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**POWER/KNOWLEDGE
AND SPACE:
THE CREATION AND ALIENATION OF THE
'RESERVE' AT PORIRUA**

A THESIS PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY
IN GEOGRAPHY AT
MASSEY UNIVERSITY.

ROBERT ANDREW McCLEAN BRP(Hons)
1996

ABSTRACT

Maps are common images in society. With the help of a map stories are told, histories are written, the weather is forecast, cities are planned and countries are defined. Usually the map presents a view-point from a position of a birds-eye perspective; a view looking down on 'us' from somewhere above, a vision that can see 'everything'. In this thesis I take a critical 'look' at the map and investigate how the map creates ideas of space and place. Instead of a 'mirror' of reality, I will argue the map is a 'text' produced within a discursive formation and within this formation, mapping discourse presents a representation of social realities.

The map as a discourse also has an ideological role as the spaces on the map are used to reproduce unequal social relationships. In exploring the map as ideological discourse, I will illustrate how the map has been used by colonialism and imperialism to produce an 'Empire'. Thus, imperialism is a social process that creates space (or territory) and invades that space with the help of mapping discourse. Imperialism derives its power by the use of knowledges that defines the 'Other' in a cartographical space.

Mapping discourse played a critical role in the creation of Porirua as a 'district' and in the alienation of the district after the arrival of New Zealand Company settlers in 1840. With the aims of acquiring Porirua for 'settlement' and for the intention of amalgamating Toa Rangatira into 'civilization', three reserves were created with a map in 1847. Later in the 1860s, with the arrival of more settlers from Europe, the surveyors attempted to make the reserves 'disappear' in an effort to individualize the collective lands of Toa Rangatira. This process of cartographical fragmentation was, and still is, contested by Toa Rangatira. However, rather than provide a space for the amalgamation of the tribe into European society, the remnants of the original reserves have become sites of resistance; places where Toa Rangatira can 'stand' together as an indigenous people. This resistance may also influence the re-emergence of small spaces of the original reserves as part of the Waitangi Tribunal claims process.

In order to integrate my own positionality (way of seeing) into this thesis and make it more readable, I have organized the text around an extended metaphor of the tikouka (cabbage tree). Accordingly readers are encouraged to approach this thesis as if you are entering various rooms in a gallery, as opposed to reading the chapters in a traditional linear fashion. With the use of this metaphor, I want to give the impression that, like a tree, this thesis is grounded and situated in the political and social relations of place and time.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to
Chiara Lubich
and all the
focolare movement
who have been an
inspiration to me

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ABBREVIATIONS

AJHR	<i>Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives</i> (New Zealand)
APS	Aborigines Protection Society
Col. Sec.	Colonial Secretary in the New Zealand Executive
DLS	Department of Lands and Survey
DOC	Department of Conservation
G	Governors' Archives (NA)
GBPP	Great Britain Parliamentary Papers
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
GPS	Geographic Positioning System
GRF	Graduate Research Fund (Massey University)
LS	Archives of the Lands and Survey Dept (NA)
LS-W	Archives of the Wellington Office, Lands and Survey Dept (NA)
MA	Archives of the Maori Affairs Dept (NA)
MA-MT	Archives of the Maori Trustee's Office (NA)
MB	Maori Land Court Minute Books
MLC	Maori Land Court
NA	National Archives
NM	Archives of the Province of New Munster (NA)
NR	Native Reserve
NZC	Archives of the New Zealand Company (NA)
NZLR	New Zealand Law Reports
NZMS	New Zealand Map Series
OLC	Archives of the Land Claims Commission (NA)
PD	New Zealand Parliamentary Debates
RMA	<i>Resource Management Act, 1991</i>
RNZTPA	New Zealand Town Planning Appeals
SC	Supreme Court
SOE	State Owned Enterprise
WT	Waitangi Tribunal

ROOM ONE:

THE ROOM OF INTRODUCTION

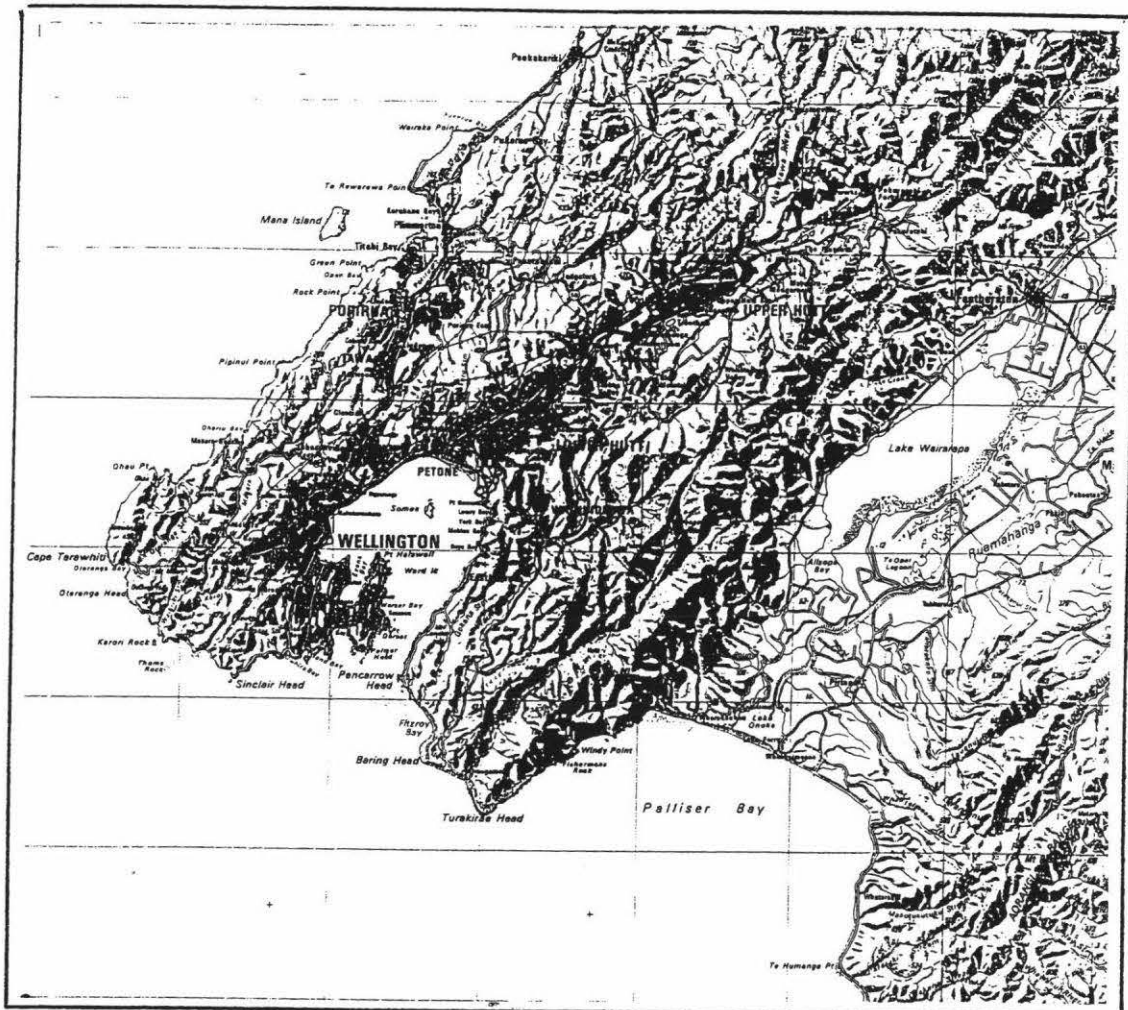


Figure 1.1 Porirua City. Source, NZMS 262, WGTN, 1:250 000, 1986, DLS.

This thesis is located within a place called Porirua City. Instead of 'reading' the map above (Figure 1.1), I invite the reader to imagine that you have jumped or entered into the map of Porirua. Once inside the map feel the landscape around you; the sounds, smells, colours. Then travel on the delineated roads until you arrive at Plimmerton (or Taupo). In your hand you have the invitation.....

YOU ARE INVITED
TO AN
EXHIBITION
OF THE
THREE RESERVES AT PORIRUA

**PLACE: THE TIKOUKA OR CABBAGE TREE
'SOKOL' 14 STEYNE AVE PLIMMERTON**

*Come and view the cartographic geographical history
of the Porirua three reserves of Toa Rangatira.*

*Members of the public may view the exhibition with the express permission of
Te Runanga O Toa Rangatira.*

At a place called No.14 Steyne Ave, you might see a large white and red house built about 1900s.



Figure 1.2 'Sokol', No.14 Steyne Ave, Plimmerton.

I wish to draw your attention to a small cabbage tree or tikouka that is situated on the right of the house called 'Sokol'. Now walk up to the tree and enter inside and find yourself in a room called.... THE ROOM OF INTRODUCTION. On the rounded wall of this room are many diagrams and one map. Different parts of the wall have different labels. The first is....

¹ Sokol (Croatian) is regarded by my family as meaning 'strength'.

1.1 ORIENTATION AND INTRODUCTION MAP

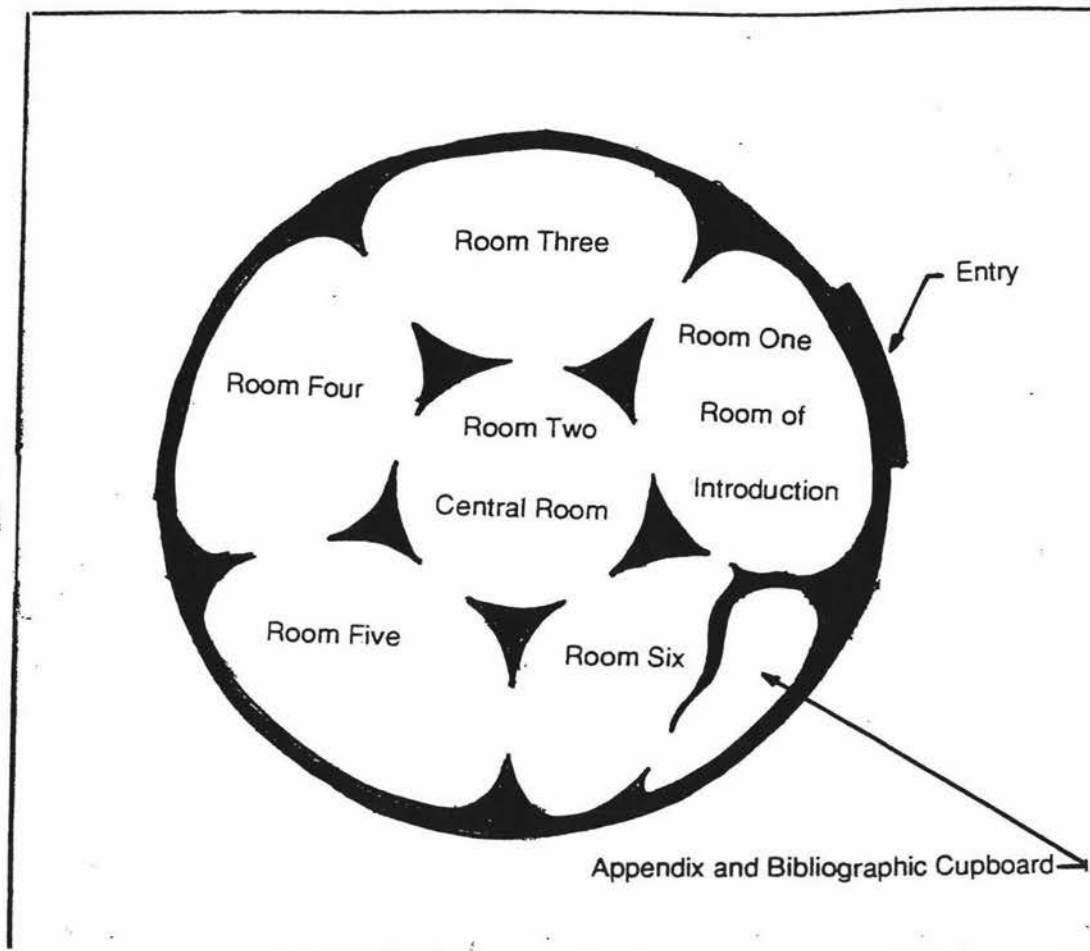


Figure 1.3 Plan of inside the tikouka

This thesis is organised around the analogy of an exhibition held within a tikouka and within a map.² I invite the viewer to travel into six rooms, the five exhibition rooms and the central room. The journey may be made without entering the central room, for example, you may wish to visit room three, four, five, and six and then leave through the Room of Introduction. However I would like to invite you to enter the central room (Room Two) immediately after the Room of Introduction. After visiting this room you may enter any other room at random. An appendix and bibliographic cupboard is annexed to

² I owe this idea of an exhibition to, D Turnbull *Maps are Territories: Science is an Atlas* (University of Chicago Press, 1993).

Room Six. You may wish to inspect the contents of this cupboard at any time during the tour.

In each of the exhibition rooms are a number of maps. Each map is a representation of the three reserves of Toa Rangatira at Porirua. You may quickly fly through the exhibition and let the maps tell you the stories on their own. For those persons with more time, you may stop and read the passages of writing underneath each map.

Organized within the central room are ideas which may be defined as 'theory' although, as I will discuss, the 'boundary' between theoretical knowledge and 'other' knowledges is problematic. This central room of theory, however, provides the unity to the rooms of exhibition. The words flow from the core to the side-rooms and from the side-rooms to the core, theory to practice and practice to theory if you like.

Firstly I would like to present myself as your tour-guide. My name is Robert McClean. I was born in Wellington and my family shifted to No.14 Steyne Avenue when I was four years old. On my mothers side, my grandparents came from Croatia, Ireland, and Shetland Islands in the 1870s. The Croatian side of this family known as the Vellas leased Mana Island for sixty years and lived at 'Sokol'. My father, who is a descendant of the Scottish clan 'McClean', arrived in New Zealand/Aotearoa in the 1950s from Newcastle-upon-Tyne. I attended Viard College, Porirua, and after college served an apprenticeship as a Plumber occupied in the maintenance of State houses. After leaving the Plumbing trade, getting married, having kids and shifting to Levin, I completed a degree in Resource and Environmental Planning at Massey University. I am now a masterate student in Geography at Massey.

During the summer of 1995-6 I worked as a planner and researcher for Toa Rangatira (also called Ngati Toa). The aim of my work at the time, which was funded by the Porirua City Council, was to prepare a report on Maori historical places within the Porirua district. The report, entitled **Me Huri Whakamuri Ka Titiro Whakamu** (Te Runanga O Toa Rangatira, 1996) was completed during July 1996. It was this involvement with the Runanga that stimulated me

to carry out this thesis as I wanted to carry out research that would be of benefit Toa Rangatira.

The Topic

The substantive topic of this thesis is an exploration into the cartographic history of the three reserves created in 1847 at Porirua. These reserves were created by the Crown for Toa Rangatira as part of the 'contract' that alienated the Porirua district from the tribe. This contract was made on 17th March 1847 and the Deed of Sale was signed by eight chiefs of Toa Rangatira and representatives of the Crown.³ The description of the land that was to be sold for two thousand pounds was as follows,

These are the lands that are given up by us to the Governor beginning at the boundary formerly laid down to us by Mr Spain, at the Kenepuru, running to Porirua, Pauatahanui, Horokiwi, extending as far as Wainui, then the boundary takes a straight course inland to Pouawa, running as far as Pawakataka.

The deed then goes on to describe boundaries of the three places to be kept in reserve for Toa Rangatira in exchange for the lands given up to the Governor,

Beginning at Te Arataura, running in a straight line inland, then it crosses and comes out at the house belonging to Mr Jackson, running along the Water edge. The other boundary comes as far as Waitawa, and runs straight along the water side until it reaches Te Arataura.

The boundary of which runs from Jackson's house until it reaches the Creek on the side of the cultivated ground of Te Hiko, then it runs straight along that River running straight along at the back of the ridge, then breaking out again to the waterside at Papakohai a little outside the settlement of Oahu.

The boundary begins at Tawitikuri, running along the ridge until it reaches opposite the reeds. It then crosses inland according to the plan laid down in the map reaching the Mountains above the Paripari, then it runs along the ridge to Wainui, and it there descends into the Wainui river. It then runs straight along that river to Pouawa running to Pawakataka, the part outside of this boundary we still retain as ours.

³ The eight chiefs were; Rawiri Puaha, Nohorua, Nohi te Hua, Henere Matene Te Wiwi, Tamihana Te Rauparaha, Nopera te Ngiha, Ropata Hurumutu, and Paraone Toangina. The deed was not signed by Te Rauparaha or Te Rangihaeata. The Crown's representatives included Colonel McCleverty, Captain Armstrong, Lieutenant Elliot and Servantes. A copy of the deed of sale is included in appendix I.

Cultivation areas outside the three 'reserves' were also to be retained by Toa Rangatira, as the deed stated,

If any of our cultivation's that are above Taupo should fall within the boundary of the Governor's Land, they are to be returned to us.

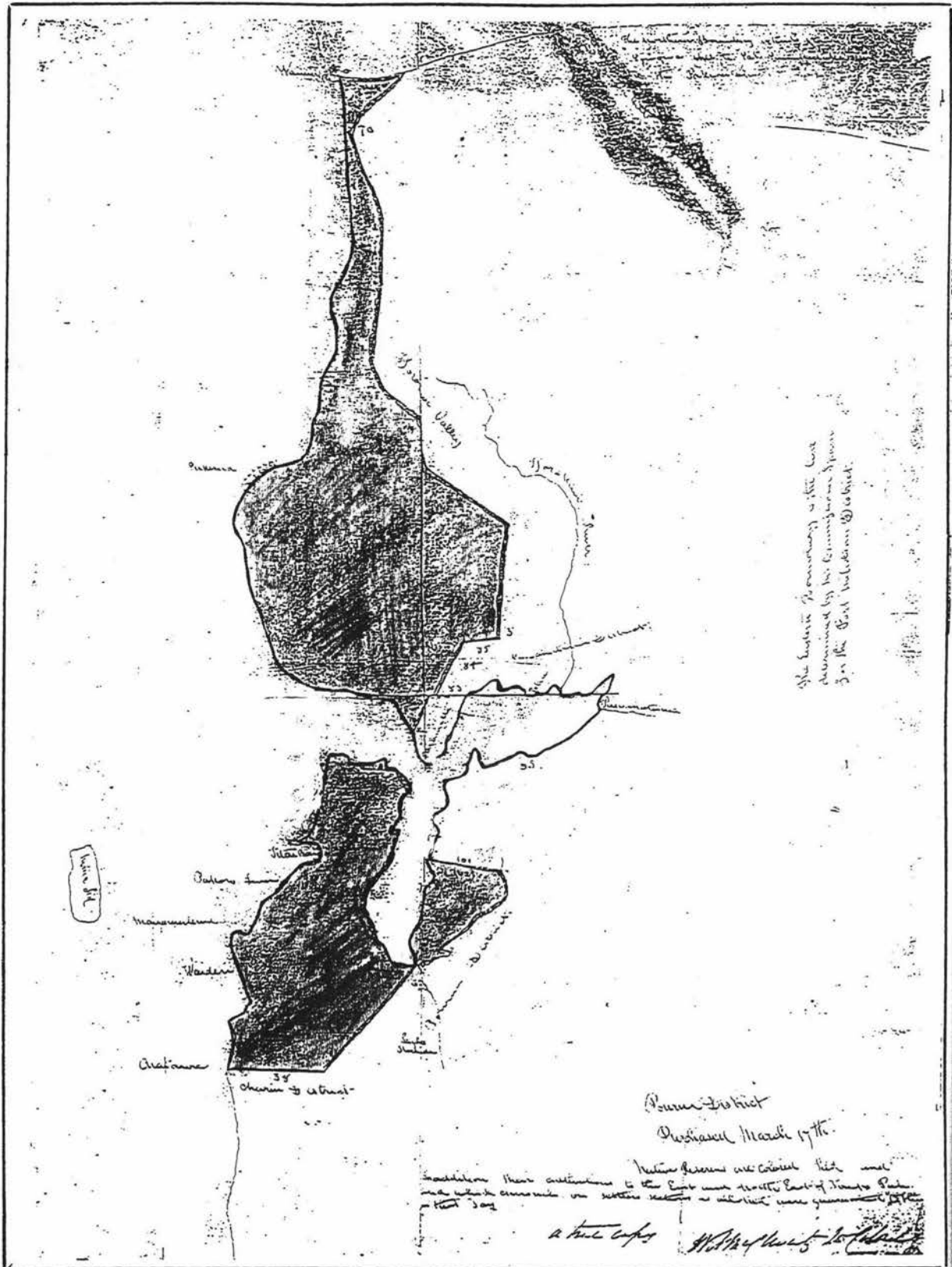


Figure 1.4. The Three Porirua Reserves.
The map formed part of the 1847 Porirua Deed of Sale
Source, Waitangi Tribunal.

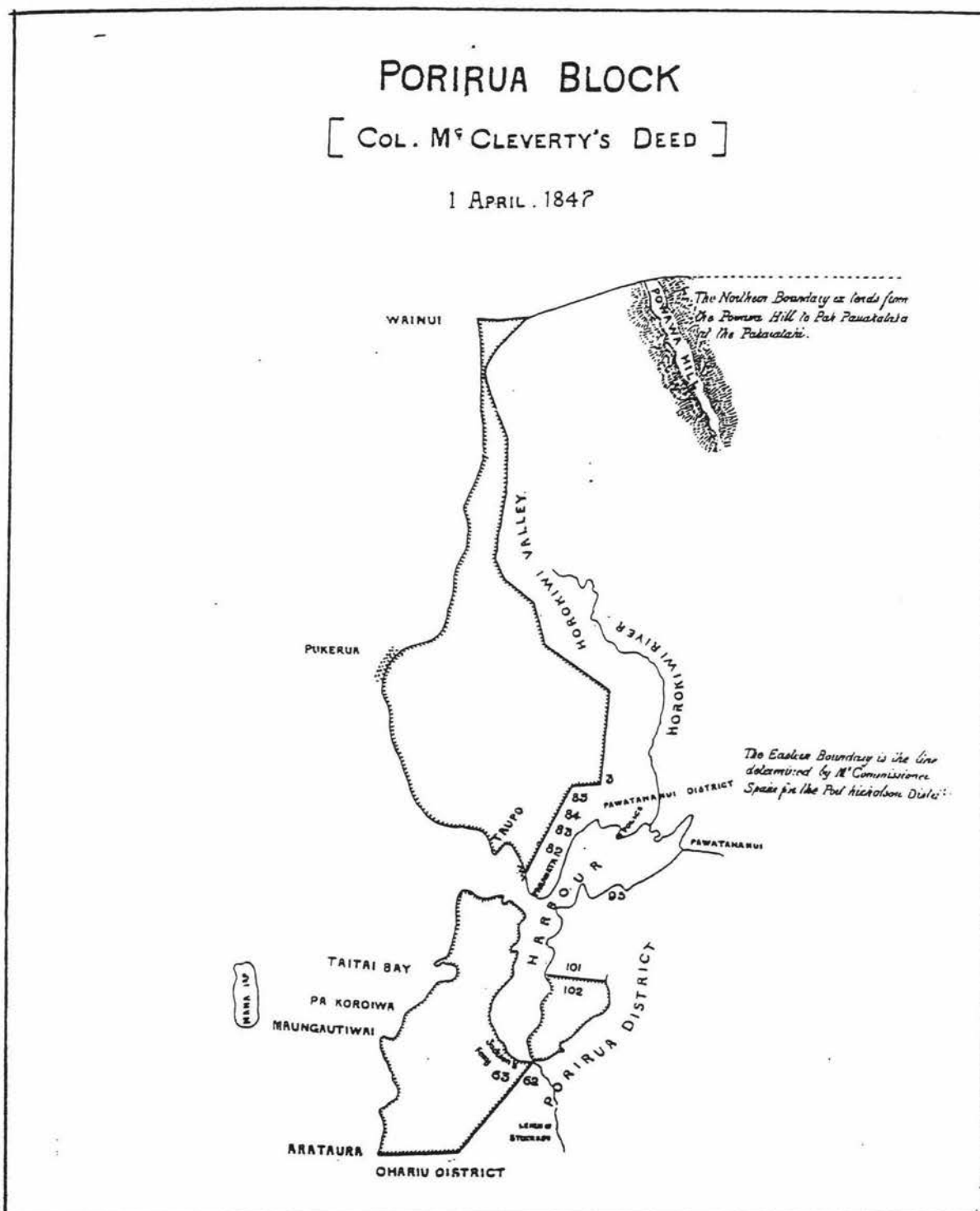


Figure 1.5, Porirua Block.

Map of the 1847 reserves redrawn by Turton.

Source, Turton *Maori Deeds of Land Purchases in the North Island* (1878).

Maps have played a central and critical role in both the creation and alienation of 'reserve' lands at Porirua. The three *places to be kept in reserve*, were spatially 'marked out' as a 'reserve' using a map within the 1847 deed. Maps enabled the wider territory of the Porirua District to be named a 'district' as the territory of the district needed to be created first before it could be alienated. In this thesis I use the cartographical history of the reserves to illustrate how maps create and reproduce territory or 'landscape'. Here lies the power of cartographical knowledge; the ability of the map to provide the space, the context or 'stage' on which history is written.⁴ As this thesis will illustrate, if the land wasn't created on a 'map', then it wasn't created at all! For example those cultivation's falling within the Governor's land mentioned in the 1847 deed, were not marked out on the map, they never appeared in reality!

1.2 OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

Room Two: The Central Room

Within the Central Room, I will attempt to 'unmask' the power of the map and it's role in the construction of colonial landscapes. Instead of seeing maps as 'natural' and 'objective' images which provide a 'mirror image' of 'nature', I will illustrate how the map produces a 'vision' of a landscape divided into spaces, places, territories, and boundaries and this vision or *visuality*⁵ is produced in a discursive formation. This formation which produces mapping discourse, sets the rules on what is defined as a 'map' and what is defined as 'truth' and 'false'. The discourse of mapping can also be ideological. Ideological discourse is used by people in institutions to produce and reproduce oppressive and unjust social relationships. It is therefore necessary for me, in this thesis, to make a value judgment on what forms of *visuality* or mapping are classified as ideological.

⁴ Paul Carter. *The Road to Botany Bay* (London:Faber, 1987).

⁵ See, Hal Foster (ed) *Vision and Visuality* (Seattle:Bay Press, 1988).

My emphasis is a historically specific examination of the map as part of an ideological colonial discourse. I thus aim to avoid totalizing statements and explanations; for example, all maps are ideological. Instead I wish to show in the history of the three Porirua reserves, the reserve landscape has been produced by unequal colonial power relationships; the knowledge of the map is power and power is productive.⁶

Maps as a text are also written by 'someone'. In many instances, the three reserves have been drawn by surveyors and as agents, the surveyors, produced a vision within a social context. I have illustrated the social context of the cartographical vision using the modes of spatial representation model⁷ (Figure 1.6). This model is based on a realist understanding that neither agents of institutions (structures) create outcomes in society. Instead agents, with the use of power/knowledge create institutions to produce social outcomes. These outcomes in turn can become hegemonic; natural spaces for action. As John Kasbarian argues "we struggle to change the world, but under conditions never of our own choosing."⁸ Understandings of realities (space, history, time) is socially produced and this reality in turn can limit the ability of agents to produce alternative realities.

⁶ Michel Foucault. "Truth and Power" in Gordon. C (ed) *Michel Foucault, Power/Knowledge* (Sussex:Harvester Press, 1980).

⁷ The term 'modes of spatial representation' is used by Mary Louise Pratt in *Imperial Eyes, Travel Writing and Transculturation* (Routledge,1992), to illustrate how the imperial eyes of the metropolitan power construct the image of itself 'European' and the subordinated 'Other' by the use of borders.

⁸ John Kabarian, "Mapping Edward Said: geography, identity, and the politics of location" *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 14 (1996) page 554.

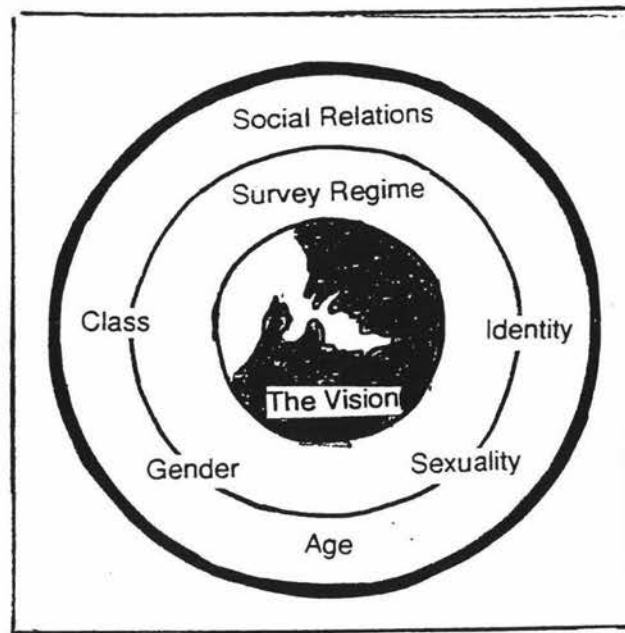


Figure 1.6. The Vision of the Theodolite,
Modes of Spatial Representation

The model illustrates that the map, as a creation of a surveyor, must be understood within a social context. This social context is organized between two spheres social relations and survey regime. Social relations encompass relations that are based on notions of class, gender, identity, sexuality, and age. These relations influence the formation of specific survey regimes⁹ which consist of various institutions who promote and support the cartographic enterprise; the vision of the theodolite. In this thesis I will concentrate on the social relations of identity, class and gender and so avoid questions of sexuality and age.¹⁰ I suggest the colonial mapping vision of the three reserves has been driven by a social context dominated by capitalism, which requires land to be organized in a way that it can be used as a factor of production, and the idea of 'race'. Race,

⁹ Survey regime or called 'scopic regime' by Martin Jay, "Scopic Regimes of Modernity", in Foster, H. *Vision and Visuality* (Dia Art Foundation, 1988) pages 3-28. Also see, J Duncan, 'Sites of Representation', in J Duncan and D Ley (eds) *Place, Culture, Representation* (Routledge, 1993), page 41.

¹⁰ See, Virginia Blum and Heidi Nast. "Wheres the Difference? The heterosexualization of alterity in Henri Lefebvre and Jacques Lacan" *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 14 (1996) pages 559-580.

meanwhile, is a powerful ideology and taxonomic strategy which divides people into 'races' or classifications according to biological features (for example, Native, White, Oriental, Asian, Islander). Racism is founded on these classifications and views the 'Other' as inferior and primitive; separate from 'Us' who is superior and advanced. In this ideology of colonial racism there have been three key sub-themes; amalgamation, assimilation and integration. All three ideas aim to bring the 'Other' (defined as separate race) into some sort of unequal relationship with the dominant colonial power. Henceforth while having similar and complex meanings, I view amalgamation as the combining of distinct elements to form a new hybrid whole ($1 + 2 = 3$), while assimilation refers to a process of becoming alike ($1 + 2 = 1$) and integration is an action of bring distinct elements into a diverse whole ($1 + 2 + 3 = 6$ containing 1,2,3 elements).

These three ideologies have intermeshed with other ideas like space and time and have been used by colonialism to achieve and produce a colonial territory.

Within these 'theoretical' discussions there is a need for me to 'locate' or situate myself in the text; in other words, from what perspective or space do I write this (grand) narrative. As Donna Haraway argues the academic cannot claim a "god-trick of seeing everything from nowhere."¹¹ Situated knowledges requires accountability and responsibility with those groups or peoples I seek to 'see and speak with'. In this regard Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak calls for a 'responsibility structure'.¹² Only within this structure is authority granted to 'speak'. In an effort to build a situated knowledge I have used the analogy of a tikouka tree. The tree represents my positionality within the politics of location and my entanglements with complex and intersecting groups and institutions. It is from the 'perspective' of the tree (grounded at Plimmerton) that this thesis is constructed. The thesis itself is presented within the tikouka.

In summary the central room focuses on three questions:

¹¹ Donna Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women. The Reinvention of Nature* (London;Free Association Books, 1991), page 189.

¹² Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Subaltern Talk", in D Landry and G Maclean (eds) *The Spivak Reader* (New York;Routledge, 1996), page 293.

- * *What is space and place and how does the map create space?*
- * *What has been the role of the map knowledge in the creation and maintenance of colonial power?*
- * *From what space do I construct this narrative and how can I construct knowledge which is situated, non-oppressive and responsible?*

Rooms Three, Four, and Five.

Room Three explores the map as an expression of amalgamation ideology.¹³ I begin by identifying and defining the reserve space as a form of legal spatial discourse used by the imperialist process to control the indigenous peoples. This idea of a reserve was used by the New Zealand Company for humanitarian notions; the Company wanted the Porirua lands for settlement in return for a number of small dispersed reserves for the chiefs. Thus the reserves would help in concentrating and civilizing the indigenous population. This 'plan' was disrupted by both the tribes and the Colonial government. The tribes resisted the survey ideology and the government tried, to a certain degree, to 'protect' the indigenous population using the Treaty of Waitangi. Thus the interaction and conflict between these three main groups influenced a very confusing mode of spatial representation within the contact zone.¹⁴ The maps of the Porirua reserves displayed in Room Two were produced with the colonialist discourse of amalgamation; by living on a small reserve under the guidance of a

¹³ Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice, Racial Amalgamation in nineteenth century New Zealand* (Auckland University Press, 1974).

¹⁴ The term contact zone is also used by Mary Louise Pratt to refer to the "space of colonial encounters" where "disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination" (Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, page 4-5).

missionary it was hoped Toa Rangatira would be protected from the 'fatal impact' of colonization and benefit by the arrival of 'civilization'.

Room Four presents the history of the reserves after 1852 when the mode of spatial representation and survey regimes was becoming dominated by assimilation ideology. Assimilation was promoted by a settler government using three key institutions; the Native Land Court, Survey Department and Land Transfer Office. These three institutions worked together (and apart) to construct a survey regime that would produce 'accurate' and 'scientific' images of the reserve lands. Using these map/images the boundaries of the reserves could re-drawn, fragmented and rearranged. The result was that the reserves nearly 'disappeared' as the tribe was expected to take up individual properties within the tradition of British Common law.

Room Five presents a tentative argument that a new mode of spatial representation may be emerging in New Zealand/Aotearoa since the 1970's. This mode is based on a number of ideas including globalisation and bi-culturalism. I have classified the ideology of this mode as integrationist; mapping is used to locate a diverse number of groups within the boundaries of the nation-state. This is achieved using computer technology which has enabled the surveyors gaze to shift from birds-eye to satellite-eye. Important survey regime institutions include the Waitangi Tribunal, Land Information New Zealand and the local authorities. In this context I will discuss the remnant reserves as a 'site of resistance' and the potential for the re-emergence of the reserves within the context of Toa Rangatira's Waitangi Tribunal Claim, as it is anticipated that a number of Government owned land blocks will be returned to the tribe.

From Room Five the tour finishes at **Room Six**. At this point I will briefly sum up my main arguments concerning the epistemological issues of doing cartographical and geographical research and the history of the three reserves.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

The historical geography of the three Porirua reserves is complex and dynamic. Each reserve and the land blocks that now make up the original reserve have their own specific history, their own story to tell. No doubt a full and comprehensive history would involve many theses and much oral history provided by Toa Rangatira. This thesis tells the story of the three reserves from 'my' perspective, which is informed by a particular geographic and post-colonial academic enterprise. The making of this perspective (or viewing-point) has also relied upon 'official' documented archival material (written in the English language)¹⁵ and other sources (books, journals). I hope such a perspective may complement Toa Rangatira's own oral history of the reserves. This thesis is also subjected to many constraints including page length, time, finance and resources. I have, therefore, not attempted to provide 'the history' of the three reserves. Instead this display attempts to give the viewer a brief outline of the cartographic representations of the three reserves. That is, how the three reserves have been mapped since 1840.

The methodology used in this thesis has encompassed two main processes; the actual information collection process from archival sources and the requirement to build a responsibility structure with those persons I am accountable to. My thesis explores the history of the three reserves created by the 1847 deed of sale. I am, therefore, exploring the history of Toa Rangatira and its relationship with the Crown and the reserves. The research is, therefore, on 'sensitive' ground as I will illustrate in the central room that history and geography are closely bound with 'identity'. To conduct research in the 'proper way' is to respect and value the perspectives of Toa Rangatira and ensure a measure of control rests with the iwi authority. For this reason, I believe the research could proceed only with the permission and support of Te Runanga O Toa Rangatira.

Toa Rangatira is a tribal group which is located in the lower North Island/upper South Island area. Toa Rangatira trace their whakapapa to the captain of the

¹⁵ Some material, however, was recorded in Maori. For example the history of the Northern block in the Minutes of the Maori Land Court. As this thesis has a focus on how the dominant group has constructed knowledge and this knowledge used the 'English' language, my mono-lingual capacity was not a major limitation.

Tainui waka, Hoturoa. The official 'voice' of Toa Rangatira is the legal iwi authority, Te Runanga O Toa Rangatira. This was confirmed in a recent Maori Land Court decision (MLC 21, 1994, Ngati-Toa Decision). In the context of my working relationship with the Runanga, I was given consent by Te Runanga O Toa Rangatira to undertake this thesis research on the 8th of February 1996. The permission was given on the understanding that I would provide a draft thesis to the Runanga during October 1996 and I would provide a final report and copy of the thesis during December 1996-January 1997. On receiving the draft thesis, the Runanga have evaluated the thesis content in regard for the need of any changes to the text and for the need to restrict public access to the master copy held by Massey University in order to safe-guard confidentiality and the intellectual property of Toa Rangatira. I will also seek permission from the Runanga if I want to use any of the archival material for publication purposes.

Table 1.1 combines the ethical responsibility process and research process used for this thesis.

1996	ETHICAL PROCESS	RESEARCH PROCESS	FOCUS
Jan	Discussions with Miria Pomare on thesis options	Historical Research on Porirua	Porirua History
Feb	Permission given by Te Runanga o Toa	Topic of Thesis chosen	
Mar		Submitted Draft Thesis Proposal to Massey Supervisors	
Apr		Focus on Cartographic History	Historical Geography Post-Colonial Theory
May	Submitted Research Proposal to Runanga		
June	Lodged Application with Massey Human Ethics Committee		
July	Approval given by Massey Human Ethics Committee		
Aug		Begin Writing Draft Thesis	Porirua History
Sep			
Oct	Submitted Draft Thesis to Runanga (six copies) and Massey Supervisors		
Nov		Began re-writing Draft Thesis	
Dec	Presented Thesis, Maps and archival material to Runanga	Presented Thesis to Massey	

Table 1.1 Thesis ethical and research process

In summary, the key aims of the methodology were;

- * *To build a responsibility structure with Te Runanga O Toa Rangatira and Massey University. Within this structure the content and focus of the thesis would be negotiated.*
- * *To conduct research that focused on theoretical understandings of space, maps, and power/knowledge within the social sciences.*
- * *To conduct archival collection and investigation on the three reserves.*
- * *To build a thesis that was ethically defensible and would promote my personal (and collective) commitments to love, justice and peace.*

ROOM TWO: CENTRAL ROOM

THE SPACES THAT MAPS MAKE: THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDINGS OF GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY AND CARTOGRAPHY.

As a form of textual representation, the map presents a specific 'perspective' situated in a complex social context. Within this room I will examine the social context of the dominant form of map associated with the *global system*.¹ Important hegemonic ideas of this global system include the terms, globe, space, time, place, and culture. These ideas provide the ideological basis to the belief in the map as mimesis; a mode of representation that depicts 'reality'. Instead I argue that the map creates its own 'reality' from an imaginary detached birds-eye perspective. In this discussion I shall also attempt to outline my own positionality in regard to the writing of post-colonial geographies and histories in New Zealand/Aotearoa; thus addressing the critical question of from what 'viewing-place' I write this narrative.

¹ This means I will not be examining the social context of other systems (i.e. indigenous) or their specific styles of mapping. See, Malcolm Lewis, "The Indigenous Maps and Mapping of North American Indians" *The Map Collector*, 9 (1979) pages 25-32; Benjamin Orlove, "The Ethnography of Maps" *Cartographica*, 30,1 (1993) pages 29-46.

2.1 SPACE AND TIME WITHIN THE GLOBAL SYSTEM

I use the term 'global system' to classify a social process that consists of a number of complex and interacting institutions and groups. Together and alone, these institutions promote a number of hegemonic ideas and these ideas construct a 'global' perspective; a vision of the whole world which can be 'seen' and occupied by the system. While the global system may also be termed the 'Western culture', or the 'Eurocentre',² I do not want to essentialize the 'West' by viewing it as an undifferentiated and 'bounded' entity but recognize the diversity, complexity and the spaces of resistance within.³

The global system, as a type of social organization, began to take shape around AD 1500 in a place now called Europe. Paul Knox and John Agnew argue the global system is characterized by the accumulation mode of a capitalist economy and the regulatory mode of the nation-state.⁴ Supporting both of these features is a discourse known as 'science'.

Time-Space-Culture in 'Antiquity'

Science as a way of 'seeing' and 'thinking' took shape between AD 1300-1500 in a process known as the Renaissance or later as the Enlightenment. While the Renaissance was a complex process, the central aim was to re-find the 'glory' and 'civilization' that existed in Antiquity. This re-finding meant constructing a 'European' history that connected back to the Greek and Roman imperial systems. As Martin Bernal says:

² Smadar Lavie and Ted Swedenburg (eds) *Displacement, Diaspora, and Geographies of Identity* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996), page 1.

³ For a discussion, see; Dane Kennedy, "Imperial History and Post-Colonial Theory" *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 24,3 (1996) page 353.

⁴ Paul Knox and John Agnew, *The Geography of the World Economy* (Routledge, 1994), pages 106-124.

The creation of the Aryan Model, Ancient Greece has served two functions. It is seen as the first universal civilization and at the same time as the cultural ancestor of the Europeans. This gives Europe a universal character as the continent that is not merely the vanguard of world progress but is the essence of the world itself.⁵

The Renaissance created a history of 'civilization' by connecting Europe with Antiquity. This connection provided the justification and belief in 'progress'.

Important in the creation of the institution of science was the appropriation of Greek philosophy. Socrates were especially used to promote the value of reasoning as a form of truth-finding intellectual investigation. This investigation was "a personal achievement, won only at the cost of constant intellectual struggle and self-critical reflection,"⁶ Thus the Renaissance 'men' promoted the idea that knowledge of 'reality' (what is out there) could be gained by the use of "human reason and empirical observation" and the "truth must be sought in the present world of human experience." Nature could be observed from a detached standpoint that excludes mythological elements.⁷

Also appropriated during the Renaissance was Aristotle's idea of constructing reality into ordered binary oppositions. These binary oppositions consist of three main principles: "the principle of identity (If anything is A, it is A), the principle of contradiction (Nothing can be both A and not-A) and the principle of the excluded middle (Anything and everything must be either A or not-A),"⁸ While this binary thinking created distinctions, such as matter/form and potential/actual, Aristotle also argued that reality could be 'known' with the use of the ten categories; substance, quantity, quality, relation, place, time, position, state, action, and affection.⁹ Henceforth reality could be divided up into beings which existed through these categories. This logic enabled 'Other' peoples to be classified according to their position in space. For example Barbarians could be classified as Barbarian (*barbaros* and *ethnos*) because they lived in a different

⁵ Martin Bernal, "The Image of Ancient Greece as a Tool," in G.C.Bond, and A.Gilliam (eds), *Social Construction of the Past, Representation as Power* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), page 127.

⁶ Richard Tarnas, *The Passion of the Western Mind* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1991), page 35.

⁷ Tarnas, *The Passion of the Western Mind*, page 70-71.

⁸ Lawrence Berg, "Between Modernism and Postmodernism" *Progress in Human Geography*, 17,4 (1993) page 500.

⁹ Tarnas, *The Passion of the Western Mind*, page 60.

space outside the Greek cities or in a different time frame. As Ivan Hannaford argues in relation to time:

The barbaros and ethnos are those who are content to watch time passing and turning; the *politikos* [Greek citizens] are those who, without aspiring to omniscience over the nature of things, by measured word and deed challenge *physis* [nature] with *nomos* [man-made laws].¹⁰

And in relation to space:

Those who were not Greeks--foreigners or sojourners (*parepidemos*)-- were described as ethnos, namely all those who lived in the provinces, and were held together by *ethos*, by the custom and habit of the household (*oikos*).¹¹

Binary thinking and ideas like time and space contributed to a view of 'reality' which could be divided into parts and 'observed' from a detached perspective. This was a global view where the 'men of vision' (philosophers) could place all the differences of nature in a category: species and genus. The 'Other' barbarians were 'out there' in a different time-space and controlled by nature. All this combined with a belief in a reality that was ordered by the principles of geometry; space and time could be mathematically measured and defined by intersecting lines and formulae. In relation to mapping, Ptolemy's *Geographia* provided a perspective of the whole 'globe' from a disembodied bird's-eye perspective. This perspective was organized into a grid framework using astronomical observations. As Ken Hillis explains:

Ptolemaic mapping relates astronomical observations to the laying of a grid across the convex surface area to be mapped. The lines of the grid then can be numbered consecutively according to meridians and parallels, longitude and latitude. Any point can be identified as separate from any other, through each is interrelated to all other conceptual points by virtue of being equally enmeshed within the grid.¹²

The combination of the ideas of space, place, and geometry meshed together in the map. The whole world, even unknown places, could be fixed together using the coordinates thus *placing every place in its place!*

¹⁰ Ivan Hannaford, *Race, The History of an Idea in the West* (Washington: The Woodrow Wilson Centre Press, 1996), page 21.

¹¹ Hannaford, *Race*, page 51-52.

¹² Ken Hillis, "The Power of Disembodied Imagination" *Cartographica*, 31,3 (1994), page 6.

Science, Mathematics, and Perspective

The men of the Renaissance appropriated these ideas and science was formed as an important part the emerging global system. 'Man' not 'God' became the center of the universe and this Man could imagine a perspective that floated above the earth, seeing everything from a totalizing view. Combining the discovery of Ptolemaic grid was the idea of perspective. Perspective was the "medieval study of optics,"¹³ and during the Renaissance perspective became a 'visual ideology'. This ideology was promoted by thinkers like Leon Alberti in his work *Della Pittura*. As Denis Cosgrove explains:

In *Della Pittura* Alberti demonstrates a technique which he had to work out experimentally for constructing a visual triangle which allowed the painter to determine the shape and measurement of a gridded square placed on the ground when viewed along the horizontal axis, and to reproduce in pictorial form its appearance to the eye. The *costruzione leggitima* gave the realist illusion of three-dimensional space on a two-dimensional surface. This construction, the foundation of linear perspective, depended upon concepts of the vanishing point, distance point and intersecting plane.¹⁴

Oblique perspective gives the 'eye' master over space, a space created by the painter as the vision rays come forth from the eye. This enables the perspective vision to detach itself from the earth and take a commanding 'prospect'¹⁵ in the sky:

Renaissance cartographic and perspective representation implies something akin to an out-of-body experience, as though the eye were a visual machine located at the end of a very long co-axial cable attached to the body.¹⁶

This Renaissance perspective influenced a science of mathematical¹⁷ cosography consisting of four main traditions: chorography, charting, topography and

¹³ Denis Cosgrove, "Prospect, Perspective and the Evolution of the Landscape Idea" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 10 (1985) page 47.

¹⁴ Cosgrove, "Prospect, Perspective" page 48.

¹⁵ Cosgrove uses term 'prospect' to define a "commanding sight or view, a view of the landscape as affected by one's position" (Cosgrove, "Prospect, Perspective" page 55).

¹⁶ Hillis, "The Power of Disembodied Imagination" page 7.

¹⁷ Alan Bishop. "Western Mathematics: The Secret Weapon of Cultural Imperialism" in Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (eds) *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 1995), pages 71-76.

geodesy.¹⁸ All of these traditions incorporated the Aristotolian 'plan' view of space and time as independent and absolute. Chorography involved the creation of small-scale maps influenced by Ptolemy. Charting and nautical maps were navigational tools used for sailing and maritime activities. These charts were increasingly integrated into chorography after 1569 when Mercator's projection was being adopted.¹⁹ Geodesy aimed to map the surface of the earth using a technique that compares the "terrestrial and astronomical lengths of the same meridional arc."²⁰ This technique came to be known as triangulation in 1533 and since this time triangulation has dominated surveying practice as a way of *creating and ordering the landscape according to a mathematical framework*. Topography was the practice of creating large-scale maps using a survey. The idea of the topographical survey involved the use of a surveyor to observe the landscape from a detached point of view. After this act of surveillance the landscape could be placed on a map. The estate surveyor Christopher Saxton, for example, created country maps of England in the late 1500s with support of the landed elite. In this survey, Saxton promoted the idea of the country of 'England' as a place as distinct from other places. It also provided the visual ideology for the evolution of private property rights. For the landed gentry the value of Saxton's survey was, in the words of Taylor,

immediately obvious. As it hung on his chamber wall (and it was deliberately adorned to this purpose) it enabled the landowner to consider his lands as a whole, and to weigh the advantages of some fresh disposition of the fields, or some intended sale of purchase.²¹

Yet from the perspective of 'Other' classes this new visual ideology was contested as the survey was feared by many 'common' people.²² The survey, thus, had a direct linkage with the enclosure movement which could be regarded as a form of internal colonization whereby there was a "concentration of ownership into the hands of a minority" and the restructuring of the landscape in order to create land system that meshed with the requirements of capitalism.²³

¹⁸ Matthew Edney, "Cartography without Progress" *Cartographica*, 30,2-3 (1993) page 54.

¹⁹ Edney, "Cartography without Progress" page 60.

²⁰ Edney, "Cartography without Progress" page 61.

²¹ E.G.R Taylor, "The Surveyor" *The Economic History Review*, 17,2 (1947) page 131.

²² Taylor, "The Surveyor" page 131.

²³ Raymond Williams *The Country and the City* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1973) page 97.

During the 16th and 17th centuries the nexus between cartography (mathematical cosography) and the sciences strengthened. The world became a place to be discovered with everything placed within the framework of Mercator's map and organized according to the time-frame of the chronometer. The world was thought to exist independently of its observer as science could 'enframe' everything under its detached, Cartesian and objective gaze. The 'scientist' applied the logic of mathematics and theoretical laws to analyze nature. This individual endeavor within an academic institution would produce knowledge; knowledge which would be communicated and contribute towards enlightenment and progress.²⁴ Science, enabled by the cartographic project, had a "unique access to the truth of the world, it could register nature like a perfect mirror reflecting an extrahistorical, universal objective reality."²⁵ This scientific perspective, called 'modernism' or Cartesian perspectivalism,²⁶ supported the growth of the global system which believed in a science that could 'see' the whole globe in a realistic, mathematical and reliable picture-frame.

This Cartesian-Modern scientific project began to break-down in the mid-19th Century. 'Natural law' began to be challenged and the security of science shifted into uneasy 'territory'. As Richard Tarnas notes:

By the end of the third decade of the twentieth century virtually every major postulate of the earlier scientific conception had been controverted; the atoms as solid, indestructible, and separate building blocks of nature, space and time as independent absolutes, the strict mechanistic causality of all phenomena, the possibility of objective observation of nature.²⁷

The basis of science as a way of understanding reality was challenged. It could not pretend to strive for mimesis, a mirror reflection of the world and some physicists realized that "reality may not be structured in any way the human mind can objectively discern."²⁸ Scientific knowledge based on objective

²⁴ Denis Cosgrove and Mona Domosh, "Author and Authority " in James Duncan and David Ley (eds) *Place, Culture, Representation*, (London: Routledge, 1993) page 26.

²⁵ Tarnas, *The Passion of the Western Mind*, page 364.

²⁶ Foster, *Vision and Visuality*, page x.

²⁷ Tarnas, *The Passion of the Western Mind*, page 356.

²⁸ Tarnas, *The Passion of the Western Mind*, page 359.

observation was regarded (by some) as impossible. Thomas Kuhn's analysis of science reinforced this view. For Kuhn, scientific knowledge and practice was produced within a context called a paradigm. It is within this paradigm that 'truth' is defined as the "paradigm acts as a lens through which every observation is filtered, and is maintained as an authoritative bulwark by common convention,"²⁹ This meant, in Richard Tarnas words:

The knowledge science rendered was relative to the observer, to his physical context, to his science's prevailing paradigm and his own theoretical assumptions. It was relative to his culture's prevailing belief system, to his social context and psychological dispositions, to his very act of observation".³⁰

During the twentieth century a range of social movements, theories, and social-ecological problems emerged which undermined the objective status of science. Problems such as Nuclear warfare, ecological exploitation, imperialism, global economic reorganisation, structural poverty and inequity illustrated to many critical thinkers that science was far from neutral; it was an active agent in the construction of an uneven, unstable and unjust world. Associated with the problems of the enlightenment, the rise of critical theories ranging from Marxism, post-modernism, post-structuralism, feminism, and post-colonialism have common ground in questioning the scientific-objective project.

2.2 THE IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE OF TIME-SPACE

In the rise of critical social theory, the 'scientific' disciplines of geography and cartography have not been ignored. While previously, especially in the 1960s and early 1970s, geography aimed to be a 'spatial' science, critical theories question the very idea and existence of space, time and culture. Part of the basis for this critique has been Foucaultian inspired discourse analysis and Marxian inspired theories of ideology and hegemony.

²⁹ Tarnas, *The Passion of the Western Mind*, page 360.

³⁰ Tarnas, *The Passion of the Western Mind*, page 361.

Power, Discourse, Ideology and Hegemony

Expanding on Kuhn's idea of the paradigm, Michel Foucault uses the concept of the 'discursive formation' to show how knowledge (*savoir*) is constructed within a social context. The discursive formation consists of a complex number of dispersed statements or discourses. It is within the discourse that understandings of 'truth' and 'falseness' are decided according to rules of formation, as "knowledge is defined by the possibilities of use and appropriation offered by discourse."³¹ Together, the discursive formations forms an *episteme*. The episteme acts in a similar way to the paradigm concept, as Foucault notes:

As a set of relations between the sciences, epistemological figures, positivities, and discursive practices, the episteme makes it possible to grasp the set of constraints and limitations which, at a given moment, are imposed on discourse.³²

Power (*pouvoir*) is seen by Foucault as the ability to produce things. For power is neither repressive or radiates from one single source such as the state, but power,

traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body.³³

Power, therefore, produces knowledge and knowledge enables power. Spivak notes "there is also a sense of 'can-do-ness' in *pouvoir*."³⁴ In other words it is possible to have the power to do things with knowledge:

If the lines of making sense of something are laid down in a certain way, then you are able to do only those things with that something which are possible within and by the arrangement of those lines. *Pouvoir-savoir* -- being able to do something -- only as you are able to make sense of it.³⁵

In order for knowledge to be effective, to be able to 'make sense', it is organized spatially and chronologically; things' happen in a place and at a time.

³¹ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (Tavistock, 1972) page 183.

³² Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, page 192.

³³ Foucault, "Truth and Power" in *Michel Foucault, Power/Knowledge*, (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1980) page 119.

³⁴ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "More on Power/Knowledge," in Donna Landry and Gerald Maclean (eds) *The Spivak Reader* (New York and London: Routledge, 1996) page 151.

³⁵ Spivak, "More on Power/Knowledge" page 151.

Henceforth the power of discourse and the ability of knowledge to 'do things', derives from its ability to create a spatial context or territory:

Once knowledge can be analyzed in terms of region, domain, implantation, displacement, transposition, on is able to capture the process by which knowledge functions as a form of power and disseminates the effects of power.³⁶

Power/knowledge, therefore, produces spaces and this space enables power to be effective.

For Foucault the terms 'ideology' and 'hegemony' did not 'sit' well within his discursive formation theory. Foucault viewed ideology as a type of false knowledge; "it always stands in virtual opposition to something else which is supposed to count as truth."³⁷ Ideology itself is defined by Terry Eagleton as "the study of knowledge of ideas."³⁸ Within the Marxist tradition the term ideology was used to illustrate how ideas were not 'natural' or 'normal' but socially produced:

Ideologies are commonly felt to be both *naturalising* and *universalizing*. By a set of complex discursive devices, they project what are in fact partisan, controversial, historically specific values as true of all times and all places, and so natural, inevitable and unchangeable (emphasis added).³⁹

Under the Marxist critique of ideology, "ideas, in short, are granted an active political force, rather than being grasped as mere reflections of their world."⁴⁰ The aim of Marxism is to uncover and unmask supposed 'natural' ideas and situate them within the exposed strategy of the ruling class. Ideological ideas could be conceived of as ideas, which construct a world view, that aims to dominate others. In other words ideological ideas are oppressive ideas and support and uphold unequal power relations. These ideological ideas could contribute towards a form of 'hegemony'. Hegemony is used by Antonio Gramsci to describe the process by "which the ruling classes secure the consent of their subordinates to be ruled."⁴¹ Hegemonic power is dominant and taken

³⁶ Foucault, "Questions on Geography" page 69.

³⁷ Foucault, "Truth and Power" page 118.

³⁸ Terry Eagleton, *Ideology* (London and New York: Longman, 1994) page 1.

³⁹ Eagleton, *Ideology*, page 9.

⁴⁰ Eagleton, *Ideology*, page 6.

⁴¹ Eagleton, *Ideology*, page 13.

for granted as it "consists of constructs and conventions that have come to be shared and naturalized throughout a political community."⁴² These constructs are, in a way, invisible:

It is only by repetition that signs and practices cease to be perceived or remarked; that they are so habituated, so deeply inscribed in everyday routine, that they no longer be seen as forms of control - or seen at all.⁴³

While both the concepts of ideology and hegemony overlap, Comaroff and Comaroff view ideology as ideas that are more visible and contested than hegemonic ideas. Hegemony, while never total or complete, exists in a constant process of production, and generally remains largely unquestioned and uncontested.

Both discourse and ideology are useful in understanding the construction of power-knowledge in societies. Ideological ideas could be viewed as those ideas produced within discourse which are associated with an oppressive form of power.⁴⁴ This, of course, requires a value judgment on what sort of ideas could be regarded as 'oppressive'.

Materialist and Dialectical views of Time-Space

Instead of viewing space and time as 'natural', critical social theory views both concepts as part of a strategy of social control. Henri Lefebvre, coming from the neo-Marxist perspective, argues that space is 'produced' from different modes of production using the perspective of dialectics. Dialectics "emphasizes process, movement, flow, relations and more particularly, contradiction."⁴⁵ Thus, rather

⁴² Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago) page 25.

⁴³ Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, page 25.

⁴⁴ See, Eileen Fegan, "Ideology After Discourse" *Journal of Law and Society* 23,2 (1996) pages 173-197.

⁴⁵ Andrew Merrifield, "Place and Space: A Lefebvrian Reconciliation" *Transactions of the British Institute of Geographers*, 18 (1993) page 517.

than a focus on time and space as structured, bounded, and unmoving,⁴⁶ dialectical thinking sees space as produced; changing and dynamic. Andrew Merrifield explains that dialectics assumes a holistic framework as,

it is not possible to understand different interrelated parts of the whole without understanding how the parts relate to each other within this whole.⁴⁷

This understanding of the whole is defined as 'totality'. Totality represents the way the whole is present through internal relations in each of its parts; it is not to be confused with totalization or closure.⁴⁸ This means things (real material objects) are produced out of change, relations and social processes. Understanding of these processes is fundamental to understanding the 'thing'. Space and time as 'things' exist only in relation to processes; "there are multiple spaces and times (and time-spaces) implicated in different physical, biological and social processes".⁴⁹ Space and time are social constructs, created and reproduced within the social processes of reproduction.

David Harvey has been prominent within the Geography discipline in calling for a critical view of time-space from a historical materialist perspective.⁵⁰ Influenced by the ideas of Lefebvre, Harvey constructs a model called 'A Grid of Spatial Practices' (Table 2.1) to situate the dialectical and materialist conception of space and cartography. This model is based on three concepts: experience, representation, and imagination. Each concept illustrates how space is produced in different forms under the influence of different social processes. Space is constructed in 'material grounding' but the "representational and symbolic realms" are also important "in processes of place construction".⁵¹

⁴⁶ D.W Harvey, "A Geographer's Guide to Dialectical Thinking" in Cliff, Gould, Hoare, Thrift (eds) *Diffusing Geography*, (Oxford:Blackwell, 1995) page 3.

⁴⁷ Merrifield, "Place and Space" page 517.

⁴⁸ Merrifield, "Place and Space" page 517.

⁴⁹ Harvey, "A Geographer's Guide to Dialectical Thinking" page 8.

⁵⁰ David Harvey, "On the History and Present Condition of Geography: An Historical Materialist Manifesto" *The Professional Geographer*, 36,1, (1984) page 1.

⁵¹ David Harvey, "From Space to Place and Back Again" in Jon Bird (et al), *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change* (London: Routledge, 1993) page 23.

	<i>Accessibility and distanciation</i>	<i>Appropriation and use of space</i>	<i>Domination and control of space</i>	<i>Production of space</i>
Material spatial practices (experience)	flows of goods, money, people labour power, information, etc.; transport and communications systems; market and urban hierarchies; agglomeration	land uses and built environments; social spaces and other 'turf' designations; social networks of communication and mutual aid	private property in land; state and administrative divisions of space; exclusive communities and neighbourhoods; exclusionary zoning and other forms of social control (policing and surveillance)	production of physical infrastructures (transport and communications; built environments; land clearance, etc.); territorial organization of social infrastructures (formal and informal)
Representations of space (perception)	social, psychological and physical measures of distance; map-making; theories of the 'friction of distance' (principle of least effort, social physics, range of a good, central place and other forms of location theory)	personal space; mental maps of occupied space; spatial hierarchies; symbolic representation of spaces; spatial 'discourses'	forbidden spaces; 'territorial imperatives'; community; regional culture; nationalism; geopolitics; hierarchies	new systems of mapping, visual representation, communication, etc.; new artistic and architectural 'discourses'; semiotics.
Spaces of representation (imagination)	attraction/repulsion; distance/desire; access/denial; transcendence 'medium is the message'.	familiarity; hearth and home; open places; places of popular spectacle (streets, squares, markets); iconography and graffiti; advertising	unfamiliarity; spaces of fear; property and possession; monumentality and constructed spaces of ritual; symbolic barriers and symbolic capital; construction of 'tradition'; spaces of repression	utopian plans; imaginary landscapes; science fiction ontologies and space; artists' sketches; mythologies of space and place; poetics of space spaces of desire

Table 2.1. A Grid of Spatial Practices.

Source: David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (1989) pages 220-1.

From this perspective, the map achieves the production of space by representing and connecting the appropriation and domination of space. Yet the map, constructed by the detached imaginary vision of the surveyor presents itself outside of social relations; an isolated 'space' which masks the processes that produced the image. This 'trick' is called 'fetishism' by Karl Marx or 'thingification'. As space is socially produced, the fetishism of the map is a form of ideology; it hides the complex and unequal social relations of production that has produced the image.⁵²

The map, therefore, exists in relation to capitalist relations of production and consumption. It is a representation of space (landscape) which is created and controlled by the owners of the factors of production (land, labour, capital). This ownership and control of cartography produces a map that creates space for the appropriation of surplus value from the workers by the ruling class. For example, the cadastral map produces an image of a landscape divided into property. This property map enables land to be treated as a commodity which can then be brought within capital market relations. In other words the image of property spaces constructed by boundaries on a map determines the emergence of material 'real' private property; a capitalist landscape. The power of the map is its ability to hide these relations by fetishism.⁵³

Territory and Discipline

The concept of territoriality can be used to illustrate how the ideas of time-power are mobilized by agents to support unequal power domination. As I have stated social power is essentially territorial and the power of place and space depend on territorial rules. For Robert Sack these rules 'police' the boundaries and contents of places; of "what is in or out of place".⁵⁴ Thus territoriality involves a "*human strategy to affect, influence, and control*".⁵⁵

⁵² Merrifield, "Place and Space" page 518.

⁵³ R.J Johnston, "The Territoriality of Law: An Exploration" *Urban Geography*, 11,6 (1990) page 555.

⁵⁴ Robert Sack, "The Power of Place and Space" *Geographical Review*, 83,3 (1993) page 326.

⁵⁵ Robert Sack, *Human Territoriality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) page 2.

Territoriality in humans is best thought of not as biologically motivated, but rather as socially and geographically rooted. Its use depends on who is influencing and controlling whom and on the geographical contexts of place, space, and time. Territoriality is intimately related to how people use the land, how they organize themselves in space, and how they give meaning to place.⁵⁶

Sack's notion of territoriality is constructed from three interrelated concepts: classification of an area, communication by a boundary, and the presence of enforcement.⁵⁷ Together these concepts are used by powerful social groups to gain power and control over space. This control is enabled by the creation of the 'empty'. Empty space is ideologically constructed to be abstract and 'outside' any social relations; bounded, cleared, impersonal, and policed.

Foucault's analysis of discipline and surveillance is concerned with this theme of territorial rules. Discipline is regarded as a set of rules or norms which are in one sense invisible. Disciplines train their members to 'think' and 'see' in a certain way. This activity creates a disciplinary way of seeing.⁵⁸ While invisible, disciplines are territorial; it "involves the specified enclosure of space, the partitioning of space according to specialized criteria of identification or activity".⁵⁹ Gearoid O Tuathail remarks:

Discipline also makes spaces; it makes territories, states, and empires possible. Not only does discipline train the footsoldiers of the state or the administrators of empire; it also invents the procedures by which territories, both domestic and colonial, can be surveyed and controlled, mapped and subdued, taxed and governed.⁶⁰

The visible counterpart to disciplinary power is the presence of enforcement or surveillance. Surveillance requires persons and activities within the disciplinary space to be under constant observation. This observation is carried out with the help of examination instruments (telescope, tower) and hierarchical observation or survey. We might, therefore, define surveying as an activity of observation which aims to create and enforce the territorial boundaries according to a certain disciplinary 'perspective' or ideology. The survey is a form of strategic gaze; a gaze or point of observation which is,

⁵⁶ Sack, *Human Territoriality*, page 2.

⁵⁷ Sack, *Human Territoriality*, page 28.

⁵⁸ See, John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin/BBC, 1972).

⁵⁹ Anthony Giddens, "Domination and Power:" in P. Cassell (ed) *The Giddens Reader* (London: Macmillan, 1993) page 231.

⁶⁰ Gearoid O Tuathail, "(Dis)placing Geopolitics: Writing on the Maps of Global Politics" *Environment and Planning D; Society and Space*, 12 (1994) page 556.

represented as detached and objective but its very functioning is dependent upon the naturalization of hegemonic ways of seeing, siting and citing.⁶¹

In regard to the discipline of a 'topographic survey' James Duncan and David Ley argue:

Here we have the power of observation [survey] - the very process that produces the science of topography. It claims to be a totalizing gaze, rational and universal, which sees the whole and orders it. In practice it is usually a white, male, elite, Eurocentric observer who orders the world that he looks upon, one whose observations and classifications provide the rules of representation, of inclusion and exclusion, of precedent and antecedent, of inferior and superior.⁶²

The Ordnance Survey

The nation-state as a product of nationalism and capitalism within the global system is essentially a 'territorial' form of governmentality. Definition of a 'territory' is central to the ideological power of the state.⁶³ The discipline of survey is used by the state to define and police this territory. The close mesh between the state, survey, and mapping is illustrated in the 'English' Ordnance survey regime. The Ordnance survey brought together the different traditions of mapping and survey outlined earlier (choreography, charting, topography, geodesy) under the control of the state. The Ordnance survey itself was organized by the Board of Ordnance during the late 1600s. This Board was part of the Royal Arsenal at the Tower of London and functioned as the official military survey department. From the Tower of London, the Board trained surveyors in the techniques of trigonometrical survey and the first surveys were carried out in Scotland between 1747 and 1755. These surveys were concerned with "making a map to aid the pacification of the Highlands,"⁶⁴ Other surveys soon followed the Scottish experiment and topographic maps helped military campaigns at Quebec (1760), North America (1765), Bengal (1765), Ireland (1778) and India (1799). In these and other expeditions the practice of the

⁶¹ Gearoid O Tuathail, "Problematizing Geopolitics: Survey, Statemanship and Strategy" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 19 (1994) page 261.

⁶² James Duncan and David Ley, "Introduction" *Place, Culture, Representation*, page 2.

⁶³ Michael Mann, *States, War and Capitalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992) page 15.

⁶⁴ J.B Harley, "The Origins of the Ordnance Survey" in W.A. Seymour (ed) *A History of the Ordnance Survey* (Kent: Dawson, 1980) page 4.

survey extended beyond simple mapping but included the "whole process - written and graphic - of inspecting and reporting on fortifications,"⁶⁵ While the soldiers and surveyors worked together abroad (often the surveyors were soldiers), triangulation was adopted by the Board of Ordnance to organize maps for the defense of England. Beginning in 1675 with the establishment of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, the survey began with coastal locations (a triangular connection was made with France in 1787) and then later spread over the entire island. The network of principal triangulation's which soon covered the whole of 'Great Britain' like a web, based on trig stations, the triangles provided the framework for topographical survey; a surveillance system based on mathematical and scientific accuracy. The Ordnance survey enabled England to be created in time (Greenwich Mean-Time) and defined in space; separate and existing as 'Great' Britain.

2.3 GENDERED UNDERSTANDINGS OF TIME-SPACE

Feminist theory has done much to the undermining of Cartesian rationality which views the map and space as natural and objective. Feminist perspectives view the spatial construction of knowledge in terms of un-equal gender relations; space is socially constructed and largely created by masculine patterns of thought. The science 'project' is thus a gendered project; by separation its view from earth (the birds-eye) it has aimed for "an aggressive intellectual flight from the feminine."⁶⁶ As Tarnas notes:

Many generalizations could be made about the history of the Western mind, but today perhaps the most immediately obvious is that it has been from start to finish an overwhelmingly masculine phenomenon: Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Paul, Augustine, Aquinas, Luther, Copernicus, Galileo, Bacon, Descartes, Newton, Locke, Hume, Kant, Darwin, Marx, Nietzsche, Freud.... The Western intellectual tradition has been produced and canonized almost entirely by men, and informed mainly by male perspectives.⁶⁷

Feminism calls for the reassertion of the feminine in this thought tradition and challenges patriarchal structures of control and domination. This requires 'situating' the 'scientific' perspective by bringing it down from its objective all-

⁶⁵ Harley, "The Origins of the Ordnance Survey " page 7.

⁶⁶ Susan Bordo, "The Cartesian Masculinization of Thought" *Signs; Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 11,3 (1986) page 441.

⁶⁷ Tarnas, *The Passion of the Western Mind*, page 441.

seeing and wandering gaze to one that becomes a view from somewhere. In this way I hope to contribute to a vision that is part of "partial, locatable, critical knowledges sustaining the possibility of webs of connections called solidarity in politics and shared conversations in epistemology."⁶⁸ From this situated position feminist writers have attempted to undermine fixed, "essentialist notions of place and being,"⁶⁹ and the distinction between real and non-real space.⁷⁰ Both binary concepts of real space (existing 'out-there' as solid and actual) and non-real space (existing as imagined or as a dream) is regarded by Gillian Rose as an effect of masculinist power. Henceforth the hegemonic Cartesian notion of space is a key focus for feminism:

A full understanding of both patriarchy and geography can only be built upon a foundation of detailed studies of the way unequal gender relations are produced and reproduced through spaces, places and landscapes, for through these processes women have literally been put in their place.⁷¹

Women and feminine forms of knowledge have been located 'outside' the masculine scientific project. The feminine has been defined as the 'Other', the 'Not-A' in the dualism's created by Aristotle. Feminist writers aim to liberate thinking from these masculinist dualistic categories. This means learning to think outside of the binaries in a 'third-space'. Steve Pile (influenced by Homi Bhabha and bell hooks) argues for a "sense of space from the hybridity of the construction of difference,"⁷²

This space is a process, a tragedy and a hope; and, there is not one third space because it is constantly (re)created in encounters between sameness and otherness.⁷³

Thinking outside the dualism, does not however, automatically liberate the academic from oppressive power relations. Situated knowledge requires a

⁶⁸ Donna Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women* (London: Free Association Books, 1991) page 191.

⁶⁹ Linda McDowell, "Spatializing Feminism" in Nancy Duncan (ed) *Body Space* (London: Routledge, 1996) page 36.

⁷⁰ Gillian Rose, "Masculinist Theory and Feminist Masquerade" in Nancy Duncan (ed) *Body Space* (London: Routledge, 1996) page 58.

⁷¹ Gillian Rose and Mike Ogborn, "Feminism and Historical Geography" *Journal of Historical Geography*, 14,4 (1988) page 408.

⁷² Steve Pile, "Masculinism, the Use of Dualistic Epistemologies and Third Spaces" *Antipode*, 26,3 (1994) page 269.

⁷³ Pile, "Masculinism, the Use of Dualistic" page 270.

research methodology that is explicit about positions within complex and overlapping social relations while also remaining committed to the "construction of committed, passionate, positioned, partial but critical knowledge" concerned about "making visible the claims of the less powerful."⁷⁴

2.4 POST-COLONIAL TIME-SPACE

As I have indicated earlier, the science project was (and maybe still is) connected with European aims to create an empire over the whole globe. Attempts at unmasking the process of imperialism could be defined as post-colonialism. While the usefulness of the term 'post-colonialism' is under intensive debate, I regard the 'post' as meaning 'against' colonialism, rather than 'after'.⁷⁵

Imperialism is about domination. For Nadel and Curtis imperialism means,

the extension of sovereignty or control whether direct or indirect, political or economic, by one government, nation or society over another together with the ideas justifying or opposing this process.⁷⁶

Colonialism could be regarded as "the consolidation of imperial power"⁷⁷ which usually involves the transfer or the emergence of populations soured from the metropolitan power.⁷⁸ Colonialism, therefore, could be regarded as a more 'hands-on' form of direct domination, while imperialism uses indirect strategies of control. Both processes are associated with the emergence of state-systems and their quest for territorial power.

⁷⁴ Linda McDowell, "Doing Gender" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 17,4 (1992) page 413.

⁷⁵ For a discussion on the term 'post-colonialism' see; Anne McClintock, "The Angel of Progress" *Social Text*, Spring (1992). Daniel Mengara, "Postcolonialism, Third-Worldism" *Commonwealth Essays and Studies*, 18,2 (1996) page 36. Stuart Hall, "When was the post-colonial?" in Iain Chambers and Lidia Curti, *The Post-Colonial Question* (London: Routledge, 1996) page 242.

⁷⁶ G.N. Nadel and Perry Curtis, *Imperialism and Colonialism* (Macmillan, 1964) page 1.

⁷⁷ Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* (Oxford University Press, 1995) page 3.

⁷⁸ Chris Dixon and Michael Heffernan, *Colonialism and Development in the Contemporary World* (Mansell, 1991).

While different forms of imperialism have existed in different time-places, each system attempts to define itself as superior to its 'Other'. Thus imperialism is not only about the "invasion of physical space"⁷⁹ but is a process of creating imperial space, a process of creating the boundaries of control and making these boundaries hegemonic. Creating imperial space requires control of power/knowledge by the metropolitan power to define itself in space and time; by marking a boundary between 'us' (the 'core', civil, normal, rational) and the 'Other' (the periphery, unstable, unknown). Edward Said, in his book *Orientalism*,⁸⁰ illustrates how the global system⁸¹ created and defined its 'Other' as the 'Orient'. This Oriental 'Other' was placed in a similar position to the Greek barbaros and ethnos; Orientals were 'outside' in a different time frame and unknown (Not-A) while Europeans were inside and known (A):⁸²

Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'. Thus a very large mass of writers, among whom are poets, novelists, philosophers, political theorists, economists, and imperial administrators, have accepted the basic distinction between East and West.⁸³

For Said, imperialism exists because it is supported by an 'academic' discourse (Orientalism); knowledge is constructed and "put in the service of colonial conquest."⁸⁴ This academic enterprise called Occidentalism is defined by Fernando Coronil as,

the ensemble of representational practices that participate in the production of conceptions of the world, which (1) separate the world's components into bounded units; (2) disaggregate their relational histories; (3) turn difference into hierarchy; (4) naturalize these representations; and thus (5) intervene, however unwittingly, in the reproduction of existing asymmetrical power relations.⁸⁵

⁷⁹ Kasbarian, "Mapping Edward Said" page 530.

⁸⁰ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London:Penquin, 1978).

⁸¹ Within the global system there were also many 'Others' and different places in Europe had their own particular brand of Orientalism. See, reina lewis, *Gendering Orientalism* (London: Routledge, 1996).

⁸² See, Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other* (New York: Columbia University, 1983) for a discussion on how the use of time constructs the 'Other'.

⁸³ Said, *Orientalism*, page 2.

⁸⁴ Robert Young, *White Mythologies, Writing history and the West* (London: Routledge, 1990) page 129.

⁸⁵ Fernando Coronil, "Beyond Occidentalism " *Cultural Anthropology*, 11,1 (1996) page 56.

Occidental Cartography and Survey

It is within Occidentalism that the disciplines of geography, cartography and surveying have been mobilized for the use of the imperial project.⁸⁶ The maps of these disciplines "involve the use of a shared spatial imagery and have the strange effect of producing a remarkably consistent mental picture or map of the world."⁸⁷ From the scientific and objective eye in the sky, the surveyor created spaces within the mathematical grid that put everyone in their 'place'. Place naming and boundary creation are thus two elements central in the Occidental map.⁸⁸ The map and survey is part of the "tactics and strategies" identified by Foucault which aim for the "control of territories and organization of domains."⁸⁹

In this sense, I would argue that the Empire was partly *a creation of cartography, as the map created an 'enframed', bounded and global territory of empty spaces*.⁹⁰ These spaces, (coloured red for the British Empire) provided an image of total control; a clear cut representation of 'us' and 'them', the 'Same' and the 'Other'.

Two examples of Occidental survey 'emplacement' strategies were the British Ordnance Survey of India (1799-1843) and the French Survey of Egypt (late 1700s). Both surveys used the 'science' of triangulation to provide a mathematical framework within which all of Egypt and India could be defined as a territorial unit. These were not 'empty lands' but the Oriental 'masses' required

⁸⁶ For a discussion on the role of Geography and the Empire, see, David Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992). Anne Godlewska and Neil Smith (eds) *Geography and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).

⁸⁷ Coronil, "Beyond Occidentalism" page 52.

⁸⁸ See, Berg and Kearns, "Naming as Norming: 'Race', Gender and the Identity Politics of Naming Places in Aotearoa/New Zealand" *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 13 (1996).

⁸⁹ Michel Foucault, "Questions on Geography" in Colin Gordon (ed) *Michel Foucault, Power/Knowledge* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980) page 77.

⁹⁰ J.B Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, Power" in Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove (eds) *The Iconography and Landscape* (Cambridge University Press, 1988) page 283.

categorization and organization for imperial control. During the survey, 'everything' was emplaced. As Matthew Edney illustrates concerning the Indian survey:

The surveys themselves were not restricted to the measurement of topography, but also involved the enumeration of forests, mines, soils, manufacturing, commerce, taxation systems, and populations. In addition, Mackenzie's subordinates [surveyors] were also directed to collect information about religions, languages, scripts, ancient remains, local histories.⁹¹

The Egyptian survey was also more than a topographic exercise. Organized into the *Description de l'Egypte*, the survey attempted the 'total' description of Egypt in support of the French imperial venture. The *Description* is "a form of taking possession of Egypt not just physically and for today but intellectually, in the name of an historical and scientific tradition."⁹²

Surveying and mapping also enabled the emplacement and enframing of a 'new' world within the geometrical frame of the old. 'Discovery' was achieved by sailing across the mathematical grid and finding 'places' within that grid.

Once at sea, Columbus' mind's eye will understand that the grid articulates all the spaces that will need to be crossed, and that it does so in a way that seems realistic and attainable as the map lays down an ordered harmony, a nature of certainty and reason.⁹³

Once 'discovered' these 'new' places were regarded as empty waste lands. Empty because this 'new World' was, in the eyes of the European explorers, different to the extreme; un-Christain, un-educated, un-urbanised. Thus these lands were taken to be a waste land, a "empty space for the taking."⁹⁴ As these lands were conceived of both new and empty with no form of legal system recognizable to Europeans, European 'law' was deemed to be immediately applicable. Each colony was to be treated as if the land were part of Europe itself.

⁹¹ Matthew Edney, "The Patronage of Science and the Creation of Imperial Space" *Cartographica*, 30,1 (1993) page 62.

⁹² Anne Godlewska, "Map, Text and Image" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 20 (1995) page 14.

⁹³ Ken Hills, "The Power of Disembodied Imagination" *Cartographica*, 31,3 (1994) page 15. See also, Arthur Robinson, "It was the Mapmakers who really Discovered America" *Cartographica*, 29,2 (1992). J.B. Harley, "Rereading the Maps of the Columbian Encounter" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 82,3 (1992).

⁹⁴ Sack, *Human Territoriality*, page 133.

Connecting the 'new' land with Europe involved the two key strategies of place naming and boundary marking. By marking out boundaries with the use of the map, the 'old World' estates could be extended in space. Inside this space, granted by a legal charter or a Crown grant, 'law' could operate. Sack notes,

the new World charters described territorial claims abstractly and geometrically and in conjunction with conceptually and then actually clearing the land of Indians, the geometric lines of territorial authority become sweeping space-clearing and maintaining devices for the territorial instituting communities.⁹⁵

As indigenous peoples of these lands were defined as an extreme sub-human 'Other', their lands could be dispossessed without the violation of international (European) law.⁹⁶ Thus, boundaries within the 'new World' marked the 'frontier' between a land that was controlled by law (civilization) and one controlled by nature (uncivilized and empty).

Naming and boundary making are "markers of the spatiality of power relationships embedded in the landscape."⁹⁷ Paul Carter illustrates how the practice of naming 'Australia' by James Cook enabled the country to be defined and possessed:

Possession of the country depended on demonstrating the efficacy of the English language there. It depended, to some extent, on civilizing the landscape, bringing it into orderly being. More fundamentally still, the landscape had to be taught to speak.⁹⁸

Garth Myers also illustrates the power of naming in regard to the urban landscape of Zanzibar. Naming was an explicit strategy of control:

It often seemed that the real concern of the British in Ng'ambo was simply having things under control having the place 'contained' meant translating it into a spatial language they could 'read like a book'.⁹⁹

The empire however was not as 'clean-cut' as the map representation aimed to make out. Through out the empires there were many sites of resistance, which

⁹⁵ Sack, *Human Territoriality*, page 134.

⁹⁶ Sack, *Human Territoriality*, page 133.

⁹⁷ Garth Myers, "Naming and Placing the Other" *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 87,3 (1996) page 237.

⁹⁸ Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay* (London: Faber, 1987) page 58-59.

⁹⁹ Myers, "Naming and Placing the Other" page 240.

Edward Said argues, were more than "a reaction to imperialism" but were an "alternative way of conceiving human history."¹⁰⁰ The actual 'boundary' between the West and Orient was never fully impermeable. New 'cultures' were created by imperialism, as Nicholas Dirks finds "even as much of what we now recognize as culture was produced by the colonial encounter, the concept itself was in part invented because of it."¹⁰¹ Dirks analysis connects with Don Mitchell's idea that culture is a powerful ideological idea which "has been developed and deployed as a means of attempting to order, control and define 'others' in the name of power or profit."¹⁰²

Using a flowing and non-essentialist view of 'culture', many post-colonial writers have dislocated the boundary of the 'Us' and 'Other' to find a between-ness space of hybridity. Hybridity rather than dualisms was the result of the imperial experience and now the concept is used as a site of resistance; to resist the categories of 'culture':

Hybrid products are thus results of a long history of confrontations between unequal cultures and forces, in which the stronger culture struggles to control, remake, or eliminate the subordinate partner. But even in the case of extremely imbalanced encounters, subordinates have frequently managed to divert the cultural elements they were forced to adopt and have rearranged them for their own sly purposes.¹⁰³

Hybridity aims to resist from a 'third-time space' or from the 'place' of the borderzone. Borderzones are:

Sites of creative cultural creolization, places where criss-crossed identities are forged out of the debris of the corroded, formerly (would be) homogeneous identities, zones where the residents often refuse the geopolitical univocality of the lines.

Living in the border is frequently to experience the feeling of being trapped in an impossible in-between.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993) page 260.

¹⁰¹ Nicholas Dirks, "Introduction" *Colonialism and Culture* (University of Michigan Press, 1992) page 3.

¹⁰² Don Mitchell, "There's no such thing as Culture" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 20 (1995) page 104. See also, Peter Jackson, Denis Cosgrove, James and Nancy Duncan, and Don Mitchell. "Exchange There's no such thing as Culture" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 21 (1996) pages 572-582.

¹⁰³ Lavie and Swedenburg, "Introduction" in *Displacement, Diaspora, and Geographies of Identity*, page 9.

¹⁰⁴ Lavie and Swedenburg, "Introduction" page 15.

Hybridity, third-spaces, and borderzones resist the boundary marking and emplacement which the map helped to create. They dislocate the connection between the position of a people and a place. The 'natural' authority of the map is undermined and the map is only a form of writing, a form of colonial discourse that created colonial spaces; spaces of closure and resistance.¹⁰⁵

Henceforth, while the British toponymic policy in Zanzibar aimed to name and map out the 'Other', the 'Other Side' used naming as an 'art of resistance' as they also named their 'Other' resulting in a complex 'tapestry' of boundary-marking and making; "the newest of Ng'ambo's poorest people are remarkably resilient, creating an Other Side that re-interprets the order of state and elite,"¹⁰⁶

A Gendered Empire

While the division and space between colonist and colonized was never simple and stable in the contact zone, further complexities are drawn regarding the gendered nature of imperialism. As Derek Gregory finds, the colonial/colonized space had a "profound gendering" relation, yet this relation has been ignored by Said and many other early 'postcolonial' writers.¹⁰⁷

The Occident is European and masculine while the 'Other' Orient is feminine. Mapping and surveying for colonialism was carried out by men and created 'sexual space' where the "construction of space to be colonized, and the desire for colonial control was often expressed in terms of sexual control,"¹⁰⁸ The empire was a space created by men so to achieve domination over the 'Others'; Orientals, Women, Nature....

¹⁰⁵ Graham Huggan, "Decolonizing the Map" in I. Adam and H. Tiffin (eds) *Past the Last Post* (London: Harvester, 1991) page 127.

¹⁰⁶ Myers, "Naming and Placing the Other" page 244.

¹⁰⁷ Derek Gregory *Geographical Imaginations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994) page 175.

¹⁰⁸ Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose, "Introduction." in Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose (eds) *Writing Women and Space, Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies*, (London: Guilford Press, 1994) page 10.

The heroes of the colonial landscape - the explorer, the hunter, the soldier, the missionary, the administrator, the gentleman - were all gendered in particular ways, providing moral models for a generation of empire builders. Geographical knowledge, in the broadest sense, was inevitably shaped by and through such figures.¹⁰⁹

However the masculine/feminine binary may be too simple within the various contact zones. Women, while classified the 'Other' by men in Europe were also the agents of Orientalism.¹¹⁰ For example Sara Mills argues that women settlers were provided with a space within the empire so "they could be imperial citizens while remaining thoroughly within the stereotypical discourses of femininity and motherhood;"¹¹¹

Rather than the empire being a thoroughly masculine place, it seems that it also had a feminine identity; the production of a type of moral knowledge by females seems an essential part of the justification by the imperialist power of its own presence.¹¹²

Mills works towards a deconstruction of the empire as masculine image and aims for a critical history that avoids polarized or essentialist gender divisions.¹¹³ A similar focus is also taken by Catherine Nash in regard to the practice of surveying. While Nash points out surveying was and still is carried out by men, Nash finds "certain forms of visual representation may support patriarchal power relations, but looking is never only or just masculine,"¹¹⁴

In sum, the challenge of constructing post-colonial knowledges is to deconstruct simple dualistic thinking by situating the particular geographic-history within a

¹⁰⁹ Felix Driver, "Geography's Empire" *Environment and Planning D; Society and Space*, 10 (1995) page 27.

¹¹⁰ Lewis. *Gendering Orientalism*, page 21.

¹¹¹ Sara Mills, "Knowledge, Gender and Empire," in Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose (eds), *Writing Women and Space, Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies*, (London: Guilford Press, 1994) page 42.

¹¹² Mills, "Knowledge, Gender and Empire" page 42.

¹¹³ Sara Mills, "Gender and Colonial Space" *Gender, Place and Culture*, 3,2 (1996) page 125.

¹¹⁴ Catherine Nash, "Reclaiming Vision" *Gender, Place and Culture*, 3,2 (1996) page 167.

partial place or contact zone. In other words 'talking' and 'constructing' colonial histories in the politics of particular locations.¹¹⁵

2.5 TALKING HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY IN AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND

Histories and geographies are political constructions created in ideological discourse. The 'past' and 'place' are constructions of the present and represented in ways that construct or deconstruct various competing identities. Cultural groups (including nation-states) define themselves according to a space. This means representations of these spaces are always contested. David Lowenthal states,

the past is everywhere a battleground of rival attachments. In discovering, correcting, elaborating, inventing, and celebrating their histories, competing groups struggle to validate present goals by appealing to continuity with, or inheritance from, ancestral and other precursors. The politics of the past is no trivial academic game; it is an integral part of every people's earnest search for a heritage essential to autonomy and identity.¹¹⁶

Various groups use ideas such as space and time to create or reproduce identities. This means notions of 'a people' or an 'authentic' identity are connected to a specific temporal spatiality.¹¹⁷

For example the imaginary nationality of 'New Zealanders' is located within 'national' boundaries called 'New Zealand'.¹¹⁸ Creating and maintaining 'identity' involves a complex strategy of boundary marking and toponymy. By marking

¹¹⁵ Ruth Frankenberg and Lata Mani, "Crosscurrents, Crosstalk: Race, 'Postcoloniality' and the Politics of Location" *Cultural Studies*, 7,2 (1993) page 293.

¹¹⁶ David Lowenthal, "Conclusion" *The Politics of the Past* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1990) page 302.

¹¹⁷ Radhika Mohanram, "The Post-Colonial Critic" in Margaret Wilson and Anna Yeatman, *Justice and Identity* (Wellington: Bridget Williams, 1995) page 177

¹¹⁸ For a good discussion on history writing and New Zealand Nationalism see, Jock Phillips, "Our History, Our Selves," in *New Zealand Journal of History*, 30,2 (1996) pages 107-123. Also, Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1991) for a discussion on how the nation-state creates itself into an 'imagined community'.

out boundaries and naming the place within the boundary, the space is acquired by a group who claim some ownership or right of occupation.¹¹⁹

The boundaries marked by the 'Us' group are also used to define and exclude those 'Others' who may seek to undermine the hegemony of the 'Us' group. This kind of *spatialised politics* refers to a 'legitimacy to speak' that is defined in and by social constructions of space.¹²⁰

The spatialised politics of New Zealand/Aotearoa generally remain locked in the cultural and spatial concepts which were born out of the colonial process. With the withdrawal of the imperial power after World War II and the undermining of the associated assimilationist ideology, cultural politics within the 'nation' have been increasingly bifurcated into the spaces of 'Maori' and 'pakeha'. These dualisms were formed by a specific type of Orientalism which defined the 'Other' living on the Islands of Aotearoa as a healthy sort of 'Savage' and 'uncivilised'. The savage label was replaced with 'Native' and later 'Maori'. Pakeha is the general term for non-Maori or people of 'western' extraction now living in New Zealand/Aotearoa.¹²¹ Assimilationist and integrationist ideas have, since the 1970's, been joined by the idea of bi-culturalism (two cultures). Bi-culturalism discourse generally reinforces the boundary between the colonial binaries: 'Maori' and 'pakeha'.

Within this bifurcation politics, attempts by pakeha academics to conduct research about Maori have been met with criticism by 'members' of both groups. For example Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal argues pakeha scholars like Elsdon Best have produced much misinformation about the Maori and that Maori must control and determine their own history according to the traditions of the iwi.¹²² One 'causality' of this brand of spatialised politics was Michael

¹¹⁹ Lawrence Berg and Robin Kearns, "Naming as norming" *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 13 (1996).

¹²⁰ Lawrence Berg and Robin Kearns, "Naming as norming" *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 13 (1996).

¹²¹ See, Paul Spoonley, "Constructing Ourselves" in Margaret Wilson and Anna Yeatman, *Justice and Identity* (Wellington: Bridget Williams, 1995) page 96, for a commentary on pakeha politics in Post-colonial New Zealand/Aotearoa.

¹²² Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal, *Te Haurapa* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1992) page 26.

King, a well known author and historian. After the publication of '*Maori - A Photographic and Social History*', King (a pakeha) was criticized for writing a 'Maori' history,¹²³ and later on King withdrew from 'speaking' about Maori historical topics.

Christine Teariki, Paul Spoonley and Ngahiwi Tomoana are also critical about research 'on' Maori. This research is regarded as a form of colonization, a form of power/knowledge that exerts control over Maori by pakeha academic. Research is viewed as an exercise in control, as an exercise done only by the pakeha, as a way of scoring academic brownie points towards a career path and as a method that emphasizes negative aspects of Maoridom.¹²⁴ But Teariki, et al argue that it is still possible to undertake research 'for' Maori by following a few basic requirements:

1. Research as a partnership

Projects must undergo a careful process of negotiation with full explanation of the aims and uses of the research.

2. Accountability

Maori should have the ability to direct, control and veto research.

3. Self-monitored research

Research requires adherence to an ethical framework so organizations and institutions can monitor research on Maori

4. Research products

Ownership of research products should be clearly established.

While some academics like Michael King have withdrawn from 'Maori research', others have attempted to legitimate their authority by entering 'Maori' space; a border-crossing exercise. Evelyn Stokes, who also says that the 'pakeha geography of Maoris' constructed by geographers is inadequate, advises the pakeha academic to enter the 'Maori world' and learn to be bi-cultural. Only

¹²³ Michael King, *Being Pakeha* (Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985) page 163.

¹²⁴ Christine Teariki, Paul Spoonley and Ngahiwi Tomoana, *The Politics and Process of Research for Maori* (Massey University, 1992). See also, Christine Teariki. "Ethical Issues in Research from a Maori Perspective" *New Zealand Geographer*, 48,2 (1992), pages 85-86.

after this ("long apprenticeship of learning on the marae) process may the pakeha academic learn of a 'Maori geography'.¹²⁵ Thus the 'ability to speak' is dependent upon the ability of the academic to cross the cultural boundary and "see their world through Maori lenses."¹²⁶

Kathie Irwin adopts a research epistemology which is grounded in 'Kaupapa Maori'. This framework means being "Maori by ethnicity" is not enough, the researcher needs to "determine the appropriate rituals of encounter"¹²⁷ to be able to conduct research in a Maori context. A key ritual in this regard is the ability to create spaces for negotiation (ie, use of hui) which enable face-to-face contacts between the researcher and the participants, who together in collaboration negotiate the research process; "*he kanohi kitea*, a face seen is appreciated."¹²⁸

Russell Bishop also carries on the theme of Kaupapa Maori epistemology with his 'Collaborative Research' model. Like Irwin, Bishop finds 'academic authority' in terms of a Maori context by his participation in Whakawhanaungatanga. As a Kaupapa Maori research strategy, Whakawhanaungatanga, has three interconnected elements:

- a) establishing whanau relationships;
- b) participant-driven approaches to power and control; and
- c) researcher involvement as lived experience.¹²⁹

These elements mean that research in a Maori context must be positioned within the whanau network of authority. Thus the 'truth' and usefulness of the text is decided by the whanau. Only within the whanau as a collective can the researcher carry on with "negotiated lines of action."¹³⁰ As the research is

¹²⁵ Evelyn Stokes, "Maori Geography or Geography of Maoris" in *New Zealand Geographer*, 43 (1987) page 118.

¹²⁶ Stokes, "Maori Geography" page 119.

¹²⁷ Kathie Irwin, "Maori Research Processes and Methods" *Sites*, No.28 (1994) page 37.

¹²⁸ Irwin, "Maori Research Processes and Methods" page 39.

¹²⁹ Russell Bishop, *Collaborative Research Stories; Whakawhanaungatanga* (Dunmore Press, 1996) page 216.

¹³⁰ Bishop, *Collaborative Research Stories*, page 220.

participant driven, control thus lies not with the individual researcher but with the whanau:

A Kaupapa Maori position therefore promotes an epistemological version of validity, one where the authority of the text is established through recourse to a set of rules concerning knowledge, its production and representation. Such an approach to validity locates the power within Maori cultural practices, where what is acceptable and what is not acceptable research, text and/or processes is determined by the research community itself.¹³¹

Thus the researchers become part of the 'whanau of interest' who determine the "research questions, the methods of research, and the construction and validation/legitimization of knowledge."¹³²

Probably the best example of a 'pakeha' academic who gained speaking legitimacy in the Maori 'world' as a result of border-crossing is James Ritchie. Ritchie supports the idea of 'bi-culturalism' and Maoridom as existing only as a collection of tribes. In crossing into the tribal world, Ritchie speaks of an 'outsider':

In the Maori world I am an outsider, a visitor, and always will be. All my experience does not, and cannot, alter that fact.¹³³

From this position, Ritchie has gained speaking permission because of his participation within the Tainui tribal authority. During the pre-settlement negotiation period, Ritchie was the 'spokesperson' for Tainui because he was responsible to the tribe.

From this advice on research in a 'Maori' context, it is recognized that 'speaking' is dependent on border-crossing and participation. This focus, however, also reinforces the binary categories of 'Maori' and 'pakeha'. The question remains, how does the academic achieve a research process that is liberated from oppressive and colonial binaries and located in the politics of place?

Michael Reilly, in speaking about his position as a pakeha who teaches Maori history, uses the post-colonial writings of Spivak and Bhabha in arguing

¹³¹ Bishop, *Collaborative Research Stories*, page 225.

¹³² Bishop, *Collaborative Research Stories*, page 227.

¹³³ James Ritchie, *Becoming Bicultural* (Wellington:Huia, 1992) page 51.

historians need to go beyond colonial binary thinking (Maori and pakeha). Reilly states,

the need to maintain a polarized or dual stranded view, both in regard to the nature of Maori history and the ethnicity of its practitioners, shows how far New Zealand historians, like the wider society, remain caught up in repetitions of the old colonial relationships.¹³⁴

For Reilly there is a need to go beyond the categories of Maori and pakeha by 'border crossing', 'hybridity' and focus on the power relationship of the historian and the subject.¹³⁵ Despite this Reilly does argue he has a right to speak about 'Maori' history because of his knowledge of tikanga Maori gained from various Maori teachers, and like Michael King, Reilly dwells on his marginal Irish ancestry as an identity to speak from.¹³⁶ Reilly, situates his "subjective position and external experiences"¹³⁷ in these 'entanglements' which allow him no Archimedean perspective on the world.

Wendy Larner writing in the context of feminist epistemology also questions the wisdom of operating from essentialist identities. She states that feminist "theorizing often takes forms that accept the notion of pre-given, or pre-constituted, identities and rest on assumptions about the authenticity of experience."¹³⁸ Despite this, Larner is uncomfortable in introducing theory that may undermine the pre-given binary identities. Instead she advocates a positionality not just "in a theoretical and ideological place, but also in a geographical location and by implication the politics of that place."¹³⁹ In this position the goal of research becomes "some form of workable compromise which will enable us to coalesce around specific issues."¹⁴⁰ This positionality or

¹³⁴ Michael Reilly, "Te Matakite hou O Nga Korero Nehe No Nui Tireni " in Paul Spoonley, C. Macpherson, and D. Pearson, *Nga Patai, Racism and Ethnic Relations in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (Dunmore Press, 1996) page 94-5.

¹³⁵ See also, Loretta Lees and Lawrence Berg, "Ponga, Glass and Concrete." in *New Zealand Geographer*, 51,2 (1995) page 39, who call for the "development of a hybrid [based on the ideas of Bhabha] geography that recognises and affirms the development of a bicultural Aotearoa."

¹³⁶ Michael Reilly, "Entangled in Maori History" *The Contemporary Pacific*, Fall (1996).

¹³⁷ Reilly, "Entangled in Maori History" page 389.

¹³⁸ Wendy Larner, "Theorising Difference in Aotearoa/New Zealand" *Gender, Place and Culture*, 2,2 (1995) page 178.

¹³⁹ Larner, *Theorising Difference*, page 177.

¹⁴⁰ Larner, *Theorising Difference*, page 188.

situated knowledges goes beyond giving a list of personal information in the shape of a life story; or what David Harvey calls 'vulgar situatedness'.¹⁴¹ Instead positionality has real implications concerning the freedom of the academic. This may mean the academic does not have total freedom to de-construct any colonial culture he/she may happen to find.¹⁴² Our re-representations are positioned in the political and changing categories of time and space.

Love, Social Justice and Responsibility

My story (epistemology) uses the experience of King, Stokes, Ritchie, Reilly and other persons who have attempted to write historical and geographical narratives about Maori-pakeha interaction. All of these writers illustrate the importance of working within the boundary of Maori society in order to construct revisionist historical geographies. This means aiming to create some sort of 'responsibility structure' with Toa Rangatira. As Spivak notes:

Finding the subaltern is not so hard, but actually entering into a responsibility structure with the subaltern, with responses flowing both ways: learning to learn without this quick-fix frenzy of doing good with an implicit assumption of cultural supremacy which is legitimized by unexamined romanticization, that's the hard part.¹⁴³

While the creation of a responsibility structure within Toa Rangatira in this thesis research has been limited by time. It is hope that some degree of control over the thesis content and benefit is gained by Toa Rangatira from my ethical process (see Room of Introduction). The reserves were created for Toa Rangatira and I would not conceive of writing a thesis of this nature without

¹⁴¹ David Harvey, "Class Relations and Social Justice " in Michael Keith and Steve Pile (eds) *Place and the Politics of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1993) page 57. David Harvey and Donna Haraway, "Nature, Politics and Possibilities" *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 13 (1995) page 508.

¹⁴² For example Allan Hanson sparked debate when he argued 'Maori culture' was 'invented'. See, Allan Hanson, "The Making of the Maori" *The American Anthropologist*, 91(1989) pages 890-901. Jocelyn Linnekin, "On the Theory and Politics of Cultural Construction in the Pacific" *Oceania*, 62(1992) pages 249-263. Jeffrey Sissons, "The Systematisation of Tradition " *Oceania*, 64(1993) pages 97-115. Robert Norton, "Culture and Identity in the South Pacific " *Man*, 28 (199?) pages 741-759.

¹⁴³ Spivak, "Subaltern Talk " in Donna Landry and Gerald Maclean, *The Spivak Reader* (London: Routledge, 1996) page 293.

gaining the permission of Toa Rangatira. In this sense I am also undertaking some (limited) boundary crossing in order to achieve speaking legitimacy.

This responsibility structure also meshes with the ideas of action research.¹⁴⁴ Through a process of collaboration and self-reflection action research aims to solve practical problems by action. In the action research terminology, Toa Rangatira are my critical reference group, the group I support and accountable to.¹⁴⁵ This, however, does not mean I simply represents the views of the critical reference group but the final product (this thesis) is an outcome of those workable compromises and agreements within the responsibility communication spaces.

Building and working within a responsibility structure requires learning by listening. As Derek Gregory (1994:205) finds:

Most of us have not been very good at listening to others and learning from them, but the present challenge is surely to find ways of comprehending those other worlds - including our relations with them and our responsibilities toward them - without being invasive, colonizing and violent.¹⁴⁶

In other words the ability to speak (or respond) stems from the ability to listen.

Achieving spaces of dialogue in the research process between the identities of colonialism is a way of comprehending those other worlds so the boundary between the other and self disappears. Those 'other' worlds are also part of my relational web. This dialogue needs to provide space for disagreement and agreement, negotiation and compromise. The responsibility structure also situates knowledge production. It enables a vantage point connected with a social movement that is accountable to that movement; so I am "able to join with another, to see together without claiming to be another,"¹⁴⁷ Henceforth I am not attempting to 'speak for' the subaltern but 'speaking' that involves the two meanings of 'representation'; *Vertretung* or 'treading in your shoes' and *Darstellung* meaning 'placing there'. Thus in " the act of representing politically,

¹⁴⁴ R. McTaggart, *Action Research* (Deakin University, 1991).

¹⁴⁵ Y. Wadsworth, *Everyday Evaluation on the Run* (Action Research Issues Association, 1991).

¹⁴⁶ Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations*, page 205.

¹⁴⁷ Donna Haraway, *Simians*, page 193.

you actually represent yourself and your constituency in the portrait sense as well!"¹⁴⁸ I am not representing or walking in others shoes (in this case the shoes of Toa Rangatira) but in my own. My speaking also challenges the categories of culture and place that silence me from speaking. As Spivak explains:

I will have in an undergraduate class, lets say, a young, white male student, political correct, who will say: 'I am only a bourgeois white male. I can't speak'. In that situation - it's peculiar, because I am in the position of power and their teacher and, on the other hand I am not a bourgeois white male - I say to them, ' why not develop a certain degree of rage against the history that has written such an abject script for you that you are silenced?' Then you begin to investigate what it is that silences you, rather than take this very determinist position - since my skin colour is this, since my sex is this, I cannot speak.¹⁴⁹

While I find this attitude of Spivak very liberating, speaking should not be silenced by the ideological categories of 'race' or 'place', I also believe it takes an amount of wisdom to know when it is the 'right' time or place to speak and what is the proper way of speaking.

The theory of hermeneutics is useful in organizing the speaking position of the academic. In hermeneutics, the text (this thesis) is created from a combination of the inter and extra textual fields of reference. The extra field (data) is combined with the inter field (literature, journals, etc.) to produce a text. The text is, thus a representation, a sort of 'new' creation. This also applies to the 'reader' of the text who,

understands a text by situating it within the two interpenetrating fields of reference - the extra-textual, the reader's experiences in the world, and the inter-textual, the context of other texts.¹⁵⁰

It is thus impossible for the writer to locate outside of the text. When I 'speak' for and with the 'others', I am speaking from myself; a new representation which is partial and situated. As Trevor Barnes and James Duncan find, "writing about worlds reveals as much about ourselves as it does about the worlds

¹⁴⁸ Donna Landry and Gerald Maclean, "Introduction" in *The Spivak Reader* (London: Routledge, 1996) page 6.

¹⁴⁹ Spivak quoted in, Pamela Smurmer-Smith and Kevin Hannam, *Worlds of Desire, Realms of Power* (Edward Arnold, 1994).

¹⁵⁰ James Duncan and David Ley, "Introduction," in *Place, Culture, Representation*, page 9.

represented." ¹⁵¹ People create and organize understandings of 'reality' using ideas, henceforth "ideas are real;" they are part of reality and ideas (like race, culture, space, time, etc.) have real consequences. ¹⁵²

This is also the message in regard to maps. ¹⁵³ The landscape cannot be mapped as if the surveyor can locate him/her self outside the picture; "the landscape, in short, is not a totality that you or anyone else can look at, it is rather the world in which we stand taking up a point of view on our surroundings" ¹⁵⁴ The map is a representational text constructed by the combined interaction of both the inter and extra textual fields of reference. Maps present a representational understanding of reality not a 'mirror' image of a pre-existing 'landscape'. Understanding this social context of mapping is critical in understanding the map. For this reason I have used the modes of representation model (in the Room of Introduction) to provide the framework for the maps included in this thesis. Every map is produced within a social context; this social context provides the visual ideology, the frame of reference, for the production of the map-text. The map is an idea, written on paper (or on a computer) and once written the map-idea can gain hegemonic status; it creates a 'landscape' and thus has real consequences for those groups who aim to resist the hegemony. ¹⁵⁵

In building a speaking position I have used a great deal of 'metropolitan theory' classified as neo-Marxism, Feminism, Post-colonialism, etc. I regard this 'European high theory' valuable in contributing towards a dialectical critical geography which aims to build a holistic picture but avoids a totalizing perspective. The use of a responsibility structure, however, is a way of regulating this theory; using Derek Gregory's metaphor, not embargoing such

¹⁵¹ Trevor Barnes and James Duncan, "Introduction" *Writing Worlds, Discourse Text and Metaphor in the Representation of the Landscape* (London: Routledge, 1992) page 3.

¹⁵² James and Nancy Duncan, "Reconceptualizing the idea of culture in geography: a reply to Don Mitchell" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 21 (1996) page 576.

¹⁵³ See, John Pickles, "Text, Hermeneutics, and Propaganda Maps" in Trevor Barnes and James Duncan, *Writing Worlds, Discourse Text and Metaphor in the Representation of the Landscape*.

¹⁵⁴ Tim Ingold, "The Temporality of the Landscape" *World Archaeology*, 25,2 (1993) page 171.

¹⁵⁵ Dennis Wood. *The Power of Maps* (London: Routledge, 1993).

theory but requiring "import duties."¹⁵⁶ Critical traveling theory, regulated by forms of 'import duties', are helpful to avoid essentialist spatial and cultural political categories. As indicated earlier ideas like space, time and culture are not 'natural' groupings but 'difference' is produced and reproduced by hegemonic power.¹⁵⁷ These 'fixed' categories, reproduced by identity politics, influence closure and exclusiveness, as David Harvey illustrates in the case of the Imperial Foods fire at Hamlet, North Carolina. After this fire critical political action was silenced because, from Harvey's perspective, the diverse and fragmented post-modernist politics of encouraging difference undermines the adoption of a shared understanding on social justice.¹⁵⁸ Henceforth there is a need to see "a 'real' world populated by multiple subjects with many (often changeable) identities located in varying (and also changeable) subject positions."¹⁵⁹

Harvey uses the ideas of Iris Young¹⁶⁰ to construct a conception of social justice that may provide a basis of similarity between diverse groupings. This conception involves action against exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, violence, and ecological consequences.

While affirming the need for this conception of social justice, my speaking position is firstly situated on a personal and collective commitment to the idea of love.¹⁶¹ This ethic of love could be defined as an attitude of responsibility,¹⁶² or, put in another way, an *ability to respond*.¹⁶³ In other words love, as a ethic of

¹⁵⁶ Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations*, page 182.

¹⁵⁷ Edward Soja and Barbara Hooper, "The Space that Difference Makes" in Michael Keith and Steve Pile (eds) *Place and the Politics of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1993) page 184.

¹⁵⁸ David Harvey, "Class Relations and Social Justice" in Michael Keith and Steve Pile (eds) *Place and the Politics of Identity*, page 57.

¹⁵⁹ Soja and Hooper, "The Spaces that Difference Make" page 187.

¹⁶⁰ I. Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton University Press, 1990).

¹⁶¹ Stjepan Mestrovic, *The Barbarian Temperament* (London: Routledge, 1993) calls for a post-modern critical theory based on love. Concerning love, Mestrovic says, "In contemporary social science, to mention love is to be met with immediate cynicism and suspicion, as if one is going to say something silly, as in love songs, or else something that belongs in cults and newfangled religions" (page 249).

Hilary Rose, *Love, Power, and Knowledge* (London: Blackwell, 1994) attempts to construct a feminist science based on love.

¹⁶² Spivak, "Translators Preface and Afterword to Mahasweta Devi, *Imaginary Maps*" in *The Spivak Reader*, page 276.

¹⁶³ Thanks to Fr Bruce England who told me of this way of looking at the word responsibility.

responsibility, means a willingness to look after the *needs* of others; no matter who these others are or what space/place/culture they come from. I believe the outcome of a commitment to love is a form of *unity*. By the term unity I do not mean people should all be the 'same' or a type of nationalist or class based unity, but a unity that arises in a situation when people respect each other and affirm their interconnections with everything (universe, earth, habitat). Unity, thus, may be a basis of similarity when it is constructed by love and social justice.

To illustrate my positionality I have used the analogy of the tikouka, the cabbage tree. The roots of the tree represent my own social and class background, my spirituality, and relational entanglements. My understandings from the roots flow into the trunk which represents my extra-textual field of reference; critical social theories; geography, history, sociology, etc. Together the roots and the trunk combine to form a methodology (the leaves) and a new text; this thesis presented inside the tree. In sum, the tree represents the political context of this thesis text. As I hold multiple positions in space I can imagine this tree in many places and locations. For example, the tree may be located on a plumbing job when I want to picture myself as one of the 'working classes' or back in the ancestral lands of Scotland/Ireland if I want to be part of the oppressed Celtic minority. For this thesis I have imagined the tree to be located at 14 Steyne Ave Plimmerton. By positioning myself here (rather than in Levin where I actually live) I aim for some sort of speaking legitimacy; I want to be regarded as being one of the 'locals'. From here I am located within the alienated reserve land; my viewing perspective is from the tree; a partial and incomplete view of the world. By shifting the tree around I can't ignore the existence of spaces of spatial cultural politics but I participate in some boundary crossing when the need arises.

This discussion has illustrated how dominant 'simple' ideas like space and culture are actually very complex concepts forming part of ideological and hegemonic discourses. I have also illustrated how the map, while presenting itself as 'scientific and objective; presenting a image of a natural 'reality', is actually a text, a form of discourse and writing created by the surveyor using other texts and a vision situated within the social relations of place and time. This thesis, like all maps, is also a text, a new creation which is produced 'within the world';

I can claim no total, detached, Archimedean viewing perspective of reality. Instead my view is situated, just as a tree is situated within the earth. From this tree-viewing-point my view is partial, but I want to have a 'view' so I can speak to promote love and social justice.

From this position, my writings in the next room (Room Two) will develop the idea of the 'reserve' as a cartographic and imperial tool of spatial control. This 'reserve' idea served as a critical ideology in the New Zealand Association's plan for the systematic colonization of the lands under territorial control of Toa Rangatira. The history of the 'reserve' thus illustrates the close mesh between imperial aspirations of control and cartography.

ROOM THREE

RESERVES: LEGAL TERRITORIES AND SPATIAL CONTROL

Reserve -- Something stored up, kept back, or relied upon, for future use or advantage; a store or stock; an extra quantity.

Reserve -- A district or place set apart for some particular use, or assigned to certain persons.¹

Within this room I will explore the idea of the 'Native' reserve as a spatial territory created by the discipline of cartography and constituted within the discourse of colonial law. Native reserves were created in this discourse as a strategy of control over indigenous populations. In Porirua, as in other parts of New Zealand, this controlling strategy was justified by the ideologies of 'race' 'progress' and 'amalgamation'; the reserves were to help the 'Natives' shift from a communal and 'backward' lifestyle to one that embraced 'civilization'. It was also thought, within this colonialist discourse, that by integrating the 'Natives' into civilization using reserve policies they would be saved from extinction. Henceforth the reserves have contradictory humanitarian purposes; they were part of an effort to modify the effect of 'progress' without restricting this 'progress'!

¹ *Oxford English Dictionary* (Clarendon Press, 1989) page 699.

3.1 LEGAL SPACES OF POWER

Legal rhetoric's, as a type of discursive formation are associated with the administration of the nation-state and its quest for governance over a defined territory.² In this sense legal discourse "is a way of representing the world"³ according to 'natural' and ideological notions of 'truth' and 'justice'. Cartography could be conceived of a 'legal' discipline, whose strategy creates the space of law by constructing territories; using boundaries, names, and perspective. It is these territorial spaces created with the use of a map that contribute towards the power of law.⁴ Law is territorial and this territory is created with the help of cartography.

One form of legal territory is 'private property'. Within the 'British' tradition of law, the evolution of the idea of private property was influenced by a nexus between Saxton's cartography and the Common Law of Edward Coke. Coke was a legal scholar whose writings made a major contribution towards the construction of a 'Common law'. This law was to be "common" to all Englishmen wherever they live"⁵ and situated within the mentality of 'our' English nation. Common law ideology portrays itself to be both universal (common) and grounded in a specific place (England). The idea of private property rights was a key focus in Coke's Common law. This protection meshed with a concern for,

the rights of the private individual citizen against the perdition's of the collective (that is, the Crown). In this sense, Coke can be understood as a seventeenth century prefiguration of the attempt to stake out a distinctly "private" realm, freed from the encroaching power of the sovereign "public" state.⁶

While defining the boundary between private and common lands, English law did not develop into a property 'rights' system, as land law remained founded on the basis of a doctrine of tenure. Since the *Statute Quia Emptores Act* passed in

² Gerald Turkel, "Michel Foucault: Law, Power, and Knowledge " in *Journal of Law and Society*, 17 (1990) pages 170-193.

³ Peter Rowbotham, "Review: Law, Space and the Geographies of Power" *The Canadian Geographer*, 40,1 (1996) page 89.

⁴ Nicholas Blomley, *Law, Space and Geographies of Power* (New York and London: The Guilford Press, 1994); Nicholas Blomley, "Text and Context: rethinking the law-space nexus" *Progress in Human Geography*, 13,4 (1989).

⁵ Blomley, *Law, Space*, page 75.

⁶ Blomley, *Law, Space*, page 92.

1290, the ownership of most land had passed from the Lords to the King. Thus Common law affirms that the King or Queen "remains the lord paramount of all the land within the realm."⁷ It is the King or Queen, as the owner, who defines and transfers land parcels using a 'deed' or royal charter, and using a deed the Crown leases out the lands for a payment.

Cadastral Space

The use of a cadastral map was, and still is, critical in creating private property. Cadastral maps are defined by Roger Kain and Elizabeth Baigent as:

Maps of properties. Their essential feature is that they identify property owners, usually by linking properties on a map to a written register in which the details of the property, such as the owner's name and its area, are recorded.⁸

Kain and Baigent's historical study of the cadastral map illustrates the central importance of the cadastre in the administrative power of the state.⁹ With the use of cadastral maps, the boundaries of the land were mapped and could be placed on the deed. Thus whoever held the deed of lease from the Crown, 'owned' the land as defined by boundaries on the cadastre. Cadastral maps had a particular role to play in the 'emplacement' of subjects within the territory, land reorganization and enclosure during the evolution of a capitalist system of production; they enabled the reconstitution of communal lands as private land controlled by aristocracy. This redistribution was regulated by the legal system which extensively relied upon cadastral maps to sort out boundary disputes. Later these maps were used by the state as an instrument of control:

Beginning in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there was a fundamental shift in the development of cadastral maps from their use as inventories of private land toward their use by public authorities and ultimately state governments. They were used initially as instruments to effect specific measures, notably tax reform, but ultimately became more general tools for the accurate recording of information relating to individual land parcels.¹⁰

⁷ G.Hinde, D.McMorland, and P.Sim (eds) *Introduction to Land Law* (Wellington: Butterworths, 1979) page 12.

⁸ Roger Kain and Elizabeth Baigent, *The Cadastral Map in the Service of the State* (University of Chicago Press, 1984) page xviii.

⁹ Kain and Baigent, *The Cadastral Map*, page 344.

¹⁰ Kain and Baigent, *The Cadastral Map*, page 8.

The deed of lease, the cadastral map and the survey were, thus, vital instruments in the creation of a private property rights regime. It was on this spatial and legal system of landscape creation and division that enabled the British Empire to expand physically. Expansion required the creation of a private property landscape inside Great Britain (Scotland, Ireland, Wales) and outside Great Britain (Americas).

Cadastral Imperialism

The administrative capabilities of the cadastre were fundamental to the British imperial system. Cadastral maps provided the tool to create an 'ownership space' in the 'new' lands. Because the New World was defined as 'empty' and 'waste', the lands, when brought within in the British Empire, were automatically deemed to be the sole property of the Crown in the legal tenure system of Common law.

The mere fact that men discovered and settled upon the new territory gave them no title to the soil. It belonged to the Crown until the Crown chose to grant it.¹¹

A number of administration strategies were used by the imperial authorities to govern 'territory.'¹² Donald Meinig identifies these strategies as protectorate, indirect rule, direct rule, minoration, reduction and dependency. All these strategies required an image of territory defined by a set of boundaries drawn on a map. As Meinig states, "to be clearly *imperial* in character that dominance must be territorially defined."¹³

Within the defined territory, the surveyor and the cadastre were used by the colonial authorities to survey, define, organize and allocate lands. Kain and Baigent find that three main types of colonial cadastral procedures were used.

¹¹ Hinde McMorland, Sim, (eds) *Introduction to Land Law*, page 13.

¹² Each European nation-state also had their own particular method or tradition of imperial administration. Meinig's list generally refers to the British Empire.

¹³ D.W. Meinig, "Territorial strategies applied to captive peoples" in Alan Baker and Gideon Biger (eds) *Ideology and Landscape in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 1992) page 125.

Firstly the rectangulation system which imposed a grid of land sections using running surveys (Ontario, Canada, Australia, New Zealand); Secondly triangulation which provided a triangular framework within which sections were defined (India, South Australia); and the 'Virginian' system which surveyed the land after settlement in order to prove title. Instead of the Ordnance 'see-all' approach of the 'old' world, it was envisaged that the 'new' world survey (excluding the Virginian system) only required land to be 'sectioned-out' so the colonialist's could take possession. Felix Wakefield (younger brother of Edward Gibbon Wakefield) quotes Bulter:

In cultivated countries in which every portion of the land is claimed by a proprietor or an occupier, and the surface of which is divided into estates with known boundaries, or separated into legal and ecclesiastical boundaries, the business of the surveyor consists in making, on a plan, a faithful representation of the existing demarcations and artificial objects, as well as of the natural features, and in collecting and arranging all data which may contribute to convey a knowledge of the physical aspect of the country. In new colonies, on the contrary, the first purpose of the surveyor, instead of being directed to the measurement of existing lines or boundaries, consists in actually setting out on the ground the limits of stated quantities of land or 'sections. previously to their being conveyed to the purchases.¹⁴

After the 'new land' was outlined on a map and emplaced within the mathematical grid of the imperial map, rectangulation and triangulation divided out the land on a map and (sometimes) on the ground before being selected by the new settlers. The map was to give the prospective settlers a 'complete picture' of the land before appropriation;¹⁵ a commanding view of a landscape divided into tidy sections.

3.2 THE RESERVE

The reserve as a parcel of land was created, defined, and organized by the cadastral survey system. The creation of so called 'Native reserves' for the indigenous population was a result of many conflicting aims which varied in time and place. Probably the most overriding objective of the reserve was to confine the interests of the indigenous population to a particular area, thus making most of the lands appear to be 'empty' and open for settlement.¹⁶ In this regard,

¹⁴ Felix Wakefield, *Colonial Surveying* (London: John Parker, 1849) page 48.

¹⁵ Wakefield, *Colonial Surveying*, page 9.

¹⁶ Kain and Baigent, *The Cadastral Map*, page 328.

Meinig views reserves as a kind of "geographical social engineering" strategy applied to captive peoples.¹⁷ For Meinig, reserves are associated with direct-rule forms of colonial relationships; they enabled uplift, concentration and containment within the 'reserve boundary'.

An important ideology which justified the dispossession of land in the colonies was the discourse of land utilization. Land utilization discourse used the Bible and works such as Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* to support the idea that those who most fully used the land had a right to it. In the USA land utilitarians would quote Sir Thomas More:

When any people holdeth a piece of ground void and vacant to no good or profitable use the seizure of it by another people who would fully utilize it, even at the price of war, was right and proper.¹⁸

Henceforth if the Indians, Aborigines or Maori did not cultivate their lands in a way similar to the Europeans, then the Europeans had a 'God-given' right to take those lands for the aims of progress and civilization. Tom Brooking finds this ideology as critical in justifying the dispossession of land from the Maori tribes:

There was also fundamental agreement that the best legal and moral claim to ownership lay with those who used the land most effectively, that is, those who farmed it well according to the British standards of the time.¹⁹

United States Reservations

Reservations in the United States were also ideologically justified by the land utilization argument. It was hoped reservations would concentrate the Indian population and encourage them to give up nomadic hunting practices and take up farming subsistence. William Hagan explains, however, it was not perceived by the authorities for the reservations to be large static territories:

¹⁷ Meinig, "Territorial strategies" page 134.

¹⁸ Quoted in, William Hagan, "Justifying Dispossession of the Indian " in C.Vecsey and R.Venables, *American Indian Environments* (Syracuse University Press, 1980) page 66.

¹⁹ Tom Brooking, "Use it or Lose it" *New Zealand Journal of History*, 30,2 (1996) page 160.

As created by the treaties of 1867 and 1868, the reservations for the Plains Indians were relatively large, indeed as large as some of the smallest eastern states. However, it was never intended that the Indians should hold them intact forever. At first these reservations would be large enough for the tribesmen to support themselves partially by hunting. As they became more proficient at farming their holdings would be reduced, as a secretary of the interior phrased it, "to the dimensions required by the actual wants of an agricultural population".²⁰

John Overton's study of reserves in Kenya is helpful in modeling reserve and reservation patterns and change. In relation to the Kenyan experience, Overton identifies three main types of reserves; interspersed, large segregated and small segregated reserves.

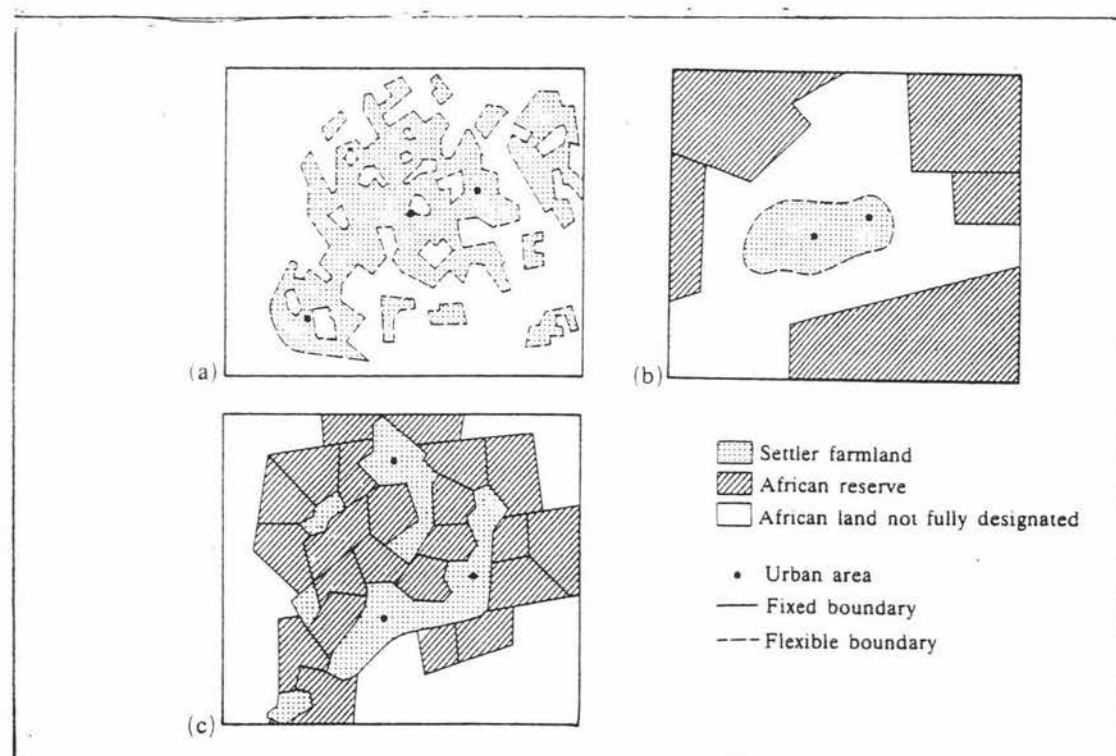


Figure 3.1 Models for African reserves in Kenya: (a) interspersed, (b) large segregated reserves, (c) small segregated reserves.²¹

²⁰ Hagan, "Justifying Dispossession" page 73.

²¹ John Overton, "Social control and social engineering: African reserves in Kenya 1895-1920" *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 8 (1990) page 167.

Using Overton's model, the early American style reservations could be classified as large segregated reserves in which the Indian 'Other' was placed behind a fixed boundary in a remote area (remote from 'Us' settlers). The indigenous and the European were to be segregated and the border between both groups policed. Later these reservations became small and segregated and after the 1887 Dawes Act an attempt was made by the Federal government for interspersation as collective reservations were partitioned into private properties under individual ownership.

type:	Interspersion	large segregated	small segregated
size:	flexible, small	large, fixed	small, fixed
location:	interspersion	remote	close proximity
boundary:	interaction	restricted interaction	restricted interaction
control:	direct	indirect control	indirect control

Table 3.1 Key characteristics of three types of reserves

Britain's Humanitarian Reserves

Learning from the American experience, Britain also began to establish reserves throughout the Empire after 1800. This reserve policy was influenced by a group of London-based humanitarians under the leadership of Thomas Buxton (Buxton had formed the Anti-Slavery Society in 1823). In 1835 Buxton, an M.P., persuaded the House of Commons to appoint a Select Committee to "formulate official policies to protect the rights of tribal peoples and ensure their just treatment,"²² Buxton argued that the colonialism everywhere had brought disaster to the indigenous population; it had an impact which was fatal!

²² John Bodley, *Cultural Anthropology, Tribes, States and the Global System* (Mayfield, 1994) page 366.

Their territory has been usurped; their property seized; their numbers diminished; their character debased; the spread of civilization impeded. European vices and diseases introduced among them.²³

The solution to these problems was not to limit colonialism but to organize it in such a way that it would 'benefit' and 'protect' the indigenous population. In this objective, the Select Committee recommended that only tribal 'waste' and 'empty' lands could be acquired for settlement while the 'Natives' were to be placed under "protection and educated by missionaries who would be supported by the revenues the crown received from the sale of tribal lands."²⁴ These recommendations were pushed by the Aborigines Protection Society (APS) which was established for the "advancement of uncivilized Tribes."²⁵ A key method of advancement used by the APS was the idea of the reserve; within the reserve the indigenous population could be gathered and protected:

Aboriginal reserves at this time were not considered to be aboriginal lands where aborigines could live independently; instead, they served a dual protecting and 'uplift' role. Reserves were to contain mission schools and farms where aborigines were to learn "civilized" skills.²⁶

The influence of the APS and the Select Committee determined the evolution of a reserve policy of a different nature than the large American reservations. Instead reserves were to be created for 'good' humanitarian reasons: an attempt to save the indigenous population from being decimated. Within small, interspersed, and manageable places the indigenous people would learn farming and amalgamate into the ways of the 'civilized race'. In this and like the American reservations they were to be 'temporary' and flexible territories; once the indigenous people had amalgamated and assimilated into the colonial population the reserves would be unnecessary.

²³ Select Committee on Aboriginal Affairs, 1837, quoted in Bodley, *Cultural Anthropology*, page 366.

²⁴ Bodley, *Cultural Anthropology*, page 367.

²⁵ Bodley, *Cultural Anthropology*, page 367.

²⁶ Bodley, *Cultural Anthropology*, page 367.

Wakefield's dream for New Zealand

Alongside the humanitarian thrust of the APS, other persons 'of influence' in London considered the need to reform the colonial process in regard to the regulation of the 'waste' lands (so that the lands could be better utilized) and immigration. Rather than giving away land in forms of Grants, Lord Durham argued that all 'waste' lands should be surveyed and sold at a price so to ensure that the land and resources of the new world are the "rightful patrimony of the English people."²⁷ This argument influenced the cessation of the free granting of 'waste' land in 1831 and the 1836 'Report on the Disposal of Crown Lands' considered the idea that land be organized according to Common land law tenure and sold at a price.

In this reformulation of the waste lands policy, Edward Gibbon Wakefield (1796-1862) had some influence. Wakefield formulated a colonization strategy while serving a prison term in the 1820s. Using a different name, Wakefield published his thoughts entitled *A Letter from Sydney* in a London weekly. *A Letter from Sydney* was a fictional narrative; it was actually a letter from Newgate prison. Wakefield was concerned about the effects of transportation (of prisoners) and the 'empty' 'waste' lands. He believed that lands like Australia were indeed being left as 'waste' and this contributed to the undermining of the 'civilization' ideal; "there are millions upon millions of acres, as fertile as mine, to be had for nothing; and, what is more, there are not people to take them!"²⁸ From a strongly environmental determinist belief, Wakefield argued that if settlers live in a land that was deemed to be too large for their needs will, produce "uncouth and ignorant" generations where the 'boundary' between the settler and the savage would break down²⁹: "our grandchildren will be a race of unmixed barbarians, more ungovernable than even the white savages of Kentucky."³⁰ Thus for Wakefield, Australia would become another America:

²⁷ Quoted in, A. Tritt, *Sir George Grey's Land Settlement Policy* (MA Thesis, Massey University, 1955) page vi.

²⁸ Edward Gibbon Wakefield, "A Letter from Sydney" [1829] in, M.F. Lloyd Prichard, *The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield* (London: Collins, 1968) page 103.

²⁹ Wakefield, "A Letter from Sydney" page 114.

³⁰ Wakefield, "A Letter from Sydney" page 124.

this colony would never be anything but a half-barbarous, Tartarian, ill-cultivated poverty-stricken wilderness, until, in the course of nature, some hundreds of years hence, the population should become more dense.³¹

In this situation the settler could live outside the boundaries of law and class, in a 'boundless region', in which he/she would grow revolutionary aspirations, and degrade to not more than an animal.

The solution to this situation was to prevent settlers from spreading by ensuring "CONCENTRATION [which] would produce what never did and never can exist without it -- CIVILIZATION".³² Concentration policies would ensure the development of no more 'new' (hybrid) colonies like the Americas but the reproduction of society and settlement patterns of England to other places. Places were to be settled as if they were joined onto England physically; "treat colonial land as much as possible like land that should miraculously, rise out of the sea close to Britain."³³ This act would form colonies that would "no longer be new societies, strictly speaking. They would be extensions of an old society."³⁴ To enable the 'physical' attachment of Britain to the colonies, Wakefield proposed the tools of 'systematic colonization': a government controlled land title system, controlled sale of 'waste' lands at a sufficient price, controlled and selected emigration that would create a gender and class balance, and a concentrated and urban-based settlement. In other words, the activity of settling, of making a home on a portion of private property would counteract the evils of mobility, living in a boundless wasteland.

Mapping Systematic Colonization

Creating this settled space out of 'wildness' required the carving out of private sections by surveying and mapping:

³¹ Wakefield, "A Letter from Sydney" page 124.

³² Wakefield, "A Letter from Sydney" page 134.

³³ Wakefield, "A Letter from Sydney" page 182.

³⁴ Wakefield, "A Letter from Sydney" page 151.

In order to let him point out his choice to the government and obtain a properly descriptive title, a good map, the result of careful survey, is indispensable. Waste land not surveyed, is not land open to purchases.³⁵

This also meant surveying all the 'waste' lands in order to bring them under *control*:

The surveys should extend over the whole colony: and at any rate, for all colonies, a very large extent of the waste adjoining every settlement should at all times be kept surveyed, in order that so wide a liberty of choice should at all times exist.³⁶

It was thus envisaged that the English Government would take a hands-on approach to colonization. The colonies were to have the same land administration system as in England where the Crown held the property and this land was sold in exchange for freehold tenure.

With spaces marked out by the survey, Wakefield's form of colonialism was what David Hamer³⁷ identifies as a type of 'urban imperialism'. The urban environment, laid out in a controlled grid-iron pattern was to be the basis of civilization in the waste lands of the new world. As Hamer remarks "a town was seen as representing community, 'society', 'civilization', and there was therefore usually an urban core in most utopian and communitarian settlements."³⁸ This urban focus, however, was complimented with a concern that the town should be supported by a productive hinterland. It was perceived that problems would arise if,

the town element in a scheme became developed far in advance of the country [as] no town could survive for long in a 'healthy condition if not supported by a prosperous agricultural hinterland.'³⁹

The two themes of a planned town and country came together in Wakefield's 'package' scheme. Within the package were both town and country sections in

³⁵ Edward Gibbon Wakefield, "The Art of Colonization" [1849] in M.F. Lloyd Prichard, *The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield* (London: Collins, 1968) page 967.

³⁶ Wakefield, "The Art of Colonization" page 967

³⁷ David Hamer, *New Towns in the New World* (Columbia University Press, 1990) page 253.

³⁸ David Hamer, "Wellington on the Urban Frontier" in D. Hamer and R. Nicholls (eds) *The Making of Wellington 1800-1914* (Victoria University Press, 1990) page 104.

³⁹ Hamer, "Wellington on the Urban Frontier" page 107

which it was assumed that the "settlers would work in the fields during the day and seek shelter in the village at night." ⁴⁰ It was behind the boundaries of these town and country sections that concentration would occur and civilization flourish.

3.3 SYSTEMATIC COLONIZATION: PLANS FOR NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand, as named by the Dutch explorer Tasman, had been created and emplaced within the grid of the European World maps after 1642.⁴¹ Once emplaced, like many other parts of the new World, New Zealand was soon to be become^{part} of the capitalist global trading enterprise. With the exploitation of whales, seals, timber and flax, it was thought, from the perspective of the English elite's, that New Zealand was settled by the European 'Other' (whalers, sealing gangs, escaped convicts), and the noble savage Maori. This combination of an 'uncivilized' Maori and 'uncivilized' pakeha living together combined to form the image of 'New Zealand' as a double 'Other' inside the sphere of imperial interests but outside the boundary and territory of the law. As Samuel Marsden wrote, "no laws, judges, nor magistrates; so Satan maintains his dominion without molestation." ⁴²

In order to promote organized settlement in New Zealand, some men of the London elite formed themselves into the New Zealand Association in 1837. This Association made the second formal attempt at colonization (the first attempt was made by a New Zealand Company established in 1826). By 1839 the Association was ready to send the *Tory* to New Zealand in an attempt to buy up large blocks of lands for settlement. In this objective the British Government (and many others in England especially the Church Missionary Society) was opposed. Lord Normanby refused to give the expedition any Letters of Introduction to the Governors of Australia and said,

⁴⁰ Hamer, *New Towns in the New World*, page 233.

⁴¹ See, Evelyn Stokes, "European Discovery of New Zealand Before 1642" *New Zealand Journal of History*, 14 (1970) page 3; Evelyn Stokes, "The Naming of New Zealand" *New Zealand Geographer*, 24 (1968) page 201.

⁴² Cited in J.Owens, "New Zealand before Annexation," in, Oliver and Williams (eds) *The Oxford History of New Zealand* (Oxford University Press, 1981) page 41.

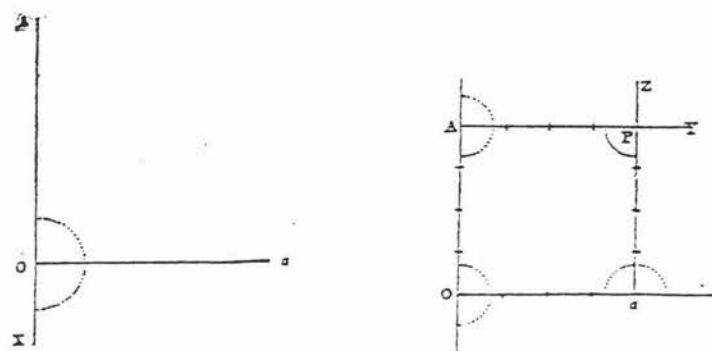
that the Government could not sanction the establishment of a system of government independent of the British Crown or pledge itself to recognize any titles to land which the Company might claim.⁴³

Despite this the *Tory* sailed on the 12 May 1839 and the *Cuba* was dispatched on the 1st August carrying the surveying staff. The surveying staff were under orders to carve out boundaries in the 'waste' land so English land law could operate in New Zealand. Because of the perceived difference from the Ordnance Survey and the Colonial Survey, the New Zealand Company did not advocate the use of triangulation in its new settlements. Taking advice from Robert Dawson (a Captain who had conducted Ordnance surveys), it was decided to use the 'running survey' (Figure 3.2).

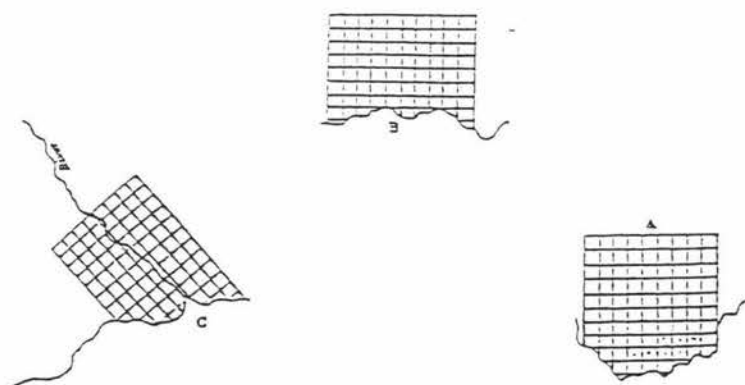
It was this system, however impractical for the physical environment of Wellington, that was used by the first New Zealand Company surveyors.

⁴³ M.F. Lloyd Prichard, "Introduction" in *The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield* (London: Collins, 1968) page 41.

CAPTAIN DAWSON'S SURVEY SYSTEM



A. Laying off



B. The Envisaged Result

Figure 3.2, The Running Survey.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Source, Bradford Patterson, *Reading Between the Lines...* (PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1984) page 713.

Meanwhile the New Zealand Association became the New Zealand Land Company and issued a prospectus offering land for sale. Within the prospectus (1st June 1839) the lands for sale were divided into town and country sections:

The site of the town will consist of 1,100 acres, exclusive of portions marked out for general use, such as quays, streets, squares, and public gardens. The selected country lands will comprise 100,000 acres. The selected lands will be divided into 1,100 sections, each section comprising of town acre, and 100 country acres; 110 sections will be reserved by the Company, who intend to distribute the same as private property amongst the chief families of the tribe from which the lands shall have been originally purchased.⁴⁵

Wakefield's Reserves

The integration of the native reserves into Wakefield's colonization theory was due to government and missionary pressure especially the Rev Montagu Hawtrey. Hawtrey was an humanitarian and wanted to promote the welfare of the New Zealand 'Natives'. As Alan Ward states "he deplored the policy of trying to preserve Maori institutions in large reserves beyond the settler pale,"⁴⁶ and like Wakefield Montagu believed 'civilization' required concentration:

I see them wandering within their narrowed boundaries, a separate and inferior race, without prospect of wealth or impulse to civilization, their numbers dwindling, their spirit broken.⁴⁷

Taking his lead from the APS, Hawtrey argued for a reserve system where small sections of land would be vested in the chiefs and "interspersed among the settler holdings where they would rapidly increase in value."⁴⁸ This scheme would provide 'amalgamation' between the two 'races' as "it was expected that Maori aristocracy, gentry and laborers would inter-marry with their social counterparts among the settlers."⁴⁹ For Hawtrey and others, Maori, while

⁴⁵ Roland Jellicoe, "The New Zealand Company's Native Reserves" *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, G-1, 1929, page 5.

⁴⁶ Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice, Racial amalgamation in nineteenth century New Zealand* (Auckland University Press, 1995) 2nd Edition, page 35.

⁴⁷ Rev Montagu Hawtrey quoted in, Ward, *A Show of Justice*, page 35.

⁴⁸ Ward, *A Show of Justice*, page 35.

⁴⁹ Ward, *A Show of Justice*, page 36.

defined as barbarian could amalgamate into British society by learning the arts of civilization in small interspersed reserves.

This scheme of Hawtrey's was adopted by Wakefield and the New Zealand Association. When brought before the 1840 Select Committee on New Zealand Wakefield declared that "the object in reserving these lands was to preserve the Native race."⁵⁰ This could only happen according to Wakefield if the reserves were selected by the Company and allocated to the Native elite:

If the inferior race of New Zealand can be preserved at all in contact with civilized men it can only be by creating in civilized society a class of Natives who would retain the same relative superiority of position which they had enjoyed in savage life. They determined, therefore, if possible, to make a Native aristocracy, a Native gentry and for that purpose to reserve lands as valuable property.⁵¹

The New Zealand Company reserves were designed to promote amalgamation. The reserve was to be located 'inside' the boundaries of the Company's land, not on separate customary title; the idea being to produce a controlled and settled 'Other' who would in time become one of 'Us' (but a second class version of 'Us'). The reserves were to be the true payment for the lands as the natives would benefit from the reserves as colonial expansion would ensure land values increase. It was not imagined or designed by Wakefield that the reserves would support the whole tribe but just the tribal elites and 'his' family.

While Wakefield had the noble aspiration to save the dying race with the use of reserves like other reserve ideology, the reserves were temporary measures; to be in existence only until the 'Native race' amalgamated with the settlers. This objective also meshed with the idea that land should be kept for later generations of immigrants. As Lord Durham stated concerning issue of the disposal of the 'waste' lands:

To allow the practice of 'first come, first served' in the disposal of land, or was it to be the zealous guardian of the 'rightful patrimony of the English people' and keep say, reserves of land for future generations of emigrants.⁵²

In constructing reserves for the indigenes, the colonial authorities could also create a sort of 'landbank' for future immigrants.

⁵⁰ Jellicoe, "The New Zealand Company's Native Reserves" page 5.

⁵¹ Jellicoe, "The New Zealand Company's Native Reserves" page 5.

⁵² Tritt, *Sir George Grey's Land Settlement Policy*, page 2.

Constructing the Reserves at Porirua

With the departure of the *Tory* to New Zealand with the aim of buying up huge 'blocks' of land, other groups and individuals from Sydney were also moved to take control of the New Zealand 'waste' lands. These groups interfered with a highly complex indigenous land tenure situation of which I will give a brief account.

The various tribal accounts describe the many settlement layers of history in the Porirua area.⁵³ These accounts include the discovery stories of Kupe and Hau, the Ngai Tara, Rangitane, and Mua-Upoko traditions from the Kurahaupo waka, and the Ngati Ira tradition from the Takitimu and Horouta waka. These accounts show that land tenure in the Porirua region was always dynamic, the boundaries of occupation were contested and shifting.

With European contact after 1770 the process of tribal movement was intensified.⁵⁴ As on other islands in the Pacific (for example, Tahiti), European contact stimulated changes in the political structure of the various groups. One such change involved the tribal group, Toa Rangatira, descended from the Tainui waka. During the 1820s Toa Rangatira, under leadership of their chief Te Rauparaha, migrated to the Kapiti-Porirua region from the Waikato and quickly took advantage of trading links with the local whaling stations. This migration was also accompanied by various groups in alliance with Toa Rangatira such as Ngati Raukawa and Te Atiawa. In this situation I would view the land tenure arrangement was one that was less controlled by a view of 'tribe' but of a state-type political structure which grew to encompass the upper South Island and the lower North Island, west of the Tararua ranges.⁵⁵ With the center of control

⁵³ See, W.Travers, "On the Life and Times of Te Rauparaha" *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, 1872, page 19; E. Best, "Te Whanganui-a-Tara" *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 10 (1901) pages 107-165. Paterica Burns, *Te Rauparaha, A New Perspective* (Penguin, 1980); W.Carkeek, *The Kapiti Coast* (A.H. A.W Reed, 1966); Angela Ballara, "Te Whanganui-a-Tara:phases of Maori occupation of Wellington Harbour " in D. Hamer and R.Nicholls (eds) *The Making of Wellington 1800-1914* (Victoria University Press, 1990).

⁵⁴ See, Dorothy Ulrich, "Migrations of the North Island Maoris 1800-1840" *New Zealand Geographer*, 28 (1972) pages 23-35.

⁵⁵ Peter Cleave, "Tribal and State-like Political Formations in New Zealand Society" *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 92,1 (1983) page 51.

being Kapiti Island, Toa Rangatira was able to effectively maintain dominance over this wide territory by a complex number of inter-alliances with the whalers, traders, and other tribal groups. Yet as in most state system, this dominance was always contested in many ways by different groups inside and outside the territory. The general boundaries of this small state system were described by Te Rauparaha to William Wakefield in 1839. These boundaries extended from the Whangaehu river, east to the Tararua ranges, south to the Turakirae heads and south to Kaikoura and the Arahura river.⁵⁶

It was into this territory that the various land purchasers sailed in the late 1830s. These land purchasers could be classified into four main groups; local whalers and traders, Sydney merchants and individuals, the New Zealand Company, and the British Government. All these groups used boundaries outlined on a map to acquire the land from Toa Rangatira, and writing these boundaries required a 'survey regime'.

The whalers and traders were the first group to actually settle in some sort of permanent way within Toa Rangatira's territory. In the Porirua area the first whaling station was established by Joseph Toms in 1835. Toms married the Toa Rangatira leader Te Ua Torikiriki. Another early settler was Thomas Bell who arrived at Mana Island (Te Mana o Kupe ki te Moana nui a Kiwa) in 1832. These settlers generally lived within the authority of the chiefs.

The second group, Sydney Merchants, were land speculators who attempted to purchase large blocks of land before New Zealand was annexed by England. One group called the Polynesian Company was made up of a consortium of land speculators who purchased huge amounts of land in 1839 including the Porirua district (in total the Polynesian claimed over a million acres⁵⁷).⁵⁸ This claim was

⁵⁶ Patricia Burns, *Fatal Success A History of the New Zealand Company* (Auckland: Heinemann Reed, 1989) page 118.

⁵⁷ Under the Imperial system, land was measured in acres, roods and yards, for example; 4.1.3 meaning 4 acres, 1 rood and 3 yards. (1 acre = 4 roods, 1 rood = 30.5 yards, 1 yard = 9 sq feet). In most cases I will exclude roods and yards by only recording the acre measurement. To convert to metric measurements; 1 imperial acre = .40468 hectares, or 1 metric acre (100 sq meters) = 119.60 yards (*Pears Cyclopaedia*, 1962-1963, N11,N2).

⁵⁸ See, Jack Lee, *The Old Land Claims in New Zealand* (Northland Historical Publications, 1993) page 31.

later investigated by Commissioner William Spain in 1842 and Spain's report shows these land deals were illegal according to English law.⁵⁹ In the case of the Porirua purchase, the purchaser William Hay (acting for William Wright of Sydney) decided to purchase the lands with a blank page so he could complete the boundary details back in Sydney. The boundaries claimed by the Polynesian Company the area found within the following landmarks:

The rocks upon the North-East side of the river Porirua called Kiekatatoa, North-East by thirty miles bounded to the East by a range of snowy mountains to the South by a range of hills three miles from Port Nicholson, upon the South-West side of the river Porirua to Teeti Bay [Titahi Bay], from Teeti Bay South-East by East to the Southern branch of Porirua River.⁶⁰

Meanwhile a another Sydney merchant William Cooper⁶¹ purchased "all that land on the south westside of the Porirua river extending six miles SE from the point opposite Robullas point and two miles inland South-West" on 10 October 1839 from Te Hiko. Complimenting this Cooper purchased on the 6th November 1839 some 450 acres of land called 'Motuhara'.⁶² Including these, Spain recorded nine other purchases of the Porirua lands made by various Sydney merchants from October 1839 to January 1840.⁶³

Coming into this already complicated situation was the New Zealand Company. On the arrival of the 'Tory' in Cook Strait on the 17 July 1839, William Wakefield undertook to purchase some twenty million acres in both main Islands. These purchases included the first deed of purchase dated 27 September 1839 which comprised the Port Nicholson lands including the Hutt Valley and the southern part of Porirua Valley. The second deed of purchase, dated 25 October 1839, which was signed on Kapiti Island by the Toa Rangatira chiefs. This deed claimed most of the land from the 39th to the 43rd degree latitude, and from the 41st to 43rd on the East Coast. It included the lands from Wanganui and Taranaki down to Nelson and Kaikora. The third deed, signed on

⁵⁹ OLC, No. 234-241, NA.

⁶⁰ OLC, No. 234-241, NA.

⁶¹ Cooper or sometimes spelt 'Couper'.

⁶² OLC, No. 142, NA.

⁶³ "Colonel Wakefield to Secretary of the Company, Notice of Intention to investigate land claims in the Port Nicholson District" 8/2/1842. *G.B.P.P.*, vol 2.

the 8th November 1839 at Queen Charlotte Sound generally reaffirmed the boundaries of the second deed.⁶⁴ However from the perspective of Toa Rangatira, the Wakefields had purchased only Whakatau and Te Taitapu. Te Rauparaha made this clear to William Wakefield on 18 November 1839.⁶⁵

It was in the context of these land dealings that the New Zealand Company claimed the lower North Island and both surveyors and immigrants began to arrive on the shores of Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Port Nicholson) during January 1840. It was at this point that the British government intervened directly into the New Zealand territory and disrupted the plans of the New Zealand Company.

3.4 THE INTERVENTION AND SURVEY REGIME OF THE CROWN

The annexation of New Zealand by the Crown in 1840 brought the Islands formally into the British Empire. While the annexation was a result of a number of events and often contradictory ideas,⁶⁶ these occurred as part of a social ideology and context of an expanding capitalist system.⁶⁷ Within this imperialist belief system, the humanitarians justified (supported by the findings of the Select Committee on the State of Aborigines) intervention in New Zealand by protect the indigenous people from the colonists (instead maybe it was the colonists that required protection!). This concern led to the establishment of James Busby as Resident in New Zealand in 1833 and a Select Committee investigation on New Zealand which reported in 1840. This committee reported that,

large tracts of land have been acquired by the settlers for nominal considerations; a blanket, a hatchet, or a gun. Disputes about the boundaries of land purchased have arisen, and the conflicting claims to the same property have been set up. No surveys

⁶⁴ Copies of the Original New Zealand Company Deeds of Purchase. "Appendix to Twelfth Report of the Directors of the New Zealand Company" 1842. *G.B.P.P.*, Vol.2.

⁶⁵ Burns, *Te Rauparaha, A New Perspective*, page 208.

⁶⁶ See, Erik Olssen and Marcia Stenson, *A Century of Change* (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1989); J. Owens, "New Zealand Before Annexation," in Oliver and Williams (eds) *The Oxford History of New Zealand* (Oxford University Press, 1981); Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice* (Auckland University Press, 1995).

⁶⁷ See, E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital* (London: Abacus, 1977).

of this country have been made, and no law to regulate the possession of property, its descent, or its alienation, is in force.⁶⁸

Thus because of this 'unrestricted colonization' no reserves had been created; meaning less likelihood of "civilizing and preserving that interesting race in New Zealand."⁶⁹ While affirming that the Crown acquire New Zealand for humanitarian purposes of protecting the indigenes, the 1840 Committee also supported the New Zealand Company's reserve idea:

Your Committee are of opinion that a plan of reserves, similar to that adopted by the New Zealand Company, would be attended with the most beneficial effects to the native race in New Zealand, and affords the best prospect of securing to them the benefits of civilization.⁷⁰

The reports of Busby and William Hobson (who visited New Zealand in 1837), and the activities of the New Zealand Association supported the humanitarian argument for intervention and in 1839 Hobson was sent to acquire full or part sovereignty of New Zealand.⁷¹ Before Hobson left Sydney on the 19th of January 1840 for New Zealand, Governor Gipps of New South Wales issued the first Proclamation which constituted annexation on the 14th January 1840. This Proclamation extended the boundaries of the New South Wales colony to include New Zealand and declared all purchases made directly from the Maori to be invalid.⁷² With Hobson's arrival in New Zealand in February 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi was organized and signed. The treaty represented the various and conflicting aims of British annexation. The government was to acquire sovereignty (kawanatanga or governorship), to protect the interests of the indigenous people (rangatiratanga or chieftainship), to acquire a monopoly over all land dealings (pre-emptive right), and amalgamate the indigenous people into the Empire as British citizens.⁷³ After the Treaty was signed at

⁶⁸ *Report from the Select Committee on New Zealand*, (House of Commons, 3 August 1840) page vii.

⁶⁹ *Report from the Select Committee on New Zealand*, 1840, page vii.

⁷⁰ *Report from the Select Committee on New Zealand*, 1840, page x.

⁷¹ Olssen and Marcia Stenson, *A Century of Change*, page 71.

⁷² Earlier on 15 June 1839 Sir George Gipps extended his Commission as Governor to include New Zealand but recognising that the "Maori title to the soil and sovereignty of the country was indisputable" (*The Surveyor and the Law*, New Zealand Institute of Surveyors, 1981:3-15).

⁷³ See, Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi* (Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1987).

Waitangi, Hobson proclaimed sovereignty over the North Island on the basis of cession and over the South Island on the basis of discovery on 21 May 1840.⁷⁴ This Proclamation was taken after Hobson heard that the Wellington settlers had "established some sort of government."⁷⁵

A copy of the treaty arrived in the Porirua district in April 1840 and was signed by Te Rauparaha, Nohorua, Topeora and others of Toa Rangatira after Mr Henry Williams explained that the Treaty would protect the tribe and their lands.⁷⁶

In November 1840 Hobson became the first Governor of the separate Colony of New Zealand. This began the Crown-Colony period within which the Crown appointed a Governor who ruled with two councils, the Executive and the Legislative⁷⁷. Hobson, while excluding Maori from participation in the Government, established a Native Protectorate Department with George Clark as its head. Clark was instructed "to ensure the Maori that their native customs would not be infringed, except in cases that are opposed to the principles of humanity and morals."⁷⁸ Up to the abolishment of the Protectorate in 1847 by Governor Grey, the department acted as an important mediator between the settlers and the tribes.

Using the justification of protecting Maori interests Hobson also passed the 1841 *Land Claims Ordinance* which stated that all titles to land in New Zealand were void except those allowed by the Crown. This Ordinance carried on the intentions of the 1840 *New Zealand Land Act* (passed by the New South Wales Government) which set up a Commission of Inquiry to investigate all land claims. It was under this 1840 Act and the 1841 Ordinance that William Spain was chosen to investigate the lower North Island land purchases.

⁷⁴ Owens, "New Zealand before Annexation" page 82.

⁷⁵ Olssen and Marcia Stenson, *A Century of Change*, page 71.

⁷⁶ Burns, *Te Rauparaha, A New Perspective*, page 215-6. Te Rauparaha actually signed the Treaty twice.

⁷⁷ Raewyn Dalziel, "The Politics of Settlement" in Oliver and Williams (eds) *The Oxford History of New Zealand* (Oxford University Press, 1981).

⁷⁸ Ward, *A Show of Justice*, page 44.

The Crown-Colony Survey Department

The Government's survey regime was established by the appointment of Felton Mathew as Surveyor-General in 1840 and the *Land Registration Ordinance* of 1841. Mathew spent most of his time surveying harbours in Northland for potential settlement sites and for a position of a future capital. Later in 1847 the Government ordered a "full and accurate survey of the...Coasts and harbours of New Zealand".⁷⁹ This survey, enabled by H.M.S Acheron carried out the first full surveillance and measurement of the New Zealand coastline since James Cook's mapping exercise of 1769.

While Mathew began the first official coastal charting, the *Land Registration Ordinance* set up the administrative framework for the survey of land. The preamble and sub-title of the Ordinance stated:

For the purpose of rendering Titles to Real property more secure, and facilitating the transfer of the same.

An Ordinance to provide for the Registration of Deeds and Instruments affecting Real Property.

The Ordinance, in effect, transplanted the English system of Deeds to New Zealand. Every Crown Grant was to be registered in a Register Office. This deed was to contain information concerning delineation of land showing extent of boundaries and relative position.⁸⁰ The 1841 Ordinance was later confirmed and adapted by the *Conveyancing Ordinance* of 1842 and the *Deeds Registration Act* 1868.

The 1841 Ordinance set up a Lands and Deeds Registration system which included the depositing of all maps of surveyed lands in the Register Office. Under the second Surveyor-General, C.W. Ligar, the Survey Office undertook surveys of Crown lands under the *Waste Lands Act* of 1858, surveys for the Land Purchase Department (1854) and the Native Secretary (which replaced the Protectorate Department). Later on the Survey Office had the responsibility for the Survey of Native Lands under the *Native Lands Act* 1867.

⁷⁹ Harry Morton and Carol Johnston, *The Farthest Corner* (Century Hutchinson, 1988) page 194.

⁸⁰ *Land Registration Ordinance 1841*, section 28.

Despite the Treaty and the Proclamations which clearly indicated the title of the New Zealand Company was suspect and open to investigation, the Company and the British Government came to a 'gentlemen's agreement' in November 1840. It was agreed that the company would give up its claim to most of the 20 million acres and in return a Crown Grant of 160,000 acres would be issued in the Port Nicholson and New Plymouth districts. These districts, which included Porirua, were already being settled by the new Company immigrants. Hobson later issued a Proclamation stating that no Crown Grant would be issued to land under the:

Actual occupation of the Aboriginal inhabitants by residence, cultivation, clearing, or substantial enclosure, or which shall by them be held sacred, and which they shall be unwilling to alienate.⁸¹

This Proclamation and the Treaty of Waitangi undermined the New Zealand Company's reserve system which assumed the tribes would vacate their dwellings and cultivation's and live on the reserves allocated in the town and country sections.

After 1841, therefore, there were two main survey regimes operating on the Porirua lands. The New Zealand Company's unofficial running survey (the Company acted as a type of local government after November 1840) and the official Crown Government's regime which focused on confirming boundaries for Crown Grants and coastal charting.

3.5 THE SURVEY OF PORIRUA

Since the arrival of the *Cuba* late in 1839, Captain William Mein Smith and a small team of surveyors were busy setting out the town of Wellington and the accompanying country sections. Within this plan the reserves were also allocated for the indigenous people. In mid-1841 William Wakefield sent the surveyors into the Porirua District, heart-land territory of Toa Rangatira, to mark out a road along the route of the old Porirua to Kaiwharawhara track. Porirua was viewed as a fertile district in close proximity to Wellington and thus providing a solution to Wellington's problem of a lack of suitable flat land. It

⁸¹ "Wakefield to Sec of NZC" No.67, 11/9/1841. NZC 3/1, NA.

was thought Porirua could support a 'dense population'.⁸² From the perspective of Charles Heaphy in 1842:

The country around Porirua Harbour is not so mountainous as that in the vicinity of Wellington; it has a more beautiful and park-like appearance, and about it, but a small quality of land exists which is not fit for cultivation.

....

Much of the land about the Porirua Harbour is very valuable, and one gentleman in particular will make a fortune from his happy selection of land there. A town will, ere long, be formed at Porirua.⁸³

At first Toa Rangatira responded by obstructing the track survey but later they gave approval for the road to be built and by June 1841 a make-shift route had been surveyed and made. After this, a survey party under the leadership of Kettle attempted to lay out the Porirua Country sections. This survey was opposed by Toa Rangatira, As Patricia Burns says:

Each morning Kettle found his 'station posts' had been removed. The survey of Porirua went on for months. During this time, Ngati Toa sent no taua to remove the surveyors, and none were killed: but Te Rangihaeata made their lives wretched.⁸⁴

Carkeek also comments on Toa Rangatira's resistance to the survey and at one point Kettle "was lucky to escape with his life" when Te Rangihaeata knocked him down at Taupo Pa.⁸⁵ Governor Hobson reported the resistance to the Colonial Office:

At Porirua, which immediately adjoins Wellington, the Natives deny the right of the Company and are prepared to resist them, even by force.

.....

They will surrender their land but with their lives; and they have already made a show of following up this determination, by interrupting the construction of a road through the disputed lands, and obstructing the communication between Wellington and Whanganui, by tapuing a river over which it was necessary to pass.⁸⁶

⁸² Patterson, *Reading Between the Lines*, page 168.

⁸³ Charles Heaphy *Narrative of a Residence in New Zealand* (London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1842) pages 84-85.

⁸⁴ Burns, *Fatal Success*, page 219.

⁸⁵ W. Carkeek, *The Kapiti Coast*, page 66.

⁸⁶ "Hobson to Secretary of State for the Colonies" 13/11/1841. Turton, *An Epitome of Official Documents to Native Affairs and Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand*, (George Didsbury, 1882).

Later in 1842 some men from Wellington attempted to build a mill in the Porirua valley. This was viewed as an illegal structure by Toa Rangatira and was pulled down. The settlers tried to bring Te Rangihaeata to 'justice' for hindering the Porirua survey, but in the Wellington Supreme Court, the Chief Justice (*Regina v Rangihaeata*) stated that the Crown could not arrest chiefs for disrupting surveys on "land which remained their own until the Land Commission ruled otherwise."⁸⁷ Thus until Spain finished his report, Porirua district was still the private lands of Toa Rangatira.

The earliest survey map of the Porirua lands is dated 1840, some time before the survey actually took place during 1841-2 (See Figure 3.2).

⁸⁷ Burns, *Te Rauparaha*, page 240.

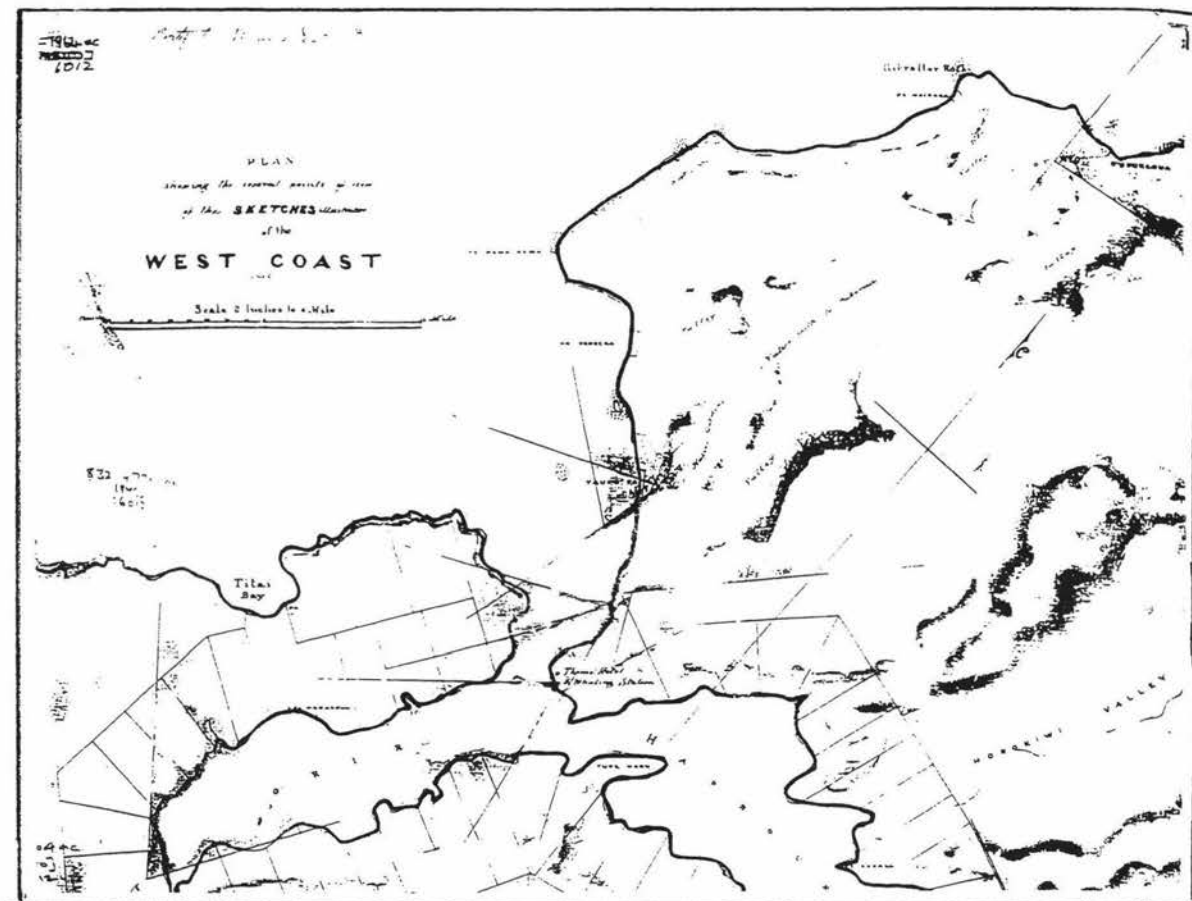


Figure 3.3. Plan showing the several points of view of the sketches illustrative of the West Coast, 1840. Source, National Library Collection.

The 1840 map (Figure 3.3) of Porirua harbour shows a tentative drawing of some of the 100 acre lots that were to be surveyed by William Mein Smith in the Porirua District. The map presents a representation (from a birds-eye perspective) of the twin harbours of Porirua and surrounding lands. In an attempt to make the district look 'empty' and thus ready for settlement, only a few small settlements and one garden is identified (Taupo Pa and Pukerua). Hundreds of names of rivers, settlements, hills, tauranga waka, waahi tapu, and landmarks are unrecorded and unacknowledged. The landscape (which 'stops' at the coastline) is presented as a 'blank page' to be 'filled' with the Company settlers. Some English names have also already been emplaced (Gabralter rock). The aim of this image is to present the landscape as waste land and the section boundaries as natural! Variations on this sketch served as important images for claims before the Spain Commission.

Samuel Brees, who replaced Smith as chief surveyor to the New Zealand Company, produced a set of pictorial illustrations of New Zealand in 1847. On the cover of this publication is a painting showing a surveyor's encampment in the Porerua (Porirua) Bush (Figure 3.4).

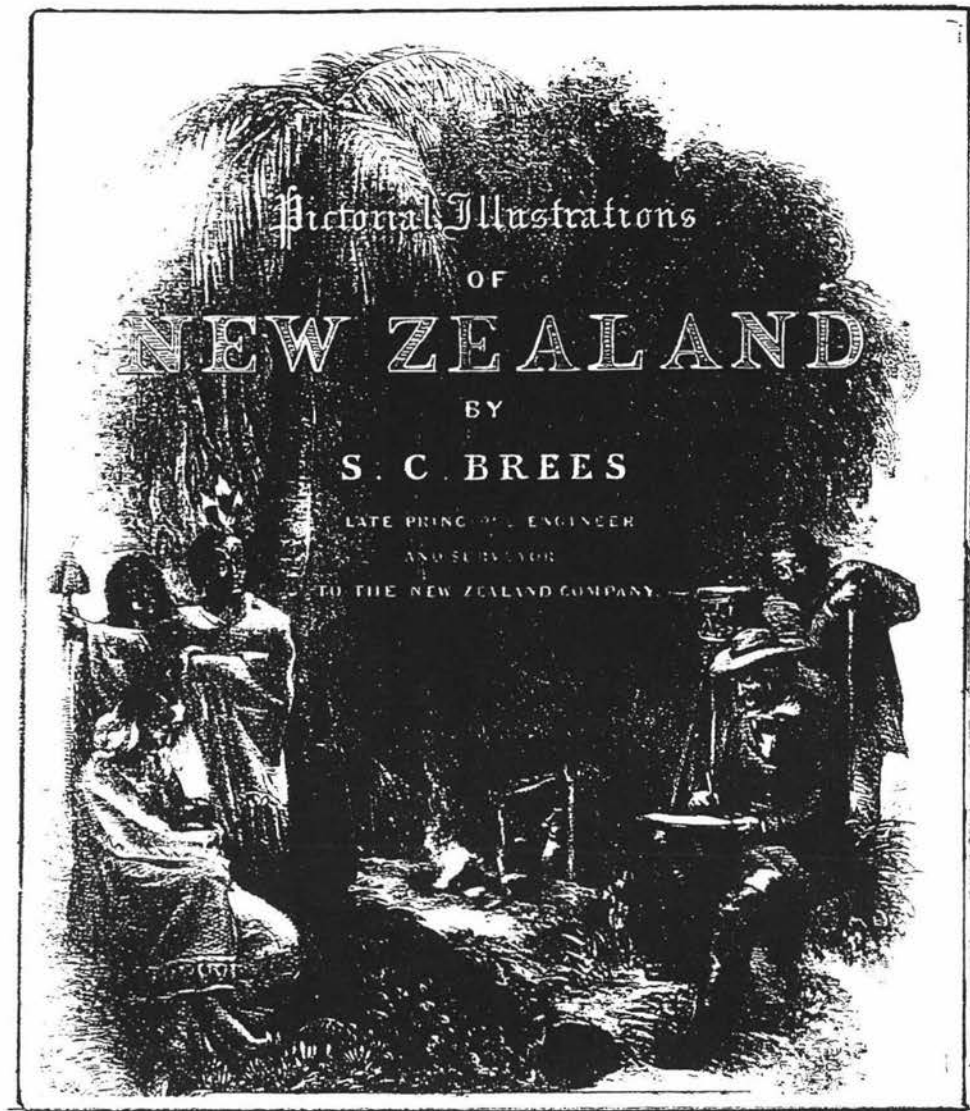


Figure 3.4, Surveyors Encampment. Porerua Bush.⁸⁸

The painting is accompanied by the following,

A colony is commenced by the surveyors opening up the country for the settlers, and among the many new callings arising from the immigration, the surveyor's follower may be instanced, or survey man, as he is commonly called. The land is first roughly explored, the hills and rivers traced, upon which narrow alleys, technically called lines are cut straight through the forest or bush, and in various directions for the purposes of the survey.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ S.C Brees, *Pictorial Illustrations of New Zealand* (London: John Williams, 1847).

⁸⁹ Brees, *Pictorial Illustrations...*, page 5.

The scene that Brees attempts to portray is that of a quiet moment in the bush where the surveyor is drawing mathematical survey calculations while watched by a small Maori family. Like the 1840 map (Figure 3.4) Brees' pictorial illustrations serve as propaganda for the New Zealand Company. The surveyor is presented naturally as an integral part of the 'inevitable process of colonization through the depiction of friendly relations with supportive local 'Natives' who do not disrupt the survey work. The reality of the situation, as I have stated, a fiction; Toa Rangatira and the other tribes did contest the survey and the surveyors camp was not so peaceful.

On the basis of the 1840 map (Figure 3.3) Robert Park planned for a village called Porirua within one of the Company's sections. The plan (Figure 3.5) allows for a small township on the shores of the harbour, complete with grid-iron street pattern, church and market place, and small and large properties. Again, this map shows the landscape as empty; ready to be filled by the boundaries of individual owners as if the Company's settlers had a natural 'right' to the land. Actually no Maori place names, settlements or cultivation's are recorded except for Titahi Bay and Porirua Harbour.⁹⁰ Only a few of the beach sections became actual 'properties' after 1847.

⁹⁰ There is a debate on where the name 'Porirua' actually came from. I think it could of been the name of the river (Kenepuru Stream) rather than the name of the whole harbour.

Despite the objections of Toa Rangatira, the survey of some of the country sections of Porirua (and other districts such as Upper Hutt) was completed in 1842 and within the districts of the Hutt and Porirua some 4,200 acres were set aside as reserves for the various tribal groups in 100 acre lots. The selection of the reserves was undertaken by Edmund Halswell on 7 April 1842. Halswell was appointed to the office of Commissioner for the management of the lands reserved in the New Zealand Company settlements. In line with E.G. Wakefield's ideas, Mr Halswell would manage the reserves for the Maori. In the selection of the country reserves, Mr Halswell reported to William Wakefield:

I was enabled to select for the Natives, according to the order of choice, a portion of the reserved lots. The lands selected are 300 acres on the Porirua Harbour, 200 in the Ohariu Valley, 300 on the Manuwatu River, and 3,400 acres on the Orewenua. In making these selections for the Natives I have carefully attended, whenever possible, to their own wishes, such as I have been able to collect; my attention has been particularly drawn to their own clearings and pahs, and I have secured for them as much water frontage as possible.⁹¹

This selection of reserves was chosen only from within the limits of the first purchase. It was not until New Years Day 1843 that further country sections in Porirua, and the Manawatu were open for selection.⁹² By this time control over the reserves had passed to the Governor, the Bishop of Wellington and the Chief Justice who became the trustees. Halswell still acted as agent and selected the reserves in the wider country lands. The control of these reserves was then placed in the hands of Mr Henry St Hill.

It is debatable if many of these sections were actually surveyed at all, as Patterson notes in regard to the country sections:

It was regularly found, for instance, that lines drawn meticulously on plans had only been partially cut or not cut at all. Equally, lines that had been cut were easily lost through trampling by animals, fire, fern regrowth, or even deliberate sabotage.⁹³

With the map (Figure 3.6) again representing the landscape as flat and 'blank', the pattern of the sections indicate they have been generally laid in valley areas. Coloured red are the Native reserves (fifteen 100 acre sections in Porirua). It

⁹¹ "Halswell to William Wakefield" 4/6/1842. Report on New Zealand, Turton, *An Epitome of Official Documents to Native Affairs*, 1882.

⁹² E.J Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand* [1845] (Golden Press, 1975).

⁹³ Patterson, *Reading Between the Lines*, page 68.

was in these reserves that Toa Rangatira was excepted to live in after leaving their pa and coastal settlements. As the sections follow the inland Wellington to Paekakariki track, most of the tribe's settlements were not included in the surveyed spaces, such as.... Paripari, Pukerua, Taupo, Komangarautawhiri. This map and survey have had an influence on cadastral patterns in Porirua up to the present day. As I will illustrate later many of the boundaries of these sections remain and these boundaries organized the outline of the 1847 reserves.

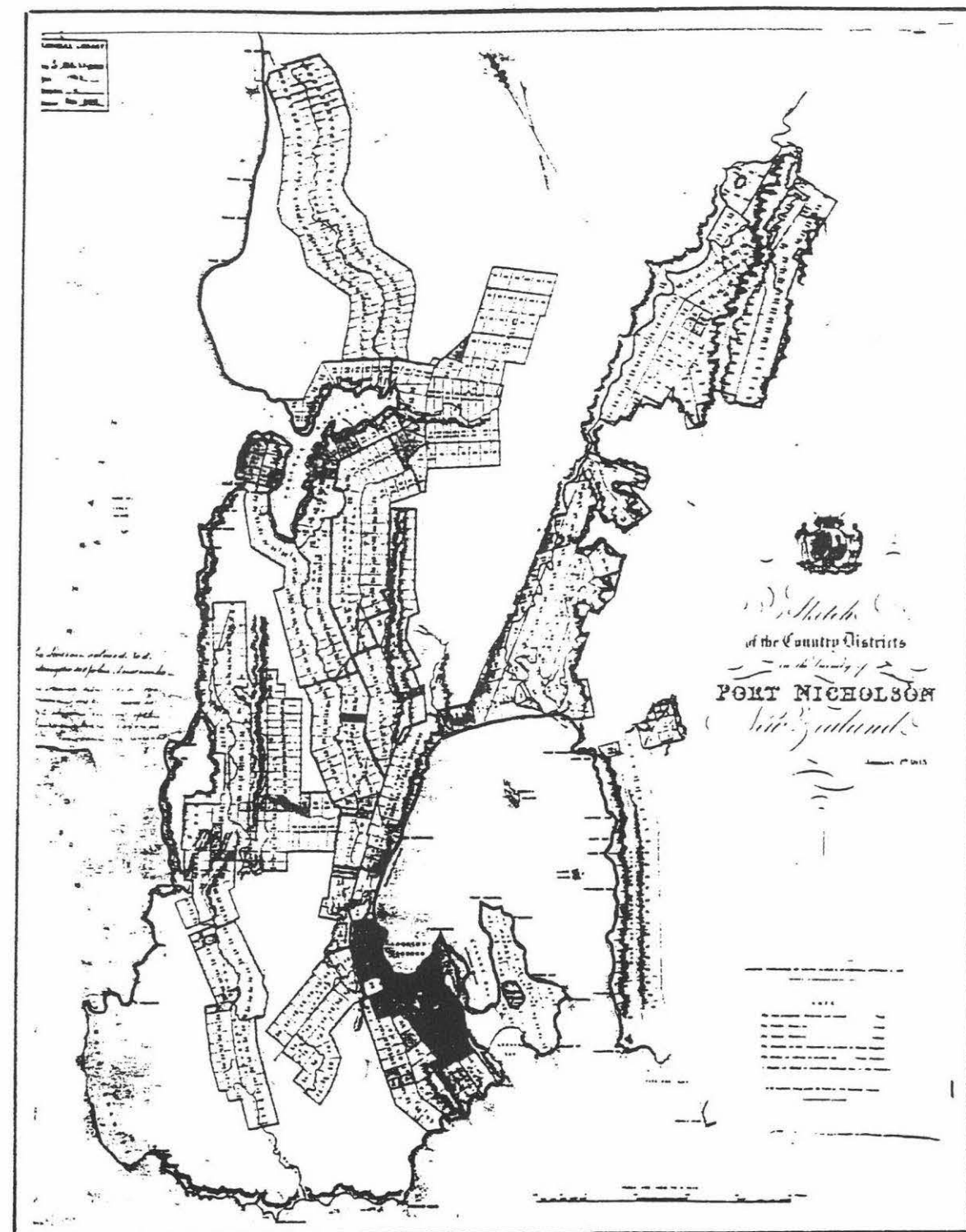


Figure 3.6, Sketch of the Country Districts in the Vicinity of Port Nicholson, 1843. Sketched by W.M Smith and S.C Brees. Source, National Library Collection.

While William Spain carried on a long inquiry into the land dealings, friction had been building up in the contact zone. In Wellington township, Te Atiawa locals were unwilling to leave their pas and take up residence in their allocated reserves, and the tribes were "deeply grieved and agitated to learn that a Ngati Toa woman of rank named Kuika had been brutally murdered at Kakapo bay in Port Underwood."⁹⁴ Dick Cook, the likely murderer, was tried in Court but freed due to lack of evidence. Also at the same time, George Clark found that graves had been violated by settlers looking for ornaments.⁹⁵ In addition to these events a small conflict broke out on the Wairau plains during June 1843. A team of New Zealand Company surveyors attempted to survey the Wairau during April 1843. Toa Rangatira had told the Company to keep out of the Wairau and begged Commissioner Spain to go at once to Cloudy Bay and examine the claims to the Wairau."⁹⁶ Spain took no action and Te Rauparaha led an armed party to the Wairau and rounded up the surveyors with their equipment and sent them back to Nelson.⁹⁷ In a response, Captain Arthur Wakefield and some settlers, using the excuse of a hut burning charge (they knew they could not press charges on the account of the survey disruption), tried to arrest Te Rauparaha. When Te Rauparaha resisted fighting broke out across the Taumarina stream and this left nine Europeans and four Toa Rangatira dead. Of the thirteen Europeans who surrendered, eleven were executed as utu for the death of Te Rangihaeata's wife, Te Rongopamamao. The Wairau 'affair'⁹⁸ sent a strong message to the Company settlers that any further trespassing on Toa Rangatira lands would not be tolerated, and Governor FitzRoy issued the Proclamation that,

it is my positive order that no disputed land at or near Wairau shall be measured, marked, or surveyed by any white person on pain of an immediate action to trespass being brought against the offender.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ Carkeek, *The Kapiti Coast*, page 68.

⁹⁵ Carkeek, *The Kapiti Coast*, page 69.

⁹⁶ Burns, *Te Rauparaha*, page 239.

⁹⁷ Burns, *Te Rauparaha*, page 239.

⁹⁸ This 'affair' was formerly referred to as a 'massacre' by many pakeha.

⁹⁹ Carkeek, *The Kapiti Coast*, page 74.

Governor FitzRoy himself conducted an inquiry into the Wairau 'affair' at Waikanae on 14 February 1844. He concluded that the survey and the attempt to arrest Te Rauparaha was illegal and, while he thought the killing was wrong (especially the killing of prisoners), he "would not avenge the English deaths."¹⁰⁰ While the settlers were forbidden by Proclamation to survey or occupy disputed land, further conflict broke out in the Hutt Valley. In this long-running dispute the allies of Toa Rangatira, Ngati Rangatahi under the leadership of Kaparatehau, refused to leave their cultivation's at the request of the incoming settlers. Part of these cultivation's was actually located on the allocated reserve land and FitzRoy, as in the case of the Wairau, was unwilling to use military force to remove Ngati Rangatahi.

Within the context of this tension and hostility between the colonists and the tribes, William Spain carried on the investigation of claims of the New Zealand Company and the other land speculators which he began on 15 May 1842. During this very intensive inquiry, Spain affirmed by April 1843 what the people of Toa Rangatira knew all along; that the Porirua lands had never been sold. This decision was met with much disagreement from the New Zealand Company. Later on in his final report (31 March 1845) Spain stated:

All the circumstances detailed in the evidence quoted taken into consideration, with the steadfast opposition by the selling parties to any occupation of the district of Porirua, by the Company's settlers from the earliest attempt to locate them there, have induced me to decide against the Company's claim to that tract of land; and therefore I William Spain, Her Majesty's Commissioner for investigating and determining titles and claims to land in New Zealand, do hereby determine and award that the New Zealand Company is not entitled to a Crown grant of any land in the district of Porirua.¹⁰¹

Spain's investigations and report confirmed that the settlers who had occupied their sections along the Porirua road were illegal squatters. Wakefield was required to re-purchase the Port Nicholson area in February 1844 and admitted the re-purchase of the Porirua district would "require separate negotiations."¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Burns, *Te Rauparaha*, page 252.

¹⁰¹ "Reports by Commissioner of Land Claims on Titles to Land in New Zealand. Governor Fitzroy to Lord Stanley" 13 September 1845. *G.B.P.P.*, 1846-7.

¹⁰² Ian Wards, *The Shadow of the Land* (Wellington: A. Shearer, 1968) page 223.

Along with Spain, other persons were also questioning the wisdom of the Company's colonization plans and the reserve system. For example Ernest Dieffenbach, former naturalist to the New Zealand Company wrote in 1843 that the Company's interspersed reserve system was unworkable and impracticable. From Dieffenbach's perspective the tribes would never give up their settlements and cultivation's and restrict themselves" to that portion which has fallen to them by a lottery in London." ¹⁰³ Dieffenbach argued instead that ten acres of arable land for every Maori should be allocated as a reserve; this reserve land would consist of the tribal settlements and be protected by the Crown:

Of all measures which could be proposed for the benefit of the aboriginal population, the most important is to leave them undisturbed in the possession of their old cultivated grounds, and in the enjoyment of their own manners and customs. ¹⁰⁴

Other recommendations by Dieffenbach included the provision that the "internal arrangement of all the reserved landed property to be left to the natives themselves" and the "administration of justice" is left to the tribe.¹⁰⁵ These policies tended to support the plan of George Clarke for the establishment of Native Districts (or large segregated reserves). Within these districts, the tribes were to rule themselves and regulate land according to their own customs. While finding some support by Governor FitzRoy, the majority of settler opinion was against such 'segregationist' ideas which, it was argued, would leave the Maori in a state of backwardness.¹⁰⁶ As the 1844 Report on New Zealand illustrates, the idea of 'pepper-potted' reserves was still clearly on the agenda. The Select Committee stated:

The natives established upon such reserves being scattered, a few together, amongst the European population, would be more likely than under any other plan which has been suggested, gradually adopt the customs and way of life of their civilized neighbours; whereas, if the land reserved for them were in large blocks, and they were collected together in considerable numbers, the probability is, that they would cling more pertinaciously to the habits of savage life, and if so, this interesting people would too surely melt away before the advancing tide of European settlement. ¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Ernest Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand* (London: John Murray, 1843) page 147.

¹⁰⁴ Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, page 152.

¹⁰⁵ Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, page 171.

¹⁰⁶ Ward, *A Show of Justice*, pages 61-71.

¹⁰⁷ *Report from the Select Committee on New Zealand*, 29 July 1844, page xi.

Clearly the use of the reserve as a form of social control was firmly on the colonial agenda.

Governor Grey Arrives in Wellington

It was in response to the Hutt valley land dispute, that Governor Grey arrived in Wellington on the 12 February 1846 determined to find a solution. The Governor brought with him 500 regular troops, a detachment of artillery, and three small warships, *Castor*, *Calliope* and the *Driver*. In the words of Major Richmond, Grey was "accompanied by a force sufficiently large to prove to them the danger as well as the folly of resistance."¹⁰⁸ When Grey did move his forces, under the Proclamation of martial law, against Ngati Rangatahi he found no enemy to fight; they had withdrawn to Porirua and gathered under the protection of Te Rangihaeata. Before this on 27 February, Grey had ordered the destruction of Maori settlements within the Hutt Valley (on reserve lands). This destruction also included the desecration of Maori graves.

With the objective to secure the safety of the Hutt Valley for settlement, Grey ordered the systematic militarisation of the Porirua District:

Porirua is the key to the Wellington district, being the point through which the roads from all other settlements pass to that place, I determined to take possession of Porirua, and to hold it by a strong military force.¹⁰⁹

Grey's plan involved three main elements. Firstly a network of military forts were to be established in the heart of the Porirua district. These forts included the construction of four stockades between Johnsonville and Tawa, one fort at Porirua clearing and an encampment at Paremata. Linking each of these outposts would be a military road that would reach Te Rangihaeata's pa 'Mataitaua' at Pauatahanui. Thirdly the warships would patrol the coastline and small gunboats were used to patrol the inner harbour.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Wards, *The Shadow of the Land*, page 239.

¹⁰⁹ "Grey to Lord Stanley" 7/5/1846. *G.B.P.P*

¹¹⁰ Elsdon Best, "Old Redoubts, Blockhouses, and Stockades of the Wellington District" *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, 53 (1921) pages 14-28; Herbert Baillie, "The First New Zealand Navy" *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, 53 (1921) page 29; James Cowan, *New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period* (Wellington: Govt Printer, 1922).

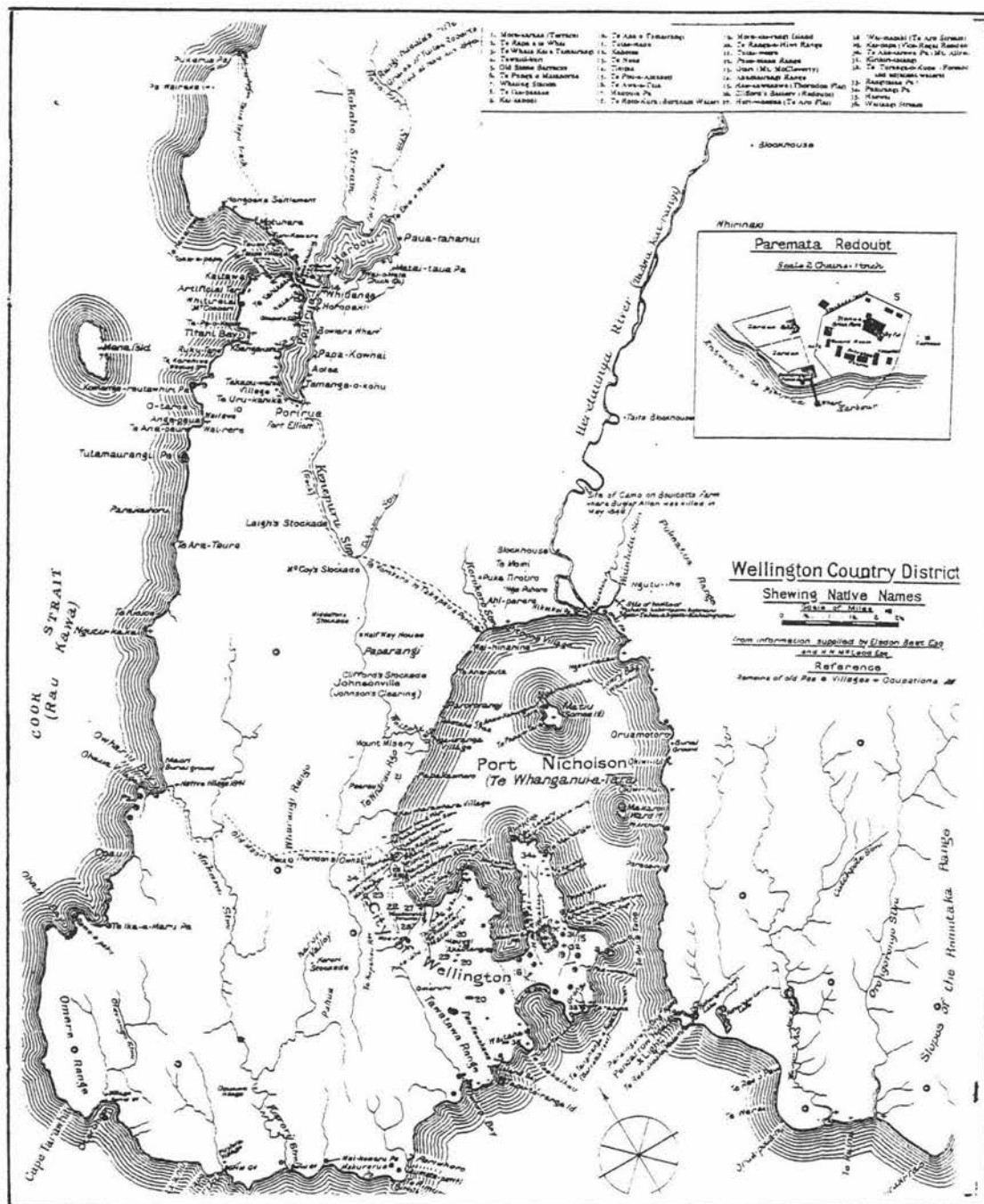


Figure 3.7. Wellington Country District showing Native Names, 1917.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Elsdon Best, "The Land of Tara" *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 26 (1917) page 142.

Figure 3.7, a map drawn by Elsdon Best in 1917, is one of the few maps produced of the Porirua District that includes some Maori place names and the locations of the stockades. Again, however, this representation is from a birds-eye perspective and the land is flat, 'empty' and 'white'. While many names, tracks, settlements and gardens are missing from this map, it does give an indication of the pattern of settlement at Porirua and the string of military forts constructed in 1846.

Although Grey used the 'need to protect the Hutt Valley' as his main reason for the military occupation of Porirua he also considered the "means at his disposal for holding the large tract of territory between Wellington and Taranaki."¹¹² On 8 April 1846 a detachment of 220 soldiers of the 99th Regiment under the command of Major Last arrived at Paramata point near Toms whaling station. This was the beginning of a long winter campaign against Te Rangihaeata and his Ngati Rangatahi allies.

During the winter the soldier's morale at the Paramata camp deteriorated and on 28 June 1846 a mutiny broke out. While the mutiny was brought under control by Major Amey, the main reason for the outbreak was,

the little that had been done by the colonial authorities to lessen the men's sufferings either by erecting barracks or granting any colonial allowance at that district.¹¹³

In these circumstances Grey requested instructions from London on what action to take in settling the Porirua land dispute so to reduce the need for further employing the troops in active operations. Concerning the option of taking the Porirua lands by force for the New Zealand Company claimants, Grey thought this would have "disastrous consequences" for both settler and military personal.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Wards, *The Shadow of the Land*, page 256.

¹¹³ "Grey to Earl Grey" 3/3/1847 Confidential Despatches. *Scottish Record Office* (Turnbull Library).

¹¹⁴ "Grey to Gladstone" 10/10/1846. *Scottish Record Office*.

Meanwhile in the military operations during July and August 1846, Te Rauparaha was captured at his home in Taupo (Plimmerton beach) and Te Rangihaeata after making a stand up the Horokiwi valley, escaped into the Manawatu. With both leading chiefs taken care of (Te Rauparaha was held under house arrest in Auckland), Grey turned his attention to acquiring the Porirua lands by a deed of purchase.

With a view to acquiring Porirua and other districts for settlement and for tidying up the state of affairs in Wellington, the Colonial Office appointed Colonel McCleverty in September 1846 to act as a Land Commissioner. He was instructed to enter into negotiations for the purchase of the Wairau and Porirua districts. Importantly Grey also wanted a departure from the New Zealand Company reserve system:

I think it proper to observe generally, that the system of native reserves as laid down by the New Zealand Company, although an admirable means of providing for the future wants of the Aborigines, is in some respects insufficient for their present wants, and ill adapted for their existing notions....

It will be found necessary in all instances, to secure to natives, in addition to any reserves made for them by the New Zealand Company, their cultivation's, as well as convenient blocks of land for purpose of future cultivation, in such localities as they may select themselves.¹¹⁵

Grey hoped this reformulated reserve plan would avoid the need for expensive military action. It was also required from Grey that during the purchase negotiations there would be "accurate plans and descriptions of the boundaries of these tracts of land."¹¹⁶

Colonel McCleverty, however, was also appointed the officer in command of all the troops in New Zealand thus had little time to negotiate land purchases. Because of this Grey himself arrived in Wellington on 13 March 1847 to resume the settlement of the New Zealand Company's land titles. In a meeting with William Wakefield, Mr Fox and Mr Ligar (surveyor-general), it was decided that Grey was to purchase Porirua for the "importance to the safety of Wellington."¹¹⁷ This purchase would involve setting aside of a portion of the

¹¹⁵ "Grey to Gladstone" 14th September 1846. *G.B.P.P.*

¹¹⁶ "Grey to Gladstone" 14th September 1846, *G.B.P.P.*

¹¹⁷ "Wakefield to Sec" *NZC*, 23/2/1847. *NZC* 3/7, No.17. NA.

lands for Toa Rangatira "in a position not commanding the road and anchorage and thereby necessitating the presence of troops".¹¹⁸ Thus the reserves were to be located away from strategic military locations.

Under these conditions the Porirua lands were purchased on 17 March 1847 and the Deed of Sale was signed on the 1st of April 1847 thereby alienating the Porirua lands and creating the three reserves depicted in Figure 1.4. Healy estimates the Porirua District totaled some 68 896 acres with some 11 020 acres allocated as reserves and 8 acres allocated for Thoms's claim and military purposes at Paremata¹¹⁹. These measurements would be conservative as it is doubtful if the whole district had been surveyed by 1847, also the 11 020 acre estimate also would not have included the reserve land inland from Wainui.

THE RESERVES TAKE SHAPE

The reserves created by Grey at Porirua (Figure 1.4) illustrate how the New Zealand Company's interspersed plan had been undermined by Maori resistance and Government intervention. While the Porirua reserves were larger and not limited to the Company's 100 acre country sections, the main tribal settlements and some cultivation areas were also located inside the reserves. The internal allocation of land within the reserve was left (for the moment) up to the tribe to decide and importantly the Porirua reserve was on the coast giving the tribe access to transport and fishing grounds.

As part of the cession 'package' Grey also provided for the establishment of separate 'Native Towns'. On 8 May 1849 members of Toa Rangatira wrote to Governor Grey and asked to,

send a surveyor to survey the land at 'Takapuahia', the site proposed by us as a village, that we may commence to build better houses for ourselves, and to erect a place of worship, and a house in which to try those persons who behave improperly. This place has been selected by us as a spot where the natives may collect together, and not become scattered.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ "Wakefield to Sec" NZC, 23/2/1847. NZC 3/7, No.17, NA.

¹¹⁹ W.B. Healy, *Pauatahanui Inlet - An Environmental Study* (DSIR, 1980) page

24.

¹²⁰ Included in, "Lieut-Governor's Eyre's Report" 25/6/1849, *G.B.P.P.*

Henceforth Lieut-Governor Eyre gave instructions to lay out Takapuawahia village so to be "more conducive to the health and comfort of the natives that is in its present wretched state."¹²¹ As well as Takapuawahia, which was planned in September 1847 but surveyed in 1849, the town of Wainui was also planned (Figure 3.8 and 3.9). Both towns were to have a strict grid-iron road pattern, private 'sections' allocated to different families and a church reserve located in a central position. The aim was to encourage members of the tribe to leave their isolated coastal dwellings and 'settle' within the towns under the supervision of a missionary. The towns (and reserves) would promote the humanitarian aims of the Government and enable the tribe to be concentrated and thus easier to be controlled.

¹²¹ "Lieut-Governor's Eyre's Report" 25/6/1849, *G.B.P.P.*

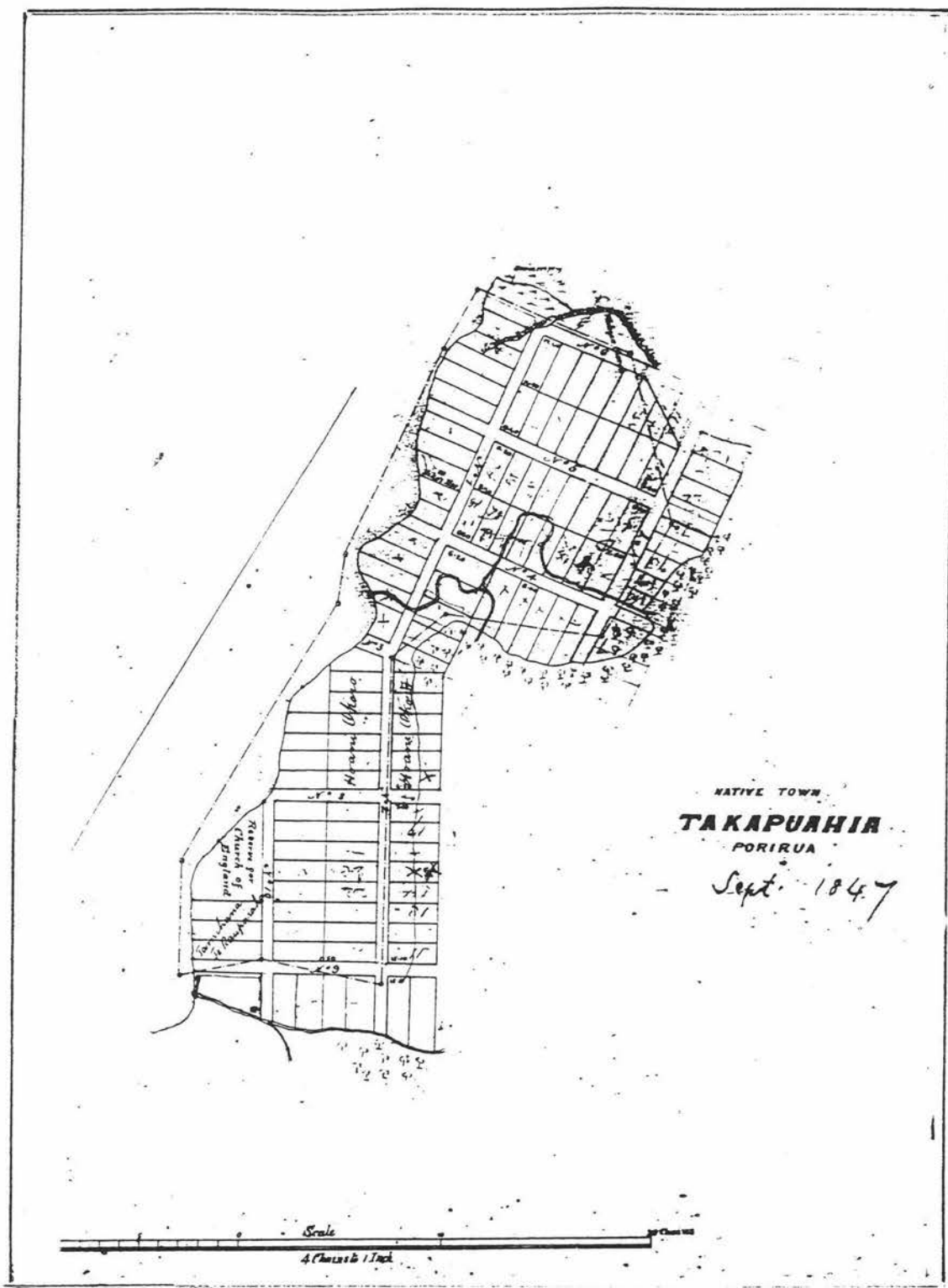


Figure 3.8 Plan of Native Town at Takapuawahia, 1847. Source, National Library Collection.

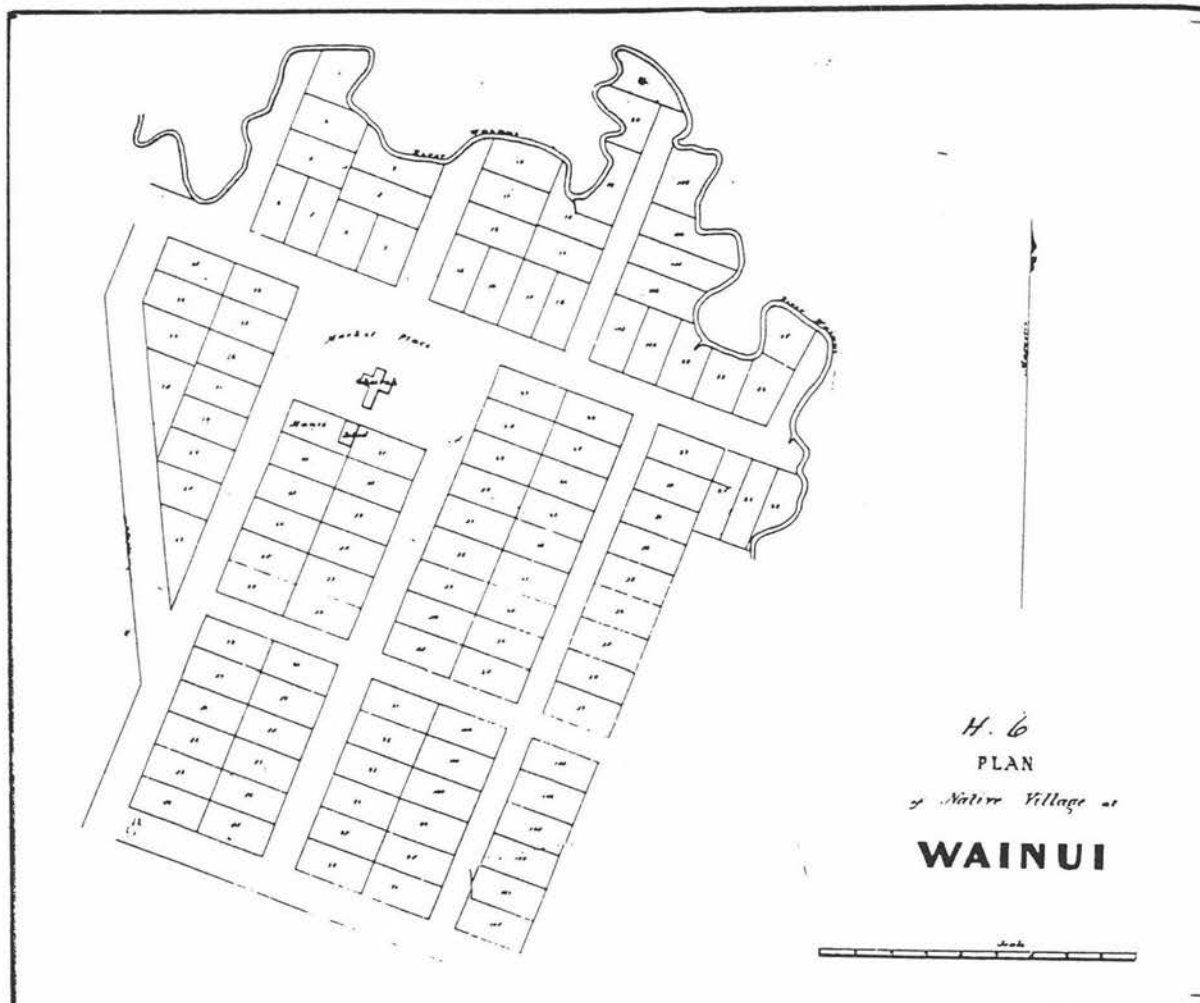


Figure 3.9, Plan of Native Town at Wainui, 1849. Source, B.Patterson, *Reading Between the Lines*, 1984, page 61.

While the three reserves did not conform to the ideal Company reserves, they were created within the context of the Company's country sectional boundaries. As Figure 3.10 illustrates, the northern reserve was bounded to the east by the New Zealand Company sections in the Horokiwi valley. The two southern reserves meanwhile contained both land inside and outside the sections. Figure 3.9 neglects to show a large part of the northern reserve from Wainui to Pouawa and Pa Wakataka (this was an old pa located on the Heretaunga or Hutt river, above the Mangaroa junction). It could be assumed that this land had not been yet surveyed by the Government or the New Zealand Company. Another part of the reserve missing in Figure 3.10 was the southern boundary which should have begun at Te Arataura; instead sections 62 and 38 have been used as boundary lines. And as I have already mentioned, the gardens lying outside the reserves have not been identified on the map.

The maps (Figure 3.10 and 1.4) present a representation of the 'extent' of the reserves and attempt to define the interests of Toa Rangatira within these boundaries. The maps create an image of three blocks of land and label these blocks 'reserves'; the rest of the land, is again, portrayed as 'empty' and blank. It is not acknowledged, by the map, that the tribe have any interests (or rights) in the resources and places (bush, seas, rivers, food gathering areas, waahi tapu and burial grounds) not defined in the reserves. It is for this reason the map, as an idea, had and still has, very real implications for the rangatiratanga and manawhenua of the tribe. For example Watson and Patterson illustrate that before 1847 the Wellington and Porirua tribes were cultivating 528 acres mostly on land claimed by the New Zealand Company. However after 1847 the "crop acreage's declined 74 percent"¹²² as the increase in immigration and reserve boundaries began to restrict cultivation areas. The reserves created by the map act as a form of power/knowledge enacted spatially to effect control of the 'Natives'. Yet, as I will illustrate, this strategy, was (and still is) contested by Toa Rangatira.

¹²² M.K Watson and B.R Patterson, "The Growth and Subordination of the Maori Economy" *Pacific Viewpoint* 26,3 (1985) page 534.

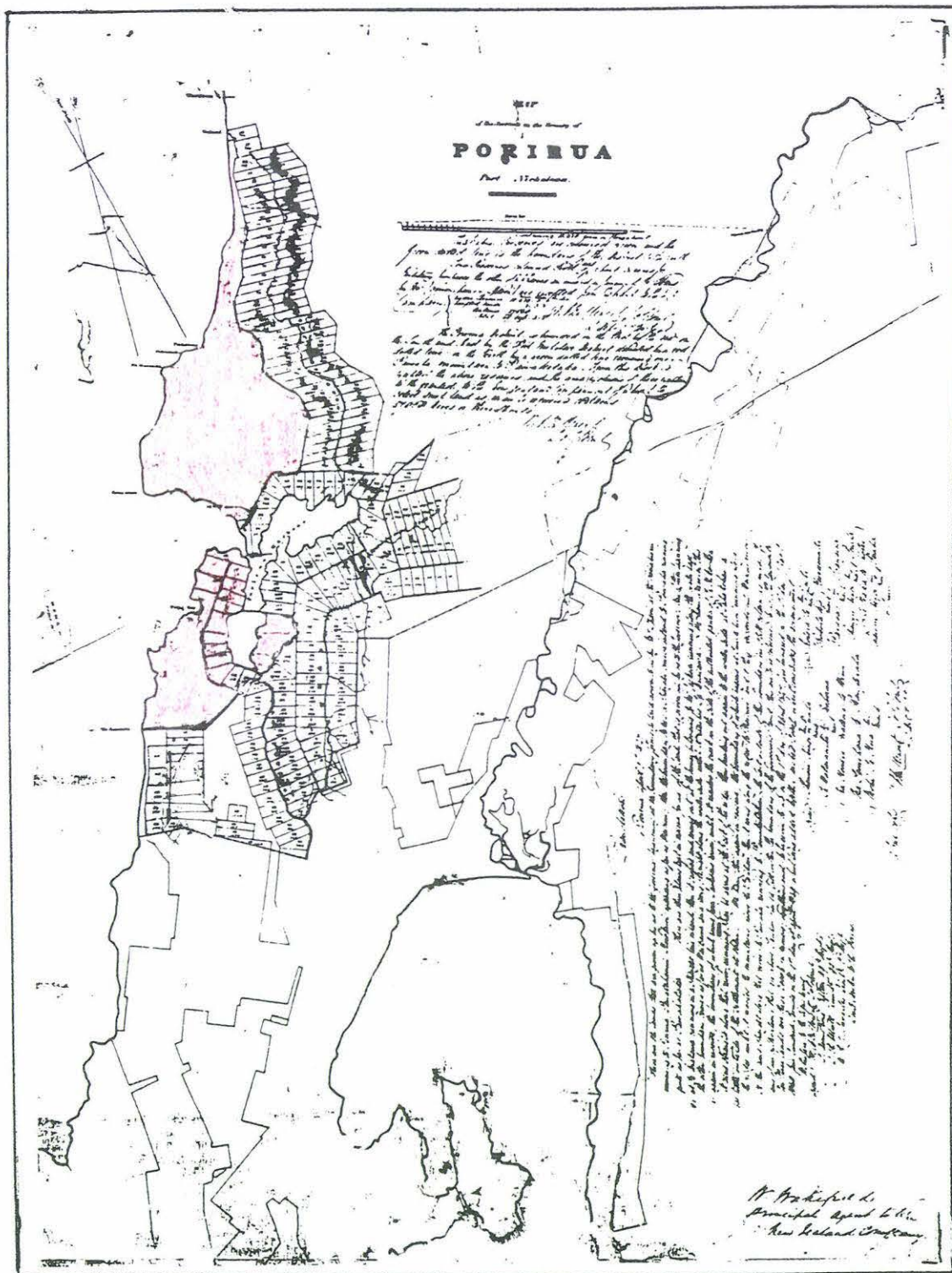


Figure 3.10, Map of Sections in the Vicinity of Porirua, 1847. New Zealand Company. Source, National Archives, AAFV 6041/1a. The writing on the map (unreadable) outlines the boundaries of the Porirua District and the three reserves as outlined in the Deed of Sale.

In March 1847 Governor Grey was quick to write to Earl Grey, the Colonial Secretary, about the success of the Porirua (and the Wairau) Purchase. In informing the Earl about the purchased Porirua for the sum of 2000 pounds, Grey stated:

There can be no doubt, that the fact of the Ngatitua tribe receiving for several years, an annual payment from the Government, will give us an almost unlimited influence over a powerful and, hitherto, a very treacherous tribe.¹²³

Describing the reserves as extensive and in "one continuous block,"¹²⁴ Grey sent a copy of the deed map to Earl Grey. This sketch was redrawn by John Arrowsmith in London and published within the *British Parliamentary records*. The Arrowsmith map (Figure 3.11) emphasizes the reserves through the use of the colour red. As J. Andrews argues, that if the map is viewed as a type of language, colour could act as an adjective and the area (created by intersecting boundaries) be viewed as nouns. Colour as the adjective describes or qualifies a noun, the reserve area¹²⁵. Henceforth the colour red is used to highlight the internal territory of the reserves and emphasize the boundary between reserve and 'waste' land. Scale is also used to highlight the extent of the reserve. While the map is titled 'The Porirua District', only a portion of the district itself is shown. The reserves would have looked much smaller if they were placed on a smaller scale map showing the whole of the district. Unlike the New Zealand Company map (Figure 3.11) the Arrowsmith map does recognize some reserve land inland from Wainui and affirms that cultivation's outside the reserves were allocated. Using the cartographic tools of line marking, colour and scale, Figure 3.11 creates the image of two spaces, reserve and 'waste' lands; the interests of Toa Rangatira were to be defined within the reserve.

¹²³ "Grey to Earl Grey" 26/3/1847. *G.B.P.P.*

¹²⁴ "Grey to Earl Grey" 26/3/1847. *G.B.P.P.*

¹²⁵ J. Andrews, "Map and Language, A Metaphor Extended" *Cartographica*, 27,1 (1990) page 5.

On 23 March 1847, Major Richmond informed William Wakefield of the details of the Porirua purchase. Richmond also stated that it would be expected that the New Zealand Company would pay for any portion of the lands they wanted.¹²⁶ Wakefield, while happy that the Porirua lands had been purchased, protested that the Company should have to pay money to the Crown for the lands wanted. Wakefield also stated that the Company would have to outlay compensation or land exchanges to those settlers whose section was now within a native reserve.¹²⁷ Thus, as a result of the 1847 Porirua deed, many of the original 1842 reserves were given to settlers in compensation for those sections that were now part of the larger reserves created by Grey. Also the Company was required to provide compensation of around 250-350 pounds each to six persons who lost their selected section.¹²⁸ This process of reorganization and rearrangement was completed in 1851 (see Table 3.2 and 3.3).

¹²⁶ "Richmond to Wakefield" 23/3/1847. NZC 3/7, NA.

¹²⁷ "Wakefield to Richmond" 25/3/1847. NZC 3/7, NA.

¹²⁸ "Register of Sections, Porirua" LS-W 65/24, NA.

3.7 EARLY ALIENATION'S WITHIN THE PORIRUA RESERVE

While the town and country sections created by the New Zealand Company surveys were placed under the control of various boards of management and used for hospitals and schools, the Porirua reserves were, in a way, treated as the 'private' land of Toa Rangatira.¹²⁹ 'Native' title had not been extinguished and there was no management trust or any other administrative arrangement until after the 1856 *Native Reserves Act*. During this period a number of Crown Grants were made within the reserve land and some of the land was purchased by the Native Purchased Department.

Whitireia and other Crown Grants

The first large part of the reserve to be alienated, was taken for the purposes of an Anglican College no less than a year after the 1st April 1847 agreement. This gift resulted from a desire by Matene te Whiwhi and Tamihana Te Rauparaha, both of whom studied at St Johns College in Auckland, to have a similar college in their rohe. This block of land was called Whitireia.¹³⁰ In 1849 the Bishop applied to the government for a portion of the land to be transferred to him by a Crown Grant. Grey had no objection to this subject to a few restrictions which included that the land must be used for the erection of a college and building must commence within three years, otherwise the grant would become null and void.¹³¹ While Grey transferred the land to the Bishop, disagreements arose when the block came to be surveyed as Toa Rangatira were unwilling to give up the whole block wanted by the Bishop. In the end a Crown Grant was issued to the Bishop on the 28th December 1850 for 500 acres. It was stated later by Wi Parata that the Bishop took a larger piece of land than what was given by the tribe.

Ever since the Kohimarama Conference in 1860 the tribe has been fighting for the return of the Whitireia Block as the land was never used for its intended purpose. In July 1877 Wi Parata brought the Whitireia case to the Supreme

¹²⁹ "Memorandum by Commissioner McCleverty" 29/12/1855. Turton, *An Epitome of official documents to Native Affairs*, 1882.

¹³⁰ *Whitireia Block Claim*, Wai 89, Record of Documents. (Waitangi Tribunal).

¹³¹ "Grey to Eyre" G 31/1. No.7, NA.

*A List of sections belonging to purchasers from the New Zealand Company
 Receipted from the Crown Grant of the Porirua District.*

<i>Original Purchaser</i>	<i>Number on Plan</i>	<i>Where Situated</i>	<i>Transferred to</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
<i>D^r Evans</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>Porirua Harbour</i>	<i>Robert Monro Hardworth</i>	<i>A small portion</i>
<i>do</i>	<i>81</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>But by Gaspar</i>
<i>do</i>	<i>82</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>A large portion</i>
<i>Sir W^m Molesworth Bart</i>	<i>78</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>by land survey</i>
<i>W^m Henry Rawson Halifax</i>	<i>106</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	
<i>James Clarkson do</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>Christopher Rawson Halifax</i>	<i>A small portion</i>
<i>James Bowman do</i>	<i>70</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>
<i>James Dowd Abled do</i>	<i>63</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>
<i>Christopher Rawson do</i>	<i>68</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>Harry Huggings</i>	<i>A portion only do</i>
<i>Charles Labor Raymer</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	
<i>Alfred Hornbrook Wellington</i>	<i>66</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	
<i>The Hon. R^t Hon. J. G. Tollermeade</i>	<i>64</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	
<i>The Hon. J. G. Tollermeade</i>	<i>65</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	
<i>Robert Faw London</i>	<i>77</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	
<i>Thomas F. Evingham Brighton</i>	<i>69</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	
<i>The Hon. J. G. Tollermeade</i>	<i>105</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	
<i>Samuel Page Hardworth</i>	<i>104</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>
<i>Isaacson Reed Haley London</i>	<i>76</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>
<i>Frederick Boucher</i>	<i>83</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>
<i>D^r Evans</i>	<i>79</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>
<i>Francis Logan Wellington</i>	<i>103</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>
<i>Adam Reid do</i>	<i>102</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>
<i>Henry Mervin London</i>	<i>76</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>
<i>John Ward do</i>	<i>75</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>

Table 3.3, The NZC sections which were included in the three reserves and remained outside of the Porirua District NZC Grant. Source, NA LS-W 65/26.

Court on the basis that the Crown Grant issued to Bishop Selwyn did not have the consent of Toa Rangatira and that the Crown Grant was *ultra vires* as the land was part of the reserve which could not be alienated. In a 'landmark' decision Judges Prendergast and Richmond dismissed the case, arguing that the Crown had an exclusive right to extinguish Native title (by issuing a Crown Grant) and the tribe could not invoke the Treaty of Waitangi as the Treaty lacked legal validity and "must be regarded as a simple nullity".¹³² In 1902 Hohepa Wineera brought the case to Court again, but the earlier 1877 decision was upheld and Whitireia remained alienated.¹³³ On the basis of the Prendergast decision the Treaty of Waitangi was thought to be irrelevant to New Zealand law until the Huakina Development Trust case in 1987 when the judge stated that the Treaty was important to New Zealand Society even if it was not a part of legislation.

Other Crown Grants were issued within the reserve land as a result of Spain's Land Commission. For example in 1845 and 1847 it was recommended that Cooper receive a Crown Grant of 584 acres at Titahi Bay and Motuhara (Figure 3.12). This grant was opposed by William Wakefield who claimed all the Porirua lands.¹³⁴ After April 1847, however, Cooper's claim became part of the reserve set aside for Toa Rangatira and the Government stated it had no power to grant land that was set aside as a native reserve.¹³⁵ In an effort to resolve the problem, talks were held between Government officials and Toa Rangatira, and the tribe decided that Cooper was allowed 37 acres at Titahi Bay. For the rest, Cooper was paid 897 pounds in compensation by the government.¹³⁶

¹³² "Wi Parata v Bishop of Wellington" 1877 3 NZ (NS), 72.

¹³³ "Hohepa Wineera v Bishop of Wellington" 1902 CA 21 NZLR 655, p 145.

¹³⁴ "Wakefield to Sec" NZC, 7/7/1847, NA.

¹³⁵ "Couper to Land Purchase Department" 10/6/1850. OLC 142, NA.

¹³⁶ "Crown Land Office Memo" 12/11/1857. OLC 142, NA.

Along with Cooper's claim, Geo Thoms acquired land at Titahi Bay (figure 3.13) and a Crown Grant was also issued to Thomas Ellison in June 1863. This land comprised of 388 acres called Korohiwa or section 109. The claim excluded a burial ground at Komangarautawhiri which was defined later as lot 2, section 109 (Figure 3.14). Another Old Land Claim map (figure 3.15) was produced to show Toms's Claim at Paremata. This map also shows the College land, Coopers block, Geo Thoms's land at Titahi Bay and Ellisons claim. Also interesting to note a small native reserve is marked at Plimmerton (Taupo). This reserve consisted of 15 acres and was reserved for the Natives and for Government purposes in May 1852. All of these maps (figures 3.13-15) show that parts of the reserve were being occupied by settlers under lease arrangements and becoming sections under individual Common law tenure. These Crown Grants also required the use of surveyors as the boundaries needed to be defined in order for a Grant to be issued. Actually the 1847 reserves, on the 1852 map (figure 3.15), had disappeared; only the small 15 acre reserve appears among the New Zealand Company sections.

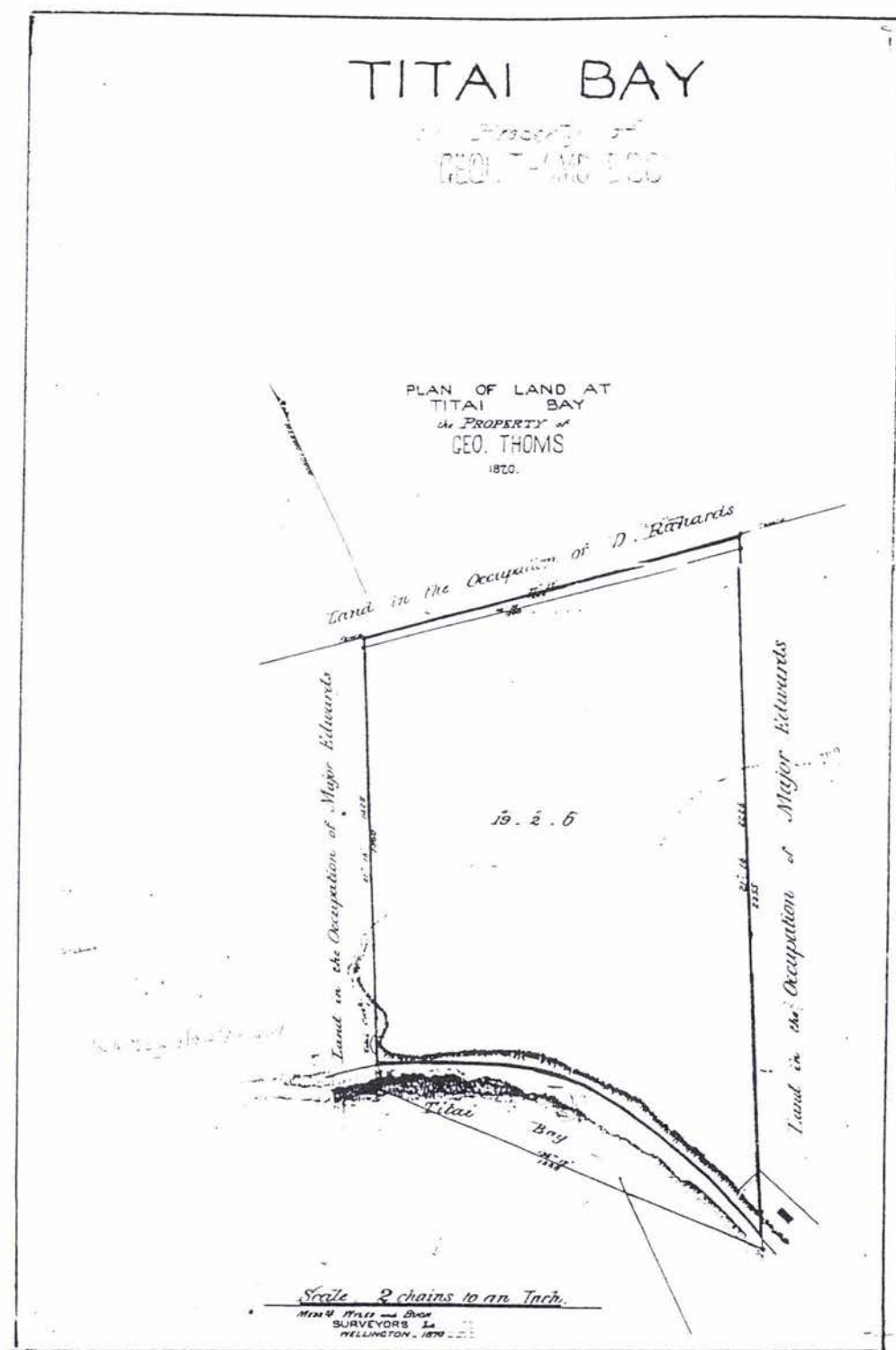


Figure 3.13, Plan of land at Titai (Titahi) Bay, the Property of Geo Thoms, 1870. Wyles and Buck Surveyors. Source, National Library Collection.

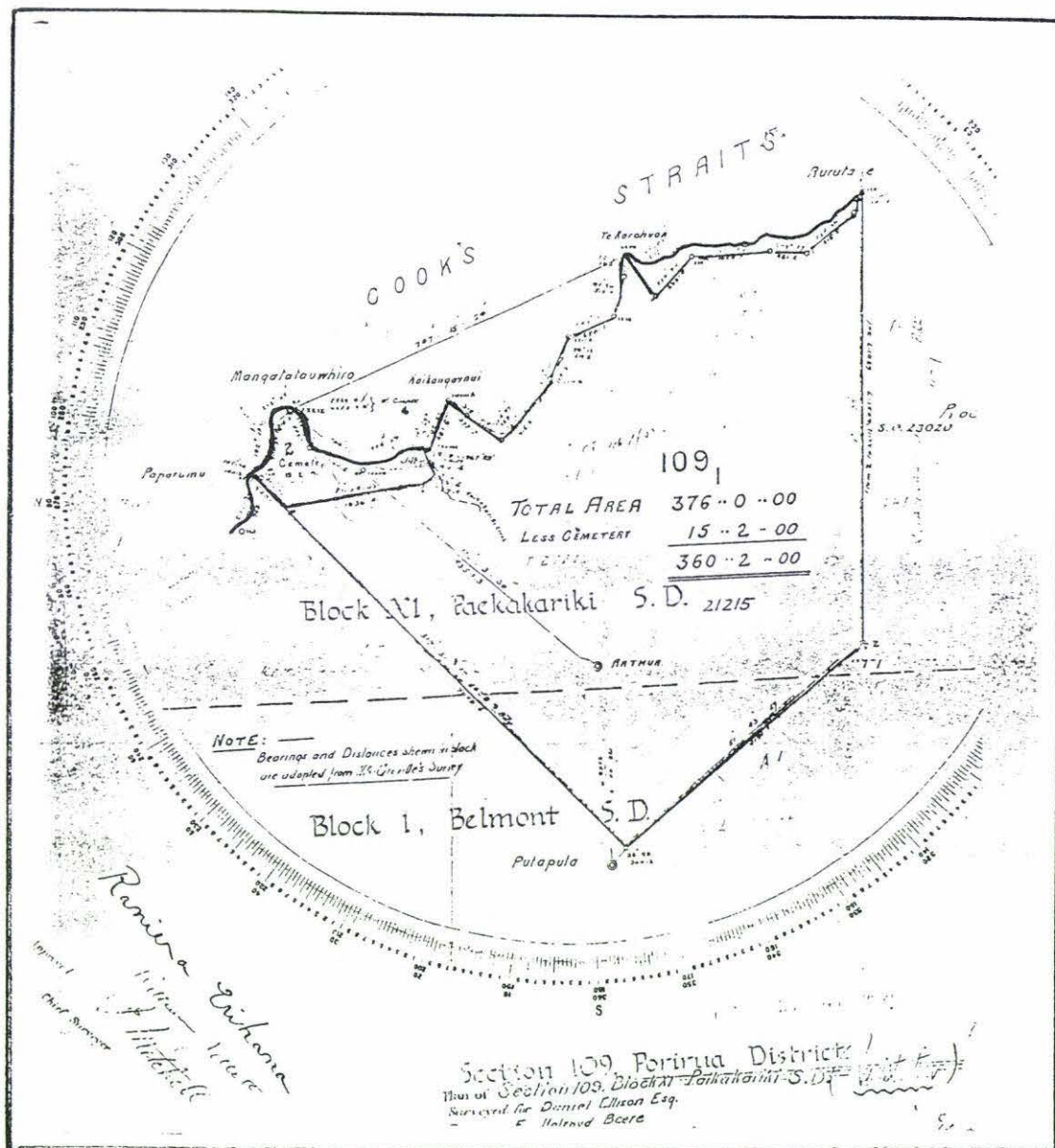


Figure 3.14, Section 109, Porirua District, 1863. Source, Wanganui Office of the Maori Land Court.

The Wainui Block Purchase

Since 1848 it was Governor Grey's intention to buy up all the lands between Porirua and Whangaehu,¹³⁷ construct a road from Wellington to the Manawatu and set aside reserves. The Porirua military had arrived at Pauatahanui by 1848 and construction had reached the coast to Wainui by November 1849. This road acted as the main northern 'highway' until the present coastal route was opened in 1939. As the Wainui land was close to the Wellington-Wanganui road and near Wellington and the Government, it was thought that it would be desirable if the land could be purchased. Accordingly the Land Purchase Department began negotiations for the purchase of the northern part of the Porirua reserve, the Wainui block. By July 1859 Searancke reported to Mclean that the Wainui block comprising some 30,000 acres had been purchased for 850 pounds (see appendix cupboard). In the Deed of Sale, six reserves were allocated:

<i>Whareroa</i>	<i>17 acres</i>
<i>Wainui (township)</i>	<i>135 acres</i>
<i>Paekakariki</i>	<i>135 acres</i>
<i>Ngapaipurua</i>	<i>280 acres</i>
<i>Te Rongo-o-te-wera</i>	<i>160 acres</i>
<i>Te Puka</i>	<i>60 acres</i>

This purchase and the reserves were mapped by Robinson, a Wellington surveyor (Figures 3.16 and 3.17). However as this district is very mountainous it is unlikely the boundaries were actually surveyed; as illustrated in Figure 3.17 Wainui and Waikanae blocks have been merged and the eastern boundary reaches the Wairarapa not Pa Wakataka.

¹³⁷ "Domett to Mclean" 12/12/1848. *AJHR* 1861.

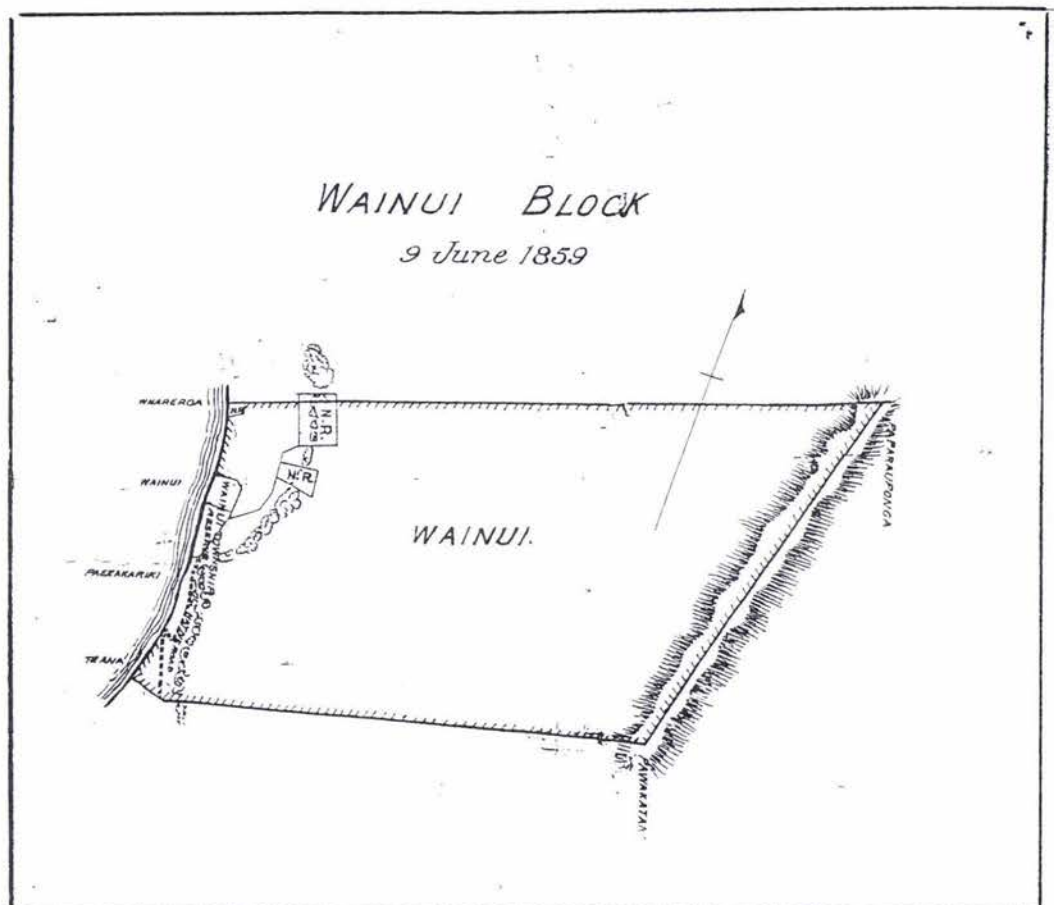


Figure 3.16, Wainui Block, 9 June 1859. Source, National Archives, MA-MT 12/157.

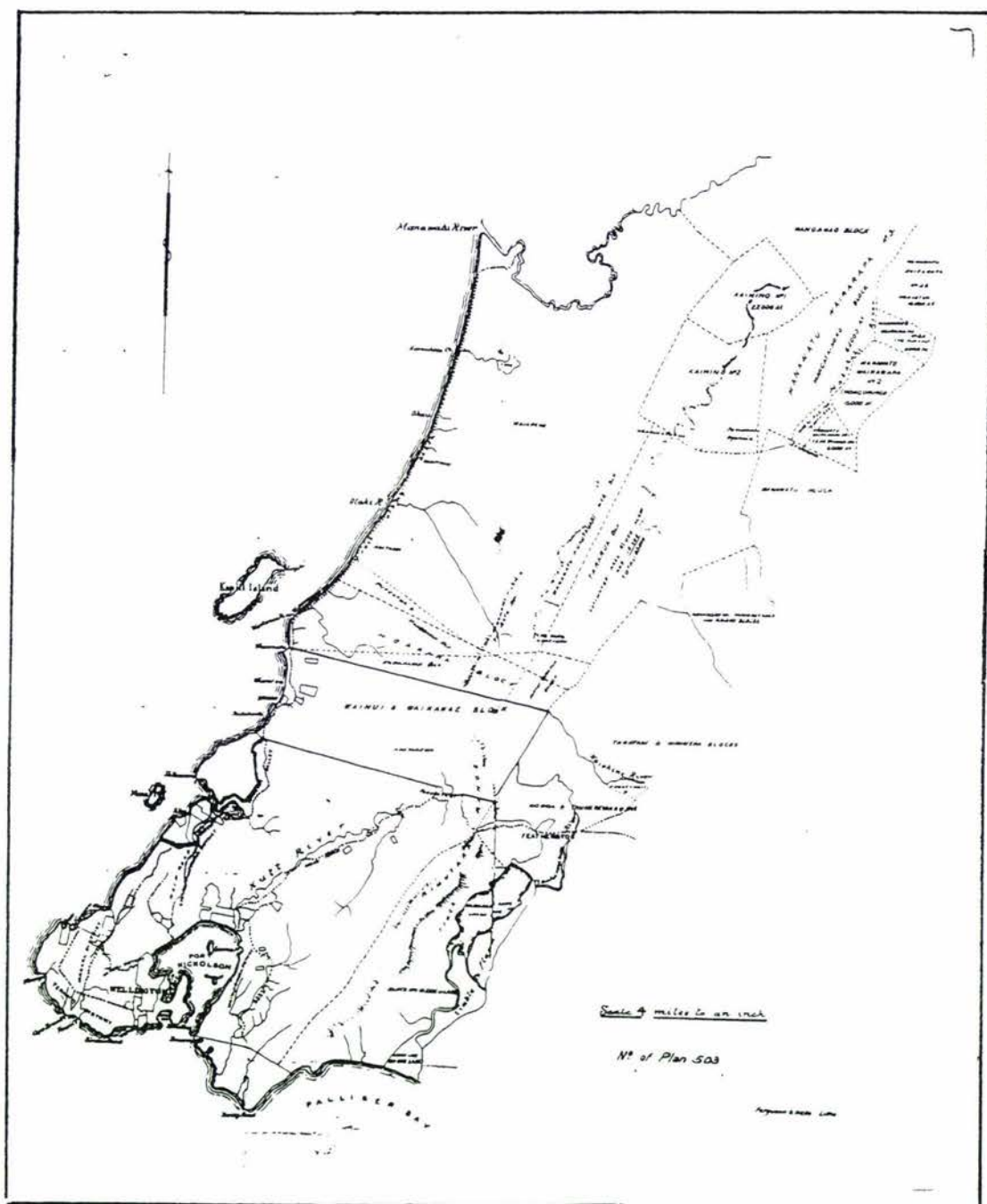


Figure 3.17, Wainui and Waikanae Block, 1859. Source National Archives, MA-MT 12/157.

The Wainui purchase created a reserve of much smaller size than originally provided for in the 1847 Porirua Deed; The acreage had been reduced from over 40 000 to just over 10 000. The alienation of the district had many complex indirect effects on Toa Rangatira. Along with the reduction in cultivation area mentioned earlier, tribal population declined sharply¹³⁸ from an estimate of 1,020 persons in the early 1840's to only 483 persons in 1857¹³⁹ (this estimate includes both the Waikanae and Porirua areas). Population decline, and the 'Native towns' policy influenced the concentration of Toa Rangatira at Takapuwahia and Wainui.¹⁴⁰ A government survey in 1850 of the Porirua District found the pa sites of Komangarautawhiri, Taupo, Pukerua, Paripari and others as virtually deserted. For example concerning Pukerua settlement it was reported that it was,

deserted, the natives having joined Puaha, at Takapuwahia. The houses are in a state of decay, and the settlement abandoned. The population was never very large, and many have died within the last five or six years. Mr Couper has a cattle station here.¹⁴¹

Also corresponding the concentration and decline of Toa Rangatira population was the move of settlers onto the Porirua reserve lands for farming under private leasehold agreements with the tribe. Thus by the 1860s most of the reserve had been alienated by lease and occupied by various pakeha farming families.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ For a discussion on the link between land purchase and population see, M.P.K Sorrenson, "Land Purchase Methods and their Effect on Maori Population" *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 65 (1956) pages 183-199.

¹³⁹ M.K Watson and B.R Patterson, *'The White Man's' Right, Acquisition of Maori Land by the Crown in Wellington* (Victoria University, Working Paper No.3) page 4.

¹⁴⁰ B.A Murray, *Historical Geography of the Tawa-Porirua Basin* (MA Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1965) page 24-5.

¹⁴¹ "Statistical Returns in connection with the Native Population" 1/1/1850.

G.B.P.P

¹⁴² See, Barabara Kay, *Anthony Wall, Settler of Porirua* (Kerehoma Press, 1996) for a good illustration of how the Wall family managed to farm reserve land in the Pukerua Bay area.

Conclusion to Room Two

The Porirua reserves, a 'landscape' created with the help of a map, were the outcome of a colonial discourse of amalgamation that firstly defined and categorized Toa Rangatira as 'Natives' or 'Savages', and then required these 'Natives' to become civilized in the hope they would be saved from extermination by the invasion of civilization. While this amalgamation ideology is full of contradictions, I have emphasized the spatial content of the ideology; amalgamation required the creation of territories and boundaries which would enable the tribes to be classified, controlled and 'protected'. As I have indicated, within the assumption that colonization of some form was to occur in New Zealand, the discourse had many different perspectives and these perspectives had different spatial forms. For the New Zealand Company, New Zealand was, a 'waste' land, a part of Britain's territory due to the 'discovery' of James Cook. This 'waste' land was to be regulated within surveyed boundaries. The Company's interspersed reserve policy was integrated as a result of influence from the Aborigines Protection Society and the missionaries. Yet this reserve scheme was a type of creative destruction policy; the old tribal settlements would be destroyed and the chiefs would live like the Europeans on individual sections outlined on a map created by the Company's survey regime. Meanwhile the Crown intervened and annexed New Zealand for a number of reasons. Importantly, one reason was to protect the interests of Maori from the actions of Europeans like the New Zealand Company. After 1840 the survey regime of the Crown created 'Native' reserves that modified the New Zealand Company approach; land was allocated which was under direct settlement and cultivation. The Porirua reserves, therefore, are a good example of this humanitarian reserve scheme. But as I will illustrate, reserves under collective 'ownership' were to be a temporally limited policy as after 1862 Maori were expected to take up residence on individual properties. This meant the Government began to intervene directly in the management and alienation of the Porirua reserve lands. Such intervention is the topic for the next room.

ROOM FOUR

SPACE CREATION FOR ASSIMILATION: THE NATIVE LAND COURT, SURVEY AND MAPPING, 1852-1975.

The Porirua reserves were created on a map in an effort to promote the amalgamation of Toa Rangatira into European society. As I have stated, this ideology was used to justify the alienation of the Porirua District and promote humanitarian concerns; reserves were to benefit the tribe in the areas of health, religion, and economy. However, by the 1850s the confinement of the tribe to the reserves had contributed to a decline in food production and population. With the arrival of settler government in 1852, the policy of creating and managing reserves changed; reserves under collective control were to be partitioned into individual properties. This new policy required a survey regime consisting of a close mesh and cooperation between the institutions of the Native Land Court, the Survey Department, and the Land Transfer Office. With Maori land, defined 'accurately' according to trigonometrical survey, (rather than the previous running survey) it could be transferred to the control of the 'normal' Common legal system and therefore enable assimilation of the Maori. Assimilation was regarded as a way to help Maori by trying to make Maori 'brown skinned' Europeans; henceforth assimilation was thought of as 'good' and humanitarian !

4.1 THE NEW ZEALAND NATIVE RESERVES ACT 1856

In 1852 the English government gave the New Zealand General Assembly full power to make laws under the 1852 *New Zealand Constitution Act*. These powers included the options to establish 'Native' districts and control of the 'waste' lands. Also at this time, the New Zealand Company had closed 'shop' and the Company's land was transferred to the New Zealand government. The 1852 *Constitution Act* set up a system of Provincial governments, Central General government and a Governor. While the Provinces were given wide powers, including the control of 'waste' lands,

'Native' policy remained in the hands of Governor Browne.¹ In 1854 the General Government constituted a new Land Purchase Department which included a Native Secretary; ex-Protector of Aborigines and Land Purchase Officer, Donald McLean. In this position McLean would have a considerable influence on 'Native' policy during the nineteenth century.²

The first step towards the reorganization of 'Native' land policy under settler government, was heralded with the 1852 *Native Reserves Act*. The man 'behind' this Act was Henry Sewell. Sewell, influenced by Wakefield, wanted the reserves to be effective in promoting the civilization of Maori and this required,

giving their severality: so taking the first step to lift them out of their merely animal communism, in the position of civilized communities, starting from the 'family' as the social unity.³

Sewell's aim to enact severality within the reserve lands influenced a Royal Commission which "inquired into subjects connected with the native race." The Commission outlined a number of 'problem areas' especially concerning the state of 'Native' lands and the hindrance to the operation of 'normal' English Common law. Because of this 'problem', the Commission recommended:

The immediate acquisition by the Government of all the native lands in the North Island, [as] their tenure was not of such a nature as to give any incentive worthy of name, to improve their social condition, or to add permanent improvements to their land.⁴

Thus it was thought that 'unoccupied' Maori lands would be sold, the tribes would receive Crown Grants for 'occupied' lands, and this would provide security of tenure.

While the 'unoccupied' lands required for settlement would be purchased by the operation of the Native Land Purchase Department, the reserves would shift from tribal control to a management regime using Commissioners set up

¹ While Native Affairs remained under the Governor's control, the General Assembly gained the right of funding allocation for the Native Department in 1858. (Ward, *A Show of Justice*, page 93).

² Ward, *A Show of Justice*, page 93.

³ G.V and S.M Butterworth, *The Maori Trustee* (Government Printer, 198?) page 11. The Butterworths' state that 'severality' is "a lawyers term for individual holdings of land".

⁴ P.S Mclean, *History and Policy of the Native Land Laws of New Zealand* (Napier: Dinwiddie, Walker, 1886) page 15.

under the 1856 *Native Reserves Act*. Under Section 6 of the Act, Commissioners would have full power of management and disposition over lands where Native title had been extinguished. In other situations (where Native title had not been extinguished) it was necessary for the Commissioners to gain consent from the owners for the land to be brought under the management system. Alan Ward reports that Maori "resented the administration of their land in this fashion, and contrary to the General Assembly's hopes, put no more under the Commissioners."⁵ On 12 April 1858, the government appointed seven Commissioners under the 1856 *Native Reserves Act*; three of these Commissioners included Tamehana Te Rauparaha, Matini te Whiwhi, and Rawiri Puaha.⁶

As a result of Maori disappointment, the 1862 *Native Reserves Amendment Act*, allowed 'ownership' of reserve land to remain with the tribe while Native Department officials would manage it.⁷ The government also appointed George Swainson as a full-time reserves Commissioner and he began the,

painstaking work of scrutinizing deeds, making accurate surveys of reserved lands, ascertaining beneficial owners, arranging for better leases and discussing with the owners for the first time the actual application of the revenue.⁸

Swainson managed to get a few small blocks of the Porirua reserve integrated into the *Native Reserves Act* management system in the mid-1860s. These lands (while defined only by their boundaries were later named by the Native Land Court) included: the Papakowahia block⁹ Wairere block, Te Ura Kahika, Aotea block,¹⁰ the Takapuwahia block¹¹ and Kahotea¹².

Swainson was replaced by Major Charles Heaphy in 1869 and he was expected to administer all reserve lands by "classifying all the reserves with a view to the most efficient management estates for the future,"¹³ As a result

⁵ Ward, *A Show of Justice*, page 93.

⁶ *NZ Gazette*, 12/4/1858.

⁷ Butterworth, *The Maori Trustee*, page 12.

⁸ Butterworth, *The Maori Trustee*, page 12.

⁹ *NZ Gazette*, 15/11/1864, page 446.

¹⁰ *NZ Gazette*, 25/11/1865, page 349.

¹¹ *NZ Gazette*, 23/2/1866, page 83.

¹² *NZ Gazette*, 6/10/1866, page 384.

¹³ Butterworth, *The Maori Trustee*, page 14.

of Heaphy's efforts for administration, his 1871 report¹⁴, classified the Wellington reserves according to six categories:

Class A.1 --	Charitable and Religious Reserves
Class A.1 --	With a Specified Purpose
Class A.1 --	Reserves under Native Land Acts
Class B.1 --	McCleverty Awards
Class B.2 --	General Reserves
Class C.1 --	Grants with Limitations

Within these categories, the Porirua reserves lands were emplaced and given a number as set out in Table 4.1.

A.1, CHARITABLE AND RELIGIOUS RESERVES

Porirua Harbour reserve 500 acres held in Trust by the Bishop of Wellington for a school, 28/12/1850.

A.1, TRUSTS WITH A SPECIFIED PURPOSE -- LANDS BROUGHT UNDER THE NATIVE RESERVES ACTS.

No.15A	300 acres	leased	18/11/1865
No.15C	300 acres	leased	18/11/1865
No.15D	60 acres	leased	23/2/1866
No.15H	150 acres	leased	6/10/1866
No.16A	300 acres	(sections;102-3)	15/11/1864
No.16B	300 acres	not let	18/11/1865

B.2, GENERAL RESERVES

No.15 Block at Titahi Bay and Porirua Harbour, 565 acres. Subdivided, mostly brought under 1856 Act.

No.17 Pukerua Large Block	7000 acres	let to Wall+ others
No.18 Paekakariki	136 acres,	leased
No.18 Ramaroa	149 acres	leased

Table 4.1 Porirua Reserve Lands, 1870.¹⁵

¹⁴ "Report on the Native Reserves in the Province of Wellington" *AJHR* F-4, 1871.

¹⁵ "Report on the Native Reserves in the Province of Wellington" *AJHR* F-4, 1871.

Using this classification system, Heaphy also produced index maps of the reserve boundaries (Figure 4.1). Using a detached and formal birds-eye perspective, Heaphy produced a view of the reserve lands that was conducive to control and management; a surveillance system based on territorial images. Every reserve could be 'seen' and defined as a static boundary unconnected to the tribes; thus the identity of the Porirua reserves could be reduced to a 'number', not land under the control of Toa Rangatira. Once defined in this way they could be emplaced (with the other reserves) and mapped on the 'blank sheet' of the land. Heaphy's administrative cartography marked the beginning of a legal spatial framework for the operation of the Native Land Court and its alienation of the reserves.

After a consolation attempt in 1873¹⁶ the administration of the Native Reserves was transferred to the Public Trust Office in 1882. This transfer, using the 1882 *Native Reserves Act*, also allowed for the Native Land Court to remove restrictions on alienability providing the owners have 'sufficient' land.¹⁷ The reserves were to remain under the control of the Public Trustee until 1920 when the *Native Trustee Act* brought control of the reserves under the Native Trustee.¹⁸

¹⁶ According to the Butterworths the 1873 *Native Reserves Act* was never used. Butterworth, *The Maori Trustee*, page 16.

¹⁷ Butterworth, *The Maori Trustee*, page 18. Later with the *Native Land Amendment Act*, 1888 restrictions were removed on the purchase of reserves.

¹⁸ Butterworth, *The Maori Trustee*, page 28.

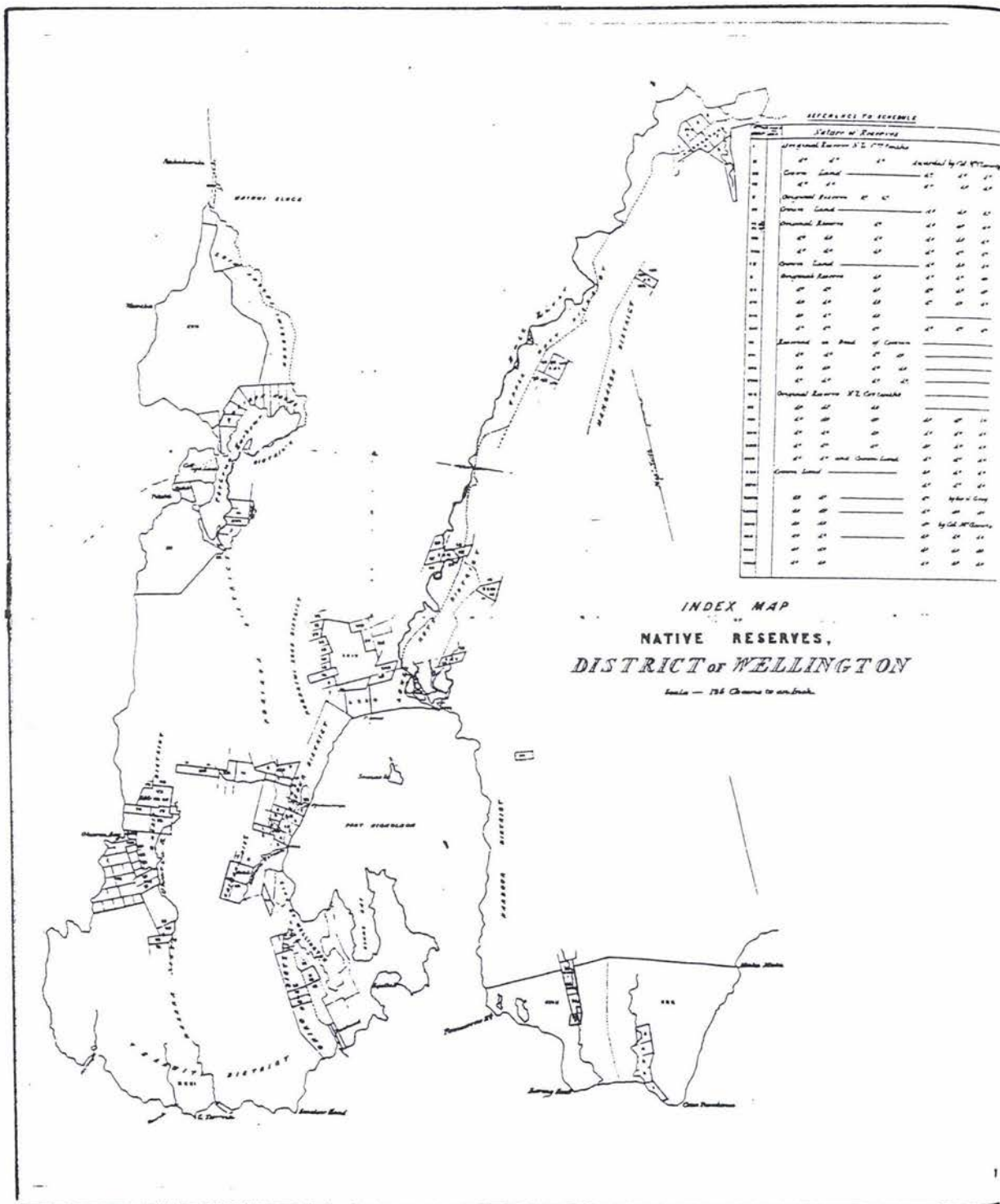


Figure 4.1, Index Map of Native Reserves, District of Wellington, 1870. Source, National Archives, MA-MT 6/17.

4.2 THE NATIVE LAND COURT

As a result of the Taranaki conflict and the apparent failure of the 1856 Native Reserves Act to alienate large blocks of land from collective tribal control, the General government decided to devise a land purchase mechanism that would aim to avoid armed confrontation and facilitate the transfer of the Maori land to free-hold properties. During 1858 Donald McLean proposed a possible method of introducing individual title on Maori land:

It is desirable that provision should be made in certain cases to effect a partition of land held in common by the Natives as tribes, with the view of enabling the Government to issue Crown titles to individual Natives.¹⁹

The method proposed by McLean, involved a legal process that when a Crown Grant was requested by a member of a tribe, the Governor appointed Commissioners to investigate the claim. This investigation would ascertain the boundaries of the claim using a survey and description of the land in question. On the information contained in the Commissioner's report, the Governor could make a Crown Grant in fee-simple and the land is thereby ceded to the Crown by the tribe. The land parcel would then be treated as free-hold under Common law.

These ideas reflected the shift in government policy from the method of purchasing lands from the collective tribe and creating reserves, to one that would treat all Maori as individuals and so be assimilated into pakeha society by use of Common law property rights. As Mr J.C Richmond argued, this meant the,

abandonment of the system of protectorate, or dry-nursing.... They were throwing the Maori on the world to take his lot with the other subjects, and they must remove all disabilities.²⁰

For Richmond the 'Native' reserves represented an earlier colonial policy that aimed to maintain the Natives as a "separate race under district institutions".²¹ Now with settler government, the reserve boundaries were to

¹⁹ "Memorandum by the Native Secretary on the Individualization of Native lands" 28/6/1858. In, Turton, *On The Tenure of Native Lands*, 1882, No.5.

²⁰ Quoted in Ward, *A Show of Justice*, page 183.

²¹ "Memorandum by Mr Richmond" 29/9/1858. *AJHR* E-1.

'come down' as the government would "promote the eventual absorption of the Maories into the European population".²² For McLean the 'trick' of this assimilation policy was to implement it gradually without giving rise to armed rebellion which disrupted land purchasing and settlement.

This assimilation ideology promoted by McLean, Richmond and Francis Dart Fenton (Native Secretary and first Chief Judge of the Native Land Court) influenced the content of the 1862 *Native Land Act*. The preamble of this Act stated:

It would greatly promote the peaceful settlement of the Colony and the advancement and civilization of the natives if their rights to land were ascertained, defined, and declared and if the ownership of such lands when so ascertained, defined and declared were assimilated as nearly as possible to the ownership of land according to British law.

The 1862 Act, which was supported by Gray who began his second term as Governor, put into operation the objective of civilizing the 'Natives' by attaining the,

unqualified recognition of native title over all native lands, and of the natives right to deal with the lands as they pleased, so soon as the ownership had been ascertained.²³

To achieve these aims the Act enabled a Resident Magistrate to investigate any application for a title by any one of the 'Native race'. Accordingly, *this required only one person to 'break the ranks' and to instigate the full subdivision of the lands*. The award by the Court was embodied in a 'certificate of title'. If all the persons (not more than 10 trustees) named on that title agreed, then the title could be exchanged for a Crown Grant. The title did not transfer 'ownership', as most land was still under aboriginal title; but from the viewpoint of Fenton, the title was conclusive evidence of 'ownership' as the trustees had, with the consent of the Governor, powers of alienation. In 1865 the second Native Land Act created the Native Land Court and Fenton was "given virtually a free hand in reorganizing the Court and making appointments".²⁴ The 1865 *Native Land Act* reinforced the assimilation drive with two clear objectives:

²² "Memorandum by Mr Richmond" 29/9/1858. *AJHR* E-1.

²³ McLean, *History and Policy of the Native Land Laws*, page 28.

²⁴ Ward, *A Show of Justice*, page 180.

To provide for the ascertainment of the persons who according to such (Maori proprietary) customs are the owners [and] to encourage the extinction of such (customary) modes of ownership into titles derived from the Crown.²⁵

Amendments to the Act after 1865 altered some of the fine detail but did not substantially change the focus of these two objectives. For example in 1867 the 10 trustees could not subdivide or alienate the lands until all the owners were in agreement. These 'owners' were recorded by the Court, but not on the title. And in 1873, a Memorial of Ownership replaced the certificate of title. This memorial contained the names of all persons interested in the land and like the 1862 title did not vest ownership in any estate automatically. In 1880 the Certificate of Title was returned but with the same role as the memorial. In some respects the alienation of land slowed after 1867 because of the requirement that all the interested persons needed to agree to alienate or subdivide a land parcel. Later in 1894, the *Native Land Act* restructured the role of the Court and introduced a certificate of title that was recognized under the 1870 *Land Transfer Act*. Thus for the first time, after 1894, the certificate of title vested ownership or freehold (Maori) title.

The 1862 *Native Land Act* set up a legal system that aimed to define the boundaries of 'Native' lands. Creating this legal territory required a survey regime.

4.3 THE SURVEY DEPARTMENT.

After 1852 the Province's undertook the responsibility for survey of all lands except those defined as 'Maori'. Wellington Province decided that the whole district would come under a trigonometrical system. This required the re-surveying of the New Zealand Company running surveys so they could be integrated into the network. This re-surveying was required as few of the settlers, although living on the old New Zealand Company sections, had been awarded Crown Grants due to the uncertainty of the boundaries.²⁶ In 1851

²⁵ Bryan Gilling, "The Maori Land Court in New Zealand: A Historical Overview" *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 13,1 (1993) page 19.

²⁶ Patterson, *Reading Between the Lines*, page 733.

the re-survey of Porirua was undertaken in order to clarify the cadastral 'chaos' left by the Company:

Most or all of the maps made from these surveys, he bitterly noted, should be torn up as dangerous documents. My time is nearly exclusively taken up dovetailing the two surveys, some lands having been marked off according to the new maps, while most of the occupied sections were marked out from the Company's.²⁷

The Steven's affair provides an example from Porirua of this cadastral chaos. Steven's, an early settler in the Porirua District, had taken up residence on the New Zealand Company section No.25. This section was across the stream from reserve land (now called the Aotea block). Stevens, however, accidentally occupied portions of the Native reserve lands. The dispute that broke out between Toa Rangatira and Stevens finally arrived at the desk of the Native Secretary in June 1861. It was reported:

That Mr Stevens is undoubtedly occupying part of the land reserved by the Natives, and I have indicated the position of the land so occupied by him by an asterisk on the tracing (Enclosure A). This difficulty appears to have arisen partly from a mistake in the survey of the stream forming the boundary of the Native land, which made Section 25 (that purchased by Mr Stevens) appear to contain more land than it really did.²⁸

In May 1862 the Government attempted to resolve the issue by arranging for William Searancke (the Wellington Land Purchase Officer) to purchase the disputed lands from Toa Rangatira for a price of 210 pounds (see appendix cupboard). This land was mapped and called the Papakowahia block (Figure 4.2). After the Papakowahia block was sold, Wi Parata stated that "Searancke had acted in collusion with a European settler, Stevens, to defraud owners of purchase monies due to them,"²⁹ As a result, a Commission of Inquiry was set up to investigate, but in the end the charges were found to be unfounded.

²⁷ Quoted in, Patterson, *Reading Between the Lines*, page 746.

²⁸ "Wardell to Native Secretary" 5/6/1861. In Turton, *An Epitome of Official Documents*, 1882.

²⁹ Patterson, *Reading Between the Lines*, page 647.

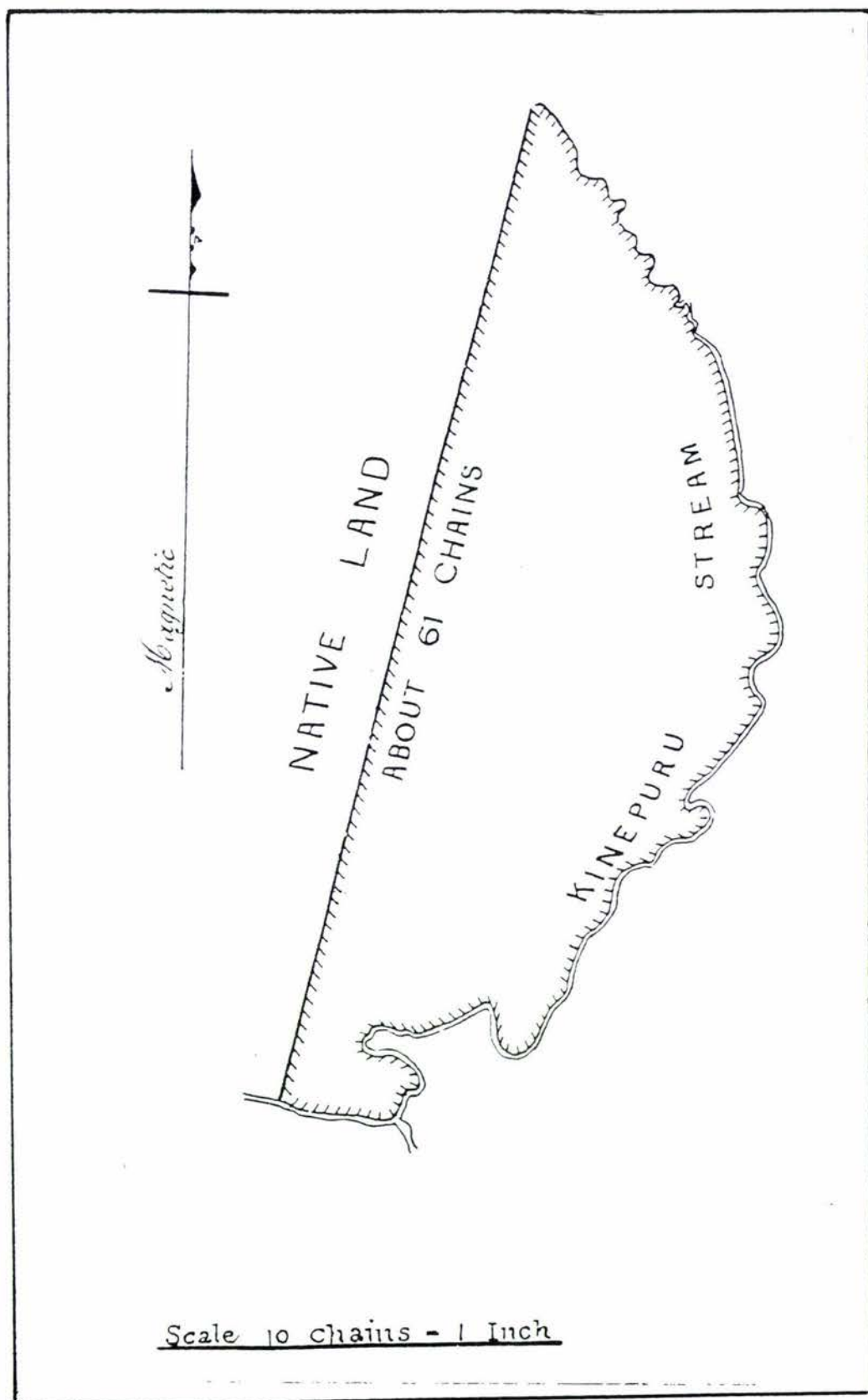


Figure 4.2, The Papakowahia Block, 28/5/1862. Redrawn by Turton, 1878. Source, Turton, *Maori Deeds of Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand*, 1878.

The Stevens Affair and disputes over boundaries (for example, Whitiaria) indicates that while, during this period, reserve land was alienated as a result of 'inaccurate' surveys, reserve land was also protected as Crown Grants could not be issued until the boundaries were deemed to be 'accurate'.

The *Native Land Act* 1862 effectively extinguished the pre-emptive right of the Crown and opened the possibility for the private and direct purchase of Maori land. As I have indicated the survey of lands is critical in enabling purchase. As Patterson states:

Surveys were an integral part of all land purchasing operations. Before any negotiations could be concluded, the boundaries of blocks had to be established, cut on the ground and recorded on paper, while reserves for the Maori settlers had to be delineated.³⁰

With the possibility of private purchase after 1862, the survey of 'Native' lands was carried out by mostly private surveyors and the 1865 *Native Land Act* outlined no survey system or process; thus there was "a major degeneration of survey standards".³¹ Fenton, who stated in 1866 that the surveys and maps brought before the Court were "unsatisfactory and defective,"³² established the 'Office of the Inspector of Surveys'. This Office assumed the task of:

The examination and testing of plans prior to submission to the Native Land Court, to the creation and maintenance of a plan records system, and to the construction of general maps locating lands passing through the Court.³³

Theophilus Heale, the Inspector of Surveys, reported to Richmond in 1867 concerning the surveys under the 1865 *Native Land Act*. Without triangulation and ad hoc running surveys, Heale spoke of the 'gross inaccuracies' of previous survey attempts and the impossibility for the issuing of Crown Grants because of inaccurate boundary lines.³⁴ However, Heale noted that because there are beginning to be surveys of 'Native' lands using triangulation and trig stations (protected under the *Trigonometrical Stations and Survey Marks Act* 1868) in the North that:

³⁰ Patterson, *Reading Between the Lines*, page 634.

³¹ Patterson, *Reading Between the Lines*, page 648.

³² Patterson, *Reading Between the Lines*, page 649.

³³ Patterson, *Reading Between the Lines*, page 650.

³⁴ "Report by Mr Heale on the subject of Surveys under the Native Lands Act" *AJHR* A-No.10, 1867.

For the first time, then since the formulation of the Colony, the Government is now in a position to define the geography of this part of its territory with precision. The doing of this has been recognized as one of its first duties by every civilized Government in the world: and a especially necessity for it here arises from the Acts of Legislature giving every Native the right to claim a grant from the Crown, which must for its own safety and credit ascertain the position and the boundary of the land granted.³⁵

Henceforth the survey using 'accurate' triangulation methods was critical in creating and defining the legal territory of the Crown Grant. While Heale argued that the Natives understood the trig station were there to assist and guide the surveys, the trig stations were also destroyed by the tribes who were still opposed to land alienation (and the ideology of surveying).³⁶

Also published in 1867 were the first survey rules concerning 'Native' lands.³⁷ These rules included the requirement to connect every survey with a trigonometrical station, to cut clear boundary lines, and to use permanent marker pegs. Regarding the survey maps, they were to record all the hills, streams, cultivation's, and 'pieces of land' using 'Native' names if possible. Importantly the rules stated that "every map must have a plain title, stating the name of the block."³⁸ The Inspectorate of Survey thus aimed to create the territorial legal spaces that would allow the operation of English Common land law. Naming the land, like the numbers used by Heaphy, allowed the Court to have control over the block; tribal lands could be divided and arranged in parcels and placed within a controlling survey district. Once named, the land blocks, could appear in Court on a map and begin a cadastral history.

In this way the survey discourse of 'Native' lands invented places by taking a name which often was previously connected to a particular pa site or landmark, and placing the name on a map as a label for a set of boundaries. Thus the name is transferred from the 'place' to the 'block'. Many of these names have also been further transferred from the 'block' to a road or town name. Using a Porirua example, 'Motuhara' was the name of a pa at

³⁵ Report by Mr Heale on the Subject of Surveys Under the Native Land Act, 2/8/1867. *AJHR* A-10b.

³⁶ For example, the 1878 report by the assistant Surveyor-General reported that some 736 pounds was lost due to the destruction of trig stations by the Natives (*AJHR*, 1878 H-17).

³⁷ *New Zealand Gazette*, 5/4/1867.

³⁸ *New Zealand Gazette*, 5/4/1867.

Kerehana Bay. Cooper used this name to try and buy the 'Motuhara block' in 1839 and the Maori Land Court created the block 'Motuhara' in 1870. After the block was alienated, the land was subdivided as the 'Motuhara extension' and the name 'Motuhara' was placed on a road. Name creation, control and transfer using a map is thus critical in the process of alienation of land -- *to alienate land, it first needed to be named*.³⁹ It was this spatial discourse that enabled new spaces of legal territory to be created and it was on the basis of this legal territory that the Maori Land Court had the power to reproduce a landscape based on private property rights.

During this period (1852-1876) the responsibility of general land survey remained with the Provincial government. This created difficulties for Heale and the survey of 'Native' lands as each Province was using its own particular method and system of survey. Heale advocated a major triangulation over the whole of the country and he began this triangulation in 1869 without permission.⁴⁰

In an attempt to create uniform and national survey method, the General Government called a conference of the Chief Surveyors in 1873. Again Heale stated,

the surveys in most parts of the Colony, and especially in those which were first settled, have not been conducted throughout on any consistent plan sufficiently sound and accurate to form a safe basis for defining and establishing the boundaries and relative position of estates granted by the Crown, or to determine in any satisfactory manner the geography of the country.⁴¹

On this basis, the conference recommended that all future surveys would use triangulation and that no "Crown Grant should in future be issued, until the survey of the land had been properly connected with the triangulation and the land delineated upon a record map."⁴² This required a national survey system in which all the Provinces would co-ordinate a uniform survey system. While noting the opinion of the Chief Surveyors, the Colonial Secretary wanted outside 'expert' advice and for this reason asked Major Palmer to make a report on the state of surveys in New Zealand.⁴³

³⁹ See, L. Berg and R. Kearns, "Naming as norming"

⁴⁰ Patterson, *Reading Between the Lines*, page 651.

⁴¹ "Conference of Chief Surveyors" 12/4/1873, *AJHR* H-1.

⁴² "Conference of Chief Surveyors" 12/4/1873, *AJHR* H-1.

⁴³ "The State of the Surveys in New Zealand" 1874, *AJHR* H-1.

Palmer identified the Inspector of Survey Office as having four main tasks; survey for the Native Land Court, confiscated lands, Native purchase boundary survey and triangulation for these surveys. Palmer reported on the unorganized situation of Native surveys. Some of his remarks included:

Most of these surveys had been made in a rude and unsystematic manner....

Blunders in detail too were numerous and large. Very often it happened that, owing to gross efforts in detached surveys, claims were turned upside down, mapped altogether in the wrong places, and Crown granted accordingly....

Many of the plans are deficient in information, and the field books are missing.⁴⁴

To correct these 'evils', Palmer recommended the creation of a Triangulation Survey Department under the control of a Surveyor-General. This department would conduct a principal triangulation over the whole country with one "uniform system of projections and sheets for maps and plans".⁴⁵ The Surveyor-General would "lay down a code of rules" and the Provincial surveyors would 'fall in behind'. This national system would produce a,

cadastral map on the correctness of which all men may agree and which will give safety and value to Crown Grants, and protect individuals in the issue of titles under the Land Transfer Act.⁴⁶

Following the abolition of the Provinces in 1876, the General Government could construct a national survey system and a Survey Department was established under the one Surveyor-General; J.T. Thomson. Thomson created a survey framework using the Meridional Circuit. This system, which had been used in Otago by Thomson, divided the country into large meridional districts and smaller survey districts (S.D). The survey districts were further divided into sixteen square blocks. Within each meridional district the surveys were conducted according to a fixed station based on true meridian. Bearings from this station built up a net of small triangulation's. It was thought by Thomson that this system would,

bring all surveys under a reasonably correct system of control and record, so the settlers might be placed in secure possession of their land and the Government be safe to issue titles on reliable plans and descriptions.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ "The State of the Surveys in New Zealand" *AJHR* H-1.

⁴⁵ "The State of the Surveys in New Zealand" *AJHR* H-1.

⁴⁶ "The State of the Surveys in New Zealand" *AJHR* H-1.

⁴⁷ *The Surveyor and the Law*, 1981, page 4-7.

Within the Meridional system an attempt was made over a twenty year period to cover the whole of the country in a principal triangulation and a uniform map projection. This triangulation was completed by the Survey Department in 1880. After this time the Meridional circuit was replaced but the independent regions and survey districts remained. It was thought that triangulation would enable accurate boundaries to be placed on all land titles. Perhaps the 1882 Surveyor-General, James McKerrow, best sums up the role of the surveyor in colonial land settlement:

The necessity for precision in the settlement survey of a new country becomes obvious when it is considered that there are no time-honoured land-marks, as in an old country, defining the boundaries of property, but, instead, a bland wilderness, on which the surveyor creates boundaries the surface-marks of which must often get obliterated before the settler has thought of securing them. These boundaries, once lost, could never again be restored with any confidence but for the possession of a plan and mathematically-reduced traverses of a correct original survey. With such data the lost boundary can be reproduced within a narrow limit of error. The successful working of the land-transfer system very much depends on the rigid accuracy in the execution and record of the sectional surveys.⁴⁸

Like the first surveys, this re-surveying project was contested. Petitions to Parliament by various tribes indicated land was becoming alienated due to the cost of surveys (survey liens) and the surveys were there to 'take' the lands and make lawyers wealthy.⁴⁹ Thus in many cases the loss of tribal territory corresponded to the activity of surveying, or making the British territory.⁵⁰

4.4 ARRIVAL OF THE TORRENS SYSTEM

The nexus between the ideology of individual 'ownership', triangulation survey and the territorial orders of the Maori Land Court was provided by the Torrens system of title registration. The Torrens land title system, created by Robert Torrens in South Australia, was introduced in New Zealand by the *Land Transfer Act* of 1870.⁵¹ The Torrens system, whose main supporter was Henry Sewell, aimed to create an administrative land

⁴⁸ Quoted in, Easdale, "The New Zealand Land Tenure and Cadastral System" page 393-4.

⁴⁹ See, Petition No.314, *AJHR*, 1881, H-2, 21.

⁵⁰ See, E.W Buckeridge, "Survey Liens on Native Lands" *The New Zealand Surveyor*, 8 (1907) pages 378-380.

⁵¹ There was an earlier 1860 *Land Registry Act*. This Act, however, was pronounced a failure. One reason for this failure was that "complete trigonometrical surveys would be essential before the Act was brought into operation" (*The Surveyor and the Law*, 1981, page 3-30)

management system which could affirm indefeasible ownership rights according to the precise measurement of boundary lines. Indefeasible title "would be one which would protect the holder against any adverse claim whatsoever."⁵² This is achieved by a register system that gives a "complete picture of all rights"⁵³ and therefore protection against competing owners. The 1870 *Land Transfer Act* aimed to create this indefeasible title system using a certificate of title:

The fundamental principle in the Act is registered proprietorship and the pivot on which the Land Transfer system turns is the certificate of title. The certificate of title sets out the name of the registered proprietor and provides the legal system, by reference to lot or section number, of the land which is the subject of title.⁵⁴

The key elements on the certificate of title are the name of the person entitled to the land, the land itself outlined by fixed and measured boundary lines, and the name of the land. Under section 107 a map was required to be deposited with the District Land Registrar which would be then certified as accurate by a licensed surveyor before the registrar.

Survey then forms a key part of the Torrens system. During the Parliamentary debates of 1870 many MP's supported the Land Transfer Bill but thought the system could not be implemented until a trigonometrical system had covered the country.⁵⁵ William Fox, however stated that "until surveyed, it is true, the owners cannot resort to the Torrens system, but they will not be in a worse position than at present."⁵⁶ As the 'poor state' of the country's surveys limited the operation of the *Land Transfer Act*, Sewell pushed for a national and uniform triangulation survey in the Legislative Council:

They [Legislative Council] had only one of two alternatives -- either to contract the action of the land transfer system, and to confine it to those districts where the surveys were accurate, or to adopt what seemed to be the inevitable and only practical course, namely, to carry out the system of perfect surveys.⁵⁷

⁵² G. Hinde, "Indefeasibility of Title" in Hinde (ed) *The New Zealand Torrens System* (Wellington: Butterworths, 1971) page 36.

⁵³ Hinde, "Indefeasibility of Title" page 37.

⁵⁴ Frank Easdale, "The New Zealand Land Tenure and Cadastral System" *New Zealand Surveyor*, 31,4 (1986) page 391.

⁵⁵ Hinde, "Origins of the Torrens System" in Hinde (ed) *The New Zealand Torrens System*, page 20.

⁵⁶ Hinde, "Origins of the Torrens System" page 20.

⁵⁷ Hinde, "Origins of the Torrens System" page 29.

As stated, this uniform system arrived with the appointment of Thomson as first Surveyor-General. With the expansion of triangulation, Maori land titles were incorporated into the Land Transfer Act in 1874.

4.5 THE SURVEY REGIME AFTER 1900

By 1909 the assimilation work had been done by the Native Land Court with most of the lands once held by the collective authority of the tribes transferred to individual title. Accordingly, the focus of the Court has shifted from alienation to administration and management.

The Liberal Government's Maori land policy continued wholesale land purchase with 3.1 million acres of Maori land alienated between 1891 and 1911.⁵⁸ This purchase operation was facilitated by the 1892 *Native Land Purchases Act*, the 1893 *Native Land Purchase and Acquisition Act* (which reintroduced Crown pre-emption), *Native Lands Administration Act 1900* and the 1909 *Native Land Act*. Under these Acts the Land Purchase Office was transferred to the Department of Lands and Survey. A tight mesh between purchase, survey and mapping enabled the Government to break up the big Maori estates.⁵⁹ Meanwhile control of the leftover bits of land (reserves) was placed in the hands of the Maori Land Boards or the Public Trustee (under the 1894 Act all sale monies went to the Public Trustee). These boards were dominated by pakeha officials including the Surveyor-General and a Native Land Court judge who was president. The Land Boards had the power to alienate land and administer land in a trust. Meanwhile the Native Land Court during this era was focused on investigation of titles and partitioning of land.

At the end of the Liberal term of government, the Maori Land regime was again altered with the power to alienate transferred from the Land Boards to the Maori Land Court in 1932. The Boards were abolished later in 1952 with their authority vested in the Maori Trustee. The focus of the Maori Land Court did not alter in much extent until 1993. During the 1950's the government attempted another re-vamp of the Maori land regime with the 1953 *Maori Affairs Act* which emphasized the Maori Land Court's role in

⁵⁸ Tom Brooking, "Busting Up, The Greatest Estate of All" *New Zealand Journal of History*, 26,1 (1992) page 78.

⁵⁹ Brooking, "Busting Up" page 84.

granting successions, partitions, exchanges, and vesting and confirming alienation's. The *Maori Trustee Act* 1953, meanwhile, allowed the purchase of 'uneconomic units and the purchase of interests in reserved lands, and the *Maori Reserved Land Act* 1955 dealt with the leasing of reserved land.

During the 20th Century other institutions contributing to the survey regime were also reformulated and expanded within the changing role of the Central Government. Between the 1930s and 1980s, map production and survey became dominated by large government-owned departments and corporations. The most important of these were the Department of Lands and Survey, Works Department (later called the Ministry of Works and the Ministry of Works and Development), and the State Advances Corporation (later called the Housing Corporation of New Zealand). The Department of Lands and Survey also administered the Crown lands. Each of these institutions worked together and independently in order to direct and intervene in the economy to achieve the social and economic goals of a welfare state.

4.6 MAKING THE PORIRUA RESERVES DISAPPEAR: THE NORTHERN RESERVE LANDS.

The operation of the Native Land Court's survey regime led to the creation of new spaces within the Porirua Reserves. These spaces, blocks of land defined by a legal name and boundary, replaced the 'continuous' reserve. To illustrate this process, I will use a number of case studies. These case studies include the history of the Taupo block, the disputed boundary of Arataura, the dispute over the Paraumoana mudflats, and the taking of reserve land in the 1950/60s for housing and development. Maps were a constant feature during the Land Court hearings and in every alienation and dispute the role of the map, as an expression of a particular space, was critical.

The Porirua reserve land remained under control of Toa Rangatira up to the late 1860s apart from the six land blocks brought under the 1856 *Native Reserves Act*. With the legal framework set up under the 1865 *Native Lands Act*, Governor Gray, on 11 November 1867 vested authority in the Native Land Court to determine who were the Natives interested in each of the Porirua Reserves in order they may be subdivided and certificates be issued.

This action stimulated a debate concerning the authority of the Court and the Native Department over the McCleverty awards which included the Porirua lands. For example in the 1883 Report of *Native Reserves in the Colony* it was stated:

These lands have always been considered to belong to the persons to whom the land was originally awarded, and no control has been exercised over them by the Native Reserves Department, the owners being allowed to deal with them as they pleased.

....

A large number of the New Zealand Company's sections appear to have been appropriated to other uses, as well as included in Colonel McCleverty's awards, leaving a very small proportion of the original estate available for the purposes to which these lands were to be devoted under the company's scheme of settlement.⁶⁰

Charles Heaphy, the Commissioner of Native Reserves, also argued during the Court hearings that the claims for the land were "in a doubtful position before the *Native Reserves Act 1873*" and concerning those lands under the *Native Reserves Act* "the Court has no jurisdiction".⁶¹ Heaphy was arguing that the Porirua reserves may not be a 'reserve' as such but rather 'private' lands over which the Court had no authority.

The largest block remaining intact in the 1860's was the 7000 - plus acre block which began at the boundary of the military reserve, Paramata, and finished at the boundary of the Wainui block: Waiwiwi, just south of Te Ana Hau, north of Pukerua Bay. Since the 1847 Deed of Cession this block had not been integrated under the 1854 Reserves Act and had been leased after the 1850s to the Wall and Walker families. Away from the Wellington-Foxton road, this land was largely isolated and left alone.

The big land 'bust-up' however, came in the early 1870s when various individuals began to claim parts of the reserves under the 1867 Land Act. A small portion of land called 'Tunupo' was claimed by Potete in December 1869. This land was a 94 acre block situated between the boundary of the Wainui block at Te Ana Hau to Waiwiwi.⁶² Later in June 1871 there were seven claims notified on the reserve.⁶³ These seven claims were for five

⁶⁰ "Report on State and Condition of Native Reserves in the Colony" 1883 AJHR G-7

⁶¹ "Minutes of the Native Land Court, Porirua" 9/6/1895, On Microfilm, WGTN MB.5. NA.

⁶² *NZ Gazette* (WGTN Province) 17/1/1870. No.3

⁶³ *NZ Gazette* (WGTN Province) 3/2/1870, No.4

blocks of land named Motuhara, Wairaka, Hongoeka, Haukopua, and Pukerua. The claimants consisted mostly of Ropata Hurumutu, Te Karihana, Hemara Horoatua, Pumipi Pikiwera, and others.

When the Native Land Court sat to consider these claims on 1 November 1869, the land was presented on a map which was constructed by the surveyor H.T Wyles. Wyles was employed by Ropata Hurumutu who, with others, pointed out the boundaries. Wyles, however, stated that the boundary between the reserve and the Crown land to the east had not been previously defined: "I cannot swear they are actually correct, but I am satisfied they do not conflict with Crown lands."⁶⁴ Wyles also indicated that the boundaries of the northern Tunupo block, surveyed by Mr Hughes, conflicted with the boundaries of Pukerua. Later David Porter (Assistant Surveyor in charge of Native maps, Survey Office, Wellington) appeared and reported to the court that the whole block was estimated at 7,700 acres. He said:

I have reason to believe that the reserve is under-estimated on the Government plan. The aggregate area of the five blocks on the plans which are before the court is 6,481 acres.⁶⁵

The reserve had appeared to grow smaller by over a thousand acres in Wyle's survey.

Despite the survey chaos the Court created eight blocks and ordered in favour of the following individuals:

Ropata Hurumutu + eight others,	Motuhara
Ropata Hurumutu + five others,	Hongoeka
Ropata Hurumutu + two others,	Haukopua West
Ropata Hurumutu + eleven others,	Haukopua East
Tamihana Te Rauparaha + others,	Pukerua
Matene Te Whiwhi + three others,	Waimapihi
Matene Te Whiwhi + eleven others,	Taupo
Matene Te Whiwhi + others,	Wairaka

By 1878 these eight blocks and divisions began to appear on 'official' survey maps of the Porirua district (Figure 4.3).

⁶⁴ "Minutes of the Native Land Court, Porirua" 1/11/1869, On Microfilm, WGTN MB.1c. NA.

⁶⁵ "Minutes of the Native Land Court, Porirua" 1/11/1869. On Microfilm, WGTN MB.1c. NA.

Apart from the two Haukopua blocks, the original divisions were further partitioned amongst the various owners. For example the Wairaka block was divided into eleven partitions of 36 acres each in August 1883, and each owner was given an individual Crown Grant. An important event in this alienation process was the Wellington-Manawatu Railway.

The origins of the Wellington-Manawatu Railway Company were linked to the same desire that pushed the construction of the Porirua road in the 1840s: the desire for the Wellington to be connected to a large hinterland that would secure the prosperity of the city. It is also interesting to note that George Gray was the first supporter of a Wellington-Manawatu rail link. At a meeting in 1879 he "reminded his audience that he was the first man to open the West Coast by a road."⁶⁶ Like the road before it, the railway also played a key role in controlling and alienating lands from the tribes.

With a change in government and a drop in official support for the project, a private company (Wellington-Manawatu Railway Co) was formed in an effort to push through the Western corridor. This company was, however, helped by the government with the passing of the *Railways Construction and Land Act* 1881. This Act enabled the Company to receive 210,500 acres Crown land valued at 126.375 percent of the line's cost.⁶⁷ This deal also included plans and surveys. With the government's support, Alexander McDonald, the Company land buyer had purchased 33,000 acres of (mostly Maori) land between 1882 and 1884. This land was "quickly passed through the Land Court through the exertions of Dr Buller, counsel to the company,"⁶⁸ Some of this land included parts of the Northern Porirua reserve.

Rumours of a proposed railway through the Porirua lands stimulated speculative buying and influenced the division of the large blocks into smaller land-holdings. The Motuhara block, for example, was divided into nine blocks in 1887 (Figure 4.4). This map integrated within a certificate of title illustrates the close link between the Land Court, Survey and land title registration system that I have earlier explained. Using a title, a block of land could be emplaced as a separate and unified space defined by the name

⁶⁶ Quoted in, Hamer, "Wellington on the Urban Frontier", page 251.

⁶⁷ K. Cassells, *Uncommon Carrier* (Wellington: NZ Railway and Locomotive Society, 1994).

⁶⁸ Cassells, *Uncommon Carrier*, page 23.

(Motuhara) and the boundaries. Henceforth each block, on a certificate of title, could be separated from the reserve lands and from the tribe (thus the Motuhara pa does not appear on the title). Once separated as a clean 'white' and 'blank' legal space the land could be sold.

Once the land had been divided and named by the Court, they could then be alienated. For example, the Wairaka block was transferred to the Wall family in 1896 and the Pukerua block after 1910. The Railway Company acquired Motuhara in 1895, and sections of the Pukerua block and Taupo No.3. were sold in 1890. These sections also provided further income to the Company when a portion of the surplus lands were subdivided for the planting of towns. Some of these towns, like Pukerua Bay, were given the name of the land block. Others were named after prominent railway-men. For example, Plimmerton, named after John Plimmer, was established on surplus railway land of the Taupo No.3 Block.

Reference: Vol. 4, folio 7.
Transfer No.

Darius Box 393 & 395 inclusion
25 and 106 CERTIFICATE

CERTIFICATE OF TITLE UNDER LAND TRANSFER ACT.

This Certificate, dated the 11th day of June, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-6, under the hand and seal of the District Land Registrar of the Land Registration District of Salisbury Witnesseth that

Mr. Harrington and Marquette Railway Company Limited

is seized of an estate in fee-simple (subject to such reservations, restrictions, encumbrances, liens, and interests as are notified by memorial underwritten or indorsed hereon, subject also to any existing right of the Crown to take and lay off roads under the provisions of any Act of the General Assembly of New Zealand) in the land hereinafter described, as the same is delineated by the plan hereon bordered red, be the several dimensions a little more or less, that is to say: All ^{of area} that parcel of land containing 100 ^{square} feet, bounded on the north by the road, on the east by the road, on the south by the road, and on the west by the road.

a little more or less, that is to say: All ~~the~~^{these} parcels of land containing ten hundred and thirty five acres, lay heads
of Chickasaw Indians, set up in the historical district of Hillington along the Native Lane
Court Subdivision A B C D E F G H and I at the Bluff Run rd. between entrance of
Kissena N° 3672 on the public map of the Hillington District defined in the plan of the
Chickasaw - at Hillington.

11
 Deputy Assistant Land Register



Monisfr 57563 produced 6th January 1905 at
2.50 pm. The Birkenhead and Manchester Railway
Company Limited & William Tompkins of Walling-
ford.

DISCHARGED Malaya 46208 produced 2 January 1951 at 2:00 pm
DISCHARGED at Billings and Montana
Billings, Montana, Billings, B. Billings, B.

X Great 2643 bred George Alexander Moseley
WITHDRAWN, age 1908-1912 3 years
A: 9:1907 1911/1912 with
Moseley 63934 produced 21st August 907
at 3rd William Tompkins to George
Alexander Group of Willingdon birds servant

Scamper 65199 produced 22nd November 1907 at 3pm. Dedication of part of Subdivisions 7, 8, 4 and I as a public road.

Transfer 65200 produced 22nd Jan November 1907
at 3pm dedication of part subdivision
as a public road - Mr. Williams

Substituted col 179/269 for last -

Transfer 73055 produced 7th September 1909
at 3.45 pm indication of 700 lb.
public roads.

Cyrt

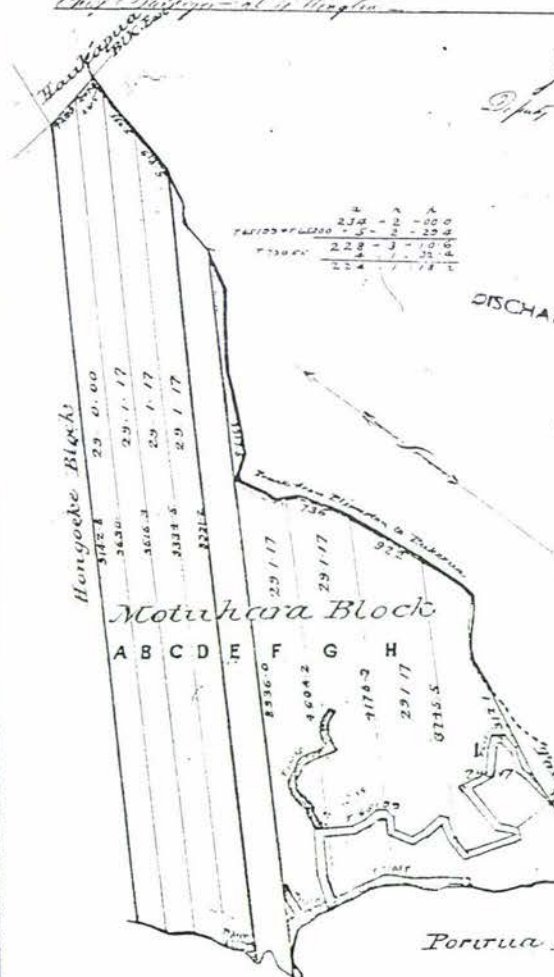


Figure 4.4, Motuhara block, 1895. Vested in the Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company. Certificate of Title, Source, Land Information New Zealand.

While the surveyor could facilitate the alienation of land by creating 'empty' bounded spaces, the existence of a burial ground could in some situations, 'upset' the process. Some were made to disappear on the blank spaces of the map, such as urupa on the Wairaka block. Others, because of their visibility (fences and tombstones) needed to have a more complex cadastral process of 'emptying'. For example while both the Haukopua blocks have been alienated, the small Haukopua urupa remains in collective tribal ownership. This one acre urupa was created a native reserve in the name of Ropata Hurumutu and Te Rapihanate Otaota on 17 November 1873. Later in 1880 it was transferred to Tere Ropata.

The story of Taupo No.2 provides a good example of how the presence of a burial ground could upset but not halt the alienation process.

Taupo No.2

The name 'Taupo' derives from Taupo creek and swamp and Te Ruaparaha's fighting pa which was situated in the area inland from the present day Plimmerton Fire Station. The reserve lands surrounding Taupo pa were surveyed and defined as the 'Taupo block' by the Land Court which investigated the claim at Gisbourne in 1875. After evidence given at the Otaki hearings, the Court found in favour of Matene te Whiwhi and eleven others of Toa Rangatira. The certificate of title for the Taupo block of 2559 acres was issued on 21 August 1875.

On 4 July 1881 this block was divided into four portions:

Taupo 1	2561 acres	all owners of Taupo Block
Taupo 2	10.2 acres	Wi Parata
Taupo 3	3.3 acres	Erenora Tungia
Taupo 4	3.2 acres	Hohepa Horomona

The nature of the restriction on Taupo 1 was that:

*Provided always that the land hereby granted remaining shall be absolutely inalienable by sale.*⁶⁹

These restrictions on alienation on the title were, however, removed from Taupo 1, Taupo 3 (14/10/1890) and Taupo 4 (18/12/1888). In removing the restrictions from Taupo 1 the Judge (Mr A Mackay) stated that "the native owners had long since abandoned this block and that if sold the land still left in their possession would be amply sufficient for their needs." Wi Parata also applied to remove restrictions on No.2 in 1888 but this was refused.⁷⁰

With the restrictions removed the lands could be transferred to pakeha ownership and on the 3rd March 1882 Taupo No.1, (2,561 acres) was sold to James Walker for 3,200 pounds.

Taupo No.2, the burial ground of Te Hiko-o-te-Rangi and other Toa Rangatira, was vested in Wi Parata for the Toa Rangatira people. The land was deemed to be **absolutely inalienable**. As I have indicated, Wi Parata wrote to the Native Minister, Mr Mitchelson, to ask to remove the restrictions on Taupo No.2. Mr Parata stated:

I ask that restrictions be removed to enable it to be leased for the good of that portion itself. These acres have been Crown granted in favour of me only. I wish the restrictions to be removed to enable me to secure the means of having the fence repaired.⁷¹

The Native Minister however thought it undesirable to remove restrictions and Wi Parata tried again in August 1889. In this letter Wi Parata wanted the restrictions removed so "I may be in a position to deal with the land in

⁶⁹ "Alienations of Native Lands" 1883, MA 13/5.NA.

⁷⁰ "Notice as to Removal of Restrictions on the Alienation of land by Natives" MA 14/13.NA.

⁷¹ "Parata to Mitchelson" 18/6/1888. MA 1 21/1/5.NA.

such a way to improve it." ⁷² In response to Wi Parata's applications the government passed Part II of the *Native Reserves Act Amendment* 1896. Under this Act, Taupo No.2 was vested in the Public Trustee as a Native Reserve. A portion of the land was to be set aside for a burial ground and the rest was to be leased for a term not exceeding 42 years. Before and after the leasing, the Public Trustee was to disinter and remove all bodies at present on any part of the land and inter them in the small burial ground.⁷³ After spending the net proceeds of the lease on fence repairs and burial, the monies were to be divided amongst the Natives as determined by the Native Land Court.

On visiting the land on 8th January 1897, the Public Trustee found people had been buried over the whole block.⁷⁴ He also found the Plimmerton settlers wanted to secure the reserve as a recreation ground. Despite this the Trustee instructed the surveyor to survey and make a plan for the purpose of cutting up sections.⁷⁵ The next year, during June 1898, the Public Trustee had found an illegal tramway had been built by the Wellington-Manawatu Railway Company over the reserve and Company employees were tipping waste rocks at a tip face near the main burial ground. After negotiations with the Company, the Public Trustee gave a grant, for a limited time, to the Company to construct a tunnel underneath the burial ground for a tramway to transport rocks from Motuhara. Once the tunnel was constructed the tipping tramway line was closed (See Figure 4.6).

⁷² "Parata to Lewis" 9/8/1889 MA 1 21/1/5. NA.

⁷³ *Native Reserves Amendment Act* 1896, section 8

⁷⁴ It was also stated at this time that the residence of Te Rauparaha should have been included in the Taupo No.2 land. The residence ended up within Taupo No.3 and was subdivided as section No.39 when Plimmerton was sold on the 5th February 1896.

⁷⁵ "Public Trustee Memo" 8/1/1897 MA 1 6/46.NA.

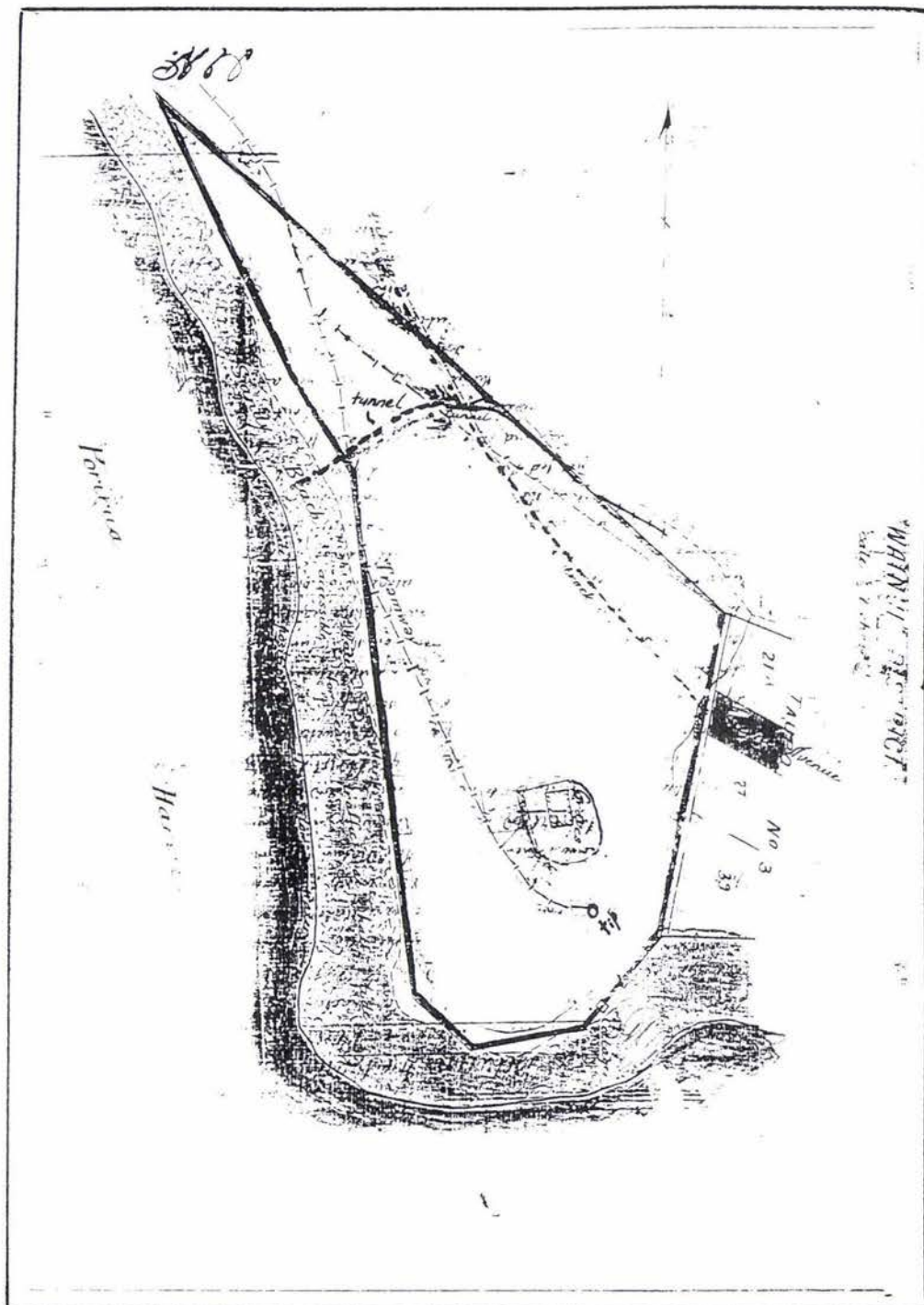


Figure 4.6, Taupo No.2, Plan from Grant to Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company, 1898. Source, National Archives, MA 21/1/5.

Meanwhile the Plimmerton residents were putting pressure on the government to declare the land a reserve and the Education Board wanted two acres for a school. The residents visited the Premier on 18 September 1906 and as a result the Taupo No.2 Block was vested as a historic reserve under section 32 of the 1906 *Maori Land Claims Adjustment and Laws Amendment Act*. Thus sections five to ten of the *Native Reserves Amendment Act* of 1896 were repealed. As a result the Public Trustee applied for compensation of 7,481 pounds.⁷⁶ The Minister of Native Affairs attempted to withdraw this application and the issue was heard in the Supreme Court during 1908.⁷⁷ The Public Trustee won the case and as a result the land was returned to the trustee by the *Taupo No.2 Block Act* 1908. With this issue resolved the trustee completed the survey of the block, removed bodies from graves on the block and placed them in the one acre set aside as a burial ground and began leasing out the sections on 28 February 1910. Not long after leasing began, Toa Rangatira, petitioned Parliament for the return of their lands.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ *NZ Gazette*, 1907, No.12, page 3523.

⁷⁷ "Public Trustee v Native Land Court", SC, 1908.

⁷⁸ "Petition to Parliament of Heni te Rei", 5/6/1913, *AJHR*.

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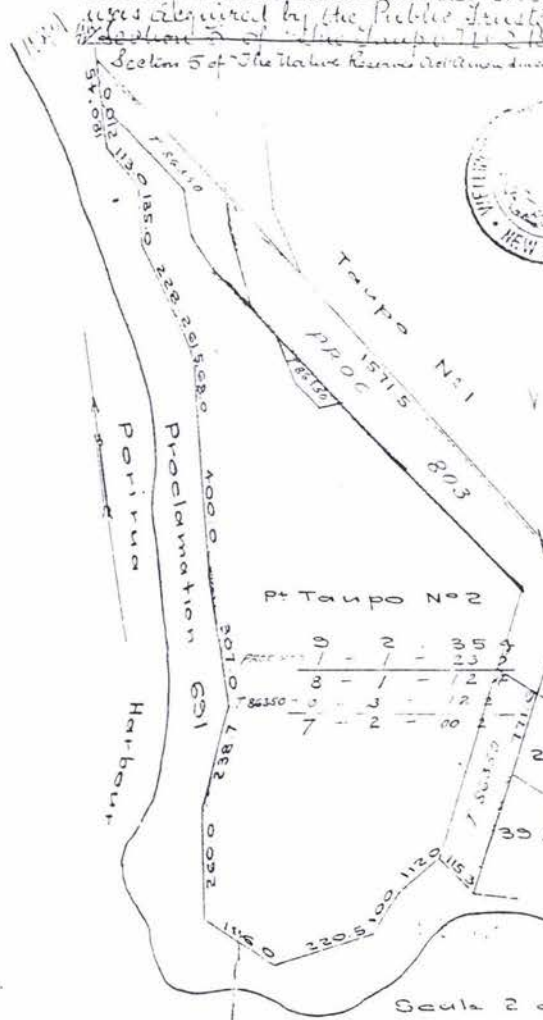
Register-book.

Vol. 192, folio 199

CERTIFICATE OF TITLE UNDER LAND TRANSFER ACT.

This Certificate, dated the fifth day of August one thousand nine hundred and eleven, under the hand and seal of the District Land Registrar of the Land Registration District of Wellington being a Deputy of Great Council of the powers hereby given in that behalf witnesseth that The Public Trustee

is seized of an estate in fee-simple (subject to such reservations, restrictions, encumbrances, liens, and interests as are notified by memorial under written or indorsed hereon, subject also to any existing right of the Crown to take and lay off roads under the provisions of any Act of the General Assembly of New Zealand) in the land hereinafter described, as the same is delineated by the plan herein ordered and be the several dimensions a little more or less, that is to say: All that parcel of land containing six acres ten roods thirty five and four tenths perches more or less being in Block VIII of the Wellington Survey being part of Section 10 of the 10th District of the Wellington being acquired by the Public Trustee under the 10th Section of the 10th Act of the 10th Session of the 10th Parliament of New Zealand being Section 5 of the Native Reserves Act 1863 and Section 10 of the 10th Act of the 10th Session of the 10th Parliament of New Zealand



District Land Registrar

Proclamation 303 produced 22nd July 1912 at 10 a.m. proclaiming part as a road
Transfer 86350 produced 24th July 1912 at 11:20 a.m. dedicating parts for to purpose of a public road.
Lease 1056 produced 16th January 1913 at 5:30 p.m. to the Public Trustee to John Ralph Bradley a lot 30 plan 2555 term 21 years from 1st October 1911, with right of renewal.
Lease 1020 produced 5 March 1913 at 12:30 p.m. to the Public Trustee to Frederick the remainder of the lot 30 plan 2555 term 21 years from 1st October 1911 with right of renewal.
Lease 1020 produced 5 March 1913 at 12:30 p.m. to the Public Trustee to John Stoyne the remainder of the lot 30 plan 2555 term 21 years from 1st October 1911 with right of renewal.
Lease 1020 produced 5 March 1913 at 12:30 p.m. to the Public Trustee to Thomas Augustus Mason a lot 29 plan 2555 term 21 years from 1st October 1911.

CONTINUED

Figure 4.7, Taupo No.2, 1911. Certificate of Title. Source, Land Information New Zealand.

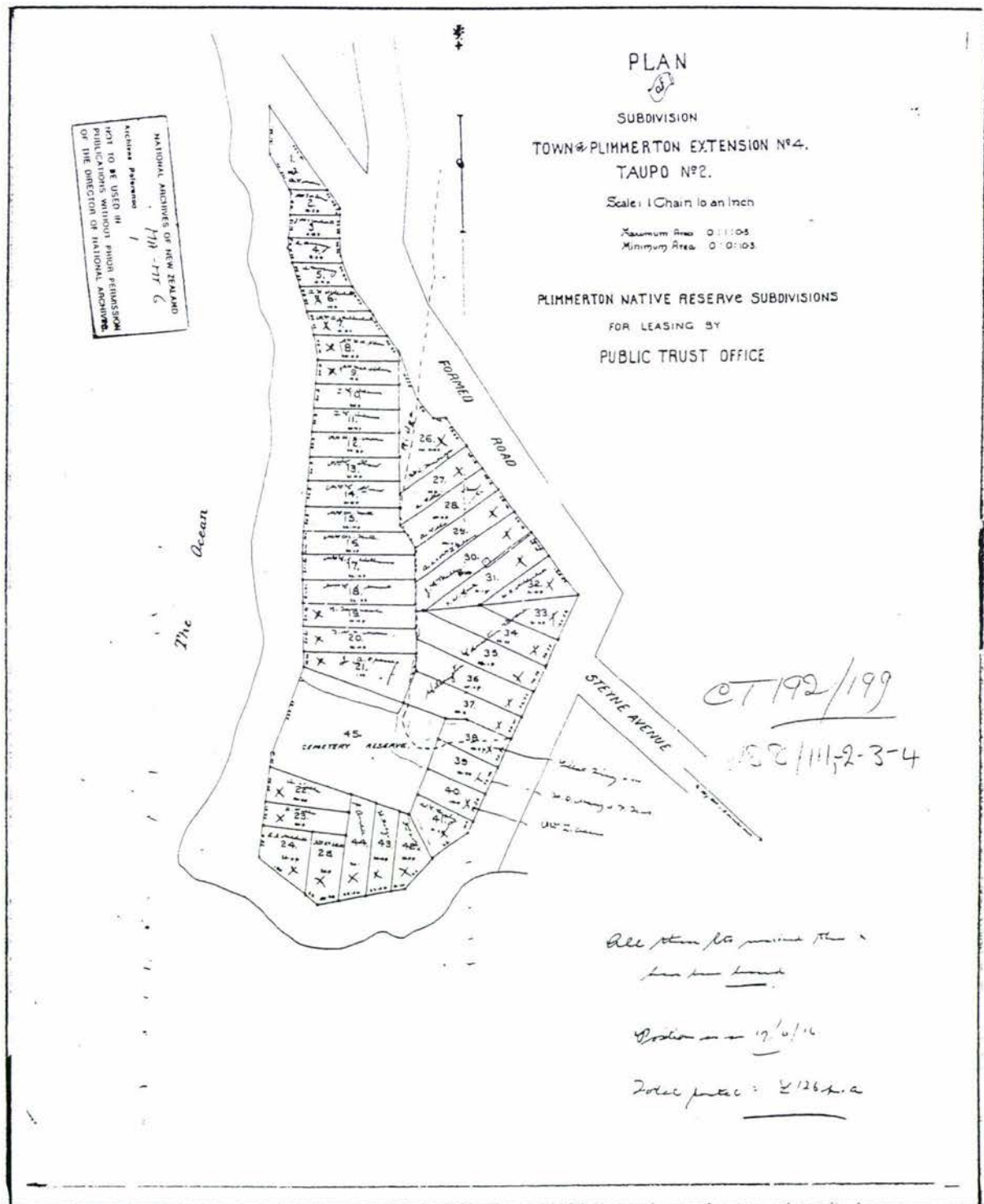


Figure 4.8, Plan of Subdivision of Taupo No.2. Plimmerton Native Reserve Subdivisions for Leasing by the Public Trust Office, 19/6/1916. Source, National Archives, MA-MT 6/1.

The process of defining, naming, emptying and filling, is well illustrated in Figures 4.7 and 4.8. On the certificate of title (figure 4.7) Taupo No.2 could be defined (by the measured boundaries) as under the ownership of the Public Trustee. Within these boundaries the surveyor created a 'empty' space, 'ready' to be 'filled' by the new internal property spaces (figure 4.8). Thus the land is represented as a 'clean slate' on the map; the old pa site, burial grounds, waahi tapu, and other places are gone! And due to the new property spaces, the cemetery reserve becomes the defined 'place' of the urupa. In some attempt to recognize the tapu nature of this area, a small strip of land between section 30 and 31 was surveyed. On this land was the location of Te Rauparaha's Tikouka look-out. In 1974 this strip was set aside as a Maori reservation under the *Maori Affairs Act* 1953.⁷⁹ Most of lot 45 (the cemetery reserve) was proclaimed Crown land and vested in the Hutt County Council as a pavilion and recreation site, thereby leaving a small burial ground behind the pavilion. In 1926, on the recommendation of the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board, Lots 1 to 44 were transferred from the public trustee to the Crown allowing the lessees to acquire freehold title.⁸⁰

The story of Taupo No.2 illustrates how the survey and the map enabled places like urupa and waahi tapu to be alienated. By creating an image of a 'clean' space, the surveyor attempted to 'empty' the land from its past occupation and 'package it' ready for subdivision. As a result housing, hall and tennis courts, organized into private properties, lie upon urupa and the place that was Te Rauparaha's most important pa, Taupo.

⁷⁹ *NZ Gazette*, 1974, page 1769.

⁸⁰ *NZ Gazette*, 1926, page 2623.

4.8 THE PORIRUA, TITAHİ BAY AND AOTEA RESERVE LANDS

Like the northern reserve lands, the Land Court also began to investigate the Porirua and Titahi Bay lands after 1867. The first lands to be investigated by the Land Court were not named except for a Schedule letter (A,B,C,D and E) and their boundaries outlined. These blocks comprised various land areas inside the Porirua/Titahi Bay reserve.⁸¹ In the subsequent Court hearings which began on the 1 of June 1869 various persons claimed each block. Schedule A was claimed by Mihaka Tumuakirangi and others of the Ngatiawa tribe. Wi Parata claimed an interest in Schedule B. Schedule C named Komangarautawhiri (2,340 acres) was claimed by Wi Katene te Puoho and twenty-four others of Ngatitama. All land parcels, excluding D, were claimed by Hohepa Tamaihangia for all of Ngati Toa⁸². Before the hearing Mihaka Tumuakirangi had attempted to survey the land in 1865. This survey caused some trouble and the survey was stopped by Hohepa Horomona with the confiscation of Mihaka's survey instruments⁸³.

The southern part of the Porirua/Titahi Bay block was eventually surveyed by the Government in 1873 (Figure 4.9).

⁸¹ *NZ Gazette*, 11/11/1867, No.59

⁸² "Minutes of the Maaori Land Court, Porirua" 1/6/1869. On Microfilm, WGTN MB.1c. NA.

⁸³ "Minutes of the Native Land Court, Porirua" 9/6/1895. On Microfilm, WGTN MB.1c. NA.

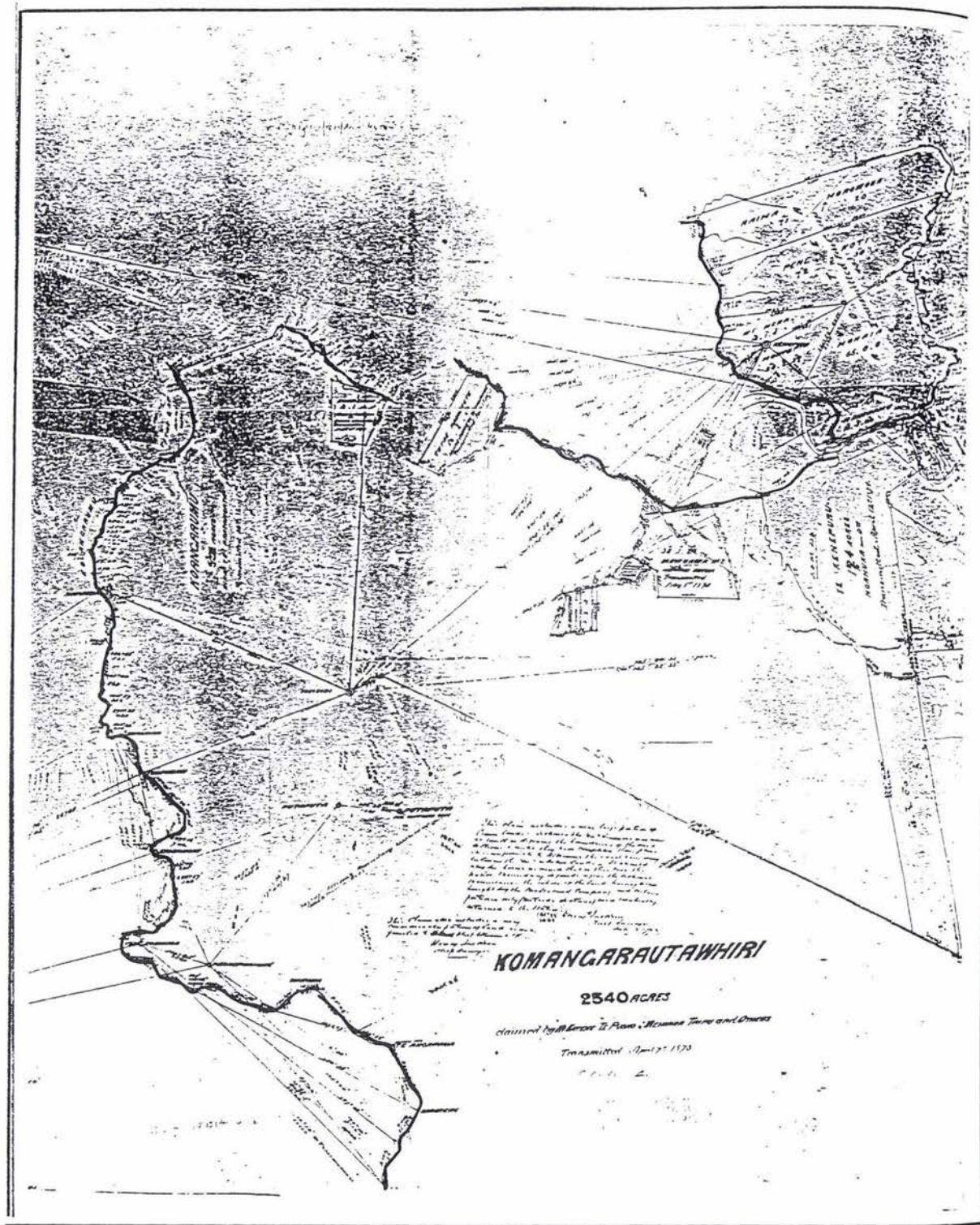


Figure 4.9, Komangarautawhiri, 7/4/1873. Source, National Library Collection.

The map called Komangarautawhiri states the claims related to seven parcels of land within the Porirua/Titahi Bay block (Table 4.1).

Claim	Block	Size (acres)
Wi Katene Meihana Taipu + others	Komangarautawhiri	2,340
Hira te Aratangata	Koangaaumu	509
Riria te Parahima and Riria te Kahurangi	Kauaeroa	12
Harereweth Tanagahoe	Tutaeparaikete	22
Epirini Kotua ?	Mahinawa No.2 Mahinawa No.1	38 1
Matenga te Hiko	Rangituhi	8
Ngahuka + others	Te Kenepuru	124

Table 4.2, Claims on the Porirua/Titahi Bay Reserve
Lands, 1873.

The following note is written on the map by Henry Jackson, Chief Surveyor:

This claim includes a very large portion of Crown land in Sections. The Government surveyors are now at work in defining the boundaries of the said Sections and until they have completed their plans it is impossible to determine the exact boundary between the Government and Native lands. It should also be kept in mind that in their case the Native boundary depends upon the Sectional boundaries, the whole of the land having been brought by the New Zealand Company and certain portions only (outside Sections) was eventually returned to the Natives.

Henry Jackson
Chief Surveyor
July 23 1873

This claim also includes a very considerable portion of land already granted to Ellison and others,

Henry Jackson
Chief Surveyor

Again as in the case of the Pukerua/Taupo block the boundaries between the Crown and Reserve land are in dispute. Ellison's Crown Grant is under claim and while the Crown had mapped the reserve in 1847, as being bounded by the sections of the Ohariu District, the 1847 Deed set the southern boundary at Te Arataura. Thus the claim of 1873 included some Crown sections. This issue, as I will illustrate was not to disappear. The 1873 map is the first full map of the reserve achieved by triangulation. As the spaces on the map are created by measured boundary lines, few features of the physical land are present; the survey could invent a land parcel, and create a new perspective of a landscape divided. Co-ordinated by trig stations, this framework was to provide the context for further divisions and place-making in the following years as the reserve began to be 'chopped up' among the claimants according to the rulings of the Native Land Court.

Along with the claims recorded on Figure 4.9, further claims were forthcoming. Hohepa Tamaihengia had lodged a claim for Takapuwahia in April 1867.⁸⁴ Wi Parata and others claimed Kahotea, Ropata Hurumutu and three others claimed Te Onepoto and Meihana Taipu also claimed Komangarautawhiri, but not including Ellison's grant.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ *NZ Gazette* (WGTN Province) 3/6/1867, No.21.

⁸⁵ *NZ Gazette* (WGTN Province) 17/1/1870, No.3

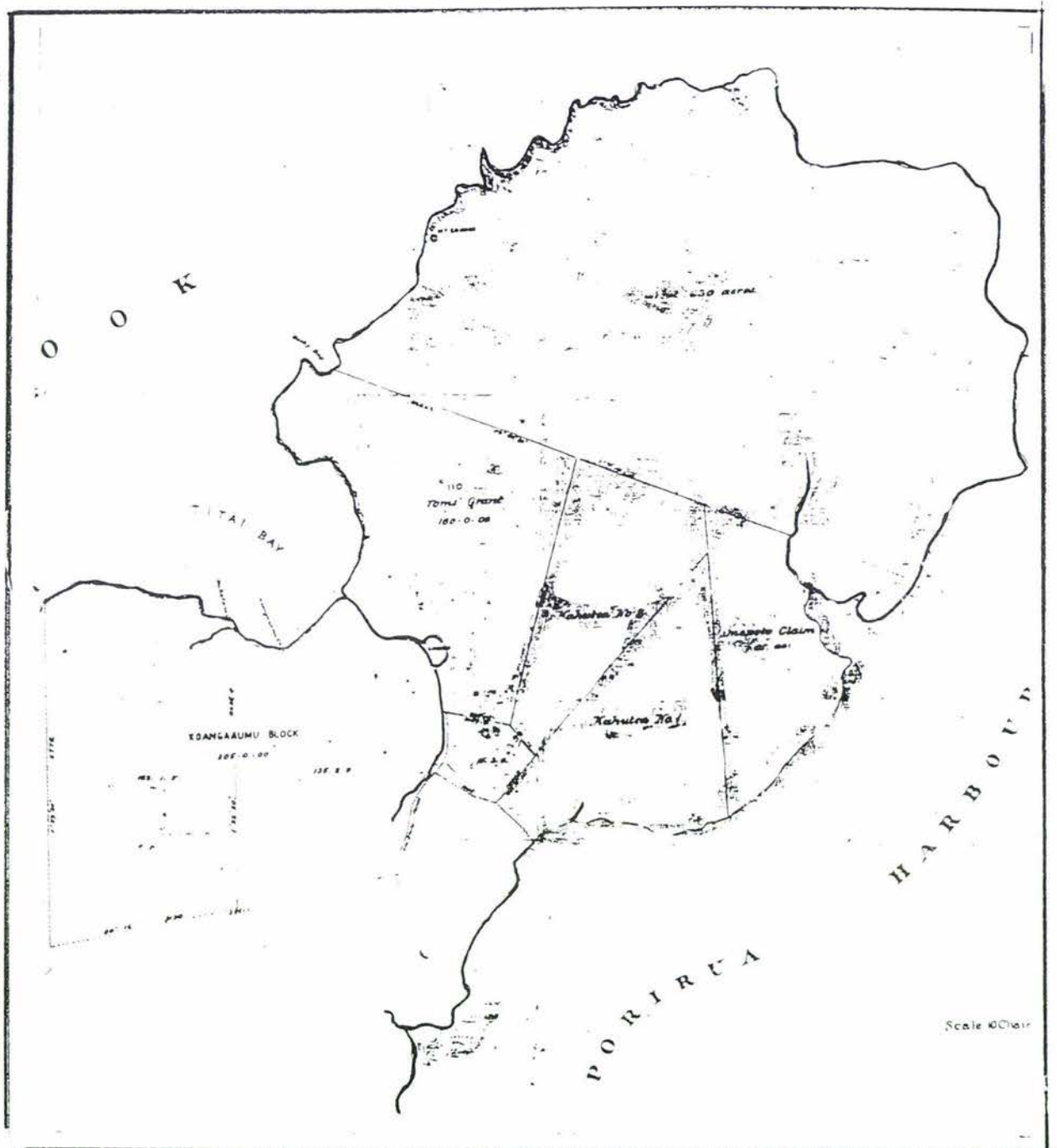


Figure 4.10, Titahi Bay Land Blocks, Probably late 1870s. Source, National Library Collection.

The result of these claims was the production of 'names' attached to land spaces and vested in the name of various individuals. Figure 4.10 shows the Titahi Bay portion of the reserve lands divided into seven land spaces: College land, Toms Grant, Kahutea, Coopers claim, Onepoto claim and the Koangaumu Block. Unlike the boundaries on Figure 4.9, the surveyor of this map has used the coastline as the seaward border; in other words the interests of the 'owners' stop at the mean-high water mark and the crown automatically claims the sea and seabed. Once defined and surveyed each block could be vested in a number of individuals by the Land Court. Onepoto was given to Tere Maihi, Peehi te Kakakura and Te Waaka in 1895. Peehi's share was transferred to William Jillett in 1907. Cooper's Claim was later brought by John Stevenson. Kahotea (Kahutea) was divided into three sections with No.3 going to Hohepa Horomona (this was later transferred to William Jillett in 1893). No.1 went to Wi Parata and 10 others and No.2 to Raiha Puaha and 13 others. In 1917 most of Kahotea was purchased by the Crown⁸⁶ and by 1935 all of Kahotea had been transferred to Beatrice Marshall.

Koangaumu reached the attention of the Court on 21 October 1878, and was divided into nine blocks. Allocating titles to Catherine Willeson, the Shearer family (No.1), Hira te Aratangata (No.2+3), Hohepa Horomona (No.4+5), Raiha Puaha (No.6), Paekaahu (No.7) and Erenora Tunpa (No.8+9). Later on sub-divisions 6,7,8, and 9 were allocated to David Prosser.

The unsold part of the Papakowhai block (No.16a) was allocated to Wi Parata, Hohepa Tamaihenga and Ngahuka Tungia. Later Wi Parata and Ngahuka Tungia requested the block be removed from the operation of the 1856 Reserves Act and both men received a Crown Grant for the Papakowhai land which was later called Okowhai. Okowhai was sold in 1887 to James Gear and on the death of Gear in 1911 the land was taken over by the Public Trustee. The southern Aotea block, meanwhile, appeared in Court in 1881 and the owners whose names appear of the Figure 4.9 map (above) were confirmed. The Aotea block was later sold to Patrick Mungavin once the restrictions had been lifted by the Governor.

⁸⁶ *AJHR* G-9 1916-7.

Most of Lot 109 (Te Korohiwa) being Ellison's Crown Grant, was sold to Mr Whitehouse. A small part of the land (15 acres) remained in the name of Daniel Ellison. This land being the site of Komangarautawhiri pa was marked as a burial ground. After succession orders in 1925 and 1952 23/30 shares of the land were transferred to Audrie Stevenson and the land came under the ownership of Audrie Stevenson (23/30) and ten Maori owners (7/30). In 1958 the Stevensons stated they wished to purchase the remaining 7/30 shares. By 1971 this land came under spotlight as a possible site for the discharge of sewerage.

Komangarautawhiri was also divided up amongst a number of owners but the southern portion of the land called Komanga N.R remained under the 1856 *Native Reserves Act*. This land was leased to Mr Whitehouse at 100 pounds per year after 1876.⁸⁷ In 1916 part of this block, renamed Wairere, was purchased by the Crown. The Takapuwahia block was also managed under the Reserves Act until 1883. In this year the Government held an inquiry to ascertain all the owners of Takapuwahia and the six reserves set aside in the Wainui deed of sale.⁸⁸ As in other inquiries the Takapuwahia block, after a long series of hearings, was partitioned up among the owners and the result was small blocks labeled (A to H).

Te Kenepuru was divided into four divisions in 1878. No.2 Kenepuru Memorial of Ownership was vested in Matenga te Hiko, Raiha Puaha, Te Matenga Waipumahau, and Wi Parata. Later in 1909, Kenepuru was further partitioned amongst the owners (See Figure, 4.11).

⁸⁷ "Report of Commissioner of Native Reserves" *AJHR* 1876 G-3

⁸⁸ *NZ Gazette*, 20/9/1883, No.99, page 1353. The Paekakariki reserves were vested in the Public Trustee until the late 1920's.

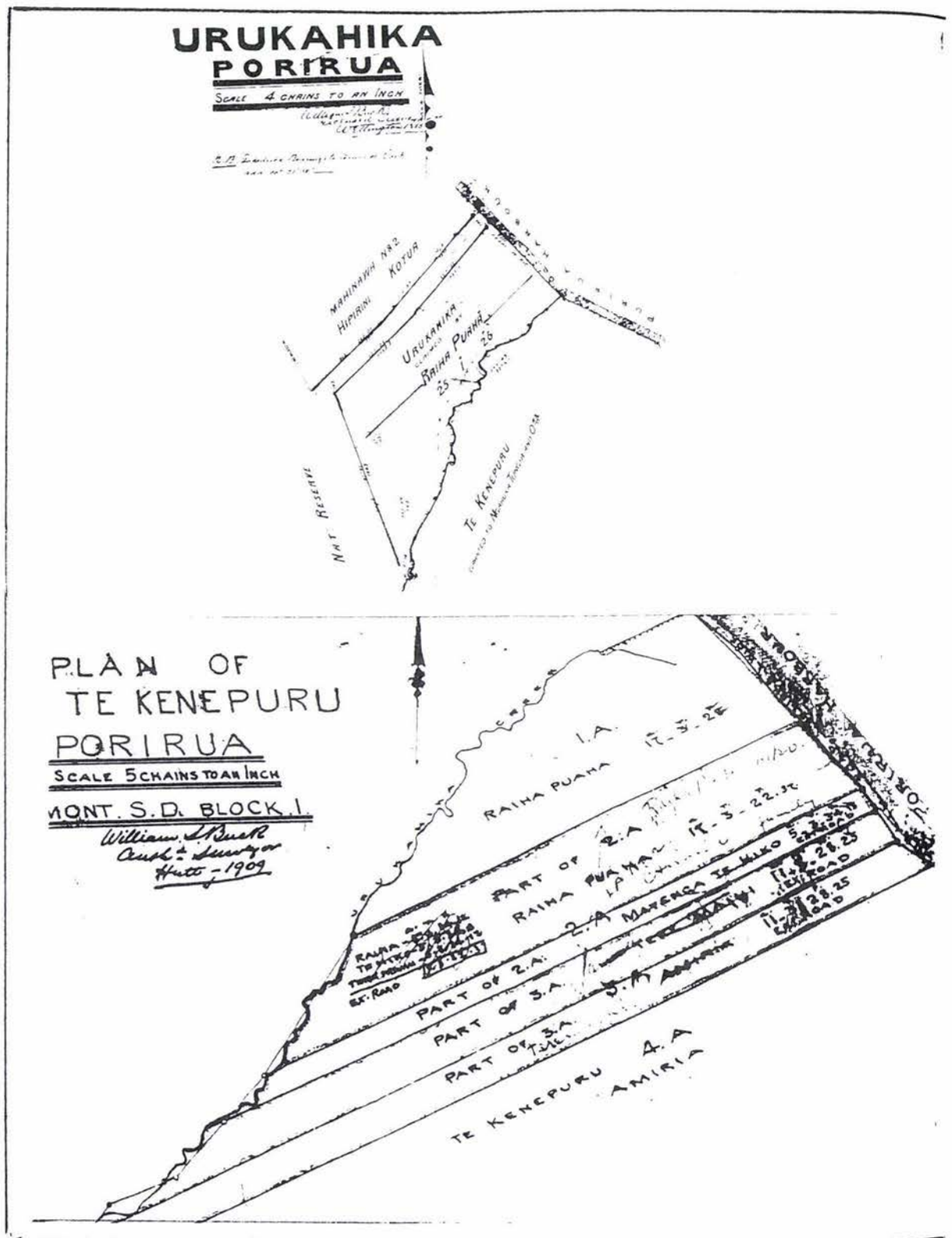


Figure 4.11. Te Kenepuru (1909) and Urukahika (1885). William Buck Surveyor. Source, Urukahika, National Archives, MA-MT 12/130. Kenepuru, National Archives Collection.

The maps of Te Kenepuru and Urukahika illustrate the 'next step' in the land alienation and space creation business of the Land Court. Once defined as a specific and identifiable 'space' with a name, the 'space' could be partitioned up among the various owners (these names were then emplaced on the map within the claimed land). This was the intention of Fenton and others, to make Maori into individual property owners. Yet often these new smaller spaces existed within the larger block. Thus at first Te Kenepuru was created and later within this space smaller spaces were partitioned and named by numbers and letters (1.A, 2.A, Part of 2.A). In the larger blocks this practice of partitioning and naming became complex as over time more partitions were made. It was this practice of naming and space making that enabled the Land Court to create a legal territoriality; a space from which it could exercise its power and control. Without this spatial context provided by survey, the Court could not have exercised its authority over the reserve lands.

4.9 TE ARATAURA AND PARUMOANA

While these internal divisions and alienation's were in progress, the question of the southern boundary remained. In 1894 Wiremu Neera Te Kanae and 50 others petitioned Parliament, as the Native Affairs Select Committee reported:

Petitioners pray for compensation in regard to certain land in the Arataura Block, Porirua, which they allege has been wrongfully taken from them. I am directed to report that the petitioners complain that part of the land lying south of the Native Reserve at Porirua has been taken by the Crown as Crown lands and that it by right belongs to the Porirua Native Reserve. The whole question turns on the situation of a place called Arataura. On the plan signed by Sir George Grey who was then Governor, the Natives have no claim to the land, but the description in the deed of cession says the southern boundary was Arataura, and it may be that the plan is wrong.⁸⁹

The Committee went on to recommend:

that some competent person should be appointed to visit the ground and meet the old Natives and ascertain if a mistake has been made. If a mistake has been made some money compensation should be paid to the Natives.⁹⁰

The Hon. Mr Carroll and a Government official were sent to Porirua and came back to Wellington to report that the 1847 plan was indeed incorrect.⁹¹

⁸⁹ "Petitions to Parliament" *AJHR* I-3 1894, No.644.

⁹⁰ "Petitions to Parliament" *AJHR* I-3 1894, No.644.

⁹¹ *NZ Parliamentary Debates*, Vol 89, 1895 page 296.

The southern boundary had been set at the New Zealand Company sections not at Arataura. The Reserve was thus smaller than the one agreed to in 1847. The Government responded to the problem by passing section 11 of the 1896 *Reserves and Crown lands Disposal and Enabling Act*. In section 11 it stated that the claim of the petitioners was well grounded and after the petitioners pay the sum of 173 pounds the Government would issue a Crown Grant in fee simple for Sections 23 and 24 Block VII, Survey District of Tiriraukawa, Land District of Wellington containing 950 acres. These section's comprised of steep bush-covered country in the Mangaweka hills (Figure 4.12). Later, on 5 May 1898 the Governor conferred jurisdiction on the Native Court to ascertain the names of the Natives interested in the Tiriraukawa sections.⁹² The boundary of the Reserve, however, remained where it had been written on the map.

Another challenge to the reserve boundaries as set and constructed on the map came in 1878 when Wi Parata and eight others claimed the lands of Parumoana. The maps created since 1847 had shown the boundary of the reserve was to be the coast, the mean high tidal mark. This was the 'legal' boundary under Common law. As illustrated in Figure 4.13, the Wi Parata claimed the tidal area on the other side of the boundary. This claim to Te Parumoana was heard by the Native Land Court on the 7th August 1883. The Court was asked to provide title to these lands between high and low tide mark which from time immemorial were pipi collecting grounds. The Court ruled that the claimants had no right to the title of such lands but to a fishing right. Later, in the 1950's, the Parumoana debate re-emerged as much of this land was reclaimed by the Works Department and used for the expansion of Porirua City, the railway and State Highway One. No compensation was given to Toa Rangatira for the loss of Parumoana. The government also decided, during this time and on advice from the Crown Law Office, that Toa Rangatira had no greater rights to fish in the harbour than anyone else.⁹³

⁹² *NZ Gazette*, 5/5/1898, No.33, page 757.

⁹³ "Maaori Affairs memo" 3/6/59 MA 1 5/5/59.NA. *The Dominion* 18/7/55.

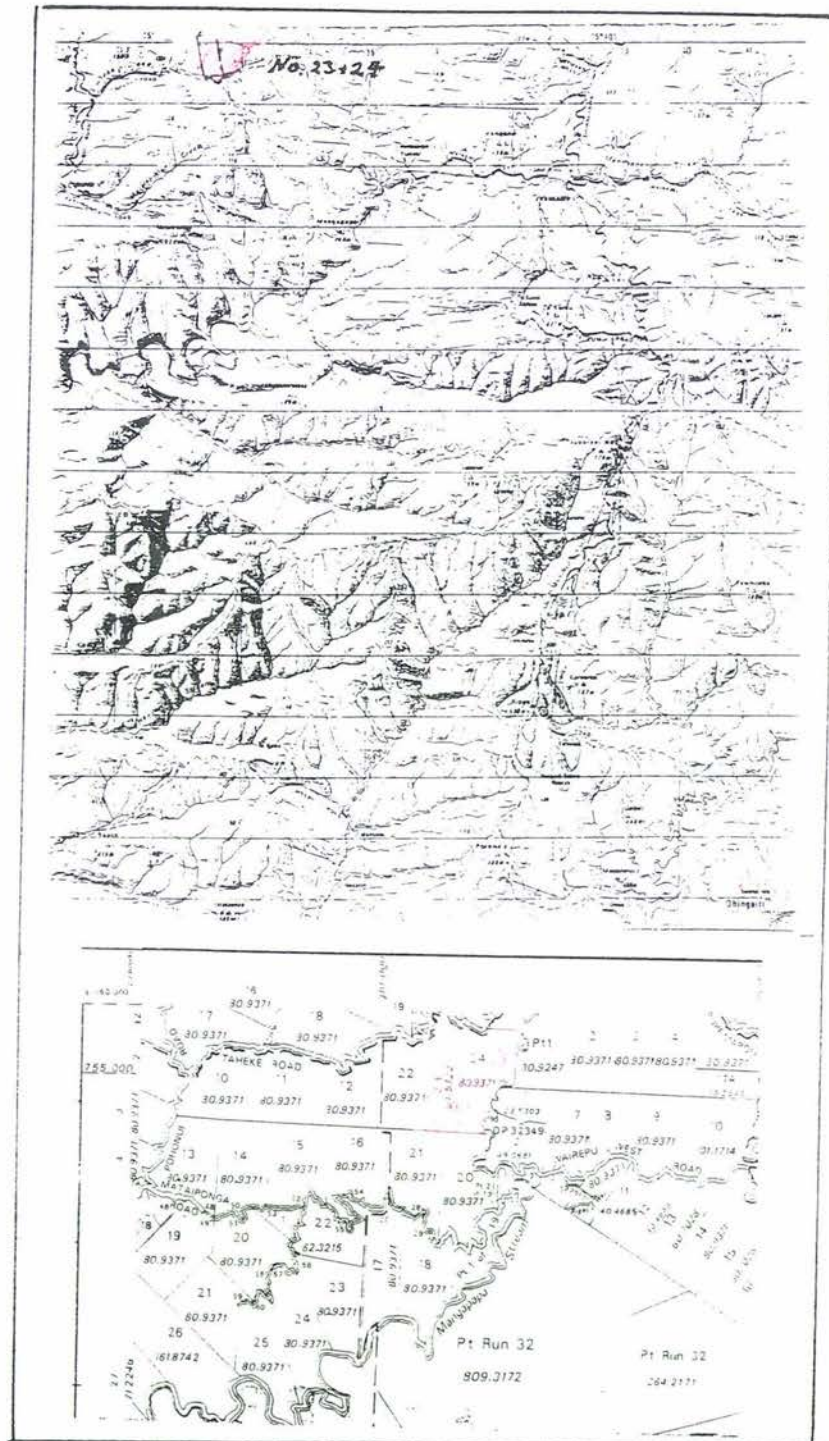


Figure 4.12. Sections 23 and 24, Tiriraukawa District. NZMS 260/261. Sheet T22.

DLS, 1984 and 1990. 1:50 000

WELLINGTON

1876

claimed by W1 PARATA

SCALE 10 CHAINS TO AN INCH



Figure 4.13, Te Paraumoana, 1876. Source, National Library Collection.

4.10 GOVERNMENT PLANS FOR PORIRUA

Asylum

With a rail and road connection to Porirua, the government began to use parts of the reserve lands for various projects and developments. The first project was the establishment of an asylum at Porirua in the 1880s. The asylum was established on section 60, the south-side of the reserve boundary. Later in 1894, sections 54, 55, 62, 122, 123 and 124 were acquired for hospital purposes.⁹⁴ As I have stated earlier, the southern boundary of the reserve was surveyed in the wrong place; it should have finished at Arataura. Thus these sections, acquired by the hospital board, would have fallen within the Porirua reserve lands. The only reserve lands that were directly acquired by the asylum (apart from the sections mentioned above) were parts of the Kenepuru block: 2AB1 2AB2, 3A, 4A and 5A. In 1921 the Government expropriated the whole of the Kenepuru block for housing purposes.⁹⁵

Figure 4.14 illustrates the cadastral situation about 1950 at Porirua. The boundaries created by the Native Land Court have created a 'patchwork' of spaces and these spaces have provided the context for land of the new pakeha owners and town subdivisions. The seaside resort of Titahi Bay emerged from Thom's claim. Some of the College land has been subdivided for transmission facilitates. The old Titahi Bay land blocks have been transferred into the hands of the Jillets, Stevensons, and Vellas. The last remaining lands still under Maori free-hold title were Takapuwahia, Tutaeparakete and the smaller Mahinawa, Rangituhi, Urakaika, and Kenepuru 1A.

⁹⁴ *NZ Gazette*, 1887, page 504. 1894, page 328. 1896, page 1544.

⁹⁵ *NZ Gazette*, 11/7/1921, page 2091.

Housing and Town Development

A major housing scheme proposed for western Porirua area was announced by the Department of Housing Construction on 20 December 1944. To fulfill the land needs of this project the Director of Housing requested that the Department of Native Affairs approve the taking of the Porirua Native lands for housing.⁹⁶ These lands included all of the Takapuwahia block, Tutaeparaikete, Popoteruru, Rangituhi, Mahinawa, Koangaaumu, Onepoto, the Whitireia block and Kenepuru No.2.⁹⁷ The Department of Native Affairs was not agreeable to this proposal. The Under-Secretary wrote to Housing saying:

In view of the limited area of native-owned land in the District, the proposal to take the lands specified will have a far reaching effect on the future welfare of the Maoris themselves.⁹⁸

Toa Rangatira lodged formal objection to the Ministry of Works on 17 April 1946 and petitioned the Prime Minister on 15 July 1946. A meeting was held at Porirua which accepted the proposals (the objectors had stayed away as a protest against the project) and the land of these owners was taken in 1948.⁹⁹ This land consisted of the Prosser-owned Takapuwahia lands. Much of the Stevenson-owned lands were also taken (Koangaaumu, Tutaeparaikete + others) and in return Stevenson was given the Wairere Block (this block was purchased by the Crown in 1916)¹⁰⁰, some Takapuwahia blocks A1+2a, Komangarautawhiri A3,A4 and sections 38/39, all valued at 4,400 pounds.¹⁰¹ The Aotea/Okowhai block held by the Mungavins, was also taken in 1959 for housing purposes.

Another meeting was held at Porirua on the 18th June 1950, this time the owners would approve of the proposals only if some 200 acres behind the Takapuwahia pa were set aside for Maori housing. Native Affairs officials, however, thought this idea would bring an "undesirable concentration in the area" and "segregating the Maoris into one area would form a China town."¹⁰² These comments reflect the Maori housing policy of the day which

⁹⁶ "Land For Housing Porirua" MA 1 5/5/59.NA.

⁹⁷ *NZ Gazette*, 13/3/1946, page 358.

⁹⁸ "Under-Sec Native Affairs to Director of Housing" 13/2/1945. MA 1 5/5/59.NA.

⁹⁹ *NZ Gazette*, 5/7/1948, No.43, page 975.

¹⁰⁰ *AJHR* G-3, 1916.

¹⁰¹ Titahi Bay Housing Land, LS 1 22/747/253. NA.

¹⁰² *Board of Maaori Affairs*, memos, 16/11/53 and 18/3/55. MA 1 5/5/59. NA.

aimed to assimilate rural Maori into Cities by 'pepper-potting'. This policy is also interesting because as I have illustrated Takapuwahia pa was planned as a 'Native town' in 1847 with the intention that the tribe would concentrate and settle in one defined place. Yet during the 1940/60s the government used state housing policy to assimilate the tribe into pakeha society; an attempt to disperse Maori settlement by breaking the concentration of marae communities.

After further disputes with the owners, the Ministry of Works finally acquired the remaining Maori land blocks in 1960. This also included the Kenepuru block which was acquired from the hospital in 1963.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ *NZ Gazette*, 23/11/1963, No.75, page 1871.

Conclusion to Room Three

While the New Zealand Company and the Colonial Government were responsible for creating the Porirua reserves, the arrival of settler self-government after 1852 created a new mode of spatial representation that promoted assimilation. Maori were to become 'individuals' living on individual lands. This ideology was pushed by strong-willed pakeha males: Grey, McLean, Fenton, Fox, Sewell. And these men promoted a distinctive 'New Zealand' survey regime which provided the tools for spatial assimilation to occur. Again this regime was operated by pakeha males: Heaphy, Heale, Thomson, McKerrow. The masculine survey regime created a Cartesian legal and territorial space. It was this spatial discourse, with its names and boundaries, that enabled the Native Land Court to have power of alienation. Thus the *'real' alienating effect of the survey was, not so much the cost of survey liens, but its ability to create territory*; the context and spatial framework of alienation.

In 1870 the Porirua reserves were 'reserves' under the collective control of Toa Rangatira except for some small blocks integrated under the 1852 *Native Reserves Act*. By the late 1880s most of this reserve had been divided into various blocks and vested in a limited number of 'owners'. With Toa Rangatira concentrated at Takapuwahia and Hongoeka, the land alienation process first took the 'rural' lease-hold blocks and it wasn't until the 1940s that land was taken at Takapuwahia with an attempt to disperse the Takapuwahia community using the state housing policy. The ideological discourse of assimilation and land utilization had provided the justification for the removal of the reserve boundaries and the placement of individual titles. To enable this process, the combined effort of the Native Land Court and the Survey Department created new spaces within the reserve, named and defined by mathematical lines. By creating these legal spaces in an administrative system was the reserve land able to be alienated. Without a name and boundary, the land could not be Proclaimed in the *Gazette* as under claim. Thus the power of the Native Land Court was dependent on the ability to create a spatial territory. I will, however, illustrate in the next room how this assimilation ideology has been challenged and this challenge has provided a basis for the re-emergence of collective reserves.

ROOM FIVE**POSSIBILITIES FOR RESERVE
REAPPEARANCE 1970-1990s**

The Porirua reserve lands are now being surveyed and mapped by a new mode of representation within a biculturalist and nationalist ideological discourse and survey regime. This regime consists of small government institutions and private company's using computer technology. I will discuss within this room the reserve as a 'site of resistance', the potential for the reappearance of the reserve lands within this regime and the issues concerning the control of computer-aided geographic information systems (GIS).

5.1 ASSIMILATION IS CHALLENGED

During the 1970s the discourse of colonialism and the 'objective' science of cartography was challenged by a number of new social movements which called for (among other issues) freedom from oppression for women, the poor, indigenous peoples¹ and environmental restoration. Within New Zealand, the Maori, as the indigenous people, began a cultural renaissance which called for the restoration of tino rangatiratanga and their status as tangata whenua.² Henceforth the colonialist assimilation ideology has been in many places and institutions undermined. Instead a pluralist form of biculturalism and multiculturalism has been adopted by the government and other groups as an ideological strategy. Biculturalism attempts to provide for the rangatiratanga of the tribes (rather than of 'Maori') by reforming institutions (bicultural reformism) or creating 'separate' Maori institutions (bicultural distributivism).³ Both types of biculturalism have been founded

¹ 'Indigenous' could be defined as "colonial cultures of response and resistance" (N. Dirks, *Colonialism and Culture*, University of Michigan Press, 1992, page 10).

² See, Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou* (Penguin, 1990); R. Vasil, *What do the Maori Want* (Random Century, 1990); D. Pearson, *A Dream Deferred, The origins of ethnic conflict in New Zealand* (Allen and Unwin, 1990); Fleras and Elliott, *The Nations Within* (Oxford University Press, 1992).

³ Mason Durie, "Maaori and the State", *Te Komako*, 7,1 (1995) page 10.

on a reinterpretation of the Treaty of Waitangi as a founding document that is relevant to New Zealand society. The Treaty has been integrated into case law and legislation since the 1975 *Treaty of Waitangi Act*. This Act enabled a Tribunal to inquire into "claims from any Maori or group of Maori that they have been prejudicially affected by any action or omission of the Crown."⁴ Soon after the *Treaty of Waitangi Act*, a Planning Tribunal Appeal decision stated that Maori interests were outside of those lands held in actual ownership.⁵ This meant the boundary of private property spaces, which had limited the rights of Maori to that land they held title to, began to be pulled down.

The emphasis on the Treaty has also influenced a desire to protect remaining 'pockets' of Maori land. *The Te Ture Whenua Maaori Act*, 1993, uses the Maori Land Court in an attempt to retain Maori land in the hands of the owners as "a taonga tuku iho to be held in trust for future generations."⁶ To achieve this goal the Act provides for the establishment of a number of trusts. For example, using a Whanau trust, the interests of individual owners are canceled and the land is held by the collective group. The opportunity now exists for land to revert back to tribal rather than individual ownership.

Meanwhile Treaty of Waitangi clauses in environmental legislation aim to provide for the interests of Maori over private and Crown land. For example, within the *Resource Management Act* 1991 (RMA) it is a matter of national importance for all persons implementing the Act to recognize and provide for the "relationship of Maori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, waahi tapu and other taonga."⁷ This means the landscape needs to be imagined in new ways as environmental and indigenous rights justify the weakening of the private property rights.

⁴ W. Oliver, *Claims to the Waitangi Tribunal* (Waitangi Tribunal Division, 1991) page 10. See also, Paul Tem, *The Waitangi Tribunal, The Conscience of the Nation* (Random Century, 1990). A. Christopher, "Indigenous land claims in the Anglophone world, *Land Use Policy*, 11,1 (1994) pages 31-44; Eric Pawson and Garth Cant, "Land Rights in historical and contemporary context" *Applied Geography*, 12 (1995) pages 95-108.

In 1985 the *Treaty of Waitangi Act* was amended by the fourth Labour government to allow claims to be investigated back to 1840.

⁵ See *Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society v W.A. Habgood Ltd*, RNZTPA, 76.

⁶ *Guide to the Act* (Te Puni Kokiri, 1993) page 5.

⁷ Section 6(c) *Resource Management Act* 1993.

The movement towards biculturalism and the affirmation of indigenous rights in the nation-state has taken place within the context of an expansive global economy enabled by technology. In this context, the role of nation-state governments has been shifted from directive to facilitative forms of intervention.⁸ In New Zealand, the process of shifting from direction to facilitation has been marked by deregulation and restructuring process since the early 1980s. This restructuring process has given rise to new small government ministries and departments; Land Information NZ, Terra-Link (S.O.E) Te Puni Kokiri, Ministry for Environment. These organizations in competition/cooperation with private international multi-national company's and local governments, have formed the core institutions of a new survey regime.

Unlike previous survey regimes which have used paper-based mapping and manual surveying techniques, the current regime is dominated by the use of computer-aid cartographic tools like GIS and GPS (Geographic Positioning System). GIS is a computer package that produces spatial images. Like other cartographical tools, GIS creates an image of a landscape divided by divisions, however, unlike paper-maps, GIS is able to combine many 'layers' of spaces. These electronic layers enable a space to be represented that is "inert and empty, devoid of meaning and agency." And in a powerful way this electronic space is naturalized, it becomes "a medium in which human beings play out their activities."⁹ Thus GIS carries on the scientific Cartesian tradition of the global system by the "intersection of the mastery of the gaze and the textual malleability of electronic images."¹⁰ This electronic master gaze is a new mode of social control which,

functions to create new codes whose liminal futures and new geographies are yet to be written. Mapping techniques exerted a rationalistic logic -- a universal calculus -- to unify space as object, material and fundament, and earth as exploitable resource, unified community or commercial logo.¹¹

It was with the spaces created on the computer, that enabled the United States to conduct the "first GIS war".¹²

⁸ See Britton et al, *Changing Places in New Zealand* (Christchurch: NZ Geographical Society, 1992).

⁹ Marcos Llobera, "Exploring the topography of mind: GIS, social space and archaeology" *Antiquity*, 70 (1996) page 613.

¹⁰ John Pickles, "Conclusion" in *Ground Truth, The Social Implications of GIS* (NY and London: The Guilford Press, 1995) page 233.

¹¹ Pickles, "Conclusion" in *Ground Truth*, page 231.

¹² Pickles, "Conclusion" in *Ground Truth*, page 232.

GPS technology meanwhile enables any place on the earth's surface to be located using a transportable locator device linked to a satellite. Accordingly from the space-high eye in the sky, the whole world can be 'seen' and mapped. This kind of technology increases the ability of the surveyor or cartographer to make spaces for surveillance and control.

The mode of spatial representation emerging in the 1990s has, thus, two main features. Firstly, a reduced direct role of the state and the rise of global capitalism driven by multinationals and electronic technology.¹³ Secondly the rise of placed-based resistance, social identities (indigenous peoples) and other social movements (environmentalism). It is within the hegemonic dominance of capitalism that various identities and environmental discourse mark out territory.¹⁴ The 1993 amendment to the *Treaty of Waitangi Act* provides an example how Maori interests are provided for within the cadastral and capitalist status quo. This amendment limits the ability of the Tribunal to recommend the return of 'private' land. While some boundaries have been weakened by the alliance between environmental and indigenous rights, other boundaries, in other situations, have continued to be strengthened.

5.2 SITES OF RESISTANCE: THE PORIRUA RESERVES IN THE 1990s.

The reserve lands were constructed with the aim of amalgamating Toa Rangatira into European society, and this amalgamation process has been driven by urban development since World War II. Much of the reserve land is now occupied by the city of Porirua with the towns of Paekikariki, Pukerua Bay, Plimmerton, Mana, Porirua Town Center, Elsdon, and Titahi Bay. This spread has been influenced by the railway route of the 1880s, the

¹³ Edward Said defines this feature as the new imperialism (Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, page 341).

¹⁴ See, Donald Denoon, "Settler Capitalism Unsettled" *New Zealand Journal of History*, 29,2 (1995) pages 129-141; Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes* (London: Micheal Joseph, 1994).

State housing project after 1940, and the construction of the Wellington-Porirua Urban Motorway in the 1960s. Urban development and pastoral farming has meant that in 1996 only patches of the original reserves have remained under Maori ownership. These patches are now emplaced within computer-aided cadastral boundaries.

These patches include:

- * Hongoeka block. This is the largest area of land held under free-hold Maori ownership. Within this block is Hongoeka village and marae.
- * Takapuwahia Township. Held under free-hold Maaori title and includes a number of urupa and Takapuwahia marae complex.
- * Pukerua Bay urupa at Pa Road near the site of Waimapihi pa.
- * Haukopua Urupa within Tawa-Tapu farm
- * Remains of Taupo No.2 urupa and small reserve.
- * Korohiwa Urupa which is vested in Audrie Stevenson (23/30 shares) and ten Maaori owners (7/30 shares).

In 1847, before the urban and rural occupation, some 40,000 - plus acres were vested with Toa Rangatira in exchange for the rest of the Porirua District. In 1996 only these small fragments of lands remain.

Yet these patches could be viewed as sites of resistance. Instead of facilitating amalgamation or assimilation, the reserve land has become a place for Toa Rangatira to 'stand apart' from pakeha society. Takapuwahia and Hongoeka marae and settlements retain an identity interconnected with Toa Rangatira. They are gathering places from where the tribe seek to reconstruct its tino rangatiratanga in the 1990s and beyond.

So far, in this thesis, I have not imagined alternative survey regimes; a different vision to replace the Cartesian perspective. In other words, from

what perspective can the spaces on the map be challenged and changed in an order to undermine the ideological hegemony? Figures 5.1 to 5.4 attempt to provide a view of the original Porirua reserves mapped onto the contemporary landscape. The first map (Figure 5.1) shows a view of the reserves (from a birds-eye) that traces the northern boundary from Mt Wainui to Pawakataka. According to the 1847 deed, the land on the outside of this boundary was reserve land, so maybe the reserve was to cover the area north of the Porirua district (which was defined as running from Wainui to Pawakataka). My other suggestion for the northern reserve boundary is displayed in Figure 5.2. On this map I have traced the northern boundary from Mt Wainui, along the Whakatikei river and then north to Pawakataka. Within this reserve I am assuming the Wainui river mentioned on the 1847 deed was the Whakatikei (which comes from Mt Wainui) and Pouawa was a hill near the Whakatikei and Hutt river junction. Of the two maps, I prefer Figure 5.2. Figures 5.3 and 5.4 exclude the northern Wainui block and illustrate the current cadastral divisions. As illustrated the reserve lands which have their southern boundary at Te Arataura now includes Colonial Knob and most of the Porirua Hospital lands. These maps are my 'best guess' according to the cartographical and historical evidence and as this thesis has shown, finding evidence from maps has not been helped from a survey regime that has 'lost' most of the original tribal place names.

The reserves were originally designed to control and concentrate Toa Rangatira yet now the boundary surrounds those people who have decided to 'settle' in the Porirua District. It is a perspective that may 'unsettle' the settlers as they find themselves within the boundaries of a reserve. In making these images I also take the birds-eye perspective but I don't claim detachment. My viewing point is partial, subjective, and situated; I cannot see everything and I have used information from other people who have a similar same partial perspective.

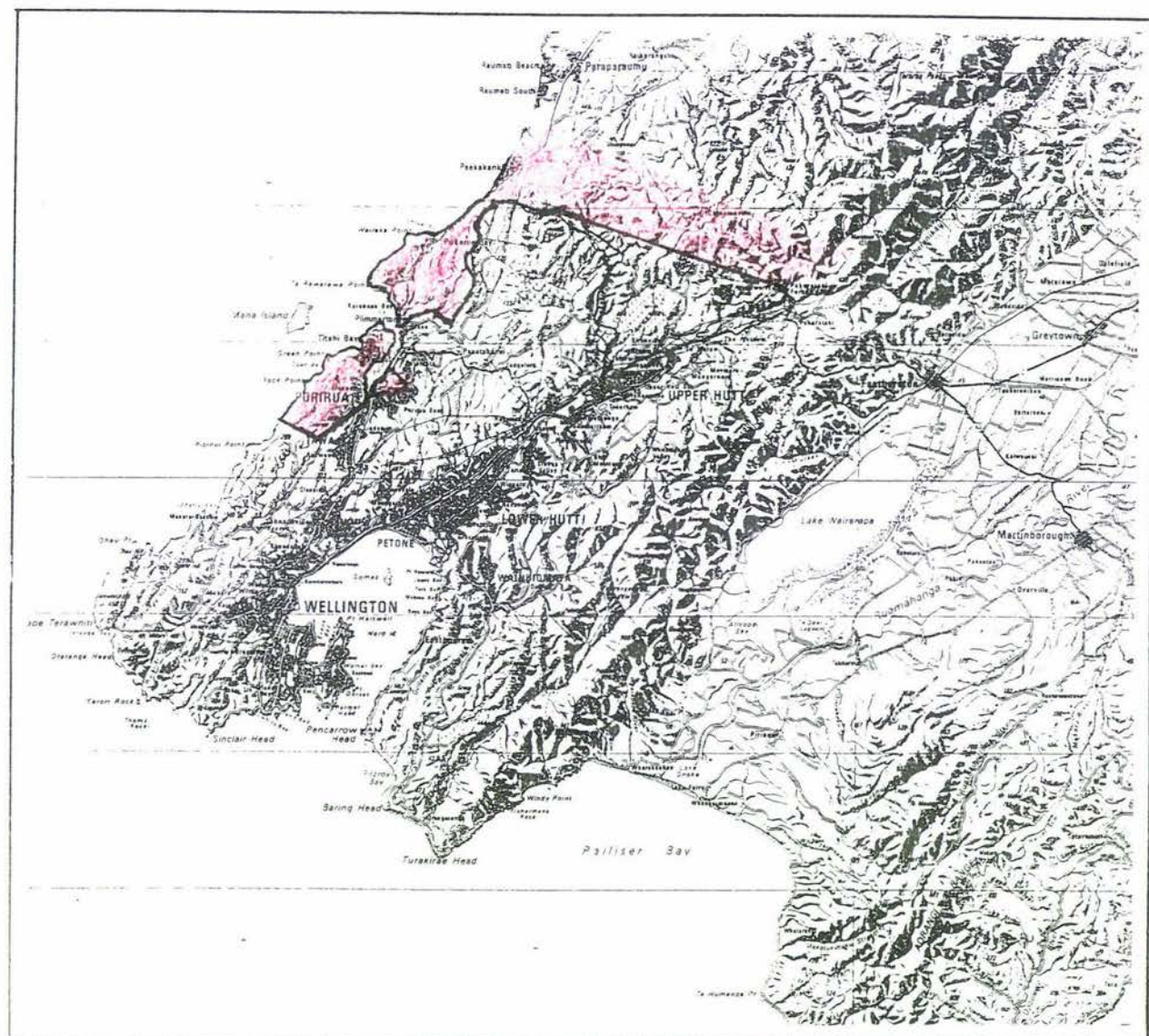


Figure 5.1. Original Extent of Porirua Reserves, Including Wainui Block. Using as a base map: Department of Lands and Survey, NZMS 262, Topographical Map, WGTN, 1:250 000, 1986.

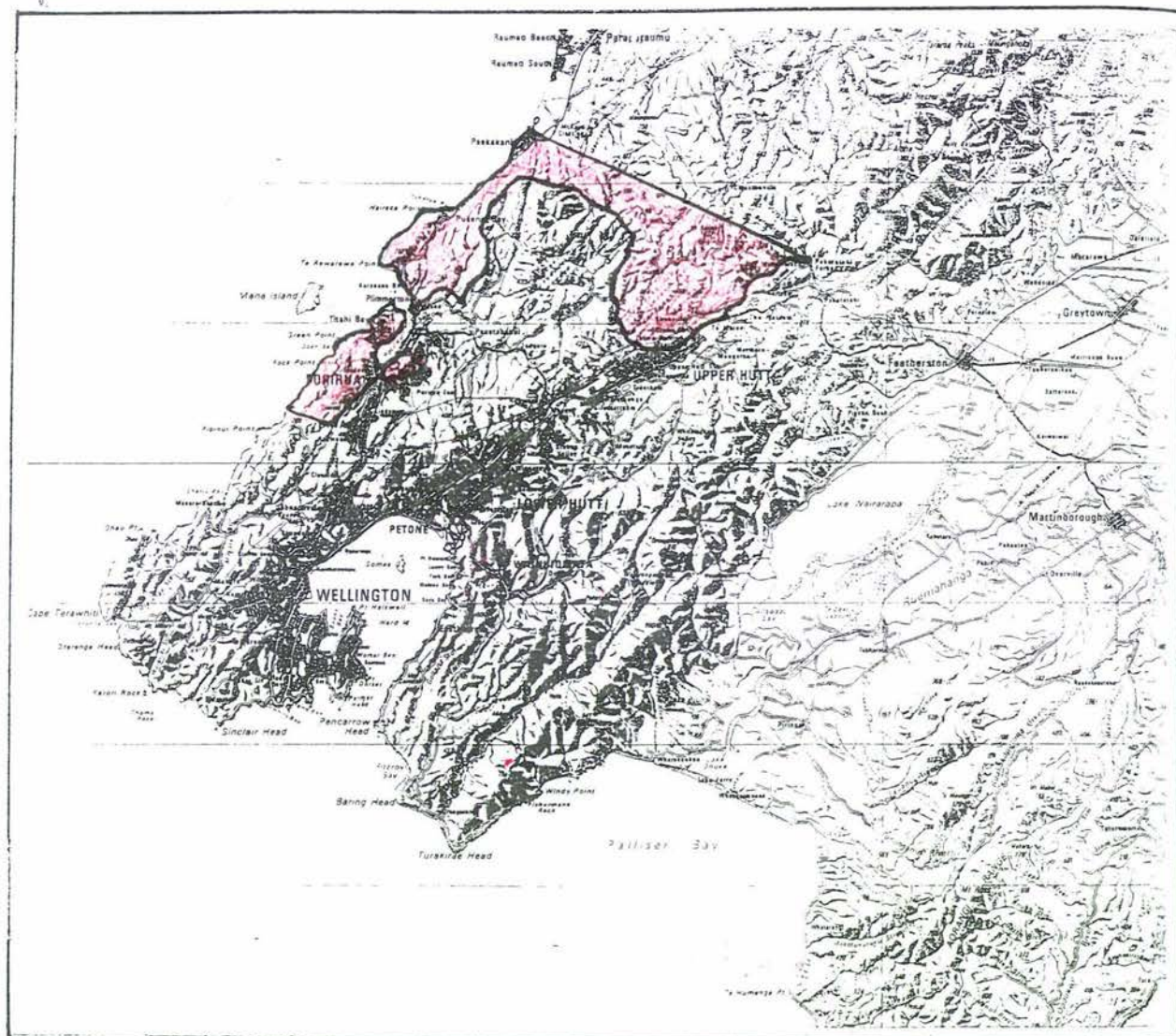


Figure 5.2. Original Extent of Porirua Reserves, Including Wainui Block. Using as a base map: Department of Lands and Survey, NZMS 262, Topographical Map, WGTN, 1:250 000, 1986.

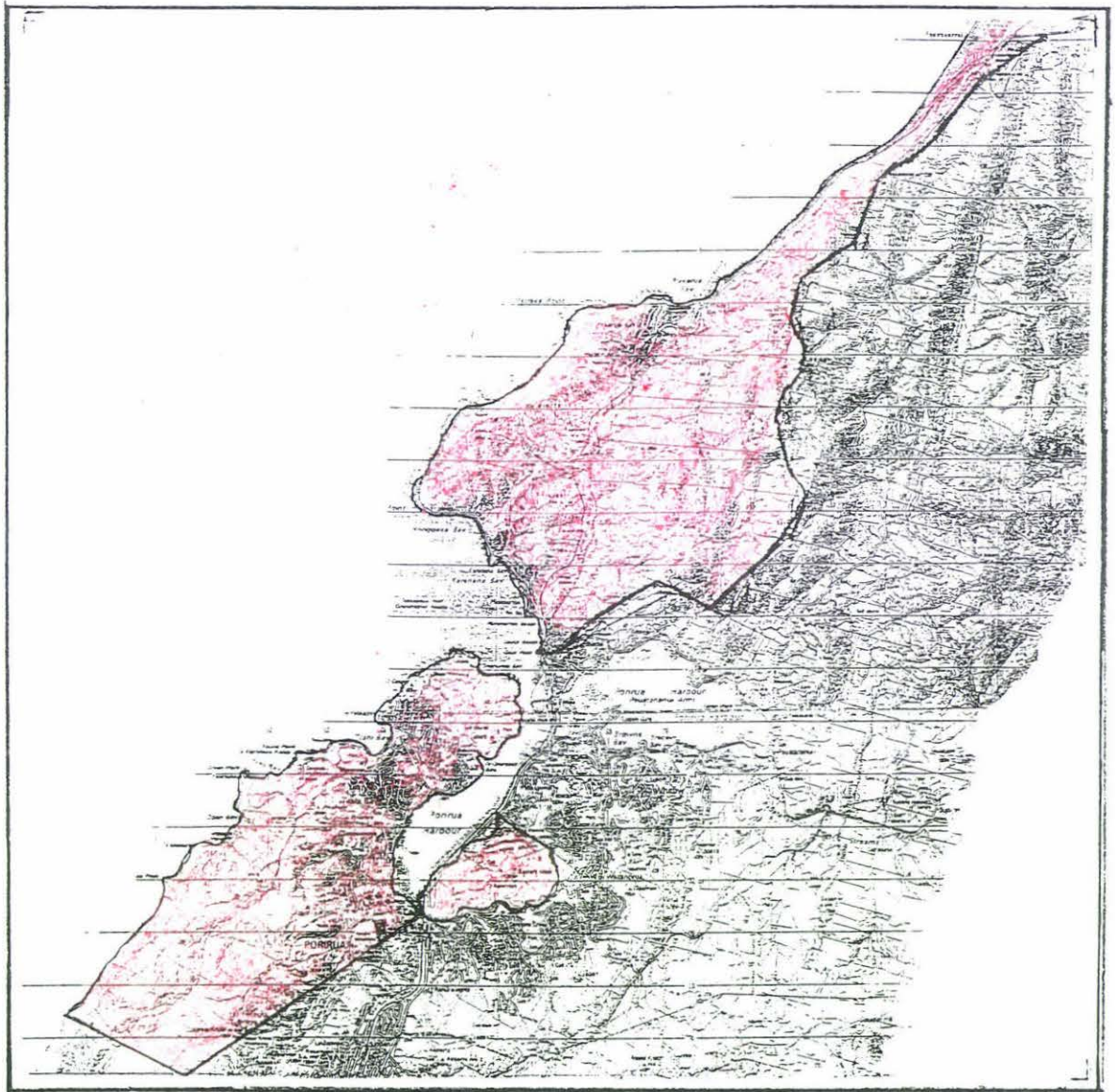


Figure 5.3. Original Extent of Porirua Reserves, Excluding Wainui Block. Using as a base map: Department of Lands and Survey, Topographical Map, R26/27. WGTN and Paraparaumu. 1:50 000, 1996.

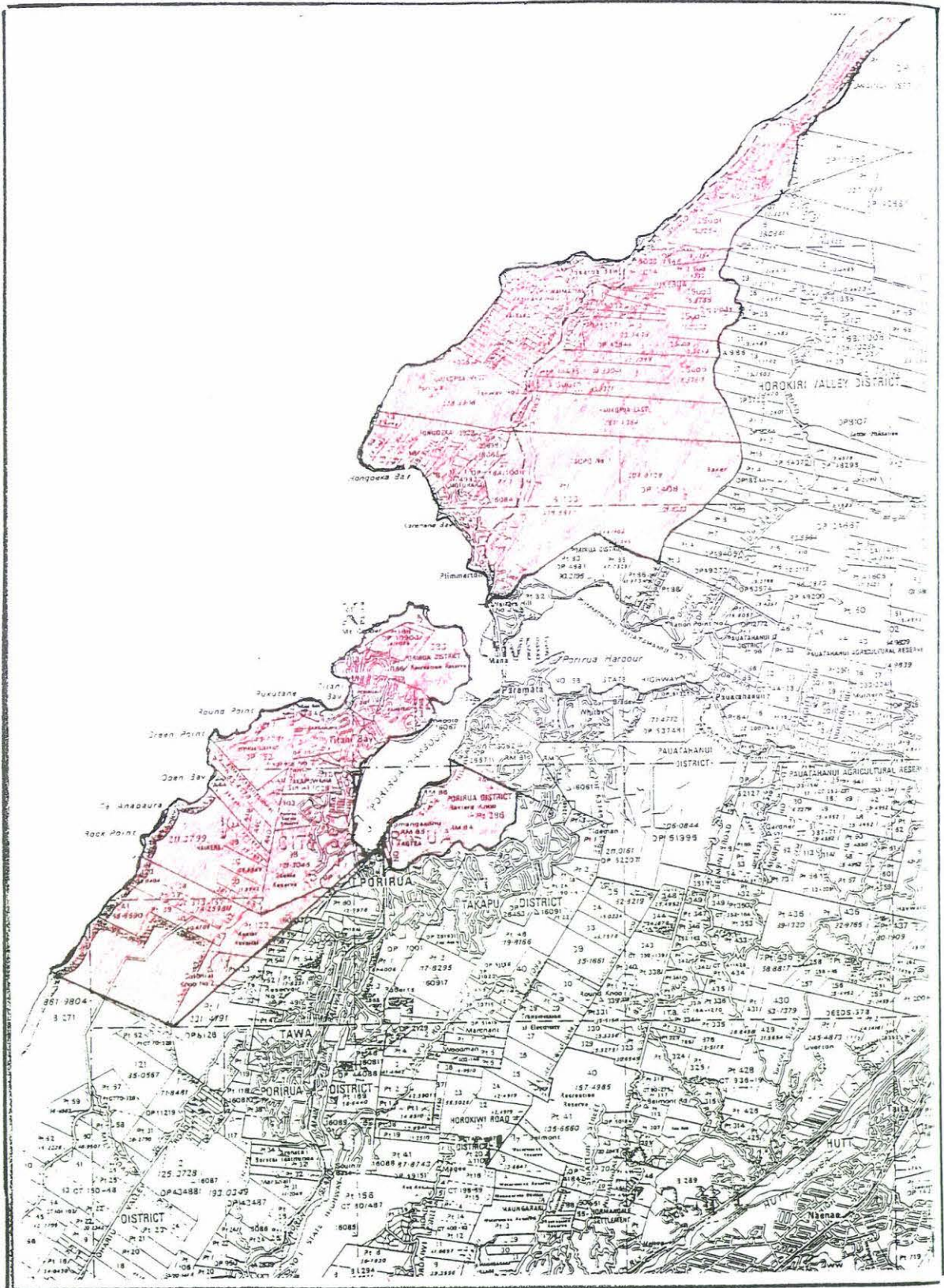


Figure 5.4. Original Extent of Porirua Reserve, Excluding Wainui Block, Using as a base map: Department of Lands and Survey. NZMS 261, Sheet R26 and R27. Cadastral Map. 1:50 000.

The 'landscape' of the Porirua district is divided into cadastral spaces and the Porirua reserves are emplaced within this frame. Many of these spaces, while alienated, retain the names and boundaries of the original blocks created by the Native Land Court in the 1860/80s. Thus the spaces have become static features covering Porirua like a web. It is also within these spaces labeled as 'Crown land' that the Waitangi Tribunal must choose land for the reparation of Treaty grievances in the advent of a successful claim. The main blocks (in the Porirua district) that could be returned to Toa Rangatira include:

1. Whitieria block, currently under Crown ownership and DoC management;
2. Porirua Scenic Reserve (121.3045 hectares), formally part of the Takapuwahia block, now under Crown ownership and DoC management;
3. Porirua Hospital Surplus Lands;
4. Housing NZ Surplus Lands, especially parts of the Takapuwahia block and Aotea block;
5. Transit NZ Surplus Lands, small lots, i.e Plimmerton old rail yard;
6. LandCorp land (Paekakariki);
7. Queen Elizabeth Park, Paekakariki;
8. The Porirua Harbour sea-bed; and
9. Other Conservation and Crown lands including Mana Island and Akatarāwa Forest.

Along with the return of these lands, the RMA and *Historic Places Act* have the potential to ensure the interests of Toa Rangatira are provided for in relation to private land, seas and rivers. In others words the actions of the private owners, developers and residents may be regulated in places such as the Taupo No.2 block and at Komangarautawhiri.

Both processes will require the construction of new maps. "Can these maps be liberated from the cadastral boundaries and spaces that currently enframe the Porirua lands?"

ROOM SIX

CONCLUSIONS

In the beginning of this thesis/exhibition I invited the reader to imagine entering into a tikouka living at Plimmerton. It is within this metaphor of a tree that I have presented my thesis, my text. I have used the metaphor of a tikouka to illustrate how my research has been situated in the political locations of space, time, and identity. This historical narrative is 'my' representation constructed from a range of textual fields and I see the boundary between 'academic' and personal social experience problematic. I do not claim this thesis is the 'total' history of the three reserves; all my conclusions, theories, and interpretations are open to contest, debate and revision. My vision is not detached from my surroundings, floating above the earth with an all-seeing gaze. I cannot 'stand-back' from history, geography, nature, landscape or 'reality'. Instead, being within multiple identities, contexts, discourses, this thesis contributes towards an understanding of reality; space, time, culture and landscape. Thus I am situated and my understandings are 'rooted' in the 'ground'; in the complex entanglements and strata of social relationships. In this sense my epistemology is not so much about 'doing' but *being* historical geography.

While rejecting the global vision of the global system (or the West, or the Eurocenter) I am still part of that system and importantly the intellectual tradition of the global system has provided a basis for my positionality. As my writings have shown I have remained dependent on metropolitan critical social understandings classified into feminist, post-colonial, dialectical historical materialism, and cultural/historical geographic theory. I do, however, agree with Derek Gregory that the importation of such theory requires 'import duties'. For this reason I have attempted to construct what Gayatri Spivak terms a 'responsibility structure' in my methodology. Using the metaphor of a 'structure' or 'building' I hope I have put in some strong foundations. Yet such a structure can never be completed and there is no master plan or list of ethics that provide step by step instructions. Constructing a responsibility structure does take work; work at creating

spaces of communication, trust, and understanding. It is this responsibility relationship that affirms my ability to respond, to speak. And the aim of all these words....to help build a 'reality' based on the ethics of love, unity and social justice.

Like this thesis, maps can be defined by a metaphor, the 'text'. The map/text is written by someone and is an expression of that person's textual fields of representation. The map creates and reproduces understandings of reality, history, geography and the landscape within a discursive formation. It is impossible for someone to draw a map from a standpoint from no-where, a place up in the sky, away from the earth. Instead maps are social constructions, constructed by someone for a particular purpose. Mapping discourse is a form of power/knowledge. By the representation of spatial images, maps enable people to 'see things'; a vision. This vision, constructed by particular survey regimes, is produced within a social context and different, intersecting social contexts will influence different ways of seeing, different modes of spatial representation. Thus maps, like ideas of space and time, are socially produced.

Mapping discourse, as a social product, can also be used by people to produce and reproduce unequal social relations. In this thesis, I have illustrated this ideological role of mapping discourse in the historical context of the three Porirua reserves. The mapping of the reserves was never a 'neutral' activity, instead, it was a method of spatial control over the indigenous people; Toa Rangatira. As a spatial control strategy the frame of the Porirua reserves was created by the New Zealand Company surveyors and their attempt to mark out a cadastral landscape in the Wellington district. This landscape aimed to construct a territory within which the 'new' land could be connected to the 'old'; a place where controlled settlement and capitalism would flourish; a place which would be another 'England' in the South Pacific. In this plan, the indigenous people were expected to settle in the allocated cadastral spaces and amalgamate into the colonial society.

In the Porirua story, the New Company's 'Native' reserve plan was abandoned. After opposition from Toa Rangatira and intervention by the Crown, an reformulated reserve policy was implemented and this policy,

driven by Governor Grey, led to the creation of the 1847 reserves. Essentially the creation of the reserves was connected to the desire of the Governor to acquire the Porirua district for settlement. Accordingly, from the perspective of the colonial authorities and the humanitarians, by the concentration of Toa Rangatira using the reserves and Native towns, the tribe could be easier to control and would share in the 'fruits' of civilization. Sharing the 'fruits' required small reserves that encompassed cultivation and settlement areas in the contact zone.

With the establishment of settler government after 1852, the strategy of mapping 'Native' reserves altered. Instead of trying to amalgamate the tribes on collectively controlled reserve lands, the ideology of land utilization and assimilation required the reserves to 'disappear' and the tribes were expected to take out residence on individual properties as defined by the Native Land Court. This survey regime required the creation of a legal landscape by a naming and boundary marking exercise. Henceforth a close mesh between the Native Land Court, the Survey Department and the Land Transfer Office enabled the reserves to be reclassified, surveyed, named and divided among the 'owners'. Alienation of the reserve lands was dependent on this legal territory as the land needed to be defined and named as a 'block' before it could appear in the Native Land Court. In this way the contest for land between the various competing tribes or individuals was enframed in the context of the surveyed 'blocks'; the Native Land Court constructed the legal territory for land alienation and this territory was central to the power of the Court.

Since the 1960s New Zealand has weakened its ties to 'Mother' England and the old British Empire has withdrawn. New Zealand, now a part of the Pacific (or Asia?), is left to sort out a post-colonial identity within a global capitalist mode of accumulation. Under pressure from the Maori, the Government has recognized the Treaty of Waitangi as important and from this basis has begun to restructure some Common law and redress Treaty grievances. This process I have labeled as essentially integrationist; it is expected the tribes define their territory and rights within the boundary of the nation-state New Zealand/Aotearoa. Integrationist rhetoric assumes 'we' have two voices (Maori and pakeha) and one land. Yet the sovereignty of the nation-state, the 'one land' is defined by a legal 'territory' created with

the help of a map. Mapping discourse puts people and groups in their 'place' in a complex process of boundary making and naming upon a mathematical grid. For example, I am enframed and emplaced within the spatial territory of Levin, Manawatu, North Island, New Zealand/Aotearoa. I am defined in 'space'. This hegemonic space provides the 'stage' on which I play the 'game of life'. And it is the map that provides this vision of a 'stage', and taxonomic system where everything becomes 'objects' which can be placed in space.

Instead landscape and space is produced socially. Everything is dynamic, growing, changing and flowing. Using critical social theory I have attempted to undermine the 'natural' space of the governmental and legal map by unmasking the power relations that hide in fetishisation, by exposing it as a strategy of surveillance and control, by undermining its hegemony and by viewing it as an ideological discourse which has had serious implications for groups like Toa Rangatira. Yet perhaps the map needs to be reconstructed by answering the questions; how can 'we' produce spatial images that would support social justice? What sort of boundaries would these maps have? And who would control the map production process? I believe answering these questions requires a basic collective commitment to love, a unity that affirms the interconnections of everyone and everything, and wisdom to know when and how to listen and speak.

The remnants of the Porirua reserves are now the places from which Toa Rangatira come together as a people and it is possible for some of the old reserve lands will reappear on the map as a result of the Waitangi Tribunal process. These spaces will, however, be mapped within the cadastral system of private property. By challenging the concept of space 'we' can challenge the spaces that seek to contain 'us' in a place. I hope this thesis has contributed towards an historical geographical understanding of the three reserves and provided some thoughts on how a post colonial geography can be written and imagined.

6.1 APPENDIX

1. Porirua Deed, 1 April 1847. Source, Waitangi Tribunal.
2. Porirua, Waikanae, Wainui, Papakowhai, Island of Mana Deeds. In, Turton, *Maori Deeds of Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand*, (George Didsbury, 1878) pages 127-133.
3. "Serrantes to Colonial Secretary", In, Turton, *Maori Deeds of Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand*, (George Didsbury, 1878) No. C-1.
4. Te Awekotuku, *He Tikanga Whakaaro, Research Ethics in the Maori Community* (Wellington: Manatu Maori, 1991).

WEN 144

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ENTD ON CARD

CH 17 17 17

Poirua deed

1 April 1841



17-1-76 47/1006 144 WGN 144-A
 Porirua 1st April 1847

Ko nga wenua enei e tukua ana e matou mo Kawana
 timata mai i te rohe i wakaritea e Te Pina i mua
 i Te Kenepeua, ka haere mai ki Porirua, Tawatahanui
 Horokiri, a haere atu ki Wainui, katahi ka tika
 wakaute te rohe ki Pouawa, haere rawa atu Tawaka
 taka — E toru nga wahi i roto i nga rohe o
 te wenua e tukuna ana mo Kawana, e waiho
 ana ki a matou. Ka timata mai tetahi i Te
 Arataura ka tika te rohe ki uta, ka tahi ka puka
 puta mai ki waho i te ware o Huri, ka tika
 tonu i tatahi tetahi rohe, haere noa mai ki
 Waitawa, a haere tonu atu i tatahi tae noa
 ki te Arataura — Kei a matou ano tena —
 Haere atu te rohe i te ware o Huri, ka haere atu
 ki te awa i te takahi o te mara o Te Hiko, ka tika
 i te awa haere tonu mai i tua o te hiwi, ka
 pakaru mai ki tatahi i Papakohai, i waho ite
 mai o te kainga o oahu. Kei a matou ano
 tena — Ka timata tetahi rohe i Tawitikiuri, ka
 haere i te hiwi haere tonu ka tae ki te ritenga o
 Te Kakahe, ka tahi ka puka wakaute, kei nga
 maka i tuhia ki te putapuka te rohe, ka tae

Ki te maunga i runga ake o Te Paripari, ka tika
 i runga i te kiwi, ka re tōmū i runga i te kiwi. Kō
 tae ki Wainui, ki tāhi ka hūke ki roto ki te awa o
 Wainui, ka tika i tōa awa te rohe, ka tae ki Pouawa
 tika tōmū atu i reira ki Pawakataka—ko te lāka
 ki waho o tenei rohe kēi a matou ano — Ki te
 taka a matou mara tāewa i runga ake o Taupo
 ki roto i nga rohe a Kawana, me wakatōkima i
 era ki a matou — Ko nga utu mo enei
 wenua, kōia enei, e rua mō ano nga pauna mōni
 kotahi mano e homai a tenei rangi a te tuatahi
 o nga ra o Aperira 1847 — e rima nga pauna a
 te tuatahi o nga ra o Aperira 1848 — e rima
 nga pauna a te tuatahi o nga ra o Aperira 1849.
 kōia enei ka hūe mano — e oī ano ka wakatōkima

his
 Rawiri Kōngi x Puaka
 mark

his
 Te Watarauhi x Kōhōrua
 mark

his
 Mohi x Te Hua
 mark

Na Heuere Matene, te Whiri
 o te Pōwhiri o Te Raukawa
 Nōparaka Whiri

his
Report & Memoranda
made

his
Parsons x Toangina
mark

Witnesses to signatures

H. P. Lovecraft

S. H. H. H. H.
Captain 99 1/2

Gr. Wood Lemp. 99. Reg.

W. H. Lawrence Lt. Col. Ref-
Interpreter to the Forces

Received by Mr. Hark
 the investment of \$1000
 from L. F. W.
 for the purchase of quantities
 of various interests in
 H. S. R. S. Scherer
 T. 4. 19/17

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old Series

Barbara L. Wainer

No. 37.

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9th April 1847

W. G. Thompson



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Refractive Index
S. Wright 10/2

Porirua 1st April 1847

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These are the Lands that are given
up by us to the Governor beginning at
the Boundary formerly laid ^{down} to us by
Mr. Spain, at the Henuwae, running
to Perira, Paitakaharui, Horokiri, ex-
tending as far as Wainui; then the
boundary takes a straight course inland
to Poiawa, running quite as far as
Pawakataka. There are three places
kept in reserve for us, of the Land that
is given up by us to the Governor. One
of them beginning at Te Atataura, run-
ning in a straight line inland, then
it crosses, and comes out at the House
belonging to Mr. Jackson, running along
the Water edge. The other Boundary
comes as far as Waitawa, and runs
straight along the Water side until it
reaches Te Atataura. We have like-
wise this again in reserve, the boundary
of which runs from Jackson's house
until it reaches the Creek on the side
of the cultivated grounds of Te Hiko.
Then it runs straight along that river
running straight along at the back of
the ridge; then breaking out again to the
Water side at Papakohai a little outside
of the Settlement of Oahu. We have
this again in reserve, the Boundary
of which begins at Tawitikiuri, running
along the ridge, until it reaches opposite
the reeds. It then crosses inland ac-
cording to the Plan laid down in the
Map reaching the Mountains above the
Paripari

Paripara, then it runs along the ridge to Wainui, and it there descends into the Wainui River. It then runs straight along that river to Pouawa running to Pawa Katika, the part outside of this boundary we still retain as ours —
 If any of our cultivations that are above Taupo should fall within the boundary of the Governor's land they are to be returned to us —

The payments for these lands are those Two Thousand Pounds in money — One thousand to be given us on the first day of April 1847 — Five Hundred Pounds on the 1st day of April 1848 Five Hundred Pounds on the 1st day of April 1849 which being added together makes Two Thousand which concludes the arrangement —

A true Translation.

H. Quicke

Doct Interpreter

PROVINCE OF WELLINGTON.

II.—PORIRUA AND WAIKANAE DISTRICTS.

Deeds—No. 22.

PORIRUA BLOCK, PORIRUA DISTRICT.

Porirua 1st Aperira 1847.

Ko nga wenua enei e tukua ana e matou mo Kawana timata mai i te rohe i wakaritea e Te Peina i mua i Te Kenepuru, ka haere mai ki Porirua, Paustahanui Horokiri, a haere atu ki Wainui, katahi ka tika wakautu te rohe ki Pouawa, haere rawa atu Pawa-kataka. E toru nga wahi i roto i nga rohe o te wenua e tukua ana mo Kawana, e waiho ana ki a matou; ka timata mai tetahi i Te Arataura, ka tika te rohe ki uta, ka tahi ka peka, puta mai ki waho i te ware o Huri, ka tika tonu i tahi tetahi rohe haere noa mai ki Waitawa, a haere tonu atu i tahi, tae noa ki te Arataura—kei a matou ano tenei—Haere atu te rohe i te ware o Huri, ka haere atu ki te awa i te taha o te mara o Te Hiko, ka tika i te ara awa, haere tonu mai i tua o te Hiwi, ka pakaru mai ki tahi i Papakohai, i waho iti mai o te kainga o Oahu kei a matou ano tenei—Ka timata tetahi rohe i Tawitukuri, ka haere i te hiwi, haere tonu ka tae ki te ritenga o Te Kakaho, katahi ka peka wakautu, kei nga maka i tuhia ki te pukapuka te rohe, ka tae ki te maunga i runga ake o Te Paripari, ka tika i runga i te hiwi, haere tonu i runga i te hiwi ka tae ki Wainui, ka tahi ka heke ki roto ki te awa o Wainui, ka tika i te ara awa te rohe, ka tae ki Pouawa tika tonu atu i reira ki Pawa-kataka,—ko te taha ki waho o tenei rohe kei a matou ano—ki te taka a matou mara taewa i runga ake o Taupo ki roto i nga rohe a Kawana, me wakabokimai era ki a matou. Ko nga utu mo enei wenua, koia enei, e rua mano nga pauna moni kotahi mano e homai a tenei rangi a te tuatahi o nga rau o Aperira 1847—e rima nga rau a te tuatahi o nga rau o Aperira 1848—e rima nga rau a te tuatahi o nga rau o Aperira 1849—huia enei ka rua mano—eoi ano ka waka-mutua.

Rawiri Kingi Puaha x his	Na Henere Matene te Wiwi.
mark.	Na Tamihana Te Rauparaba.
Te Watarauibi Nohorua x his	Nopora Te Ngiba.
mark.	Ropota Hurumutu x his mark.
Mohi Te Hua x his mark.	Paraone Toangina x his mark.

Witnesses to signatures—

W. A. McCleverty, Lt.-Colonel.
T. Armstrong, Captain, 99th Regt.
L. R. Elliot, Lieut., 99th Regt.
W. F. G. Servantes, Lt., 6th Regt., Interpreter to the Forces.

TRANSLATION.

THESE are the lands that are given up by us to the Governor beginning at the boundary formerly laid down to us by Mr. Spain, at the Kenepuru, running to Porirua, Paustahanui Horokiri, extending as far as Wainui, then the boundary takes a straight course inland to Pouawa, running quite as far as Pawa-kataka.—There are Three places kept in reserve for us, of the land that is given up by us to the Governor—One of them beginning at Te Arataura, running in a straight line inland, then it crosses, and comes out at the house belonging to Mr. Jackson, running along the Water edge.—The other boundary comes as far as Waitawa, and runs straight along the water side until it reaches Te Arataura.—We have likewise this again in reserve, the boundary of which runs from Jackson's house until it reaches the Creek on the side of the cultivated ground of Te Hiko, then it runs straight along that River running straight along at the back of the ridge, then breaking out again to the water side at Papakohai a little outside of the settlement of Oahu. We have this again in Reserve the Boundary of which begins at Tawitukuri, running along the ridge until it reaches opposite the reeds. It then crosses inland according to the plan laid down in the map reaching the Mountains above the Paripari, then it runs along the ridge to Wainui, and it there descends into the Wainui river. It then runs straight along that river to Pouawa running to Pawa-kataka, the part outside of this boundary we still retain as ours. If any of our cultivations that are above Taupo should fall within the boundary of the Governor's Land, they are to be returned to us.

1847.

1 April.

PORIRUA DISTRICT.

PORIRUA.

Three Native
reserves:

Total price, £2,000.

1847.

1 April.

PORIRUA DISTRICT.

PORIRUA.

Three Native
reserves:

PORIRUA
continued.

The payments for these lands are these Two thousand pounds in money—One thousand to be given us on the first day of April 1847. Five hundred pounds on the first day of April 1848. Five hundred pounds on the first day of April 1849 which being added together makes Two thousand which concludes the arrangement.

A True Translation.

W. DUNCAN,
Govt. Interpreter.

1847.
1 April.
Receipt for £1,000.

Porirua, April 1st, 1847.
Received from Lieutenant Colonel McCleverty the sum of One thousand pounds being the first instalment of Two thousand pounds of the payment for the Porirua District, and other Lands named in the Deed of Sale signed by us this day.

Rawiri Kingi Puaha x his mark.	Nopera Te Ngina x his mark.
Te Watarauhi Nohorua x his mark.	Ropota Hurumutu x his mark.
Mohi Te Hua x his mark.	Paraone Toaogina x his mark.
Na Henere Matene te Wiwhi.	Rawiri Kingi Puaha x his mark for Te Waka Te Kotua.
Na Tamihana Te Rauparaha.	Rawiri Kingi Puaha x his mark for Tapui.

Witnesses—

W. A. McCleverty, Lt.-Colonel.
J. Armstrong, Captain, 99th Regt.
L. R. Elliot, Lieut., 99th Regt.
W. F. G. Servantes, Lt., 6th Regt., Interpreter to the Forces.

I certify that I interpreted the above receipt to the signers of the same, in presence of the persons who have witnessed their signatures.

W. F. G. SERVANTES,
Lt., 6th Regt., Interpreter to the Forces.

Registration.

No. 37 Conveyance received for Registration one o'clock P.M., 9th April, 1847.
(L.S.) R. GRIMSTON,
Registrar of Deeds, Wellington.

A True Copy of Original Deed, Translation, Receipt, and Endorsement.

Wellington, January 17th, 1876.

H. HANSON TURTON.

1858.
20 April.

WAIKANAÉ
DISTRICT.
WAIKANAÉ.

Receipt for £140,
advance.
Boundaries.

Deeds—No. 23.

WAIKANAÉ BLOCK, WAIKANAÉ DISTRICT.

TENEI PUKAPUKA tuku whenua i tuihitubia nei i tenei ra i te rua tekau o Apriera (20th of April) 1853 he pukapuka tupo whakaae poto na matou na nga rangatira me nga tangata o Ngatitua o Ngatiawa kia tino tukua rawatia tetahi wahi o te matou nei kainga ki a Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarangi, ki nga Kingi, Kuini ranei o muri iho i a ia ake tonu atu. A mo te matou whakaaetanga kia tukua tenei kainga o whakaae ana a Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarangi mona kia homai ki a matou nga Pauna moni kotahi te rau e wha tekau (£140) takitahi, ko aua moni kua riro mai ki a matou i tenei ra na te Herangi (William N. Searancke) i homai. Ko nga rohe o te whenua koia enei ka timata i Poawa, rere tonu ki Pawakataka, ikonei ka ahu wakararo i te rohe o te whenua i ho' a a Ngatikahungunu a ahu tonu mai i runga i te rohe o te whenua o Heruwini te a pe a puta noa ki te Tae ki Waikanae ka ahu whakarunga tutaki noa ki Poawa.

A kia ruritia ra ano tenei whenua ka Whakarite ai nga utu he whakaotinga.

A mo te matou whakaaetanga ki nga tikanga katoa o tenei Pukapuka kua tubia iho o matou tohu me o matou ingoa. A mo te whakaaetanga o te Kuini o Ingarangi mona ki nga tikanga katoa o tenei Pukapuka kua tubia iho te ingoa o William N. Searancke tetahi o nga kai whakarite whenua mo te Kawana o Nui Tireni.

WILLIAM N. SEARANCKE,
Dist. Commr.

Matene te Whiwhi.
Nopera.
Hori Tumua.
Mohi Tiabo.
Pohipi te Ono.
Tiabo.

Hemi Wakata.
Tamata.
Rawiri Puaha x his mark.
Heruwini te Tupu x his mark.
Ropata.
Teira.

Nga kai titiro—

Jno. Sully, Waitarapa, District Surveyor.
Hoani Meihana.

Produced before the Native Land Court at Waikanae this 22nd day of May 1873 by Mr. Wardell as Crown Agent at the investigation of the claims of Eruini Te Tupe to a block called Musupoko within the Ngarara Block.

J. ROGAN,
Judge.

TRANSLATION.

THIS DEED of sale of land written on this twentieth (20th) day of April 1858 is a document of the full and true consent of us the Chiefs and people of Ngatitoea and Ngatiawa to fully cede a portion of our place to Victoria the Queen of England and to the Kings or Queens who may succeed Her for ever. And in consideration of our consent to cede this place Victoria the Queen of England on Her part agrees to pay us the sum of One hundred and forty pounds sterling (£140) which moneys we have this day received from Mr. William N. Searancke. These are the boundaries of the land: Commencing at Poawa thence direct to Pawakataka thence towards the North along the boundary of the land sold by Ngatikahungunu thence along the boundary of Heruwini to Tupe's land to the sea at Waikanae thence in a southerly direction to Poawa.

When this land is surveyed the final payment to us will be decided upon.

And in token of our consent to all the conditions of this Document we have made our marks and signed our names.

And in token of the consent of the Queen of England on Her part to all the conditions of this Document the name of William N. Searancke one of the Land Purchase Commissioners for the Governor of New Zealand is signed hereunto.

[Witnesses.]

[Signatures.]

Correct Translation.

T. E. YOUNG,

Translator, Native Department.

A True Copy of Original Deed and Translation.

H. HANSON TURTON.

Wellington, January 13th, 1875.

1858.

20 April.

WAIKANAE DISTRICT.

WAIKANAE.

Receipt for £140, advance.

Boundaries.

Deeds—No. 23a.

WAINUI BLOCK, WAIKANAE DISTRICT.

TENEI PUKAPUKA tuku whenua e tuhituhia nei i tenei ra i te iwa o nga ra o Hune (9th) i te tau o to tatou Ariki. Kotahi mano e waru rau e rima tekau ma iwa 1859. He Pukapuka tino wakaane pono na matou na nga Rangatira me nga tangata o Ngatitoea e mau nei nga ingoa ki tenei pukapuka mo matou mo a matou whanaunga me o matou uri katoa e whanau i muri iho i a matou kia tino tukua rawatia tetahi wahi o to matou kainga ki a Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarani ki nga Kingi Kuini ranei o muri iho i a ia ake tonu atu. A mo to matou wakaetanga kia tino tukua rawatia tenei wahi o to matou kainga o wakaane ana hoki a Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarani mona kia utua matou ki nga pauna moni e waru rau e rima tekau takitahi £850. E rima tekau takitahi kua riro mai ki a matou i te 20th o Apriera 1858. E waru rau takitahi £800 o aua moni kua riro mai ki a matou i tenei ra na te Herangi i homai. Nga rohe o te whenua ka timata ki te Ngutu awa o Whareroa ka rere ki uta i runga i te rohe o te whenua kua oti te tuku atu ki a te Kuini i te 26 o Nowema 1858 a Paparauponga ra ano ko te rohe tenei o te whenua i tuku atu Ngatikahungunu ki a te Kuini imua ka rere whaka te Tonga i runga i te maunga tae noa mai ki Pawakataka ka ahu mai i konei waka te kapekape o Pouawa ka whiti i te Rore nui o te Kuini ki Tunupo rere tonu ki te Takutai i te Ana a hau ka ahu waka raro i te Takutai a Paekakariki a Wainui a te ngutuawa o Whareroa ka tutaki. Ko nga wahi whenua ma matou i roto i nga rohe koia enei ko o matou nei kainga kei Whareroa 17 eka kei Wainui 135 eka kei Paekakariki 135 eka, ko tetahi wahi ki Ngapaipurua haere noa i te taha ropo tae noa ki te rohe i te taha raro 280 eka. Tetahi wahi ki te Rongo o te Wera 160 eka. Tetahi wahi ko Te Puka ki uta mai o Wainui 60 eka. Ki te wakaane hoki matou ki te wahi whenua ki Paekakariki 6½ eka kua tukua atu ki a Peti ratou ko ana Tamariki hawekaihe me tetahi wahi whenua ki Paekakariki hoki he aroha noa atu no matou ko to matou hoa omua ki a Henry Flugent ma to Kawanatanga enei wahi o rua o wakatumanu atu, tetahi ki a Peti ratou ko ana Tamariki hawekaihi. Tetahi ki a Henry Flugent (2½ eka) Heoi kua oti i a matou te hurihuri te mihi te poroporoake te tino tuku rawa i tenei kainga o matou me ona awa me ona manga me ona roto me ona wai me ona rakau me ona ota ota me ona kohatu me ona wahi pare me ona wahi ataahua me ona wahi kino munga mea katoa ki runga ranei o te whenua ki raro ranei o te whenua me nga aha noa iho o taua whenua ka oti rawa i a matou te tino tuku rawa atu i tenei ra e witi nei he whenua pumau na matou ki a Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarani ki nga Kingi Kuini ranei o muri iho i a ia ake tonu atu. A mo to matou wakaetanga ki nga tikanga katoa o roto i tenei pukapuka ka tuhia iho o matou o matou ingoa me o matou tohu. A mo te wakaetanga o te Kuini o Ingarani mona ki nga tikanga katoa o roto i tenei pukapuka ka tuhia iho e te Herangi tetahi o nga kai whakarite whenua o te Kawana o Nui Tireni tona ingoa.

WILLIAM N. SEARANCKE,
District Commissioner N.L.P.D.

Ko te Waka Toa x his mark.
Roweti to Horomamuku x his
mark.
Hemi Wareti x his mark.
Pirimona Mitikakau x.
Ko te Karira Hakumanui x.
Ko Hohepa Tekunui x.
Wirihana Te Awaawa x.

Taimona Riwha x.
Roweti Ngahuhi.
Hopa Pango x.
Te Pene Pa Rema x.
Te Raha x.
Te Pene To Rakahere x.
Wi o Piona Maihi x.
Retimana Poaka x.

1859.

9 June.

WAIKANAE DISTRICT.

WAINUI.

Receipt for ... £800
20 April, 1858 50

£850

Boundaries.

WAINUI
continued.

Patara Tokohuia x.
Hopa Te Ahitahu x.
Tenzera Te Hautihoro x.
Kereopa Te Ikameke x.
Heremaia Maui x.
Enoka Hokireinga x.
Mohi Tiaho.
Werereka Nuka x his mark.
Hoani Pihama x his mark.
Ngaria Te Pane.
Wirihana Maui.
Ko te Hiko.
Hemara Horoatua.
Na Pirira Hurumutu.
Aperahama Pura.
Potete Tetehe x.
Heperi Riki.
Nikorima te Mapu.
Tahana te Pou x.
Hopa te Whata x.
Karapaiura.
Te Rai.
Ko Wairapata x.
Ko te Kamura.
Ko Hemi te Whakarau x.
Te Waka Hauhau x his mark.
Te Rei x his mark.
Metana x his mark.
Heremaia Rangihawe.
Whita.
Paura te Raiherca.
Pohorama.
Horo Rirangi x.
Ropata.
Hori Tunui.
Rapihana te Otaota.
Rakorako x his mark.
Poihipi te Ono.
Rota Takirau.
Raharuhi Taukawa x.
Aperahama te Kopi x.
Hakaraia Te Paonga x.
Ripini Pitara.

Na To Rou enei
ingoa i tuhituhi.

Mokai Paremata x.
Wiremu Parata.
Ko te Rou.
Timoti Tokenani.
Ko te Tana te Kaho.
Ko Tamati te Wanga.
Ko Hori Rohe.
Ko Ringi Kuri.
Tamati.
Matene te Whiwhi.
Tamihana te Rauparaha.
Piripi Ropiha x.
Hohaia Rangiauru x.
Hemi Whakatau.
Rokapa x his mark.
Inia Te Hapoko x.
Petuha Huatahi x.
Iharaira x his mark.
Remao Tikokoe.
Ko Hemi Hare.
Timoti Taba.
Wiremu te Kanse x his m
Tunga.
Rangimairehou.
Te Rangi Rurupuni x.
Hoani Morangi.
Noa x his mark.
Hone Tuhati x his mark.
Inio Te Hata.
Warena x his mark.
Epiha te Poki
Epiha Poiha Repo x his m
Wiremu Kingi te Koihua
mark.
Te Kana x his mark.
Horopapara x his mark.
Tamihana Putiki.
Wiremu Piti x his mark.
Arapata x his mark.
Hohepa Te Maihenga x
mark.
John Te Okoro.
Hohaia Pokaitara.

Nga kai titiro ki enei homaitanga utu me enei
tuhinga ingoa—

George F. Swainson, Surveyor, Wellington.
Richard Eagen, Storekeeper, Otaki.
A. S. Robinson, Surveyor, Wellington.

1859.
9 June.
WAIKANA E DISTRICT.
WAINUI.

Receipt for ... £800
20 April, 1858 50
£850
Boundaries.

TRANSLATION.

THIS DEED of sale of land written on this 9th day of June in the year of our Lord thousand eight hundred and fifty nine 1859 is a deed of the true consent of us the c and people of Ngatitoea whose names are hereunder written on behalf of ourselves relatives and all our descendants who may be born after us to finally cede a portio our place to Victoria the Queen of England and to the Kings or Queens who succeed her for ever. And for our consent to entirely give up this portion of our p to Victoria the Queen of England agrees on her behalf to pay us the sum of Eight hun and fifty pounds £850. We received fifty pounds on the 20th April 1858 and on day we have received eight hundred pounds of that money by the hands of Searancko. The boundaries of the land commence at the mouth of Whareroa the inland along the boundary of the land ceded to the Queen on the 26th November 1 to Paparauponga this is the boundary of the land ceded (by) Ngatikahungunu to Queen formerly—thence towards the South along the mouna to Pawakataka thence in a North Westerly direction to Pouawa thence across the Queen's high roa Tunupo thence to the beach at Te Ana-a-Hau thence Northerly along the beach Paekakariki Wainui and the mouth of Whareroa where it ends. The pieces of land us in these boundaries are these. Our settlements at Whareroa 17 acres at Wainui acres, at Paekakariki 135 acres. There is one place at Ngapaipuru from thence al the swamp till it strikes the Northern boundary, 280 acres, One portion at Te Rong te-wera 160 acres, one portion at Te Puka inland of Wainui 60 acres.

If we consent also to the land at Paekakariki 6½ acres given to Peti and her l caste children and a piece of land at Paekakariki a free gift to our old friend He Flugent the Government will permanently fix these places the one for Peti and half caste children the other for Henry Flugent (2½ acres). Well we have conside

over we have greeted we have bidden farewell to and entirely given up this place of ours with its streams its branches (mountains?) its lakes its waters its trees its grass its stones its rough places and its good places and its bad places and everything either on the land or under it with everything appertaining to the land we have given it up entirely under the shining sun as permanent land for Victoria the Queen of England and the Kings or Queens who may succeed her for ever. In token of our consent to all the conditions of this document we hereunto set our names and marks. And in token of the consent of the Queen of England on her behalf to all the conditions of this document Mr. Searancke one of the Government land purchase Commissioners has hereunto signed his name.

(Sd.) WILLIAM N. SEARANCKE,

District Commissioner N.L.P.D.

(Sd.) KO TE WAKA TOA x his mark.

(Sd.) REWETI TE HOBOMAMAKU x his mark.

HEMI WARETI x his mark.

And 95 other signatures.

Witnesses—

George F. Swainson, Surveyor, Wellington.

Richard Eagen, Storekeeper, Otaki.

A. S. Robinson, Surveyor, Wellington.

Correct Translation.

T. E. YOUNG,

Translator, Native Department.

A True Copy of Original Deed and Translation.

H. HANSON TURTON.

Wellington, November 17th, 1875.

WAINUI
continued.

Deeds—No. 24.

PAPAKOWHAI BLOCK, PORIRUA DISTRICT.

TENEI PUKAPUKA i tuhituhia i tenei rua tekau ma waru o nga ra o Mei i te tau o to tatou Ariki 1862 he pukapuka tino hoko tino hoatu tino tuku whakaoti atu na matou na nga Rangatira me nga tangata o Ngatitona no ratou nga ingoa e mau i raro nei a hei whakaatu tenei Pukapuka mo matou mo o matou whanaunga me o matou uri mo te tuhituhinga o o matou ingoa ki tenei pukapuka i raro i te ra e whiti nei kua whakarerea rawatia kua tino tukuna rawatia atu ki a Wikitoria Kuini o Ingarani ki ona uri ki nga Kingi ki nga Kuini o muri iho i a ia me ana me a ratou e whakarite ai hei whakariteanga mo nga pauna moni e rua rau kotahi tekau kua utua mai ki a matou e Petetona (Isaac Earl Featherston) mo te Kuini (a e whakaetia nei a matou te rironga mai o aua moni) ko taua wahi whenua katoa kei Porirua ko Papakowhai te ingoa o taua wahi whenua ko nga rohe kei raro i te pukapuka nei e mau ana te korero whakahaere ko te mapi hoki o taua whenua kua apititia ki tenei. Me ona rakau, me ona kowhatu, me ona wai, me ona awa nui, me ona roto, me ona awa ririki me nga mea katoa, o taua whenua o runga ranei o raro ranei i te mata o taua whenua me o matou tikanga me o matou take me o matou paanga katoatanga ki taua wahi. Kia mau tonu ki a Kuini Wikitoria ki ona uri ki ana ranei e whakarite ai hei tino mau tonu ake tonu atu. A hei tohu mo to matou whakaetanga ki nga tikanga katoa o tenei pukapuka kua tuhituhia nei o matou ingoa me o matou tohu. A hei tohu hoki mo te whakaetanga o te Kuini o Ingarani mo taua wahi ki nga tikanga katoa o tenei pukapuka kua tuhia nei te ingoa o Te Petetona (Isaac Earl Featherston) Kaiwhakarite whenua. Ko nga rohe enei o taua whenua ki te Hauauru ki tetahi wahi o taua whenua Maori o ono tekau ma tahi (61) tini rahi ake iti iho ranei a ki te Tonga ki te Rawhiti ki tetahi miana iti a e rere ana taua manga iti ki roto ki te manga o te Kinepuru.

I. E. FEATHERSTON,
(Te Petetona).

Horomona Nohorua.

Hohepa Tamaihengia x.

Rawiri Waitere x.

Wiremu Parata.

Ko Hare Reweti.

Ropata Hurumutu.

Nopera Tongarua.

Wi Te Kanae x.

Karehana Weta.

Waka Patuparakore x.

Ko Te Rau.

Tungia Ngahuka.

Ko Hanita.

Ko nga tangata i kite i te hoatutanga o nga moni me te tubinga o nga ingoa—

George F. Swainson, Dist. Surveyor, Wellington, N.Z.

Ebenezer Baker, Interpreter, Wellington.

Kua riro mai ki a matou i tenei ra i te rua tekau ma waru o nga ra o Mei i te tau o to tatou Ariki kotahi mano e waru rau e ono tekau ma rua (1862) nga pauna moni e rua rau kotahi tekau takitahi (£210) ko to utu tenei kua whakahuatia ki te pukapuka tuku e mau i runga ake nei kia utua mai ki a matou o Te Petetona (Isaac Earl Featherston) mo te Kuini.

HOHEPA TAMAIHENGIA x.

WIREMU PARATA.

Mona mo ana hoa.

Mona mo ana hoa.

Nga kai-titiro—

George F. Swainson, District Surveyor, Wellington, N.Z.

Ebenezer Baker, Interpreter, Wellington.

1862.
28 May.

PORIRUA DISTRICT
PAPAKOWHAI.

Boundaries.

Receipt for £210.

1862.
28 May.

PORIRUA DISTRICT.
PAPAKOWHAI.

TRANSLATION.

THIS DEED written on this twenty eighth (28) day of May in the year of our Lord 1 is a full and final sale conveyance and surrender by us the chiefs and people of tribe of Ngatitua whose names are hereunto subscribed and witnesseth that on behalf ourselves our relatives and descendants we have by signing this Deed under the sign of this day parted with and for ever transferred unto Victoria Queen of England her heirs the Kings and Queens who may succeed her and Her and their assigns for in consideration of the sum of two hundred and ten pounds (£210) to us paid by 1 Earl Featherston on behalf of the Queen Victoria (and we hereby acknowledge receipt of the said monies) all that piece of our land situated at Porirua and na Papakowhai the boundaries whereof are set forth at the foot of this Deed and a plan which land is annexed thereto, with its trees minerals waters rivers lakes streams and appertaining to the said land or beneath the surface of the said land and all right title claim and interest whatsoever thereon To hold to Queen Victoria heirs and assigns as a lasting possession absolutely for ever and ever. And in testimony to our consent to all the conditions of this Deed we have hereunto subscribed our names and marks. And in testimony of the consent of the Queen of England on her behalf to all the conditions of this Deed the name of Isaac Earl Featherston, Land Purchase Commissioner is hereunto subscribed. These are the boundaries of the land. Bounded on the West by other portion of the said Native Land sixty one (61) chains more or less and towards the South and East by a stream being a tributary of the Kinope stream.

Boundaries.

I. E. FEATHERSTON,

Land Purchase Commissioner.

Witnesses to the payment and signatures—

Receipt for £210.

Received this twenty eighth (28) day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty two (1862) the sum of two hundred and ten pounds sterling (£210) being the consideration money expressed in the above written Deed to be paid by Isaac Earl Featherston on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen to us.

A True Copy of Original Deed and Translation.

H. HANSON TURTON.

Wellington, September 27th, 1875.

1865.
1 December.

PORIRUA DISTRICT.
ISLAND OF MANA.

Deeds—No. 25.

ISLAND OF MANA, PORIRUA DISTRICT.

£300.

TENEI PUKAPUKA i tuhituhia i tenei ra i te tahi o nga ra o Tihema i te tau o te Tatu Ariki 1865 he Pukapuka tino hoko tino heatu-tino tuku whakaaetia atu na matou na me Rangatira me nga Tangata o Ngatitua no ratou nga ingoa e mau i raro nei a hei whakaaetia tenei Pukapuka mo matou mo o matou whanaunga me o matou uri mo te tuhuhinga o o matou ingoa ki tenei Pukapuka i raro i te ra e whiti nei kua whakarere rawatia kua tino tukuna rawatia atu ki a Wikitoria Kuini o Ingarani ki ona uri ki nga Kingi ki nga Kuini o muri iho i a ia me ana me a ratou e whakarite ai hei whakaritenga mo nga Pauna moni e Toru rau takitahi kua utua mai ki a matou e Te Petatone I. E. Featherston, Esqr. na te Kuini (a e whakaaetia nei e matou te rironga mai ana moni) ko taua wahi whenua katoa kei te moana he moutere kei waho o Porirua Kua mana te ingoa o taua wahi whenua ko nga rohe kei raro i te Pukapuka nei e mau ana t korero whakahaere ko te mapi hoki o taua whenua kua apititia ki tenei. Me ona raka me ona kowhatu me ona wai me ona awa nui me ona roto me ona awa ririki me nga me katoa o taua whenua o runga ranei o raro ranei i te mata o taua whenua me o matou tikanga me o matou take me o matou paanga katoatanga ki taua wahi: Kia mau tonu ki a Kuini Wikitoria ki ona uri ki ana ranei e whakarite ai hei tino mau tonu ake tonu atu. A he tohu mo to matou whakaaetanga ki nga tikanga katoa o tenei Pukapuka kua tuhituhia nei o matou ingoa me o matou tohu. A hei tohu hoki mo te whakaaetanga a te Kuini o Ingarani mo taua wahi ki nga tikanga katoa o tenei Pukapuka kua tuhia nei te ingoa o Te Petatone I. E. Featherston Kaiwhakarite Whenua. Ko nga rohe enei o taua whenua he Moutere e taiawhiotia ana e te wai kei waho kei te moana nui e tau ana kei te ritenga ake o Porirua.

Boundaries.
[525 acres.]

Heta te Ohuka.
Matene te Whiwahi.
Tamihana Te Rauparaha.
Hoani Te Okoro.
Harapata Huturu.
Paraone Toangina x his mark.
Rakapa Kahoki x.
Hohopa Tamaihengia x.
Ropata Hurumutu x.
Anatipa Te Nihinihi x.
Heni te Rei.
Nikorima Te Mapu x.
Piripi Te Rangiatuhia x.
Matena te Kikotuwa.
Rawiri Ngaraka.
Te Ono Te Nihinihi x.

Renata Waka.
Ngabuka.
Karehana te weta.
Wiremu Te Kanae.
Erenora Rangiuwira x.
Hana Peti Moanarua x.
Ko Te Wari Nopera x.
Ko Te Hira Kahinga x.
Heperi te Arahori.
Ropata Tangahoe.
Potete Teteke.
Wi Pata Te Ohu x.
Hamiora Potau x.
Hemara Koneha.
Me tana Toa rangatira x.
Te Ringa x.

Ko Oriwia Hurumutu.	Wiremu Piti Te Rangitauru x.
Ko Wiremu Te Wharepu.	Mohi Te Motu x.
kahu x.	Hori Karaka Te Kauamo x.
Marara Ruru x.	Hirini Tangahoe x.
Hoani Te Motu x.	Hakaraia Te Panga x.
Piripi Te Motu x.	Paora Kauae x.
Wiremu Paneta Te Moana.	Te Rei x.
Paramena Puhia.	Hori Kobe x.
Mihaka turuakirangi.	Mere x.
Wirape Taharua x.	— Kinokino.
Aperahama Mira x.	Meri x.
Te Hemara Te Tewe x.	Parepo.
Kereopa Te Ikameke x.	Rohana.
Ko Te Paretaha x.	Ngaki x.
Paranibia Te Tau x.	Nopera Te Ngiha x.
Aperahama Te Kawe x.	Wiremu Nera Te Kanae x.
Maka Pukehi x.	Tamati Waka Hauhau x.
Ko Te Hoata x.	Matiu Te Whataatuna x.
Te Karira Tuhia x.	Hipirini Kotua.
Hori Tunui.	Ihaia te Paki.
Hara Te Whio x.	Ko Hera Hineteawherangi x.
Wiremu Parata.	Hohepa Nohorua x.
Horomona Nohorua.	Pumipi Pikiwera.
Rene te Ouenuku.	Raiha Puaha x.
Matenga pitoitoti.	Ma tapere Puihi x.

ISLAND OF MANA
continued.

Kai Titiro ki te tuhinga nga Ingoa katoa me nga Tohu—
Ko Te Hemara, Kaiwhakamaori.

Ko matou kua tuhi i o matou ingoa ki tenei Pukapuka kua whakaae ma Tamihana Te Rauparaha raua ko Hohepa Tamaihengia e tango nga moni i Te ringaringa o Te Petatone tetahi o nga Kaihoko whenua a Te Kuini a ma raua e wehe aua moni ki nga tangata o Ngatitoo. Tamihana and Hohepa authorized to receive payment.

TRANSLATION.

THIS DEED written on this First day of December in the Year of our Lord 1865 is a full and final sale conveyance and surrender by us the Chiefs and People of the Tribe Ngatitoo whose names are hereunto subscribed And Witnesseth that on behalf of ourselves our relatives and descendants we have by signing this Deed under the shining sun of this day parted with and for ever transferred unto Victoria Queen of England Her Heirs the Kings and Queens who may succeed Her and Her and Their Assigns for ever in consideration of the Sum of Three hundred and one Pounds (£300) to us paid by Isaac Earl Featherston Esqr. on behalf of the Queen Victoria (and we hereby acknowledge the receipt of the said monies) all that piece of our Land situated on or Island in the sea outside Porirua and named Mana the boundaries whereof are set forth at the foot of this Deed and a plan of which land is annexed thereto with its trees minerals waters rivers lakes streams and all appertaining to the said Land or beneath the surface of the said Land and all our right title claim and interest whatsoever thereon To Hold to Queen Victoria Her Heirs and Assigns as a lasting possession absolutely for ever and ever. And in testimony of the consent to all the conditions of this Deed we have hereunto subscribed our names and marks. And in testimony of the consent of the Queen of England on her part to all the conditions of this Deed the name of Isaac Earl Featherston Esqr. Commissioner is hereunto subscribed. These are the boundaries of the Land It is an Island surrounded by water, outside in the great sea lying, and opposite to Porirua.

1865.

1 December.

PORIRUA DISTRICT
ISLAND OF MANA.HETA TE OHUKA.
TAMIHANA TE RAUPARAHU.MATENE TE WHIWHI.
And 78 others.

Signed by the within named Isaac Earl Featherston, at Otaki, this ninth day of December A.D. 1865, before me—

Walter Buller, Resident Magistrate, Whanganui.

Witnesses to all signatures and marks—

James Hamlin, Interpreter, L.P.Dt., Wellington.

Received, on behalf of the owners of the Island of Mana the within mentioned sum of Three Hundred Pounds this ninth day of December A.D. 1865. Rece pt for £300.

Witness to signatures and payment—
W. Buller, R.M.

TAMIHANA TE RAUPARAHU.
MATENE TE WHIWHI.
HOHEPA TAMAIHENGIA X.

We who have signed our names to this Deed have agreed that Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Hohepa Tamaihengia should receive the money from the hands of I. E. Featherston Esqr. one of the Queen's Land Commissioners and they two divide the money to the people of the Ngatitoo. Tamihana and Hohepa authorized to receive and distribute payment.

A True Copy of Original Deed and Translation.

H. HANSON TURTON.

Wellington, February 4th, 1876.

PROVINCE OF WELLINGTON.

PART II.

Deed Receipts—No. 1.

VOUCHER FOR £350, FOR PURCHASE OF LAND FOR TARINGA KURI.

Sub-Treasury, Wellington, 21st July, 1846.

RECEIVED from the Colonial Treasurer, by the hands of Peter Dods Hogg, Sub-Treasurer, Wellington, the sum of (£350) three hundred and fifty pounds Sterling, to be appropriated by me in the purchase of a Section of Land near Kaiwara for the use of the Chief Taringa Kuri and his Tribe.

Witness—

W. Eades.

H. TACY KEMP,

Sub-Protector.

A True Transcript of Office Copy of Original Receipt.

H. HANSON TURTON.

Wellington, February 5th, 1876.

1846.
21 July.WELLINGTON
DISTRICT.

Receipt for £350,
for purchase of land
near Kaiwara for
Taringa Kuri.

Deed Receipts—No. 2.

*MANGATI BLOCK (NELSON CLAIMS), WELLINGTON DISTRICT.

Wellington, 20th Akuhata, 1851.

KUA HOMAI e te Makarini ki au mo nga tangata o Arapaona, o te Taitapu, o Wakatu, nga pauna moni e rua tekau takitahi (£20) hei utu mo to ratou whenua ki Mangati.

TAMATI TE WAKAPAKEKI x his mark.

Witness—

Jas. H. Williamson.

1851.
20 August.WELLINGTON
DISTRICT.

Receipt for £20,
for claims at
Mangati.

TRANSLATION.

Wellington, 20th August, 1851.

RECEIVED from Mr. McLean, on account of the Natives of Arapaona, of the Taitapu, and of Wakatu, the sum of Twenty Pounds (£20) Sterling, as payment for their land at Mangati.

Witness—

Jas. H. Williamson.

TAMATI TE WAKAPAKEKI x his mark.

1851.
20 August.

Receipt for £20,
for claims at
Mangati.

A True Copy.

H. HANSON TURTON.

Wellington, August 22nd, 1874.

Deed Receipts—No. 3.

PORIRUA BLOCK (LAST INSTALMENT), PORIRUA DISTRICT.

RECEIVED from His Excellency The Lieut. Governor of the Province of New Munster in the Islands of New Zealand by the hands of Henry Tacy Kemp Esquire the Sum of Five hundred pounds being the 3rd and last payment due the first day of April 1849 for the purchase of the Porirua District and other lands named in the Deed of Sale signed by us on the first day of March 1847—This receipt being in full of all demands thereof.

Rawiri Puaha.

Watarauhi.

Mohi Te Hua.

Mateno to Whiwhi.

Tamihana te Rauparaha.

Ropata Hurumutu.

Nopera Tutahanga.

Paraone.

Wata Te Kotua.

Tapui.

Dated at Wellington in New Munster afore-
said this 19th day of April 1849.

Signed in the presence of me—

J. D. Ormond.

I certify that I translated the above written Receipt to the Parties whose names
are attached thereto.

Wellington, 10th April, 1849.

H. TACY KEMP, Native Secy.

No. 150. Received for Registration at 2 o'clock P.M. 25th April, 1849.

ROBERT R. STRANGE,

Registrar of Deeds.

A True Copy of Original Receipt and Endorsement.

H. HANSON TURTON.

1849.
19 April.

PORIRUA DISTRICT

Receipt for £500,
last instalment.

Registration.

WELLINGTON DISTRICT.

No. 1.

W. F. G. SERRANTES, ESQ., TO THE HONORABLE THE COLONIAL SECRETARY, NEW MUNSTER.

Porirua, 27th March, 1848.

(No. 294.)

SIR,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd instant, requesting that I would furnish certain information concerning the purchase of the Porirua district, and in reply, beg, for the information of His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, to state as follows:—

PORIRUA.

Furnishing information relative to land purchased at Porirua.

1st. The amount of purchase money for that district was £2000, to be paid in three instalments, the first to consist of £1000 (One thousand pounds), the second of £500 (Five hundred pounds), and the third of £500 (Five hundred pounds), which instalments were to be paid on the 1st April, 1847, the 1st April, 1848, and the 1st April, 1849.

2nd. The first instalment of £1000, was paid over by Lieutenant-Colonel McCleverty, (to whom I acted as interpreter on the occasion), in equal proportions to the following ten chiefs. The first eight of whom are also those that signed the deed of sale, the other two being absent at the time of its signature.

1. Rawiri Kingi Puhia,
2. Te Watarauhi Nohorua,
3. Mohi Te Hua,
4. Henere Matene Te Whiwhi,
5. Tamihana Te Rauparaha,
6. Ropata Hurumutu,
7. Nopera Te Ngihia,
8. Paraone Toangira,
9. Te Waka Te Kotua,
10. Tapui,

3rd. With reference to any subsequent claims that may have arisen, I beg to state that no new claims whatever have been made by any parties to the land sold on that occasion, but that certain natives to whom the chiefs that received the first instalment did not distribute any portion of it, have made a claim to a share of the purchase money, they are as follows:—

1. Te Warehau,
2. Hoani Te Okoro,

all the relatives of Martin and Thompson, and one or two of those of Paraone Toangira, all of which claims I consider are valid. Those persons who claim a share of the Wairau purchase money are Te Rau-o-te-rangi, and the relatives of Martin and Thompson, which claims I also consider valid.

In answer to that portion of your letter that requests that I will give any information that appears to me likely to be conducive to such an arrangement of the next payment, as may be most satisfactory, to the largest number of the Natives interested, I would most respectfully but strongly recommend to His Excellency that the original arrangements should be abided by, as if once departed from, it will be a precedent for doing so on all future occasions, and Natives who are disaffected or discontented are sure to take the opportunity thus afforded them, of having the purchase as it were, revised, in hopes that by doing so, they may possibly receive a larger share of the purchase money, than they are properly entitled to. Besides the arrangement is satisfactory to the great body of the Natives interested, and the departing from it would possibly cause discontent amongst them, as they have always anticipated that the instalments would be paid in the same proportions as the last.

With respect to those persons who have been overlooked on the distribution of the last instalment, I would suggest to His Excellency, that the Chiefs who ought to have given them portion of what they received, should be directed to do so at the time of the ensuing payment, and that such should be done in presence of the person who may be directed by His Excellency to pay over the next instalment.

I have, &c.,

W. F. G. SERVANTES,

Interpreter to the Major-General.

The Honorable The Colonial Secretary,
Wellington.

No. 2.

THE HONORABLE THE COLONIAL SECRETARY, NEW MUNSTER, TO DONALD MCLEAN, ESQ.

Colonial Secretary's Office,

Wellington, 31st July, 1848.

SIR,—

I have the honor by direction of the Lieutenant-Governor, to inform you that His Excellency has duly received your letter of the 19th instant, forwarding the Deeds and other documents relating to the adjustment of the Wanganui land question, in which you have recently been engaged.

WANGANUI.

Conveying thanks of the Government for settlement of the Wanganui Land Question.

Research Ethics in the Maori Community,

Wellington, Manatu Maori

**Principles of Ethical Conduct for Researchers in the Maori Community:
A Draft for Discussion**

Preamble

The relationship between ethics and research is of vital importance, as the demand for responsibility and accountability in research has become inevitable. Denial of this results in distrust in the community studied, impaired or obstructed future opportunities, irreparably damaged relationships, and the questionable validity of research findings.

Occasionally, ethical responsibilities may conflict with one another, or the researcher, for tribal, professional, spiritual, or personal reasons, may be unable to proceed. In these instances, the project should be reassessed, suspended, or aborted.

This set of guidelines is an attempt to raise the consciousness of people involved in policy motivated research in the Maori community, and to offer them workable ways to help resolve any ethical issues that may arise. It is definitely not the last word; merely a series of ideas offered for debate and discussion.

Responsibility to the Iwi Studied

- 1 A researcher's responsibility, when working with people, is to the people themselves. This responsibility transcends sponsors; these individuals must come first.
- 2 The rights, interests and sensitivities of the people studied must be acknowledged and protected.
- 3 Wherever possible, consent of the people studied should be sought and confirmed before the project begins.
- 4 The aims of the investigation should be conveyed as clearly as possible to the people studied; as should the anticipated outcome of such an investigation.

- 5 The people studied have an absolute right to know what will become of information they have volunteered, and its possible use and application.
- 6 The people studied have an absolute right to exercise control over the information they have volunteered; the right to control it, restrict access to it, or withdraw it from the actual project findings.
- 7 All research findings should be made available to the general public; only in matters of supreme cultural sensitivity should this access be denied; and only in close, genuine consultation with the participants who have volunteered that information.
- 8 Informants studied have a right to remain anonymous.
- 9 Researchers must not exploit informants, or the information volunteered, for personal gain or aggrandisement.

Responsibility to the Wider Iwi

The iwi - the wider community - are the ultimate presumed consumers of any policy motivated Maori research project. Thus researchers should never falsify, distort or colour their findings, nor should they deliberately withhold or manipulate such findings. They should also be scrupulously honest in their self presentation, and their qualifications in the field. They should also treat all members of the researched community with the utmost sensitivity and respect, regardless of age, gender, or assumed status; they should also remain conscious of the nature of their relationship, the vulnerable nature of trust, and the community's expectations - possible, practicable, or otherwise - of them.

Responsibility to the Ministry

- 1 Researchers should be honest about their qualifications and capabilities, and their commitment to the proposed research project.
- 2 Researchers should undertake a project only after a thorough consideration of their own ability to fulfil the project's requirements; factors to consider could include tribal background, gender, language fluency, age, and qualifications.

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