough to identify with the past, people and symbols unique to that particular locality.<sup>164</sup> Fairburn has stated that on average only 41% of residents in small localities remained there after 10 years.<sup>165</sup> Movement to and from the district was a common feature of Whananaki life. While a perusal of the electoral roll and school register cannot confirm the true extent of European settlement patterns, one can tentatively suggest that a similar pattern of mobility espoused by Fairburn existed at Whananaki. Few families stayed beyond the declining years of the timber industry extending from 1887 to 1905. Those who did were the exception rather than the norm.

While increases in the local population convey an impression of a busy town, they are misleading. Gangs of bush contractors staying in outlying bush camps could swell the local population temporarily, with their children increasing the school roll. An 8-bedroom boarding house built near the waterfront catered for seasonal workers with no intention of putting down roots.<sup>166</sup> When contracts were completed or local mills temporarily closed, it was not unusual for the entire adult male population of working age, permanent residents included, to abandon the district and go to places like Maungatapere where another timber mill owned by Will Foote was operating.<sup>167</sup> Whananaki would become a ghost town with social activities ceasing until the winter when permanent residents returned. A rare social event took place in the winter of 1897. Called a 'bachelor's ball', it was attended by 100 people from Otonga, Opuawhanga and Matapouri.<sup>168</sup>

The settler response to this itinerant lifestyle and the social problems that it presented seem to have been avoidance, perhaps seeking escapism in minutiae. Newspaper articles about Whananaki describe social events in detail. Articles

---

<sup>164</sup> Miles Fairburn, *Local Communities or Atomized Society*, in Judith Binney (ed.), *The Shaping of History: Essays from the New Zealand Journal of History*, Bridgette Williams Books, Auckland, 2001, p. 238

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 239

<sup>166</sup> *The Bridge*, Whananaki Community Paper, 38th Edition, August 2001: Article by Brenda Powell

<sup>167</sup> Bill Haigh, *Foote Prints Among the Kauri*, the lives and times of seven brothers and six sisters in the Kauri Timber Days, published by Bill Haigh, Kerikeri, 1990, p. 66

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119

concerning recent public works, timber milling operations and agricultural matters are interspersed with descriptions of weddings, annual race meetings and visits by roving preachers. All seek to convey an image of a cohesive and stable community. Small events such as the departure of a teacher became an excuse for informal but memorable get-togethers.

Such short notice was given of his removal that there was no time to give him a send off; but his friends met him at the hall and expressed their wishes for his future success. As I am writing from Whananaki it is quite unnecessary to say that the occasion was made an excuse for a dance.<sup>169</sup>

The impression is one of a community striving to achieve a measure of gentility and permanence. The less positive aspects of life in a timber town, such as transience, alcoholism, loneliness and violence are simply ignored except in the case of Maori in which alcoholism and violence are highlighted.

### **Settler Attitudes Toward Maori**

While there is a general perception that Whananaki settlers lived harmoniously with local Maori, in fact, their attitude was ambivalent, bolstered by notions of cultural superiority.<sup>170</sup> Despite settling on land that had only a few years earlier formed the nucleus of a kainga, as noted in Chapter Two, European selectors were oblivious to events that had preceded their arrival. Rather than considering themselves beneficiaries of a process that had somewhat haphazardly and unfairly disadvantaged their Maori neighbours, they chose to see themselves in more euphemistic terms, as pioneers bringing progress to an isolated, rural outpost.

The experience of one settler, Elizabeth Macken, illustrates the ambiguous attitude held by European settlers towards Maori. According to a family source,

---

<sup>169</sup> Northern Advocate, 28 December 1897

<sup>170</sup> This attitude is exemplified in many newspaper articles quoted throughout this text.

Elizabeth was Maori. The wife of Faulkner Macken who managed the KTC mill, Elizabeth's Maori ancestry probably made this couple unique amongst the other village settlers.<sup>171</sup> While she is remembered fondly as a favorite aunt (a niece recalled visiting her as a child in the early 1900s), who would stroll along the promenade with her husband in the evenings, few other details survive about her life.<sup>172</sup>

Elizabeth Macken was not originally from Northland and is registered on the general, as opposed to the Maori electoral roll. She is also listed as owning a section of land as a homestead village settler. It is unusual that a Maori would be selected land under a settlement scheme, suggesting that her Maori identity was suppressed and that her ethnicity was 'mixed'.<sup>173</sup> Identifying as a European instead of a Maori suggests that on a personal level discrimination existed at Whananaki and there were few benefits to being a Maori amongst settlers.

A rare wedding photo taken at the Nankivell house, Whananaki south, in 1904 is revealing for its absence of Maori guests. Regarded as one of the highlights of the year for the district, it is notable that Maori either were not invited or were excluded from the group photo.

It is a long time since we had anything exciting down here, but last week we had the most fascinating of events – a wedding, and a very pretty wedding too.<sup>174</sup>

While one cannot draw conclusions about discrimination based upon one photo, it seems probable that some social events such as weddings held in private homes did exclude Maori. Therefore a woman such as Elizabeth Macken who was married to a European and according to one source present at this wedding,

---

<sup>171</sup> While several Maori arriving at Whananaki in the 1880s had European ancestry, they lived on Maori land amongst Maori, and were not awarded land under the Village Homestead Special Settlement system.

<sup>172</sup> Olwen Yates: Typed notes taken from notebook, 1980-1981

<sup>173</sup> Ibid

<sup>174</sup> Northern Advocate, June 1904

would have been required to suppress her Maori heritage in order to gain acceptance from the village settlers.<sup>175</sup>



Wedding of Ellen Nankivell to Thomas Freer, 6 June 1904<sup>176</sup>

Maori children also experienced some level of discrimination in the area of formal education with an Inspector confirming this in his report to the Education Board.<sup>177</sup> This will be looked at in the following chapter under the section on Whananaki School. The reasons why discrimination existed at Whananaki are no doubt complex. However, sufficient examples exist of Maori and European settler cooperation to suggest that Maori were active participants in facilitating European settlement, even if their role was not necessarily recognized as such.

Anecdotal evidence indicates that Maori assisted newly arrived settlers from the shore to their bush-covered allotments in the hills at Whananaki south, lending horses to settlers to ride some distance to the only store to purchase supplies.<sup>178</sup>

---

<sup>175</sup> Garth Macken provided a copy of the Nankivell-Freer wedding photo dated 1904 with an attached list of names. Elizabeth Macken is identified as the last woman in the back row on the right.

<sup>176</sup> This photo was provided by Garth Macken

<sup>177</sup> NA AKL BAAA, 1001, 712c: Inspection reports, Building files Native/Māori Schools

<sup>178</sup> Personal communication with Garth Macken, 16 March 2008: The Darley family arriving from England in the late nineteenth-century was completely unprepared for the experience of living in the bush. They received assistance from 'an old Maori man' who spoke no English and led them from their boat to their

Another example of shared cooperation is exemplified in the life of Wi Tawaha, better known as Billy Smoot. Wi Tawaha, born in 1877 was the son of Pita Tunua. Despite having only one hand (the other was damaged in a gelignite accident), Wi Tawaha was regularly employed by local settlers to skipper fishing boats and launches as well as ferrying Whananaki people, European and Maori, to functions held at Whangaruru, Matapouri and the Great Barrier.<sup>179</sup> In a remote area where the preferred choice of access was by water, this was an important role in the community.

## People

Looking at the list of petitioners for a new school in 1886, it is possible to get a sense of the kinds of people who comprised the village settlement. It could be argued that residents came and left with the drifting fortunes of the timber industry and the settler experience was underpinned by a lack of money. However, individual circumstances were quite varied as can be seen by the brief information obtained on some of the petitioners:

James Ayton, a petitioner and parent, was an engineer who lived with his wife Janet on a 50-acre section next to the fishing reserve.<sup>180</sup> Four of their children including James, Margaret and Agnes were inaugural students at the school.<sup>181</sup> Janet was buried at the settler cemetery at Whananaki sandspit in 1902. Robert Clark, another petitioner, and his wife Emma lived on Motukauri Island in the Whangaruru harbour. Emma was a sister to Fred and Will Foote who owned a timber mill in the Wairahi valley. Clark transported timber from their mill at

---

section of land on Opuawhanga No 2 block. He also lent their daughter a horse to obtain provisions from Morris' store.

<sup>179</sup> Personal communication with Garth Macken, 16 March 2008: Unlike most Maori who left the fishing reserve and moved to adjoining Maori land, Wi Tawaha's family lived next to the present day footbridge well into the 1950s.

<sup>180</sup> NA AKL BAAZ, 1356, 4, 4; NA AKL, BAAZ, 1134, 1: Village Homestead Special Settlement Advance Rent and Interest Ledger: Section 10, Opuawhanga VI

<sup>181</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, *The History of Whananaki School and Districts*, 1987, p. 16

Whananaki to Whangaruru, traded with Maori along the east coast and operated a scow called the Thistle owned by Thomas Morris.<sup>182</sup>

Despite living at Motukauri, the Clarks must have spent some time at Whananaki, as they owned a 50-acre section adjoining the fishing reserve, just along from James Ayton's property. One of their eight children, Roslyn was born there on 3 December 1887.<sup>183</sup> Their sons Wilbert and George attended school in 1888.<sup>184</sup> Four years later their section was transferred to John Grant Grassick in 1890, suggesting that it was purchased as an investment or not suitable for settlement rather than intended for long-term occupation.<sup>185</sup> Several Foote children, cousins of the Clarks, attended the school from 1888 onwards.<sup>186</sup>

Christopher Galbraith and John Charles Johnson also petitioned for a school. They are referred to in more detail in the following chapter in a section on the first timber mill. Johnson's only son Magnus attended the school while his daughter Phyllis eventually taught there.<sup>187</sup> While there are no Galbraith children listed on the inaugural roll, four Galbraiths, Frank, David, William and Arthur, attended the school the following year in 1888.<sup>188</sup>

John Hamilton lived on another 50-acre section next to the fishing reserve.<sup>189</sup> His children Robert and Margaret were inaugural students as were Josiah King's. Josiah King, a sawyer, settled with his wife Fanny Wright on approximately 83

---

<sup>182</sup> Malcolm, Madge, *Where it all Began: The Story of Whangaruru Taking in From Mimiwhangata to Whangamumu*, M. S. Malcolm, Hikurangi, 1982, p. 102; Bill Haigh, *Foote Prints Among the Kauri, the lives and times of seven brothers and six sisters in the Kauri Timber Days*, published by Bill Haigh, Kerikeri, 1990, p. 118

<sup>183</sup> Bill Haigh, *Foote Prints Among the Kauri, the lives and times of seven brothers and six sisters in the Kauri Timber Days*, published by Bill Haigh, Kerikeri, 1990, p. 56

<sup>184</sup> NA AKL BCCR, 1577 1a: Public School Register Admission, Progress and Withdrawal, Whananaki Public School

<sup>185</sup> NA AKL BAAZ, 1134, 1: Village Homestead Special Settlement Advance Rent and Interest Ledger

<sup>186</sup> NA AKL BCCR, 1577 1a: Public School Register Admission, Progress and Withdrawal, Whananaki Public School

<sup>187</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, *The History of Whananaki School and Districts*, 1987, pp. 16, 50

<sup>188</sup> NA AKL BCCR, 1577 1a: Public School Register Admission, Progress and Withdrawal, Whananaki Public School

<sup>189</sup> NA AKL BAAZ, 1356, 4, 4: Section 8 (50 acres), Opuawhanga VI

acres at the northern side of the estuary entrance. This became known as King's Bay.<sup>190</sup> Josiah arrived in New Zealand aged 12 years with his mother and stepfather in 1859. Fanny also arrived with her family in the 1850s. Although it was not generally known at the time, her mother Sarah had been a Tasmanian convict.<sup>191</sup> Their children Zillah, Laurel and Harry were inaugural students at the school. Harry was born at Ngunguru before the family moved to Whananaki. Harry's daughter, local historian Marie King described her grandparents as drifters who traveled constantly in search of work.

At this time there were timber mills and bush workings all over and around the Whangarei district, and the family moved about at times. They must have spent some time at Maungatapere, between Whangarei and Dargaville, because Dad went to school there, and Granny spoke often of times in Kirikopuni and Tangowahine. At some unknown date and for some unknown reason Josiah's and Fanny's marriage broke up and he left Whananaki and his family.<sup>192</sup>

Josiah probably left his family around 1897, as his name no longer appears on the school register as a parent from this time forward. Harry grew up at Whananaki eventually marrying Marian Bell who was teaching at the school with Theodore Walker in 1900. Harry left the district in 1909 to go timber contracting. The other Kings appear to have left Whananaki at the same time.

Robert Murray, after whom Murray's hill behind the present day school was named, lived on a 50-acre block next to John Charles Johnson, adjoining the fishing reserve.<sup>193</sup> His children James, Jane, Margaret and John were on the

---

<sup>190</sup> NA AKL BAAZ 1356, 4, 4: Section 11 (40 acres), section 12 (43 acres) Opuawhanga VI.

<sup>191</sup> Russell Review, No 13, 1990: Tradition, The King Family of Russell by Marie King, p. 47

<sup>192</sup> dbk.vox.com/: on Family History by Marie King

<sup>193</sup> NA AKL BAAZ, 1134, 1: Village Homestead Special Settlement Advance Rent and Interest Ledger

opening roll.<sup>194</sup> William Nankivell and his wife Mary Jane moved to Whananaki south from Auckland.<sup>195</sup> William was a bushman who cut timber on Opuawhanga No 2 with his sons. Their children, Harriet Ann and William were inaugural students.<sup>196</sup> The Nankivell name appears in school correspondence well into the 1930s. Their neighbours were the Grimshaw, Galbraith and Dysart and later the Hawkins families.<sup>197</sup>

The Dysart name also appears on the school roll from 1888 onwards.<sup>198</sup> Claude Dysart was gold mining in Thames before moving to Whananaki with his father Charles Clinton Dysart, who is recorded having been a gum digger.<sup>199</sup> The Dysarts bought a 50-acre section and built a house, initially on the flats, eventually moving to a hillside as the area was and still is prone to severe flooding. Claude, Georgina and their family of 10 girls and 1 son lived at Whananaki until 1945. Their 52-year association with Whananaki, which began as homestead village settlers, was unusually long compared to that of most other settlers. Claude undertook a number of jobs including working in the kauri bush as a cook and a bushman, delivering mail from Hikurangi through Marua to Whananaki and as a School Commissioner.<sup>200</sup> Two Dysarts, Charles Clinton Dysart and his grandson, Charles who died on 14 February 1909 aged 7 months, were buried at the settler cemetery.

---

<sup>194</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, *The History of Whananaki School and Districts*, 1987, p. 16; NA AKL BAAZ, 1134, 1, Village Homestead Special Settlement Advance Rent and Interest Ledger: Section 6 (48 acres) Opuawhanga VI.

<sup>195</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, *The History of Whananaki School and Districts*, 1987, p. 49; NA AKL BAAZ, 1134, 1, Village Homestead Special Settlement Advance Rent and Interest Ledger: Section 3 (48 acres), Opuawhanga IX

<sup>196</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, *The History of Whananaki School and Districts*, 1987, p. 16

<sup>197</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, *The History of Whananaki School and Districts*, 1987, p. 49

<sup>198</sup> NA AKL BCCR, 1577 1a: Public School Register Admission, Progress and Withdrawal, Whananaki Public School

<sup>199</sup> Bay of Islands Electoral Roll, 1890

<sup>200</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, *The History of Whananaki School and Districts*, 1987, pp. 24, 28

Robert Peters, married to Jane Ann, operated a blacksmith shop near Johnson and Galbraith's mill.<sup>201</sup> Their children George, Robert, Edit and Eliza were inaugural students.<sup>202</sup> Meanwhile Andrew Stirling ran the boarding house that provided accommodation for visitors and bush workers.<sup>203</sup> Herbert, his son, is listed as an inaugural student.<sup>204</sup> Herbert eventually owned over a thousand acres at Whananaki.<sup>205</sup> Thomas Clemmy, a 'nursery man' also owned land at Whananaki north.<sup>206</sup> His daughter Annie was another inaugural student.<sup>207</sup>

Before concluding it is worthwhile noting the contribution of the homestead village settlers to World War One, 1914-1918. The names of the volunteers are listed in a roll of honour that takes pride of place in the public hall. In total, 36 men were sent, a significant amount for such a small district. Of those who went eight were killed while fourteen were wounded. Of the families mentioned above, two Galbraiths died and two Brookers were wounded. Elizabeth and Faulkner Macken sent three sons, one of whom was wounded. Amy Macken's oldest son, Walter Edwin Macken, also known as Ted, was also wounded. Her life will be discussed in further detail in the next chapter. One son of William Nankivell was wounded and another received a military honour.<sup>208</sup> Given the high number of volunteers it is evident that patriotism and loyalty to 'mother England' and the British Empire was very much alive and prevalent amongst these settlers and their children.<sup>209</sup>

---

<sup>201</sup> Bill Haigh, *Foote Prints Among the Kauri, the lives and times of seven brothers and six sisters in the Kauri Timber Days*, published by Bill Haigh, Kerikeri, 1990, p. 121; Bay of Islands Electoral Roll, 1887, 1890

<sup>202</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, *The History of Whananaki School and Districts*, 1987, p. 16

<sup>203</sup> Marsden Electoral Roll, 1890

<sup>204</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, *The History of Whananaki School and Districts*, 1987, p. 16

<sup>205</sup> NA AKL, BAAZ, 1356, 4, 4: Section 22 (100 acres), section 26 (340 acres), section 27 (340 acres), section 28 (340 acres), section 29 (340 acres) Opuawhanga VI.

<sup>206</sup> Bay of Islands Electoral Roll, 1887; NA AKL BAAZ, 1134, 1: Village Homestead Special Settlement Advance Rent and Interest Ledger: Section 20, Opuawhanga VI

<sup>207</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, *The History of Whananaki School and Districts*, 1987, p. 16

<sup>208</sup> Auckland Weekly News, 5 December 1918

<sup>209</sup> Two Maori families, Wactford and Te Maru also suffered the loss of two sons. One name not mentioned on the school roll of honour is that of Edward George Lott's son who, according to Garth Macken, fought alongside his uncle Ted Macken.

If attachment and belonging are contingent upon maintaining a presence, it can be concluded that the homestead village settlers were relatively brief occupants of Whananaki. With the notable exception of the Macken and Dysart families, in most cases their association to Whananaki lasted less than 20 years. While not diminishing the contribution of these early settlers, their short-term residency is significant. Not surprisingly, it is a crucial factor from which to critique subsequent conclusions that have been drawn about them.

However, in the 1880s timber underpinned every aspect of village life. The demise of the timber industry beginning in the late-1890s, and the eventual closure of the mills, eventually spelled the end of all hopes for the fledgling town. Dependence on timber had given the village a double-edged advantage. While it provided employment and short-term prosperity, a community founded on it was effectively engaged in its own destruction.<sup>210</sup> Most settlers were forced to leave Whananaki after 1905 with a rash of sales occurring in 1909. While some communities could recover from their declining industries, others like Whananaki were less fortunate. By 1905, the settlers' dreams of a busy port town had faded. The few families that remained turned to farming. In the process, Whananaki became a sleepy backwater.

### **The 'History of Whananaki School and Districts'**

The 'History of Whananaki School and Districts' is a centennial booklet produced in 1987 to celebrate the school's 100-year existence and Whananaki's growth from colonial settlement to the (then) present community. The booklet is unique in that it incorporates a range of written material including interviews with past and present members of the community, many of whom are no longer living. Prepared by past and present residents of Whananaki, it pays homage to settlers, and to a lesser extent Maori, who comprised the district. It is also the only completed history of the district. Before embarking on a critique of the text,

---

<sup>210</sup> Hamer, D, Towns in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand, NZJH, 13, 1979, p. 7

it is important to note that the booklet was produced in haste with limited resources. While the centennial committee's intention was to represent the entire community as comprehensively as possible, for reasons beyond their control, the final text did not always reflect this objective.

For this reason, the past is presented largely from a settler perspective where archetypal settler families overcome hardship and build a town out of the bush. The text caters to European founding myths. The newness of the village settlement is asserted over an older, differently imagined and experienced Maori past. Because the settlers are presented as the norm, Maori are by default presented as a part of the background, like the environment, their influence needs to be tamed, controlled and contained. Given that Maori settlement is not explained, their presence on the land is presented as somehow incongruous.

The second part of this chapter argues that the views about Whananaki's colonial past espoused in the centennial text echoed the sentiments of the settlers. As such, the text accurately reflects the settlers' view of themselves. However, the settlers' perceptions were subjective, based upon their perceived role in bringing change to the district. They did not incorporate other aspects of their experience such as transiency and atomisation that, Fairburn convincingly argues, were a common feature of many nineteenth-century localities. Neither does it include cooperation with Maori, a necessary feature of survival in isolated settlements.

### **Six Assertions Concerning Whananaki's Past**

In the centennial text, six assertions concerning Whananaki's past provide a starting point for discussing the village settlement. The assertions are not stated in an obvious way, but are repeated throughout the text in the choice of topics chosen, assessments and sources used. The village is perceived as a complete community where activities are geared towards achieving a common goal, in the process giving credence to European notions of belonging.

The first assertion is that Puhī's discovery narrative and evidence of extensive occupation have given Whananaki a unique past and distinctive identity. In the opening lines of the text, discovery narratives provide evidence of extensive Maori occupation, linking pre-contact Maori to present day tangata whenua.

A version of Maori legend attributes the name Whananaki to Puhī Nui Ariki the brother of Toroa who was the Rangatira of the Mataatua when it journeyed from Hawaiki.<sup>211</sup>

The text aligns Cook and Marsden alongside Kupe and Puhī as heroic navigator-explorers, setting the stage for the much later arrival of the European settlers. Cook sailed past Whananaki and described the area as 'densely populated'. Some forty years later, in 1820, Samuel Marsden visited Whananaki. Rather than a dubious sale, the arrival of European explorers foreshadows Whananaki's entry into the colonial world. Juxtaposing two different discoveries, the inference is that real history begins with European settlement.

In concluding this narrative of discovery, pre-European inhabitants are linked to the Tunua (also known as Pita or Peters), and Te Maru (also known as Walters) descendents. Kinship connections are vague and remain unexplained. Both families are identified as falling within the broader kinship groups of Ngati Wai and Whanau Whero respectively.<sup>212</sup> Dynamics within and between other kinship groups at Whananaki remain unexplained. The lack of specifics reinforces the idea that Maori history is remote and somehow separate from the village settlement.

In the second assertion, Whananaki Maori are portrayed as conservationists who existed in a state of timeless antiquity. Rather than enforced displacement, a new

---

<sup>211</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, *The History of Whananaki School and Districts*, 1987, p. 4

<sup>212</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, *The History of Whananaki School and Districts*, 1987, pp. 5-6

order is peacefully introduced. Resources are shared and harmony established between the races. Whananaki is transformed from a strange and ancient world to a colonial village. The text presents this transition as natural needing no further explanation. The centuries between Puhī's discovery of Whananaki and the arrival of Marsden are telescoped. Similarly, events occurring during the sixty plus years between Marsden's brief visit in 1820 and the arrival of the settlers in the mid-1880s (mentioned in the previous three chapters of this thesis) are overlooked. The silence implies that Maori society was unchanging, that they waited patiently for the settlers to arrive and transform their land. When the village settlers finally arrive, there are no signs of resistance or struggle. Maori willingly hand over their land to the newcomers.

it is good to pay tribute to the Maori people who were such fine conservationists. With all the generosity and hospitality characteristic of this race they welcomed pakeha settlers into their midst.<sup>213</sup>

Clearly this is at odds with the views of Maori residents as expressed in their letters.<sup>214</sup> Government assistance in funding public works is not acknowledged either. The settlers are portrayed as self-reliant rather than dependent on subsidies. After landing, the European settlers work hard, without outside help, to alter the landscape. The booklet implies that Maori conservationist skills and specialist knowledge were supplanted by the settler's technology, unique energy and driving ambition, without which development would not have occurred.

The third assertion made is that Whananaki was a thriving village settlement offering regular employment, English style homesteads, and all the markings of civilization including a store, a boarding house, public hall, school and prominent community minded settlers. The perceived wilderness and quiet monotony of

---

<sup>213</sup> Ibid, p. 5

<sup>214</sup> For example see NA AKL AP 2 19 2492/74: Letter from Hirini Tamihana to Superintendent Williamson, Auckland Provincial Government, July 1874

the surrounding countryside is contrasted with the civilization and busyness of the village settlement. The village is presented as an unqualified success. The model English village replaces alien forest and waste areas such as wetland and swamp. To emphasize this point, contrasting before and after scenes, the text quotes an extract from the Cyclopedia of New Zealand.

It is a relief after riding through miles of uninteresting country to come suddenly upon a pretty little settlement of Whananaki, which is one of the most flourishing in the north. The land is of excellent quality, and work in the locality being constant, the settlers have succeeded in creating comfortable homes with well grassed and securely fenced properties.<sup>215</sup>

Credit is given to two settlers, John Charles Johnson and Christopher Galbraith, co-owners of a timber mill for providing regular employment for the community and thus facilitating its growth. The ‘Englishness’ of Whananaki is noted with approval. In contrast to what was there before, Johnson’s homestead called Willowbank has a,

pretty English appearance, surrounded by shelter trees which with orchard and flower garden together make a very pleasing rural picture.<sup>216</sup>

The text is at pains to stress Whananaki’s value as a timber town. The existence of a post office in 1872 is somewhat inaccurately stated as evidence of the ‘prosperity and relative importance’ of Whananaki. In fact, a temporary shop was established to trade with Maori several years before European settlement had

---

<sup>215</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, *The History of Whananaki School and Districts*, 1987, p. 9: Extract taken from *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, Auckland Provincial District, Vol. 2, Cyclopedia Company Limited, 1902, p. 564

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid*

begun. C.J. Hutchinson, the proprietor lived at Whangaruru. There are no Europeans recorded as living at Whananaki before 1885.<sup>217</sup>

Local leaders are extolled as role models displaying pioneering values that the present day community should strive to emulate. Prominent settler Thomas Morris balances several roles and responsibilities including storekeeper, importer, banker, chairman of the school committee, domain and cemetery boards and local politician.<sup>218</sup> Regarded as a good citizen, Morris' role as a 'booster' remains unexplained. The Cyclopedia article that describes him serves the same function as a tourist brochure, propaganda to entice potential residents to the area.

Maori, despite their disproportionately larger population and heavy involvement in the timber industry, are not mentioned at all in relation to the village settlement. Their presence at Whananaki is taken for granted despite the fact that many moved there in the 1880s for the same reason as Europeans, seeking employment in the timber mills and bush. Differences amongst Maori, at an individual or family level, or between larger descent groups, are also left unexplained conveying an impression of homogeneity that simply did not exist.

The school, established in 1887, is correctly credited to the settlers. The school's influence is assumed to be positive for all, 'the school is in such good heart it flows on into the district' even though this was not initially the case, at least for Maori. Education Board records note that Maori children and their special educational needs were often ignored. The school's influence on Maori will be discussed in the following chapter.<sup>219</sup> The location of the school on reserve land is also taken for granted and the controversial nature of its acquisition overlooked.

---

<sup>217</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, *The History of Whananaki School and Districts*, 1987, p. 23; Madge Malcolm, *Where it all began: the story of Whangaruru taking in from Mimiwhangata to Whangamumu*, M.S. Malcolm, Hikurangi, 1982, p. 1

<sup>218</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, *The History of Whananaki School and Districts*, 1987, p. 9

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 6, 8, 60; Also see NA AKL BAAA 1001, 712c: Inspection reports, Building files Native/Māori Schools, Northland

The fourth assertion made in the text is that European settlers laid the foundations of Whananaki's development. The family histories section includes a total of 29 separate family histories. While some accounts are very brief (three sentences), others are three-four pages in length. Of the 29 families listed, only six European families (Ayton, Dysart, Halvorson, Morris, Macken, Nankivell) and eight Maori families stemming from two groups, were residents of nineteenth-century Whananaki. The remaining 16 families mentioned in the text settled at Whananaki after 1900, many arriving after 1914. There is no family history for the descendents of Pita Tunua, even though the Tunua family is briefly mentioned in the introductory 'tangata whenua' section as being one of the oldest in the district.

The expression 'settler', scattered throughout the text, supports more widespread assumptions. A settler is loosely defined as someone who settles in a new land. However, many Maori moved to Whananaki in the late nineteenth-century. Can they be called settlers too? If 'settlement' is the process of becoming settled or established on the land, history reveals that few villagers (or their descendents) stayed at Whananaki longer than a decade. This is in contrast to Maori migrants who married into local families, whose descendants continue to reside there today. Can those who stayed for a limited time be called settlers given that they did not settle? The word 'pioneer' is equally misleading. A pioneer is a settler, initiator, inventor and originator. In the text, all Europeans are pioneers even if they did not display these qualities or abilities. Meanwhile Maori, who may have displayed these qualities, are excluded because they were not European.

The fifth assertion is that pioneering qualities and values including a capacity for physical labor, self-reliance, flexibility, ability to overcome hardship, endurance, community mindedness, thrift, respect for tradition and continuity, patriotism, education, and family loyalty were exercised by Whananaki residents. In several of the family histories the above qualities and values are mentioned in relation to

specific individuals. Although newspaper reports suggest that lawlessness, depression, domestic problems and discrimination existed at Whananaki, the pioneer archetype is set as the standard for all to emulate, including Maori. While village life was fractured by transience and isolation, the full range of human experience that this invoked is overlooked. Self-interest and dishonesty are hidden beneath a patina of respectability. Maori values such as whanaungatanga and manaakitanga, which often influenced decisions concerning land, are also overlooked.

In the sixth and final assertion, historical narratives in which settlers are absent or located at the periphery are marginalized. Despite a complex history, events that occurred at Whananaki prior to the 1880s, or within the various Maori land blocks that they later moved to, are ignored. Change occurring to and instigated by Maori is overlooked. Apart from a few brief references to a marae built in the twentieth-century, Maori activity, social organization, ways of seeing and being are not addressed. The result is a history of personal remembrance where the community finds its identity in the selective remembrance of events. The past is shed of all features that mark a departure from pioneer mythology rendering it somewhat bland. Identifying and questioning these assertions reveals the village settlement as a place of unsettlement and loss, rather than a site of attachment and belonging.

Chapter Four traced the development of the village settlement beginning in 1886 and ending at the outbreak of World War One. It followed on from Chapter Two which outlined the process whereby Whananaki block was appropriated and then prepared for European settlement. In addition to exploring the settlement scheme that brought the settlers to Whananaki, it looked at how the settlers saw themselves and the image that they projected outward to others. This image of independence and strength disguised an interdependent relationship with Maori that existed despite their communities living separate lives in many ways. A study of settler attitudes toward Maori shows a tendency by the settlers to deny the

importance of such cooperation. In analyzing a centennial history written about Whananaki, it is evident that settler attitudes continue to dominate a contemporary understanding of that past.

## *Chapter 5:*

### SETTLER LANDMARKS



Sand spit, Whananaki south

---

#### **The Recreation Reserve**

At the mouth of the estuary at Whananaki south, a narrow strip of sandy land adjoins Oriwa block. The area, which is a sand spit, has had several recorded names over the past 200 plus years. These include Rahuira, Te Papapa, Spithills, Bateman's, and more recently Whananaki Recreation Reserve. Approximately 600 meters long and 500 meters at its widest point, it was originally some 47 acres.<sup>220</sup> Erosion of the sand spit has become increasingly obvious over time. Development of nearby farmland has increased the silt content throughout the entire estuary. While the sand spit continues to shrink, the channel, once deep enough to allow schooners to enter its waters is now, at high tide, in many places only knee deep.

---

<sup>220</sup> The sand spit consisted of a cemetery reserve (10 acres) which was included in a Domain reserve (28 acres), and a Maori land block called Spithills (19 acres).

At the eastern end of the sand spit, pohutukawa trees cling precariously to a steadily disappearing sand bank sinking beneath the sea. The trees are visual relief against otherwise arid soil. Thick clumps of pampas grass grow on low, undulating dunes. Standing at the sand spit looking inland, the estuary forms centre stage of an enormous amphitheatre. Westward, in the opposite direction adjoining Oriwa block, is an area of some 18 acres covered in pine radiata, some of which have grown to a height of 65 feet. Pinecones, fallen trees and broken branches cover the ground. A notice in front of the pine trees signals the area's reserve status, giving little hint of its history.

WHANANAKI SOUTH  
RECREATION RESERVE  
BEWARE FALLING BRANCHES  
DURING WINDY PERIODS

The pine forest now provides a protective shelter to prevent erosion. The history of this sand spit and how the recreation ground was taken in 1895 provides an interesting commentary on European settlement. The recreation ground comprised some 28 acres, adjoined Spithills Block and was administered by the Whananaki Domain Board under the Public Domains Act, 1881.<sup>221</sup>

---

<sup>221</sup> New Zealand Gazette, 1895, Vol. 1, No. 42, pp. 932-933

## The Settler Cemetery



Settler cemetery, sand spit, Whananaki south

Twenty meters inland from an old wharf's two remaining posts, a cemetery lies buried beneath sand, fallen branches and pine needles. A few visible tombstones are chipped, with moss and algae covering the surfaces. Two graves are enclosed within still sturdy iron fences. One tombstone has fallen over completely. The words etched in marble or stone are barely legible, projecting a poignant feeling of abandonment and loss.

*15 August 1897, Edith Margaret, wife, died unexpectedly, 25 years*

*24 October 1897, Thomas A.F. Aspden, accidentally drowned, 1 year 4 months*

*19 September 1902, Janet Ayton, wife of James Ayton, 58 years*

*14 February 1909, Charles C Dysart, 7 months*

*17 January 1910, Mary Ann Morris, 82 years old*

In October 1893 a public meeting was held to discuss the proposed cemetery reserve. By that time the village settlement was seven years old and had developed rapidly into a busy settlement. With the nearest cemetery some distance away at Otonga, a more convenient location to bury the dead was imperative. A sub-committee was formed comprising prominent local figures John Charles Johnson, Faulkner Macken, William Lee, William Wells and Thomas Morris. They were assigned the task of identifying the best site for the cemetery and new wharf. During the meeting, opposition from local Maori to

the taking of land for a cemetery reserve was discussed. The objectors are not identified by name and the exact nature of their concern is unknown. It was understood that someone had written to the Crown Lands Office to protest the sand spit as a choice of site for the cemetery.<sup>222</sup> Maori had purportedly claimed,

that the land, which was at one time held by some person or other, has lapsed back to them and not to the Crown<sup>223</sup>

Post-contact accounts of how the sand spit was used by Maori are brief. There is evidence to suggest that it was an area from which resources were gathered and that individuals exercised various rights, the nature of which at times caused conflict. Place names provide some hint of how Maori perceived the sand spit. The sand spit was called Rahuiroa, meaning protected ground. Papapa, another place at the western edge, a small fish that resembles a maomao, are apparently caught here. While the evidence is scarce, we can assume that Maori considered the sand spit, the resources that it provided access to, and their relationship to it, indistinguishable.

For the settlers, as more recent arrivals, such relationships or understandings of place were irrelevancies. Older histories presented an unwelcome intrusion to their idea of an unfolding 'English' landscape. In objecting to the proposed site for the cemetery Maori are portrayed as obstructive and obdurate. Their views were not to be entertained.

It is not considered that their [Maori] protest will be allowed to stand in the way of the progress of Whananaki.<sup>224</sup>

The article, in linking the word 'progress' to a cemetery proposal, suggests that the settlers saw the cemetery as a sign of development and prosperity. In the

---

<sup>222</sup> New Zealand Herald, 15 November 1893

<sup>223</sup> New Zealand Herald, 15 November 1893

<sup>224</sup> New Zealand Herald, 15 November 1893

same year, some 12 acres of the sand spit was reserved for a cemetery in 1895 and trustees were appointed to manage it.<sup>225</sup> A Domain Board was also elected in 1896 to manage the recreation reserve.<sup>226</sup> Members who met once a month comprised sawyers, timber workers and the storekeeper. Their surnames present a who's who of colonial Whananaki: John K Grassick, John C Johnson, William Lee, Faulkner W. Macken, Thomas Morris and Andrew Stirling.<sup>227</sup>

Although Maori owned the adjoining land, Oriwa block, with some actually living on the sand spit, they were not expected to participate in any decisions that were made about it. The following year, on 23 March 1896, Edward George Lott, an accountant who had arrived at Whananaki nine years earlier, died. He was probably the first settler buried in the cemetery.<sup>228</sup> According to one source, Lott was a 'remittance man' from Lancashire, England who had married Elizabeth Johnson, a sister of John Charles Johnson owner of the saw mill.<sup>229</sup>

In 1909, new trustees of the cemetery and Domain Board were appointed. They included Theodore Walker, the local schoolteacher, Septimus Hawkins, Claude Dysart, William Nankivell and Thomas Roxburgh.<sup>230</sup> In 1912, further trustees were appointed including, Thomas Morris (re-appointed), Walter Edwin Macken, David Anderson and Lewis Graham.<sup>231</sup> The cemetery was unofficially closed at the end of World War One although it was not until 1970 that burials were legally discontinued.<sup>232</sup> Today, only one resident at Whananaki, Garth Macken, is a

---

<sup>225</sup> New Zealand Gazette 1895, Vol. 1, No. 18, p. 457: Schedule of reserves; New Zealand Gazette 1895, Vol. 1, p. 943: Trustees for Whananaki Public Cemetery appointed.

<sup>226</sup> New Zealand Gazette 1895, Vol. 1, No. p. 932; New Zealand Gazette 1896, Vol. 1, No. 19, p. 466; New Zealand Gazette 1909, Vol. 1, No. 39, p. 1301; New Zealand Gazette 1915, Vol. 11, No. 90, p. 2614

<sup>227</sup> New Zealand Gazette, No. 19, 28 February 1896, p. 466

<sup>228</sup> Bay of Islands Electoral Roll, 1887; Whananaki Settler Cemetery; NA AKL, BAAZ, 1134, 1, Village Homestead Special Settlement Advance Rent and Interest Ledger: Section 13, Opuawhanga VI, 41 acres, 1887.

<sup>229</sup> The Bridge, Whananaki Community Paper, 29th Edition, December 2001: Article by Hugh Barron.

<sup>230</sup> The Bridge, Whananaki Community Paper, 31<sup>st</sup> Edition, April 2003: Article by Bruce Barron: See also New Zealand Gazette, No 39, 1909, p. 1302

<sup>231</sup> New Zealand Gazette, 1912, p. 2148: These appointments expired in 1916.

<sup>232</sup> New Zealand Gazette, 1969, p. 2629: The cemetery was officially closed after 30 June, 1970

descendent of someone buried in the cemetery.<sup>233</sup> He is a grandson of Amy Macken whose mother Mary Ann Morris was buried there in 1910.

Mary Ann Page – Thomas H.W. Morris

|

Amy Morris – William Macken

|

Florence Darley – Seymour Macken

|

Garth Macken

Local histories have tended to portray the past in terms of progressive achievements, as a series of connected events where early settlers were the forerunners of the present community.<sup>234</sup> However, Whananaki's settler cemetery speaks of a different experience, one that was fractured and disconnected. When employment opportunities in the timber mills ceased, many settlers had little choice but to sell their land. In leaving the district, they became detached from its past, with few choosing to return. The graveyard's neglected appearance, with gravestones lying buried beneath sand, provides a commentary on attachment and belonging somewhat at odds with more popular sentiments of pioneer settlement. Nevertheless, successive generations of Whananaki residents identify with an idea of continuity and community that suggests otherwise.

### **The Wharf**

Beside the sand spit two solitary, weather-beaten posts stand sentry on the shore. They mark the site of Whananaki's first official wharf, built in 1898. There was great excitement when news of a wharf was pitched to the public with accounts

---

<sup>233</sup> Personal communication with Garth Macken, 12 December 2008

<sup>234</sup> Olssen, Erik, *Where to From Here?: Reflections on the Twentieth-Century Historiography of Nineteenth-Century New Zealand* in Binney, Judith (ed.), *The Shaping of History: Essays from the New Zealand Journal of History*, Bridget Williams, Wellington, 2001, p. 351

suggesting it was one of several coming-of-age developments that marked the community's upbeat self-image.

We are living in hopes of a new wharf, as Mr McInnes' tender has been accepted, but hope deferred makes the heart so sick that we shall hardly believe in our good fortune until the wharf is erected.<sup>235</sup>

The previous year in March 1897 bush work had halted. Scows had stopped visiting the district and some 500,000 feet of logs floated in the harbour waiting to be collected.<sup>236</sup>

Very few scows have been sent here. The mills are overstocked. Hundreds of logs are awaiting shipment. Our creeks are locked by them. Fresh booms are being expected wherever possible. So, it is loss here, there and everywhere and as a consequence, there is not sufficient money coming to hand to pay wages and current expenses.<sup>237</sup>

Two years previously the wharf built by Johnson and Galbraith in 1886 had been swept away in a severe storm. Tenders had been called to erect a new wharf and building began in May. Somewhat strangely, timber to build the wharf was carted in wagons from Puhipuhi, a distance of some 35 kilometers. This was regarded with awe. Twelve years earlier, in 1886, a road leading to Whananaki had not existed.<sup>238</sup> The site of the wharf, located so far from the village center, is unusual because it was the least popular of three choices. However the two other sites recommended by the villagers exceeded available public funds. The villagers were disappointed but still relieved to have a wharf:

---

<sup>235</sup> Northern Advocate, 5 March 1898

<sup>236</sup> Ibid, p. 122

<sup>237</sup> Ibid, p. 121

<sup>238</sup> Northern Advocate, 9 April 1898

A welcome sound re-echoed through Whananaki this morning – the thud of the contractor’s monkey on the first pile of the Whananaki wharf.<sup>239</sup>

A month later, complaints from the public about wharf levels and the site itself were voiced.<sup>240</sup> Another query in October arose over who owned the wharf, the Lands and Survey Department, the Harbour Board or Marine Board,

Anyone who can assist in finding owner of wharf will confer a lasting boon on the inhabitants of Whananaki, who cannot get a shed to put their goods in because no official body will give permission to erect it or give a guarantee that if erected no local body will claim the wharf and levy wharfage dues which would virtually crush any trade in existence.<sup>241</sup>

The wharf was built cheaply on the foreshore next to land that had been taken three years earlier for a recreation reserve. It served an immediate need but offered little hope for Whananaki’s long-term prospects. In February 1899, Whananaki was ‘quiet and dull’ with most of the male population away and 1,200 logs left floating in the creeks.<sup>242</sup> While the Government continued to sell and lease land and issue timber cutting licenses from 1899 to 1903, Whananaki’s timber days were coming to an end. Some 30 years later, a stronger, concrete wharf was built on the north side of the estuary at the mouth of the river. Stores would still be sent via boat as late as the 1930s. However, improved roads and vehicles would eventually make this wharf redundant as well.

### **Faulkner’s Landing**

At the end of Whananaki south road is a narrow footbridge connecting north and south sides of the estuary. Built in 1947 the bridge is 395 meters long and just

---

<sup>239</sup> Northern Advocate, 14 May 1898

<sup>240</sup> Northern Advocate, 18 June 1898

<sup>241</sup> Northern Advocate, 28 October 1898

<sup>242</sup> Bill Haigh, *Footprints Among the Kauri, the lives and times of seven brothers and six sisters in the Kauri Timber Days*, published by Bill Haigh, Kerikeri, 1990, p. 122

over a meter wide. It is made of wooden piles that range from 2.3 meters at its lowest point, to a height of 5.6 meters at its apex. With three bays it has an appearance of quaint functionality and, excluding Whananaki's natural attractions, has become the most recognizable and celebrated of Whananaki's landmarks.

In addition to its ongoing practical function, it now serves as a symbol of the community. Community events regularly feature the bridge as part of their promotions. The Whananaki school centennial booklet features a sketch of the bridge on its front cover as did its commemorative tea coasters and drinking glasses. A community newspaper is called 'The Bridge' and has a stylized logo of its namesake on the cover page. Various school fundraising ventures, including calendars, also feature photos of the footbridge. Despite its comparatively recent post-WWII history, the bridge has become synonymous with Whananaki's past.

Some 60 years before the bridge was built, a jetty dominated the shoreline on the south side nearby to the present day bridge. The jetty was attached to Johnson and Galbraith's mill. The channel was deeper then and scows could reach jetties on either side of the estuary, the other being near the present day school. It is interesting to note that in retelling Whananaki's colonial history, jetties and wharves are linked with settler efforts despite being located on land owned by Maori.

In the beginning the wharf was at a sight close to the present footbridge and then the wharf was rebuilt at the sand spit. Boats came in on one tide, unloaded, and left on the next tide.<sup>243</sup>

Further along the shoreline, some 100 meters past the present footbridge is the Oriwa river mouth. The entire area is filled with mangroves that spread out into the estuary. Some groves are small, impenetrable islands. On the opposite side of the Oriwa River, at the base of a promontory, is a flat area of tidal wetland.

---

<sup>243</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, *The History of Whananaki School and Districts*, 1987, p. 39



Oriwa river mouth above Faulkner's Landing with footbridge in the distance

It is said that Maori called this flattened piece of land Paenga-roa.<sup>244</sup> The name refers to a place where objects are heaped or loaded. With the arrival of the timber mill and the settlers it was soon given another name, Faulkner's Landing. However, the function remained the same. Essentially it was used as a loading place. Logs brought down the Oriwa valley were piled at the landing and kept there before being transported by scow to Auckland. With the closing of the timber mill, Faulkner's Landing faded from local usage.

The landing provides a starting point for exploring the life of one villager, Faulkner Walsh Macken, after whom it was named. According to a family source, Faulkner and his brother William arrived in New Zealand under inauspicious circumstances. They had deserted a ship in San Francisco and had boarded another ship to New Zealand. However on arriving in Auckland, to their surprise they found the deserted ship in port. In order to avoid arrest, Faulkner and William had taken to the bush.<sup>245</sup> Whatever the case may be, Faulkner and William were at Whananaki by 1886. In addition to receiving land under the homestead scheme, Faulkner managed Johnson and Galbraith's mill. Initially

---

<sup>244</sup> Personal communication with David Peters, 27 January 2009: Former resident, Wiki Peters informed him about Paengaroa.

<sup>245</sup> Olwen Yates: Typed notes taken from notebook, 1980-1981

allocated 50 acres, timber rather than farming appears to have been Faulkner's primary purpose for living at Whananaki. Faulkner purchased a further four 'perpetual lease' sections eventually increasing his landholding to over 513 acres. Given the size of the area and Faulkner's interest in timber, he probably intended felling the timber and then selling the land.

In many ways, Faulkner's experience was not atypical of the majority of settlers who arrived at Whananaki in the 1880s-1890s. While land ownership conveyed an impression of independence, farming was a precarious past time offering little reward in the immediate future. In 1895, nine years after he arrived, Faulkner was grazing 77 sheep, not a large flock compared to other farms in the area.<sup>246</sup> Faulkner left Whananaki at some unspecified date after 1911, perhaps after selling four sections in the same year. The original 50-acre section that he was allotted in 1886 was forfeited suggesting that the land was either unproductive, or he had milled the timber and having done so, had no further interest in keeping the section or completing the payment.<sup>247</sup>

Although Faulkner's land was situated at Whananaki south, he lived with his wife and 17 children in a house where the current school is located, a curious location given its reserve status.<sup>248</sup> A photo of the house reveals a large villa built of native timber with a veranda facing the east.<sup>249</sup> Perhaps Faulkner had obtained permission to build his house from James Hamlyn Greenway who leased the 500-acre reserve in 1885.<sup>250</sup> Alternatively he may have obtained permission from his employer Johnson who lived nearby at Willowbank. Whatever the case may be,

---

<sup>246</sup> AJHR, 1895, Vol III, H-23, p. 16

<sup>247</sup> NA AKL BAAZ, 1356 4/4; NA AKL BAAZ, 1134, 1, Village Homestead Special Settlement Advance Rent and Interest Ledger: Section 12, Opuawhanga IX, 1886, 50 acres.

<sup>248</sup> Olwen Yates: Typed notes taken from notebook, 1980-1981; 1887, Bay of Islands Electoral Roll; Personal Communication with Garth Macken, 27 January 2009; NA AKL BAAZ, 1134, 1, Village Homestead Special Settlement Advance Rent and Interest Ledger

<sup>249</sup> The Bridge, Whananaki Community Paper, 32<sup>nd</sup> Edition, August 2003

<sup>250</sup> Malcolm, Madge, Where it all Began: The Story of Whangaruru Taking in From Mimiwhangata to Whangamumu, M. S. Malcolm, Hikurangi, 1982, p. 59: Malcolm mentions that most of the land on the north side was reserved for a fishing station but in the meantime leased to Greenway for a cattle run. Although Malcolm refers to an article in the Northern Advocate in 1885, this could not be located.

the presence of a large house for several years on a fishing reserve suggests settlers used the entire 'public' area somewhat arbitrarily. This was perhaps one of the benefits of living in isolated settlements where certain residents were more or less left in charge. Decisions could be made informally with little regard for the law.

The dual meaning of Paenga-roa and Faulkner's Landing, hints at the interdependent relationship that existed between Maori residents and the village settlement. Timber mills are commonly perceived as European institutions, their success evidence of European endeavor. Both Haigh and Malcolm make few references to Maori involvement in the mills.<sup>251</sup> However, the location of Johnson and Galbraith's mill on Maori land at the western edge of Oriwa block indicates a more complex relationship existed. Pita Tunua leased some 10 acres of land to the Kauri Timber Company in 1898. Although it is not clear what arrangements were made before that date, it is probable that Johnson and Galbraith leased the site from Maori as early as 1884. This would have been a beneficial arrangement for both the mill owners and Oriwa residents. Maori knowledge of the entire area, including location of trees growing on Opuawhanga No 2 block, and labor would have been invaluable assets to the mill. Access to Oriwa River also required the consent of Maori who owned adjoining land.

### **The First Saw Mill**

Historically, John Charles Johnson and to a lesser extent Christopher Galbraith have been portrayed in the manner of founding fathers of Whananaki. This is largely because of their having established the first timber mill in 1885. Much has been made of Johnson and his English credentials, his homestead called Willowbank lending credibility to Whananaki's claims of being an English-style

---

<sup>251</sup> Bill Haigh, *Footprints Among the Kauri, the lives and times of seven brothers and six sisters in the Kauri Timber Days*, published by Bill Haigh, Kerikeri, 1990, pp. 115, 117, 118, 121, 122: Haigh refers to Hone Palmer's timber milling activity but provides little background about him either as an individual or as a local Maori leader.

village. Somewhat predictably Johnson had named Willowbank after an aunt's home in England.<sup>252</sup>

Johnson is recorded in 1894 as owning 667 acres. In 1902, it was claimed that he owned 900 acres suggesting that he had purchased more land by then.<sup>253</sup> Johnson had spent two years in the Armed Constabulary after arriving in Wellington in 1870. This had apparently entitled him to a grant of free land.<sup>254</sup> He entered into a business partnership with Christopher Galbraith in 1884 although the partnership appears to have been short lived. Johnson held many official and unofficial positions and was the only Justice of the Peace in the district for several years in the district for several years, having been appointed in 1891. He left Whananaki in 1905 and moved to Kumeu.<sup>255</sup>

Christopher Galbraith had previously managed Hector Reed's sawmill at Hikurangi and owned over 500 acres at Whananaki south.<sup>256</sup> James, a brother, also owned a section on the same block.<sup>257</sup> Christopher Galbraith's son, also called Christopher, possibly too old to attend school, owned another section.<sup>258</sup> After the mill was sold, Galbraith Bros worked together felling timber in the bush for several years. Christopher Galbraith senior left Whananaki in 1902.<sup>259</sup> Despite their successes they were somewhat controversial figures in the district. Following the passing of the Timber Floating Act of 1884, Johnson and

---

<sup>252</sup> The Bridge, Whananaki Community Paper, 37th Edition, December 2005

<sup>253</sup> NA AKL BAAZ, 1356, 4, 4: Section 14, 340 acres, section 15, 340 acres, section 16, 340 acres, section 17, 440 acres, section 19, 50 acres, section 21, 50 acres, section 22, 340 acres, section 26, 340 acres, section 27, 340 acres, section 28, 340 acres, section 29, 340 acres, section , Opuawhanga VI. Emily Johnson, section 4, 206 acres, section 5, 47 acres, section 8, 50 acres; See also Cyclopedia of New Zealand, Auckland Provincial District, Vol. 2, Cyclopedia Company Limited, 1902

<sup>254</sup> Bay of Islands Electoral Roll, 1894

<sup>255</sup> Phyllis Courtney Index, Genealogy Centre, Whangarei Public Library: See also Cyclopedia of New Zealand, Auckland Provincial District, Vol. 2, Cyclopedia Company Limited, 1902, p. 564

<sup>256</sup> Northern Advocate, 1 June 1975, p. 38; NA AKL BAAZ, 1356, 4, 4: Section 5 (367 acres), section 12 (236 acres), section 7 (50 acres), Opuawhanga IX; NA AKL BAAZ, 1134, 1: Village Homestead Special Settlement Advance Rent and Interest Ledger.

<sup>257</sup> NA AKL BAAZ, 1134, 1: Village Homestead Special Settlement Advance Rent and Interest Ledger, section 6 (48 acres) at Opuawhanga IX.

<sup>258</sup> NA AKL BAAZ, 1134, 1: Village Homestead Special Settlement Advance Rent and Interest Ledger, section 7 (50 acres) at Opuawhanga IX.

<sup>259</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, The History of Whananaki School and Districts, 1987, p. 23

Galbraith were given approval to float timber down the Whananaki estuary.<sup>260</sup> The mill's production must have been high, as a complaint was made by H.R. Shortland the following year, concerned about the amount of sawdust that was being discharged into the estuary.<sup>261</sup> A short time later, Johnson and Galbraith sold the mill to Frank Jagger who owned 949 acres at Whananaki south and Marua.<sup>262</sup> Jagger and Parker sold the mill to the KTC in 1888.<sup>263</sup>

The KTC, formed in 1888 by a syndicate of Melbourne-based businessmen was the largest miller of kauri in the southern hemisphere. With 28 sawmills located throughout the north including Auckland, Kaipara, Hokianga, Whangaroa, Whangarei, Whananaki and Ngunguru, the KTC's influence throughout the north was huge.<sup>264</sup> Its assets included forests, containing 1,600 million super feet of kauri timber, 146,000 acres of freehold land and 157,000 acres of leasehold land.

... at the various places named, where mills are situated, the village or township is virtually the Kauri Company's, who own not only the stores, but perhaps the majority of houses, which are let to the workmen and others employed in getting the timber.<sup>265</sup>

Following the purchase of the mill, the KTC applied for another license to float timber down the Whananaki, Wairahi and Oriwa rivers.<sup>266</sup> Licenses were applied for every three years however the mill's success was variable. Between 1888 and 1889 production was high. The following year the KTC applied to renew its timber-floating license, also leasing a portion of Wairahi block from Hori

---

<sup>260</sup>New Zealand Gazette, April 1889, p. 364

<sup>261</sup>New Zealand Gazette, 1885, pp. 380-381

<sup>262</sup>Te Aroha News, 18 July 1888; NA AKL, BAAZ 1356 4 4: Opuawhanga VIII, section 14 and Opuawhanga IX section 20

<sup>263</sup>Simpson, T.E., *Kauri to Radiata: Origin and Expansion of the Timber Industry of New Zealand*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1973, p. 240

<sup>264</sup>West Coast Times, 19 December 1895

<sup>265</sup>West Coast Times, 19 December 1895

<sup>266</sup>NA AKL BBAO, 5544 47a 1889/456

Wehiwehi, one of the sellers of Whananaki block.<sup>267</sup> By 1891, the industry experienced a slump and 25 KTC mills closed down, including Whananaki.<sup>268</sup> The timber industry picked up again in 1893 and in 1898 there was another burst of productivity recorded at Whananaki,

The timber trade still continues to make our port lively with scows coming and going.<sup>269</sup>

But once again the short-term successes faded quickly. In the same year the saw mill was sold and shipped to Auckland on 'Thomas Morris' scow.<sup>270</sup> In 1901, H.R. Shortland again complained about the obstruction of creeks preventing access by others.<sup>271</sup> The following year Christopher Galbraith left Whananaki.<sup>272</sup> Contractors such as the Nankivells continued to undertake bush work up to 1905 and even later although the days of large-scale timber milling had ended.

Trees continued to be felled at Whananaki often for personal use. In 1905, Septimus Hawkins bought a block of bush-covered land three kilometers up the Oriwa River. Working with Jack Nankivell, a village homestead settler who owned a block one kilometer further down the valley, they felled logs. A bullock team transported the timber a few hundred meters to the present road bridge where it was then towed by launch to Matapouri. It was finally cut into timber and used to build Hawkin's house which remains standing today.<sup>273</sup>

---

<sup>267</sup> Whangarei MB, No. 5, Wairahi, p. 48

<sup>268</sup> Bill Haigh, *Foote Prints Among the Kauri, the lives and times of seven brothers and six sisters in the Kauri Timber Days*, published by Bill Haigh, Kerikeri, 1990, p. 58

<sup>269</sup> Northern Advocate, 26 March 1898

<sup>270</sup> Bill Haigh, *Foote Prints Among the Kauri, the lives and times of seven brothers and six sisters in the Kauri Timber Days*, published by Bill Haigh, Kerikeri, 1990, p. 121

<sup>271</sup> NA AKL BAZA, Acc A984 68c

<sup>272</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, *The History of Whananaki School and Districts*, 1987, p. 23

<sup>273</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, *The History of Whananaki School and Districts*, 1987, p. 41

## The School

Whananaki School is located near the footbridge on the north side of the estuary. It is a small school with two classrooms, two full-time teachers and approximately 41 students. The current school was built in 1944. Since then an office, staff room and a library have been added. The setting is quite different from the haphazard school that was quickly formed to cope with the sudden influx of settler children. In November 1886, with twenty school age (European) children in the district, and ten children still to reach school age, a petition for a school was submitted to the Education Board.<sup>274</sup> The nearest (part-time) school was at Otonga, a distance of some 23 kilometers over rough bridle track and hilly country, too far and hazardous for children to travel on a daily basis.

The petitioners themselves were recent arrivals. Their names, mentioned in previous chapters, were to become synonymous with Whananaki's village settlement. They included James Ayton, Robert Clark, Christopher Galbraith, John Hamilton, John C. Johnson, Josiah King, Robert Murray, William Nankivell, Robert Peters and Andrew Stirling. While there were other settlers living in the district at the time, it seems that those with land were more interested in establishing a school. At its inception in 1887, the settlers envisaged that the school would play a central role in the village settlement. The petition did not mention Maori children and none attended school in its opening year. The school opened in 1887 with 23 pupils, many of whom were siblings.<sup>275</sup> Although it was intended for the benefit of the village settlers, a steady increase in Maori students, one attended in 1888, four in 1889, and seven in 1893, suggests that Maori were keen to send their children to school.<sup>276</sup> Unfortunately their experience of mainstream education was not always positive.<sup>277</sup>

---

<sup>274</sup> Ibid, p. 6

<sup>275</sup> Ibid, pp. 6-8

<sup>276</sup> NA AKL BCCR, 1577 1a: Public School Register Admission, Progress and Withdrawal, Whananaki Public School

<sup>277</sup> NA AKL BAAA 1001, 712c: Inspection reports, Building files Native/Māori Schools, Northland

In approving a school at Whananaki, the Education Board noted the increase in settlers to the district due to the availability of bush work. The Inspector observed the 'majority of the parents are freeholders as special settlers, some of these work at the sawmill'.<sup>278</sup> The Education Board eventually reported favorably on the petition, approved the use of a room in a cottage, free of rent for 12 months for the school with a few modifications and suggested that the school be sited on the fishing reserve.<sup>279</sup> The cottage, owned by James Hamlyn Greenway, mentioned in Chapter Two, was conveniently located on the fishing reserve at the center of the village settlement. It is unlikely that Greenway continued to lease the original fishing reserve as most of it had been subdivided for settlement. However the strip along the waterfront remained a reserve, as can be seen in the 1886 survey and it is possible that Greenway continued to exercise some influence at Whananaki by using it.

Two years later in 1889, Greenway notified the school committee that he intended selling the cottage. A new schoolhouse was required. In March 1889 John Charles Johnson, chairman of the school committee wrote to the Education Board requesting a portion of the fishing reserve be obtained as a school reserve. He explained recent developments in the community:

The Committee wish to draw the attendance of the Board to the fact that Whananaki requirements from an Educational point of view have greatly increased during the past 12 months now having two sawmills in full swing and a large and increasing population of permanent settlers.<sup>280</sup>

---

<sup>278</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, The History of Whananaki School and Districts, 1987, pp.6-8

<sup>279</sup> Ibid, pp. 6-8

<sup>280</sup> NA AKL YCBD A688, 798c, 1/570: Whananaki School, Letter: John C Johnson, 16 March 1889

Problems were apparent from the start with siting the school on a fishing reserve. While the Crown Lands Office suggested that an arrangement be made with the owner of a nearby section, the committee insisted on the original location:<sup>281</sup>

the School Site opposite Section V is approved of by the Committee. The Road between School Site and Section V is practically useless as it ends nowhere.<sup>282</sup>

Although the Crown Lands Office promised to consider gazettement a part of the fishing reserve as a school site, as late as 1925 nothing further had been done.<sup>283</sup> In the meantime, a one-room building had been built on the reserve. In 1925 the Department of Lands and Survey stressed the school's non-existent legal status:

The whole position is very confusing; it is very much open to question whether there was ever power to make portion of this riverbank reserve, a school site – such as this.<sup>284</sup>

In the Commissioner's view the reserve was unalienated Crown land and as such required a chain reserve along the frontage. However, the school site was located directly on the waterfront and special legislation would have been required to waive a chain strip. This finally eventuated in 1944 when the site was legally made a school reserve.<sup>285</sup> For more than 50 years the school had effectively squatted on the fishing reserve.

---

<sup>281</sup> NA AKL YCBD A688, 798c, 1/570: Memo: Crown Lands Office Re: School Site, 17.4.89 To: The Secretary, Board of Education, Auckland

<sup>282</sup> NA AKL YCBD A688, 798c, 1/570: Folder: Auckland Education Board, Vol I. 1889-1959, No. 1/570, Whananaki, letter from Fred Foote to the Board of Education, 2 August 1889

<sup>283</sup> NA AKL YCBD A688, 798c, 1/570

<sup>284</sup> NA AKL, YCBD A688, 798c, 1/570: Letter to the Secretary, Education Board by the Commissioner of Crown Lands, 26 November 1925.

<sup>285</sup> New Zealand Gazette, No 22, 24 April 1947, p. 485, Site for Public School (Whananaki) 2 acres 3 roods 30 perches, Section 44

## Attendance by Maori Children

Maori parents were initially keen to involve their children in school life, however their enthusiasm was soon dampened. Some of the problems encountered by Maori students are highlighted in a case involving their request for a native school. Although slightly outside the timeframe of this thesis, the case illustrates some of the issues that may have affected Whananaki Maori in their efforts to receive an education in the late nineteenth-century. It is evident that between 1900 and 1910, low teacher expectations and poor roads led to several Maori parents to take their children out of school. Finally in 1910, the parents requested a native school to be located on Maori land at the Wairahi valley.<sup>286</sup> Two years later, the parents wrote again to the Education Board,

we are wanting the school this year for our children, why are you delaying, we are wanting a school very badly, send an Inspector.<sup>287</sup>

Inspector Bird visited the Wairahi settlement in March 1912 and found ‘a good many’ children there. Some 28 who were eligible to attend were presented to him, only five of whom were attending school.<sup>288</sup> The parents stressed how little attention the children received from the teacher saying that only one Maori student had ever reached standard 3, and he had been much older than the other students. They also complained about the teacher who purportedly spent more time on his farm than in the classroom.<sup>289</sup> The teacher had taken over the Stirling property renaming it Green Gables. Bird wrote:

---

<sup>286</sup> NA AKL BAAA 1001, 712c: Inspection reports, Building files Native/Māori Schools, Northland

<sup>287</sup> Ibid; See also Barrington, J.M., Northland Language, Culture and Education, Part One: Education, CFRT, Wellington, 2005, pp. 140-143

<sup>288</sup> Ibid

<sup>289</sup> Ibid

I feel that the Māori children are not getting a fair amount of attention, as I am strongly of opinion that were it half worth their while they would attend at least when the road permits.<sup>290</sup>

After a further exchange of letters, the Secretary for the Education Board concluded that fault lay with the teacher who should have been more concerned that only 12 out of a possible 34 Maori children were attending school.<sup>291</sup> While Maori parents continued to hope for a native school, the Education Department finally decided that, given the current school's existence and proximity to the children's homes, it was not an option. It did recommend, however, that teachers would need to be more encouraging of Maori students in the future in order to fulfill their obligations. As such the teacher,

should be instructed to furnish a report at the end of every month, accompanied by a statement of the names and attendance of the Māori children.<sup>292</sup>

Whether the education of Maori students improved is not known. The teacher in question left shortly after the recommendations were made. However, recognition from official channels that Maori children at Whananaki were receiving an inadequate education was acknowledgment that discrimination had existed within the school.

### **Morris' Store**

While a store had existed at Whananaki as early as 1872, it was only a temporary arrangement intended to service Maori.<sup>293</sup> Later, a store was established at Johnson and Galbraith's mill in the mid-1880s to cater to the needs of bush

---

<sup>290</sup> Ibid

<sup>291</sup> Ibid

<sup>292</sup> Ibid

<sup>293</sup> Daily Southern Cross, 27 February 1872: See also Chapter Two, Maori and the First Store

workers employed by the mill. There is some discrepancy over the date that the store opened. Both the School Centennial booklet and Florence Keene assert that Johnson and Galbraith established the store (including a post office) in 1883.<sup>294</sup> However this contradicts other sources that suggest the timber mill was not established until 1885 when appropriate licenses had been obtained. For some reason the post office, attached to the shop, appears to have closed and then reopened again in 1888.

Little is known about the shop during the 1880s except that Christopher Galbraith appears to have managed it until 1890 when Thomas Morris purchased the shop and became the general storekeeper.<sup>295</sup> Morris was 52 years old at the time. Over the next two decades he was to become an influential figure in Whananaki and was at the centre of many community initiatives, including the settler cemetery and the recreation reserve. Morris ran the shop for 22 years. He also operated a post office for twelve years and a telephone service for four years, often complaining about providing services to the public for which he was not paid, ‘very much of my time is taken up in attendance upon the phone, and the remuneration is so exceedingly small’.<sup>296</sup>

David Hamer has identified a connection between Liberalism and small-town New Zealand political figures. In this respect, Morris was quite typical.

Mr Morris is chairman of the school committee, domain and cemetery boards, and takes an active part in general politics, calling himself a “true liberal”.<sup>297</sup>

---

<sup>294</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, *The History of Whananaki School and Districts*, 1987, pp. 9, 23; Keene, Florence, *Milestone: Whangarei County’s first 100 years 1876 – 1976*, Whangarei, 1976, p. 32

<sup>295</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, *The History of Whananaki School and Districts*, 1987, p. 9

<sup>296</sup> *The Bridge*, Whananaki Community Paper, 32<sup>nd</sup> Edition, August 2003, p. 19

<sup>297</sup> *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, Auckland Provincial District, Vol. 2, Cyclopedia Company Limited, 1902, p. 564

Hamer rightly observed that the central role of storekeepers in rural villages has received little attention from New Zealand historians. In his opinion this was unfortunate as stores not only provided an important public service in small towns, supplying goods, loans and credit, they were important centers for the exchange of ‘gossip, news and advice.’<sup>298</sup> It could also be argued that they brought the outside world to isolated households, providing a sense of community where it might not otherwise have existed.

Hamer poses the interesting question, to what extent was the storekeeper dependent upon local residents for their patronage, and to what extent did they depend on the storekeeper. While difficult to assess due to a lack of evidence, this relationship was important for settlers in rural districts and Maori. Establishing a good relationship with the storekeeper was very important. Storekeepers provided short-term loans to settlers arranging for them to be repaid after harvests or wool sales. At the same time, difficult times brought on by bad weather or unexpected emergencies could lead settlers into debt giving storekeepers a ‘considerable hold’ over a significant proportion of the population.

In Australia, the United States and New Zealand, the ‘booster’ was a well-known figure in small, developing towns. A storekeeper with a strong personality could help shape a community. The growth of towns often depended on such people whose finances underpinned many community projects. This person was an entrepreneur, adept at identifying opportunities and implementing strategies to achieve them. As a ‘booster’, Morris’ business was not only restricted to the shop. In 1897, he purchased a scow called the ‘Thistle’ that was used to transport logs, trade in goods and ferry people between Auckland, Whananaki, Whangaruru and the Bay of Islands.<sup>299</sup>

---

<sup>298</sup> Hamer, D, *Towns in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand*, NZJH, 13, 1979, pp. 7, 12

<sup>299</sup> Bill Haigh, *Footprints Among the Kauri, the lives and times of seven brothers and six sisters in the Kauri Timber Days*, published by Bill Haigh, Kerikeri, 1990, p. 118

Morris also took on an unofficial harbour master role. In 1904, his name is mentioned in relation to a fatal accident in which a family drowned off Whananaki's coast. Morris had warned the family not to proceed to Whangaruru in their 18ft. punt, offering his own boat instead. They had not heeded Morris' warnings, the boat overturned and various items eventually washed up on a beach at Taiharuru.<sup>300</sup> Two years later the body of one of the victims was found in the Taiharuru River.<sup>301</sup>

Morris was married to Mary Ann Page, the daughter of a steel toy manufacturer in Birmingham.<sup>302</sup> They had one daughter, Amy, who married William Fitzpatrick Macken in 1892, two years after arriving at Whananaki. As mentioned in the previous chapter, William had arrived in the district with his brother Faulkner and both were employed at the KTC mill. William and Amy are listed as owning a 'perpetual lease' 50-acre block on the south side of the estuary called Ocean View, possibly a gift from Morris.<sup>303</sup> In addition to working at Ocean View, the couple assisted Morris with running the shop. At a time when Whananaki had few unmarried women, marriage to the storekeeper's only daughter would have been an excellent choice. However, the marriage was not successful. Sometime after 1906, William left his family and Whananaki.<sup>304</sup> Upon Morris' death, Amy's four sons Ted, Seymour, Gordon and Thomas inherited land from their grandfather, Thomas Morris.

While one source states that Morris purchased Johnson's farm Willowbank in 1890, it seems more likely that Morris purchased the shop as well as a small section of land on the south side first, before purchasing several sections on the north side of the estuary in 1908. A rash of land sales to Thomas Morris in

---

<sup>300</sup> Wanganui Herald, 2 November, 1902

<sup>301</sup> Evening Post, 2 December, 1904

<sup>302</sup> Cyclopaedia of New Zealand, Auckland Provincial District, Vol. 2, Cyclopaedia Company Limited, 1902, p. 564

<sup>303</sup> NA AKL BAAZ, 1356 4/4: Section 7 Opuawhanga IX. Later purchased by Symmans.

<sup>304</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, The History of Whananaki School and Districts, 1987, p. 48; See Marsden Electoral Role, 1906: Lists William Macken as a resident of Whananaki indicating that he may have left the district after this date.

1908/09 suggests that many settlers left the district. In November of that year, the shop was burnt down purportedly by a young Maori.<sup>305</sup> Given that the KTC mill had closed by then, Morris decided to move to the north side, building another shop and a house near the school.<sup>306</sup> The store cost £240 to build, a considerable sum in those days. In 1910, Mary Ann, Morris' wife died and was buried at the settler cemetery. Morris continued to manage the shop well into his 70s. In 1913, his grandson, Seymour Macken took over the business and ran the store for another 23 years. Seymour, his wife and children left Whananaki in 1935 ending his family's 45-year association with the shop.<sup>307</sup>

### **The Public Hall**

Another area of land indirectly associated with Morris was the site where the Public Hall is located. In 1887, Fred and Will Foote established a saw mill beside the mouth of the Wairahi stream. As part of the mill, a dining and recreation hall was built to cater to their sawmill workers. The hall became a community fixture with dances held there. In July 1894, after the mill had closed, the hall was dismantled and floated down-stream to the fishing reserve land, at the end of the present airstrip.<sup>308</sup> The hall remained there until 1926 when it was moved to the present site. By this stage it had become a somewhat dilapidated 'unlined shed of corrugated iron with a matai floor.'<sup>309</sup>

The public hall is now located next to the school in front of the community library built in 2002, and adjacent to the shop. It is a small weatherboard building featuring a large room with a small kitchen at one end. A deck has been added more recently extending the area available for use. The Whananaki Beach Association meets there every month and it is also used for other community

---

<sup>305</sup> Whananaki School Centennial, *The History of Whananaki School and Districts*, 1987, p. 48; Also see Edge, J. A., *Whananaki District*, North Shore Teachers College, Auckland, 1965

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>307</sup> *Shoreline*, 5 May 1990 (Copy obtained from the Hikurangi Museum)

<sup>308</sup> *The Bridge*, Whananaki Community Paper, 32<sup>nd</sup> Edition, August 2003

<sup>309</sup> *Ibid*

purposes. A small plaque on the side of the wall makes a brief reference to the site of the hall, stating:

This land upon which the community hall and public library are sited was generously gifted to the Whananaki community by a long standing resident Mr Edwin Macken.

Walter Edwin Macken or Ted, was the oldest son of Amy Macken. Mentioned in the previous chapter in relation to World War One, he inherited land from his grandfather Thomas Morris. Johnson's house Willowbank was included as part of his inheritance. When the property was sold in the 1940s, another connection to the homestead village settlers was severed.

This chapter moved the focus on European settlement away from general developments to a discussion of specific settler landmarks. Whereas the previous chapter detailed the lives of settlers who had petitioned for a new school, this chapter looked at settlers who were closely associated with particular landmarks. In making connections between individuals and landmarks, it is possible to obtain new perspectives on the settler experience. While Fairburn has argued that Pakeha settlement was characterized by transience, the survival of settler landmarks and their capacity to act as historical 'texts' also suggests continuity. This chapter also suggests that settler/Maori landmarks can hold multiple perspectives. The tension between these differing perspectives, layered with contradiction, reflects an evolving relationship between people and the land, a dialogue that is never fully resolved.

## *CONCLUSION:*

### SHIFTING SANDS



Baches near the estuary entrance, Whananaki north

---

This study has shown how upheaval and change was a common experience for Maori and European in nineteenth-century Whananaki. Like the sand that is continually shifting in the estuary, people came and went. Whether as former residents forced to become temporary refugees, who later returned during peacetime, or as newcomers leaving their homes in search of a new future, most found that settlement was temporary. Like the war expeditions that visited Whananaki in the 1820s stopping briefly to procure fish, later arrivals were drawn to the area's timber stands, depleting the area of its most valuable trees before leaving the district.

It could be said that Maori initiated events sparked the first wave of nineteenth-century migration away from the district. This is because the kainga of the 1860s had arisen from the ashes of inter-tribal warfare, beginning in the early 1800s and

subsiding in the 1830s. Whananaki was a coastal corridor frequented by war expeditions, a convenient stopover for raiding waka, increasingly vulnerable to attacks. While never completely abandoned by its former residents for some two decades Whananaki was a 'shadow' land, a place of death, where it was not unusual to observe human bones lying on beaches, bleaching in the sun, the bodies of the victims abandoned where they fell.

Although the full impact of these events cannot be fully estimated, it can be assumed that they were devastating. The period of peace following the battle of Ruapekapeka had encouraged those forced to flee to return from exile. At the same time the growing power of the state meant that further restrictions would be forced upon them. With the passing of time, the transaction entered into between Waikato and Salmon in 1838 assumed increasing importance, perhaps in a way that they had not envisaged. Extending many decades, overlapping several lifetimes, the sale came to mean different things to different people. For the Government, it presented an opportunity to procure land, with the ultimate goal of European settlement. For Whananaki Maori, the sale presented a challenge to their mana, independence and livelihood.

In looking at the narratives that surround many of Whananaki's landmarks, it is evident that residents and non-residents, Maori and European, expressed their sense of attachment and belonging to Whananaki in diverse ways. It could be argued that Waikato, while not a resident nevertheless felt a special attachment entitled him to sell land and resources at the exclusion of actual residents. In contrast Maori, returning to Whananaki in the 1840s saw a land shaped by ancestral attachments with the potential to provide a profitable livelihood. Like Waikato, the village settlers saw attachment and belonging in terms of entitlement. They believed that a perceived superiority, whether cultural, racial or technological, gave them special access to Whananaki's resources. Maori newcomers attracted to Whananaki's timber industry, were less secure about where they fitted in. One response was to marry into older Maori families

inscribing their new surroundings with transplanted whakapapa, in the process redefining the landscape.

Some landmarks were the products, and victims, of the timber industry. Faulkner's Landing, the site where logs were kept before being transported to waiting scows, barely lasted a few years. Its brief lifespan as a landmark hints at a village settlement that lost both heart and purpose once the timber mills closed, causing a wave of movement away from the district. The settler cemetery, despite being a visible reminder of the timber village, also hints at its ephemeral existence. Located on a sand spit that has been disputed land for more than a century, it appears to float in a disembodied landscape. Visibly deteriorating with age and exposure to the elements, its neglected appearance suggests a disconnection between the timber village of the past and the tourist destination of the present.

Some landmarks were overwhelmingly (and surprisingly) resilient. As successive generations overlaid older narratives with new meaning, they could assume a completely different appearance. In the example of Pitokuku, the need to exercise control and power had a creative as well as destructive impact. It could be said that the emotional landscape of Pitokuku was enlarged by the continued interest of Oriwa's residents. However, in the process an older past was silenced, laid aside or forgotten. Meanwhile, the shop, school and public hall continue to maintain their function with only a few minor changes. Their survival suggests that the village settlers did leave an enduring legacy despite the settlement not having been a resounding success.

As has been seen in preceding chapters, the transformation or conversion of Maori Whananaki was convoluted and confusing, both for Maori and officials of the time, and later in attempts to retrace events. The disappearance of key documents precludes historians from fully understanding events surrounding the first sale. This study has sought to manage that problem by reading the landscape

as a text. Nevertheless, articulating the views of Whananaki Maori has presented a constant challenge throughout this study. This is because they were never represented as they saw themselves and perhaps never will be. Instead, outsiders sought to interpret their actions, overlaying them with a cultural bias that distorted their reality. It could be argued that the importance retrospectively attached to Waikato's sale reveals the extent to which Whananaki Maori were misrepresented. A sale that they had never been a party to was somehow made valid. Ironically the sale and the narratives surrounding it continue to play a role in defining the lives of Whananaki Maori extending to the present day.

Perhaps, for this reason Hirini Tamihana's letter to the government in 1874, mentioned in the Introduction and in Chapter Two, concerning the taking of land for a fishing reserve, is a rare example of historical evidence. Written only 12 years before the homestead village scheme began, it indicates that Maori residents were concerned about the government's intervention in the taking of their land and desperately wanted the issue resolved. Contrary to the notion that they welcomed European settlement, Maori clearly expressed reservations from the outset.

This casts new light upon European settlement. Rather than arriving in the middle of nowhere on unmarked, unoccupied territory, the settlers encountered a community grappling with a 60-year grievance. Embarking from their boats, they stepped, unknowingly, onto a landscape that was neither empty nor eagerly waiting their arrival. Somewhat surprisingly, in light of their concerns about their land, anecdotal evidence indicates that Maori were supportive of newly arrived settlers, offering them practical assistance when and where needed.

In not understanding the background to events that had brought them to the district, it can be argued that the settlers were always at risk of being disconnected from Whananaki's past which, in turn, restricted their understanding of place. Despite their awareness of surface appearances, trees that needed cutting, land

that needed clearing, spaces that needed filling, place names that needed replacing, they lacked a deeper appreciation of their Maori neighbours and the various historical forces that had brought them to Whananaki. Having knowledge only of the (then) present, with no connection to the Maori past the settlers sought comfort in familiar motifs. Their attachments to place were reflected in the landmarks and institutions that reminded them of home: a school, a cemetery, a shop, a house, all expressing an idea of Englishness and civilization as they defined it to be. Whereas such landmarks were easily replicated in any other district or town, it could be argued that Maori landmarks with their dependence upon whakapapa were almost impossible to replicate or replace.

In writing about European and Maori perceptions of Whananaki's past, two time scales could be said to apply. The story concerning Te Waha o Te Parata, mentioned in the Introduction, suggests that a Maori perception of Whananaki's past incorporated a mythological world and pre-European happenings as a starting point. From this perspective, European settlement proceeded because of the displacement of this world. However, according to a European perception of Whananaki's past, history effectively began after 1886. Anything that occurred prior to the arrival of the settlers, including the demise of the kainga on the northern shore of the estuary, was simply not considered or deemed unimportant.

In writing about attachment and belonging in nineteenth-century Whananaki, it becomes evident that several settlement myths have informed our view of the past. Of particular importance is the myth of a fair sale. Although the settlers, their descendants and subsequent newcomers to the district have perhaps subconsciously accepted this myth, in light of the evidence surrounding the sale, this perception is untenable. Another widely held myth is the view that Whananaki's settlers comprised a complete community that was settled and successful. In fact, Whananaki was largely the destination of drifters, passersby who stayed briefly before leaving. After the decline of the timber industry around

1905, few settler families remained. The end of World War One signaled the end of 'old' Whananaki as those earlier settlers had known it. As has been mentioned in previous chapters, by the end of World War Two, only one family connected to the village settlement remained. Eventually they too would sell their land and leave the district.<sup>310</sup>

Maori were equally adept at clinging to myths. Some were created by the Native Land Court and subsequently adopted by them as historical truths. It can be argued that the idea of separate communities settled on separate blocks was a creation of the court that became a reality over time. A more general myth of continuous Maori occupation has been challenged in this thesis where it is argued that Maori, like Europeans, were highly mobile. Other, older myths that predated European settlement, alluded to in Native Land Court evidence, also existed. Their meaning is locked within a Maori world that is almost inaccessible now, given the loss of so much information.

It is evident that some Maori were able to exploit change, gaining personal status and temporary wealth in the process. The life of Eruana Maki provides a glimpse of someone who saw himself as anything but a victim of circumstance. Leaving Taumarere under dubious circumstances, arriving at Oriwa and claiming special status, Maki's life reflected the contradictions of being Maori in a changing world. It is within this context that his remodeling of Pitokuku cemetery can be understood and perhaps seen to be a creative and ingenious act of possession. Maki's actions show that conflict with an older Maori past was not limited to Europeans. As newcomers, Maori also re-imagined the landscape often at the tragic expense of earlier residents.

Given that this thesis opened with a story about a taniwha and the Maori landscape that it inhabited, it is perhaps appropriate to conclude with a few comments on a settler landmark located near the mouth of the estuary at the sand

---

<sup>310</sup> Olwen Yates: Typed notes taken from notebook, 1980-1981

spit. Today the settler cemetery reveals little of the once bustling timber district where people briefly dreamed of a bright and prosperous future. That most of the graves can no longer be identified indicates the fragile existence of that community. With one exception all ancestral links between current residents and those buried in the cemetery have long ceased.

Located on land that is also subject to a claim before the Waitangi Tribunal, the cemetery hints at an inconsistency that underpins much of Whananaki's nineteenth-century past: Given that the creation of landmarks was such an important feature of European settlement and identity, why were so many created upon disputed, Maori land? When such landmarks suggested permanence and a sense of having arrived at a destination, why were most European residents compelled to leave? When Maori were also moving to and away from the district, at times usurping the interests and histories of long term Maori residents, why does the notion of continuous, unbroken occupation persist?

This thesis has attempted to explore some of these issues by seeking to understand how Whananaki's diverse residents viewed and defined their environment. In doing so, it has shown how seemingly disparate events that occurred in Whananaki's past can reveal new perspectives when placed within a broader context. While a range of human experience existed at Whananaki, identifying a common theme such as attachment and belonging provides a useful framework for understanding difference. In spite of the diversity of experience, whether as older residents or more recent arrivals, Maori or Pakeha, most residents felt the need to express their attachment to place through myths of settlement. Ironically, despite their intense longing to belong, for various reasons outlined in this study, many were unable to achieve this goal. Therefore the settler cemetery is significant as a final repository, housing the remains of those few nineteenth-century settlers who did make Whananaki their final resting place.

## GLOSSARY

atua	gods and the spiritual world
hapu	tribe, sub-tribe
heke	migration
hui	meeting, assembly
iwi	tribe, people
kainga	village
karakia	incantation
koiwi	bones
mahinga	cultivations
manaakitanga	show kindness
mana whenua	customary authority over land
marae	open area in front of meeting house
nikau	New Zealand palm
pa	fortified place
Pakeha	person of mainly European descent
rahui	mark to warn people against trespassing
runanga	assembly, council
tangata whenua	the people of the land
tapu	sacred
teina	younger brother of a male, younger sister of a female

tohunga	skilled person, priest
urupa	burial ground
wahi tapu	burial ground
waiata	song
waka taua	war canoe
waka tiwai	dugout canoe
whare	house, hut
whenua	land, placenta
whakapapa	genealogical connection
whanaungatanga	extended family connection

## ABBREVIATIONS

AJHR	Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives
AKL	Auckland
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library
AUL	Auckland University Library
CFRT	Crown Forestry Rental Trust
CMS	Church Missionary Society
DNZB	Dictionary of New Zealand Biography
JPS	Journal of Polynesian Society
KTC	Kauri Timber Company
LCC	Land Claims Commission
MA	Maori Affairs (file series National Archives)
MB	Minute Book (Native/Maori Land Court)
MS, MSS	Manuscript, manuscripts
NA	National Archives
NZJH	New Zealand Journal of History
OLC	Old Land Claim

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

### **Primary Sources**

Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives

Colenso Papers, MS 1611, Alexander Turnbull Library

Edge, J. A., Whananaki District, North Shore Teachers College, Auckland, 1965

Magleby, J.E., Ordinations circa 1890, Rangi Parker collection, Kia Ngawari Trust, Templeview Hamilton

Maori Land Court Minute Books: Whangarei, No 14, Poor Knights: Whangarei, No. 5, Oriwa: Whangarei, No. 1, Opuawhango No. 3

McRae, Jane (comp.), Catalogue of Maori-language Documents: Alexander Turnbull Library and Hocken Library, Vol. 1, Part 1, Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2005

New Zealand Gazette

Northland Crown Purchase Deeds, compiled by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, Wellington

Phyllis Courtney Index, Genealogy Centre, Whangarei Public Library

William Fraser Collection of Artifacts stored at the War Memorial Museum in Auckland

Yates, Olwen Typed Notes 1980-1981, original notebook held by Alfreda Berryman

### **Electoral Rolls**

Mangonui and Bay of Islands, 1871 – 72

Bay of Islands, 1887

Bay of Islands, 1890  
Bay of Islands, 1894  
Marsden, 1890  
Marsden, 1906

### **National Archives**

NA AKL AP 2 19 2492/74  
NA AKL AP 2 19 3278/75  
NA AKL 1/570: Vol I. 1889-1959  
NA AKL BAAI, 11466 64q 152  
NA AKL BAAA, 1001, 712c  
NA AKL BAAZ, 1356, 4, 4  
NA AKL, BAAZ, 1134, 1  
NA AKL BCCR, 1577 1a  
NA AKL BBAO, 5544 47a 1889/456  
NA AKL BAZA, Acc A984 68c  
NA AKL YCBD A688, 798c, 1/570

### **Newspapers**

Auckland Weekly News  
Daily Southern Cross  
Evening Post  
New Zealand Herald  
Northern Advocate  
Northern Luminary  
Otago Witness  
Shoreline  
Te Aroha News  
Wanganui Herald  
West Coast Times  
The Bridge, Whananaki Community Paper

### **Personal Communication**

Garth Macken (16 March 2008)  
David Peters (22 October 2008)  
Len Peters (1990)  
Marie Tautari (18 August 2008)  
Verdon Symmans (28 August 2007)

### **Secondary Sources**

Alderton, G. E. (ed.), *Resources of New Zealand, Part 1, North Auckland district, Whangarei*, 1897

Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, London, 1991

Armstrong, David and Evald Subaic, *Northern Land and Politics, 1860-1920; A Draft Overview Report Prepared for the Crown Forestry Rental Trust*, Wellington, December 2006, 2 parts

Ballara, Angela, *Warfare and Government in Ngapuhi Tribal Society 1814-1833: Institutions of Authority and the Function of Warfare in the Period of Early Settlement 1814-1833 in the Bay of Islands and Related Territories*, MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1973

Ballara, Angela, *Iwi: The Dynamics of Maori Tribal Organisation from c. 1769 to c. 1945*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1998

Ballara, Angela, *Taua: 'Musket Wars', 'Land Wars', or Tikanga?: Warfare in Maori Society in the Early Nineteenth Century*, Auckland, Penguin Books, 2003

Belgrave, Michael, *Historical Frictions: Maori Claims and Reinvented Histories*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2005

Belgrave, Michael, 'Something Borrowed, Something New: History and the Waitangi Tribunal', in Dalley, Bronwyn & Phillips Jock (eds), *Going Public, The Changing Face of New Zealand History*, Auckland, 2001

Belich, James, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, Penguin Books, Auckland, 1996

Berghan, Paula, Block Research Narratives Related to Old Land Claims Completed for the Crown Forestry Rental Trust's Northland Research Assistance Project, Wellington, 2005

Binney, Judith, Judith Basset, Erik Olssen, The People and the Land: Te Tangata Me Te Whenua: An Illustrated History of New Zealand, 1820-1920, Allen & Unwin, Wellington, 1990

Binney, Judith, 'Maori Oral Narratives, Pakeha Written Texts: Two Forms of Telling Historiography', New Zealand Journal of History, vol. 21, no. 1, 1987

Binney, Judith (ed.), The Shaping of History: Essays from the New Zealand Journal of History, Bridget Williams, Wellington, 2001

Binney, Judith (ed.), Te Kerikeri 1770-1850: the Meeting Pool, Bridget Williams, Wellington, 2001

Carter, Paul, The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History, [publisher], London, 1987

Cloher, Dorothy Ulrich, Hongi Hika Warrior Chief, Viking, Auckland, 2003

Cyclopedia of New Zealand, Auckland Provincial District, Vol. 2, Cyclopedia Company Limited, 1902

Daamen, Rose, Hamer, Paul and Rigby, Barry, 'Rangahaua Whanui District 1 – Auckland,' Waitangi Tribunal Working Paper, Wellington, July 1996

Dalley, Bronwyn & Phillips, Jock (eds), Going Public, The Changing Face of New Zealand History, Auckland, 2001

Dalley, Bronwyn and Labrum, Bronwyn (eds), *Fragments: New Zealand Social and Cultural History*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2000

Dieffenbach, E, *Travels in New Zealand with Contributions to the Geography, Geology and Natural History of that Country*, London, 1843

Ell, Gordon and Sarah (compiled), *Great Journeys In Old New Zealand: Travel and Exploration in a New Land*, Bush Pioneer Heritage; Wellington, 1995

Fairburn, Miles, *Local Community or Atomized Society*, *The Social Structure of Nineteenth-Century New Zealand*, *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol.16, no.2, 1982, pp. 146-165

Fairburn, Miles, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies, The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850-1900*, Auckland University Press, Auckland 1989

Haigh, Bill, *Footprints Among the Kauri, the lives and times of seven brothers and six sisters in the Kauri Timber Days*, published by Bill Haigh, Kerikeri, 1990

Hamer, D, *Towns in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand*, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 13, 1979

Hamilton, Fiona, *Founding Histories: Some Pakeha Constructions of a New Zealand Past in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, MA thesis, Auckland University, 1999

Hansen, H. J., and F. J. Neil, *Tracks in the North, a History of the Northern Railway Tracks and their Connecting Ships*, Auckland, 1991

Harsant, Florence, *They Called Me Te Maari*, Whitcoulls Publishers, Christchurch, 1979

Horsman, J., *The Coming of the Pakeha to Auckland Province*, Hicks Smith & Sons, Wellington, 1971

Hilliard, Chris, *Island Stories: The Writing of New Zealand History 1920-1940*, MA thesis, Auckland University, 1997

Hohepa, Pat, Sissons, Jeffrey, *The Puriri Trees are Laughing: A Political History Of Nga Puhi in the Inland Bay of Islands*, Auckland 1987

Keene, Florence, *Taitokerau, Whangarei*, 1975

Keene, Florence, *Milestone: Whangarei County's first 100 years 1876 – 1976*, Whangarei, 1976

King, Marie, *A Most Noble Anchorage: A Story of Russell and the Bay of Islands*, Northland Historical Publications Society, Kerikeri, 1992

King, Marie, *The King Family*, Russell Review, No 13, 1990

Lee, Jack, *I Have Named it the Bay of Islands*, Auckland, Hodder & Stoughton, 1983

Mackay, Duncan, *The Orderly Frontier: The World of the Kauri Bushman, 1860-1925*, *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol.25, No.2, 1991, pp. 147-57

Malcolm, Madge, *Where it all Began: The Story of Whangaruru Taking in From Mimiwhangata to Whangamumu*, M. S. Malcolm, Hikurangi, 1982

Madge Malcolm, *Hikurangi, the Story of a Coal Mining Town*, M.S. Malcolm, Hikurangi, 1997

Morrison, M. F., Matapouri Then and Now, Northern Advocate Print, Whangarei

New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Historic Places Inventory, Whangarei County, July 1988

Oliver, W. H. and Williams, B. R., The Oxford History Of New Zealand, first edition, Clarendon Press/Oxford University Press, Wellington, 1981

Olssen, Erik, 'Where to from Here? Reflections on the Twentieth-Century Historiography of Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', New Zealand Journal of History, Vol. 26, No 1, 1992

Parsonson, Ann, 'The Pursuit of Mana', in Oliver, W. H. and Williams, B. R., The Oxford History Of New Zealand, first edition, Clarendon Press/Oxford University Press, Wellington, 1981

Phillips, Jock, 'Of Verandahs and Fish and Chips and Footie on Saturday Afternoon: Reflections on 100 Years of New Zealand Historiography', New Zealand Journal of History, vol. 24, no. 2, 1990, pp. 118-34

Phillipson, Grant, Bay of Islands Nga Puhi and the Crown, 1793-1853, An Exploratory Overview for the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, Second Draft, Wellington, December 2004

Pickmere, Nancy Preece, Whangarei, the Founding Years, published by Nancy Preece Pickmere, Whangarei, 1986

Piripi, Morore, The History Of Ngati Wai, Te Ao Hou No. 38, March 1962, No. 54, March 1966

Polack, J., *New Zealand, Being a Narrative of Travels and Adventure*, 2 Vols, London, 1838

Regan, C. P. D., *The Distribution and Character of the Population of Northland, 1874, 1906, 1926: Three Essays in Historical Population Geography*, M.A. thesis, Auckland University, 1959

Reilly, Michael, 'Imagining Our Past: Writing Our Histories', in Dalley, Bronwyn and Labrum, Bronwyn (eds), *Fragments: New Zealand Social and Cultural History*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2000

Rigby, Barry, 'Old Land Claims', in Daamen, Hamer & Rigby, *Rangahaua Whanui District 1: Auckland*, 1996; & Moore, Rigby & Russell, *Rangahaua Whanui National Theme A: Old Land Claims*, 1997

Ritchie, Rayma, *Cargoes: An Introduction to the History of the Bay of Islands*, Pukepuriri Publications, Ohaeawai, Reprint, 1991

Shawcross, Kathleen, 'Maoris of the Bay of Islands 1769-1840', MA thesis, University of Auckland

Sissons, Jeffrey, Wiremu Wi Hongi, Pat Hohepa, *The Puriri Trees are Laughing: a Political History of Nga Puhi in the inland Bay of Islands*, Auckland, 1987

Stirling, Bruce, *Northland Old Land Claims*, Crown Forestry Rental Trust, Draft, Wellington, July 2006

Stirling, Bruce with Richard Towers, 'Not with the Sword but with the Pen', *The Taking of the Northland Old Land Claims, Part 2*, CFRT, Wellington, July 2007

Thomas, Nicholas, Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government, Melbourne University Press, 1994

Turton, H.H, Maori Deeds of Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand, Wellington, 1877, microfiche, 1983

Vallance, Diana, Story of Whangarei, Whangarei, 1964

Walzl, Tony, Twentieth Century Overview Part II, 1935 – 2005, CFRT, Wellington, December 2007

Williams, Herbert W., Dictionary of the Maori Language, 7<sup>th</sup> ed, P.D. Hasselberg, Wellington, 1985