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Ngāti Kahungunu Sub-Tribal Affairs and British Socio-Political Ideals in the Settlement of the Heretaunga Plains

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Rāniera Wairau

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Abstract

This thesis argues that prevailing interpretations of the Heretaunga land purchases are incomplete because they marginalise Ngāti Kahungunu sub-tribal politics and obscure the role of imported British socio-political ideals in shaping early settlement. Focusing on the period from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century, and centring *hapū*-level authority and governance, it demonstrates that colonial interactions in the region were negotiated through complex local power structures rather than through the unilateral imposition of colonial control. The thesis further contends that enduring colonial narratives—particularly those concerning cannibalism, racial theory, an absence of women in prevailing historical narratives, and an attempt to form a national narrative that isolates New Zealand from colonisation and empire—have distorted historical understandings of society in early Hawke's Bay. Re-evaluating these narratives reveals a more nuanced account of Māori political life and colonial settlement in Heretaunga.

This thesis makes three contributions to the existing historiography. First, it offers the most sustained *hapū*-level analysis of the Heretaunga purchases to date, demonstrating that sub-tribal political dynamics—rather than individual *rangatira* decisions or Crown policy alone—were the primary determinants of how land alienation unfolded. Second, it recovers the role of women, both Māori and Pākehā, whose authority and experiences have been systematically marginalised in both colonial sources and subsequent scholarship, including figures such as Hine-i-paketia and Mereana Hokomatā Cannon within Ngāti Kahungunu, and Elizabeth Colenso within the missionary and settler context. Third, it connects this historical analysis directly to the contemporary socio-political experiences of Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga, demonstrating that the patterns established during the colonial period continue to shape land ownership, governance participation, and economic outcomes in the region today.

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I wish to acknowledge my supervisor, Peter Meihana, for his much-valued guidance throughout the completion of this thesis. This thesis also marks the end of five years of study at Massey University, and I acknowledge the many lecturers who contributed to my education during that time. I also wish to acknowledge the Chapple family as the Max Chapple Memorial Scholarship assisted me on my research journey.

I wish to acknowledge my high school history teacher, Tracy Taylor, for introducing me to the discipline of history. Prior to her class, I had every intention of studying English Literature at university, and it was her teaching that redirected my path.

I wish to acknowledge the assistance I received during the early stages of this research. In particular, I thank Erica Moffitt from MTG Hawke's Bay, who assisted me in accessing archives prior to the facility's extended closure ahead of its relocation to Hastings, and Veronica Hogan from Hastings District Libraries, who provided me with an opportunity to view their Māori Land Court minute books and archival holdings.

I wish to acknowledge my Māori language tutors at Te Ūranga Waka. I began learning the Māori language as a means of supplementing my historical studies, and their teaching enabled me to engage with Māori-language sources in ways that would otherwise have been beyond my capability. I thank Desma Culshaw-Kaisa, Ethan Pineaha-Burns, and Elijah Rogers.

Hei whakamutunga, e mihi ana au ki tōku whānau, nā rātou au i tautoko i te roanga o tēnei tukanga. Otirā, ki tōku tipuna wahine kua mate, a Hazel; ki ōku tīpuna, a Graeme rāua ko Beverley; ki tōku māmā, a Racheal; me ōku tēina, a Ānaru rāua ko Maaki.

Chapter One: Context, Aims, and Methodological Framework

1.1 Introduction

This thesis argues that prevailing accounts of the settlement of the Heretaunga Plains have been shaped by two significant absences: the marginalisation of Ngāti Kahungunu sub-tribal politics, and the under-examination of the British socio-political ideals that structured colonial intentions and governance in the region. Heretaunga—the fertile plains of present-day Hawke's Bay, centred on what is now Hastings—was home to a complex network of largely autonomous *hapū*, or sub-tribes, whose political relationships, alliances, and conflicts shaped the conditions under which European settlement occurred from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. By "sub-tribal affairs," this thesis refers to the dynamics of *hapū*-level authority, governance, and inter-*hapū* politics within the broader Ngāti Kahungunu *iwi*. These were complicated dynamics which existing historiography has too often collapsed into accounts focused on individual *rangatira* or undifferentiated tribal responses. By "British socio-political ideals," it refers to the constellation of ideas—racial hierarchy, individual property rights, landed gentry culture, missionary paternalism, and parliamentary governance—that British settlers, officials, and missionaries brought to Heretaunga and through which they interpreted, negotiated, and ultimately restructured Māori society.

Recentring these two elements transforms the existing narrative of Heretaunga's settlement. Colonial interactions in the region were not the product of unilateral Crown imposition, nor of simple Māori acquiescence, but were negotiated through pre-existing sub-tribal power structures that European actors only partially understood. At the same time, the ideological frameworks imported from Britain—including racial theories, conceptions of land ownership, and gendered hierarchies—did not merely accompany settlement but actively shaped its terms, its pace, and its consequences for Ngāti Kahungunu *hapū*. Understanding both dimensions is essential to producing a historically complete and analytically rigorous account of what occurred on the Heretaunga Plains.

Narratives such as these frequently permeate discourse surrounding Māori history and political efforts, underscoring the critical importance of telling and disseminating Māori histories. This is particularly true of Heretaunga, where the dominant historical accounts—including J. G. Wilson's *The Founding of Hawke's Bay* (1951), A. H. Reed's *The Story of Hawke's*

Bay (1958), and M. D. N. Campbell's *The Evolution of Hawke's Bay Landed Society* (1972)—have prioritised the perspectives of European settlers and institutions, often at the expense of Māori political agency and sub-tribal complexity.[1] Recontextualising these histories to address modern realities is especially valuable, and while significant historical research has been conducted—including Waitangi Tribunal reports and the recent *Māori Archaeology and History of Heretaunga* (by Mark W. Allen and his Ngāti Kahungunu collaborators)—further approaches are needed to fully understand both the historical and contemporary state of Māori society in the region.

In engaging with this existing scholarship, the urgency to interrogate dominant research approaches that have, whether implicitly or explicitly, upheld the colonial status quo was made apparent. This was particularly evident in the historiography of the Heretaunga region, where essential aspects of the settlement narrative have been obscured or selectively constructed. The women of Hawke's Bay, for instance, are rendered almost silent in much of the historical literature, a tendency noted by Kerry Conlon in her examination of Hine-i-paketia and by Jeannette Cottier in her study of Elizabeth Colenso.[2] Māori are too often portrayed through dehumanising tropes—ritualistic, cannibalistic, and animalistic—framed as objective truth, a pattern evident in works ranging from early settler accounts to Paul Moon's *This Horrid Practice* (2008), examined critically in Chapter Four of this thesis.[3] Colonisers and weapons merchants are treated with emotional sympathy, as illustrated by James Cowan's *The New Zealand Wars* (1956), which frames settler and imperial actors with considerable deference.[4] Colonisation itself is at times rationalised, if not outright justified, a tendency Peter Gibbons identifies as "literary nationalism"; a mode of historical writing that distances New

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[1] J. G. Wilson, *The Founding of Hawke's Bay* (Napier: The Daily Telegraph Co. Ltd, 1951); A. H. Reed, *The Story of Hawke's Bay* (Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1958); M. D. N. Campbell, "The Evolution of Hawke's Bay Landed Society 1850–1914: Vol 1" (PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1972). For a critique of the settler-centric orientation of regional New Zealand histories, see Gibbons, "Cultural Colonization and National Identity," 5–17.

[2] Kerry Conlon, "Surveying Hineipaketia: The Politics of Power, Rank and Gender in Nineteenth Century Hawke's Bay" (MA Thesis, Massey University, 2014); Jeannette Cottier, "Elizabeth Fairburn/Colenso: Her Times" (MA Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2000). Conlon argues that Hine-i-paketia has been "barely recognized or acknowledged in historical discourse" despite being the person of highest rank in nineteenth-century Hawke's Bay; see Conlon, "Surveying Hineipaketia" 2.

[3] Paul Moon, *This Horrid Practice: The Myth and Reality of Traditional Maori Cannibalism* (Auckland: Penguin, 2008). For a critique of Moon's evidential standards, see John Bevan-Smith, "This Horrid Practice: The Myth and Reality of Traditional Maori Cannibalism by Paul Moon (review)," *New Zealand Journal of History* 44, no. 2 (2010): 203–205. The broader pattern of dehumanising representation in early colonial accounts is examined in Chapter Four of this thesis.

[4] James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period*, vol. 2 (Wellington: R. E. Owens, 1956). Cowan's sympathetic treatment of colonial military figures is noted in James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1986), 11–15.

Zealand from its colonial origins rather than confronting them.[5] This thesis seeks to engage with these subjects in a way that promotes a more comprehensive narrative of the settlement of the Heretaunga Plains.

1.2 Research Aims and Scope

This chapter sets out the methodological framework, core source materials, and relevant historiographical context that underpin the analysis developed throughout this thesis. It offers a necessary foundation for this iteration of Heretaunga history.

For this thesis, presenting the entire historiography in a separate chapter is not ideal. Instead, the thesis engages with historical debates throughout, at points where they directly relate to the sources and arguments under discussion. This approach reflects the understanding that historiography is integral to interpreting evidence, rather than something which is isolated from it. The thesis draws on and intervenes in five principal historiographical areas: Māori political history, particularly scholarship concerned with *hapū* and *iwi* authority and governance; Heretaunga and Hawke's Bay local history, including settler regional histories and their silences; land purchase and legal history, especially analyses of the Native Land Court and its consequences for Māori land tenure; gender history, with specific attention to the marginalisation of both Māori and Pākehā women in colonial and historical narratives; and colonial intellectual history, including the racial theories, missionary ideologies, and governance frameworks that structured British approaches to settlement. Nevertheless, rather than surveying each of these fields in a dedicated chapter, they are engaged with at the points where they directly illuminate the sources and arguments under discussion.

At its face value, history is a discipline that synthesises information deemed concrete in a way that narrates a particular subject. It carries imposed rules, formats, and approaches; ones which developed primarily within European intellectual traditions. When engaging with the Māori world, however, this process of synthesis complicates. It asks the researcher to engage with a dominating perspective memorialised in archived material. When it comes to the subject of the Heretaunga Purchase, and perhaps Aotearoa-New Zealand history

[5] Peter Gibbons, "Cultural Colonization and National Identity," *New Zealand Journal of History 36*, no. 1 (2002): 14.

generally, the European perspective dominates. Peter Gibbons describes this dominating perspective as "literary nationalism" and "an important component of colonization, a complex series of activities which might be termed cultural colonization — not the colonization of culture but colonization through various cultural practices, particularly those involving writing and printing."[6] It is vital that narratives are considered not within a grand project to express New Zealand as a separate identity from Britain, but rather to properly acknowledge colonisation for what it was and is; what Gibbons describes as "a component of a much wider process, the expansion of European power into the global arena from the fifteenth century onwards."[7] To distance the New Zealand past from this tradition is to isolate it from a wider reality. Academic history in New Zealand has often relied on written colonial sources, for that reason thesis also considers Māori memory, *whakapapa*, and oral history.

While this thesis is primarily thematic in orientation, the earlier chapters necessarily adopt a broadly chronological structure to establish the pre-colonial and early contact contexts from which the central arguments emerge. Chapters Two and Three thus trace Ngāti Kahungunu origins, sub-tribal formation, and initial European encounters in sequence, not as ends in themselves, but as foundations for the thematic analysis that follows in subsequent chapters. The thesis focuses geographically on the Heretaunga Plains and temporally on the period from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century, acknowledging that other regions and timeframes, while relevant, are beyond its scope.

Within this thematic and geographic framework, the thesis is guided by five research questions. First, in what ways have Ngāti Kahungunu sub-tribal political dynamics been marginalised in existing accounts of the Heretaunga land purchases, and what does centring *hapū*-level authority reveal about how colonial settlement unfolded? Second, how did imported British socio-political ideals—including racial theory, conceptions of land ownership, missionary paternalism, and gendered hierarchies—shape the terms and consequences of settlement on the Heretaunga Plains? Third, in what ways have enduring colonial narratives, particularly those concerning cannibalism, the absence of women, and the isolation of New Zealand from its imperial context, distorted historical understandings of Māori political life in early Hawke's Bay? Fourth, how did Ngāti Kahungunu *hapū* respond to, resist, and engage with colonial institutions and British governance frameworks, and what were the long-term

[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid., 7.

consequences of those engagements for sub-tribal authority and land retention? Fifth, in what ways do the historical patterns of land alienation and political marginalisation established during the colonial period continue to shape the socio-political experiences of Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga today? These questions are addressed thematically across the thesis's main seven chapters (and then the Conclusion), with the Chapter Roadmap in 1.6 outlining how each chapter contributes to answering them.

1.3 Historiographical Orientation, Methodological and Theoretical Approach

The history of the Heretaunga region, particularly the ways in which the sub-tribal affairs of Ngāti Kahungunu intersected with the aspirations of idealistic European settlers, sits at the crossroads of several overlapping historiographies: Māori political history, land and legal history, and broader scholarship on colonial governance in New Zealand. This thesis adopts a postcolonial reading of sources, following Edward Said's critique of how Western knowledge systems sustain colonial authority and Nēpia Mahuika's application of indigenous oral history frameworks to Māori contexts.[8] In practice, this means reading European journals, missionary accounts, and parliamentary records critically rather than accepting them as transparent accounts, and triangulating them against Māori oral traditions and the testimonies preserved in the Tākitimu minute books. Legal-historical analysis draws primarily on the work of Richard Boast, Alan Ward, and Angela Ballara, whose scholarship on the Native Land Court and Māori land tenure is foundational to understanding the Heretaunga purchases.[9] Feminist approaches, informed by Kerry Conlon's recovery of Hine-i-paketia and Jeannette Cottier's work on Elizabeth Colenso, are applied not in a dedicated chapter but woven throughout the thesis at the points where the experiences and authority of women—both Māori and Pākehā—are directly relevant to the arguments being made.[10]

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[8] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979); Nēpia Mahuika, *Rethinking Oral History and Tradition: An Indigenous Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019). Both are engaged with extensively in Chapters One and Four of this thesis.

[9] R. P. Boast, "Māori Land and Land Tenure in New Zealand: 150 Years of the Māori Land Court," *Comparative Law Journal of the Pacific / Journal de droit comparé du Pacifique 22* (2017); Alan Ward, *National Overview: Volume I* (Wellington: Ministry of Justice, 1997); Angela Ballara, *Iwi: The dynamics of Māori tribal organisation from c. 1769 to c. 1945* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1998). All three are cited extensively in Chapters Five and Six.

[10] Conlon, "Surveying Hineipaketia"; Jeannette Cottier, "Elizabeth Fairburn/Colenso: Her Times" (MA Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2000). Both are cited in Chapters Four and Six respectively.

1.4 Sources and Evidence Base

The sources underpinning this thesis are diverse, ranging from European settler journals and parliamentary records to Native Land Court minute books and oral histories, each offering distinct perspectives that require careful contextualisation and critical analysis. The principal source types drawn upon in this thesis are: the Tākitimu minute books and Native Land Court records; oral histories and traditions preserved through *whakapapa* and treaty settlement documents; contemporary newspapers accessed through Papers Past; parliamentary material including Hansard debates and Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives; European settler journals, particularly those of Donald McLean and William Colenso; Waitangi Tribunal reports; and secondary scholarly literature. Each source type carries both evidential value and limitation. The minute books preserve Māori voices within a colonial legal framework that distorted their testimony; newspapers reflect settler interests and must be read against the grain; parliamentary material reveals Crown intentions but not Māori responses; and settler journals offer contemporaneous observation shaped by racial and cultural assumptions. Where possible, these source types are triangulated against one another throughout the thesis, and their specific limitations are addressed at the points where they are most directly relevant to the arguments being made.

Histories are memorialised in Heretaunga hearings of the Native Land Court between the years of 1866 and 1900 within what are titled the Tākitimu minute books, with minute books compiled for what were historical districts which included Te Waipounamu, Aotea, Tairāwhiti, Waiariki, Waikato-Maniapoto, and Taitokerau.[11] Grant Phillipson, a researcher and member of the Waitangi Tribunal,[12] describes the Māori Land Court minute books between 1862 and 1900 as "a unique archival source for the indigenous Māori people of New Zealand."[13] Furthermore, Phillipson emphasises the way in which they serve as "a repository of the oral tribal histories and whakapapa of most of New Zealand's Māori tribes, recorded at hearings in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by Native (later Māori) Land Court clerks"

[11] Archives New Zealand, "Te Kooti Whenua Māori – Māori Land Court," Archives New Zealand, accessed October 8, 2025, https://www.archives.govt.nz/research-guidance/research-guides/law-and-the-courts/maori-land-court.
[12] Waitangi Tribunal, "Dr Grant Phillipson," Waitangi Tribunal, accessed January 7, 2026, https://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/en/about/about-the-waitangi-tribunal/tribunal/dr-grant-phillipson.
[13] UNESCO Memory of the World and Aotearoa New Zealand Trust, "Māori Land Court Minute Books," Memory of the World Aotearoa New Zealand, accessed October 8, 2025, https://unescomow.nz/inscription/maori-land-court-minute-books.

and that without them "much tribal history and traditional knowledge would have been lost."[14]

The minute books are not without their limitations. Testimony was frequently given in the context of land claims, creating contradictions and strategic framings that historians must navigate carefully. They are a form of Māori evidence which was recorded within a colonial legal process. Angela Ballara has documented how the court imposed simplified frameworks on Māori land tenure, privileging large *iwi* groupings over *hapū* and physical occupation over other forms of customary right, while Kay Mooney has noted the contradictory nature of accounts given at Heretaunga hearings specifically.[15] These issues are addressed in detail at the points in the thesis where this material is drawn upon directly, particularly in Chapters Two and Five.

1.5 Ethical and Epistemological Positioning

Central to this thesis is an ethical and epistemological recognition of Māori oral histories as integral to understanding the past, while also critically considering their limitations and nuances. In practice, this means treating oral histories and *whakapapa* not as data to be extracted and verified against colonial records, but as knowledge systems with their own internal logic and authority. Where oral accounts are drawn upon, they are attributed to their sources, contextualised within the political and social circumstances in which they were recorded, and not subordinated to European archival material simply based on documentary form.

As is explored in Section 1.6, in relation to the epistemological position, the frameworks that underpin both Māori and Western worldviews—and ultimately the way in which this influences research and the analysis of particular sources—must be considered during the research process. For instance, A. Hikairo Spelman and B. V. Dieriks argue the way in which an "holistic perspective that transcends the transactional segmentation of Western thought" can promote more of "a comprehensive view that includes Te Ao Māori in

[14] Ibid.
[15] Ballara, *Iwi*, 61; Kay Mooney cited in S. W. Grant, "Newspaper Article 1988 – Heretaunga land deal fair?," Hawke's Bay Digital Archives Trust, accessed October 8, 2025, https://knowledgebank.org.nz/text/newspaper-article-1988-heretaunga-land-deal-fair-2/.

a way that avoids 'problematizing the indigenous' or assimilation."[16] Another ethical element to consider is the way in which traditional historical practice and Māori research approaches are incorporated. This is particularly relevant to the earlier mentioned emphasis on the oral history tradition, while also acknowledging the context in which decades of historical research took place; Rachael Ka'ai-Mahuta an academic who emphasises an "uncertainty" of the presence of Māori oral history and culture stemming from cultural decline and language loss.[17]

Ultimately, oral accounts are synthesised with colonial records throughout this thesis to offer a more nuanced and multifaceted perspective on historical events. This forms a thesis which expands on pre-existing literature on the Heretaunga Purchases and Hawke's Bay history.

1.6 Chapter Roadmap

Following Chapter One ("Context, Aims, and Methodological Framework"), which establishes the research questions, theoretical positioning, and methodological approach, the thesis unfolds across seven subsequent substantive chapters that trace the historical development of Heretaunga through shifting Māori and British socio-political frameworks.

Chapter Two ("Ngāti Kahungunu in Pre-Colonial Heretaunga") situates the study within a pre-colonial Māori world, tracing the movement from Hawaiki and the subsequent establishment of *hapū* in Te-Matau-a-Māui. This chapter foregrounds *whakapapa*, territorial authority, and socio-political organisation in order to establish Ngāti Kahungunu structures of power and belonging prior to European intervention. There is also reference to the way in which *hapū* economies operated prior to colonisation.

Chapter Three ("Early European Contact and the Introduction of New Ideas") examines the initial encounters between Ngāti Kahungunu and European actors, analysing how early contact introduced new economic practices, political conceptions, and cultural

[16] A. Hikairo Spelman and B. V. Dieriks, "Worlds Apart, Te Ao Māori and Western Worldviews in Aotearoa, New Zealand," *Journal of Bioethical Inquiry 22*, no. 1 (2025): 833.
[17] Meri Haami, "He Whiringa Muka: The Relationship Between the Whanganui River, Marae, and Waiata" (PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2022), 76.

frameworks. There is analysis of various political events such as the Musket Wars and the way in which this influenced Ngāti Kahungunu and European relations.

Chapter Four ("British Ideologies, Colonial Intentions, and Governance") critically analyses the intellectual and political foundations of British colonial expansion, including racial theory, individual property rights, governance structures, religion, and missionary activity. Section 4.4 explores He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti o Waitangi as key constitutional moments, highlighting the complexities between Māori political authority and British sovereignty claims that would profoundly influence the colonisation of the Heretaunga Plains.

Chapter Five ("Settlement and the Restructuring of Power in Heretaunga") investigates the consolidation of settler presence and the transformation of land tenure and authority structures. It analyses private land transactions, Crown engagement, and the resulting reconfiguration of power among Heretaunga *hapū*. There are significant examinations of institutions such as the Native Land Court and the Hawke's Bay Land Alienation Commission. There is also analysis into the establishment of Hastings.

Chapter Six ("Ngāti Kahungunu Responses to British Ideals and Structures") centres Māori political, legal, and strategic engagement with emerging colonial institutions. Rather than positioning Ngāti Kahungunu as passive recipients of colonial change, this chapter examines the adaptive strategies employed to contest land alienation, negotiate authority, and navigate conflict. There is exploration into the concept of *kūpapa* and *Māori* judicial engagement.

Chapter Seven ("Long-Term Cultural and Socio-Political Impacts of European Settlement") assesses the enduring consequences of colonisation in the Heretaunga region, particularly the extent and implications of land alienation. It considers the social and political transformations associated with urbanisation and the reshaping of *iwi* and *hapū* structures. There is also analysis into the present, examining contemporary political structures, *hapū* engagement, and the lasting influence of colonial governance frameworks. This chapter reflects on how historical processes continue to shape current expressions of authority and identity within Heretaunga.

The Conclusion synthesises the thesis's findings, drawing together the historical and contemporary analyses to restate the central arguments and reflect on what the evidence has demonstrated across the preceding chapters.

Chapter Two: Ngāti Kahungunu in Pre-Colonial Heretaunga

2.1 Migration to Aotearoa and Hawke's Bay

Narratives of Māori migration and settlement function not simply as accounts of origin but as foundational frameworks through which authority, land tenure, and belonging in specific regions of Aotearoa were articulated. In Heretaunga, these frameworks came into conflict with Crown conceptions of land during the process of European settlement and purchase; specifically, the English common law doctrine of individual freehold title, the assumption that land not visibly cultivated was waste and therefore available for purchase, and the Crown's claimed right of pre-emption over Māori land transactions.[18] To foreground this clash, this section examines migration narratives informed by oral tradition and archaeological evidence, situating them as essential context for understanding Māori responses to the Heretaunga Purchases.

Often, these histories and accounts were provided within a context of individuals attempting to prove their heritage as a means of claiming land; ultimately, this led to difficulties and contradictions that an historian must acknowledge. In relation to the hearings relating to the Heretaunga land sales, Kay Mooney acknowledges the "series of meetings were held to determine the lawful owners of land" and the "contradictory" nature of these accounts as within the court "lengthy evidence concerning Maori tribal history, customs, and whakapapa was heard."[19] Angela Ballara also outlines problems with the operations of the court, particularly the way in which it "attempted to function in two languages and between two cultures, interpreting the customs of one world in terms of another," ultimately leading to a situation outlined in the book *Māori Archaeology and History of Heretaunga, New Zealand: Six Centuries of Power and Place* in which judges applied "a simplified framework to conduct the court, judges insisting that claimants self-identify as members of large groups such as iwi rather than hāpu or whānau, preconceptions that land was owned by large 'tribes' until taken by conquest by another 'tribe,' and bias in favor of claimants that could show physical

[18] On the incompatibility between English conceptions of individual land title and Māori customary collective tenure, see William Martin, "The Taranaki Question," *New Zealander*, 9 February 1861; Ballara, *Iwi*. Both are engaged with extensively in Chapters Five and Six of this thesis.
[19] Grant, "Newspaper Article 1988 – Heretaunga land deal fair?."

occupation of tracts of land rather than other kinds of rights."[20] In relation to the issue of the reliability of the accounts, the book goes one to examine "the issue of sometimes contradictory accounts as claimants manoeuvred to get favorable court decisions on land allocations or payments."[21] Allen's book, in consideration of Ballara's doctoral thesis, ultimately argues that "versions differ only in minor details while the aggregate of testimony often shows remarkably consistent patterns even across iwi or hāpu boundaries."[22]

The Tākitimu minute books are not simply flawed sources. They are mediated records which are shaped by the colonial legal context in which they were produced, but preserve substantial evidence of *whakapapa*, oral history, political argument, and land claims that would otherwise be lost. Their limitations, outlined above, must be acknowledged. But so too must their value: they contain the testimony of *rangatira* and community members on questions of territorial authority, genealogical connection, and customary right, and they remain among the most significant sources available for reconstructing Ngāti Kahungunu sub-tribal politics in the nineteenth century. Throughout this thesis they are treated as such, analysed critically and triangulated against other sources where possible.

Various historians have attempted to evaluate oral histories, particularly from a Māori context. One interesting example of this is the historian Nēpia Mahuika's book *Rethinking Oral History and Tradition: An Indigenous Perspective* with frequent synthesis of a Ngāti Porou conception of history-telling (which Mahuika argues is vital to acknowledge and include, writing that an "'inside' perspective is crucial and culturally appropriate because the native politics that shape my world empower me to speak on behalf of my ancestors, but not on behalf of other and all indigenous communities or Māori" and that ultimately "our various tribal histories and experiences resonate and often align with other native peoples"), of which results in an interesting historiographical approach that offers a relevant contrast within this thesis.[23]

In the book's first chapter, Mahuika rejects the way in which "popular 'Western' academic conceptions" are utilised in the interpretation of Māori oral histories and the way in which Māori oral histories have usually within Western scholarship had to "conform to the

[20] Allen et al., *Māori Archaeology and History of Heretaunga, New Zealand: Six Centuries of Power and Place* (Cham: Springer Nature, 2024), 61.
[21] Ibid., 61–62.
[22] Ibid., 62.
[23] Mahuika, *Rethinking Oral History and Tradition*, 2.

form and meanings popularized by nonindigenous academics, who tend to separate oral history and tradition as if they were two distinctively different fields."[24] Mahuika further argues that for many indigenous communities, oral history remains "inextricably connected to identity" and that it is "a collective enterprise essential to cultural survival, naming the world, asserting power and belonging, and narrating relationships across time and space to land, sea, sky, and each other."[25]

When specifically referring to the minutes of Native Land Courts hearings, Mahuika is useful here in that he treats oral history as living knowledge, not data to be checked against written records. Mahuika argues oral history as a means of indigenous self-determination, describing it as a living history "thus created in the collision of multiple political intersections and is highly influenced by the continuation of fundamental political ideas such as those related to the communal and inclusive self-determining of inter-tribal genealogies."[26] As oral histories and accounts are prevalent regarding Māori historical narratives, these accounts have been utilised throughout the thesis. In any instance in which one's accounts of an event differ from that of other accounts, they are included among the others as a means of illuminating the fact that perhaps the truth (if not entirely clear at face value or with simple logical considerations) may be somewhere in between. Furthermore, one of the ways in which oral tradition is memorialised is within treaty settlement documents, ultimately signalling a credibility granted to the narratives. Mahuika's framework shapes how this thesis reads both sources: rather than verifying oral tradition against colonial records, or privileging one over the other, both are treated as politically situated accounts whose value lies within—and not despite—their context of production.

Pre-colonial Māori history must be read through oral tradition, *whakapapa*, archaeology, and later written sources. Historians must contend with forms of knowledge that do not conform neatly to European archival conventions. Oral traditions preserved through *haka*, *mōteatea*, and *whakapapa* sit alongside written accounts recorded by later literate observers, among them J. H. Mitchell's *Takitimu* (1973), S. Percy Smith's translations of Pango Te Whareauahi's migration narratives, and Mohi Te Ātahikoia's manuscript *Ko tenei Korero no Hawaiki ranoa* in te reo Māori; each requiring careful contextualisation and critical analysis. The ways in which historians have negotiated these sources—taking what J. H. Mitchell

[24] Ibid., 1.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid., 92.

described as "liberties"—have shaped enduring interpretations of Māori origins, settlement, and authority over land. In histories of Ngāti Kahungunu and the wider nation, figures such as Kupe, Hawaiki, and *atua* Māori are not simply mythological embellishments but serve to anchor claims to place and belonging, including in Heretaunga.[27]

J. H. Mitchell[28] starts the history of Ngāti Kahungunu from Hawaiki, a place "so far back indeed, that is only a name, a tradition, that cannot be shown on any map, nor localised in the world that we know of to-day" and then introduces the reader to "chief of Tahiti and Rarotonga" Kupe, who followed the path of the Kohoperoa land bird that came from the south-west.[29] Keith Sinclair begins even earlier with an account of the Māori creation myth, in which "Papa and Rangi, the earth and the sky, mother and father of the gods, lay close together with their children huddled between in the darkness" until "Tane, the god of trees and birds, succeeded in breaking his parents' embrace and pushing the sky away from the earth."[30] This precedes Sinclair's eventual move into the tale of Kupe and his voyage to *Te Tiritiri o te Moana* and wider migrations there due to "quarrels or hunger, or by accident."[31] There are sources which emphasise the prominence of *atua Māori* in the Polynesian navigation achievements, argued to be motivated by spiritual beliefs relating to their god of the sea Tangaroa.[32] To weave a narrative of how Ngāti Kahungunu came to be and how the *hapū* of the Heretaunga Plains established the region as theirs, one must also take into account historical memory, *whakapapa*, and cosmological elements, interpolating them with information of both archaeological and literary stock.

Māori tribes descend from *waka*, or what Sinclair titles "great ocean-going canoes."[33] This is a memory Rāwiri Taonui describes as a weaving together of both fact and fiction, in which traditions denoting literal information about the voyages is embellished with mythological elements.[34] There were differing traditions regarding the *waka hourua* (double canoes) and their total, differing accounts of the voyages across the Pacific and landing in

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[27] J. H. Mitchell, *Takitimu: A History of Ngāti Kahungunu* (Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed Ltd, 1973): 17.
[28] Also known by his Māori name Tiaki Hikawera Mitira, Mitchell was a dairy farmer and Māori interpreter who wrote *Takitimu* for the purposes of free distribution to various libraries, Māori colleges, and museums. See Bridget Underhill, "Tiaki Hikawera Mitira (J. H. Mitchell)," Komako, accessed June 28, 2026, https://www.komako.org.nz/person/626.
[29] Mitchell, *Takitimu: A History of Ngāti Kahungunu*, 17.
[30] Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2000): 11.
[31] Ibid., 13.
[32] Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2004): 27.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Rāwiri Taonui, "Canoe Traditions," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, last revised February 8, 2005, https://teara.govt.nz/en/canoe-traditions.

different parts of the islands of Aotearoa.[35] Major *waka* include Kurahaupō, Ngātokimatawhaorua, Māmari, Tinana, Te Māmaru, Māhuhu-ki-te-rangi, Mataatua, Tainui, Te Arawa, Horouta, Aotea, Ārai-te-uru, Uruaokapuarangi, and the *waka* which carried the ancestors of Ngāti Kahungunu[36] and whose concept can perhaps be memorialised as the souvenir of the people's connection to the ancestral home of Hawaiki: Tākitimu.[37]

Ranginui Walker writes of Māori ancestors from Polynesia and the way in which they "had been living in Samoa and Tonga over a thousand years when they began undertaking a series of long ocean voyages of discovery and settlement of islands in the Great Ocean of Kiwa."[38] Their arrival in Aotearoa represented, in Walker's view, a remarkable maritime achievement; one that has been "both denigrated and romanticised" in subsequent scholarship.[39] Within a frame of six hundred years, Polynesians had "colonised an oceanic environment that was 995 parts water to five parts land," an achievement Walker places in perspective by noting it occurred seven centuries before Columbus dared venture out of sight of land.[40] In relation to human inhabitation of the Heretaunga region, it is estimated that its earliest inhabitants arrived between the years 1250 and 1300.[41] These migration narratives and genealogical connections established the framework for *hapū* authority and land claims that would be contested during colonial land purchases.

2.2 Sub-Tribal Affairs: Alliances, Relationships, and Conflict

What is now referred to as Ngāti Kahungunu in the Heretaunga region did not emerge from a single migration nor a conquest in any simple sense, but through a longer and more complex process. This process was shaped by *whakapapa*, strategic marriage, smaller-scale conflict, and the emergence of autonomous *hapū*. Together, these dynamics produced a sub-tribal political environment in which authority was negotiated and distributed rather than centralised. To understand the historical dynamics that informed settlement in Heretaunga, it

[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Mitchell, *Takitimu: A History of Ngāti Kahungunu*, 29.
[38] Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*, 24–25.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] D. J. Lowe, "Polynesian Settlement of New Zealand and the Impacts of Volcanism on Early Maori Society: An Update," in *Guidebook for Pre-conference North Island Field Trip A1 "Ashes and Issues"*, ed. D. J. Lowe (Palmerston North: New Zealand Society of Soil Science, 2008), 142.

is therefore necessary to consider this pre-European system and the ways in which it shaped later interactions between *hapū*, the Crown, and private purchasers.

To understand the sub-tribal dynamic within Heretaunga, one must first consider the origins of Ngāti Kahungunu. The origins stem back to the initial arrival of the Tākitimu canoe at Whangaparaoa,[42] led by Tamatea Arikinui.[43] The voyage from Hawaiki to Aotearoa is denoted as one of curiosity rather than to escape something, ultimately to discover the islands of his ancestors Toi and Kupe,[44] with it being said that he felt the fires of Toi and Whatonga had by that point become "cold ashes."[45] Moihi Te Mātorohanga—a *tōhunga* renowned for his tribal histories who belonged to the Ngāti Whakawhena, Ngāti Moe, Ngāi Tukoko, and Ngāi Te Angarākau *hapū* of Ngāi Tahu ki Wairarapa (although Heretaunga traditions denote him as of Ngāti Te Whatuiāpiti and Ngāi Te Rangikoianake descent)[46]—described the sacredness of Tākitimu: "A canoe of the ancients, a canoe of old… A canoe of thy offspring, a canoe of the gods… A very sacred canoe is my 'Tākitimu'…"[47] Following their arrival in Whangaparaoa, Tamatea Arikinui decided to settle more north in the region of Te Tai Tokerau, ultimately later returning to Tairāwhiti where some people had already settled at Nukutaurua on the Māhia Peninsula.[48] Tamatea Arikinui had a son named Rongokako, who went on to have a son with Muriwhenua named Tamatea Ure-Haea (and later known by the name Tamatea-pōkai-whenua-pōkai-moana).[49] Tamatea Ure Haea, who had three wives (Te Onoono-i-waho, Iwipūpū and Te Moana-i-kauia, who were all the daughters of Ira and Tokerauwahine), had a son named Kahungunu with Iwipūpū, who was born in Ōrongotea at Pā Tinotino.[50]

The fact there were two different Tamatea is important to note, as it can be noted that through the analysis of European writings on the subject of Ngāti Kahungunu, the two often

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[42] H. T. Whatahoro, *The Lore of the Whare-wānanga: Or Teachings of the Maori College on Religion, Cosmogony, and History*, trans. S. Percy Smith (Wellington: Polynesian Society, 1913), 265–266.
[43] New Zealand Government, *Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa Tāmaki Nui-a-Rua and the Trustees of the Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa Tāmaki Nui-ā-Rua Settlement Trust and the Crown – Ratification Version* (Wellington, New Zealand Government, 2018), 2.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Whatahoro, *The Lore of the Whare-wānanga: Or Teachings of the Maori College on Religion, Cosmogony, and History*, 265.
[46] D. R. Simmons, "The Words of Te Matorohanga," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 103, no. 2 (June 1994): 115.
[47] New Zealand Government, *Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa Tāmaki Nui-a-Rua and the Trustees of the Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa Tāmaki Nui-ā-Rua Settlement Trust and the Crown – Ratification Version*, 2.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Lloyd Carpenter, "Leaving Marks and Names on the Land: The Deeds of Tama Ki Te Rangi, Tamatea-Pōkai-Whenua, Te Rakiwhakaputa and Rākaihautū," *Landscape Review* 19, no. 1 (2022): 8.
[50] New Zealand Government, *Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa Tāmaki Nui-a-Rua and the Trustees of the Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa Tāmaki Nui-ā-Rua Settlement Trust and the Crown – Ratification Version*, 2.

get confused. This is a distinction which matters as it signals the limits of European writings on the topic. For instance, in an introduction to his translation of Pango Te Whareauahi's recounting of the migration of Kahungunu, S. Percy Smith shares his confusion that "there were so many men of that name who flourished about the time of the arrival of the fleet, that it is difficult to say wherein the truth lies," further writing a Tamatea buried at Kawhainui near Te Puke in the Bay of Plenty and the fact that "the Southern Wai-rarapa people who descended from those mentioned in this story, all believe that Tamatea was Captain of 'Taki-tumu'."[51] This conflation is not merely a genealogical error. Smith's confusion between the two Tamatea figures is illustrative of a broader problem with colonial scholarship on Ngāti Kahungunu origins; one in which European writers, working from imperfect translations and unfamiliar genealogical frameworks, produced accounts that subsequent historians have drawn upon uncritically. Where ancestral figures are misidentified at the level of translation, the sub-tribal political structures and territorial claims derived from those figures are similarly distorted, with consequences for how *hapū* authority and land rights were later understood and recorded.

The following narrative of Kahungunu's migration establishes not merely a sequence of events but the genealogical foundations of *hapū* authority and territorial claim in Heretaunga. Kahungunu is said to have left Te Mangatawa *pā* in the Bay of Plenty near Tauranga after his elder brother Whaene threw a fish at Kahungunu's head upon hauling in a fishing net at Otira.[52] He ultimately decided to migrate to the East Coast, first travelling to Ōpōtiki where he joined a war party with his brother-in-law Haruatai in the battle Te Awhenga.[53] Kahungunu then travelled south to Whāngārā, where he married multiple women.[54] Over the next period, he would marry Ruaheretai from Turanga, having a daughter Rua-here-tieki, and hen Hine-pu-ariari from Whare-ongaonga.[55] After a period of time, Kahungunu travelled to Tawapata at Nukutaurua where he first met the master carver Tama-taku-tai and his wife Rongomaiwahine, the latter he became infatuated with.[56] Kahungunu would cause the drowning of Tama-taku-tai and then marry Rongomaiwahine.[57] Pango Te Whareauahi describes how a "great wave came up, and they flew before it; Kahu-

[51] Pango Te Whareauahi and S. Percy Smith, "The Migration of Kahu-hunu," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society 14*, no. 2 (1905): 82.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid., 83.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.

hunu now pulled up his steering paddle, and the canoe broaching to, over she went? Tama-taku-tai sinking, and was drowned, for he could not swim."[58] Rongomaiwahine and Kahungunu would have seven children: Hine-rauiri, Kahu-kura-nui, Tamatea-kota, Tamatea-kuku, Tamatea-toro-hanga, Weka-nui, and Tauhei-kuri.[59] Rongomaiwahine is considered to be Kahungunu's "principal wife."[60]

In the Heretaunga region, the name Ngāti Kahungunu is perceived to be of relatively modern usage, most likely introduced in the early nineteenth century in the face of external factors.[61] Its emergence as a collective identifier, as this thesis shall demonstrate, did not dissolve *hapū* autonomy. Individual *hapū* retained their own political authority and territorial claims, making sub-tribal politics the appropriate lens through which to understand land alienation in Heretaunga. By at least the sixteenth century, there were two distinct groups occupying the region,[62] both of whom had connection to the wives of Rākaihikuroa, a grandson of Kahungunu.[63] Rākaihikuroa is the son of Kahukuranui.[64] The two groups were Te Hika a Ruarahanga, associated with his principal wife Ruarahanga, and Te Hika a Pāpāuma, associated with his wife Papauma.[65] It is generally accepted that the introduction of Kahungunu's descendants to the Heretaunga region originated with an expedition led by Rākaihikuroa with the purpose rectifying shame following the killing and consumption of Tūpurupuru, with his bones being made into fish hooks and gardening tools.[66] Prior to Heretaunga, they travelled south from Wairoa into Aropaoanui (near Te Whanganui ā Orotu), ultimately sacking a *pā* and killing prominent chief Rakai WeriWeri.[67] This battle, known as the battle of Wai-koukou, provides a specific instance in which a Māori woman played a prominent role in a battle.[68] Tāraia I's wife Hinepare[69] (Tāraia the son of Rākaihikuroa),[70] tricked her husband—who was running away from Rakai—into thinking she had been killed by Rakai by faking the sound of her skull being cracked by smashing a

[58] Ibid., 84–85.
[59] Ibid., 86.
[60] Allen et al., *Māori Archaeology and History of Heretaunga, New Zealand: Six Centuries of Power and Place*, 66.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ngāti Hinemanu, "Ngāti Hinemanu – He tipuna, he hapū, he iwi," Ngāti Hinemanu, accessed October 10, 2025, https://hinemanu.co.nz/about-us/ngati-hinemanu.
[65] Allen et al., *Māori Archaeology and History of Heretaunga, New Zealand: Six Centuries of Power and Place*, 66–67.
[66] Ibid., 68.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ngāti Hinemanu, "Ngāti Hinemanu – He tipuna, he hapū, he iwi."

calabash of water on a rock.[71] Taraia, Tawhao, Te-Ao-Matarahi, and others returned to kill Rakai.[72]

The migration of peoples under Tāraia and Te Aomatarahi into the Heretaunga and Wairarapa resulted in conflict with resident communities.[73] Resident groups included the descendants of people such as Awanuiarangi[74] (considered an ancestor to Te Āti Awa and Ngāti Awa, the son of a mortal mother Rongoueroa and a spirit father Tamarau-te-heketanga-a-rangi),[75] Whatumamoa (who was a descendant of Māhu Tapoanu[76]—a descendant of Paikea whose home territory was Waikaremoana and who is memorialised in names throughout Heretaunga including Omāhu—and in turn Te Orotu who inspired the name of Te Whanganui a Orotu),[77] Tara[78] (the son of Hotuwaipara and Whātonga, the chief of the Kurahaupō canoe,[79] known for his venture with his brother Tautoki—father of Rangitāne—into the lower North Island from their homeland in the Māhia Peninsula, thereby memorialised in the name Te Whanganui a Tara),[80] as well as other tribes.[81]

Differing accounts of these early conflicts reveal more than factual uncertainty. They reflect competing traditions of historical memory in which the severity of killings and the outcomes of battle were remembered differently by different *hapū*, shaped by the authority claims of those telling the story. This pattern is directly relevant to how *hapū* territorial rights were later asserted and contested in the Native Land Court. Violent accounts exist, for instance the killing and consumption of Hinekatorangi at the swamp later named after her or Tāraia I's storming of Otātāra, in which Hikurangi Pā would fall before eventually seeking

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[71] Allen et al., *Māori Archaeology and History of Heretaunga, New Zealand: Six Centuries of Power and Place*, 69.
[72] Ibid.
[73] New Zealand Government, *Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa Tāmaki Nui-a-Rua and the Trustees of the Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa Tāmaki Nui-ā-Rua Settlement Trust and the Crown – Ratification Version*, 2.
[74] Ibid., 2–3.
[75] Peter Adds, "Te Āti Awa of Taranaki," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed October 11, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/te-ati-awa-of-taranaki/print.
[76] Hawke's Bay Regional Council, "Statutory Acknowledgements," Hawke's Bay Regional Council, last revised February 2, 2022, https://www.hbrc.govt.nz/assets/Document-Library/Plans/Regional-Resource-Management-Plan/Schedules-Maps/Statutory-Acknowledgements.pdf.
[77] Patrick Parsons, "A Harbour Lost," *New Zealand Historic Places*, no. 45 (1994): 20–21.
[78] New Zealand Government, *Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa Tāmaki Nui-a-Rua and the Trustees of the Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa Tāmaki Nui-ā-Rua Settlement Trust and the Crown – Ratification Version*, 2–3.
[79] Darren Reid, "Muaūpoko," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, last revised February 1, 2015, https://teara.govt.nz/en/muaupoko.
[80] Rāwiri Taonui, "Ngā waewae tapu – Māori exploration," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed October 11, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/nga-waewae-tapu-maori-exploration/print.
[81] New Zealand Government, *Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa Tāmaki Nui-a-Rua and the Trustees of the Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa Tāmaki Nui-ā-Rua Settlement Trust and the Crown – Ratification Version*, 2–3.

peace, or collaborative attacks on Rangitāne settlements south of the river Ngarurororo.[82] Nevertheless, the formation of Ngāti Kahungunu is said to have stemmed from battles and subsequent marriages between these groups, ultimately resulting in the descendants of Kahungunu establishing settlements in areas from Wairoa to Nūhaka, as well as Ahuriri to Heretaunga.[83] Mohi Te Ātahikoia (1840s–1928), a Ngāti Kahungunu leader (Ngāti Whakaiti and Ngāti Kautere in Waimārama)[84] whose histories can be found in a manuscript titled *Ko tenei Korero no Hawaiki ranoa in te reo Māori*,[85] recounts the way in which this took place:

> After these battles were over, the people of Heretaunga lived in peace. The people were to dwell in the various parts of Heretaunga, including the descendants of Taraia (sic), Te Aomatahari, and Tūwhakawhiurangi [younger brother of Tāraia]. They were the strongest at fighting and the people of these lands were defeated by them as far as Wairarapa. The descendants of Rākaipaka [half-brother to Rākaihikuroa] and Rākaihikuroa settled permanently in Heretaunga … they lived as chiefs over the tribes to whom the land belonged as far afield as Wairarapa.[86]

However, despite an initial period of peace under the leadership of Tāraia between the new northerners and the original inhabitants of the Heretaunga Region, this was not perpetual and divisions would continue between Te Hika a Ruarahanga (who would inhabit the region north of Ngarururoro) and Te Hika a Pāpāuma (who would inhabit the region south of Ngarururoro).[87]

2.3 Hapū and Pre-Colonial Economies

By the eighteenth century, these processes had resulted in a *hapū*-based political system. As Angela Ballara has demonstrated, *hapū* operated as independent political and economic units, each exercising authority over its own lands. Using Ngāti Kahungunu as a

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[82] Allen et al., *Māori Archaeology and History of Heretaunga, New Zealand: Six Centuries of Power and Place*, 69.
[83] New Zealand Government, *Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa Tāmaki Nui-a-Rua and the Trustees of the Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa Tāmaki Nui-ā-Rua Settlement Trust and the Crown – Ratification Version*, 3.
[84] Angela Ballara, "Te Ātahīkoia, Mohi," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed October 11, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2t18/te-atahikoia-mohi.
[85] National Library of New Zealand, "Mohi Te Atahikoia – Maori whakapapa since Hawaiki," National Library of New Zealand, accessed October 11, 2025, https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22708749.
[86] Allen et al., *Māori Archaeology and History of Heretaunga, New Zealand: Six Centuries of Power and Place*, 71.
[87] Ibid., 81–83.

case study, Ballara argues that *hapū*, and even minor sub-*hapū*, could choose whether to answer a chief's summons to war or labour, producing "a society of many independent corporate units" in which peaceful interaction relied on voluntary respect for each *hapū*'s rights.[88] This decentralised structure meant that no single individual had the authority to independently sell or redistribute land, due to the collective nature of land ownership. As colonisation occurred, this was a principle that would be repeatedly breached by *rangatira* during the Heretaunga Purchases. As will be explored later, there were outside influences such as trickery, promises, political events in other regions which may have encouraged certain approaches to relationships with Europeans, and debt traps that were present in many land transactions.

Iwi and *hapū* autonomy were reinforced by a highly developed Māori land-based economy, within which cultivation practices, resource management, and place-based knowledge were closely tied to political authority. Garth R. Harmsworth and Shaun Awatere describe a Māori relationship with the natural world that was holistic and interconnected, supported by the knowledge base of *mātauranga* Māori, which developed over thousands of years and reaches back to life in Polynesia and the trans-Pacific migrations.[89] These relationships in turn shaped the nature of early trading partnerships, grounding economic exchange in existing structures of land control and governance. In order for a larger population to be sustainable, it was necessary for a people to expand beyond a hunter-gatherer economic model employed by early Māori.[90] Therefore, from the sixteenth century onwards, Ngāti Kahungunu cultivated land at a greater scale as a means of addressing protein shortages following declining numbers of sources such as seals and moa.[91] The cultivated sources included kūmara and taro, while also utilising freshwater and inshore foods.[92]

Place names and cultivation practices in Heretaunga reveal how land, food production, and political authority were inseparable in Ngāti Kahungunu society. Malcolm Davie argues that Māori being "acutely aware of the economic importance of their land" is archaeologically signalled by the way in which "place names were commonly used to describe the nutritional function of a physical location or feature."[93] By initial European arrival, the

[88] Ballara, *Iwi*, 179.
[89] Garth R. Harmsworth and Shaun Awatere, "Indigenous Māori Knowledge and Perspectives of Ecosystems," in *Ecosystem Services in New Zealand: Conditions and Trends*, ed. John R. Dymond (Lincoln: Manaaki Whenua Press, 2013), 274.
[90] Malcolm Davie, "Trap or Treasure: An Economic History of Primary Production in Hawke's Bay Province, 1945–2010" (PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2020), 26–27.
[91] Ibid., 27.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.

Ngāti Kahungunu economy was self-reliant and made the establishment of commercial relationships between the two groups successful from the 1820s onwards.[94] From an economic perspective, Davie further argues that Ngāti Kahungunu was successful in operating within European capitalism and that their economy "was of sufficient sophistication to utilise the province's extensive resource base."[95] The perception by European colonisers of Māori entrepreneurial potential is interesting to consider, particularly when one considers contemporary commentary that argued the great potential for "civilisation" and religious conversion influenced by their agriculturalist organisation.[96] This can be connected to popularising racial conceptions and their "scale of civilisation."[97] James Belich explores the way in which said concept manifested, "from super-civilised and progressive Western Europeans through semi-civilised and unprogressive Chinese and Indians to higher 'savages' such as Tahitians and lower 'savages' such as Aboriginal Tasmanians."[98]

The alienation of land through private purchases, and encouraged by political efforts of the Crown, did not merely dispossess Ngāti Kahungunu of territory, but undermined the economic foundations that sustained *hapū* autonomy and political authority in Heretaunga. It is against these pre-colonial structures—the decentralised *hapū* system, the networks of alliance and exchange, and the authority of *rangatira*—that the disruptions examined in subsequent chapters must be understood.

[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid., 28.
[96] James Belich, "European ideas about Māori," Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed February 21, 2026, https://teara.govt.nz/en/european-ideas-about-maori/print.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.

Chapter Three: Early European Contact and the Introduction of New Ideas

3.1 Initial Interactions: Death, Trade, and Collaboration

Initial contact between Europeans and Māori in Te Matau-a-Māui—the earliest physical encounters between the two peoples—was characterised by uncertainty, negotiation, and violence. Out of this contact emerged trade: an evolving relationship in which Ngāti Kahungunu *rangatira* engaged strategically with European whalers and merchants to access goods, secure alliances, and assert *mana*. These two phases were distinct from, but foundational to, the later structural colonisation of settlement, in which Crown and private purchasers sought to acquire land and reorganise political authority. This section examines the earliest contact and trading relationships at Te Matau-a-Māui to show how patterns of authority, coercion, and misunderstanding established during this period laid important groundwork for the dynamics of settlement that later culminated in the Heretaunga Purchases.

The arrival of Joseph Banks and Captain James Cook at Te Matau-a-Māui marked the beginning of sustained European observation of the region and its people. Their accounts established the interpretive frameworks through which Ngāti Kahungunu would be understood by subsequent settlers, officials, and purchasers, making their voyages directly relevant to the history of Heretaunga land alienation that follows. Banks had been selected for the Endeavour voyage[99] as principal naturalist, accompanied by fellow naturalists including Daniel Solander alongside artists and assistants.[100] The voyage departed on 25 August 1768 and arrived in New Zealand on 8 October 1769, after engaging with numerous South Pacific islands en route. Cook's passage through the eastern coast of the North Island would see the bay named after Admiral Edward Hawke, memorialising European presence in a region Ngāti Kahungunu had long occupied.[101] Banks arrived with preconceptions already firmly in place, anticipating a Great Southern Continent and interpreting what he encountered through the lens of European curiosity and expectation rather than any understanding of the

[99] Harold B. Carter, *Sir Joseph Banks* (London: British Museum (Natural History), 1988), 57.
[100] Ibid., 73.
[101] Michael Fowler's Historic Hawke's Bay, "Historic Hawke's Bay: Bad day in Kiwi trading history," *Hawke's Bay Today*, published April 2, 2013, https://www.nzherald.co.nz/hawkes-bay-today/news/historic-hawkes-bay-bad-day-in-kiwi-trading-history/3CZN BYIDAUJLRANU7AWD5GG6WU/.

political world he was entering.[102] These preconceptions shaped the earliest European observations of Māori in Te Matau-a-Māui and established interpretive habits that would persist well into the colonial period.

Cook's observations of Te Matau-a-Māui established an early European geographical understanding of the region, one that rendered the landscape as terrain to be described and catalogued rather than as a politically governed domain of Māori. Over seventy years prior to the establishment of European settlements, and before Captain James Cook and his crew landed on Te Matau-a-Māui, Cook documented his observations of the area that would later become Napier.[103] In his journal, he described a prominent headland marking the southern extent of the bay, flanked by narrow beaches composed of sand or stone.[104] He further noted the presence of a substantial body of salt water situated between these beaches and the mainland.[105] To the southeast of the headland, Cook observed a broad, flat area extending inland, within which several groves of tall, straight trees were visible.[106] From this position, Captain Cook also observed the Kaiwaka and Ruahine ranges as "a Chain of Pretty high Mountains running N. And S., upon them patches of snow, and their sides and foothills Cloathed with wood."[107] The land Cook was describing was not empty or ungoverned. It was Heretaunga: already occupied, cultivated, and governed by Ngāti Kahungunu *hapū* whose political authority his account made no effort to recognise. These encounters framed Māori in the eyes of Banks and Cook as trade and exploration partners rather than as political authorities, a misreading whose consequences would become apparent in the land purchases that followed.

The Cape Kidnappers incident shows how early contact was shaped by violence, misunderstanding, and European control of naming. A violent encounter between the *HMS*

[102] Joseph Banks, "Volume 2: Joseph Banks – Endeavour journal, 15 August 1769 – 12 July 1771," State Library of New South Wales, accessed September 23, 2025, https://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/_transcript/2015/D33961/a1193b.html.
[103] M. D. N. Campbell, *Story of Napier 1874–1974: Footprints Along The Shore* (Napier: Napier City Council, 1975), 1.
[104] J. C. Beaglehole, *The Journals of Captain James Cook: Volume One* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 175.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Reed, *The Story of Hawke's Bay*, 19.

Endeavour and several *waka* occurred on 15 October 1769.[108] On board was a young boy who was accompanying Tupaia, the Tahitian *arioi*.[109] Cook recounts the event as follows:

> [O]ne of the fishing boat came along side and offer'd us some more fish, the Indian Boy Tiata, Tupia's servant being over the side, they seized hold of him, pulld him into the boat and endeavourd to carry him off, this obliged us to fire upon them which gave the Boy an oppertunity to jump over board and we brought the Ship too, lower'd a boat into the Water and took him up unhurt. Two or three paid for this daring attempt with the loss of their lives and many more would have suffered had it not been for fear of killing the boy.[110]

A. H. Reed describes this as "one of the most dramatic incidents Cook had yet experienced in his relations with the New Zealanders."[111] It was in response to this event that Cook granted the place the name Cape Kidnappers.[112]

European accounts frequently frame this encounter as unprovoked Māori aggression; however, the episode can equally be read as an example of Europeans quickly escalating to lethal force during initial contact. At the same time, the interaction reflects both parties testing the waters in a manner that foreshadows future trade relations. The naming of Cape Kidnappers enshrined the European interpretation, reinforcing the perception of Māori as aggressors and obscuring the asymmetry of power in the encounter. Dean Cowie, however, differs from interpretations that Māori were passive or victims entirely. Instead, he notes that Māori off the coast at Te Matau-a-Māui "learnt that trading could be fatal," describing an attempt by Māori to "test the strength of the visitors, by 'cheating' on a trade."[113] The violent confrontation is then outlined to entail the kidnapping of *ariori* Tupaia's son Tayeto and the shootings of the abductors, leading to the deaths of two (Whakaruhe and Whakaika) and the non-fatal shooting of one (Te Ori).[114]

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[108] Land Information New Zealand, "Cape Kidnappers / Te Kauwae-a-Māui," Land Information New Zealand, accessed March 14, 2025, https://www.linz.govt.nz/our-work/new-zealand-geographic-board/place-name-stories/place-names-cooks-voyages/cape-kidnappers-te-kauwae-maui.
[109] Kerryn Pollock, "Hawke's Bay region – European contact," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, last revised July 1, 2015, https://teara.govt.nz/en/zoomify/23891/naming-cape-kidnappers-te-kauwae-a-maui.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Reed, *The Story of Hawke's Bay*, 19.
[112] Pollock, "Hawke's Bay region – European contact."
[113] Dean Cowie, *Rangahaua Whanui. District 11B Hawke's Bay*, Waitangi Tribunal, (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 1996), 14.
[114] Ibid., 14.

Early encounters between Māori and Europeans at Te Matau-a-Māui established patterns that would persist into the colonial period. Europeans consistently misread Māori political agency, reframed violence in their own favour, and enshrined those interpretations in the historical record; as the naming of Cape Kidnappers illustrates. These habits of misreading did not disappear. They shaped how Crown officials and private purchasers understood Ngāti Kahungunu authority when land negotiations began in Heretaunga, as well as informing the terms on which those negotiations proceeded. The Heretaunga Purchases cannot be understood without them.

3.2 The Introduction of New Ideas and Technologies

The pre-colonial spiritual conceptions of Māori communities differ to that of the European-introduced Christian doctrine. The uniquely Māori belief system of *atua* Māori is influenced by the natural world and is comparable to other polytheistic religions in which a deity represents an element of nature, of which Māori may have been represented by as many as seventy.[115] Byron Rangiwai depicts the pre-colonial beliefs as "people of faith who interpreted the signs of the sky, of the land, of the environment, of the waters and of the rivers; they were connected spiritually to the land and had a deep and profound belief in networks of spiritual power."[116] There were regional variations, albeit minor, to traditional spirituality and Ngāti Kahungunu possessed its own approach.[117]

The conversion to Christianity was rapid. William Williams, along with his brother Henry Williams, arrived in 1826 from Nottingham to Henry's Church Missionary Society mission station at Paihia.[118] William later established the first mission station in Turanga-Poverty Bay on 20 January 1840.[119] His mission led to claimed outcomes in which the missionary drive had led to a 90% "Christian profession" within the Māori by the 1850s

[115] Masoumeh Rahmani, Peter Adds, and Rebekah Senanayake, "Māori atheism: a decolonising project?," *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online 19*, no. 4 (2004): 524.
[116] Byron Rangiwai, "Māori Prophetic Movements as Sites of Political Resistance: A Critical Analysis," *Te Kaharoa 10*, no. 1 (2017): 131.
[117] Rahmani, Adds, and Senanayake, "Māori atheism: a decolonising project?," 524.
[118] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "William Williams," Ministry for Culture and Heritage, last revised October 23, 2024, https://nzhistory.govt.nz/people/william-williams.
[119] Kay Sanderson, "Maori Christianity on the East Coast 1840–1870," *New Zealand Journal of History 17*, no. 2 (1983): 166.

(albeit the measure of "Christian profession" itself a debated measure of conversion.)[120] However, these missionaries' claims are often refuted:[121] James Belich, for instance, estimated around 60% by the same period.[122] Such conversions are accredited to a variety of factors, especially following the translation of the New Testament in te reo Māori, connecting with Māori wanting literacy.[123] However, the conversion that would ultimately take place was not one which could be controlled by European missionaries and settlers. Regarding the acceleration of Christian conversion, John Stenhouse and Lachy Paterson argue:

> Missionary doctrine appealed to many Māori because, like pre-contact religion, it laid out precise guidelines to follow in order to achieve wellbeing. The missionaries could seldom control the new varieties of Māori Christianity that emerged. Many Māori, for example, seeing the Sabbath as an essential Christian *tikanga*, observed it more strictly than some Pākehā.[124]

The idea in which Māori separate from European settler Christian practices is a common theme throughout New Zealand historical scholarship. In Heretaunga, this pattern is evident in the way Ngāti Kahungunu *hapū* engaged selectively with missionary Christianity, adopting aspects that reinforced existing authority structures while resisting elements that undermined them.

While Christianity introduced new ideas, Māori communities adapted them in their own ways. The spread of Pai Mārire into the Heretaunga region made the religious transformations of this period directly relevant to Ngāti Kahungunu sub-tribal politics. William Williams would later witness what Kay Sanderson describes as "another equally rapid conversion took place."[125] By June 1865, an estimated half of Turanga Māori aligned with the Pai Mārire faith, following the arrival of Kereopa and his party in March.[126] This connects to what is referred to as a four-year long mass appeal from its establishment in Taranaki in 1863 to its founder's capture in 1868.[127] James Cowan argues that the defeat of the Kīngitanga and the land confiscations "by no means secured the general pacification of the Maoris" and that

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[120] Malcolm Falloon, "The Māori Conversion and Four Early Converts" (PhD Thesis, University of Otago, 2020), 94–95.
[121] Rahmani, Adds, and Senanayake, "Māori atheism: a decolonising project?," 524.
[122] Falloon, "The Māori Conversion and Four Early Converts," 94.
[123] Rangiwai, "Māori Prophetic Movements as Sites of Political Resistance: A Critical Analysis," 132.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Sanderson, "Maori Christianity on the East Coast 1840–1870," 166.
[126] Ibid.
[127] C. J. Parr, "Before the Pai Marire," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society 76*, no. 1 (1967): 35.

"a new and infinitely more desperate and formidable plan of campaign was formulating itself in Taranaki."[128] Cowan further argues that this led to a perceived "fanatic ferocity unknown in the previous campaign," "a new phase of warfare in Taranaki," and a "hardening-up of the Maori fighting-spirit in a kind of holy war imparted to the racial struggle a savagery and a bitter persistence that carried the war up to the young 'seventies.'"[129]

Ideas of Māori fanaticism were fed by settler accounts of Pai Mārire. The way in which Pai Mārire entered the settler and British narrative is directly relevant to this thesis, as it illustrates how colonial accounts framed Māori religious and political resistance as violence and fanaticism. These were representations that shaped Crown policy and settler attitudes toward Ngāti Kahungunu in Heretaunga. Paul Clark emphasises this in his book *'Hauhau': The Pai Marire Search for Māori Identity*, that the Pai Mārire movement means "wherever it spread, the war took on a new and horrible character," in which he outlines an event on 2 March 1865 where "New Zealand history gained its first martyr and New Zealand historiography her first madmen."[130] Clark refers to "a missionary murdered at his church" Carl Sylvius Volkner,[131] a German missionary sent to New Zealand by the North German Missionary Society in 1849 and later became leader of the Church Missionary Society Ōpōtiki mission station in August 1861 (the congregation in which selected members partook in his death),[132] "decapitated, his eyes swallowed at his pulpit, his blood drunk from his chalice" by the "perpetrators of the deed, the Hauhaus."[133] Other sources depict Volkner's hanging from a tree outside the chapel of St. Stephens Anglican Church at Ōpōtiki, the display of his severed head on the pulpit, and the parade through the church's proximity as Parr describes as "a state of frenzy, with catalepsy frequently prostrating them during the ritual."[134]

However, Clark emphasises this psyche as "fostered in the education of New Zealanders, and in popular and scholarly writing," denoting the usage of terms such as "fanaticism, reversion, and barbarism" and describing the "wholly negative view" as false.[135]

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[128] Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period: Volume II: The Hauhau Wars, 1864–72*, 1.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Paul Clark, *'Hauhau': The Pai Marire Search for Māori Identity* (Auckland: Auckland University Press and Oxford University Press, 1975): 7.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Evelyn Stokes, "Völkner, Carl Sylvius," Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, accessed February 28, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1v5/volkner-carl-sylvius.
[133] Clark, *'Hauhau': The Pai Marire Search for Māori Identity*, 7.
[134] Parr, "Before the Pai Marire," 35.
[135] Clark, *'Hauhau': The Pai Marire Search for Māori Identity*, 7.

Clark further reflects on the influence that various popular general histories have had in perpetuating this narrative, referencing Keith Sinclair's history and its commentary on the origins of the Pai Mārire faith: "It arose from the despair of defeat… to bring new hope to many rebels. The resistance to the settlers became more savage, more implacable."[136] Clark then turns to the work of W. H. Oliver, specifically his 1960 book *The Story of New Zealand*, and the way in which he "adds colour to the picture" with the following quote: "Observance centred in the traditional *niu*, a tall stake surmounted with the head of an English enemy … *Pai marire* had been too bloodthirsty to last long."[137]

The name Hauhau refers to what followers perceived to be the life-force of the Pai Mārire faith, "hau," as well as what they would chant.[138] Pai Marire is referred to academically as a "syncretic religion" in which traditional Māori beliefs including the presence of *atua Māori*, Judaism, and Christian doctrines that rely heavily on the Old Testament traditions are incorporated.[139] A 1895 article in the *Observer* focusing on the succession to the Kīngitanga (or, as the article puts it, "'king' in a decayed-Maori-gentleman sort of style of the Waikato Maoris" or "King of the Cannibal Islands"), Mahuta, writes of his father Tawhiao and the way in which "the old man never liked or trusted the pakeha, and to accentuate his dislike, he discountenanced, as far as he could, any return to the religion of the Christian Church, and gave his 'royal' sanction to the singular medley of Judaism, heathenism, and Christianity, which constituted the Hauhau ritual."[140]

Its founder Te Ua Tuwhakararo Haumēne, also known by the name Tamati Horopapera (which was his name that he was baptised with by Wesleyan minister John Whitely, after the Old Testament prophet Zerubbabel),[141] descended from the Ngāti Ruanui tribe of Taranaki.[142] Born in the early 1920s in Taranaki, he and his mother were captured in a raid by Waikato in Kawhia, where he ultimately became a *taurekareka* during adolescence.[143] His time as a slave ended following wide conversion to Christianity by the Waikato *iwi*, when

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[136] Ibid., 8.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Keenan, *Wars Without End: The Land Wars in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand*, 238.
[139] Ibid., 238–239.
[140] Observer, "The King and the Church," *Observer*, December 21, 1895, 2.
[141] L. F. Head, "Te Ua and the Hauhau Faith in the Light of the Ua Gospel Notebook" (MA Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1983), 88.
[142] Bernard John Foster, "Te Ua Tuwhakararo Haumene, or Tamati Horopapera," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed September 18, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/1966/te-ua-tuwhakararo-haumene-or-tamati-horopapera.
[143] L. F. Head, "Te Ua and the Hauhau Faith in the Light of the Ua Gospel Notebook," 88.

Te Ua Haumēne returned to Taranaki.[144] Te Ua Haumene emphasises the personal influence of the Bible in his life, describing his religious studies as follows: "Sometimes I had to conduct the services in the absence of the proper teachers. My heart was moved to search the Scriptures, and I took particular notice of that part which says. 'Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life…"[145]

Lyndsay Head remarks that Te Ua Hāumene's practices were a statement of *mana motuhake* and Māori independence, noting that the Bible served as an expression "to give authority and shape to the values which needed to be re-expressed in order to encompass social change" with the foremost of these being autonomy.[146] Furthermore, Head argues "value placed on autonomy" as having stemmed "from the organisation of traditional society into numerous small units whose independence was expressed in competition, ultimately in warfare."[147] Head also argues that the Bible "offered a way to redefine the autonomy of the hapu in terms of the will of a god who required peace" but in a way that saw the "widespread rejection of the Pakeha church."[148] Although this is a historical argument that has a particular perspective regarding Christianity, there is interesting analysis of syncretic religion and Māori political movement. However, there is scope to further identify to what extent autonomy was the central message of these syncretic movements.

Likewise, judge William Martin described how "arbitrary and even sanguinary punishments formerly inflicted by the Chiefs" had "almost entirely ceased: being abandoned by some, on professing Christianity: and being (more or less directly) checked even in the hands of those who remain heathen."[149] Martin further argues "the very success of the Missionary labours has tended to disorganize the people, destroying the old system without replacing it by another."[150] The missionary J. Morgan insists his only objection for the Māori as being to "raise them… from savage and revolting cannibalism, to the position of happy and civilized cottagers each village with its little Church and School." Morgan goes on to describe his "Christian" vision for the future of Māori: "Each family with their neat boarded Cottage, surrounded by their orchards and wheatfields, the men employed in driving their carts,

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[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid.
[146] L. Head, "The Gospel of Te Ua Haumene," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society 101*, no. 1 (1992): 7.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Martin describes the impact in a letter to Governor Fitzroy dated 17 January 1846. See Alison Begg, "Early Maori religious movements: A study of the reactions of the Maoris to the Christian Gospel up until 1860" (MA Thesis, University of Otago, 1974), 145.
[150] Ibid.

following their ploughs tending their flocks, and manufacturing their own linen and woollen cloths, and their women… engaged with their sowing, their knitting needles, and their spinning wheels, training their children in habits of honest industry."[151] Morgan's imaginations are arguably an example of the influence of British colonial conceptions in the settlement of New Zealand and the colonisation of Māori, exemplifying the direct connection between missions and colonial ideals.

It was a religious movement whose infamy had spread as far as London and was present in London publications. An example of this is the Evangelical publication *Good Words*, which was published between 1860 and 1906, where an article was published in 1865 by an anonymous author under the pseudonym An Army Chaplain titled *Pai Marire, The New Religion of the Maoris*, in which it depicts the religious context of "the cannibals" that precedes the formation of Pai Mārire, comparing the dynamic between Marsden and the Māori chiefs to "the beauty of the Anglo-Saxon youths whom he saw in the market-place at Rome produced on the mind of Gregory the Great : in both cases it awoke the desire to communicate to heathen nations the knowledge of Christianity."[152] This religious movement is relevant to the colonisation of Hawke's Bay, as James Cowan examines. Cowan writes: "It was expected that Hauhau sections of Ngati-Kahungunu would march on Porangahau and other settlements in the south… In the event of a successful attack on Napier the Hauhaus were to rise against the friendly Maoris; the Urewera were to make forays to the plains, and the Waikato tribes were to renew the war on their frontier. A disaster at Napier would have involved the country in bloodshed…"[153]

3.3 The Musket Wars

The influence and participation of Ngāti Kahungunu in the Musket Wars is an important context for re-evaluating later Heretaunga land sales. The conflicts reshaped, and in some cases reaffirmed, *hapū* political power and territorial arrangements prior to sustained British settlement in the region. This section will analyse relevant key *rangatira*, their movements, and their interactions (whether of a trading or a political nature) that defined

[151] Morgan writes of this in a letter to T Chapman dated 4 March 1852. See Ibid., 46.
[152] An Army Chaplain, "Pai Marire, The New Religion of the Maoris," *Good Words*, October 1, 1865, 726.
[153] Peter Maxwell, *Frontier: The Battle for the North Island of New Zealand 1860 – 1872* (Auckland: Celebrity Books, 2005): 145.

Ngāti Kahungunu's position during the Musket Wars, and the ways in which these dynamics shaped subsequent colonial encounters.

Specifically, the Musket Wars produced three conditions that directly shaped land alienation and alliance politics in Heretaunga. First, the conflicts consolidated certain *hapū*—particularly Ngāti Te Whatuiāpiti under Te Hāpuku—at the expense of others, creating an internal hierarchy of political authority that European purchasers and Crown officials would later exploit by dealing selectively with favoured *rangatira* rather than seeking broader *hapū* consent. Second, the acquisition of muskets through trade with European whalers established patterns of strategic engagement with Europeans that carried directly into the land purchase era; *rangatira* who had learned to leverage European goods for political advantage applied the same logic to land transactions. Third, the displacements, alliances, and enmities produced by the wars shaped the internal Ngāti Kahungunu tensions—most visibly the conflict at Te Pakiaka examined in Chapter Five—that made collective resistance to land alienation difficult to sustain. Without understanding these consequences, the land sales of the 1850s appear as straightforward transactions. One should instead consider the way in which they reveal the accumulated pressures of warfare and strategic realignment.

The history of the Musket Wars, particularly in relation to Ngāti Kahungunu and the way in which it influenced intertribal and intratribal affairs, is often unspoken beyond Tribunal reports and some historical works. It is noted as a period in which Ngāti Kahungunu's position in the Te-Matau-a-Māui region is strengthened and their *mana* dominant, in comparison to other tribes who were destroyed or what R. D. Crosby describes as "either disappeared or been subsumed entirely… or reduced to a state of enslavement, subjugation or insecurity" in the conflicts, an infamous example being the Moriori of the Chatham Islands.[154] The historical legacy of Hongi Hika of Ngāpuhi or Te Rauparaha of Ngāti Toa are undeniable, but this cannot be said for a Ngāti Kahungunu leader like Te Pareihe,[155] connected to a *hapū* that plays a prominent role in this thesis, Ngāti Te Whatuiāpiti.[156]

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[154] R. D. Crosby, *The Musket Wars: A History of Inter-Iwi Conflict 1806–1845* (Auckland: Libro International, 2012): 21.
[155] Ibid., 18.
[156] Angela Ballara, "Te Pareihe," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed March 6, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t54/te-pareihe.

Te Pareihe, who also went by the names Hōri and Pareihe Kai-a-te-kōkopu, was the grandson of Tapuhara and Hikawera.[157] He was a close relative to Te Hāpuku and Kurupō Te Moananui, descendants of Te Wawahanga—the eldest son of Te Whātuiāpiti—and therefore, according to traditional hierarchical structures, were of higher rank in the Heretaunga region, despite Te Pareihe being of older age.[158] Understanding these *whakapapa* connections is vital for situating Ngāti Kahungunu leadership within the wider patterns of the Musket Wars. Amid these shifting internal hierarchies, external forces also shaped the conflict landscape. Amidst the period of the Musket Wars, Heretaunga and surrounding areas of Te-Matau-a-Māui were occupied by Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Te Upokoiri, and Ngāti Te Kohera; achieved through an expedition led by Ngāti Maniapoto and Te Kohera Rangatira Te-Momo-o-Irawaru.[159] This expedition began from the Tūtakamoana, a fortified *pa* considered a stronghold for Nāati Te Kohera of the Waikato region,[160] into the territories of Ngāti Kahungunu.[161]

Ron Crosby describes the Musket Wars as one of the most turbulent and consequential periods in the nation's history, yet one still little known beyond historians and parts of the Māori community, despite its relevance to the resolution of Treaty grievances today.[162] The deaths were significant; by the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, an estimation between 50,000 and 60,000 were either killed, enslaved, or displaced.[163] One can certainly denote a frequency of violent battles between different Māori groups from 1806 onwards, which can be credited to the way in which European weaponry and traditional Māori warfare intersected and manifested in the following decades.[164] Crosby reflects on the pre-existing Māori culture and the way in which he argues influenced the incentive and outcome of the wars: "Tikanga Maori… in those times had its chivalry, hospitality and mana, largely based on the Rangatira aristocracy, but its darker side dominated in those twenty-five years." Crosby defends that position by referencing elements such as slavery, the subjugation and loss

[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Robert A. Joseph, *Brief of Evidence of Dr Robert A Johnson*, Ministry of Justice Report (Wellington, Ministry of Justice, 2010), 6.
[160] Waitomo District Council, "Appendix 10 – Statutory Acknowledgement Areas – Ngati Tuwharetoa," Waitomo District Council, accessed March 6, 2025, https://www.waitomo.govt.nz/media/cqwbb4hs/appendix10-ngatituwharetoa.pdf.
[161] Joseph, *Brief of Evidence of Dr Robert A Johnson*, 6.
[162] Crosby, *The Musket Wars: A History of Inter-Iwi Conflict 1806–1845*, 17.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid.

of traditional lands, widespread violent death, and cannibalism.[165] Crosby connects this to a cycle in which the enslaved *morehu* play a role in the continuation of the wars by utilising their labour for economic benefits; by way of securing and providing sellable goods in order to purchase more muskets, for instance growing food or preparing dressed flax.[166] These cultural practices and social structures not only influenced the immediate outcomes of battle, but also structured economic relationships that sustained the conflicts over time.

In relation to the affairs of Ngāti Kahungunu, Crosby identifies Nukupewapewa, Te Hāpuku, Te Pareihe, Te Whareumu (not to be mistaken with the one from Ngāpuhi), Tiakitai, Tuakiaki, and Tutepakihirangi as this specific tribe's "protagonists" in the Musket Wars narrative.[167] Nuku-pewapewa is assumed to have been born sometime in the late eighteenth century, the son of Te Ono and Parahako.[168] His principal *hapū* was Ngāti Kahukura-awhitia.[169] Having originated in the Heretaunga region, Ngāti Kahukura-awhitia had migrated south to the Wairarapa region near present-day Greytown, establishing settlement following a deal with Rangitāne *rangatira* Te Rerewa.[170] It is said he led his *hapū* between the years of 1820 and 1839, during the period of war now known as the Musket Wars, noted to have started following a northern war cause expedited by Tūwhare, Patuone, Nene and others, in which they reach Wairarapa; possessing muskets, to which Nuku-pewapewa had none and many were shot.[171] Later on, at the *pā* Tāne-nui-a-rangi, Nuku-pewapewa and his Wairarapa contingent arrived to Waimārama and established the *pā* Te Pūtiki.[172] Te Pareihe, at this stage, intended to withdraw to Nukutaurua on the Māhia Peninsula in response to his *tohunga* Ngoi's warning of massive invasions of Te Matau-a-Māui.[173]

Following threats of attacks lodged to Nuku-pewapewa by Te Moananui and Te Hāpuku, he joined Te Pareihe in Nukutaurua, living there with them and Ngāpuhi people led

[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid., 36–43.
[168] Angela Ballara, "Nuku-pewapewa," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed October 1, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1n16/nuku-pewapewa.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Ben Schrader, "Wairarapa region – Māori settlement," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, last revised March 1, 2017, https://teara.govt.nz/en/wairarapa-region/page-5.
[171] Ibid.
[172] Ballara, "Nuku-pewapewa."
[173] Ibid.

by Te Wera Hauraki.[174] It was here that this group obtained muskets through trade with American whalers.[175] The establishment of trading relationships with whalers was a method in which Ngāti Kahungunu *rangatira* asserted power, sought security, and moved towards long-term engagement with Europeans. It was beyond a simple economic issue. Nevertheless, the capitalisation by European traders of Māori conflict was clear. Engagement with European whalers offered both strategic resources and opportunities to assert political influence, highlighting the intersection of warfare and emerging trade networks.

Whaling contact is directly relevant to Ngāti Kahungunu and Heretaunga because it was through the whaling economy that *rangatira* such as Nuku-pewapewa first acquired muskets and established the patterns of strategic engagement with European commerce that would later define Ngāti Kahungunu approaches to land negotiations. Interaction between European whalers and Māori began as early as 1789.[176] Michael King argues that "sealing was responsible for the establishment of the first European community in New Zealand" in the form of a "transitory one."[177] In a letter (dated 30 April 1805) from Governor King of New South Wales to Earl Camden, the Governor writes of minimal hostility from Māori and that "many vessels that have put into the Bay of Islands and other parts of that coast have never, so far as I have learn'd, had any altercation with the natives, but have received every kind office and assistance" and possessed an "anxious wish to promote and secure these advantages to the whalers."[178] This perception of amicable interactions is said to have ceased following the incident relating to the Boyd crew in 1809[179] often referred to as the "Burning of the Boyd," considered the most violent incident between Europeans and Māori since the incident with the crew of Marion du Fresne in 1772.[180]

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[174] T. W. Downes, "Life of the Ngati Kahu-ngunu Chief Nuku-Pewapewa," *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 45 (1912): 366–367.
[175] Ballara, "Nuku-pewapewa."
[176] Kelly K. Chavez, "'Great Violence Has Been Done': The Collision of Māori Culture and British Seafaring Culture, 1803–1817," *The Great Circle 29*, no. 1 (2007): 23.
[177] Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2003), 119.
[178] P. G. Canham, "New England Whalers in New Zealand Waters, 1800–1850," (MA Thesis, Victoria University College, 1959), 8.
[179] Ibid.
[180] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "A frontier of chaos? The Boyd incident," Ministry for Culture and Heritage, last revised March 11, 2014, https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/maori-european-contact-before-1840/the-boyd-incident.

The Boyd embarked from Port Jackson in October 1809,[181] having originally sailed to New South Wales from London on 10 March 1809 carrying convicts.[182] The Boyd voyaged to the Whangaroa Harbour with arrival in December of that year,[183] captained by John Thompson.[184] This was following advice from the merchant Simeon Lord to travel to Whangaroa Harbour to bring a cargo of kauri spars back to London for the purposes of shipbuilding.[185] Many Māori joined the voyage from Sydney; Kelly K. Chavez explains that the Māori "were renowned in the whaling world for their ability to learn quickly," as well as captains relying "on their cheap labour, sobriety and skill as harpooners and topmen."[186] Following arrival, Te Ara (the son of Whangaroa chief) reported to his people of mistreatment on the vessel,[187] many reports noting that he had certainly been flogged and his possessions confiscated during the journey.[188] Noted to be fluent in the English language, J. L. Nicholas described Te Ara as follows: "The face of the man bespoke him capable of committing so atrocious an act. His features were not unsightly, but they appeared to veil a dark and subtle malignity of intention and the lurking treachery of a depraved heart was perfectly legible in every one of them."[189] Once Thompson and a few of the crew had stepped on shore, it said Māori killed and ate them.[190] Once night fell, Māori infiltrated the *Boyd* by advancing towards the anchored ship away from shore disguised as Jackson and his men; other Māori awaited a signal to attack from their canoes.[191]

The majority of the Europeans on the ship were killed, in which "the deck was covered with human bodies, which they were employed in cutting up,"[192] a few able to escape up the rigging of the ship.[193] Early interactions with European whalers were not always peaceful. The Boyd incident illustrates the potential for miscommunication, conflict, and subsequent colonial interpretation of Māori practices. It is important to include narratives of cannibalism, such as

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[181] Ibid.
[182] Judith Sidney Hornabrook, "'Boyd,' Massacre of," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed October 1, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/1966/boyd-massacre-of.
[183] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "A frontier of chaos? The Boyd incident."
[184] Hornabrook, "'Boyd,' Massacre of."
[185] Chavez, "'Great Violence Has Been Done': The Collision of Māori Culture and British Seafaring Culture, 1803–1817," 22.
[186] Ibid., 26.
[187] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "A frontier of chaos? The Boyd incident."
[188] Hornabrook, "'Boyd,' Massacre of."
[189] Ibid.
[190] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "A frontier of chaos? The Boyd incident."
[191] Ibid.
[192] Chavez, "'Great Violence Has Been Done': The Collision of Māori Culture and British Seafaring Culture, 1803–1817," 23.
[193] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "A frontier of chaos? The Boyd incident."

those presented by Crosby and in accounts of the Boyd incident, as a means through which the reader can engage critically with colonial representations of Māori society. While cannibalism cannot be entirely denied, the ways in which these narratives were constructed and emphasised by Europeans functioned to control historical interpretation and were later mobilised as justifications for colonisation. Their inclusion therefore serves not to sensationalise, but to interrogate how such accounts shaped enduring colonial understandings.

In attempting to comprehend the complexities between Māori-European encounters within a whaling context, Chavez argues the existing class structures between the two groups and the way in which Māori hierarchies would not have been observed on whaling ships. Chavez describes early nineteenth-century Māori society as rigidly stratified, with ariki holding authority over their iwi and being revered as figures close to the divine.[194] Beneath them, a middle class was defined by its labour, while the lowest class, the *emoki* (slaves), worked solely under the *ariki's* authority and performed tasks devoid of honour and prestige, such as cooking and tending fires.[195]

Chavez further argues that most Māori sailors on merchant ships were sons of ariki who expected the privileges their rank warranted, while the British either did not understand Māori social hierarchy or refused to recognise it.[196] In regards to Te Ara, one could assume that he could be categorised with a generation of chiefs' sons whom Chavez argues whose fathers "sent their sons to sea to learn about European civilization and to procure new technology, new livestock and new agricultural specimens."[197] This group ultimately became involved in the East Coast wars of the 1820s, in which they supported Te Kani a Takirau in a battle against Te Whakatōhea and Ngai Tai seeking *utu* for the death of man from Rongowhakaata.[198] Te Pareihe had initially voiced reservations in joining Te Kani a Takirau, with which Nuku-pewapewa responded: "Never turn back when the voice of war is sounding in your ears."[199] These misinterpretations of leadership and social organisation would later contribute to misunderstandings during land negotiation and colonial settlement.

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[194] Chavez, "'Great Violence Has Been Done': The Collision of Māori Culture and British Seafaring Culture, 1803–1817," 29.
[195] Ibid.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Ballara, "Nuku-pewapewa."
[199] Ibid.

There was very little presence of American whalers in New Zealand until the 1820s, in which they realised Māori were receptive when they offered valued goods. Richard A. Cruise explains the trade of muskets in a diary entry:

> The Captain of the English whaler Saracen having told the natives that he would return to refresh his men, and having already given them the only trade they valued, viz. muskets, as an encouragement to grow more potatoes than they required for their own use, the whole country was this day in a blaze clearing ground for cultivating.[200]

Early encounters contributed to later misunderstandings between Māori and Europeans. British commentators frequently misinterpreted Māori political frameworks that predated colonisation, reading them as strictly hierarchical rather than recognising the collective and situational elements of leadership. These dynamics were already evident during the Musket Wars.

When considered from a wider perspective, the Musket Wars provide an important contextual foundation for understanding how Ngāti Kahungunu *hapū* politics operated. They offer insight into patterns of migration, tactical warfare, and engagement with Europeans, particularly the role that trading relationships played within the conflicts. These sub-tribal dynamics ultimately shaped the political foundations of Heretaunga at a *hapū* level, forming a context that European private purchasers and the Crown would have to navigate in the following decades.

3.4 Mana and Alliances with European Settlers

This section argues that Ngāti Kahungunu alliances with European settlers were strategic assertions of *mana* shaped by global trade networks and local *hapū* politics, rather than evidence of acquiescence to colonial power. Engagement with European commerce—including the weapons trade and land transactions—was used by *rangatira* to strengthen authority, secure advantage over rivals, and manage the pressures of settlement. These alliances produced a distinct pattern of land alienation in Heretaunga, characterised not by violent confiscation but by negotiated, corporate, and ultimately dispossessive colonial

[200] Canham, "New England Whalers in New Zealand Waters, 1800–1850," 11.

strategies. Understanding these dynamics challenges colonial narratives that portray Māori engagement as either naïve or culturally corrosive.

In this context, *mana* is understood not only as prestige or authority, but as the capacity of *rangatira* to act strategically within changing economic and political environments. Māori engagement with the European weapons trade must therefore be read as an exercise of *mana*, embedded within existing Māori political frameworks and shaped by access to trans-Tasman commercial networks. Māori engagement with the European weapons trade demonstrates that early Māori-European relations were embedded in global economic systems and directly shaped the exercise of *mana* and inter-*hapū* power. The penal settlement Port Jackson in the early nineteenth century was growing as a trade hub in which connections with international markets (for instance Britain as well as other colonies in the relative region such as India and Canton).[201] As New Zealand possessed incredibly valuable resources that supported the development of what became Sydney as well as New South Wales generally, Sebastian Hepburn-Roper writes that muskets became a key medium of exchange from the first decade of the nineteenth century, because Māori society valued weapons of war and Sydney merchants could obtain them easily, which meant that Sydney's economic success and tribal warfare in New Zealand were closely linked.[202]

The growth of Sydney as a regional trade hub reveals that Māori access to firearms was driven as much by imperial commercial interests as by Māori demand. Hepburn-Roper analyses how, by the late 1820s, New South Wales's growing merchant class had made Sydney a regional hub for British trade, with merchants trading not only to New Zealand but also to China, Southeast Asia, and India.[203] Links with foreign traders were established early on. For instance, Australian exports to Britain were complicated by a lack of cargo space. Broeze argues that all the major Australian ports, including Sydney, Launceston, Hobart, Fremantle, Port Adelaide and Melbourne, imported far more (including convicts and migrants) than they exported, so many ships had to seek freights elsewhere.[204] This formed links with China, India, Manila, Mauritius, Singapore, the Dutch East Indies, Chile, and Peru.[205] Sydney

[201] Sebastian Hepburn-Roper, "Musket War and Musket trade: The New South Wales to New Zealand firearms trade, 1829–1840," *Asia-Pacific Economic History Review 63*, no. 1 (2023): 73–74.
[202] Ibid., 74.
[203] Ibid., 76.
[204] F. J. A. Broeze, "The Cost of Distance: Shipping and the Early Australian Economy, 1788–1850," *The Economic History Review 28*, no. 4 (1975): 583–584.
[205] Ibid.

merchants' global networks connected New Zealand to wider trade circuits, providing Māori with access to firearms and other goods.

Hepburn-Roper explains that cheap, plentiful firearms available to British-connected merchants like those in Sydney help account for the volume of muskets traded.[206] He identifies Britain as the era's largest small-arms manufacturer, with centres such as Birmingham producing inexpensive trade muskets originally made for the slave trade, a practice that continued long after slavery was abolished in Britain.[207] Hepburn-Roper ultimately identifies that approximately 18,297 muskets were imported into New Zealand from New South Wales in just the period between 1829 and 1840 alone, ultimately commenting "it is difficult find sympathy for those who profited handsomely from a trade that brought about much death and displacement for Māori" specifically into analyses by previous historians, for instance Belich's sentiments that "Europeans did not really want to trade in firearms, they did so because Māori insisted on it."[208] Belich argues the spread of intertribal conflicts throughout the upper North Island in the mid to late 1810s, and the subsequent spread throughout the islands, was as a result of increased firearm access by Māori and "a direct correlation in many regions between the establishment of regular trade with Europeans and an intensification of local conflicts."[209] Belich further explains how this influenced the eventual decline in warfare, in which the "massive influx of the new weapons essentially produced an ever increasing stalemate that stabilised Māori warfare."[210] This indicates that the spread of firearms was not an unintended consequence of trade but a predictable outcome of merchant profit-seeking, which reshaped Māori political calculations rather than undermining them. Hepburn-Roper further argues that the "desire for profit on the part of Sydney traders created a brief opportunity for some iwi to exploit the effectiveness of firearms, with severe consequences for those they targeted" and how "this greed rapidly rebalanced the scales of the Musket wars, distributing arms more evenly as traders sought out more and more Māori buyers."[211]

There is notable historical record which outlines Ngāti Kahungunu efforts to engage with the European economy in the mid-1850s, with examples of their own trading

[206] Hepburn-Roper, "Musket War and Musket trade: The New South Wales to New Zealand firearms trade, 1829–1840," 77–78.
[207] Ibid.
[208] Ibid., 77.
[209] Ibid., 82–83.
[210] Ibid., 82–83.
[211] Ibid., 90–91.

relationships with groups in New South Wales.[212] In further methods of engagement, from the 1850s onwards was significant land sales to settlers, which John Sullivan accredits as creating by the late nineteenth century a Ngāti Kahungunu "sophisticated and stylish elite, fully engaged in commercial and social life with the Pakeha community."[213] This depiction relies on an historical notion in which Ngāti Kahungunu relations with settlers was less unstable, with Sullivan further outlining the influence of the New Zealand Wars on other tribes in the North Island:

> All the indications point to a society in which Maori landowners were moving into closer economic and social contact with their Pakeha counterparts. The East Coast of the North Island was uniquely placed to foster this. During the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s, the iwi of this Region, Ngati Kahungunu, Ngati Porou and Rangitane, had fought alongside the settler government and the Imperial troops.

Sullivan goes on to argue a consequence in which "they were untouched by the land confiscations inflicted upon the defeated iwi, and they retained much of the fertile Hawke's Bay land."[214] This contrast adds a fascinating element to the topic at hand: the more corporate approach to fulfilling colonial aspirations, the way in which the Crown and private individuals achieved this in collaboration with one another. This should be considered alongside Sullivan's analysis asserting Ngāti Kahungunu retention of fertile land, as well as to the earlier analysis of the term *kūpapa*, and the way in which Crown engagement in this manner ultimately did not have long-term benefit in relation to economic prosperity (nor land retention) for Ngāti Kahungunu in the Heretaunga region.

As this section primarily focuses on the strategic engagements between European settlers and Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga *rangatira*—relationships that were neither equal nor static, and which shifted in character as colonial power consolidated—it is important to note that the term "alliance" is used with caution throughout. Where it appears, it describes contingent and often asymmetrical arrangements rather than mutual equality. One figure in particular, Donald McLean, functioned as a key intermediary through whom the Crown translated Māori political structures into mechanisms of land acquisition. A Scotsman,

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[212] John Sullivan, "The portraits of Samuel Carnell: The representation of Ngāti Kahungunu in colonial photography," *History of Photography 26*, no. 4 (2002): 351.
[213] Ibid., 352.
[214] Ibid., 353.

McLean was among the Scottish diaspora across the British settlement colonies (such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand).[215] This followed noted pressures within the Scottish Highlands being population pressure and lack of economic growth in the era of industry due to low coal resources, the new opportunities presented in the settlement colonies would have been attractive to many.[216]

His fluency in te reo Māori, a third language among his native Gaelic and second language English, is said to have impressed his patron, the Colonial Secretary Dr. Andrew Sinclair.[217] Sinclair then recommended McLean a position in the Department of the Protector of Aborigines in 1844, a short-lived department that operated for six years from 1840, intended to realise policy ideas outlined in an 1837 report by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, in which opposition was outlined on humanitarian grounds regarding the effects of colonisation in lands colonised by Britain.[218] This was McLean's first government position.[219] He went on to hold the role of Crown Lands Commissioner.[220] His fluency is often argued to be a reflection of respect by McLean for the Māori people and culture throughout his career in the public service, albeit an obvious argument particularly within the context of what Dr. Peter Cleve describes as "the strict denigration of Māori interests" by settlers and the Crown, a description that can be defended with a variety of historical examples.[221] In practice, however, this position centred him in the European settlement narrative in the Heretaunga region.

McLean's journals of this initial meeting introduce the main characters in the history of Ngāti Kahungunu's sub-tribal affairs (as it relates to the Heretaunga plains). For instance, prominent *rangatira* such as Hori Niania (affiliated to the *hapū* of Ngāti Ngāpū-o-te-rangi of Palliser Bay in the Whakatomotomo valley, the Ngāti Kahungunu territories of the Wairarapa)[222] and Te Hāpuku (who, on first impressions, McLean perceives as "a chief of great influence and importance, a fine dignified high-minded man, apparently aware of his

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[215] Ray Fargher, *The Best Man Who Ever Served The Crown?: A Life of Donald McLean* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2007): 8–9.
[216] Ibid.
[217] Carol Yeo, "Ideals, Policy & Practice: The New Zealand Protectorate of Aborigines 1840–1846" (MA Thesis, Massey University, 2001), 1.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Fargher, *The Best Man Who Ever Served The Crown?: A Life of Donald McLean*, 15.
[220] Wilson, *The Founding of Hawke's Bay*, 2.
[221] Cleave, "The Languages and Political Interests of Māori and Pākehā Communities in New Zealand During the Nineteenth Century," 172.
[222] S. M. Chrisp, "Te Whāiti, Irāia Te Ama-o-te-rangi," Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, accessed March 7, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3t24/te-whaiti-iraia-te-ama-o-te-rangi.

own importance," referring to his speech that day as "the best I have heard for a long time; he seemed to feel the parting with his land very seriously and I trust he will be rewarded and well treated by the Government," identifying the lands with which Te Hāpuku had interests in within the region north of Takapau "of considerable [size] and includes the best part of the Ahuriri district…") came with a group of "natives about 2 or 300… in a beautiful procession across the plains, the horsemen in front riding on proudly… hailed with the usual welcome till they entered the pa when the tangi commenced" on 13 December.[223]

As the meeting occurs, McLean meets: Kurupō Te Moananui[224] of the *hapū* Ngāti Hāwea and a resident of Waipūreku between the Tukituki and Ngaruroro rivers, who shared his desire for English settlers to come to Heretaunga and asserts hope with the trading relationships connected to them;[225] Pāora Kaiwhata—connected to the *hapū* of Ngāti Hinepare, Ngāi Tākaha, Ngāti Māhu, and Ngāti Te Ūpokoiri—who resided at Ōmarunui along the Tūtaekurī River,[226] who says "Come to Heretaonga, to your land, your and your children;" Karaitiana Takamoana,[227] also of Ngāti Te Whatuiāpiti,[228] who "made an excellent speech desiring his friends to call and welcome;" Tāreha Te Moananui,[229] the son of Kurupō Te Moananui (and therefore also of principal descent as the great-grandson of Hāwea)[230] who resided in Waiohiki[231] and later became the first Member of Parliament for the Eastern Māori electorate in 1868,[232] who "made an excellent speech to call and welcome;" among others.[233]

[223] Wilson, *The Founding of Hawke's Bay*, 7–8.
[224] Ibid., 8.
[225] Angela Ballara, "Te Moananui, Kurupō," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed March 7, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t51/te-moananui-kurupo.
[226] Patrick Parsons, "Kaiwhata, Pāora," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed March 7, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2k5/kaiwhata-paora.
[227] Wilson, *The Founding of Hawke's Bay*, 8.
[228] Angela Ballara, "Takamoana, Karaitiana," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed March 7, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t5/takamoana-karaitiana.
[229] Wilson, *The Founding of Hawke's Bay*, 8.
[230] Cowie, *Rangahaua Whanui. District 11B Hawke's Bay*, 5.
[231] Evening Post, "Maori Chief's Death," *Evening Post*, May 23, 1938, 11.
[232] Paul Meredith and Rawinia Higgins, "Kāwanatanga – Māori engagement with the state – Containing Māori opposition," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, last revised August 1, 2016, https://teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/37445/tareha-te-moananui.
[233] Wilson, *The Founding of Hawke's Bay*, 8–9.

Te Hāpuku Ngāhure,[234] also known by the name Te Ika-nui-o-te-moana[235] (which translates to "the big fish of the sea," which was played upon in his three-column obituary in the publication *Te Wānanga* titled "Te Hāpuku Ngāhure Te Ika Nui o te Moana),[236] was born in the late eighteenth century and died in 1878.[237] He was the son of Te Rangīkoianake II (also known as Huimate or Kuimate) who was the grandchild of Te Rangīkoianake[238] and Tātari (of the *hapū* Ngāi Tapuhara and Ngāti Hinepare).[239]

In *Māori Archaeology and History of Heretaunga, New Zealand*, sentiments are shared in which Te Hāpuku's personality and behaviours in relation to land are described negatively, referring to various instances recorded of "his self-confident and often overbearing personality." The book further reads:

> He threatened whalers at Mahia in the 1830s, treated most Europeans with contempt in the 1840s, frequently sold lands which he had no right to or kept much of the proceeds rather than distribute them to people connected to them, and constantly annoyed or even enraged the other ariki of Heretaunga. But the combination of his arrogance and rank enabled him to secure substantial power through his dealings with the colonial government.[240]

There is also note of him having practiced cannibalism, with the fame from having eaten Haereroa, a Rangitāne chief.[241] Te Hāpuku established the *marae* Kahurānaki in 1876 based at Te Haukē,[242] in current day along State Highway 2 around 20 kilometres south of Hastings.[243] The *wharenui* was carved by Hori Ropiha and his twelve assistants.[244] His prominent name was to remember an insult upon the death of the chief Te Pakiko prior to Te

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[234] Jeremy Tātere MacLeod, "Te whakatau i te mita o Ngāti Kahungunu; tōna hītori, tōna whanaketanga me tōna ahunga whakamua" (PhD Thesis, University of Waikato, 2021), 177, https://hdl.handle.net/10289/14622.
[235] Angela Ballara, "Te Hāpuku," Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed December 2, 2024, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t28/te-hapuku.
[236] Jeremy Tātere MacLeod, "Te whakatau i te mita o Ngāti Kahungunu; tōna hītori, tōna whanaketanga me tōna ahunga whakamua," 177.
[237] Ballara, "Te Hāpuku."
[238] Allen et al., *Māori Archaeology and History of Heretaunga, New Zealand: Six Centuries of Power and Place*, 140.
[239] Frances Reiri-Smith, "Te Hāpuku Te Ika-nui-o-te-Moana," in *Ngā Taumata: A Portrait of Ngāti Kahungunu 1870–1906*, eds. Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated and National Library of New Zealand (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2003), 171.
[240] Allen et al., *Māori Archaeology and History of Heretaunga, New Zealand: Six Centuries of Power and Place*, 140–141.
[241] Ibid., 141.
[242] Ibid.
[243] Māori Maps, "Kahurānaki," Māori Maps, accessed October 7, 2025, https://www.maorimaps.com/marae/kahur%C4%81naki.
[244] Allen et al., *Māori Archaeology and History of Heretaunga, New Zealand: Six Centuries of Power and Place*, 141.

Hāpuku's birth, in which a stranger observing the procession of his *tupāpaku* to Waimārama commented: "Is that a codfish (Hapuku) which is being carried?"[245]

Ngāti Kahungunu alliances with European settlers were therefore neither accidental nor apolitical. They were grounded in assertions of *mana*, shaped by global economic forces, and mediated through individuals such as McLean. These dynamics set the conditions under which land purchases in Heretaunga unfolded. *Rangatira* who had engaged strategically with European traders applied the same logic to land transactions, selling selectively and seeking to retain authority within a changing political landscape. As Chapter Five demonstrates, however, the Crown and private purchasers exploited these engagements, using individual *rangatira* dealings and colonial legislation to convert Māori strategic participation into permanent land alienation. What began as an assertion of *rangatiratanga* became, through colonial land law, its erosion.

[245] Te Wananga, "Funeral of the late Te Hapuku," *Te Wananga*, June 8, 1878, 286.

Chapter Four: British Ideologies, Colonial Intentions, and Governance

4.1 Britain, Race, and "Natives"

British colonial thought was structured around racial hierarchies that positioned Indigenous peoples as "savage" or "uncivilised," justifying European assertions of superiority. These ideas shaped early encounters with Māori and later assimilationist policies, profoundly impacting Ngāti Kahungunu in the Heretaunga region by undermining local social and political structures. This section examines three specific manifestations of this racial discourse as they operated in the Heretaunga context: the cannibalism debate as analysed by Arens, Sahlins, Obeyesekere, and Moon, whose competing frameworks reveal how colonial preconceptions shaped both scholarship and policy; Wakefield's theory of systematic colonisation and its application to Māori land tenure; and missionary ideology as embodied by figures such as William and Elizabeth Colenso, whose presence and efforts in Hawke's Bay asserted imperial moral frameworks. European fascination with cannibalism is a striking example of how racialised preconceptions influenced both perception and policy, and it is here that the analysis begins.

A particular academic work that explores the way in which colonial modes of thinking influence interactions between different groups of people is Edward W. Said's *Orientalism*. The book explores the way in which Western ideas influence scholarship relating to Eastern society and the way in which the academic practice can serve as a political tool that asserts a particular position. For instance, Said explores the "fortunes, transmigrations, specializations, and transmissions" resulting in "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'."[246] Said further denotes a divide in which "European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self," a reality which can be connected to the study of Māori in historical narratives."[247] Said argues that "the imaginative examination of things Oriental was based more or less exclusively upon a sovereign Western consciousness out of whose unchallenged centrality an Oriental world emerged, first according to general ideas about who or what was an Oriental, then

[246] Said, *Orientalism*, 2-3.
[247] Ibid.

according to a detailed logic governed not simply by empirical reality but by a battery of desires, repressions, investments. and projections."[248] Edward Said's work is important to consider as it demonstrates how scholarship can ultimately help produce colonial authority.

Cannibalism was often used by Europeans to portray Māori as violent and uncivilised. Regarding the presence of kai *tangata*, William Jennings evaluates the academic debate regarding its importance. Jennings notes that "Europeans undeniably associated newly-encountered peoples in the Americas and the Pacific with cannibalism."[249] Jennings denotes early encounters such as one in 1524 in which "one of Verrazzano's sailors was washed up half-dead on a North American beach" and that when "the local inhabitants, who were completely unknown to the Europeans, lit a fire on the beach, Verrazzano's crew believed the young man would be roasted."[250] Jennings refers to this when questioning Marist accounts of Māori upon voyages to New Zealand "nearly three centuries later" and that "images of limbs roasting over a fire would have been in their mind."[251] Jennings goes on to evaluate the academic works of William Arens and Frank Lestringant, explaining that the two academics "focused on early transatlantic contact, where the time depth of several centuries has allowed the layers of exaggeration and legend to build up," later referring to the work of Gananath Obeyesekere who specifically studying accounts of Pacific interactions.[252]

Truth can be lost when preexisting notions and socio-political ideals are applied to perception. Obeyesekere's 2005 book *Cannibal Talk: The Man-Eating Myth and Human Sacrifice in the South Seas* is the more modern examination of the topic compared to Arens's *The Man-Eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy* (published in 1979)[253] and Lestringant's *Cannibals: The Discovery and Representation of the Cannibal from Columbus to Jules Verne* (published in 1997).[254] Due to this, Obeyesekere had the ability to examine previous literature relating to the topic of narratives surrounding cannibalism in colonial accounts and subsequent academic works, for instance acknowledging the "pioneering" nature of Arens's work and the response to it in which "a storm of protest" was brought forth, specifically referring to the argument by

[248] Ibid., 8.
[249] William Jennings, "The Debate Over Kai Tangata (Māori Cannibalism): New Perspectives from the Correspondence of the Marists," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society 120*, no. 2 (2011): 130.
[250] Ibid.
[251] Ibid.
[252] Ibid., 131.
[253] Ivan Brady, "Review of The Myth-Eating Man, by W. Arens," *American Anthropologist 84*, no. 3 (1982): 595.
[254] Ramona Fernandez, "Cannibals: The Discovery and Representation of the Cannibal from Columbus to Jules Verne (review)," *Journal of World History 12*, no. 1 (2001): 210.

anthropologist Marshall Sahlins that likens the denial of cannibalism to the denial of the Jewish Holocaust of the Second World War.[255]

Arens writes that the book's intention is to firstly "assess critically the instances of and documentation for cannibalism" and secondly "to arrive at some broader understanding of the nature and function of anthropology over the past century," further proposing that "anthropology has not maintained the usual standards of documentation and intellectual rigor expected when other topics are being considered" and that instead "it has chosen uncritically to lend its support to the collective representations and thinly disguised prejudices of western culture about others."[256] To demonstrate the issue with what Arens perceives as a status-quo approach in preceding anthropological studies on the subject of cannibalism, Arens writes that "the discussion of cannibalism as a custom is normally restricted to faraway lands just prior to or during their 'pacification' by the various agents of western civilization."[257] Arens further argues that "if the time is lengthened sufficiently back to the pre-Christian era, we permit ourselves a glimpse of this sort of savagery among our own forebears."[258] This double standard has direct relevance to Heretaunga. As demonstrated in Sections 4.2 and Chapter Five, European accounts of Māori cannibalism functioned not merely as ethnographic observations but as ideological instruments. These are instruments which shaped how *rangatira* authority was perceived by settlers and Crown officials, and which provided moral cover for the land alienation mechanisms examined later in this thesis.

Arens refers to examples this narrative has permeated discussions of parts of Western culture throughout history. For instance, rumours by Romans accused "the emerging Christian sect" of "mysterious secret rites" in which human blood was used." An example of this claim is lamented upon by Tertullian, who lived between c. 160 to c. 220 CE and considered one of the fathers of the Latin Church,[259] in which he presents his arguments to rulers of the Roman Empire regarding "the extreme severities inflicted on our people," in which Christians were accused of "observing a holy rite in which we kill a little child and then

[255] Gananath Obeyesekere, *Cannibal Talk: The Man-Eating Myth and Human Sacrifice in the South Seas* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 1–2.
[256] William Arens, *The Myth-Eating Man: Anthropology and Anthropophagy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 9–10.
[257] Ibid., 18–19.
[258] Ibid.
[259] Beverley Clack, "Tertullian c.160–c.220 ce," in *Misogyny in the Western Philosophical Tradition*, ed. Beverley Clack (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), 49.

eat it; in which, after the feast, we practise incest…"[260] Another instance are numerous Christian accusations of Jews having practiced the same thing. For example, the blood libel myth was prevalent in medieval Europe; one in which Jews drank Christian blood for its powers, used it to purify their matzah, and consumed the flesh of young Christian boys; all amidst a cultural context in which magic was accepted as fact.[261]

A specific instance of this, often referenced by historians as one of the first (Gillian Bennett arguing that "scholars usually see the case of "Saint" [1] William of Norwich as leading to the establishment in Europe of the sort of continuing folklore that makes the blood libel a "legend" rather than a series of related rumours"),[262] is the accusation in which "Jews purchased a Christian child [the 'boy-martyr' William] before Easter" in 1144 and "tortured him with all the tortures wherewith our Lord was tortured, and on Long Friday hanged him on a rood [crucifix] in hatred of our Lord"[263] as is memorialised in Norwich monk Thomas of Monmouth's seven-volume *The Life and Miracles of St William of Norwich*.[264] The tone of Thomas of Monmouth's writings are not too dissimilar to that of James Cook's or a variety of other European voyagers. Bennett argues that the blood libel myth against the Jews fits a recurring pattern in which persecuted minorities are accused of secret and disgusting rituals, such as orgiastic sex, incest, infanticide, or the consumption or misuse of human flesh, blood, and body parts.[265]

These are accusations that Arens says are "dismissed by historians as having been a politically inspired slander" and "a source of embarrassment to liberal thinkers."[266] Arens then contrasts this to the narrative of widespread cannibalism, "the idea that Africans, Polynesians, New Guineans, American Indians are or were maneaters until contact with the benefits of European influence," and that this has been "assumed to be in the realm of demonstrated fact," further ruling that "beliefs of this sort about representatives of our cultural tradition are dismissed out of hand as prejudice and racism" but the same position not taken "while similar

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[260] Tertullian, "Apology," New Advent, accessed September 29, 2025, https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0301.htm.
[261] James A. Arieti, "Magical Thinking in Medieval Anti-Semitism: Usury and the Blood Libel," *Mediterranean Studies 24*, no. 2 (2016): 195–196.
[262] Gillian Bennett, "Towards a Revaluation of the Legend of "Saint" William of Norwich and its Place in the Blood Libel Legend," *Folklore 116*, no. 2 (2006): 119.
[263] Arieti, "Magical Thinking in Medieval Anti-Semitism: Usury and the Blood Libel," 196.
[264] Bennett, "Towards a Revaluation of the Legend of "Saint" William of Norwich and its Place in the Blood Libel Legend," 120.
[265] Ibid., 119.
[266] Arens, *The Myth-Eating Man: Anthropology and Anthropophagy*, 19.

notions about others already defined as categorically different from us are treated as facts worthy of further scholarly consideration."[267] Arens rules this as an example of double standard which entails "the *a priori* dismissal of the existing reports on cannibalism for Europeans and the acceptance of every report for non-European people."[268] Arens further argues there being "little science or scholarship involved; but a substantial amount of scientism and ethnocentrism is required to arrive at this position" and poses the question of how "can one interpret the fact that despite the long-standing and pervasive assumption of European cannibalism by others and the existence of written reports such as those referred to, the Human Relations Area Files… do not list any European group under the heading 'Cannibalism'?"[269] Arens ultimately questions the narrative, writing that the "compendium is supposed to serve as a repository of knowledge about cultures, so ideally it should mention the reports on the Scots, Picts, Irish, Jews and Christians…"[270]

The Aztec dimension of this debate is relevant here because it illustrates precisely the double standard Arens identifies; one applied consistently to non-European peoples across different colonial contexts, including New Zealand. The debate between Arens and Sahlins is said to have begun to a published letter to the editor of the *New York Review of Books* in 1978, prior to the publication of Arens's own book, in response to Sahlins's review of Marvin Harris's *Cannibals and Kings*, in which Sahlins emphasises ritualist motivations of cannibalism[271] as opposed to Harris's argument (made in collaboration with Michael Harner) "that the uniquely severe depletion of animal protein resources made it uniquely difficult for the Aztec ruling class to prohibit the consumption of human flesh and to refrain from using it as a reward for loyalty and bravery on the battlefield," that there was practical benefits of immediate effect "for the Aztec ruling class to sacrifice, redistribute, and eat their prisoners of war than to use them as serfs or slaves," and that ultimately cannibalism "remained for the Aztecs an irresistible sacrament and their state-sponsored ecclesiastical system tipped over to

[267] Ibid., 19–20.
[268] Ibid., 21.
[269] Ibid.
[270] Ibid.
[271] Randall Forsberg, "Appendix: The Debate on the Existence of Cannibalism," Cornell University Press, accessed September 29, 2025, https://cornellpress.manifoldapp.org/read/toward-a-theory-of-peace-the-role-of-moral-beliefs-5a384f25-c4f9-455b-a46f-f9b34c7ea3a1/section/ac6e29c2-4f87-418e-b135-d9dc90e18ba5.

favor an increase rather than a decrease in the ritual butchering of captives and the redistribution of human flesh."[272]

Harris further argues that Sahlins's response "distorts the problem from one of explaining Aztec cannibalism in particular, to one of explaining cannibalism in general," referring to a perception that Sahlins "tries to lump the Aztec complex with instances of small-scale pre-state ritual cannibalism in Oceania and elsewhere."[273] Arens's response argues, amongst other things, that ultimately a "lack of documentation in these primary works meant the Aztecs were fashioned into hardened cannibals by the next generation of ethnohistorians, who in the main were missionaries to the New World and shared a very dismal view of the traditional native culture" and that "we do not possess the evidence to conclude they were either ritual or protein anthropophagists."[274] Arens further argues against Sahlins's perspectives on Harris's book, writing that "every human culture, sub-culture, religion, cult and sect, including our own, has been labeled cannibalistic at one time or another by someone" and yet "no one has ever observed this purported cultural universal," Arens then arguing that this "should give pause to consider whether we are dealing with historical reality or an extremely satisfactory myth."[275]

This results in a lengthy response by Sahlins which synthesises excerpts of primary sources by various European writers reporting on cannibalism among the Aztecs, Fijians, and Māori between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries:[276] for instance Diaz's descriptions of captured Spanish soldiers by the Aztecs in which "they were taking them to be sacrificed…with stone knives they sawed open their chests and drew out their palpitating hearts and offered them to the idols that were there, and they kicked the bodies down the steps, and Indian butchers who were waiting below cut off the arms and feet and flayed the skin off the faces, and prepared it afterwards like glove leather with the beards on, and kept those for the festivals where they celebrated drunken orgies"; accounts of seaman John Jackson in Fiji in which "they hauled them up to a place that was used purposely for the dressing, cooking, and eating of human flesh" in which a king "told the butcher just to slice off

[272] Marvin Harris and Marshall Sahlins, "'Cannibals and Kings': An Exchange," The New York Review of Books, accessed September 29, 2025, https://www.nybooks.com/articles/1979/06/28/cannibals-and-kings-an-exchange/.
[273] Ibid.
[274] William Arens and Marshall Sahlins, "Cannibalism: An Exchange," The New York Review of Books, accessed September 29, 2025, https://www.nybooks.com/articles/1979/03/22/cannibalism-an-exchange/.
[275] Forsberg, "Appendix: The Debate on the Existence of Cannibalism."
[276] Ibid.

the end of the noses, and he would roast them while he was getting the other parts ready"; and then includes the accounts of James Cook who Sahlins states "encountered the same skepticism when he reported cannibalism among the Maoris of New Zealand in the account of his first voyage to the Pacific," with Cook in the second visit stating that he "saw the mangled head…a piece of the flesh had been broiled and eat by one of the Natives in the presence of most of the officers."[277] Cook's account of cannibalism among Māori is particularly significant in this context. It was precisely this kind of authoritative eyewitness framing—whatever its reliability—that entered colonial discourse about Ngāti Kahungunu and was later mobilised to justify the terms of land alienation in Heretaunga, as the Wakefield and Ward material in the following section demonstrates.

The argument in which Sahlins likens Arens's scholarship to Holocaust denial is presented as follows:

> Professor X puts out some outrageous theory, such as the Nazis really didn't kill the Jews, human civilization comes from another planet, or there is no such thing as cannibalism. Since facts are plainly against him, X's main argument consists of the expression, in the highest moral tones, of his own disregard for all available evidence to the contrary. He rises instead to the more elevated analytical plane of ad hominem attack on the authors of the primary sources and those credulous enough to believe them.[278]

Obeyesekere rejects Sahlins's framing, describing the accusation "astonishing" and that "the kind of evidence available for the Holocaust is surely lacking in cannibalism."[279] Obeyesekere further argues that this specific analogy has significant implications, writing that "the Holocaust entailed the killing of millions of Jews and Gypsies and others precisely because they had been designated as the Other or the Alien and thus as objects fit for extermination" and that "cannibalism is also a discourse on the Other."[280] Rather than liken the two in terms of the "level of genocide" seen in the Holocaust, Obeyesekere refers to the way in which "it belongs to the general class of terms that isolate the Other as an alien… and even for extermination."[281]

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[277] Arens and Sahlins, "Cannibalism: An Exchange."
[278] Ibid.
[279] Obeyesekere, *Cannibal Talk: The Man-Eating Myth and Human Sacrifice in the South Seas*, 2.
[280] Ibid.
[281] Ibid.

Throughout this thesis, numerous examples are present of cannibal practices being used as a justification for the colonisation of Māori and ultimately support Obeyesekere's argument. Sahlins asserts a colonial perspective and manipulates discourse by invoking emotional and historiographical controversies—such as Holocaust denial—to discredit opposing views, an approach that is difficult to justify and polemical in nature. Obeyesekere, in synthesis with preceding scholarship, ultimately explains the preoccupation of cannibalism in European psyche dating back to the Homeric Greeks with the idea of the "modern cannibal" stemming back to the voyages of Columbus, further writing that "the new cannibal had some older features, such as that of the wild man of the medieval European imagination, the fantastic cannibals found in Preseter John and Sir John Mandeville, and those wonderful cannibals with dog heads and tails… that in turn were part of a larger medieval image of the fantastic."[282] Obeyesekere ultimately rules that the voyages of discovery made it "possible to pin the cannibal to the wall, as it were, or to empirically demonstrate the existence of the wild man in the wild tribes of the Caribbean and the Americas.[283]

Paul Moon disagrees with many scholarly attempts to analyse the subject of cannibalism in his book *This Horrid Practice: The Myth and Reality of Traditional Maori Cannibalism*, arguing that "current literature on cannibalism betrays traces of having come under the influence of ideas about cultural relativity, particularly those associated with postmodernism."[284] In regards to the journals of early encounters, Moon argues that "too much dependence on this paradigm" (that being postmodernism) has resulted in early ethnographical writings being "arbitrarily discarded in this manner by some researchers because of their alleged cultural impartiality," moreover that current research approaches in which "the development of a long stream of ideas or discoveries, or the extent of its intellectual rigour, can be too easily dismissed in favour of a blanket assertion that it is the product of a culturally bound environment."[285] Moon goes on to adopt a similar critical stance to Sahlins by referencing the Holocaust when challenging what he describes as the "comparative dimension of postmodernism" in discussions of cannibalism.[286] He critiques scholars who, in his view, seek to "advance on the path to anthropological enlightenment –

[282] Ibid., 9.
[283] Ibid.
[284] Paul Moon, "This Horrid Practice: The Myth and Reality of Traditional Maori Cannibalism," Google Books, accessed October 6, 2025, https://www.google.co.nz/books/edition/This_Horrid_Practice/ZfGcDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1.
[285] Ibid.
[286] Ibid.

part of the relentless struggle by Western academics to liberate themselves from negative, stereotypical or culture-bound ethnological judgements," and provocatively claims that "the same line of argument could just as easily be used to 'remove the stigma' of bestiality, or paedophilia, or the Holocaust."[287]

This is a deeply flawed analogy. It conflates legitimate academic inquiry into the origins and transmission of cannibalism narratives with extreme acts, two of which are not relayed by Moon within any historical example. Scholars examining these topics are not necessarily denying historical violence or attempting to disregard it but are interrogating the reliability of sources; many of which are second-hand, sensationalised, or shaped by colonial preconceptions. They explore how European mythologies and anxieties around cannibalism shaped early encounters with the Māori, and how these perceptions influenced cross-cultural relations. Questioning the credibility of such narratives, and considering their use in academic work, is not an act of denial. Instead, it reflects a commitment to applying the same critical standards to Polynesian history that are applied to European or Judaeo-Christian histories. To imply that this line of scholarship opens the door to legitimising atrocities such as paedophilia is not only misguided, but also dismissive of the ethical rigour that underpins much of this research.

A specific outspoken rejection of Moon's book was a review by John Bevan-Smith published in the *New Zealand Journal of History*, in which he argues that Moon, in putting Māori on trial for cannibalism, had no archaeological evidence from any New Zealand site to support his case.[288] To fill that gap, Moon relied on the "penny dreadfuls" of early colonial literature and a naïve literalism in reading them.[289] Bevan-Smith further argues that this results in "a pot pourri of fantasy predications seasoned with courtroom jargon," meaning while mocking Penguin Books' description of Moon's book as "accurate and penetrating scholarship" and a "brilliant study."[290] Bevan-Smith particularly rejects Moon's claim that "cannibalism was certainly practised in the South Pacific, most probably for thousands of years prior to the Polynesian migration to New Zealand" in which Moon references a "book" titled *The History of Cannibalism* by a K. Lukaschek which turns out to instead be a short Oxford dissertation in which none of the case studies (eight prehistoric archaeological sites)

[287] Ibid.
[288] Bevan-Smith, "This Horrid Practice: The Myth and Reality of Traditional Maori Cannibalism by Paul Moon (review)," 203.
[289] Ibid.
[290] Ibid.

acknowledged within it are in the Pacific Islands.[291] Bevan-Smith further emphasises the fact that the alleged primary accounts of cannibalism—in which Moon argues that "writing down a first-hand observation of a teenage girl having her head split open, being butchered, and her body parts then cooked and eaten is not easily subject to cultural (mis)interpretations"—have flaws in regards to their reliability; specifically Joel Polack's eyewitness account that Moon references, despite it being determined that Polack instead had recounted a story told to him by a trader.[292]

In Heretaunga, such European narratives of cannibalism were used to rationalise Māori land alienation, marginalise *rangatira* authority, and frame Māori as "dangerous others," demonstrating how racial discourse shaped concrete colonial outcomes. These debates highlight how racialized European preconceptions about Māori cannibalism were projected onto encounters, shaping colonial justification for land alienation and governance. Questioning the accuracy of these accounts is not denial; it is a commitment to applying rigorous standards of evidence to Māori history. It is important to consider the discourse surrounding cannibalism, particularly in relation to the analysis of Māori histories that consider subjects such as pre-colonial Māori culture, early European encounters, the Musket Wars, and the rationale behind colonisation.

4.2 British Conceptions of Land Ownership and Governance

As outlined in Chapter One, British socio-political ideals brought to Heretaunga encompassed individual property rights, class hierarchy, landed gentry culture, and conceptions of progress and governance. This section examines how these ideals operated in practice; how Wakefield's theory of systematic colonisation translated them into a framework for settler land acquisition, and how conceptions of land ownership shaped by class hierarchy, gentry authority, and moral paternalism clashed with Ngāti Kahungunu sub-tribal structures of authority and land use, shaping both the form and consequences of settlement in the region.

The poet James K. Baxter once wrote, "In Hawke's Bay, as in parts of the South Island, the big sheep-station owners became perhaps New Zealand's only aristocracy,

[291] Ibid., 204.
[292] Ibid., 205.

influential in provincial and national politics."[293] British conceptions of land ownership and governance were deeply rooted in longstanding ideas of class and status, embodied by the institution of the landed gentry. Land was perceived not merely as an economic resource but as a symbol of power and prestige. By analysing these conceptions, we can better understand the motivations behind colonial policies that imposed European land systems on Māori, ultimately severing Māori relationships with land.

M. D. N Campbell explores the topic of Hawke's Bay's landed society (in which the "sheepfarming districts of New Zealand occupy a small but distinctive place in national folklore,") in the two-volume 1972 doctoral thesis *The Evolution of Hawke's Bay Landed Society 1850–1914*.[294] Campbell argues (upon considering various colonies as case studies) that "the relationship of the planters with their homeland involved more than the adoption of its fashions and methods of government" and that "successful men, whose origins were comparatively low in the scale of British society, created, or at least refused to correct, romantic but misleading accounts of their background," leading to behaviour in which colonists' "ranks included many people whose position required, or seemed to require, the additional social prestige created by some form of gentry status, in which myth was sometimes used to aid wealth,"[295] therefore forming "New Zealand's nearest approach to a landed aristocracy."[296] That which preceded the colonisation of New Zealand was a status quo in which "the great landowners of Britain, whether titled members of the aristocracy or untitled members of the gentry, possessed considerable political power and social prestige."[297]

W. H. Oliver also explores the way in which this imported approach installed "a variant of British experience" by the mid-twentieth century and that the British settlers had "brought their needs, their beliefs, their habits and their institutions over the world's greatest oceans to a group of Pacific islands."[298] Although, Oliver acknowledges the variant nature of the "men about to become New Zealanders were ready to change was made clear by their preparedness to leave Great Britain" and New Zealand being a variant of the British experience is "moulded by three pressures: the old stock, stirrings of change within the old stock, the imperatives of a new country."[299] Oliver does not allude to the influence of Māori

[293] Campbell, "The Evolution of Hawke's Bay Landed Society 1850–1914: Vol. 1," 11.
[294] Ibid.
[295] Ibid., 13.
[296] Ibid., 11.
[297] Ibid.
[298] W. H. Oliver, *The Story of New Zealand* (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), 268.
[299] Ibid.

beyond the mention of the new country's "imperatives."[300] Instead, Oliver emphasises that the emigrants brought the "mental furniture of their homelands" to their new places, from political opinions and institutions to religious organisations, social attitudes, architecture, newspapers, literature, music, and the arts.[301] The introductions of these furnitures, as well as the attached historical contexts, provide fascinating insight in relation to the establishment of settlement on the Heretaunga Plains.

To illuminate the argument that the process of decline away from a British landed gentry, Campbell refers to the 1895 Cabinet of Robert Gascoyne-Cecil (1830 – 1901), 3rd Marquess of Salisbury, which included several landed aristocrats and gentlemen.[302] A member of the Conservative Party, Lord Salisbury served as the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom on three occasions in a total period nearing fourteen years[303] (the dates in office being 1885 to 1886, 1886 to 1892, and 1895 to 1902.)[304] Corrinne Comstock Weston writes of the reception of Lord Salisbury in political discourse and notes that Salisbury's electoral success showed his appeal "went beyond his own party."[305] She observes that he was admired not only by Conservatives but also by figures such as Clement Attlee as well as A. J. P. Taylor, whom she describes as an "iconoclastic radical."[306] Taylor was "surprisingly lavish in his praise," calling Salisbury intellectual and "supremely clever," and suggesting he would have been remarkable even outside politics.[307] Corrinne also cites Patrick Cormack's view that Salisbury "would probably eventually be recognized as the greatest of all Conservative prime ministers," a judgement placing him above leaders like Disraeli and Thatcher.[308]

The discourse often compares the leadership approaches of Lord Salisbury and William Gladstone, with Michael Bentley arguing that Salisbury's sympathy "had its limits."[309] Bentley writes that Salisbury avoided in practice any intervention that implied compulsion, and opposed legislation that offended his exacting sense of precision.[310] Bentley then refers to

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[300] Ibid.
[301] Ibid., 269.
[302] Campbell, "The Evolution of Hawke's Bay Landed Society 1850–1914: Vol. 1," 12.
[303] Corinne Comstock Weston, "Lord Salisbury: Conservative Political Leader and Preeminent Politician in Victorian England," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 142, no. 1 (1998): 74.
[304] Crown, "Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, 3rd Marquess of Salisbury," GOV.UK, accessed August 8, 2025, https://www.gov.uk/government/history/past-prime-ministers/robert-gascoyne-cecil.
[305] Weston, "Lord Salisbury: Conservative Political Leader and Preeminent Politician in Victorian England," 75.
[306] Ibid.
[307] Ibid.
[308] Ibid.
[309] Michael Bentley, *Lord Salisbury's World: Conservative Environments in Late Victorian Britain* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 91.
[310] Ibid.

"the Liberal bill that tried to build on recommendations of the Royal Commission,"[311] the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes, in which a report was compiled between 1884 and 1885 that analysed housing shortages and poverty amongst working class Britain, ultimately inspiring popularity in contemporary commentary and political life, which Salisbury acknowledges in a motion for an address on 22 February 1884, in which Salisbury describes the report as evoking "a question that has, of late, excited very much interest, and has elicited so large a mass of testimony."[312] Bentley argues that Salisbury's answer to working-class problems was to offer the upper and middle classes as a model, trusting that an undefined "education and enlightenment" would filter down through society.[313] Then outlined are "the labour wars," in which "the eruption of trade union militancy against an employers' offensive that manipulated the law as its instrument."[314]

In relation to the folklore of landed gentry, Lord Salisbury emphasised the Conservative ideal, stating once: "Whatever happens will be for the worse, and therefore it is in our interest that as little should happen as possible."[315] G. R. Searle describes Salisbury as hoping for a return to the stability of the Palmerston era, when the Conservative Party's main function had been to restrain demagogic Liberalism and "democratic" excess.[316] Campbell outlines how this power expressed itself: as leaders in local government and national affairs, the gentry benefited from education and held influence over the professions of law, the army, the church and the civil services,[317] albeit with what Campbell describes as a slow decline due to "the growth of industrialism and urban society, parliamentary reform, and the introduction of competitive examinations for entry into the army and civil service…"[318]

Campbell further notes the perspective of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who founded of the Colonisation Society who had denoted his Systemic Colonisation theory (his New Zealand Association and its action the theory in practice).[319] This was addressed within the 1849 book *A View of the Art of Colonization*, in which "the colonies should preserve the best features of the

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311 Ibid., 92.
312 UK Parliament, "Housing Of The Working Classes – Volume 284: debated on Friday 22 February 1884," UK Parliament, accessed August 8, 2025, https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/1884-02-22/debates/2acf5480-7461-433f-b7dd-1fd64621adff/HousingOfThe WorkingClasses.
313 Bentley, *Lord Salisbury's World: Conservative Environments in Late Victorian Britain*, 92.
314 Ibid.
315 G. R. Searle, *A New England? Peace and War 1886–1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 203.
316 Ibid.
317 Campbell, "The Evolution of Hawke's Bay Landed Society 1850–1914: Vol. 1," 11.
318 Ibid., 12.
319 Ibid., 14.

British social system, based on similar gradations but released from gross inequalities of income and status."[320] Wakefield describes the principal elements of his theory as "emigration and the permanent settlement of the emigrants on unoccupied land" resulting in a colony "as a country wholly or partially unoccupied, which receives emigrants from a distance; and it is a colony of the country from which the emigrants proceed, which is therefore called the mother-country," and in terminology "the process by which the colony is peopled and settled, and to nothing else, I would give the name of colonization."[321] Wakefield argues that colonisation "comprises government," since settlers must be governed and because the nature of emigration is shaped by how emigrants are ruled.[322] He maintains that the "national character" of colonial societies ultimately depends on the governmental institutions established by the first settlers.[323]

Within the explanation of his theory of Systemic Colonisation, Wakefield utilises principles of faith and humanitarianism as way of justifying colonisation across the world. For example, Wakefield's book *The British Colonization of New Zealand* is prefaced by the inclusion of a portion of William Whewell's *Sermon before the Trinity* Board,[324] which states: "It is not to be doubted, that this country has been invested with wealth and power, with arts and knowledge, with the sway of distant lands, and the mastery of the restless waters, for some great and important purpose in the government of the world." Whewell poses the ultimate question: "Can we suppose otherwise, that that it is our office to carry civilization and humanity, peace and good government, and, above all, the knowledge of the true God, to the uttermost ends of the earth?"[325] Wakefield's personal life and conduct were deeply controversial in Britain, particularly in relation to the kidnapping of Eliza Anne Frances Pattle (whose story could arguably be considered amongst the many women properly untold in the New Zealand narrative), but his influence on colonial theory far outweighed his reputation.[326] His writings

[320] Ibid.
[321] Edward Gibbon Wakefield, *A View of the Art of Colonization, With Present Reference to the British Empire; In Letters Between a Statesman and a Colonist* (Kitchener, Ontario: Batoche Books Limited, 2001), 11–12.
[322] Ibid.
[323] Ibid.
[324] Whewell served as Master of Trinity College, University of Cambridge between 1841 and 1866, thereby signalling his prominence in British religious life. See Christopher Stray, "A Lancastrian Polymath: The Early Education of William Whewell," *Contrebis 40*, no. 1 (2002): 81.
[325] Edward Gibbon Wakefield, *The British Colonization of New Zealand* (London: John W. Parker, 1837), 4.
[326] Miles Fairburn, "Wakefield, Edward Gibbon," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed September 25, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1w4/wakefield-edward-gibbon/print.

provided an intellectual framework that justified the reorganisation of land, governance, and Indigenous societies under British authority.

Regarding the actions of the New Zealand Association, Wakefield outlines the associations approach to native affairs as an experiment "altogether new,—that of reclaiming and cultivating a moral, wilderness,—that of civilizing a barbarous people by means of a deliberate plan and systematic efforts. They further write that "for, though professions of a desire to civilize barbarians have often been used as pretexts for oppressing and exterminating them, no attempt to improve a savage people, by means of colonization, was ever made deliberately and systematically," describing their colonial experiment as a success because it "will be seen that, in this respect, the native inhabitants of New Zealand are superior to most, if not all thoroughly savage people."[327]

In describing the "barbarity" of the Māori, Wakefield describes the political organisations of Māori ("a thoroughly savage people") and their behaviours.[328] Wakefield and Ward describe Māori as "a thoroughly savage people" and characterise their political organisation as consisting of numerous small and completely independent tribes that were "almost perpetually at war."[329] They write that, apart from those few who had developed "new wants" through contact with Europeans, Māori "scarcely cultivate the earth" and were therefore often vulnerable to famine.[330] According to their account, Māori warfare took place either to obtain provisions through plunder or simply for revenge, and its usual outcome was the "extermination" of the defeated tribe, whether through killing in battle, subsequent massacre, or the enslavement of surviving members.[331] They further describe the "New Zealand slave" as "the most miserable being on the face of the earth," the women "treated with barbarous inhumanity," and that "there can be no doubt whatever of the cannibalism of the New Zealanders."[332] Missionary depictions of Māori as barbarous, violent, and cannibalistic intersected directly with Crown governance by providing a moral justification for political intervention. These representations framed Māori authority as incompatible with civilisation and reinforced the belief that British law, Christianity, and governance were necessary for social order. In regions such as Heretaunga, this discourse underpinned the

[327] Wakefield, *The British Colonization of New Zealand*, 28.
[328] Ibid., 28–29.
[329] Ibid.
[330] Ibid.
[331] Ibid.
[332] Ibid.

expansion of Crown authority and reshaped interactions between Ngāti Kahungunu sub-tribes and colonial institutions.

Much has been written about the motivations and influences regarding the popularity of emigration schemes in nineteenth-century Great Britain. J. S. Marais writes of the period between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in Britain as follows, particularly in relation to the influence of the Industrial Revolution "aided by a philanthropic but misguided administration of the Poor Law,"[333] a law also outlined by Wakefield and Ward as "a maladministration,"[334] writing: "[It] had caused an alarming increase in the population, which in England and Wales doubled itself between 1750 and 1830. Great cities had sprung up in the North, and in all of them slums were a distressing feature. Employment was precarious, wages were miserably inadequate, and the Corn Laws were keeping high the price of bread, the staple food of the poorer classes.[335]

Following a period of six decades following Captain James Cook's explorations of Aotearoa, in which Hawke's Bay had what Campbell describes as "no more than fleeting contacts with European life," prominent sheep farmers began to stray away from the settlement frameworks of the New Zealand Company to enact "the process of development which created a type of social structure not unlike that envisaged by Edward Gibbon Wakefield,"[336] Wakefield's "'unplanned' movement of pastoral settlement," one in which "the large group of settlers with either rural or urban middle class backgrounds… with useful competences," contemplated expansion.[337]

In Heretaunga, these Wakefieldian assumptions translated into settlement practices that privileged individualised land ownership, elite control, and agricultural productivity over existing Ngāti Kahungunu sub-tribal relationships with land. When examining the colonisation of the Hawke's Bay region, one can denote the establishment of a landowner class, in what Campbell describes as "many shepherds and station managers followed a Wakefieldian pattern in their rise from employee to substantial farmer or squatter."[338] British officials and settlers interpreted Māori political organisation through a lens that

[333] J. S. Marais, *The Colonisation of New Zealand* (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), 1.
[334] Wakefield, *The British Colonization of New Zealand*, 5.
[335] Marais, *The Colonisation of New Zealand*, 1.
[336] Campbell, "The Evolution of Hawke's Bay Landed Society 1850–1914: Vol. 1," 1.
[337] Ibid., 2.
[338] Ibid., 2.

misunderstood *hapū* authority and collective land tenure, framing land acquisition as both inevitable and morally justified.

4.3 Missionaries and the Crown

This section argues that missionaries functioned as instruments of colonial authority in Heretaunga. The focus here is not Christianity as theology but as a political tool, one that embedded British gender ideals and moral hierarchies within Ngāti Kahungunu communities. The figures of William and Elizabeth Colenso illustrate this directly. William's mission work normalised Crown authority and European literacy as prerequisites for civilisation. Elizabeth's story reveals how colonial gender ideologies marginalised women even within the missionary project itself. These dynamics are relevant to this thesis because they shaped the cultural environment in which land alienation accelerated.

William and Elizabeth Colenso are an important example of how missionary work introduced British religious and political assumptions into Hawke's Bay. Missionary activity in New Zealand accelerated following the establishment of the first Christian mission by Samuel Marsden in 1814, who wrote about the ability of converting Māori: "The natives of New Zealand are far advanced in Civilization, and apparently prepared for receiving the Knowledge of Christianity more than any Savage nations I have seen … The more I see of these people, the more I am pleased with … They appear like a superior Race of men."[339] Colenso left England for Sydney in June 1834 aboard the ship *Prince Regent*, a voyage which lasted for seventeen weeks; eventually, he boarded a small schooner the *Blackbird* on 10 December, arriving in the Bay of Islands on December 30.[340] Colenso described this final voyage into New Zealand as follows:

> For three weeks we were beat about by contrary winds in the South Pacific in our little boat, which was not only very dirty and crammed with cargo, but very leaky. Her leaks gained on her considerably. She drew at last seven inches an hour and kept a hand almost constantly pumping. Be He who holdeth the

[339] Manatū Taonga — Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "Establishing the Church Missionary Society," Manatū Taonga — Ministry for Culture and Heritage, last revised March 13, 2014, https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/missionaries/marsden-and-cms.
[340] Dinwiddie, *Old Hawke's Bay: Two Papers Read Before the Hawke's Bay Philosophical Institute*, 6.

> winds in His fist and ruleth the raging of the seas kept us by His mighty power from any harm…[341]

Established by 3 January 1835, Colenso's printing press[342]—located in the Bay of Islands settlement of Paihia[343]—was the second in New Zealand's history, Reverend William Yate's 1830 one resulting in failure.[344] There he would marry Elizabeth Fairburn (a New Zealander born in Kerikeri in 1821)[345] in 1843.[346] The Colensos then relocated to the College of St John the Evangelist at Te Waimate (east of Auckland, founded by bishop George Augustus Selwyn who arrived to Auckland on the *Bristolian* on 30 May[347] following the work of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand since 1814 and the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840, thereby officially making it a British territory).[348] The Colensos would reside for eighteen months.[349] Then, the Colensos established a mission station at Waitangi in Ahuriri.[350] Waitangi was located on a swampy site named Te Awapuni between Clive and Awatoto along the river Ngaruroro (which chief Tāreha Te Moananui once had explained to Colenso that "No one ever lived on this spot before you; it has only been the dwelling place of the eel.")[351]

Elizabeth Fairburn Colenso is a figure of immense importance in the history of Hawke's Bay yet is not often referred to in frequency to her husband William. Jeannette Cottier wrote in her master's thesis *Elizabeth Fairburn/Colenso: Her Times* that "although an indispensable participant of their shared missionary endeavour, has been significantly omitted, or given only a passing mention in the historiography of the period" due to a "litany of misinformation also tends to obscure Elizabeth and point to her neglect as an historical subject."[352] Furthermore, Cottier criticises what she describes as "masculinist sympathies" in

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341 Ibid.
342 Ibid.
343 Ross Calman, "William Colenso's printing press," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed September 19, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/object/34872/william-colensos-printing-press.
344 Manatū Taonga — Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "Colenso arrives with a printing press," Manatū Taonga— Ministry for Culture and Heritage, last revised September 23, 2020, https://nzhistory.govt.nz/colenso-arrives-printing-press.
345 Cottier, "Elizabeth Fairburn/Colenso: Her Times," 1.
346 Catherine R. Ross, "The Legacy of Elizabeth Fairburn Colenso," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research 3*, no. 3 (2006): 148.
347 Allan K. Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy: The College of St John the Evangelist, Te Waimate and Auckland, 1843–1992, A History* (Auckland: The College of St John the Evangelist, 1993), 22.
348 Ibid., 16.
349 Ross, "The Legacy of Elizabeth Fairburn Colenso," 148.
350 Ibid.
351 Waitangi Tribunal, *The Mohaka ki Ahuriri Report (Wai 201)*, Waitangi Tribunal Report Wai 201 (Wellington, Legislation Direct, 2004), 34.
352 Cottier, "Elizabeth Fairburn/Colenso: Her Times," 2.

many biographical projects focusing on William Colenso, specifically identifying A. G. Bagnall and G. C. Petersen's biography *William Colenso (Printer, Missionary, Botanist, Explorer, Politician) His Life and Journeys*, in which they frame their marriage as "the unexpressed conflict, old as duty itself, implicit in unhappy marriage and temptation."[353] Cottier ultimately asserts that acknowledging her missionary legacy is "not only a matter of hanging flesh upon the bones" but rather "a question of breathing life into the form, of staking a claim for Elizabeth's presence as an historical subject."[354] Cottier describes Elizabeth's story as "that of a woman who has been historically portrayed as the facilitator for the missionary career of her husband" and in actuality her story is "the tale of a talented pioneer woman who was also a skilled translator and linguist."[355] Cottier further argues that Elizabeth "ran the isolated CMS mission station at Ahuriri single-handed during her husband's prolonged absences" and that ultimately "it is the story of a woman politicised and empowered by her Evangelical membership."[356]

Elizabeth was a prominent proponent of Evangelicalism, a movement described by Ford Brown as "a movement of national reform that took place in England from the 1780's to the early years of the Princess Victoria."[357] Brown further writes: "Begun by a handful of men and women shocked at the decay of English religion and the corruption of English morals, it grew rapidly into huge proportions. In thirty years it had covered England with reforming institutions and made its leader [William Wilberforce] one of the foremost moral figures of the world."[358] Elizabeth Colenso's authority within the mission illustrates how Evangelical structures enabled certain women to exercise power in colonial contexts, while simultaneously reinforcing hierarchies that positioned Māori as moral subjects in need of reform. William Colenso's journals and published papers are noted for their subjects pertinent to the development of New Zealand, for instance papers providing accounts about the Treaty of Waitangi, the Jubilee Paper, the journey of 1841, the first cross of the Ruahine ranges, and one on the church at Ahuriri.[359] Despite the limitations stemming from the cultural lens that is applied in William Colenso's analyses, particularly of Māori culture and women, the writings serve as a basis for which the past can be experience (albeit in a manner not whole).

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[353] Ibid., 3.
[354] Ibid., 2.
[355] Ibid., 1–2.
[356] Ibid.
[357] Ibid., 5.
[358] Ibid.
[359] Dinwiddie, *Old Hawke's Bay: Two Papers Read Before the Hawke's Bay Philosophical Institute*, 4.

4.4 He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Despite the assurances of *rangatiratanga* and protection contained in He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Ngāti Kahungunu experienced extensive land alienation and erosion of political authority. This section argues that these outcomes were not accidental, but the result of the Crown's selective interpretation and implementation of these agreements. In Heretaunga, the partial signing of both documents, the circumstances under which *rangatira* consented, and the Crown's subsequent disregard for Māori understandings of sovereignty shaped the conditions under which land loss accelerated.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi was first signed on 6 February 1840,[360] in which William Hobson immediately accounts that 46 *rangatira* affirmed the agreement, 26 of which signed He Whakaputanga.[361] The importance of Te Tiriti to the formation of the nation is reflected upon even in contemporary writings, as shown in Governor FitzRoy's comments in 1846 (as cited by Michael Belgrave in *Historical Frictions: Maori Claims and Reinvented Histories*):

> Some persons still effect to deride it; some say it was deception and some would unhesitatingly set it aside; while others esteem it highly as a well considered and judicious work, of utmost important to both the coloured and the white man in New Zealand. That the natives did not view all its provisions in exactly the same light as our authorities is undoubted; but whatever minor objections be raised, the fact is now unquestionable that the loyalty, the fidelity, and co-operation of any natives in New Zealand has hitherto depended mainly on their reliance on the honor of Great Britain in adhering scrupulously to the Treaty of Waitangi – The Manga Carta of New Zealand.[362]

FitzRoy's observation underscores a critical point: Māori cooperation depended on the Crown's adherence to its promises. In regions such as Heretaunga, where many *rangatira* were not present at treaty signings, the expectation of good faith was especially vulnerable to breach. Many *rangatira* were not signatories to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Regarding the Ngāti Kahungunu tribe, many *rangatira* of Wairarapa and most of Hawke's Bay (particularly in the

[360] Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi: An Illustrated History* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2021): 43.
[361] Ibid., 46.
[362] Michael Belgrave, *Historical Frictions: Maori Claims and Reinvented Histories* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2005): 43.

more inland areas) were not consulted.[363] Crown engagement with Ngāti Kahungunu was uneven and, in some instances, coercive. This is most clearly illustrated by the signing of the *Bunbury Herald Sheet* at Waipureku, near the mouth of the Tukituki River.[364] A Māori-language copy of the treaty, accredited to the translator Henry Kemp, gained a total of 27 signatures.[365]

Negotiations occurred upon the anchoring of the *H.M.S Herald* at the Tukituki river mouth, which locals named Waipureku.[366] Consequently, three *rangatira* signed there on 24 June 1840:[367] Te Hāpuku, Hoani Waikato, and Harawira Mahikai Te Tātere.[368] Initially, Te Hāpuku refused to sign in negotiations with the official party, which included both Thomas Bunbury and Edward Williams. It is often noted that coercion was utilised during the process of signing; coercion a prominent theme throughout this thesis, as shown with Burbury's interactions with Te Hāpuku that the Crown would not "lower the chiefs in the estimation of their tribes," that signing would reduce inter-tribal warfare,[369] and that being a treaty signatory "could only tend to increase his consequence."[370] Some accounts note Te Hapuku asserting concerns that "Nga Puhi were now slaves through the treaty."[371] One descendent of Te Hāpuku recounts the following oral narrative: "Te Hapuku and the other two chiefs headed out on their waka to meet the captain. They didn't want to sign, so he gave them an ultimatum. He said if you don't sign, we'll blow your ship out of the water. So, we say he signed the Treaty under duress — under the point of a gun."[372] Accounts such as these challenge the assumption that Ngāti Kahungunu consented freely to Crown authority and instead suggest that Te Tiriti o Waitangi functioned, in Heretaunga, as an instrument imposed under pressure rather than a mutually negotiated agreement. Furthermore, Bunbury

[363] Ibid., 55.
[364] Ibid.
[365] Manatū Taonga – Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "Herald Bunbury treaty copy," New Zealand History, accessed February 21, 2026, https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/interactive/herald-bunbury-treaty-copy.
[366] Hastings District Heritage Trails Committee, "Clive/Waipureku Heritage Trail," Hastings District Heritage Trails Society Inc., accessed November 29, 2024, https://www.hastingsdc.govt.nz/assets/Document-Library/Heritage-Trails/Clive.pdf.
[367] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "Hawke's Bay, 24 June 1840," Ministry for Culture and Heritage, accessed November 29, 2024, https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/treaty/location/hawkes-bay/24-june-1840.
[368] MacLeod, "Te whakatau i te mita o Ngāti Kahungunu; tōna hītori, tōna whanaketanga me tōna ahunga whakamua," 70–71.
[369] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "Hawke's Bay, 24 June 1840."
[370] Ibid.
[371] Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi: An Illustrated History*, 43.
[372] Harrison Christian, "Kaumatua recounts signing of the Treaty," New Zealand Herald, last revised February 6, 2015, https://www.nzherald.co.nz/hawkes-bay-today/news/kaumatua-recounts-signing-of-the-treaty/64LL73HAEJCKHWT4GHQE7IWUEM/#:~:text=%22Te%20Hapuku%20and%20the%20other,the%20point%20of%20a%20gun .%22.

claimed that the treaty would reduce inter-tribal warfare.[373] An earlier treaty signatory Hara,[374] noted to be a prominent *rangatira* from Ngāpuhi in the North[375] and potentially a chief of Ōhaeawai who signed an 1831 letter (with 12 other northern *rangatira*) to King William IV of England for protection from French colonisers,[376] would eventually convince Te Hāpuku to sign.[377] The three Ngāti Kahungunu *rangatira*, as well as 24 others, signed this sheet.[378] It is said that upon placing his signature on Bunbury's document, Te Hāpuku was gifted with blankets and tobacco.[379]

The Māori-language text of Te Tiriti o Waitangi has been widely interpreted by Māori scholars and the Waitangi Tribunal as affirming the continued *rangatiratanga* of *hapū* and *iwi* over their lands and *taonga*, while granting the Crown limited rights of governance (*kāwanatanga*). What the text promised and what Ngāti Kahungunu experienced, however, were two different things. The circumstances under which Te Hāpuku signed—described by his descendant as signing under the threat of cannon fire—cast serious doubt on the voluntariness of Ngāti Kahungunu consent, regardless of how the text itself is interpreted. The contested nature of both the document and its signing conditions runs throughout the history of Heretaunga land alienation examined in this thesis. Nevertheless, there were nine signatories of Te Tiriti o Waitangi with links to the Ngāti Kahungunu *iwi*: Te Hāpuku of the Ngāti Te Rangikoiaanake *hapū*, Waikato of the Ngāti Te Whatuiapiti *hapū*, Harawira Mahikai of the Ngāti Te Whatuiapiti *hapū*, Wi Te Ota of the Ngāi Te Upokoiri *hapū*, Rāwiri Paturoa of the Ngāi Te Upokoiri *hapū*, Mātenga Tūkareaho of the Ngāti Rākaipaaka *hapū*, and Tūtapatūrangi of the Te Aitanga-ā-whare *hapū*.[380] Many being of both Rangitāne and Ngāti Kahungunu ties can be accredited to geographical proximity between their territories.

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[373] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "Hawke's Bay, 24 June 1840."
[374] Ibid.
[375] David Mackintosh, "Waimarama: Waves of Occupation" (MA Thesis, Massey University, 2014), 34.
[376] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "Hara," New Zealand History, accessed November 30, 2024, https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/treaty/signatory/1-55.
[377] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "Hawke's Bay, 24 June 1840."
[378] Claudia Orange, "Te Tiriti o Waitangi – the Treaty of Waitangi – Interpretations of te Tiriti o Waitangi – the Treaty of Waitangi," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, last revised March 28, 2023, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/zoomify/36347/tiriti-o-waitangi-sheets-the-herald.
[379] S. W. Grant, *Havelock North: From Village to Borough 1860 – 1952* (Hastings: Hawke's Bay Newspapers Limited, 1978): 13.
[380] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "Ngā tohu – treaty signatories," Ministry for Culture and Heritage, accessed November 28, 2024, https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/treaty/nga-tohu-treaty-signatories.

Of the fifty-two signatories of He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni, only two were non-Northern *rangatira*:[381] a *kaituhituhi* on behalf of Te Wherowhero,[382] who later became the first *Kīngi* of the Kīngitanga movement under the title Pōtatau Te Wherowhero and reigned from 1858 until his death in 1860,[383] and Te Hāpuku of Ngāti Te Whatuiāpiti.[384] Waitangi Tribunal describes their signatures as a way that "extended the reach of he Whakaputanga further south."[385] Te Hāpuku signed He Whakaputanga on 25 September 1838, making him the first signatory of the two.[386] It is noted that he was a frequent visitor to Te Tai Tokerau, particularly the Bay of Islands, due to his political and familial connections to northern *rangatira* Pōmare II and Kawiti.[387] This therefore links the document to Heretaunga Māori, particularly the *hapū* of Ngāti Te Whatuiāpiti. The Waitangi Tribunal asserts that it is hard to comprehend the rationale for the signatures from non-northern *rangatira*, writing that there are no clear reasons beyond "the possible influence of kinship"; however, one could argue a formal declaration of Māori autonomy within the context of other nations engaging is a motivator.[388]

Te Hāpuku's participation in He Whakaputanga situated Ngāti Kahungunu within early assertions of Māori sovereignty that predated Te Tiriti. His later experience with the Crown—marked by coercive treaty signing and subsequent land alienation—highlights the disjuncture between Māori expectations of protection and autonomy and the Crown's evolving interpretation of its authority. In this sense, He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti must be read together to understand why Ngāti Kahungunu viewed Crown actions in Heretaunga as breaches rather than misunderstandings.

The four dimensions examined in this chapter—racial theory and cannibalism discourse, British conceptions of land and class, missionary ideology, and the treaty documents—were not separate phenomena. They operated together as a mutually reinforcing

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[381] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "He Whakaputanga (Declaration of Independence) signatories," Ministry for Culture and Heritage, accessed February 11, 2025, https://nzhistory.govt.nz/page/he-whakaputanga-declaration-independence-database.
[382] Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti/The Declaration and the Treaty*, 167.
[383] Steven Oliver, "Te Wherowhero, Pōtatau," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed February 11, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t88/te-wherowhero-potatau.
[384] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "He Whakaputanga (Declaration of Independence) signatories."
[385] Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti/The Declaration and the Treaty*, 167.
[386] Vincent O'Malley, "Without He Whakaputanga, there might have been no Treaty of Waitangi," E-Tangata, accessed February 17, 2025, https://e-tangata.co.nz/history/without-he-whakaputanga-there-might-have-been-no-treaty-of-waitangi/.
[387] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "Te Ika-nui-o-te-moana Te Hāpuku," Ministry for Culture and Heritage, accessed February 11, 2025, https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/declaration/signatory/te-h%C4%81puku.
[388] Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti/The Declaration and the Treaty*, 212.

system of colonial authority. Racial theory provided the moral justification for intervention. The landed gentry ideal provided the model for how land should be organised and who should own it. Missionary networks embedded these ideals within Māori communities at the local level. And the treaty documents, however they are interpreted, provided the legal framework within which Crown authority was asserted and Māori *rangatiratanga* was progressively constrained. In Heretaunga, these forces converged on Ngāti Kahungunu *hapū* whose sub-tribal political structures were precisely what the colonial system was least equipped to recognise and most determined to reorganise. Chapter Five examines the consequences.

Chapter Five: Settlement and the Restructuring of Power in Heretaunga

5.1 Land Sales and Purchases

Land alienation in Heretaunga occurred through a combination of direct Crown purchases, private purchases operating within Crown policy frameworks, private leasing, and the erosion of Māori control over reserves nominally protected for their use. European purchasers such as Thomas Tanner operated within a colonial framework that favoured settlement and pastoral expansion, while Ngāti Kahungunu *hapū* navigated land sales amid internal political tensions and increasing Crown pressure.

Of the European partners concerned with the Heretaunga Block, Thomas Tanner was the chief purchaser and lessee; Tanner shows how private settlers used colonial law and credit to convert Māori land into settler property.[389] Operating within a political climate that promoted the free trade of Māori land, Tanner benefited from Crown policies that facilitated large-scale pastoral settlement. His role exemplifies how individual settlers leveraged legislative and administrative systems to acquire land that Māori communities struggled to retain. Tanner was born in Wiltshire, England on 31 October 1830,[390] his father a landed proprietor.[391] Upon leaving the study of medicine behind,[392] Tanner and his wife Julia Punshon Denton (who he married in 1859)[393] migrated to Whanganui and began working with a large sheep stock-owner.[394] Tanner became a member of parliament in the House of Representatives, representing Waipawa, between 1887 to 1890[395] under the Firth Atkinson Ministry (also known as the Scarecrow Ministry), which saw a "free trade in Native lands" approach of government[396] in response to the Native Land Administration Act 1886 led by Premier John Ballance[397] (who had served as Native Minister in the Stout-Vogel ministry), an

[389] M. B. Boyd, *City of the Plains: A History of Hastings* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1984): 5.
[390] Martin Beck, "From Hicks Karamu Junction to the Establishment and Development of the Early Hastings Township," Knowledge Bank, accessed March 22, 2025, https://knowledgebank.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/node/42665/master/BeckMJ1636_Hastings_TheDevelopment-December2016.pdf.
[391] Boyd, *City of the Plains: A History of Hastings*, 6.
[392] Ibid.
[393] Martin Beck, "From Hicks Karamu Junction to the Establishment and Development of the Early Hastings Township."
[394] Boyd, *City of the Plains: A History of Hastings*, 6.
[395] Hawke's Bay Tribune, "Passing of a Pioneer," *Hawke's Bay Tribune*, July 22, 1918, 3.
[396] Hazel Riseborough and John Hutton, *Rangahaua Whanui: The Crown's Engagement with Customary Tenure in the Nineteenth Century*, Waitangi Tribunal Report (Wellington, Ministry of Justice, 1997), 73.
[397] Tim McIvor, "Ballance, John," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed March 21, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b5/ballance-john.

act which Hazel Riseborough and John Hutton describe as "a dismal failure" due to widespread opposition.[398] The Native Land Administration Act 1886, a significantly modified Act based on Ballance's proposed Native Land Disposition Bill,[399] passed into law on 9 August 1886.[400] There was Māori opposition to the Act due to concerns of title restrictions and bureaucratic implications in regard to the control of their land.[401] Alan Ward evaluates the "inoperative" limitations of the Act: "True, Ballance's Native Lands Administration Act 1886 gave more place for block committees, but the committees then had to hand the land over to Pakeha officials for subsequent dealings, and Maori declined to do that."[402] The *Daily Telegraph* commented on 23 November 1891:

> When Mr Ballance was Native Minister in the Stout-Vogel Government it will be remembered he was so positive his Native Land Administration Act, 1886, would cure all ills to which the Maori question was heir, that he pushed it through Parliament, as it may be said, at the point of the sword. Everyone acquainted with the difficulties besetting native land affairs, and with the Maori character, assured Mr Ballance that his Act would be inoperative, that the Maoris would not dispose of an acre of land under its provisions, and that he better withdraw it… For two years the alienation of the Maori title ceased, not an acre was acquired, settlement was obstructed, and Mr Ballance's absolute ignorance of the character of the Maoris became the laughing stock of the colony. Then the Act was repealed.[403]

Around Heretaunga, settlement patterns show that land use was already organised around resources, occupation, and *hapū* authority. There were clear preferences by Māori in the Heretaunga region to occupy areas by the coast rather than the plains. By Captain James Cook's initial visit to the bay in 1769, there were noted settlements on the river mouths of the Tutaekuri, Maraetotara, Tukituki, as well as along the inner harbour.[404] There were other

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[398] Riseborough and Hutton, *Rangahaua Whanui: The Crown's Engagement with Customary Tenure in the Nineteenth Century*, 72–73.
[399] Waitangi Tribunal, *The Hauraki Report: Volume II*, Waitangi Tribunal Report (Wellington, Ministry of Justice, 2006), 762.
[400] Crown Law, *Closing Submissions of the Crown on Crown Purchasing*, Waitangi Tribunal Evidence (Wellington, Ministry of Justice, 2015), 4.
[401] Ward, *National Overview: Volume I*, 69.
[402] Ibid., 72–73.
[403] Daily Telegraph, "Monday, November 23, 1891," *Daily Telegraph*, November 23, 1891, 2.
[404] A. C. Yule, "An Historical Geography of a Hawke's Bay Region" (MA Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1958), 12.

noted villages along the Ngaruroro River such as Whakatu and Pakowhai.[405] The Ahuriri Block was sold at the end of 1851.[406] The Te Mata block, which consisted of 16,000 acres, was sold on 13 April 1855 for £500 by twelve Māori signatories.[407] The sale of reserves shows how in practice protections promised to Māori could be weakened or ignored.

Various other reserves were sold, with government policy to reserve a portion of these reserves for Māori use.[408] Karanema's Reserve was a portion of land excluded from the earlier Te Mata sale[409] and was the primary site of Havelock North.[410] It was named after Te Hāpuku and Te Heipora's son.[411] Te Heipora, Te Hāpuku's first wife, was a high ranking woman as a descendant of Te Rehunga.[412] They had three children: Karanema, Whakatomo, and Nēpia Hāwene.[413] The reserve was intended, as specified in a clause within the Te Mata deed of sale, that the "land is for the descendants of Te Heipora for ever."[414] However, Karanema Te Hāpuku died early from measles in 1854 and this reserve was sold.[415] It was acquired by the Hawke's Bay Provincial Government for the sum of £800.[416] This site was estimated by surveyor Octavius Bousfield[417] to comprise around 4000 acres.[418] Signed by G. S. Cooper on behalf of the Crown,[419] the Wairarapa and Hawke's Bay District Commissioner of the time,[420] the Māori signatories of this reserve's sale were the following: Hira Te Ota[421] with his two sons[422] Pene Te Uamairangi and Henare Tōmoana;[423] the sons' half-brother,

[405] Ibid., 14.
[406] Grant, *Havelock North: From Village to Borough 1860 – 1952*, 13.
[407] Hawke's Bay Today, "Te Mata Peak deed signing 'the occasion of a great discussion'," Hawke's Bay Today, last revised May 26, 2016, https://www.nzherald.co.nz/hawkes-bay-today/news/te-mata-peak-deed-signing-the-occasion-of-a-great-discussion/SCATPKGSGUDMQB5L5LMDQYHRGU/.
[408] Grant, *Havelock North: From Village to Borough 1860 – 1952*, 13.
[409] National Library of New Zealand, "Karanema, -1854," National Library of New Zealand, accessed March 13, 2025, https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22491771.
[410] Ibid.
[411] Ibid.
[412] Frances Reiri-Smith, "Te Hāpuku Te Ika-nui-o-te-Moana," 171.
[413] Ibid.
[414] National Library of New Zealand, "Karanema, -1854."
[415] Ibid.
[416] Grant, *Havelock North: From Village to Borough 1860 – 1952*, 13–14.
[417] National Library of New Zealand, "Bousfield, Octavius Lawes Woodthorpe, 1830–1882," National Library of New Zealand, accessed March 13, 2025, https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22473383.
[418] Grant, *Havelock North: From Village to Borough 1860 – 1952*, 14.
[419] Ibid.
[420] Hawke's Bay Today, "Te Mata Peak deed signing 'the occasion of a great discussion'."
[421] Grant, *Havelock North: From Village to Borough 1860 – 1952*, 14.
[422] Angela Ballara, "Tomoana, Hēnare," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed March 14, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2t46/tomoana-henare.
[423] Grant, *Havelock North: From Village to Borough 1860 – 1952*, 14.

through their mother Te Rotohenga,[424] Karaitiana Takamoana; as well as Tareha and Kurupō Te Moananui.[425] The Deed of Sale reads as follows:

> We have greeted we have bidden farewell to and fully ceded this place which we inherited from our ancestors with its waters its streams its hills its plains its minerals its herbage and everything appertaining to it whether on the surface or under the surface of the land which we have fully ceded under the shining sun of this day as a permanent possession to Victoria the Queen of England and to the Kings or Queens who may succeed Her for ever.[426]

The sale of Karanema's Reserve makes this gap concrete. The original Te Mata deed had explicitly reserved this land 'for the descendants of Te Heipora for ever.' Within three years, following Karanema's death from measles in 1854, the reserve—estimated at around 4000 acres—was sold to the Hawke's Bay Provincial Government for £800. The word "forever" had lasted less than a generation. This was not an isolated failure of Crown assurance but a pattern: reserves established within sale deeds were themselves subject to further alienation, revealing how little protection the mechanisms of colonial land law offered Ngāti Kahungunu *hapū*. Te Hāpuku, introduced in Chapter Three, remained a central figure in the land alienation of this period.

Land sales intensified existing *hapū* tensions over boundaries, resources and authority. It is important to note the tensions connected to the Te Mata block, specifically in relation to boundaries between the *hapū* of Kurupō Te Moananui's Ngāti Kahungunu and Te Hāpuku's Ngāti Te Whātuiāpiti.[427] By the time of the Karanema's Reserve sale in 1858, Ngāti Kahungunu *hapū* had defeated Ngāti Te Whatuiāpiti in the war at Te Pakiaka,[428] a timber stand near Whakatū in which fighting occurred in August 1857. An immediate cause of the conflict was the ridgepole of Hine-i-paketia's home there, a Ngāti Te Whātuiāpiti woman who many Europeans referred to as "the queen."[429] Te Hāpuku once also referring to her as Queen Hineipaketia in a letter to George Grey, and Donald McLean once recounted as she having the final say in the sales of the Waipukurau Block.[430] There are references in various

[424] Angela Ballara, "Tomoana, Hēnare."
[425] Grant, *Havelock North: From Village to Borough 1860 – 1952*, 14.
[426] Ibid.
[427] Cowie, *Rangahaua Whanui. District 11B Hawke's Bay*, 40.
[428] Ibid., 40–41.
[429] Angela Ballara, "Hine-i-paketia," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed March 14, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h21/hine-i-paketia.
[430] Ibid.

histories of the personal relationship between Te Hāpuku and Tāreha Te Moananui and the way in which this influences the topic of land scales. One such instance is that Tāreha Te Moananui was seeking *utu* for disrespect to his sister's corpse, who was the wife of Te Hāpuku prior to her death, in which Te Hāpuku is said to have cut her feet off so that she could fit in a coffin.[431] The number of Te Hāpuku's wives is disputed in European accounts, with William Colenso noting eight and Donald McLean noting ten.[432]

Economic interests were as central to the conflict at Te Pakiaka as political ones. Timber resources, settler demand for land, and the accelerating pace of private purchase in Heretaunga created material pressures that made Te Pakiaka a flashpoint for deeper tensions within Ngāti Kahungunu over how to respond to colonial encroachment. Beyond the ridgepole of the home, the degree to which land sales were occurring was another motivating factor for the war at Te Pakiaka,[433] a plot of around 300 acres.[434] Te Pakiaka was of significant interest to European settlers to Heretaunga due to its abundance of kahikatea[435] (also known as New Zealand white-pine)[436] for homes.[437] Kahikatea was originally used by Māori for a variety of purposes: it produced seasonal red berries; when burnt, its soot was used as a pigment for tā moko; and it was used to manufacture traditional weapons.[438] Kahikatea later became a prime export of the New Zealand economy, making up 55% of timber exports to Australia and Oceania by 1949, particularly for uses in the dairy industry and in the building industry.[439]

The opposition to Te Hāpuku and his personal use of the timber was led by Tāreha Te Moananui, Kurupō Te Moananui, and Renata Kāwepo;[440] supported by fighters from Taupo, Te Urewera and Ngati Hineuru from Tarawera.[441] Despite assurances from the *hapū* that these battles were only relevant in regard to inter-tribal relations, concern is clearly

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431 Boyd, *City of the Plains: A History of Hastings*, 5.
432 Ballara, "Te Hāpuku."
433 Wero Karena and Ranui Toatoa, *Joint Brief of Evidence of Wero Karena and Ranui Toatoa*, Ministry of Justice (Wellington, Ministry of Justice, 2015), 6.
434 Ibid., 4.
435 Ibid., 4.
436 Alex R. Entrican, "The Properties and Use of Kahikatea (Podocarpus dacrydioides)," Scion Digital Library, accessed March 21, 2025, https://scion.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/api/collection/p20044coll6/id/436/download,1.
437 Boyd, *City of the Plains: A History of Hastings*, 4.
438 G. W. Symmes, "Kahikatea: Podocarpus dacrydioides" (Dissertation, University of Canterbury and Lincoln College, 1982), 13–14.
439 Entrican, "The Properties and Use of Kahikatea (Podocarpus dacrydioides)," 1.
440 Karena and Toatoa, *Joint Brief of Evidence of Wero Karena and Ranui Toatoa*, 6.
441 Owen Jerry Hapuku, *Brief of Evidence of Mr Jerry Hapuku*, Ministry of Justice (Wellington, Ministry of Justice, 2020), 5.

signalled by settler Thomas Curling's[442] appeal to Governor Thomas Gore Browne.[443] Gore Browne[444] ultimately decided to deploy a detachment of the 65th Regiment, establishing barracks[445] which would be named the Gore Browne Barracks.[446] Gore Browne wrote to McLean regarding Curling and his appeal in an undated letter: "I have a high opinion of the former from what I hear and have read… from Curling's letter, we thought Moananui might be troublesome. As soon as the Barracks are finished two companies only will remain. I have a sort of regard for old Hapuku and shall be very sorry to see him quite done for."[447] Gore Browne's correspondence reveals the Crown's preference for managing Māori leadership rather than resolving underlying land grievances. His personal regard for Te Hāpuku underscores how colonial officials relied on influential *rangatira* to stabilise land acquisition, even as such reliance intensified intra-tribal conflict. From the letter, one can deduce concern by Crown officials regarding the unravelling conflicts between the Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Te Whātuiāpiti *hapū*.

The battle ultimately led to Te Hāpuku's exile to Te Hauke, the ancestral home of Ngāti Te Whātuiapiti and where Kahurānaki was ultimately established.[448] The subsequent sale led to the money being split evenly between Te Hāpuku's group and the Ngāti Kahungunu *hapū*.[449] The conflict at Te Pakiaka demonstrates how land sales exacerbated existing *hapū* tensions while simultaneously inviting Crown intervention. Although framed as an internal Māori dispute, settler anxiety and economic interest prompted military involvement, further entrenching colonial authority in local land matters.

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[442] I believe this individual may in fact be named John Curling, due to the lack of historical record referencing a Thomas.
[443] Matthew Wright, *Historic Hawke's Bay & East Coast* (Auckland: David Bateman Ltd, 2010), 11.
[444] Gore Browne served as Governor of New Zealand between the years 1855 to 1861. See New Zealand Government, "Colonel Thomas Gore Browne, CB," Government House, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, accessed June 26, 2025, http://gg.govt.nz/biographies/colonel-thomas-gore-browne-cb.
[445] The barracks were built on a site that was later utilised for the buildings of Napier Hospital. The Napier Hospital opened in 1880, following the period in which various Imperial Regiment detachments and their barracks were based on the site, and operated until 1998 when services began to become concentrated in the Hastings hospital, its buildings eventually demolished in 2017. See Wright, *Historic Hawke's Bay & East Coast*, 11; Hawke's Bay Knowledge Bank, "The History of Napier Hospital," Hawke's Bay Knowledge Bank, accessed June 25, 2025, https://knowledgebank.org.nz/text/history-of-napier-hosptial-the/; Keryn Pollock, "Hawke's Bay region – Government, education and health," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, last revised July 1, 2015, https://teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/23918/napier-hospital-1969.
[446] National Library of New Zealand, "Napier Barracks (Napier, N.Z.)," New Zealand Government, accessed June 25, 2025, https://natlib.govt.nz/records/40716950.
[447] Thomas Robert Gore Browne, "12 pages written by Sir Thomas Robert Gore Browne to Sir Donald McLean," Papers Past, accessed June 25, 2025, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/manuscripts/MCLEAN-1009076.2.1#researcher-tools-tab.
[448] Wero Karena and Ranui Toatoa, *Joint Brief of Evidence of Wero Karena and Ranui Toatoa*, 6.
[449] Cowie, *Rangahaua Whanui. District 11B Hawke's Bay*, 41.

It is often asserted that in 1850, Te Hāpuku personally wrote to George Grey to request European settlers in the Heretaunga region, in which "Makarini" is personally mentioned, a request that ultimately motivated an initial visit from Donald McLean following land transactions relating to the areas of Turakina and Whanganui.[450] McLean's expedition to Hawke's Bay began towards the end of November 1850, in which he was accompanied by Kingi Hori Te Hanea, Ropata, and Te Kaharoa.[451] All of them had connections and land interests in the Hawke's Bay region (albeit setting clear instructions regarding their conduct, insisting the conversations to be led by "local natives").[452] Initial meetings took place in the Waipukurau region along the Makaretu stream,[453] on Te Whanganui-a-Orotu's foreshore,[454] with parties of Ngāti Kahungunu Māori arriving from 11 December to 13 December.[455] In retrospect, this meeting is perceived as one between the Crown and *hapū* that comprised Ngati Kahungunu ki Heretaunga, a regional umbrella term rather than a signifier of a unified political unit; rather, as it becomes clear throughout this thesis (particularly in Chapters Six and Seven), the *hapū* of Heretaunga were indeed independent political units that had both autonomous views and actions.[456]

5.2 Hawke's Bay Land Disputes

Land disputes in Heretaunga emerged not only from Crown purchasing practices, but also from the destabilising effects of colonial land legislation on Ngāti Kahungunu sub-tribal governance. As Angela Ballara demonstrates, the introduction of individualised land transactions undermined established *hapū*-based decision-making processes, enabling influential *rangatira* to sell land without the consent of all those who held customary rights to it.[457] In the Heretaunga context, this shift intensified internal conflict and reshaped political relationships within Ngāti Kahungunu.

Ballara identifies several prominent figures—including Te Hāpuku, his brother Te Haurangi, their cousin Hine-i-paketia, and Hōri Niania Te Aroatua—as having participated

[450] Wilson, *The Founding of Hawke's Bay*, 3-4.
[451] Ibid., 5–6.
[452] Ibid.
[453] Ibid., 7.
[454] Cowie, *Rangahaua Whanui. District 11B Hawke's Bay*, 4.
[455] Wilson, *The Founding of Hawke's Bay*, 7.
[456] Cowie, *Rangahaua Whanui. District 11B Hawke's Bay*, 4.
[457] Ballara, *Iwi,* 263.

in the sale of large land blocks through deeds signed in Wellington.[458] These transactions were often conducted far from the communities directly affected, with purchase money received and spent in the capital rather than distributed among the actual owners and occupants of the land.[459] Such practices, Ballara argues, persisted over several years and contributed directly to the outbreak of armed conflict, most notably the fighting at Te Pakiaka.[460] While government officials attempted to minimise these events by portraying the conflict at Te Pakiaka as a minor local dispute over firewood, Ballara makes clear that the violence was a deliberate effort to halt further land sales by Te Hāpuku north of the Ngaruroro River; land to which he held no sole or exclusive right.[461] The conflict therefore cannot be understood as an isolated episode, but rather as a manifestation of broader tensions created by the erosion of collective land authority and the increasing concentration of power in the hands of individuals favoured by colonial systems.[462]

Prior to the intensification of these disputes, Ngāti Kahungunu *hapū* had engaged in collective deliberation over land alienation. Public meetings were held to discuss proposed sales, and while senior *rangatira* exercised considerable influence, their authority was ordinarily exercised within a framework of *hapū* consensus. Ballara notes, however, that even in these contexts the decisions of leading chiefs often prevailed, limiting the ability of other community members to object openly. Dissent was frequently expressed only through silence or withdrawal, reflecting both customary respect for *rangatira* authority and the social constraints placed on overt opposition.[463]

Under colonial conditions, these internal dynamics were further strained by the presence of coercion and the threat of violence. Disagreements over land were no longer resolved solely through customary mechanisms, but increasingly escalated into conflict as competing claims were amplified by settler demand, Crown intervention, and the monetisation of land. As illustrated elsewhere in this thesis through Te Hāpuku's interactions with Mereana Te Hokomatā Cannon, resistance to land sales could provoke intimidation and force, reinforcing divisions within *hapū* and undermining collective control over land. Furthermore, there is a gendered element to the interactions between the two.

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[458] Ibid.
[459] Ibid.
[460] Ibid.
[461] Ibid.
[462] Ibid.
[463] Ibid., 262.

Taken together, the land disputes of Heretaunga reveal how colonial land legislation and purchasing practices fractured Ngāti Kahungunu political structures. Rather than representing a breakdown of Māori governance, these conflicts demonstrate the pressures placed upon existing systems by a colonial framework that privileged individual signatories, monetary transactions, and Crown recognition over *hapū* authority. The disputes surrounding Te Pakiaka thus exemplify the broader transformation of land relations in Hawke's Bay, where internal Māori tensions were intensified—and in some cases exploited—by colonial processes of land acquisition.

5.3 The Establishment of Hastings

The establishment of Hastings is directly relevant to this thesis because it was built entirely on the Heretaunga Block, land acquired through the purchases examined in the preceding sections. Understanding how the town came to exist requires moving beyond popular origin myths to examine the structural forces of land alienation and infrastructure investment that actually drove settlement. The railway extension through central Heretaunga, funded through Julius Vogel's Immigration and Public Works Act 1870 and constructed by John Brogden and Sons, was the decisive factor in Hastings's emergence, not the entrepreneurial initiative of individual settlers as popular accounts suggest.

M. B. Boyd makes this argument directly by challenging origin narratives she characterises as "legends often regarded as history."[464] In particular, Boyd rejects the widely repeated claim that Hastings emerged as a result of Thomas Tanner's sale of a 100-acre block to Francis Hicks, followed by Hicks' alleged offer to donate land to the government in exchange for the routing of the railway through Hastings rather than Havelock North.[465] Instead, Boyd situates the town's origins within a series of large-scale land transactions known as the "three great Riverslea land sales," emphasising the structural forces of land alienation and infrastructure planning over individual entrepreneurial initiative.[466]

By the early 1870s, a settler township had already developed at Karamū, reflecting the increasing European occupation of the Heretaunga Plains following extensive Māori land

[464] Boyd, *City of the Plains: A History of Hastings*, 16.
[465] Ibid.
[466] Ibid.

sales.[467] The decisive factor in Hastings' emergence, however, was the extension of the railway through central Heretaunga. The Government decided to route a railway under the contractors John Brogden and Sons,[468] a section between Napier and Pakipaki,[469] which began operations on 12 October 1874.[470] The railway must be understood within the broader context of Julius Vogel's immigration and public works policy, first articulated in 1869 and legislated following the introduction of the *Immigration and Public Works Act 1870*.[471] Vogel's programme sought to overcome what he perceived as New Zealand's geographical fragmentation through extensive borrowing to fund railways, roads, ports, and assisted immigration.[472]

The Heretaunga Plains, already transformed through land alienation, were well positioned to benefit from this infrastructure-driven settlement model. The founder of this firm, John Brogden, was a Manchester native.[473] The father of five sons and two daughters, the four eldest sons—John, Alexander, Henry, and James—upon receiving an education became partners in the firm John Brogden and Sons, this partnership particularly concerned initially with the construction of railways in the North and Midlands of England, the mining and eventual exporting of Furness haematite ore, possessing and operating collieries and ironworks throughout South Wales, as well as investing in other businesses.[474] By 1880, the firm was insolvent[475] in what L. R. Gilpin describes as "a poor end to a once prosperous business empire."[476]

John Brogden delivered various successful projects with the Manchester authority, necessary in response to the rapid urbanisation resulting from the industrialisation of the time.[477] One example is contributions to the watering of the town, applying his partner Joseph

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[467] Ibid.
[468] Hawke's Bay Times, "Advertisements" Hawke's Bay Times, February 17, 1874, 119.
[469] Boyd, City of the Plains: A History of Hastings, 16.
[470] Daily Southern Cross, "Napier (From Our Own Correspondent)," Daily Southern Cross, October 20, 1874, 3.
[471] Delwyn Blondell, "'A bright eye to the main chance': Brogdens' Navvies – British labourers building New Zealand's Railways," (MA Thesis, Massey University, 2020), 3.
[472] Ibid.
[473] L. R. Gilpin, "John Brogden of Manchester," Brogden Family History, last revised March 4, 2003, https://web.archive.org/web/20160303211823/http://www.brogden.info/Brogden-John-Brogden.htm.
[474] L. S. Higgins, "The Brogden Pioneers of the Early Industrial Development in Mid-Glamorgan," Brogden Family History, accessed September 27, 2025, http://www.brogden.info/PDF/Higgins1978.pdf.
[475] Ibid.
[476] Gilpin, "John Brogden of Manchester."
[477] Science Museum Group, "Model of street-sweeping machine," Science Museum Group, accessed September 27, 2025, https://collection.sciencemuseumgroup.org.uk/objects/co48530/model-of-street-sweeping-machine.

Whitworth's patented horse-drawn machines effective in sweeping streets[478] known commonly as a besom cart[479] (the first of its kind).[480] John Brogden and Joseph Whitworth were successful in securing a similar contract with the Westminster authority.[481] Following this, John Brogden established his firm's office in London.[482] Following a banker's generous financial investments,[483] the Brogdens secured numerous railway contracts including as the Manchester and Leeds Railway, the London and North Western Railway's Manchester and Birmingham section, the London and North Western Railway's Ashton-under-Lyne branch, the Lancashire and Yorkshire system's East Lancashire section, the Manchester, Altrincham and Bowdon Railway, as well as the South Eastern Railway[484] (of which John Brogden was a major shareholder of the company);[485] his eldest sons playing a prominent role during the process of construction.[486]

Many of these projects were successes, despite difficulty logistically, albeit not very lucrative, often resulting in the need to engage with railway rivals such as the Furness Railway Company.[487] By 1870, John was dead and his son James was leading the charge on the railway contracts.[488] The New Zealand Government authorised the first significant public works programme—which entailed railways[489]—through the *Immigration and Public Works Act 1870*,[490] resulting in a two-year long stay in New Zealand for James on behalf of John Brogden and Sons.[491]

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[478] Higgins, "The Brogden Pioneers of the Early Industrial Development in Mid-Glamorgan."
[479] Science Museum Group, "Model of street-sweeping machine."
[480] This besom cart was invented in 1842, in which the machine would contain street debris by elevating it from the ground with a large drum surrounded by wire bristles, using a rotating chain to spin. See Schwarze Industries, "A Brief History of the Mechanical Street Sweeper," Schwarze Industries, accessed September 27, 2025, https://schwarze.com/en/a-brief-history-of-the-mechanical-street-sweeper/; Science Museum Group, "Model of street-sweeping machine."
[481] Higgins, "The Brogden Pioneers of the Early Industrial Development in Mid-Glamorgan."
[482] Ibid.
[483] Ibid.
[484] Higgins, "The Brogden Pioneers of the Early Industrial Development in Mid-Glamorgan."
[485] Gilpin, "John Brogden of Manchester."
[486] Higgins, "The Brogden Pioneers of the Early Industrial Development in Mid-Glamorgan."
[487] Ibid.
[488] Ibid.
[489] Ibid.
[490] New Zealand Government, "Immigration and Public Works Act 1870 (33 and 34 Victoriae 1870 No 77)," New Zealand Legal Information Institute, accessed August 11, 2025, https://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/iapwa187033a34v1870n77428/.
[491] Higgins, "The Brogden Pioneers of the Early Industrial Development in Mid-Glamorgan."

In 1871, Julius Vogel presented his papers relating to his "mission to England" to the General Assembly and the Premier William Fox which encompassed a variety of subjects.[492] One included railways in which Vogel describes how he was "actively engaged in negotiations" with John Brogden and Sons during his time in London "respecting the construction of railways in New Zealand."[493] Vogel further writes of the preceding context in relation to the securing of the contracts, for instance that the firm had "prior to [his] arrival, arranged to send out an agent, with a surveying staff" ultimately to "cause some of the lines of suggested railways" in order to "enable the firm afterwards to make proposals to the Government for their construction."[494] Vogel's communication was primarily conducted with Alexander Brogden,[495] at that time a member of the House of Commons for the Wednesbury electorate[496] (located in the West Midlands region of England)[497] who he describes as "the head of the firm."[498] For Heretaunga, this was not an abstract national policy. The railway line through the Heretaunga Plains was the direct mechanism by which land already alienated from Ngāti Kahungunu was opened to large-scale European settlement and agricultural development.

In regards to contractual issues that later play out in court between the firm and the Government of New Zealand, Vogel acknowledges contractual discrepancies in which the firm "were under the impression that the Government would, in any event, defray the cost of their agent and his staff; and, as I understand, the acceptance of that responsibility would have been insisted upon by the agent, as a condition-precedent to the commencement of surveying operations by himself and his staff,"[499] Vogel replying that he "was not prepared to make any recommendation on the subject, or to guarantee the cost of the proposed exhibition" in response to Alexander Brogden's request that the Government cover the cost of surveying.[500] Ultimately, the agreements were signed despite what Vogel describes as "very great difficulties on both sides."[501] The deal is acknowledged by Vogel as "highly favourable to the Colony, but

[492] Julius Vogel, "Papers Relating to Mr. Vogel's Mission to England," Papers Past, accessed September 27, 2025, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1871-I.2.1.2.8#image-tab.
[493] Ibid.
[494] Ibid.
[495] Ibid.
[496] Wanganui Herald, "Thursday, May 28, 1885," *Wanganui Herald*, May 28, 1885, 3.
[497] UK Parliament, "Wednesbury," UK Parliament, accessed September 27, 2025, https://members.parliament.uk/constituency/3072/election-history.
[498] Julius Vogel, "Papers Relating to Mr. Vogel's Mission to England."
[499] Ibid.
[500] Ibid.
[501] Ibid.

one which should entail upon it the exercise of great forbearance and encouragement towards the Contractors… who would not have concluded the arrangement, had they not calculated upon the Government affording to them all reasonable consideration and aid."[502]

Throughout 1872, John Brogden and Sons secured various contracts for the construction of railways on both the North and South Islands.[503] As is noted in a sub-enclosure to the Colonial Office in Westminster on 15 January 1878—in relation to a complaint by John Brogden and Sons to oppose implications of the *Government Contractors Arbitration Act 1872* and for Her Majesty's Government could conduct an inquiry as to "the grave and serious injustice we now suffer under from the retention of such large sums of money, and no hearing is possible without great delay and expense to the colony and ourselves"—it denotes the many contracts with the Governor of New Zealand.[504] It was an Act, with significant impact on John Brogden and Sons as it specifically names them in reference to the applicable contracts "entered into between the Governor in the name of Her Majesty the Queen, and Messieurs Alexander Brodgen, Henry Brogden, and James Brogden (carrying on business as aforesaid under the style of 'John Brogden and Sons' for the execution of public works)," referring to "Disputes occurring between certain contractors and the Government of the Colony to decision of a judge of the Supreme Court, and for giving jurisdiction to such judge in certain cases therein."[505] Sir George Ferguson Bowen (an Irishman who served as the first Governor, taking office on 5 February 1868, succeeding George Grey),[506] representing Queen Victoria.[507] All contracts confirmed on 10 August 1872, they included railways from Auckland to Mercer, Napier to Pakipaki, Wellington to Hutt, Picton to Blenheim, Dunedin to Clutha, and Invercargill to Mataura.[508]

Regarding the impact of the Act on Māori and land alienation, it relied on the acquisition of Māori land. Furthermore, the unprecedented increase in European migration

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[502] Ibid.
[503] New Zealand Government, *Messrs. Brogden's Claims. Correspondence and Memoranda Respecting "The Contractors Arbitration Act, 1872," and "The Crown Redress Act, 1877"* (Wellington: New Zealand Government, 1878), 1.
[504] Ibid.
[505] Geoff McLay, "The Problem with Suing Sovereigns: Sloman (1876*)," Victoria University of Wellington Law Review 41*, no. 3 (2010): 411.
[506] W. P. N. Tyler, "Bowen, George Ferguson," Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, accessed August 10, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1b27/bowen-george-ferguson.
[507] New Zealand Government, *Messrs. Brogden's Claims. Correspondence and Memoranda Respecting "The Contractors Arbitration Act, 1872," and "The Crown Redress Act, 1877,"* 1.
[508] Ibid.

would see the Māori population become a minority.[509] In 1893, Vogel, who at that time returned to London, stated: "The Public Works Policy seemed to the Government the sole alternative to a war of extermination with the natives."[510] Cathy Marr describes the introduction of the Immigration and Public Works Loan Act 1870 as having "origins in English public works principles and developments but these have also been modified and adapted and at times overturned to meet many of the different circumstances settlers found in New Zealand."[511] The compulsory acquisition of Māori land for the purposes of public works is denoted during the thirty years prior from the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840.[512] There is variation in how land was acquired by the Crown for public works. For instance, Marr writes of certain difficulties in the process of researching Māori land takings for public works, particularly in relation to what constitutes "taking" of lands in both customary and freehold title, as well as significant amounts of land "vested or reserved."[513] Marr argues that public works land takings requires care in analysing as public works legislation often was complicated with the issues of voluntary sale and compulsory acquisition.[514] Marr further writes:

> Compulsory taking provisions could also be used, even if an owner was involved in a willing agreement, simply to overcome any possible problems with the land title. On the other hand, it cannot always be automatically assumed either that where land was taken by agreement, the owner was truly 'willing', as the Crown had considerable powers to pressure an owner to 'agree' to a taking, including the threat of resorting to compulsory provisions if negotiations failed.[515]

The Immigration and Public Works Act 1870 connected infrastructure and immigration, as well as placed further pressure on Māori land. The Act consisted of nine parts covering roads in the North Island, railway construction and funding, water supply works for goldfields, land acquisition in the North Island, immigration, and miscellaneous provisions

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[509] Manatū Taonga — Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "Vogel's vision," NZ History, last revised April 30, 2018, https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/the-vogel-era/vogels-vision.
[510] Ibid.
[511] Cathy Marr, *Rangahaua Whanui: Public Works Takings of Maori Land, 1840–1981*, Ministry of Justice Report (Wellington, Ministry of Justice, 1997), 4.
[512] Ibid., 1.
[513] Ibid., 1–2.
[514] Ibid., 1–2.
[515] Ibid., 1–2.

including the appointment of the Minister of Public Works.[516] This Act was paired with two other initiatives of Vogel: the Immigration and Public Works Loan Act 1873[517] (an "Act to authorize the raising of Money for Railways and Purchase of Maori Land")[518] and the Railways Act 1870[519] (an "Act to provide for the construction of certain Railways under the provisions of 'The Immigration and Public Works Act 1870' out of Moneys authorized to be raised under 'The Immigration and Public Works Loan Act 1870.'")[520]

In introducing the Act which would see unprecedented investment into public infrastructure, as well as prevalent immigration schemes to assist in economic growth as well as the application of the infrastructure projects, Vogel recounted in 1869: "New Zealand is a peculiar country. You cannot get over its geographical configuration. You cannot bring together the two ends nearer than they are. There will always be a certain amount of isolation in different parts until the iron horse [railway] runs through the two islands."[521] The programme ultimately entailed significant borrowing from within London financial markets, with estimates of the borrowing by 1881 placed at £21 million (which the Ministry of Culture and Heritage states is equivalent to $3.5 billion NZD in 2018 currency).[522] Said funding from the significant borrowing was applied in a variety of contexts: government-subsidised immigration schemes, as well as numerous infrastructure projects including ports, buildings for public services, an extensive telegraph network, as well as roading.[523]

The immigration schemes fuelled by the policy advancements made by Julius Vogel as Colonial Treasurer saw the most populous migration in New Zealand's history through the 1870s.[524] For example, throughout the following fifteen years, New Zealand saw a doubling of the non-Māori population, accredited to the significantly higher net addition than previous years.[525] Individuals born in the United Kingdom made up three-quarters of the immigrant population to New Zealand.[526] A particularly populous year was 1874, in which there was an

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[516] New Zealand Government, "Immigration and Public Works Act 1870 (33 and 34 Victoriae 1870 No 77)."
[517] R. M. Burdon, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius Vogel* (Christchurch: The Caxton Press, 1948), 65.
[518] Parliamentary Counsel Office, "Immigration and Public Works Loan Act 1873," New Zealand Legislation, accessed August 11, 2025, https://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1873/0049/latest/whole.html.
[519] Burdon, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius Vogel*, 65.
[520] New Zealand Government, "Railways Act 1870 (33 and 34 Victoriae 1870 No 78)," New Zealand Legal Information Institute, accessed August 11, 2025, https://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/ra187033a34v1870n78257/.
[521] Manatū Taonga — Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "Vogel's vision."
[522] Ibid.
[523] Ibid.
[524] Ibid.
[525] Ibid.
[526] Ibid.

annual increase of 38,000 immigrants, which holds the record as of 2025.[527] In 1871, 2712 of them were British labourers employed by John Brogden and Sons,[528] commonly referred to as Brogden's Navvies, in which Delwyn Blondell argues that the contracting firm "became reluctant immigration agents so they could fulfil their agreement with the New Zealand Government for the massive and costly public works undertaking" and denotes their "significant contribution to railways, not only in construction but in maintenance, and that a substantial proportion was absorbed quickly and successfully into New Zealand society."[529] Their effectiveness in the establishment of the rail network throughout New Zealand can perhaps be credited to their awareness regarding the efficiency of Britain's rail transport, with Blondell noting that "its construction had dominated the provision of infrastructure in the mid-nineteenth century."[530]

This net migration addition is considered particularly significant due to a negative perception of New Zealand throughout Europe due to the New Zealand Wars.[531] For example, this is illuminated in a 10 March 1865 debate regarding the wars in New Zealand in the House of Commons in the United Kingdom.[532] One particular speech that signifies perceptions regarding New Zealand is that by the politician John Arthur Roebuck, a notable radical British politician who entered the political scene in the 1830s,[533] who defies the statements "humanitarians… accusing this country of injustice in her attempts to extend civilization."[534] Instead, Roebuck takes the position to "vindicate the conduct of those men" who "endeavoured to extend the range of English civilization" in New Zealand, alluding to the issue of native affairs being one of discussion and disagreements amongst the British public.[535] Roebuck further acknowledges that "New Zealand was colonized not by the Government of England, but in spite of the Government of England" and that a "certain

[527] Ibid.
[528] Ibid.
[529] Blondell, "'A bright eye to the main chance': Brogdens' Navvies – British labourers building New Zealand's Railways," II.
[530] Ibid., 2.
[531] Manatū Taonga — Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "Vogel's vision."
[532] UK Parliament, "War In New Zealand – Volume 177: debated on Friday 10 March 1865," UK Parliament, accessed August 12, 2025, https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1865-03-10/debates/97eabda4-608e-47d0-8223-02a7f1ef9a63/WarInNewZealand.
[533] Janet Ajzenstat, "Collectivity and Individual Right in "Mainstream" Liberalism: John Arthur Roebuck and the Patriotes," *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes 19*, no. 3 (2018): 100.
[534] UK Parliament, "War In New Zealand – Volume 177: debated on Friday 10 March 1865."
[535] Ibid.

number of people gathered together after the fashion of the old people whom sentimental historians have called the 'Pilgrim Fathers.'"[536] Roebuck further remarks:

> They were about to dispossess the wild animals of New Zealand, and among those wild animals the most mischievous is the wild man… The aboriginal man lives in a constant state of warfare. That I assert. He is vindictive, faithless, and cruel. That is his character… therefore, to import English civilization into New Zealand, and to overwhelm the barbarity of the Natives, was doing good in the face of nature, not of men.[537]

Ultimately, Roebuck's speech not only illuminates the perceptions of New Zealand in the times nearing the 1870s and the great migration, but also a positive view regarding the colonisation of New Zealand, further stating that "I say that if I could establish in New Zealand English civilization in place of original barbarity, I should increase the happiness of mankind, and increase the means of living quietly and happily."[538]

The beginning of operations was marked with the first train ride embarking at 10:40 in the morning, over one hundred Napier citizens aboard the two carriages.[539] This specific route entailed the erection of a station house in Farndon, near Clive,[540] to a proposed Karamu junction, which is a central location of the Heretaunga Plains.[541] By October 1874, there is noted as being one fifth-class passenger house at Farndon, one fourth-class railway station at Hastings, and another fourth-class railway station at Pakipaki.[542] Information regarding the establishment of the rail system in the Heretaunga-Ahuriri region is regularly disseminated throughout the year 1874 by the Railway office located down Tennyson Street in Napier.[543]

From the establishment of Hastings in 1873, the town experienced steady growth in both population and economy.[544] Campbell accredits this steady growth, in comparison to the "tardy progress" of Napier, to being surrounded "by rich land, suitable for fat stock grazing, dairy farming, market gardening and orcharding" as well as "its supply of food artesian water, combined with large areas of flat land for further settlement" which "attracted some successful

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536 Ibid.
537 Ibid.
538 Ibid.
539 Boyd, *City of the Plains: A History of Hastings*, 16–17.
540 Hawke's Bay Times, "Advertisements," 119.
541 Boyd, *City of the Plains: A History of Hastings*, 16.
542 Hawke's Bay Times, "Advertisements," 119.
543 Ibid.
544 Campbell, *Story of Napier 1874–1974: Footprints Along the Shore*, 81.

industries."[545] Despite the promise, Campbell frames the degree of it as "a heady but exaggerated view of its future," referencing a 1905 article in *Hastings Standard* which describes Hastings as "a town which all farsighted men consider as destined to become a second Christchurch."[546]

[545] Ibid.
[546] Ibid.

Chapter Six: Ngāti Kahungunu Responses to British Ideals and Structures

6.1 Involvement in Public Life: Politics in Local, National, and Māori Contexts

As settler governance models prevailed, the participation of Māori in public political life also persisted. This chapter challenges narratives that cast Māori as passive victims of colonisation, arguing instead that Ngāti Kahungunu *hapū* exercised sustained political agency through petitioning, court engagement, parliamentary strategies, repudiation movements, and ongoing adaptation to shifting colonial structures. This was a choice that can be understood as both strategic and necessary. The sub-tribes of Ngāti Kahungunu residing in the Heretaunga region became involved across a variety of spheres: local councils, the national House of Representatives, and Māori political movements of varying longevity. Across these spheres, Ngāti Kahungunu encountered limitations. The consideration of their participation is vital to understanding how sub-tribal efforts were applied, and how those efforts shaped outcomes within these political contexts. This section argues that Ngāti Kahungunu participation in colonial political life was neither passive loyalty nor ideological alignment with the Crown, but a series of contingent, *hapū*-specific strategies aimed at preserving authority, security, and access to resources under conditions of increasing colonial constraint.

European accounts sometimes reduced Maori political choices to loyalty or disloyalty. For example, *The Evening (New Zealand) Herald* wrote at the time: "It is time that the Government looked in some other direction for the means of finishing the war than in that of the friendly Maories. The great mistake all along has been to arm natives at all; but it is never too late to mend, and after disarming the Kupapas let them be sent to their respective villages."[547] Contemporary European commentary frequently framed Māori participation alongside the Crown in reductive and pejorative terms, revealing settler expectations rather than Māori political intent. Ultimately, it is crucial to examine engagement with colonial structures through the lens of individual *hapū* decision-making.

Historians have since challenged the colonial framing of *kūpapa* by emphasising the term's shifting meanings and situational use. Danny Keenan argues that, during the period of

[547] Victoria University of Wellington Library, *The Pamphlet Collection of Sir Robert Stout: Volume 10* (Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington Library): 26–27.

hostilities, individual Māori and small groups were as likely as *hapū* and tribes to fight for the Crown, stay out of the conflict, or fight one another.[548] He adds that the term first referred to Māori who stayed out of the conflict, remaining "seated on the ground" while others rose to debate or left for war.[549] This is argued as the catalyst for the perception of "neutrals" by colonists as "friendly to the Crown, somewhat subverting its original meaning."[550] There is also room to consider the difference in context regarding the use of the word that may separate the past from present-day usages. Such depictions ignored the strategic calculations underpinning Māori engagement and reduced complex political decisions to settler frustration with the limits of Indigenous military utility.

R. D. Crosby acknowledges the change in definition and common use of the term, contrasting a 1971 definition of "neutral in a quarrel" to a 1999 definition as "traitor."[551] Crosby argues instead that they are best described as "aligned" or "allied" with the Crown or settler Government, supporting it only in circumstances where they judged that it coincided with protecting their *tino rangatiratanga* under the Treaty, circumstances he says varied constantly across time and place.[552] This interpretive approach is particularly applicable to Heretaunga, where *hapū* alignment with the Crown fluctuated according to local pressures rather than adherence to a consistent ideological position.

Peter Maxwell argues that the term has been misused in many academic contexts, and that historians' repetitive use of it demeans Māori fighting men, belittles the relationships that developed between them and Europeans, and obscures their unity of purpose.[553] For Ngāti Kahungunu, this misuse has contributed to a historiography that flattens internal debate and obscures *hapū*-level political reasoning. Maxwell further examines historical debate regarding the degree with which Māori were committed to the Crown's "cause," quoting James Belich's argument that those referred to as *kūpapa* "did not share British aims; they had their own, which seemed to them to be honourable and in their best interests," but Maxwell ultimately separates from previous narratives about them, arguing that the "alliances forged between the two races during the 1860s are complex matters involving sequential shifts in perception, human nature and the passage of time."[554] Maxwell further argues that the *kūpapa* label

[548] Keenan, *Wars Without End: The Land Wars in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand*, 262–263.
[549] Ibid.
[550] Ibid.
[551] R. D. Crosby, *Kūpapa: The bitter legacy of Māori alliances with the Crown* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2015): 8.
[552] Ibid., 12.
[553] Maxwell, *Frontier: The Battle for the North Island of New Zealand 1860 – 1872*, 143.
[554] Ibid., 143–144.

overlooks something long recognised by the warrior caste: that shared danger, especially where one man saves another's life or helps defend his home and family, can generate a lifelong friendship that transcends race, colour, creed, or social standing.[555]

The term *kūpapa* is important to consider as it can obscure *hapū* strategy and local political context. Significant collaboration between the Crown and Heretaunga *hapū* of Ngāti Kahungunu can be perceived in a variety of contexts. An example includes the presence of Pai Mārire and its approach into Ngāti Kahungunu territory, in which there was an open declaration by various *rangatira*—including Te Hāpuku—which emphasised "their loyalty to the Queen, and they said they were prepared… to fight against any tribe either from Waikato or elsewhere, that might threaten to disturb the peace of the district."[556] The impact of Pai Mārire in the Heretaunga region will be explored further on in greater detail. However, when considering the position of Heretaunga *hapū*, linking Crown sympathy against a movement with roots in land confiscations with significant land sales assists in the evaluation. Aligning with the Crown against Pai Mārire did not indicate blanket acceptance of colonial authority, but reflected concern over regional stability, land security, and the containment of external influence.

Albeit flawed and achieved through questionable practices by both settlers and *rangatira* on behalf of their people, Heretaunga Māori sold land to private buyers and the Crown for the expected purposes of economic prosperity that would come with European settlement. This could conceivably be interpreted to fit the pejorative sense of the term *kūpapa*,[557] Te Hāpuku, for instance, may have seen in his visits to Kororāreka and the Bay of Islands, a region in which significant trading and European settlements were establishing to a much greater extent than Ngāti Kahungunu territories.[558] The degree to which this is the case will be analysed throughout this thesis, particularly regarding the way in which this may impact sub-tribal affairs.

This approach challenges the prevailing tendency to overlook *hapū* as autonomous political entities, with scholarship often focusing instead on individual actors or pan-tribal responses. By centring *hapū*-specific actions, a more nuanced and vivid picture of the past emerges; one in which established social and political hierarchies operate alongside, and in

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[555] Ibid.
[556] Crosby, *Kūpapa: The bitter legacy of Māori alliances with the Crown*, 308.
[557] Ibid., 307.
[558] Ballara, "Te Hāpuku."

response to, the introduction of entirely new systems. In this sense, Ngāti Kahungunu political engagement illustrates how *hapū* exercised *mana* through adaptation rather than withdrawal, navigating colonial systems while continuing to operate as autonomous political entities.

6.2 The Utilisation of European Political Systems as a Means of Defence and Change

This section argues that Ngāti Kahungunu engagement with European legal and political institutions—particularly the Native Land Court and parliamentary inquiries—was not passive conformity, but a strategic attempt to defend *rangatiratanga* and contest land alienation within imposed colonial frameworks. The Heretaunga Purchase illustrates both the limits of these strategies and the ways Māori actors sought redress through settler institutions even as those institutions worked against them.

The Heretaunga Purchase is an example of how land alienation operated through private purchase, law, and political influence. The purchase is remembered with infamy, exemplified by contemporary commentary, with one journalist in 1885 writing that the "history of the Heretaunga case since then would fill many issues of a newspaper, and, with its collated incidents and side issues, would form a far more interesting romance than is often to be found in three volumes or between yellow covers."[559] The entirety of Hastings City is comprised on the Heretaunga Block, a single ten-owner 19,385-acre block[560] considered one of the most valuable in New Zealand,[561] allocated in December 1866 by the Native Land Court.[562] It first began under an illegal lease in 1864, with the settler Thomas Tanner dividing it into 12 shares and retaining four for himself.[563] The six associates whom were distributed shares of the block were J. N. Williams, A. H. Russell, T. E. Gordon, J. D. Ormond, T. P. Russell and J. B. Braithwaite.[564]

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[559] Evening Star, "A Sale of Native Land in Hawke's Bay," *Evening Star*, December 15, 1885, 4.
[560] Joseph Selwyn Te Rito, "Whakapapa and whenua: An insider's view," MAI Review, accessed March 8, 2024, https://www.journal.mai.ac.nz/system/files/maireview/79-193-1-PB.pdf, 1.
[561] Kay Mooney, "Tanner, Thomas," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed June 12, 2024, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t10/tanner-thomas.
[562] Richard Boast and Lisa Lefever Black, "The Native Land Court and the Ten Owner Rule in Hawke's Bay, 1866–1873: An Analysis," in *Droit Foncier et Gouvernance Judiciare dans le Pacifique Sud*, eds. A. H. Angelo, Olivier Aimot, and Yves-Louis Sage (Wellington: Revue Juridique Polynesienne, 2010), 172-173.
[563] Mooney, "Tanner, Thomas."
[564] Ibid.

The private purchase method fundamentally altered the balance of power, bypassing collective Māori decision-making and forcing opposition into colonial legal forums rather than customary ones. The Heretaunga Purchase was a clear example of this. It was a major sale that differed in origin from that of others, being that it was purchased by a party of settlers represented by Thomas Tanner, as opposed to in representation of the Crown.[565] Despite significant opposition by some Māori landowners as well as Europeans who opposed a few individuals possessing significant land areas, Heretaunga eventually gained freehold title.[566] The purchases led by Tanner were of high influence and politically connected, for example with the Native Minister at the time.[567] M. B. Boyd describes the Heretaunga Purchase as the most notorious example of the direct-purchase method introduced by the Government in 1865, which let private individuals buy land directly in order to overcome Māori resistance to selling and to push European settlement into Māori districts.[568]

A valuable primary source which illuminates pertinent information regarding Heretaunga land alienation is the Hawkes Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission of 1873, regardless of outcome or previous historical analysis of the subject; for example, S. M. Cole examines how P. J. Coleman's master's thesis on the matter was limited by a lack of sources and an undue reliance on the *Hawkes Bay Herald*, which research has shown must be used with great caution because it acted as an instrument of propaganda against the movement.[569] According to Cole, this constitutes a motivation for her thesis in acknowledging the subsequent repudiation movement following the commission.[570]

The commission, which sat for a period of three months, heard approximately three-hundred complaints.[571] Prior to its start, its effectiveness was undermined which was ultimately acknowledged in the opening remarks of C. W. Richmond. He stated that it "was not the duty of the Commission to decide any dispute, nor to determine the title to any land" and that the "Commission could only recommend to Parliament measures that would prevent the future occurrence of similar grounds for complaint."[572] The commission's result is

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[565] The Lyttleton Times, "Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission," *The Lyttleton Times*, October 8, 1873, 2.
[566] Mooney, "Tanner, Thomas."
[567] The Lyttleton Times, "Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission," 2.
[568] Boyd, *City of the Plains: A History of Hastings*, 5.
[569] S. M. Cole, "The Repudiation Movement: A Study of the Māori Land Protest Movement in Hawke's Bay in the 1870s" (MA Thesis, Massey University, 1977), 1.
[570] Ibid.
[571] Ibid., 68.
[572] Ibid.

exemplified in the sentiments shared by the presiding judges. Judge F. E. Maning opined that "that the movement amongst the Hawkes Bay Natives is founded much more upon a desire to repudiate as far as possible all they have done in the alienation of land than in a wish for redress of particular grievances."[573] This limitation effectively transformed the Commission into a mechanism for managing Māori dissatisfaction rather than resolving Māori grievances, reinforcing the structural imbalance Ngāti Kahungunu were attempting to challenge through participation.

During his tenure as Minister of Native Affairs (between 1858 and 1860),[574] Richmond's engagement with the role's central question—Māori relations—offers insight into his political career. According to W. David McIntyre, Richmond "was unsympathetic to Māori aspirations to retain their land."[575] Richmond's positions become central to this thesis, especially during his later tenure on the Supreme Court of New Zealand.[576] This, therefore, has direct relevance to the Hawkes Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission of 1873.[577] In a debate on native policy on 18 May 1858, Richmond's philosophy on Māori affairs was exemplified: "How, then, did we raise ourselves from a barbarous state? How were we developed, from a rude, red-haired horde on the banks of the Elbe, into the foremost rank amongst the nations – amongst the first in power, and in all that ennobles and beautifies life?"[578] In this harangue, Richmond romanticises British society as a means of denigrating the state of Māori, hereby rationalising their colonisation.

Samuel D. Carpenter's master's thesis provides valuable analysis of nineteenth-century political debates in New Zealand. The thesis explores how the language used by parliamentary figures revealed that politicians largely perceived themselves as British subjects, inheriting constitutional freedoms and property rights, and as a part of a national history in which their Anglo-Saxon forebears had introduced early forms of these liberties.[579] Carpenter's thesis also examines the approach with which Richmond would have had to have considered. For instance, Carpenter outlines three options in relation to governing Māori

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[573] Ibid.
[574] Sinclair, "Richmond, Christopher William."
[575] W. David McIntyre, "Self-government and independence – Controlling Māori affairs," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed October 13, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/zoomify/32927/memo-about-native-affairs-department.
[576] Ibid.
[577] Ibid.
[578] Samuel D. Carpenter, "History, Law and Land: The Languages of Native Policy in New Zealand's General Assembly, 1858-62" (MA Thesis, Massey University, 2008), 1.
[579] Ibid.

affairs: one being to recognise Māori customs as "advocated by Lord Stanley and Protector George Clarke," two being to enforce British legal conceptions as advocated by George Grey, and three being an application of Governor Grey's revised notions which he stated as "to insinuate or induce the acceptance of British law," with Carpenter ultimately arguing that Richmond adopted the latter approach.[580]

Richmond applies the philosophies in his legislative efforts, particularly during his time as Minister of Native Affairs. One relevant effort was the Native Territorial Rights Bill of 1858,[581] which allowed the Governor to issue certificates of title to a tribe, community, or individual, provided that an application was made and the Governor in Council was satisfied that the applicants were entitled, under Māori custom, to exclusive use and occupation of land in the colony where native title had not been extinguished.[582] Ultimately, this was legislation which could have resulted in the controversies seen in the Heretaunga Purchases in which specific complainants state that someone granted title who went on to sell to European settlers had no authority to do so.[583] Carpenter argues that Richmond's legislative efforts, particularly during 1858, "allowed for a time period in which Māori could gradually adopt British institutions of local governance and individual tenure."[584] Richmond's views exemplify the intellectual foundations of the legal environment Ngāti Kahungunu were forced to navigate in pursuing redress. One must consider these influences and the ways in which they impact any legal analysis on the Heretaunga purchases.

F. E. Maning's pathway to examining that "central question" different to Richmond's. An Irishman, Maning lived for many years as a Pākehā-Māori, fathering five children with two Māori women.[585] Maning was successful in 1865 in securing a role as a judge of the new Native Land Court, which he held until his retirement in 1876.[586] It was after significant lobbying that he was able to secure said role within one of the Native Land Court's first co-

[580] Ibid., 24.
[581] Ibid., 69.
[582] New Zealand Government, "21 and 22 Victoriae 1858 No 80 – Native Territorial Rights Act 1858," New Zealand Legal Information Institute, accessed October 13, 2025, https://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/ntra185821a22v1858n80431.pdf, 476.
[583] Ibid.
[584] Carpenter, "History, Law and Land: The Languages of Native Policy in New Zealand's General Assembly, 1858-62," 5.
[585] David Colquhoun, "Maning, Frederick Edward," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed October 13, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m9/maning-frederick-edward.
[586] Ibid.

horts of judges, often with reference to his knowledge of the Māori language,[587] which researcher Moyra Cooke argues was "mired in controversy, the result of political manoeuvering."[588] Maning was a strong proponent of the ten-owner provision of the Act, which Maning argued would fulfil the requirements of Māori (as was shared within written correspondence with Fenton) "by offering them a means of extricating themselves from the Māori tenure."[589] Maning's reasoning demonstrates how Māori participation in legal processes was interpreted not as political agency, but as evidence of Māori incapacity. For Ngāti Kahungunu *hapū*, this framework elevated a small group of *rangatira* while undermining collective authority, intensifying internal divisions. This directly contradicted the *hapū*-based system of collective landholding examined in Chapter Two, in which no single individual held the authority to independently sell or redistribute land. The ten-owner rule replaced collective *hapū* authority with a small group of named individuals, transforming a system of collective tenure into one that could be leveraged for individual land transactions.

Francis Dart Fenton positively expressed a potential outcome in which cessation of communal ownership as creating a landed gentry of Māori chiefs and a sub-class of labourers, two classes in which "one composed of well-to-do farmers, and the other of intemperate landlords."[590] This reflection from Fenton, who was the Chief Justice of the Native Land Court, is pertinent to consider, particularly in relation to British socio-political ideas and the way in which the influence European-Māori relations.[591] Later in life when reflecting upon the motivations behind the establishment of the court, Fenton wrote in 1886 that: "The whole theory of the Native Lands Act, when the Court was created in 1862, was the putting an end to Māori communal ownership. To recognise the kind of agency contended for would be to build up communal ownership, and would tend to perpetuate the evil instead of removing it."[592]

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[587] Moyra Cooke, "Maning and the Native Land Court: Revisiting Maning's Reputation" (BA Honours Research Report, Massey University, 2011), 20.
[588] Ibid., 2.
[589] Bryan D. Gilling, "Engine of Destruction? An Introduction to the History of the Maori Land Court," *Victoria University of Wellington Law Review 24*, no. 2 (1994): 130.
[590] Ibid.
[591] Ibid., 124.
[592] Mahony Horner Lawyers, "Taihape – Rangitīkei ki Rangipō District Inquiry / Generic Claimant Closing Submissions in Reply – Issue 3: Native Land Court, Questions 1–6" (Waitangi Tribunal Report, Ministry of Justice, 2021), 11.

Alan Ward argued that Fenton's ultimate approach within the court opposed the introduction of restrictions in response to excessive alienations in 1867.[593] Instead, Fenton prioritised the fostering of the ten-owner system, instead choosing to publicly expound the view that "the principal men of each hapu should be established in property and allowed to live as gentry, while the remainder were compelled to labour for a living."[594] With specific impacts to Ngāti Kahungunu *hapū*, Ward further argues that Fenton "made no effort to explain section 17 to Maori applicants and as late as 1871 Hawkes Bay hapu did not even know of its [section 17 of the 1867 Act] existence."[595] In regards to the application and results of the Courts in Hawke's Bay, Fenton writes in 1867 "in my judgment, it is not part of our duty to stop eminently good processes because certain bad and unpreventable results may collaterally flow from them, nor can it be averred that it is the duty of the Legislature to make people careful of their property by Act of Parliament, so long as their profligacy injures no one but themselves."[596]

Along with Richmond and Maning, two Māori served on the commission: Wiremu Hikairo from Rotorua and Te Wheoro from the Waikato.[597] Wiremu Hikairo was the chief of the Ngāti Rangiwewehi sub-tribe of the Te Arawa tribe, a descendant of Rangitihi and Uenukukōpako.[598] Hikairo had a reputation as a strategist and peacemaker, particularly during the Musket Wars; for instance collaborating with Korokai of Ngāti Whakaue to stop sub-tribal warfare as well as peace efforts with Ngāi Te Rangi.[599] This reputation was sealed specifically after a July 1845 meeting at Puhirua, in which Hikairo called on attendees to end inter-tribal warfare and that murder would henceforth be a punishable offense.[600] He would later play a peacekeeping role between Tūhourangi and Ngāti Whakaue in regards to a dispute regarding land.[601]

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593 Waitangi Tribunal, "Report of The Waitangi Tribunal on The Orakei Claim (Wai-9)" (Waitangi Tribunal Report, Brooker and Friend Ltd, 1987), 48.
594 Ibid.
595 Ibid.
596 Gilling, "Engine of Destruction? An Introduction to the History of the Maori Land Court," 130.
597 Boast, "Māori Land and Land Tenure in New Zealand: 150 Years of the Māori Land Court," 104.
598 Jenifer Curnow, "Hikairo, Wiremu," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed October 15, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h19/hikairo-wiremu.
599 Ibid.
600 Ibid.
601 Ibid.

Te Wheoro was from Waikato and chief of the Ngāti Naho *hapū*, one with close ties to Ngāti Mahuta.[602] Te Wheoro is noted for his pro-government leanings. There are noted instances for which, prior to his introduction into public life, he had opposed the granting of the title "King" to Te Wherowhero when his appointment as the first Māori monarch was being discussed (Te Wherowhero from the related Ngāti Mahuta sub-tribe), as well as attended a 1860 Māori conference at Kohimarama promoting government policies.[603] His first noted public role was upon appointed as a chief assessor Te Kohekohe's official *runanga* in 1862, advocating for the erection of a courthouse presided over by magistrate John Gorst despite opposition from Tāwhiao (who would become the second king) who ultimately threw a delivery of timber from Auckland into the river.[604]

Te Wheoro later served on the British side during the invasion of Waikato as a captain in the colonial militia, with specific use as a guide.[605] He later served as an intermediary between the Kīngitanga and the New Zealand government.[606] These efforts of reconciliation were futile, particularly as the Kīngitanga lived in exile in the territories of Ngāti Maniapoto following the battle of Rangiriri.[607] This intermediary position was formalised in 1875 when Te Wheoro became a native commissioner, acting as escort and liaison for figures such as Donald McLean, Major W. G. Mair, George Grey, and John Sheehan.[608] He ultimately resigned from this position in 1879, entering Parliament later that year for the Western Māori electorate.[609]

Following the end of Grey's tenure as Premier, and the subsequent entry of John Hall into the role, Te Wheoro served on the Native Affairs Committee, which ultimately became confrontational, particularly in regards to his relations with the native minister John Bryce.[610] This incited Te Wheoro in 1880 to undermine the function of the Native Land Court, publicly denounce governmental relations with Māori, and criticise the operations of the Native Affairs Committee.[611] During his time as a parliamentarian, he supported various

[602] Gary Scott, "Te Wheoro, Wiremu Te Mōrehu Maipapa," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed October 15, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t87/te-wheoro-wiremu-te-morehu-maipapa.
[603] Ibid.
[604] Ibid.
[605] Ibid.
[606] Ibid.
[607] Ibid.
[608] Ibid.
[609] Ibid.
[610] Ibid.
[611] Ibid.

Māori initiatives such as the translation of Hansard reports into the Māori language for wider dissemination, promotion of the temperance movement in Māori communities, as well as advocating for Māori self-governance on a local level.[612] Te Wheoro's behaviour during his time as a member of parliament perhaps signifies a discontentment with the government, although this was most likely motivated by the loss of his own lands during the invasion of Waikato.

Te Wheoro would vocally oppose the native assessors within the Native Land Court, as was made clear during an investigation conducted by Theodore Minet Haultain in 1871—a former politician who had retired from elected politics following the death of his wife Jane in 1870 who went on to hold various public roles, namely in completing a report on the working of the *Native Lands Act* and later as Trust Commissioner under the *Native Lands Frauds Prevention Act*[613]—in which he argued in a letter to the Colonel on 23 May 1870:

> They are of no use, and have little or nothing to say to the cases that are being tried; they sit like dummies, and only think of the pay they are going to get. Wiremu Hikairo is perhaps an exception, but he was taught at school. None of the other Assessors have done any good, and always support the side in which they have friends or other interest.[614]

Te Wheoro continued in the letter emphasising how prior to the establishment of the Native Land Court, he had sought for the "lands in Waikato" to "not be adjudicated upon by the Court, but that arrangements should be made respecting them by some person appointed by the Government."[615] Te Wheoro further describes the assessors as "blocks of wood" with "no regard to the questions affecting the land, and in some cases he is biased through his relationship to the parties," differing from Hikairo who argued that there "are some intelligent men amongst those generally employed, and there are others who care very little for the duties of their office, and think only of the pay they are to get."[616] Ultimately, the inclusion of Māori

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[612] Ibid.
[613] Gerald Hensley, "Haultain, Theodore Minet," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed October 16, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h12/haultain-theodore-minet.
[614] Wi Te Wheoro, "Wi Te Wheoeo to the Hon. Colonel Haultain, 23 May 1870" Papers Past, accessed October 16, 2025, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1871-I.2.1.2.4/1?items_per_page=10&snippet=true.
[615] Ibid.
[616] Grant Young, "Nga Kooti Whenua: The Dynamics of a Colonial Encounter" (PhD Thesis, Massey University, 2003), 184.

commissioners did not neutralise the structural bias of the inquiry. Instead, it highlighted the tension between Māori participation and the predetermined limits of colonial justice.

The Native Councils Bill of 1872 can be read in two ways: as a genuine attempt to create space for Māori self-governance, or as a mechanism to contain Māori political energy within Crown-supervised structures. The distinction is relevant to this thesis because it shapes how Ngāti Kahungunu engagement with the Bill is understood. First introduced into the House of Representatives on 22 October 1872, Donald McLean presented his Native Councils Bill.[617] It proposed the establishment of Māori councils within Māori districts to settle disputes between Māori parties outside of the Pākehā courts.[618] The presented Act entailed the establishment of Native Districts, the appointment of a Native Council President, assurances to include persons of the Aboriginal race including half-castes, and that there were to be "not less than six persons of the Native race, resident in any part of the Colony where the Native title to land has not been extinguished…"[619] It further provided assurances to every "male person of the Native Race" to partake in the election of the members of the Council, thereby further proposing the exclusion of women from engagement in democratic systems.[620]

When presenting the Bill to the House, McLean referenced an endorsement of its proposal by the Governor.[621] Furthermore, McLean argued of the necessity of making a provision for local councils' constitution, referring to numerous petitions called for a tribunal to be established with particular focus on Māori disputes, with the councils ultimately under the supervision of the district's Resident Magistrates.[622] There was vocal support from five members of Parliament—William Kelly, Wiremu Te Kākākura Parata, John Williamson, Wiremu Katene, and Hōri Kerei Taiaroa—with strong opposition from ten: William Rolleston, William Francis Buckland, John Chapman Andrew, John Bryce, Major Harry Atkinson, Arthur Collins, William Kelly, Thomas Gillies, William Swanson, and Sir David Monro.[623] McLean was ultimately unsuccessful in moving the Bill's second reading.[624]

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[617] Phil Parkinson, *"Strangers in the House": The Māori Language in Government and the Māori Language in Parliament, 1865–1900* (Wellington, Victoria University of Wellington Law Review, 2001), 21.
[618] Ibid.
[619] New Zealand Government, "Native Councils Bill 1872," Australasian Legal Information Institute, accessed October 16, 2025, https://www.austlii.edu.au/cgi-bin/viewdb//nz/legis/hist_bill/ncb1872184/, 2.
[620] Ibid., 4.
[621] New Zealand Government, "Parliament," *New Zealand Mail*, October 26, 1872, 2.
[622] Ibid.
[623] Ibid.
[624] Marlborough Express, "'Express' Telegrams," *Marlborough Express*, October 26, 1872, 1.

Rolleston's speech in particular exemplifies the manner of the opposition to the Bill. He argued that "it was rather a step backwards than forwards" and "policy which had been pursued for some years had been to recognize the Natives as one people with Europeans, and to recognize that they were being under the same laws as ourselves."[625] Collins similarly "desired to see them abide by our laws," as well as Gillies who worried the councils would led to the Native Land Courts being obsolete.[626] McLean responded: "It is to help the Native Land Courts, and not to get rid of it," to which Gillies ultimately responded that it would "destroy the Native Land Courts."[627] In reference to the subject of Hawke's Bay, Wakefield specifically opposed the Bill on the grounds that "it would prevent any inquiry being made by the Hawke's Bay Land Alienation Commission."[628]

Support for the Bill was exemplified by the statements shared by Katene, who emphasised an earlier attempt of a similar Bill the previous year, posed the question "if it was for the Europeans alone to conduct Native affairs," and that "assessors who were now working for the Government could not do it."[629] Opposition to the status-quo that was assessors was also a focus by Parata, who argues that if "these Committees were appointed, the Natives should have the management of their lands given back to them" and that if "the matter was left as it was at present, the Maoris would be continually coming to Wellington, and a good deal of expense would be thereby incurred in the Native department."[630]

Nevertheless, although the Bill was not successful, it is pertinent to denote early efforts to enable Māori to have a sense of autonomy in relation to their own affairs, albeit ultimately within the sphere of government. Since there was direct motivation to oppose the Bill on the behalf of establishment of the Hawke's Bay Land Alienation Commission, this Bill—and the debates surrounding it—have specific relevant to land alienation in the Heretaunga region. Opposition to the Bill in Hawke's Bay was closely tied to concerns that Māori-controlled councils might reopen scrutiny of land transactions such as the Heretaunga Purchase. The

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625 Peter N. Meihana, "The Paradox of Maori Privilege: Historical Constructions of Maori Privilege circa 1769 to 1940" (PhD Thesis, Massey University, 2015), 154–155.
626 Ibid.
627 New Zealand Government, "Parliamentary debates v.13 1872," HathiTrust, accessed October 16, 2025, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.32106019740346&view=1up&seq=941&q1=desired+to+see+them+abide+by+our+laws, 899.
628 Ibid., 900.
629 Ibid., 897.
630 Ibid., 896.

Bill's failure to pass reflects its contradictions: offering insufficient autonomy to satisfy Māori aspirations while appearing too concessive to settler opponents of Māori self-governance.

G. S. Cooper reflects on the land sales of which he had witnessed in his role's capacity in an 1867 report titled *On the subject of native lands in the Province of Hawke's Bay*.[631] It was presented to both houses of the General Assembly[632] and the native minister J. C. Richmond.[633] Cooper wrote: "I believe I should be neglecting my duty were I fail to draw the attention of the Government to the way in which the Natives of this Province are divesting themselves of the very valuable estate that remained to them after their extensive sales to the Crown."[634] Cooper writes of his concerns regarding the conduct of chiefs in sales due to the "chiefs are allowed, indeed sometimes tempted to take credit without stint from merchants, tradesmen, and often from their own tenants, and this they do with the utmost readiness, and to an extent almost incredible."[635] He outlines the impact of debt on the eagerness by chiefs to secure land sales: "Some of the principal land owners are at this moment in debt to the amount of many thousands of pounds. Then pressure is put upon them, and, seeing no other means of raising the money, they have begun to sell their land in every direction."[636] Cooper therefore requests "upon the Government of endeavouring to save, if possible, the Maori, from himself," emphasising that he does "not, therefore, wish to be understood as imputing any blame to the Europeans in the matter," and that in reference to the chiefs' perceived "incurable habit of luxury and idleness which totally unfits him for gaining his own living… surrounded by temptations to extravagance too strong for his easy and half-civilized nature to resist."[637] Cooper outlines his primary concern as Māori facing a "future of pauperism… unless immediate steps be taken… to keep them from sinking into abject poverty and becoming a burthen upon the State, while the greater part of the land will still remain open for sale to and profitable occupation by the European colonists."[638] Reports such as Cooper's reframed Māori resistance and legal engagement as moral failure, legitimising further intervention rather than reform.

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631 G. S. Cooper, "On the subject of native lands in the Province of Hawke's Bay," Papers Past, accessed March 13, 2025, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1867-I.2.1.2.23.
632 Ibid.
633 Boast and Black, "The Native Land Court and the Ten Owner Rule in Hawke's Bay, 1866–1873: An Analysis," 207.
634 Cooper, "On the subject of native lands in the Province of Hawke's Bay."
635 Ibid.
636 Ibid.
637 Ibid.
638 Ibid.

Richard Boast and Lisa Lefever Black connect this impact to the operation of the ten-owners' rule in Hawke's Bay. Boast and Black argue that the rule created a perilous, artificial economy for Māori, built on debt and credit entries in the accounts of storekeepers and land brokers, secured against ten-owner interests in land blocks investigated by the Court.[639] They further describe the Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission's 1873 report as an important source containing extensive evidence from local Māori on the effects of the Court on themselves and their lands.[640] It is a vital primary source to counter the narrative that can be portrayed through the romanticised Deeds of Sale.[641] Engagement with the Native Land Court thus functioned as a defensive strategy that simultaneously accelerated dispossession, revealing the paradox at the heart of Ngāti Kahungunu political participation.

Ranginui Walker describes the ten-owner rule as conveying the freehold to "landsharks, shyster lawyers," and even government land purchase agents, leaving the remaining owners dispossessed against their wishes.[642] Reforms such as listing all owners on the reverse of land certificates did not improve the situation, because the underlying thrust of separating Māori from their land remained.[643] This ultimately led to what Walker outlines as the Native Land Court polarising Māori into two factions: the *hoko whenua* (land sellers) and *pupuri whenua* (non-sellers).[644] The situation worsened with the attached debts to engaging with the legal system, leading to further sales by *hoko whenua* to address the "racking-up of court costs."[645]

There has been judicial engagement within Pākehā systems of governance that has evolved over time. 1873 saw the establishment of the Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission.[646] The *Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission Act* was presented to the Parliament of New Zealand in 1872 "to constitute a Commission to inquire into and report upon Complaints relative to the Alienation of Native Lands in the Province of Hawke's Bay" regarding lands "which have passed through the Native Lands Court."[647] The purpose is

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639 Boast and Black, "The Native Land Court and the Ten Owner Rule in Hawke's Bay, 1866–1873: An Analysis," 207.
640 Ibid., 206.
641 Ibid.
642 Ranginui Walker, *He Tipua: The Life and Times of Sir Āpirana Ngata* (Wellington: Viking, 2001), 60.
643 Ibid.
644 Ibid.
645 Ibid.
646 Cowie, *Rangahaua Whanui. District 11B Hawke's Bay*, 61.
647 New Zealand Government, "Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission Act 1872," *New Zealand Gazette*, October 25, 1872, 269.

asserted that "it is desirable, in the interests of the peace order and good government of the Colony, that such complaints and disputes should be fully and impartially investigated, so as to remove ground of dissatisfaction from the Native mind."[648] The commission eventually rejected Māori accusations of fraudulent behaviours on the part of Pākehā settlers,[649] with one of the Commissioners F. E. Maning writing that the "class of complaints does not set forth any particular wrong or injury suffered" and that Natives "have as lightly squandered" credit from land sales, hence the need to "protect them against their own improvidence."[650] Furthermore, Maning argues that Natives "have not divested themselves of land to any such extent as to trench upon the means of a comfortable existence."[651]

The Native Land Court was established throughout New Zealand and is a way in which the State played a role in the Province of Hawke's Bay.[652] The Native Department generally administered Native lands and affairs.[653] The Native Land Court was primarily concerned with "the partition and exchange of Native lands, succession, probate and letters of administration, consolidation of interests, incorporation of owners, and alienation," the latter regarding land in the South Island.[654] Of the seven Court districts of the Native Land Court, Hawke's Bay's district was Ikaroa.[655] The Native Land Court was a result of the *Native Lands Act 1865*,[656] intended to "Amend and Consolidate the Laws relating to Lands in the Colony in which the Maori Proprietary Customs still exist and to Provide for the Ascertainment of the Titles to such Lands and for Regulating the Descent thereof and for other Purposes."[657] The act states that it "shall be a Court of Record for the investigation of the titles of persons to Native Land for the determination of the succession of Natives to Native Lands and to hereditaments of which the Native owner shall have died intestate and for the other purposes hereinafter set forth."[658] The Act further introduced the ten owner rule, stating that "Any

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[648] Ibid., 269–270.
[649] Richard Boast," Te tango whenua – Māori land alienation," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, last revised July 1, 2015, https://teara.govt.nz/en/te-tango-whenua-maori-land-alienation/print.
[650] F. E. Maning, "Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission," *Waka Maori*, October 15, 1873, 123.
[651] Maning, "Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission." 123.
[652] Fraser, "The New Zealand Official Year-Book, 1914."
[653] Ibid.
[654] Ibid.
[655] Ibid.
[656] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "Native Land Court created," Ministry for Culture and Heritage, last revised March 16, 2021, https://nzhistory.govt.nz/page/native-land-court-created#:~:text=30%20October%201865&text=The%20Native%20Land%20Court%20was,P%C4%81keh%C4%81%20to%20purchase%20M%C4%81ori%20land.
[657] New Zealand Government, *Native Lands Act 1865 (29 Victoriae 1865 No 71)*, Parliamentary Counsel Office, accessed March 10, 2024, http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/nla186529v1865n71251, 264.
[658] Ibid.

Native may give notice in writing to the Court that he claims to be interested in a piece of Native Land specifying it by its name" for investigation but "Provided always that no certificate shall be ordered to more than ten persons."[659]

The ten-owner rule converted collective *hapū* authority over land into individual alienable title held by a small number of named persons, fundamentally restructuring the nature of Māori land ownership. Where land had previously been held collectively by *hapū*, it could now be sold by ten individuals regardless of broader *hapū* consent. This was the mechanism through which colonial land law dismantled collective tenure in Heretaunga. The implications of the Native Land Court granting "legal titles to their lands," lands historically tribally owned as opposed to subject to individual title, can be argued as a method in which the State influenced the alienation of Native land.[660] Richard Boast and Lisa Lefever Black argue the ten owner rule as "an example of what can happen when relationships between indigenous peoples and their lands are mediated through a judicial process," while also arguing that it "shows also the effects of tenurial change on the power of indigenous elites, reinforcing this in ways that were not necessarily conducive to the well-being of the indigenous population" and further serves as a case study for those "concerned with the relationships between law, colonialism and indigenous peoples in the Pacific."[661] In acknowledging this, it is important to also consider the coercive nature which underpins the land alienation within what is now known as the Hastings District.

Many have attempted to analyse the legal frameworks of the Māori Land Court, law as it relates to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and Māori land tenure. An example of this was a chief justice of New Zealand, Sir William Martin, an Englishman who served in the role between from 1841, officially resigning from England after a period of ill health in 1857.[662] One particular work of interest is Martin's paper *The Taranaki Question*, largely circulated through numerous periodicals nationally, which assert an early explanation of Māori land tenure and specific cultural implications in relation to land ownership:

> The land occupied by a Native Community is the property of the whole Community. Any member of the Community may cultivate any portion of the

[659] Ibid., 266.
[660] Dadelszen, "The New Zealand Official Year-Book, 1893."
[661] Boast and Black, "The Native Land Court and the Ten Owner Rule in Hawke's Bay, 1866–1873: An Analysis," 173.
[662] G. P. Barton, "Martin, William," Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed September 17, 2025, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m21/martin-william.

> waste land of the Community. By so doing he acquires a right over that particular piece of land, and the right so acquired will pass to his children and to his descendants. If he have no descendants, the land may then be cultivated by others of the Community, as agreed upon amongst themselves. Thus the whole Community has a right like what we should call a reversionary right over every part of the land of the Community.[663]

Furthermore, Martin makes reflections on the complexities surrounding *hapū* when commenting on his use of the term "community" rather than "tribe":

> Each of the original tribes (iwi) of the Maories has in course of time broken up into a great number of sub-tribes or families (hapu), which have from time to time planted themselves in separate villages on different parts of the common territory; each family retaining the name of its ancestor or founder. Such sub-tribes are exceedingly numerous… Owing to this process of fusion and intermixture, there may be a difficulty sometimes in determining the exact limits of the Community. It may be the whole tribe, it may be less than the whole tribe, yet larger than any one sub-tribe or family.[664]

Regarding the relevance of the sub-tribal relations of Ngāti Kahungunu, Martin observes the role of the "Chief" and the way in which the Crown should ensure both "Chief and people" consent to "make a sale thoroughly regular and valid." Martin writes of instances in which "a Chief has disposed of a piece of the land on his own authority without first consulting the people and his act has been subsequently recognised," observing of the response that "much depends on the respect in which the Chief is held by his people, and on a variety of circumstances affecting the internal politics of the Community."[665]

Martin's opinions relating to Māori land tenure were often critiqued by many, including Busby; although, Busby once stated in relation to *The Taranaki Question* that "it may savour of presumption" to "attempt to controvert the opinions and reasonings of a person so eminent as Sir William Martin," identifying a respect to Martin's position.[666] Busby's opinions and commentary were compiled in a writing of his titled *Remarks Upon A Pamphlet Entitled "The*

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663 William Martin, "The Taranaki Question," *New Zealander*, February 9, 1861, 5.
664 Ibid.
665 Ibid.
666 Peter McKenzie, "New Zealand's First Chief Justice: The Rule of Law and the Treaty," *Victoria University of Wellington Law Review 43*, no. 1 (2012): 211.

Taranaki Question, By Sir William Martin D. C. L., Late Chief Justice of New Zealand". Regarding Martin's arguments on tribal rights, Busby writes: "Having before observed that there are no such words in the Treaty as "Tribal right," and no definition of the distinction between the property in land held collectively and that held individually, though both kinds of property are admitted and recognized, I think it will not be disputed that these distinctions may be settled without serious difficulty."[667] Busby continues with opinions regarding Māori conceptions of ownership, particularly pre-colonisation, and the way in which this should be considered within interactions with the Crown. Denoting his own "acquaintance with the Natives" which "dates back to a period at which [he] had better opportunities of judging of them in their aboriginal condition than Sir W. Martin could have," Busby argues that it is through "the ideas of property which are held by civilized men" that Māori had been "imbibed."[668] The lawyer Peter McKenzie writes that Martin's stand on Māori issues, though largely repudiated at the time, is today seen as "wise and temperate" and might have spared New Zealand the worst features of the Land Wars and the confiscations that followed.[669]

One further way Māori engaged with political systems was of the educational kind. Te Aute College was established in 1854 by Samuel Williams, one of missionary Henry Williams' four children with wife Marianne.[670] Samuel first arrived in New Zealand in 1822 as an infant, his family first boarding the *Lord Sidmouth* from London on a voyage carrying female convicts to New South Wales.[671] The foundations of Māori engagement with a European-styled education systems stem from missionary efforts as well as motivation by the New Zealand Government following the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840. One of the earliest instructions for the first governor of New Zealand, Hobson, was towards "the promotion of civilisation among the Aboriginies" in which New Zealand would see the "establishment of schools for the education of the Aboriginies" in the "comprehensive expression of promoting their civilisation, understanding of that term whatever relates to the religious, intellectual and social advancement of mankind."[672] Government interest in Māori education is further exemplified in an 1840 despatch of Hobson and Lord John Russell, which reads: "The education of youth among the Aboriginies, is, of course, indispensable to the

[667] James Busby, *Remarks Upon a Pamphlet Entitled "The Taranaki Question, By Sir William Martin D. C. L., Late Chief Justice of New Zealand"* (Auckland: Philip Kunst, "Southern Cross" Office, 1860), 10.
[668] Ibid., 11.
[669] McKenzie, "New Zealand's First Chief Justice: The Rule of Law and the Treaty," 210.
[670] R. R. Alexander, *The Story of Te Aute College* (Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1951), 32.
[671] Ibid.
[672] Ibid., 24.

success of any measure for their ultimate advance in social arts and in the scale of political existence," also acknowledging "that for the present this is a duty, which cannot be properly undertaken except by the missionaries or at least on some system formed in concurrence with them."[673] When Captain George Grey became the governor in 1848, it was a sentiment shared that Grey was "now prepared to govern [Māori] by physical force, kindness and good faith; education in one hand and the sword in the other."[674]

6.3 The Erosion of the Mana Wāhine and its Relation to Colonial Ideologies of Sex

As examined earlier, oral histories reveal Māori women exercising authority beyond what European gender hierarchies permitted. Therefore, it is important to dedicate a section to the introduction of colonial gender ideologies and their impact on Māori women. Of particular interest is how these women's stories have been told, or silenced, within historical narratives. This section argues that colonial gender ideologies actively eroded *mana wāhine* in Heretaunga by marginalising Māori women's authority in landholding, political influence, and historical memory. To define *mana wāhine*, it is best to refer to the term adopted by witnesses in the Waitangi Tribunal to "reclaim and reaffirm the prestige and standing of Māori women within their communities, both historically and in contemporary contexts" as a means of challenging "patriarchal norms and the imposition of colonial ideologies."[675]

In both international and domestic historical scholarship, women are often overlooked in national narratives. This is especially true in the case of Ngāti Kahungunu and the history of colonial settlement. The focus has tended to fall on male chiefs, landowners, and missionaries—figures who are remembered in public spaces, with streets and stadiums named after them, biographies written in their defence, and portraits displayed in *wharenui*. Their stories are preserved and celebrated, while the roles and experiences of women are largely left out. As historians return to these familiar topics, it is essential to take a broader and more inclusive view—one that recognises how earlier accounts have been shaped by both racial and gender biases. Recent scholarship on Heretaunga has begun to recover the role of women.

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673 Ibid., 24–25.
674 Ibid., 25.
675 Waitangi Tribunal, "What Does Mana Wāhine Mean?," Waitangi Tribunal, accessed July 14, 2026, https://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/en/inquiries/kaupapa-inquiries/mana-wahine/te-kete-puputu/briefs-of-evidence-4/new-content-page-4.

Throughout the book *Māori Archaeology and History of Heretaunga, New Zealand*, there are sections dedicated to "Mana Wahine" and their actions, specifically in relation to Musket Wars and the Land Wars of the 1860s, albeit to a smaller degree than to the male *ariki* of Heretaunga.[676] Nevertheless, it is a fascinating acknowledgment of Māori women in relation to the topic of the Heretaunga region and does engage with ideas of their positions not being acknowledged by Europeans.

The marginalisation of *mana wāhine* in colonial Heretaunga is most clearly demonstrated in the treatment of Hine-i-paketia. For example, the book acknowledges an instance in which Colenso "refrained from much consideration of the authority and mana of wāhine ariki such as Hine i paketia,"[677] a woman with the same ancestry as the chiefly men who are frequently discussed to a greater degree. The book acknowledges the 2014 master's thesis by Kerry Conlon (also referenced throughout this thesis), another source that revisits frequently examined subjects by from the perspective of women figures during this period, which the book argues is the first of which to conduct "in-depth research of Land Court minutes and newspaper accounts" in relation to her life, in which it denotes a tale in which she "seems to have frequently engaged in selling lands without clear authority and of unfairly distributing proceeds," as well as interactions with Colenzo in which she is received in "a sarcastic or patronizing manner."[678] Conlon further states in the thesis that by "looking at the role played by Hineipaketia in the context of the events and era that she lived through, some balance may be added to the existing historiography that focuses on male rangatira and ariki" and that "it is necessary to look initially at how Maori women have been represented in historical discourse and then follow Hineipaketia and those around her through the trajectory of their contact with the institutions and individuals that impacted on their lives."[679] Conlon ultimately argues Hine i paketia "the person of highest rank in Hawke's Bay in the nineteenth century whose influence affected the trajectory of events which impacted severely on inter and intra hapū relations" and that she was "'invisible hand' behind the development of Hawke's Bay," despite being "barely recognized or acknowledged in historical discourse."[680]

Missionary and settler accounts of Māori society often failed to acknowledge the authority of women because they read leadership through a colonial lens and held gender

[676] Ibid., XIII.
[677] Ibid., 137.
[678] Ibid., 145–146.
[679] Conlon, "Surveying Hineipaketia," 2-3.
[680] Allen et al., *Māori Archaeology and History of Heretaunga, New Zealand: Six Centuries of Power and Place*, 146.

expectations. Conlon further writes regarding women in historiography, in particular what she describes as the "dearth of historical accounts" of Māori women. Conlon argues the need for more research to be undertaken as a means of addressing "the imbalance that exists as a result of the 'colonisation' of history" and that Māori women in historical narratives have been "objectified as tradable commodities and mute or benign support acts in a male versus male historical context. Conlon further writes:

> There is an assumption in much of the existing body of work, that leadership was a male preserve despite a plethora of evidence to the contrary. Despite the wealth of raw material that exists in archives, Maori women have been underrepresented in historical accounts. When Maori women are 'discovered', or included in historical discourse, they are portrayed through a romantic lens, or 'viewed as exceptions, anomalies, or problems'.13 The outcome of this view is that Maori and particularly Maori women are invariably portrayed in the role of 'victim'.[681]

The reliance on unpublished theses for this material reflects a significant gap in the published historiography of Māori women in Heretaunga.

The consequences of gendered dispossession are also starkly visible in the life and death of Mereana Hokomatā Cannon. On 9 April 1891,[682] Cannon (also known by the names Hokomatā[683] and Mary Ann),[684] a resident of Koparakore,[685] was run over by a train in Pakipaki,[686] a *pā kāinga* on the Heretaunga Plain.[687] An inquest into her death reported that an express train from Napier was travelling twenty-five miles an hour[688] to the final stop of the capital city Wellington[689] and that she "for some reason was sitting on a concrete abutment at one end of an open sleeper bridge over a creek."[690] The correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* in Napier reports the "terrible death" announced, writing:

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[681] Ibid., 3.
[682] United Press Association, "By Telegraph," *Evening Post*, April 10, 1891, 3.
[683] Ballara, "Te Hāpuku."
[684] Hawke's Bay Times, "Resident Magistrate's Court," *Hawke's Bay Times*, April 3, 1874, 170.
[685] Tari o te Kooti Whenua Maori, "He Panuitanga," *Ko te Kahiti o Niu Tireni*, May 28, 1879, 65.
[686] Conlon, "Surveying Hineipaketia," 110.
[687] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "Pakipaki," Ministry for Culture and Heritage, accessed September 16, 2024, https://nzhistory.govt.nz/keyword/pakipaki.
[688] Conlon, "Surveying Hineipaketia," 111.
[689] Daily Telegraph, "Inquest," Daily Telegraph, 11 April 1891, 3.
[690] Ibid.

> Although it happened about 11 'o'clock, and so short a distance from Hastings, no one here knew anything of it until four 'o'clock, not even the sergeant of police. I informed him of what I had heard, and he at once went off to ascertain the facts… The unfortunate woman was, as I am informed by Mr. W. Broughton, a near relative of the chief Hapuka, whom all old Napierites remember so well.[691]

Hokomatā was a close relative (the degree of which is blurred and contradicted throughout contemporary publications surrounding her death) of the "late" chief Te Hāpuku,[692] who had died in 1878, one of the central *rangatira* of this narrative.[693] She was survived by her Dublin-born husband William Alexander Cannon[694] and four "half-caste" children.[695]

In which the jury found that she was "accidentally killed" and "that there is no cause of blame against any of the railway employees,"[696] her death (noted at an inquest the following day conducted at Limbrick's Hotel in Waipawa) caused by the choice of "taking a short cut by the railway line."[697] Said inquest was only concerned about the extent of fault on railway employees and not the possibility of foul play, which Kerry Conlon argues "the likelihood of which could not be easily dismissed" due to Hokomatā's involvement in a succession claim (where she was expected to present evidence at the Native Land Court's appearance in Hastings) and the death of Paurini Te Whiti (who was expected to present the evidence on behalf of Hokomatā following her death) soon afterwards.[698] The inquest's narrow focus on railway liability, and its refusal to interrogate wider social or political contexts, mirrors the broader colonial tendency to render Māori women legally and historically invisible. This was even where their deaths intersected with contested land interests.

Te Hāpuku had once been charged with assaulting Hokomatā on 20 March 1874 following charges brought forward by a Mr A. R. W. Lascelles.[699] Lascelles describes the case as "in fact, being one of the most serious outrages ever committed in this district."[700] The

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691 Daily Telegraph, "Hastings," *Daily Telegraph*, April 10, 1891, 3.
692 Hawke's Bay Herald, "Telegraphic," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, April 10, 1891, 2.
693 Ballara, "Te Hāpuku."
694 Hawke's Bay Herald, "Telegraphic," 3.
695 Daily Telegraph, "Inquest," *Daily Telegraph*, 11 April 1891, 3.
696 Daily Telegraph, "Town Edition," *Daily Telegraph*, April 10, 1891, 3.
697 United Press Association, "By Telegraph," 3.
698 Conlon, "Surveying Hineipaketia," 110.
699 Hawke's Bay Times, "Resident Magistrate's Court," 170.
700 Ibid.

Resident Magistrate noted that "serious interests appeared to be involved."[701] Hokomatā presented to the judge:

> … I saw him on the 20th instant at Waipuka, near the Te Aute public-house. He said it was not right for my husband to work cutting timber; I said he was doing so to obtain food for myself and the children. Hapuku said, "Why don't you give me my share?" He said also that the land was not mine; I replied "Yes; but our ancestor was the same." He said he would take me away; I replied that if he did he would do wrong. I was sitting down at the time; he caught me by the hands and dragged me towards a trap. I did not go willingly; he forced me. When I would not get into the trap he struck me on the hip with his patu, and I was so frightened that I went with him to Poukawa, where I have since remained. I was afraid to return, as Hapuku threatened me that if I tried to run away, he would tie my hands and feet, and keep me in confinement. My daughter, my husband, and another European were present when I was taken away.[702]

Hokomatā's husband William deposed to the court confirming her narrative, although emphasising his lack of comprehension in regard to the Māori language, alleging Te Hāpuku's drunkenness, striking "her with a *mere*," and shared his apprehension of interfering when "about to take an axe" in fear that "the Europeans there would have been killed if I had taken an axe to him," instead opting to "take the law."[703]

This violent interaction between Te Hāpuku and Hokomatā is directly relevant to this thesis because it illustrates how gendered authority over land operated within Ngāti Kahungunu sub-tribal politics. Hokomatā's position as a landholder made her a political target, and the violence directed at her must be understood in that context rather than as isolated domestic conflict. One particular angle of analysis can be conducted when specifically considering the relationship between Māori women and land, which more specifically can be described as gendered dispossession. Abhinav Singh examines how colonial land law redefined Māori women's status as landholders between 1865 and 1930 and the way in which "statutory and procedural mechanisms not only facilitated large-scale land alienation but also

[701] Ibid.
[702] Ibid.
[703] Ibid.

undermined the customary legal standing of Māori women."[704] Singh further argue that this resulted in Māori women becoming "progressively marginalised in law and practice" as a result of "the individualisation of title, the exclusionary effects of coverture, and the administrative absorption of so-called 'uneconomic' share."[705] One should consider this against the reality enjoyed by Māori women before British colonial systems were imposed. Singh explains that they held positions of authority and responsibility within their *hapū* and *iwi*, including recognised roles in landholding and decision-making under *tikanga* Māori, before a shift from communal to individualised title entrenched Pākehā patriarchal assumptions about property, authority, and gender.[706]

Colonial narratives have long downplayed the roles of Māori women, and academic discourse has often failed to fully acknowledge their contributions to the formation of New Zealand society. In pre-colonial Ngāti Kahungunu society, women held clear authority within both social and political spheres. Recognising this is essential to understanding the historical structures within the *iwi*. In Heretaunga, the erosion of *mana wahine* was not incidental but structural, emerging through the intersection of colonial land law, patriarchal ideology, and historical narration. Recognising this process is essential to understanding how Ngāti Kahungunu sub-tribes navigated settlement, resistance, and survival within colonial systems that systematically underplayed Māori women's roles.

[704] Abhinav Singh, "Māori Women And The Native Land Court: Gendered Dispossession Through Colonial Land Law, 1865–1930," *Indian Journal of Law and Legal Research 7*, no. 3 (2025): 6978.
[705] Ibid.
[706] Ibid., 6979.

Chapter Seven: Long-Term Cultural and Socio-Political Impacts of European Settlement

7.1 Impacts on Identity, Unity, and Landholdings

The history examined in the preceding chapters did not end with the colonial period. This chapter traces its continuation into the present, examining how land alienation, the erosion of *hapū* authority, and the imposition of British governance structures have shaped the socio-economic and political circumstances of Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga today. In Heretaunga, the long-term consequences of European settlement were felt through land loss, identity, economy, and governance. The Hawke's Bay land district, located on the eastern coast of New Zealand's North Island, encompasses approximately 5,508,900 acres.[707] The Province of Hawke's Bay was formally established on 1 November 1858.[708] At the time of the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Māori in Hawke's Bay exercised customary use over more than 2,500,000 acres.[709] Within ninety years, Māori ownership in the region diminished to fewer than 200,000 acres.[710] These figures illustrate not only the rapid alienation of Māori land but also the erosion of sub-tribal cohesion and authority, as customary control over territory underpinned identity and social organisation.

Analysis of Official Yearbooks indicates that, between 1890 and 1914, the Crown emerged as the largest landowner in the region. The 1893 Yearbook offers significant comparative data. The Yearbook places notable emphasis on Waiapu County, described as "in its infancy" with regard to settlement, much of which had yet to be subject to investigation by the Native Land Court.[711] The Yearbook records 473,544 acres leased from the Crown to tenants "under the various systems of tenure," with a similar area reported as available for disposal.[712] While substantial, this figure does not constitute a majority of the province. At this stage, Hawke's Bay Māori retained "a valuable estate, comprising both agricultural and

[707] Malcolm Fraser, "The New Zealand Official Year-Book, 1914," Statistics New Zealand, accessed May 8, 2024, https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1914/NZOYB_1914.html#idpreface_1_22.
[708] Ibid.
[709] Cowie, *Rangahaua Whanui. District 11B Hawke's Bay*, 9.
[710] Ibid.
[711] E. J. von Dadelszen, "The New Zealand Official Year-Book, 1893," Statistics New Zealand, accessed May 9, 2024, https://www3.stats.govt.nz/new_zealand_official_yearbooks/1893/nzoyb_1893.html.
[712] Ibid.

pastoral country," consisting of 800,000 acres in the Waiapu region.[713] The 1914 Yearbook estimates that 343,365 acres were taken up under settlement conditions between 1904 and 1914.[714] It records an increase in Crown land leased to tenants in Hawke's Bay, totalling 1,025,251 acres.[715] This is substantially higher than the figure reported in 1893.[716]

The erosion of Māori landholdings was inseparable from the broader suppression of identity, political agency, and social cohesion within Heretaunga *hapū*. By the time land confiscations and alienations intensified—particularly during the New Zealand Wars (1845–1872), which James Belich terms "New Zealand's great 'civil war', the grand clash of its two peoples, Māori and Pākehā"—Māori had occupied the islands for over a thousand years.[717] The alienation of land during the New Zealand Wars profoundly affected *hapū* authority and intergenerational identity. The scholar Margaret Mutu emphasises the violations that have come with Early British immigrants not honouring its promises, arguing that they "relied instead on myths they created to justify illegitimately dispossessing Māori and usurping our power, often brutally and violently, forcing us into poverty, deprivation, marginalisation and powerlessness that present day statistics reflect."[718] Furthermore, Mutu argues that "the prospect of justice is unachievable under the current constitutional arrangements."[719] The prominence of land in the Māori experience, along with the way in which it influences the relationship with other peoples, makes it imperative to consider the Treaty's historical context.

The statistics examined in this section reflect the cumulative consequence of the processes examined in earlier chapters. The individualisation of collective land title through the Native Land Court did not only dispossess Ngāti Kahungunu of territory. It severed the connection between land, *hapū* identity, and collective authority that had defined sub-tribal life in Heretaunga. The socio-economic disparities visible today are the long-term consequence of that process.

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[713] Ibid.
[714] Fraser, "The New Zealand Official Year-Book, 1914."
[715] Ibid.
[716] Ibid.
[717] James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1986): 10–11.
[718] Margaret Mutu, "'To honour the treaty, we must first settle colonisation' (Moana Jackson 2015): the long road from colonial devastation to balance, peace and harmony," *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand 49*, no. 51 (2019): 4.
[719] Ibid., 6.

7.2 Urbanisation and Marginalisation

The urbanisation of Ngāti Kahungunu following land alienation produced specific and lasting socio-political consequences, disrupting traditional sub-tribal networks and reshaping economic participation. In 1959, Erik Schwimmer (in a paper which explored post-war Māori urban migration) analysed the way in which urbanisation, changing employment patterns, and a change in educational standards were "throwing the Maori into closer association with European life than ever before," as well as the residential and cultural transition that was resulting in "acculturation of the Maori progresses today at a greater rate than ever before."[720] Dan Morrow denotes the way in which the Pākehā reception of Māori urbanisation evolved from the early post-war period into the late-1950s as it "appeared to state planners… to be a great accelerant of the Māori transition toward a lifestyle more closely aligned to that of Pakeha."[721] While planners viewed this as assimilation, for Ngāti Kahungunu, urbanisation intersected with ongoing land loss, creating both economic dependency and new modes of collective organisation. By 1966, 62% of the Māori population resided in urban centres.[722] By 1986, it was 86%.[723] Despite the geographical proximity of most Heretaunga Māori settlements to the established urban centre, it nevertheless constitutes a form of urban migration when there is great engagement with European economies.

Richard S. Hill argues that Māori urban migration did not result in the predicted complete assimilation into the dominant cultural, rather that within urban contexts "tangata whenua were more closely identifying as Maori as well as members of whanau, tribal and sub-tribal grouping" and that "they had reorganized their collective focus in order to facilitate urban and modernist adjustment."[724] Hill further emphasises the way in which Māori maintained a reality in which "the essential components of Maori culture were viewed as sacrosanct by the leadership strata which traditionally exercised agency on behalf of their people"[725] and that "to a remarkable degree the tangata whenua continued to decline the Crown's invitation to merge themselves into the dominant culture and become 'one

[720] Dan Morrow, "Tradition and Modernity in Discourses of Māori Urbanisation," *Journal of New Zealand Studies 18*, no. 1 (2014): 85.
[721] Ibid.
[722] Richard S. Hill, "Maori Urban Migration and the Assertion of Indigeneity in Aotearoa/New Zealand, 1945–1975," *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies 14*, no. 2 (2012): 259.
[723] Allen et al., *Māori Archaeology and History of Heretaunga, New Zealand: Six Centuries of Power and Place*, 174.
[724] Hill, "Maori Urban Migration and the Assertion of Indigeneity in Aotearoa/New Zealand, 1945–1975," 276.
[725] Ibid., 260.

people'."[726] This persistence illustrates the resilience of Ngāti Kahungunu social structures, even as urbanisation introduced new economic and cultural challenges.

Although there is merit in the notion that Māori retained their identity despite state efforts of assimilation, urbanisation still had negative impacts of an economic and cultural nature. Urbanisation and the loss of land translated into economic marginalisation for Heretaunga Māori. Aroha Harris, in examining urbanisation, argued that successive New Zealand governments framed their policies towards Māori around the goals of amalgamation, assimilation and integration, all aimed, in mid-to-late twentieth-century terms, at drawing Māori into the mainstream.[727] In Hawke's Bay specifically, the decades following the post-war period were challenging in regard to Māori employment as the population often relied on unskilled labour.[728]

Economic activity in Hawke's Bay has been primarily driven by the primary sector since European settlement.[729] Heretaunga is one of three agricultural plains in the Hawke's Bay region, including Ruataniwha and Takapau.[730] By 1989, the Māori unemployment rate was approximately 20%.[731] The closure of two freezing plants in Heretaunga is described by the book *Māori Archaeology and History of Heretaunga, New Zealand* as having had "a catastrophic impact on the Māori community of Hawke's Bay as there were no other alternative sources of equivalent income for most workers" and that social problems "that already existed continued to worsen."[732] Such economic precarity compounded social dislocation, undermining traditional leadership roles and increasing dependence on European systems.

The 2023 census provides information specific to Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga and relevant population patterns. The census records 27,984 who affiliate to the tribe, a 156.6% population increase since the 2013 census.[733] Only 40.4% of these still reside in the Hawke's Bay region.[734] 65% of the population of 15 worked full-time; however, there are

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[726] Ibid., 259.
[727] Aroha Harris, "Concurrent Narratives of Māori and Integration in the 1950s and 60s," *Journal of New Zealand Studies* 6/7 (October 2008): 142.
[728] Allen et al., *Māori Archaeology and History of Heretaunga, New Zealand: Six Centuries of Power and Place*, 175.
[729] Davie, "Trap or Treasure: An Economic History of Primary Production in Hawke's Bay Province, 1945–2010," 1.
[730] Ibid., 3.
[731] Allen et al., *Māori Archaeology and History of Heretaunga, New Zealand: Six Centuries of Power and Place*, 175.
[732] Ibid., 175–176.
[733] Te Kāhui Raraunga Charitable Trust, "Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga," Te Whata, accessed January 13, 2026, https://tewhata.io/ngati-kahungunu-ki-heretaunga/.
[734] Ibid.

inequities in regard to the kinds of work secured by Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga Māori compared to the rest of New Zealand.[735] For instance, there is a higher representation working in labouring work.[736] Home ownership rates are 10.2% less than the rest of New Zealand, signalling a consequence of land alienation as only 25.4% of Heretaunga Māori own a home compared to 42.1% home ownership rates for the rest of New Zealand.[737]

7.3 The Waitangi Tribunal and the Treaty Settlement Process

For Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga, the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal represented a formal avenue through which the land grievances examined in preceding chapters could be brought before the Crown. The Waitangi Tribunal was established by the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 following "Māori protest about unresolved Treaty grievances" that "was increasing and sometimes taking place outside the law."[738] The Labour government in 1985 controversially extended the Tribunal's jurisdiction to grievances since 1840,[739] with many opposers describing it as a "grievance industry."[740] While critics dismissed the Tribunal as a "grievance industry," for Māori it represented a rare institutional mechanism to challenge historical injustices and document the impacts of colonial land acquisition on *hapū* and *iwi* structures. Regarding the Tribunal's effectiveness at properly addressing issues at hand, M. P. K Sorrenson describes it as "at the mercy of the Pakeha majority" and limited by "the need for a 'practical application of the principles of the Treaty'."[741] Sorrenson nevertheless continues by specifying that "its establishment has nevertheless contributed to the Crown engaging with New Zealand's history, albeit with so much yet to be done."[742] Prominent historical research has been completed, with specific emphasis on historical claims from the years 1840 to 1992.[743] These historical investigations include detailed analyses of land

[735] Ibid.
[736] Ibid.
[737] Ibid.
[738] Waitangi Tribunal, "Past, present & future of the Waitangi Tribunal," Waitangi Tribunal, accessed May 27, 2024, https://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/about/past-present-future-of-waitangi-tribunal/#:~:text=The%20Waitangi%20Tribunal%20was%20established,was%20a%20'legal%20nullity'.
[739] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "Waitangi Tribunal created," Ministry for Culture and Heritage, last revised October 8, 2021, https://nzhistory.govt.nz/waitangi-tribunal-created.
[740] Alan Ward, *An Unsettled History: Treaty Claims in New Zealand Today* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2015), 1.
[741] M. P. K Sorrenson, "Towards a Radical Reinterpretation of New Zealand History: The Role of the Waitangi Tribunal," *New Zealand Journal of History 21*, no. 1 (1987): 188.
[742] Waitangi Tribunal, "Past, present & future of the Waitangi Tribunal."
[743] Ibid.

purchases, internal *hapū* disputes, and Crown failures to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi; issues central to the Heretaunga Tamatea experience. The establishment and expansion of the Tribunal provided a formal avenue for Ngāti Kahungunu *hapū* to assert claims regarding historical land alienation and the disruption of sub-tribal authority.

Since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Ngāti Kahungunu have engaged with Crown institutions to seek redress for historical land alienations, resulting in gradual recognition of customary rights and *hapū* interests. With regards to the Hastings District, there are four trusts—all connected with the Ngāti Kahungunu tribe—who have recognised customary interests in the region.[744] Ngāti Kahungunu and the Hawke's Bay region have a long connection. As of today, it is the third-largest tribal group by population and the second-largest tribal group by territory. It can be divided into three districts: Wairoa, Heretaunga and Wairarapa.[745] Past settlements have seen the Crown identify past injustices. For example, the Heretaunga Tamatea Claims Settlement Act 2018 saw the Crown apologise for "it has repeatedly failed to uphold the partnership envisaged by the Treaty," that it "apologises for its repeated breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi," and acknowledges *ngā mamae me ngā tūkino* to generations of Heretaunga Tamatea.[746] Nevertheless, discussion ensues regarding how the articles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi can be truly realised.

The *Heretaunga Tamatea Claims Settlement Bill 2017* outlines an historical narrative of the region most relevant to this thesis, "whose area of interest extends from southern Napier to Takapau in southern Hawke's Bay."[747] The bill acknowledges that Heretaunga Tamatea "was a community of proud and self-sustaining independent hapū with an economy and polity consistent with tikanga Māori and traditional practices of the time."[748] Heretaunga Tamatea *rangatira* of the late 1840s encouraged "the Crown to acquire land in their rohe in the expectation of gaining economic opportunities from European settlement" but "the Crown encouraged customary owners to accept a low price for their land in order to gain access to these anticipated benefits."[749] During large land purchases in the 1850s, there are numerous

[744] Hastings District Council, "Statutory Acknowledgments," Hastings District Council, accessed March 11, 2024, https://www.hastingsdc.govt.nz/services/district-plan/statutory-acknowledgements/.
[745] Cowie, *Rangahaua Whanui. District 11B Hawke's Bay*, 7.
[746] New Zealand Government, *Heretaunga Tamatea Claims Settlement Act 2018*, Ministry of Justice (Wellington: New Zealand Government, 2018), 21.
[747] New Zealand Parliament, "Heretaunga Tamatea Claims Settlement Bill 2017," New Zealand Parliament, accessed February 4, 2025, https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/bills-and-laws/bills-digests/document/51PLLaw25091/heretaunga-tamatea-claims-settlement-bill-2017-bills-digest.
[748] Ibid.
[749] Ibid.

instances of the Crown acquiring land "without seeking the consent of all customary owners" with these acquisitions continuing "despite being aware that its approach to negotiations was creating tensions among hapū and their rangatira, and in 1857 these tensions led to fighting in which a number of people, including leading rangatira, were killed."[750] This led to "internal political arrangements," the Ngāti Kahungunu sub-tribal affairs in relation to land alienation which is the paramount theme of this thesis, "to preserve their remaining lands" which resulted in the ceasing of land sales in the 1860s.[751] The bill acknowledges the negative impacts of the Native Lands Act 1865, which "provided for title to Māori land, previously held in customary collective tenure, to be awarded to no more than 10 individual grantees as absolute owners (the "10-owner rule")."[752] This ultimately led to "the shares of individual grantees" with Heretaunga Tamatea *hapū* understanding individual grantees "were to act as trustees" for their wider communities "to be alienated without the consent of the other grantees or other right-holders not named on the title."[753] The Native Lands Act 1865 compounded these pressures by individualising title, undermining collective *hapū* control and facilitating the erosion of sub-tribal authority central to this thesis.

The 2018 settlement acknowledged that colonial land laws fragmented Heretaunga Tamatea lands and eroded *hapū* governance.[754] This legal recognition underscores the centrality of sub-tribal structures to Māori land stewardship, and the enduring consequences when these structures are undermined.[755] In a press release, Minister for Treaty of Waitangi Negotiations Andrew Little described the settlement as "an important occasion for the Crown and Heretaunga Tamatea as we see this legislation passed and the Heretaunga Tamatea Treaty settlement concluded," acknowledging that "the Crown acquired land in Heretaunga Tamatea's rohe using deception and secrecy" and that these "actions contributed directly to the economic and social marginalisation of Heretaunga Tamatea."[756] The settlement entailed financial and commercial redress totalling $100 million NZD and a further $5 million NZD towards Te Aute College.[757] It also entailed the return of the Cape Kidnappers Gannet Reserve and the Cape Kidnappers Nature Reserve, which was later gifted back to the

[750] Ibid.
[751] Ibid.
[752] Ibid.
[753] Ibid.
[754] New Zealand Government, *Heretaunga Tamatea Claims Settlement Act 2018*, 15.
[755] Ibid.
[756] New Zealand Government, "Heretaunga Tamatea Claims Settlement Bill," Scoop, accessed December 1, 2025, https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA1806/S00222/heretaunga-tamatea-claims-settlement-bill.htm.
[757] Ibid.

Crown.[758] The settlement resulted in the establishment in Tamatea Pōkai Whenua, the Post Settlement Governance Entity established to manage the redress negotiated by He Toa Takitini.[759]

There are inherent limitations to the benefits of settlement. Considering the immense wealth and fertile lands of the Heretaunga region, a $100 million redress for a population spanning more than 150 years cannot fully account for the scale of wealth displacement and exploitation experienced by Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga. Moreover, material hardship persists within these communities. Despite these limitations, the settlement does provide a significant cash injection into local Māori communities and economies, which remains much needed. While the settlement provides some material resources, it cannot fully restore the social and political structures disrupted by centuries of land alienation, nor compensate for the loss of *mana* and authority experienced by sub-tribes of Ngāti Kahungunu.

7.4 Ngāti Kahungunu and its Place in Current Pākehā Governance Structures

Despite assurances within Te Tiriti o Waitangi that *tino rangatiratanga* would be retained by Māori, Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga have limited political power. This is a reflection of the long-term impacts of historical land alienation and the erosion of *hapū* authority described in previous chapters. Within the primary European power structures, there are two elected avenues. One avenue is as Member of Parliament of Ikaroa-Rāwhiti, a Māori electorate; however, the area that this electorate covers is vast and encompasses many urban centres and settlements with differing *iwi* and *hapū* identities.[760] Furthermore, there are structural limitations in operating within the parliamentary system. A member for Ikaroa-Rāwhiti within a larger party is subject to that party's leadership. As an independent, they hold 1 vote of 120. Even as part of a Māori party holding all Māori electorates, they hold 7 votes of 120. Hopes placed on the securing of a future coalition agreement have historically proved difficult to realise, as they are predicated on a larger majority-Pākehā party being

[758] Ibid.
[759] Tamatea Pōkai Whenua, "Ko wai mātau?," Tamatea Pōkai Whenua, accessed December 1, 2025, https://www.tpw.iwi.nz/m%C5%8D-m%C4%81tau.
[760] New Zealand Parliament, "Ikaroa-Rāwhiti – Electorate Profile," New Zealand Parliament, accessed December 2, 2025, https://www3.parliament.nz/mi/mps-and-electorates/electorate-profiles/ikaroa-r%C4%81whiti-electorate-profile/.

receptive to Māori political priorities. Even within constructs such as Te Pāti Māori, there are clear shortcomings in relation to the retention of perspectives of electorates, as well as shared concerns regarding overreach by executive bodies.[761] Ultimately, it is a system not designed for Māori to initiate meaningful change and efforts to engage within this system are often unsuccessful. This demonstrates how historical marginalisation, including land loss and the weakening of *hapū* structures, continues to constrain Māori political agency today.

Māori representation in local government has proved fragile, subject to majority will rather than Treaty obligation. Another avenue is as one of three councillors of the Tukituki Māori Ward in Hastings District Council, introduced in 2022[762] and ultimately removed by referendum in the 2025 local body elections.[763] The referendum followed the introduction of the *Local Government (Electoral Legislation and Māori Wards and Māori Constituencies) Amendment Act 2024* by the right-wing coalition government between the National Party, the ACT Party, and the New Zealand First Party.[764] It relied on a majoritarian referendum process that sat uneasily alongside Te Tiriti o Waitangi obligations and *mana whenua* status. In August of 2024, former Hastings mayor Sandra Hazlehurst described the government's efforts as follows: "Our relationship with mana whenua has never been stronger, and it is disheartening that we are now required by Government to revisit this decision, one that we should be trusted to make for ourselves given we know our community – that is true localism."[765] Following the 2025 referendum, the removal of Māori wards was successful in all four councils of Hawke's Bay and will be implemented from 2028 onwards,[766] resulting in no Māori-specific voice in Hawke's Bay local politics. This illustrates how contemporary governance structures continue to undermine sub-tribal authority and self-determination, echoing historical patterns of exclusion documented throughout this thesis.

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[761] Tuwhenuaroa Natanahira, "Iwi calling for Te Pāti Māori president John Tamihere to step down, ousted MP Mariameno Kapa-Kingi says," Radio New Zealand, accessed December 2, 2025, https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/579781/iwi-calling-for-te-pati-maori-president-john-tamihere-to-step-down-ousted-mp-mariameno-kapa-kingi-says.
[762] Hastings District Council, "Hastings District Council affirms Takitimu Māori Ward," Hastings District Council, accessed December 2, 2025, https://www.hastingsdc.govt.nz/our-council/news/article/3204/hastings-district-council-affirms-takitimu-mori-ward-.
[763] Linda Hall, "Hawke's Bay voters decide to remove Māori wards on four councils from 2028 in referendums," New Zealand Herald, accessed December 2, 2025, https://www.nzherald.co.nz/hawkes-bay-today/news/hawkes-bay-voters-decide-to-remove-maori-wards-on-four-councils-from-2028-in-referendums/XMOV57TEWJF7LIY2M5HGWWLNBA/.
[764] Ibid.
[765] Hastings District Council, "Hastings District Council affirms Takitimu Māori Ward."
[766] Hall, "Hawke's Bay voters decide to remove Māori wards on four councils from 2028 in referendums."

The reality is that Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga remain marginalised in both local and national governance, a situation inconsistent with Te Tiriti o Waitangi and reflective of the historical erosion of *hapū* autonomy and land-based authority. The patterns of restricted political agency observed today have deep roots in colonial-era land confiscations and the undermining of sub-tribal authority in Heretaunga.

Conclusion

The history of the settlement of the Heretaunga Plains has commonly been approached by scholars as primarily one relating to land loss. As has been acknowledged, land loss is a significant part of the narrative: Māori land ownership in Hawke's Bay declined from over 2,500,000 acres at the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi to fewer than 200,000 acres within ninety years. It was a substantial loss and has resulted in consequential outcomes for Ngāti Kahungunu *hapū*. It has had impacts from both a cultural and economic perspective. However, the documentation of this loss is inadequate in understanding the situation properly. The question that should be asked relates to how and why this occurred. This question has been consistently underexamined in existing historiography. There has been great scholarship, which has been synthesised throughout this thesis, but none which truly forms a cohesive explanation of how internal dynamics of Ngāti Kahungunu *hapū* politics and British socio-political ideals structured the terms of European settlement.

When truly engaging with the complexities of this dynamic, perception of Heretaunga history shifts. Rather than understanding the land purchases of the mid-1800s as transactions between two parties, instead a more intricate process presents itself; a process defined by the internal *hapū* tensions, competing *rangatira* interests, colonial exploitation of those divisions by representatives of both private citizens and the Crown, and a Crown-imposed legal system—the Native Land Court, the ten-owner rule, the Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission—which had the intention to convert collective Māori tenure into alienable individual title for the purpose of colonial settlement. It is important to not categorise Te Hāpuku as simply a willing seller nor as a kūpapa, but rather a *rangatira* operating within a political context in which his *mana* was exploited and undermined by the same colonial system that portrayed itself to recognise it. The conflict at Te Pakiaka was not an isolated dispute over firewood, but rather a manifestation of the pressures that land alienation placed on *hapū* governance structures that had existed on the Heretaunga Plains for generations.

Analysis of this history with a feminist lens enriches the narrative to an even greater degree. Hine-i-paketia, an *ariki* and a person of highest rank in nineteenth-century Hawke's Bay, barely appears in dominant historiography. Colonisers operating within their own patriarchal frameworks struggled to recognise or record the authority she exercised. Mereana Hokomatā Cannon died beside a railway line in 1891 in circumstances which should not be

dismissed as accidental, at a moment when her land interests made her politically relevant. Elizabeth Colenso ran the Ahuriri mission station largely alone during her husband's prolonged absences and extramarital affairs, translated, negotiated, and exercised authority; and, yet, does not widely appear in written history in the way her memorialised husband is. These realities are evidence that the colonial process in Heretaunga was shaped not only by racial hierarchy, but also by patriarchal ideology. Existing accounts have been incomplete by not effectively recognising this.

In recognising the importing of British socio-political ideals, colonisation in Heretaunga can be understood more as something ideologically driven. Wakefield's theory of systematic colonisation, the landed gentry ideal, missionary paternalism, and the racial hierarchies that framed Māori as uncivilised and cannibalistic are vital ideologies which shaped the colonial settlement. They were ideas which were influential in the determination of who was recognised as an authority, whose land claims were treated as legitimate, and whose resistance to colonisation was dismissed as savagery rather than the practicing of political agency.

The consequences of these ideals in practice are not only historical. The socio-economic disparities visible in the 2023 census data—lower home ownership, higher rates of unskilled labour, the removal of Māori wards by referendum in 2025—are the continuation of patterns established during the colonial period. This thesis has argued throughout that they cannot be understood in isolation from that history.

This thesis was guided by five research questions, each addressed in the preceding chapters. *Hapū*-level political dynamics have been marginalised in existing historiography. British socio-political ideals were the ideological foundation of settlement, not incidental to it. Colonial narratives distorted understandings of Māori political life and shaped Crown policy. Ngāti Kahungunu *hapū* engagement with colonial institutions was strategic rather than passive. And the socio-economic and governance disparities facing Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga today are the direct continuation of colonial processes.

Three contributions emerge from this analysis. First, it offers the most sustained *hapū*-level analysis of the Heretaunga Purchases to date, demonstrating that sub-tribal political dynamics were the primary determinants of how land alienation unfolded. Second, it recovers the roles of women—Hine-i-paketia, Mereana Hokomatā Cannon, and Elizabeth Colenso—demonstrating that gendered dispossession was structural rather than incidental to the colonial

process. Third, it connects nineteenth-century land alienation directly to the contemporary socio-political experiences of Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga. When the history of Heretaunga is read through *hapū* politics, women, and British socio-political ideals, it becomes a different and more complete history than the one that has been told before.

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