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# **Waimarama**

## **Waves of Occupation**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in  
History at Massey University

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## Glossary

AD (Anno Domini. ‘in the year of our Lord’) Denotes events occurring after the birth of Christ.

Ahuriri lagoon Te Whanganui-o-Orutu

Boat Whaling boat

Hapu Sub tribe

Iwi Tribe, people

Karakia incantations

Kaupapa philosophy, purpose

Motu-o-Kura Bare Island

Nukutaurua Mahia

Tikanga Customs, traditions

Te Matau-a-Maui Cape Kidnappers

Waka Canoe

Whanau Extended family

Whakatauki Proverbs

## Introduction

‘Evolution is, in its most general and basic articulation, the idea that the present is a product of the past and the future a product of the present...’<sup>1</sup>

Waimarama today appears a tranquil coastal community of approximately one thousand permanent residents, twenty minutes east of Havelock North, Hawke’s Bay. However the history of Waimarama’s milieu and its people endured many changes and dramas through the second millennium AD. The conceptual boundaries that constituted the original Waimarama environs have shifted over time, and these will be addressed within the content of this thesis, according to the era in discussion.

The above recitation by eminent nineteenth Whig historian, Lord Acton, has been appropriated to best encapsulate the essence and embodiment of this thesis. The Waimarama story will constitute a unique grain of contributory sand to feed into the stream of knowledge that builds to shape the landscape of New Zealand’s historiography.

It is the aspiration of this thesis to portray an extended micro-history of Waimarama appreciating and interpreting the evolutionary process of its people, their culture of the time, and the land that accommodated them, from time immemorial to the present. It is intended that the ‘Waves of Occupation’ be an important contribution to the localised and microhistories that feed into the tapestry of New Zealand’s history - to sit alongside, and within, a grand narrative of Aotearoa, and to be regarded as indispensable to the wider context of not just New Zealand’s history, but a world view of history, with all its multicultural accompaniments. The terms, ‘microhistory’,<sup>2</sup> a ‘history alongside’<sup>3</sup> and a history from ‘inside’,<sup>4</sup> or even a

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<sup>1</sup> Acton certainly believed that the lessons and consequences of history remain with us in the present. See Lionel Kochan, *Acton On History* (New York: Kennikat Press, 1954). p.113.

<sup>2</sup> Microhistory is the study and narrative of an historical event or sequence of events, or a community within a region, often constricted to a particular time frame. It stemmed from the concept formulated by Italian historians as expressed in their journal *Quaderni Storici*. See Geoff Eley, *A Crooked Line: From Cultural History to the History of Society* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005). pp.129-56.

<sup>3</sup> Where individuals interact with their environment and go about their lives in a localised setting. See Williams James Gardner, *Where They Lived: A Study in Local, Regional and Social History*. (Christchurch: Regional Press, 1999). p.107.

<sup>4</sup> Collingwood was an early twentieth century philosopher of history and a part time archaeologist who believed that the processes of history were not so much about interpreting the processes of events so much as interpreting the processes of thought surrounding the events. He called this history from

localised history may mean different things to different people, depending on their particular tenure in historicist discourse. However these terms are complimentary and seem entirely appropriate when the aperture of the historical lens is focused away from the grand narrative of New Zealand's historiography, starting with a microhistory.

A methodology employed will include relevant discussion by various historians. An historical narrative has already been written on *Waimarama* by Sydney Grant, offering some valuable insights in support of Waimarama's placement in New Zealand's historiography.<sup>5</sup> Other contributions to the Waimarama story include those from Dean Cowie,<sup>6</sup> the works of Angela Ballara, Bradford Haami (a Waimarama kinsman and historian), and nineteenth century local historian Mohi Te Atahikoia. Others with relevance to the Waimarama story include Miles Fairburn, who merges the concurrence of thought of W.J. Gardner and W.H. Oliver, when describing Gardiner's 'Amuri community model' as been part of '...a collection of local communities...the history of New Zealanders who live in Kaikohe, Taihape, Rangiora, Gore and a thousand farming districts'.<sup>7</sup> Tony Ballantyne enters the debate discounting to some degree, Fairburn's concept of a localised or 'atomised' society, by delving deeper. Ballantyne portrays Gore for example, as a localised study of 'how colonists in a specific location accessed information, developed cultural understandings, and where and how they shared their ideas'; locating 'cultural production', as he terms it. By his methodology of exploring 'the dynamics of colonial intellectual development he is usurping the default position of state driven historical analysis.'<sup>8</sup>

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'inside' and the events are the 'outside'. See his acclaimed work Robin George Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946). pp.213-16.

<sup>5</sup> Grant described his narrative as 'a microcosm of New Zealand history' which implies that by reading his narrative a reader derives a miniature version of a New Zealand history. See forward Sydney Grant, *Waimarama* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1977).

<sup>6</sup> Dean Cowie, "Rangahaua Whanui District 11B," (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 1996).

<sup>7</sup> From Gardener's *Amuri: A County History*. See Miles Fairburn, "Local Community or Atomized Society," in *The Shaping of History Essays from The New Zealand Journal of History*, ed. Judith Binney (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd, 2001), pp.229-30.

<sup>8</sup> Ballantyne implies Fairburn's local analysis has been too introspective, focusing on 'loneliness, isolation and conflict'. See Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd, 2012). pp.246-47.

Western imperialists, and indigenous cultures from far flung communities, such as Waimarama, have often pondered a ‘world view’ of ‘imagined communities’<sup>9</sup> in other places, even before the inception of inter-cultural contact, and the subsequent phenomenon of globalisation which gathered impetus from the late nineteenth century, enveloping indigenous communities into a conceptualisation of an international community. The first sighting of Cook’s *Endeavour* in 1769 by Waimarama Maori was symbolic of a vessel coming from another place that they imagined was from their spiritual home of Hawaiiiki; juxtaposed with Cook’s imagined understanding of ethnic communities as been the ‘other’ - primitive and savage.

In order to perceive and forge a world view of history in any given period of time, part of the argument of this thesis is that the trajectory must flow from a study of a microhistory, through a regional history to the grand narrative of a state, or nation history. The eminent *Annalist* French historian, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie’s acclaimed microhistory of *Montaillou*<sup>10</sup> (derived from his regional study of *The Peasants of Languedoc*<sup>11</sup>), contributed greatly to the rich fabric of the *longue durée* (long duration) of French history, where the study of humans’ social activities and beliefs, combine and interact with their physical environment. The challenge of this thesis is to contribute a distinctive microhistory of a community and its lands that will enrich the ever growing body of work that that comprise New Zealand’s history.

Not to dwell excessively on *Annalist* doctrine, it is pertinent to note the genre of the *Annales*<sup>12</sup> historical philosophy in relation to this study of Waimarama. This was to determine a spatial dimension of study as a feature, or an event, within a state, rather than traditional nineteenth and early twentieth century historiographical approach of narrative framed around the dimension of the state itself. The preeminent authority

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<sup>9</sup> The reverse is also true where imperialist cultures had a perception of the ‘other’ indigenous communities. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 2006). pp.5-6.

<sup>10</sup> *Montaillou* was Ladurie’s ethnographic study of Cathar persecution by the Roman Catholic Church and of their peasant culture in the tiny village of Montaillou, in the department of Ariège, in the Languedoc region of south western France. The duration of his study covered the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. *Montaillou* was published in 1975. See Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: Cathars and Catholics in a French Village 1294-1324* (London: Scolar, 1978).

<sup>11</sup> Le Roy Ladurie, *The Peasants of Languedoc*, trans. John Day (Paris: Centre de Recherches Historiques, 1966).

<sup>12</sup> The *Annales* School of historians was founded in 1929 by French Historians Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch. Fernand Braudel (1902-1985), and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie (1929- ) were second and third generation *Annale* leaders.

of the second generation *Annales*, Fernand Braudel (predecessor to Ladurie), chose *La Méditerranée*, (the Mediterranean basin) as his spatial dimension of study within the tapestry of European history, just as Ladurie chose the Languedoc region, and then *Montaillou* as a microhistory. New Zealand is a small South Pacific nation and it is fair to say that because of its smallness and remote geographical isolation, much of historical narrative has been state orientated. To tap into the *Annales* genre is not irrelevant, or unnecessary, with respect to Waimarama. Quite the opposite. The localised history of Waimarama fits nicely into the *Annales* philosophy and in doing so, makes an invaluable contributing to New Zealand's State history. The underpinning construct of Braudel's *Annales* thinking was the *longue durée*<sup>13</sup> and it is refreshing to note Miles Fairburn's parallel connection to Braudel's concept of the *longue durée* with New Zealand's history. Within Braudel's *longue durée* was his structural concept (*histoire structural*), encompassing topography, climate, and indigenous vegetative cover. 'The effect of physical geography on human history is the central concern in environmental history', and underpins social history.<sup>14</sup> Though at times, Fairburn seems to shift emphasis to that of a national or state led history, as the appropriate construct for illuminating New Zealand's colonial past, and that local and regional history varied little. In other words the top down construct takes precedence over the below upwards trajectory.<sup>15</sup> As alluded to, New Zealand history is so often the spatial dimension of historians. To place the history of communities such as Waimarama under the microscope is to trap and illuminate an important window in time, along the spectrum of Braudel's *longue durée*. Historian, Geoff Eley, neatly encapsulates the universal favourable disposition towards *Annales* history by proffering that the foremost conduit for cultural analysis was that carried

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<sup>13</sup> *Annales* historians as a whole subscribed to the ideology of the *longue durée*, as historical changes taking place over an extended period of time. Braudel encapsulated the concept of *longue durée*, anchoring it as a 'structure of historical analyses in his famous work, *La Méditerranée*. He described time as *durée* (duration), exploring the duality of social times, that is the short term episodes of history such as political history, juxtaposed with medium term conjunctures, such as economic cycles, and the *longue durée* (long term) of structures, the regular and sometimes undetectable changes of social life. See Richard E. Lee, ed. *The Long Durée and World-Systems Analysis* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012), pp.1-3.

<sup>14</sup> See Miles Fairburn, "Is There a Good Case for New Zealand Exceptionalism?," in *Disputed Histories*, ed. Tony Ballantyne and Brian Moloughney (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2006), pp.158-59.

<sup>15</sup> See Miles Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society, 1850-1900* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989).

out by the *Annales* history of the *mentalités*,<sup>16</sup> and that their pursuit of social and cultural analysis of community groups and events constituted microhistory.<sup>17</sup>

Notwithstanding that each region and community contain their own unique perspective in the historiography of New Zealand, Waimarama is a district steeped in rich Maori mythology, and tribal warfare prior to European settlement. It was a place of reference in early sea travellers' diaries, including Captain Cook, and was a place of the earliest European contact with whalers, and later, missionaries, including being the venue of one of New Zealand's earliest commercial enterprises - on shore Whaling. Waimarama was partially embroiled in the tribal musket wars of the early nineteenth century. The main thrust of argument of this thesis is that Waimarama's people resisted the nineteenth century ancestral land alienation process perpetrated by a developing Colonial administration, before finally capitulating to Crown pressure in the early twentieth century. The land remained constant but the anguish and the drama played out over time was as much about individual introspections (Colenso's anguish) as it was about conflicting cultural ideals.

The historicism of Waimarama is a study of a changing and replenishing community, reacting over time to cultural shifts and adapting to changing land practises, and how outside influences shaped its own particular progress. Victoria Grouden argues that 'studies of culture change are mostly carried out on a generalised, macrocosmic scale, [but] to get an overview of the wider effects of time and change, it is important to explore this process for cultures in microcosmic context.'<sup>18</sup> A community, as part of a national society, has an individualistic and distinctive history that when placed in the national context helps to explain, to some degree, the contextualisation of what really is New Zealand's history. Community histories such as Waimarama carry their

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<sup>16</sup>This *Annaliste* concept 'to recover the emotional life of the past' has been described as "the best passport historians have at their disposal to gain access to the past." Of all the principal *Annaliste* concepts, the study of mentalities is arguably the most pivotal, certainly the most enduring. It links all the *Annales* concepts to formulate a 'total history'. The notion of total history was given to mean a reconstruction of the past, incorporating the many variables and complexities of interplay of humans with their environment i.e. social, economic, and religious. See André Burguière, *The Annales School: An Intellectual History*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009). pp.131-33.

<sup>17</sup> See Eley, *A Crooked Line: From Cultural History to the History of Society*. pp.129-56.

<sup>18</sup>Grouden is specific in advancing her premise that 'place-specific' research on culture should be central to the study of cultural contact throughout the historiography of New Zealand's past. See Victoria Jane Grouden, *Ko Te Hokianga O Te Tai Tokerau: A Regional Case Study of Cultural Contact* (Auckland: University of Auckland, 1992). p.1.

own inimitable qualities that are worthy of condensed study. Waimarama's history, for example, is distinct from its close coastal neighbours, Kairakau, Porangahau, and Pourerere, because each has its own unique spatial dimension where different things happened for similar or different reasons, but are all interlinked. Social history emanates from the uniqueness of each individual, and when acting collectively forms communities and in due course societies. Adele Perry states that individual lives focused in the community context are the key elements in social history, drawing together the local and the imperial, and exemplifying the development of colonisation through different apertures of place and time.<sup>19</sup> Angela Walhalla makes a valuable contribution to New Zealand's historiographical landscape with her micro-study, of the small South Island community of Maitapapa (1830-1940), beside the Taieri River.<sup>20</sup>

Essentially this thesis will trace the waves of occupation of the people over time periods. To explore the shift and convergence of different cultural practises when a new wave of 'other' culture was introduced on to the landscape and how each were treated in regard to tolerance, respect, identity preservation, and eventual assimilation into one dominant culture. Integral to the study will be the intrinsic and spiritual attachment successive tangata whenua had to their land they occupied, and the mythology born from the storytelling of the ancient people, passed down through generations. The people's ancestral knowledge is imperative to the interpretive analysis of ancient oral and modernist histories, as to the causative and reactive effects of things happening, and the continuing variance of cultural perspectives. To this extent it makes history a fluid concept, forever retold, and reinterpreted. Henry Glassie's<sup>21</sup> expression of history is an apt one:

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<sup>19</sup>See Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001). p.7.

<sup>20</sup> See Angela C. Wanhalla, "Transgressing Boundaries: A History of the Mixed Descent Families of Maitapapa, Taieri, 1830-1940" (Ph.D Thesis, University of Canterbury, 2004).

<sup>21</sup> Henry Glassie is the emeritus College Professor of Folklore at Indiana University, Bloomington. He wrote his ethnography of a small Northern Ireland community in Ulster in the nineteen seventies, with cognisance of the art of storytelling, highlighting the strong connection between history and myth. His book is called: Henry Glassie, *Passing the Time in Ballymenone. Culture and History of an Ulster Community* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982).

‘History is not the past, but a map of the past drawn from a particular point of view to be useful to the modern traveller... Reality is not the present but between the past and the future’.<sup>22</sup>

Certainly in Maoridom, oral recitations are fluid and varied depending on who is narrating an episode of a past happening, centred on his or her own kin order and whakapapa. It is often recited in parables, not unlike Christian dogma, where the listener deciphers what they will from the oratory. It is the assertion throughout this thesis that while oral and written history may sit uncomfortably alongside each other, they are not incompatible.<sup>23</sup>

An explanation of labels and idioms used throughout this thesis is given in the appendix. Reference to places alternate between the European and the Maori name, such as Aotearoa/New Zealand, and some places carry multiple names, such as Turanga/Gisborne/Poverty Bay. Hawkes Bay is used generally to denote the wider region discussed, with Heretaunga Ahuriri (Napier) and Tamatea used to denote areas within Hawke’s Bay. In earlier historical references Hawke’s Bay was also referred to as Matau-a-Maui. However reference to Matau-a-Maui today, specifically denotes Cape Kidnappers. Explanations of these names and others are given throughout the thesis.

This thesis places emphasis on comprehensive footnoting as an essential tool in the publication of any historical research work. Footnotes give added insights and substance to the story without interrupting the narrative.<sup>24</sup>

The inclusion of whakatauki (Maori proverbs) and imagery make significant contributions to the tapestry of oral mythology and the written and scientific evidence based historiography of Waimarama’s past, particularly in the mythical origins of Waimarama’s naming. The significance of Maori language proverbs

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<sup>22</sup> This quote, used by some historians, is attributed to Glassie as coming from his book, *Passing the Time in Ballymenone*. However no citing of it was found. This does not imply that Glassie was not the originator, but like many historical analyses, the truth and originality of things are often hard to find within the obscurity of time. See Christopher Bigsby, *Remembering and Imagining the Holocaust. The Chain of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). p.151.

<sup>23</sup> Binney maintains ‘it is extremely difficult simply to insert an oral tradition into a written text which purports to deal with the same events’. See Judith Binney, "Maori Oral Narratives, Pakeha Written Texts," in *The Shaping Of History Essays from The New Zealand Journal of History*, ed. Judith Binney (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd, 2001), p.7.

<sup>24</sup> The eminent German historicist Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) is generally acknowledged as the founding father of the modern historian’s craft of footnoting. See Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999). p.65.

cannot be easily dismissed, and nor it should be for other ethnicities. Nineteenth century missionary, William Colenso, quoted that ‘the genius, wit and spirit of a nation are discovered in their proverbs’.<sup>25</sup> To revisit aspects of *Annalists*’ ideology for example, proverbs, in particular those of the ancient language of Occitan of Southern France, have parallel significance to Maori proverbs. In the same way Occitan proverbs are accepted and contribute towards understanding the *mentalities* in explaining stories of twelfth and thirteenth century Southern France,<sup>26</sup> so too should favourable weight and cognizance be afforded to Maori proverbs and imagery, transmitted through successive generations. If evidence in our immediate history needs presenting to illustrate the respect and cognizance given to ancient Maori mythology and spirituality, portrayed in proverbs, then the example of the 2002 by Transit New Zealand to postpone the new Waikato Expressway on State Highway one, between Mercer and Long Swamp, is a good one. Tainui tangata whenua at Mercer, believed a local taniwha, or guardian spirit, would be disturbed by ongoing road works.<sup>27</sup> The story was run on national television on 3 November 2002 where an eighty six year old kaumatua was reported as identifying the lair from whence the taniwha once lived.<sup>28</sup> This story is not a convenient recantation, as the existence of the taniwha was recorded as far back as 1886 when its validity was given due respect. ‘The general opinion is that it is taniwha, while some are inclined to the belief that it is a myth’.<sup>29</sup> Including proverbs in this thesis gives ontological cognizance towards Maori kaupapa operating alongside the functionality of a foreign culture, by at least attempting and recognise the ‘power dynamics’ at play in the interactions of entities and people.<sup>30</sup> The fusion of oral recantations and mythology

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<sup>25</sup> Colenso was reciting from Lord Bacon. Presumably this titled aristocrat from the colonisation Nation would have been referring to English proverbs from learned playwrights such as Shakespeare. Colenso’s incorporation of it, in his writings on the ‘Maori Race’, portrays a keen insight and an appreciation of a Maori world view. See William Colenso, *Contributions Towards A Better Knowledge of The Maori Race*. (Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 2001). p.29.

<sup>26</sup> In her discussion on the use of proverbs in medieval Occitan literature Wendy Pfeffer espouses that proverbs should not be overlooked in any study of medieval Occitan literature and they are an ‘integral part of our daily lives and language’ that are internalised and used to instruct and reinforce. See preface Wendy Pfeffer, *Proverbs in Medieval Occitan Literature* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997). pp.ix,1.

<sup>27</sup> Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, 2nd ed. (Auckland: Penguin Group, 2003). 515.

<sup>28</sup> "Monster halts highway construction," One News, <http://tvnz.co.nz/content/143607/423466/article.html>.

<sup>29</sup> "The Alleged Saurian Monster," *Thames Star*, 5 October 1886, p.2.

<sup>30</sup> Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 2012). p.176.

with the empiricist methodology in deriving relevant research material, and endeavouring to interpret it objectively, is the underpinning discipline of this thesis. It is hoped that this approach will assist the reader interpret the *mentalités* of the people operating in their time and place, endeavouring not to convey any subconscious assumptions which may hint at any ethnocentric or traditional western-based perspective.<sup>31</sup>

This thesis is divided into five chapters of time periods. Chapter one explores the beginning of Maori mythological creation, leading to the convergence of science and legend. Chapter two discusses the Ngati Kahungunu invasion of Hawke's Bay and the conflict with the Rangitane people, including the routing of Waimarama's three key pa sites. Chapter three discusses Waimarama iwi's earliest contact with foreigners, including Captain Cook and early whalers through to the inception of Christianity and the advent of onshore whaling stations. Chapter four examines the anguish of Waimarama's first resident missionary, William Colenso, while Chapter five encapsulates the incremental escalation of nineteenth century British colonisation, concomitant with the correlating disempowerment of Maori and erosion of their tikanga, through to the final alienation of Waimarama's ancestral lands in 1929.

'Each place is unique as a result of its particular topography and demography and also because it sits at a specific point where a unique set of networks, movements and exchanges intersect. Places are constantly being remade by the work and changing shape of these convergences'.<sup>32</sup>

Waimarama's history is such a case; a microhistory, woven into the fabric of State history, with relevance to universal history, all the while retaining its own idiosyncratic niche. Waimarama tangata whenua, by resisting land sale overtures and through leasing instead, maintained their ancestral connection much longer than most, preserving their oral history and mythology.

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<sup>31</sup> Chris Cunningham, "A Framework For Addressing Maori Knowledge in Research, Science and Technology," in *Te Oru Rangahau: Maori research and Development Conference*, ed. Te Pumanawa Hauora (Palmerston North: Massey University 1998), p.402.

<sup>32</sup> See Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past*. p.275.

## Chapter One

### Where Legend and Science Converge

‘In the traditional Maori world view, all natural resources were birthed from Papatuanuku. The Maori view of land and cultural space was constructed around a spiritual belief system which linked the supernatural and the natural as part of a unified whole’.<sup>33</sup>

‘It sprang forth here from Hawaiki, the seed of food, and the seed of the people.’ (I kune ma ii Hawaiki, ki te kune kai, ki te kuni tangata); the seed of all things valuable that migrated to New Zealand.<sup>34</sup>

The above excerpt encapsulates tangata whenua conceptualisation of their origins. The proverb denotes the mantra from which whanau, hapu and tribes throughout Aotearoa whakapapa back to their eponymous ancestor in Hawaiki, through one of the eight founding canoes. The intermittent arrival of these canoes is accepted as been around 1300 AD, debunking the theory of the Great Migration of Maori to New Zealand in 1350 AD. Where exactly this mythical homeland of Hawaiki was, is shrouded in mystery. It is understood to be a north eastern island within the many islands and archipelagos’ that make up Oceania, or more specifically Polynesia of the Pacific Ocean. Waimarama’s early nineteenth century resident missionary, William Colenso, interpreted the location of Hawaiki as:

‘Hawaiki is the name by which the Sandwich Islands are called, both by the New Zealander and the inhabitants of that group, the latter merely dumping the K (which letter is not in ? among them) from the Hawaii. The unusual tradition of these New Zealanders says that their ancestors came from Hawaiki and they also supposed Cook’s vessel to be from thence’.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Elizabeth McKinley, "Maori Women and Natural Resource Management: Towards a Sustainable Future," in *Indigenous Women: The Right to a Voice*, ed. Diana Vinding (Copenhagen: IWGIA. International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 1998), p.40

<sup>34</sup> This proverb, as in other ancient Maori proverbs, is not just an historical relic but a modern day means for Maori to communicate with the ancestors. ‘In former times a wealth of meaning was clothed within a word’. Hawaiki is also the place where all wairua (spirits) return when lives end. See Hirini Moko Mead and Neil Grove, *Nga Pepeha a nga Tipuna. The Sayings of the Ancestors* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2001). p.9, 146.

<sup>35</sup> Colenso was referring to the name bestowed by Cook in the 1770s on what is now known as the Hawaiian Islands. See 1851 diary/journal entry 24.3.1851 William Colenso, *Journals of William Colenso 1841-1854* (Dunedin: Hocken Library MS 0064). pp.718-19.

Colenso's usage of the term New Zealanders permeates through many of his journal entries to describe Maori collectively in the broadest sense as New Zealanders, while using the term Native in relation to his parish area. Many early European record keepers did the same. The Natives were the New Zealanders. He also described Waimarama's geographical position and its imagined boundaries as he interpreted them to be during his time as the district Anglican missionary in the mid nineteenth century: '...a village on the outer coast, forming an equilateral triangle with the Mission Station and Cape Kidnappers'.<sup>36</sup>

Waimarama today is a coastal community of approximately one thousand permanent residents, a half hour drive from Havelock North. In former times its hinterland comprised the bush clad Maraetotara plateau, extending to the Tukituki River, which is now the physical boundary to Havelock North. It extended north to Cape Kidnappers, including the current seaside settlement of Ocean Beach, and south towards the present day coastal community of Kairakau (formerly known as Manawarakau). This is approximately the area of land Colenso called his equilateral triangle, but a more descriptive attempt at its borders was given by the District Commissioner of the time, Donald McLean, which will be addressed further in this thesis.

The historiography of Waimarama tangata whenua mirrors that of early Maori settlement in Aotearoa. Early Maori histories were, and still are, by way of oral transmission, a priori knowledge veiled in allegory. They are invariably regionally and hapu located. Interpretations of ancient Maori and Polynesian migratory patterns vary, many of the stories are multilayered, but are synonymous with the Hawaiki origin of Maori beginning and spiritual return. Ballara acknowledges that oral history is fundamental to the story of early Maori history, notwithstanding the variations and constructs of differing tribal interpretations attached to their respective canoe(s). Ballara cites an excellent analysis from Tainui author, Bruce Biggs, which examines the juxtaposition of scholarly data and oral transmissions: 'The great interconnecting body of Maori tradition and genealogy makes an overwhelming, if

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<sup>36</sup> Further discussion on Colenso's extensive parish will follow, however he is clearly orientating and including the district from his mission station at modern day Clive, and including Cape Kidnappers. Both now constitute their own individual communities, within the Hastings and Napier environs. See 29.10.1849 journal entry. Ibid. p.502.

largely circumstantial case for treating it as historical'.<sup>37</sup> Linda Tuhiwai Smith<sup>38</sup> comments that 'schooling has served to legitimate selected historical discourses through its curriculum, pedagogy, assessment and organisation. This process has turned Maori history into mythology...'<sup>39</sup> The rich tapestry of Maori mythology explains why events happened and how all things came to be, and contain kernels of opportunity for historians and archaeologists' to advance their hypotheses as near to the genesis of the earliest New Zealand settlement, and not automatically attempt to refute or dismiss the priori knowledge of mythology with empirical evidence.

At a 1988 archaeological symposium, 83 per cent of the participants concluded that New Zealand was inhabited as early as 1250 AD, based on the corroborative radiocarbon dating<sup>40</sup> of shell analysis, and cultural carbon dating of charcoal, and wood.<sup>41</sup> Anne Salmond strikes a controversial chord when she atones with the premise that New Zealand 'had been settled since about AD800...'<sup>42</sup> The general consensus amongst fellow academic historians and archaeologists as to the migratory pattern and arrival of Aotearoa's first people is firming around the period circa 1300 AD. This premise is supported from over sixty years of scientific and archaeological research on Marlborough's Wairau Bar in Cloudy Bay, a site increasingly being regarded as the cradle of New Zealand's civilisation.<sup>43</sup>

The Wairau bar is also referred to as 'the birthplace of New Zealand'. Otago University archaeologist, Richard Walter and his team certainly believes so. The Wairau Bar archaeological site '...is the closest candidate we have for a founder site where [ocean going] canoes came ashore'.<sup>44</sup> The site once constituted a large village

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<sup>37</sup> Angela Ballara, *Iwi: The Dynamics of Māori Tribal Organisation from c.1769 to c.1945* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1998). pp.106-13.

<sup>38</sup> Linda was a former pupil of Waimarama School. Her parents, Sir Hirini and Lady June Mead, taught there in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

<sup>39</sup> Linda Tuhiwai Smith, "Maori Women: Discourse, Projects and Mana Wahine " in *Women and Education in Aotearoa*, ed. Sue Middleton and Alison Jones (Auckland: Auckland University Press and Bridget Williams Books, 1997), p.34.

<sup>40</sup> Radiocarbon dating was first used in 1940 and was an important tool for archaeologists from the early 1950s and has progressively become more accurate with modern AMS (accelerator mass spectrometry) radio carbon dating.

<sup>41</sup> See Patrick J. Grant, *Hawke's Bay Forests of Yesterday* (Hastings: Patrick J. Grant, 1996). p.155.

<sup>42</sup> See Anne Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772* (Auckland: Viking. Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd, 1991). p.24.

<sup>43</sup> The Wairau bar is now regarded as the forerunner to this claim, ahead of other archaeological sites, such as Mount Camel in the far north, Palliser Bay on the Wairarapa coast and the Waitaki river mouth in north Oamaru. See *Ibid.* p.34.

<sup>44</sup> See Sally Blundell, "New Zealand History: Where it all began," *The New Zealand Listener*, 1 June 2013, p.18.

and radio carbon dating places its occupation between 1285-1300 AD. The site, known to local Maori as Te Pokohiwi-o-Kupe (the shoulder of Kupe),<sup>45</sup> fits nicely with the migration period of 1300 AD, and the connection with the Polynesian navigator Kupe helps form an uncanny confluence of science and legend. The Wairau bar site has been an archaeological treasure trove for many decades<sup>46</sup> following the discovery of ‘an extraordinary cache of taonga’ in 1939 by a young local boy. It captured the attention of Roger Duff, a Canterbury museum ethnologist, leading to his seminal text, *The Moa-hunter Period of Maori Culture*.<sup>47</sup> Over successive decades of excavation and study many artefacts and human remains found their way to the Canterbury Museum. With the advantage of modern day DNA technologies, it has led Walter to exclaim that ‘the unexpected level of genetic diversity of Wairau Bar is the genetic diversity of Hawaiki’. He proffers that ‘Hawaiki is a zone of high mobility and interaction, a group of 15 to 20 islands encompassing the southern Cook Islands, the Austral Islands and possibly the Society Islands in close contact with one another around 1300 AD’. Walters places the location of the mythical Hawaiki closer to Aotearoa than Colenso’s aforementioned location. Dental analysis results published in 1978, of a thirty two year old skeleton from Wairau, confirms this early settlement at circa 1300 AD.<sup>48</sup> With the compilation of artefacts, taonga and human skeletons over many decades, Richard Walter and his research group, comprising Hallie Buckley and Lisa Matisoo-Smith,<sup>49</sup> are confident that the Wairau Bar is the cradle of New Zealand’s earliest known civilisation. A group comprised of some 100 people dispersed throughout Aotearoa and that ‘...every Maori in New Zealand can trace their

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p.19. Further discussion on Kupe will follow.

<sup>46</sup> The site has yielded human remains along with their carved artifacts, necklaces and tools, associated with East Polynesian cultures. Alongside, remnants of extinct species such as the Moa, Haast Eagle, as well as seal bones have been discovered.

<sup>47</sup> See Roger Duff, *The Moa-Hunter Period of Maori Culture*, vol. 1, Canterbury Museum Bulletin (Wellington: Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1950). Author J.M. McEwen applauds this work of Duff describing it as an ‘epoch-making book’ using archaeological evidence to query the early writings of Best and Smith whose early Maori histories were based on the Whatahoro traditions. McEwen concludes that Duff has irrefutably linked the Moa-hunter culture and site at Wairau into the chronology of Maori and Polynesian history. See also J.M. McEwen, "Review," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 59, no. 1 (1950): pp.85-86.

<sup>48</sup> Philip Houghton, "Dental Evidence For Dietary Variation In Prehistoric New Zealand," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 87, no. 3 (1978): p.261.

<sup>49</sup> Professor Lisa Matisoo-Smith, a biological anthropologist from Otago University, uses variations in mitochondrial DNA and Y chromosomes to track migration histories of New Zealanders. Mitochondrial DNA is inherited along maternal lines and Y chromosomes along paternal lines. The maternal line proving the most accurate.

whakapapa to Wairau Bar'. Waimarama kaumatua Robert McDonald traces lines of his whakapapa back to the Wairau bar and made the pilgrimage there in January 2009 to attend a significant ceremony involving the Canterbury Museum and the local Rangitane-o-Wairau people, to reinter the remains of their tupuna (ancestors), held for so long at the museum.<sup>50</sup> The Wairau Bar is regarded as the most securely dated and oldest archaeological site in New Zealand, containing the widest range and types of materials belonging to Archaic East Polynesian culture including moa eggshell in human burial contexts based on AMS radio carbon dates (accelerator mass spectrometry). Analyses of mtDNA (mitochondrial DNA) variability within Maori are consistent with a larger founding population in the range of 100-200 individuals, reinforcing the high probability of the Wairau site as the home of Aotearoa's founding population. The time frame of circa 1300 AD is also reinforced by the work of palaeoecologist Janet Wilmshurst, who correlates the introduction of the Pacific rat (*Rattus exulans*) to 'both main Islands of New Zealand', with initial human colonisation, at 1280 AD.<sup>51</sup> This discussion of the Wairau Bar is relevant to the history of every small community in New Zealand, such as Waimarama, whose people of Maori descent trace their whakapapa back to the Wairau Bar site.

The meta-narrative of Maori historical account is depicted in mythology giving names to rivers and land formations to the areas in which each tribe resided. Land features in Waimarama's environs occupy an important place and status in New Zealand history and mythology. The famed legend of Maui, depicting New Zealand's creation and its first people has been implanted in the national psyche from early childhood education. Early twentieth century historian and anthropologist Sir Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) delves into the mythological discovery of New Zealand by way of the legendary navigator Maui. Maui's fishing up Te Ika-a-Maui, the North Island; and Te Waka-a-Maui, the canoe of Maui, which depicts the South

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<sup>50</sup> Blundell, "New Zealand History: Where it all began," pp.18-24. See also Rebecca Priestley, "Homing in on Hawaiki," *The New Zealand Listener*, 17 November 2012, p.53. Waimarama early people were Rangitane before driven south and intermarrying with migrating Ngati Kahungunu.

<sup>51</sup> Evidence of the introduced rat is by AMS (accelerator mass spectrometry) radio carbon dating of Pacific rat incisor marks found in seed predation preserved in sediments, and their bones found in the extinct laughing owl (*Sceloglaux albifacies*) The introduction of rats commensurate with human arrival was a common duality 'throughout the Pacific by prehistoric people' See Janet M. Wilmshurst et al., "Dating the late prehistoric dispersal of Polynesians to New Zealand using the commensal Pacific rat," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 105, no. 22 (2008): p.1.

Island<sup>52</sup> may well be an explanation that a navigator called Maui may indeed have discovered the hitherto unknown country, in other words he may well have ‘fished it out of the ocean of the unknown’ to explain his discovery.<sup>53</sup> Buck extrapolates further, and timelines three settlement periods to New Zealand. The first being the establishment of the Maui nation. During this period Buck controversially proffers his synopsis of the existence of the Moriori, as well as a group purported to have come from three founding canoes that landed on the West Coast near Taranaki, a contentious topic amidst academic researchers. Buck surmises that these people are one and the same, descendants of the Maui nation people, a view shared by Wilson in his account of Maui fishing up the two big Islands of Aotearoa.<sup>54</sup>

Waimarama features prominently in this legend. The famed hook of Maui, as depicted in archaeological artefacts and modern bone carvings, is the crescent coastal shape of Hawke’s Bay from Mahia peninsular to Te Matau-a-Maui (Cape Kidnappers). Te Matau-a-Maui derived its Maori name from the barb of Maui’s jaw bone that he used to fish up the North Island and is the promontory where his hook became snagged.<sup>55</sup> A more detailed account of Te Matau-a-Maui as an integral landscape feature within Waimarama’s environs will be discussed later in this thesis. Although no longer regarded as part of the Waimarama district, Matau-a-Maui/Cape Kidnappers remains an iconic feature of the Hawke’s Bay landscape, presently home to a world class golf course, developed and owned by American billionaire, Julian Robertson. However to stay within the realms of legends it is pertinent at this stage to incorporate the origin of Waimarama’s name.

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<sup>52</sup>Currently these names have been revisited as a proposal to rename the North and South Islands.

<sup>53</sup> Sir Peter Buck, also known as Te Rangi Hiroa (1877-1951) was one of New Zealand’s ‘greatest sons’. He fought at Gallipoli in World War 1, later graduated as a doctor of medicine, entered politics, and followed in the illustrious footsteps of Sir James Carroll and Sir Apirana Ngata. This book was a culmination of his life time’s research into Maori and Polynesian history. See forward in Peter Buck, *The Coming of the Maori* (Wellington: Whitcoulls Limited, 1987). p.5.

<sup>54</sup> After this feat, legend says that Maui’s canoe, known as *Nukutai-memeha*, came to rest aloft Mount Hikurangi (the southern Ararat) on the East Coast of the North Island. See J.G. Wilson, *History of Hawke’s Bay* (Christchurch Capper Press, 1976). p.26. Present day Ngati Porou iwi trace their descent from Maui and this canoe. See also Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*. p.157. Hikurangi lies in land between Tokomaru Bay and Ruatoria and is reputed to be the mountain of first sun light in New Zealand. Author Buck acknowledges Wilson’s narration of events saying the people of the ‘southern Ararat’ spread throughout the land, becoming tangata whenua. See also Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*. pp.9-10.

<sup>55</sup>The whole of Hawkes Bay was once known as Te Matau-a-Maui. See Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*. p.149.

The origin and meaning of Waimarama, is steeped in mythology. While it is succinctly described and generally accepted as meaning ‘clear water’, the literal translation of wai means water, and marama can mean moon,<sup>56</sup> but it’s meaning runs deeper. A very meaningful and appropriate legendary explanation pertinent to Waimarama’s name is aptly encapsulated by Elsdon Best. His recitation etches nicely into the spiritual and mythical world of Waimarama, giving the place a special persona, and almost prima facia claims to the moons origin and function. Of particular significance is a fresh water spring bubbling to the surface approximately one hundred metres, off the southern tip of Motu-o-Kura (Bare Island),<sup>57</sup> visible from the land on calm seas. To Maori, Te Marama (the moon) was yet another phenomenon of nature within the ancient Maori cosmos of the famed Rangi and Papa mythology, depicting how all things came to be. The moon came into existence with the dramatic separation of Rangi and Papa by their son Tane. In accordance with mans anthropomorphic and analogous explanation to things non-human, Maoridom gave the moon its own whakapapa (tracing to Tane) with the silhouetted figure in the middle, given the name Rona. According to legend the following happened:

‘One night Rona set forth to bring water from the spring, taking with her several water vessels formed from the gourd. But the night was dark, thus Rona stumbled several times as she proceeded. So enraged was she at the moon for not giving it’s light, she issued a *karakia*, cursing it vigorously: ‘E! Tenei au te piki nei, te heke nei Ki te hihi o te marama pio’.

‘This was the origin of cursing in the world, a custom which has been the cause of many fierce and bloody wars. Naturally the moon was deeply offended at this gross insult, so he descended from the sky and took Rona back with him as a punishment for her sin; and there you may see her in the moon, with her bunch of water vessels – a fearful lesson to those who indulge in profanity’. Elsdon Best elaborates further, recording how ancient Maori mythology states that ‘when the moon dies it proceeds

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<sup>56</sup> See J. D. H. Buchanan, *Maori History and Place Names of Hawke's Bay* (Wellington: Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd, 1973). p.76.

<sup>57</sup> Bare Island, as it is commonly referred to today, is an iconic islet epitomising Waimarama in promotional material.

to Te Wai-ora-o-tane (the Life-giving Waters of Tane), and that by bathing in those waters it is restored to life – becomes again young and beautiful'.<sup>58</sup>

In accordance with this mythology, early inhabitants of Motu-o-Kura (Bare Island) took sustenance from the fresh water spring bubbling south of their island and were rejuvenated by their reflection in it. This human manifestation of rejuvenation sits well alongside the allegorical explanation of the moons rebirth, and an appropriate explanation of Waimarama's naming - the fresh water spring off Motu-o-Kura, where the moon went to regenerate itself, and where women once bathed, rejuvenated in their reflection. In the context of this aforementioned prima facie claim to the moons existence it could be argued therefore that this fable gives Waimarama's naming a special place in the annals of Maori cosmology and ontological interpretations. The similarities of Maori mythology to European scientific explanation of earths cataclysmic inception is uncanny, and even this analogous explanation of the moon to human activity bares close resemblance to the European fable of the silhouette of the old lady in the moon, carrying her burden of sticks. Another mythical explanation of Waimarama's naming is proffered by author Bradford Haami. In writing on his Waimarama ancestry, Haami notes that 'the great tohunga, Tunui, from the sacred Takitimu canoe, named Waimarama, 'the explaining waters'.<sup>59</sup> It is difficult to talk of the origins of Waimarama's naming without incorporating the naming of Motu-o-Kura (Bare Island). The two are synonymous when exploring the realms of mythology. Motu-o-Kura means 'the Island of Kura'. Kura was the mythical ancestress of Waimarama iwi. A depiction of her beneficent deity hangs alongside other important figures of Waimarama's mythical past at Taupunga marae. Kura was described as a beautiful young niece of the people who became the conduit to the spiritual world and who was able to forewarn her people of pending danger from taua, by gazing into the sacred spring waters at the southern

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<sup>58</sup> Elsdon Best, "Notes On Maori Mythology," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 8, no. 2 (30) (1899): pp.100-01.

<sup>59</sup> This name was derived from an incident when Tunui, noting an advancing taua reflected in a pool, known as Te Puna Whakaata, took refuge with his people across the sea to Motu-o- Kura, after which he renamed the pool, Waimarama. In the ensuing years Motu-o-Kura continued to be a refuge for mana whenua from marauding taua and the fresh water spring, known as Te Puhake, which bubbled to the sea surface, enabled the mana whenua to stay on the Island for long periods. Haami also notes the fresh water spring as been to the south of the island, not to be confused with the white turbulence of waves crashing over a reef on the northern end, visible on a calm sea. See Bradford Haami, *Dr Golan Maaka Maori Doctor* (North Shore: Tandem Press, 1995). p.34.

end of Motu-o-Kura,<sup>60</sup> much as Haami ascribed in his aforementioned explanation of the ‘explaining waters’ of Waimarama.

Returning to Buck’s settlement periods, the second and third settlement periods reference that of two further legendary navigators; Kupe<sup>61</sup> and Toi and their expeditionary voyages. In some scholarly quarters canoe migratory theories can be easily dismissed as unsubstantiated myths, while many as already covered, take cognisance of them and interpret the stories alongside their historical analysis. Kupe’s influence on the landscape of Aotearoa cannot easily be understated, or minimised. The name Aotearoa is attributable to Kupe, as it was the name of his expeditionary canoe and is considered among many tribes to be their founding ancestor from Hawaiki. Other tribes claim there were inhabitants in Aotearoa before his arrival.<sup>62</sup> The Toi expedition arrived in approximately 1250 AD supposedly just prior to the migration period, when as mentioned, Aotearoa was allegedly already inhabited by the Maui people, Moriori, and other aboriginals of unspecified origin. Toi’s two great grandsons Tara and Tautoki settled in Te Whanganui-o-roto, lagoon (now known as Ahuriri, the port area of Napier), and were believed to be the original inhabitants in the region. From their descendants came the Ngai-Tara and Rangitane people,<sup>63</sup> whose population spread throughout the region, which became known as Heretaunga.

According to Patrick Parsons, the tangata whenua of Waimarama can trace permanent occupation back to the second settlement, or archaic period, of Polynesian settlement. Isolated pockets of the Kupe people settled along the Wairarapa coast

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<sup>60</sup>Robert MacDonald is a respected Waimarama kaumatua whose knowledge is derived through generations of oral history. See Robert MacDonald, "A Tale of Kura," <http://www.waimaramamaori.com/blog/post/13/a-tale-of-kura>.

<sup>61</sup> As mentioned previously a feature of the Wairau Bar landscape is Kupe’s shoulder. The bones of Kupe are believed to be buried on Maupiti Island, a tiny 11 square kilometre island located west of the Leeward Islands in French Polynesia, an archipelago known as the Society Islands, of which Tahiti is the biggest. Dr Yoshi Sinoto from Hawaii’s Bishop Museum excavated the Maupiti site in 1960 and modern day technology dates the bones and artefacts therein, to the late thirteenth century. In recent times a delegation led by Dr Pat Hohepa went to Maupiti from New Zealand, asking if Kupe’s bones could be returned to New Zealand. The request was declined. See Yvonne Tahana, "Iwi debate Kupe's return," *The New Zealand Herald*, 23 Jan 2010.

<sup>62</sup> See Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*. pp.28-29.

<sup>63</sup>The name Rangitane is believed to have come from Tara’s nephew, Rangitane. See Wilson, *History of Hawke's Bay*. p.24. In accordance with the practise of dualistic whakapapa, the name Rangitane can also take its name from Tane-nui-a-rangi (probably the god Tane) as well as from the sacred canoe ‘Taki-tumu’ (sic). See also Tanguru Tuhua and S.Percy Smith, "Incidents in the History of Horehore Pa, Te Takapau, Hawkes Bay District," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 15, no. 2 (1906): pp.71-72.

and came into contact with Toi's son, Whatonga, who had migrated south from Mahia. Whatonga's son, Tara, was born at Te Awanga (a coastal settlement near Cape Kidnappers) and is the ancestor for Ngai Tara. Whatonga's other son, Tautoki, was the father of Rangitane, ancestor of the Rangitane tribe. Over time it is said that descendants of Kupe, Tara, and Rangitane intermarried and the mixed descendants settled along the coast from Te Matau-a-Maui (Cape Kidnappers) to the Wairarapa.<sup>64</sup> Many years later, post the Takitimu arrival, bitter tribal warfare developed between the resident Rangitane tribes and the migrating Ngati Kahungunu iwi from Turanga, the area now known as Poverty Bay.

Wilson argues that Ngati Kahungunu, trace their ancestry from Kahungunu, the eleventh chief in a direct line from Toi who, as mentioned, apparently came to Aotearoa one hundred years prior to 1350 AD.<sup>65</sup> So in fact the two antagonistic tribes could trace their whakapapa (genealogy) back to one eponymous ancestor. Further discussion on Kahungunu will follow.

To continue the theme of these early inhabitants, renewed focus must now be placed on the significant period of c1300 AD. As previously discussed, this date of the Polynesian migration of eight canoes to New Zealand correlates with modern archaeological and scientific discoveries. In the hypothesis it was the canoe Takitimu which impacted on Waimarama's lineage back to Hawaiki. The Takitimu was regarded as the most sacred of the canoes. Various accounts are given of its passage down the East Coast of the North Island where it stopped at various coastal settlements such as Whangara<sup>66</sup> (north of Gisborne), Mahia, and Waimarama, dispatching high Priests/Tohunga, together with some passengers. Takitimu's precious cargo of Tohungas and priests were the original repositories of traditional knowledge and whakapapa. Upon landing on the shores of Waimarama the priests possessing this sacred knowledge alighted and set about what had been done at previous destinations, implanting 'the mauri, or life giving spirit, through the whare-wananga in the land'.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Patrick Parsons, "An Overview History of Waimarama," (2013), p.11.

<sup>65</sup> Wilson, *History of Hawke's Bay*. p.26.

<sup>66</sup> The small coastal settlement of Whangara features significantly in the mythology of the East Coast.

<sup>67</sup> The whare-wananga was a sacred oral orientated school of knowledge, the equivalent to the European University. J.H. Mitchell, *Takitimu* (Wellington: Reed, 1972). pp.30, 43.

According to Ngai Tahu tradition Tamatea was the captain of the Takitimu, and others among the crew included his sons, Ranginui and Kahungunu (although Kahungunu is sometimes said to have been born in Aotearoa) and the tohunga's Ruawharo, Te Rongopatahi and Tupai. It was at Mahia that Ruawharo disembarked and cast mauri along the Hawkes Bay coast to attract fishing.<sup>68</sup> Having dropped off other priests and passengers along the Hawkes Bay coastline, including Waimarama, the waka sailed south to Whanganui-a Tara, where Tamatea met Whatonga's son Tara. The Takitimu continued south to Murihiku (the Southland region) where it struck a reef at the entrance to the Waiau River and was wrecked'.<sup>69</sup>

In another reference to the Takitimu landing at Waimarama, Evans names 'a Waimarama river' as the place where the Takitimu berthed and a person called 'Taewha-ki-te-rangi and three unnamed companions disembarked'.<sup>70</sup> In a further account of Takitimu's berthing at Waimarama, four men went ashore.<sup>71</sup> The Takitimu then continued on its coastal voyage to the South Island.

Herries Beatties interviewed Teone Taare Tikao in 1920.<sup>72</sup> The old Ngai Tahu kaumatua recounted his ancestral lineage via the Takitimu, which he affirms as the most sacred of the eight migratory canoes originating from Hawaiki, and possessing the largest number of tohungas. According to Tikao, bad weather struck the Takitimu and its accompanying food storage canoe, the Arai-te-uru, off Matau-a-Maui (Cape Kidnappers) and the Arai-te-uru eventually sank off Matakaea, the area now known as Shag Point on the east coast of North Otago. The Takitimu survived because of

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<sup>68</sup> The mauri of Te Ikawhenua was placed at Mahia beach in the form of a whale and sand from Hawaiki was thrown over it to attract whales to the area. It is said that Ruawharo established a series of tuahu or alter stones at Whakamahia, Ahuriri, (Port of Napier) and Rangaika (a future whaling station) See Parsons, "An Overview History of Waimarama." It was said that Ruawharo also built a shrine on Waikawa (Portland Island) that 'sheltered the mauri for the eastern coast'. See also Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*. 145. With the advent of European whalers' centuries later, the Hawkes Bay coastline became a lucrative whaling area with numerous onshore whaling stations being established from Waikawa to Waimarama.

<sup>69</sup> Jeff Evans, *Nga Waka o Nehera: The First Voyaging Canoes* (Auckland Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd, 1997). p.164.

<sup>70</sup> The Waimarama River could well be the current Pouhokio stream and whose mouth is close to the Kuku rocks which represent the skid marks of the Takitimu and the anchor rocks nearby as mentioned by Evans. See Ibid. p.156.

<sup>71</sup> Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*. p.141.

<sup>72</sup> Beattie took the place of Elsdon Best to interview Tikao in 1920. Tikao was born in 1850 of Kai/Ngai Tahu descent, and possessed a vast memory bank of traditional Maori knowledge and folklore that Beattie thought would be of scientific interest. See Herries Beattie, *Tikao Talks: Traditions and Tales Told by Teone Taare Tikao to Herries Beattie*, Third ed. (Christchurch: Cadsonbury Publications, 2004). p.65.

the karakia delivered by the tohungas, but suffered the same, fate as its accompanying food canoe, eventually running ashore at Foveaux Strait.<sup>73</sup> This correlates with Evan's account of the Takitimu having struck a reef at the entrance to the Waiou River at Murihiku in the Southland region, and was wrecked'.<sup>74</sup>

Evans concurs with contemporary academics such as Margaret Orbell and David Simmonds that traditional waka incantations were memories passed down, of ancestors voyages 'along the shores of Aotearoa, and not voyages made directly from Pacific Islands'.<sup>75</sup> There are inconsistencies in the passage of the Takitimu, as is to be expected with the oral transmission of ancestral knowledge. However the essence of its voyage is encapsulated in the above mentioned accounts, and its significance to Waimarama as part of Aotearoa and the East Coasts early Polynesian history is most important. Before discussing further this importance, it is pertinent to readdress the aforementioned possibility of existing human inhabitants on the land at Waimarama, and Aotearoa in general, prior to the migration period. This can be viewed through the descendants of Toi's grandson Tara. It may be too contentious to disseminate that there were people here before the migration period, and that early tangata whenua arrived in Aotearoa in sporadic migrations from Northern Oceania, rather than one founding migration.

Traditional stories related to nineteenth century authors Percy Smith, Elsdon Best and William Gudgeon, also support the now accepted view, that Maoridom traced their whakapapa back through one of the great canoes that brought 'Hawaiki Polynesian immigrants' to New Zealand, c1300 AD. However Gudgeon wrote of ignoring possible decent from the ensuing mixed unions between these 'Vikings of the Pacific' who dominated and assimilated the ancient tribes already established in Aotearoa and eventually assuming the 'the whole mana' (governing power) of the country, and the subsequent descendants preferring that these daring seafaring ancestors take omnipotent status in Maori mythology.<sup>76</sup> This view is shared by

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid. p.77.

<sup>74</sup> The Southland ranges are named after this famous seafaring waka. See Evans, *Nga Waka o Nehera: The First Voyaging Canoes*. p.164.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid. Some oral accounts of the homeland Hawaiki may refer to Northland. See also Margaret Orbell, *Hawaiki: A New Approach to Maori Tradition* (Canterbury: University of Canterbury, 1985). p.64. See also D.R. Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth: A Study of the Discovery and Origin Traditions of the Maori* (London: A.H & A.W. Reed, 1976). p.311.

<sup>76</sup> W.E Gudgeon, "The Maori Tribes of The East Coast of New Zealand," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* Vol 3, no. 4 (1894): p.208. See also S. Percy Smith, *Hawaiki: The Original Home*

Maharaia Winitana who stress's the duality of iwi whakapapa, identifying through land ties and through the mana-tangata of the tribal aristocracy; 'the chiefly families associated with their founding canoe'. He cites the example of East Coast Maori citing their land ties through their eponymous ancestor Maui, who preceded the fourteenth century landing of their great canoe Horouta.<sup>77</sup> Gudgeon exhorts further that the Ngati Porou and Ngati Kahungunu tribes who are descended from the crews of the Horouta and Takitimu canoes, also descend from the ancient tribes Tini-o-awa and Tini-o-Ruatamore, and regard Rongomai as their great and beneficent deity, and Kahukura as their malicious and evil spirit. They also extol other deities, such as Tuto-Tarakumukumu, and Tamaiwaho. Tamaiwaho has been accredited as the only god to have left descendants on this earth.<sup>78</sup> However, these dualistic affiliations tend to confuse mythological origins along the branch of knowledge seeking reasonable probability, where intrinsic spiritual faith appears incapable of accommodating more viable explanations. At least by accommodating deities it gives conjoint hegemony of ancient parables with evidential probability.

In reaffirming the Takitimu's East Coast destinations, the Waimarama's destination contributes a significant strand to the tapestry of New Zealand's early mythology and history. The sacred canoe literally left its imprint on the small coastal settlement. The river destination mentioned earlier, may well have been the Pouhokio stream.<sup>79</sup> When in flood, as evidenced in the massive storm and flood of 2011 which scarred the landscape, the Pouhokio stream can become a raging force, enough to constitute a fast flowing river rather than a stream. Within close proximity to its mouth is an important coastal feature, the Kuku rocks, an important rock feature once used to aid small nineteenth century row boats to transport wool bales and other cargo to waiting sailing and early steam ships, anchored beyond the breaker line. Today the Kuku rocks denote the official recreational boat loading site. J.D.H. Buchanan wrote of the significance of the Takitimu landing at Waimarama, and where the Takitimu berthed

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of *The Maori With A Sketch of Polynesian History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011). p.46.

<sup>77</sup> Maharaia Winitana, "Leadership in Pre-European Maori Society," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* Vol 65, no. 3 (1956): p.212.

<sup>78</sup> W.L. Gudgeon, "Maori Deities," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* Vol. 1, no. 1 (1892): p.1.

<sup>79</sup> The delta of the Pouhokio stream runs out to sea near today's main surfing and bathing precinct.

at the Kuku rocks.<sup>80</sup> The Kuku rocks are believed to be the skids on which the canoe was hauled up on. On rare occasions, at very low tide, old tree trunks emerge near the Kuku rocks, and are said to be the famous canoes landing skids. Buchanan further cites a 'little rock on the beach', one hundred yards south of the old changing sheds (and that of the Pouhokio river mouth), also visible at a very low tide, and said to be one of the anchor stones of the Takitimu, 'or perhaps it's mooring'. Its name was given as Taupunga, which is also the name given to Waimarama's Taupunga marae. A second Takitimu anchor is believed to be that of Capstan Rock, or Muhuaka, which, again is sometimes visible at low tide when looking southward from the mainland.<sup>81</sup> With reference to Mitchell's earlier account of the priests and tohunga alighting from the Takitimu at Waimarama, Buchanan names four of them; Taewha, Tunui, Tuaithehe, and Tuterangiwetewetea. However reference to only two tohunga, appears a consistent theme. Tunui is purported to have established himself at Tu's Pa' or Otu near Te Aratipi,<sup>82</sup> situated inland along the elevated Maraetotara plateau on Okaihau Rd. It is said Waimarama tangata whenua whakapapa back to Tunui through their ancestress Hinengatira.<sup>83</sup> The other tohunga, Taewha, established a whare-wananga, called Mangawharau also on the Maraetotara plateau. The exact location is still uncertain, but is believed to be somewhere along the high intensively bushed ridge between Te Aratipi Station and Waipoapoa Station, presently owned by Richard and Nadine Williams. The views to the coast and beyond are extensive and seem an obvious site to have established a house of learning.<sup>84</sup> These locations were later linked to bitter warfare from marauding taua coming across from Roto-a-Tara on the Heretaunga plains, of which further discussion will follow.

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<sup>80</sup> Author and historian Patrick Parsons also stresses the significance noting the rock formation as 'Te Taupunga-o- Takitimu, or the anchor-stone of the Takitimu' See Parsons, "An Overview History of Waimarama," p.2..

<sup>81</sup> The spelling of Motuokura is often written as such, but Motu-o-Kura seems to be the accepted spelling. The origin of the name Capstan is yet to be determined. See Buchanan, *Maori History and Place Names of Hawke's Bay*. p.77-78. The mention of 'two more stone anchors' left at Waimarama and 'more skids', the other 'wooden skids' being left at Makeakea, Wairoa, is given in Anne Salmond's account. See also Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*. p.141.

<sup>82</sup> Te Aratipi is the name given to the farm owned by the Palmer family, fourth generation custodians.

<sup>83</sup> Parsons, "An Overview History of Waimarama."

<sup>84</sup> Buchanan, *Maori History and Place Names of Hawke's Bay*. pp.76-77. See also Haami, *Dr Golan Maaka Maori Doctor*. pp.31-32.

The original Ngai-Tara and Rangitane people of Waimarama enjoyed continuous uninterrupted occupation of Waimarama environs for over two hundred years after 1300 AD. Their three strategic pa were located at Hakikino<sup>85</sup>, located five miles along the present Te Apiti road, Matanginui, located along Okaihau road on a strategic point on the Palmer property of Te Aratipi overlooking the sea, and Karamea, located on the coastal island by the same name, also known today as Red Island, by virtue of its reddish rock colour. This pa was accessible from land at low tide and today is a popular surfing and crayfishing spot for those intrepid enough to venture there. During this long peaceful period the Ngai-Tara and Rangitane people are believed to have enjoyed uninterrupted access to sea, bush, and Lake Kai (food). The interior lakes of Poukawa, Roto-a-Tara, and Whatuma (now Hatuma) on the Heretaunga plains, provided the Waimarama people with rich fishing and water fowl grounds.<sup>86</sup> These interior lakes are located either side of the Hawkes Bay/Manawatu highway through the Waipawa district. Today Lake Roto-a-Tara re-appears as a lake only after prolonged periods of heavy rain, otherwise it is arable farmland. Lakes Poukawa and Hatuma still exist. Of significance is the occupation date of 1550-1750 AD, appearing as the same for the occupation period of the numerous settlement sites on the eastern side of the Maraetotara forest, facing the coast, as well as settlement sites in the head waters of the aforementioned Pouhokio stream.<sup>87</sup> Interestingly, at the close southern coastal community of Porangahau, archaeological evidence derived from radio carbon dated midden shells show them to be 1280 AD, placing occupation there, close to the time of the migration of period of 1300 AD and closer still, to the time of the Toi expedition. Within the Porangahau sites, evidence of bird bones were found in the middens covering a raft of forest species such as tui, quail, parakeets, kaka and saddleback. Of most significance is the evidence of saddle back bones because this species was strictly a forest dweller, not able to attain full flight. This same scenario of results was substantiated further down

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<sup>85</sup> Hakikino's sacred past is constantly commemorated by the award winning ecotourism venture business, headed by local kaumatua Robert MacDonald. The sacred site is located on land now back in customary ownership and compliments the running of the sheep and cattle farm, Pouhokio station, formerly the Gillies Estate. One of the directors and owners is Annemarie Gillies from Massey University.

<sup>86</sup> These lakes were collectively known as 'Nga Puna- a-Tara, or the springs of Tara'. See Tuhua and Smith, "Incidents in the History of Horehore Pa, Te Takapau, Hawkes Bay District," p.73. Carbon dating of midden shells found around Roto-a-Tara, as well as at Ahuriri (Napier) show an occupation period of 1550 to 1750 AD. Grant, *Hawke's Bay Forests of Yesterday*. pp.158-61.

<sup>87</sup> See Grant, *Hawke's Bay Forests of Yesterday*. pp.3,161.

the coast as far as Palliser Bay, so it is not too difficult to imagine Waimarama would be any different, particularly with the large tracts of original native bush still standing on the Maraetotara plateau overlooking the coast, where the saddle back once dwelled.<sup>88</sup>

The earlier reference of the moa in the Wairau Bar discussion warrants further discussion. There existed very little reference to moa in Maori oral history. Maori reference to the word moa appears to derive from the Polynesian fowl.<sup>89</sup> Moa bones have been found in both islands associated with human artefacts, and also in midden. Scientists have attributed artefacts associated with certain moa remains as being the Polynesian fowl. However in midden pits the mingling of moa remains with Maori food items can be explained as follows: 'Certain associations or occurrences together, of moa bones and Maori midden material are secondary, and have resulted from the erosion of younger overlying sand hills and the consequent mingling of their midden material with much older moa remains'.

The stories of Maori accountable for the mass destruction of moa are uncorroborated. The evidence of mass graves of moa occurred in the pluvial period, following the Pleistocene glaciations,<sup>90</sup> and their numbers were much reduced by the time of the migration period of 1300 AD. Their demise has also been linked to the activities of Takitimu's captain, Tamatea. It was purported that Tamatea was responsible for fire storms that prevailed in Heretaunga during his time, thereby driving moa into swamps for mass slaughter.<sup>91</sup> Fire storms were reputed to be part of the natural disasters that affected the region over time, exacerbating the natural deforestation process. Whether Tamatea, or his people, were responsible for their outbreak is conjecture. To elaborate a little further on the activities of Tamatea, there seems to be confusion surrounding his fire stories. According to Grant's supportive research, there appears to have been no fire stories associated with the Tamatea who

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid. pp.158-61.

<sup>89</sup> The name moa was believed to be an imported name from Polynesian denoting a domestic fowl. It is believed that the name moa is a European term and that early Maori referred to them as Ti Kura (red bird) Buck rightly or wrongly associates the demise of the giant moa with the Maui people predating the founding period of 1350AD. See Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*. p.19. See also Pakipaki chief Urupene Puhara's oral account of Ti Kura (moa) in H.Hill, "The Moa: Legendary, Historical, and Geological: Why and when the Moa disappeared," *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand 1868-1961* 46(1913): p.340.

<sup>90</sup> The pluvial period is associated with the epoch of Pleistocene glaciations from 11,700 to 2,558,000 years ago.

<sup>91</sup> See Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*. pp.19-20.

came with the migration period of 1300 AD. There do, however, appear fire stories associated with the earlier Tamatea who descended from Toi in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>92</sup> While on the discussion of fire deforestation, Grant includes a reference to M.S. McGlone<sup>93</sup> who claims that ‘Burning by early Polynesian settlers is the most likely explanation for deforestation ...The Polynesians had cleared most of central Hawkes Bay by the 1840s’. McGlone proffers further that Maori burning of vast areas of Hawkes Bay was to encourage the growth of bracken for the consumption of its root (aruhe) which was an integral part of Maori diet. Grant notes, however, that McGlone’s chronology of events ‘is not tightly restricted to the time when charcoal was first observed,’ thereby debunking to some degree the weighting he places on Polynesian’s contribution to deforestation.<sup>94</sup>

Waimarama was a place of significant moa remains and in this account by a Mr. A. Hamilton it gives credence to the aforementioned theory of moa remains associated with midden beds as being secondary:

‘We saw a place where a big storm had washed out half an acre or more of the upper sand beds, and left exposed many thousands of bones in the lower beds, but too fragile for removal. They are arranged as by an artist. Had the birds to which the bones once belonged been killed and cooked by Maoris the bones could never have lain (sic) as we saw them, and had there been dogs it is hardly that such an abundance of bones would have remained in perfect condition and spread about in regular order.’

The location of Hamilton’s findings at Waimarama is shown on an East Coast map slightly south of Bare Island (Motu-o-Kura), and named as ‘Waimarama sands 1/2acres bones, beach swamp’.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Grant, *Hawke's Bay Forests of Yesterday*. p.17.

<sup>93</sup> M.S. McGlone, "Forest destruction by early Polynesians, Lake Poukawa, Hawke's Bay, New Zealand," *Journal of the Royal Society of N.Z.* 8(1978): pp.275-81.

<sup>94</sup> Dr Grant was commissioned by the Holt Forest Trust to write on the deforestation of Hawke’s Bay forests from as far back as the thirteenth century when most of Hawke’s Bay was covered in natural forest. His conclusion implies that Maori and early inhabitants had a minor effect on deforestation through to 1840, natural disasters, including fire, being the major contributing factors to its incremental demise. Continued deforestation of what was left occurred post 1840 with European milling and land clearances- forward by Professor Selby of Waikato University. See Grant, *Hawke's Bay Forests of Yesterday*. pp.3,161.

<sup>95</sup> H.Hill, "The Moa: Legendary, Historical, and Geological: Why and when the Moa disappeared," pp.331-44.

The archaeological findings in the milieu of Roto-o-Tara, Porangahau and Waimarama, and the occupation date derived from midden bed carbon dating, coincided with the end of Rangitane's peaceful occupation at the aforementioned places, c1550 AD<sup>96</sup>.

Traditional oratory of past events and the science surrounding New Zealand's first people are problematic but generally corroborate a period of establishment in the fourteenth century. The Rangitane people had populated and settled throughout Hawkes Bay. Around 1550 AD a wave of new wave of occupation began. Perhaps the rich hunting grounds of Roto-o-Tara in Heretaunga had become widely known, for soon Rangitane's occupation of its environs came under threat from north migrating Ngati Kahungunu.

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<sup>96</sup> The existence of well preserved and extensive midden bed sites at the time would suggest a sudden high density occupation, commensurate with heavy demand for local food sources.

## Chapter 2

### Ngati Kahungunu Invasion and Tribal Conflict c1550 to 1830

‘History is a set of constructed and contested narratives where a particular interpretation will confer legitimacy on one current view rather than another’.<sup>97</sup>

‘History haunts even generations who refuse to [acknowledge it]. Rhythms, patterns, continuities, drift out of time long forgotten to mould the present and to colour the shape of things to come’.<sup>98</sup>

From c1550 AD the Heretaunga region of Hawke’s Bay became a theatre of intermittent tribal warfare, before entering a period of relative calm during the eighteenth century, and culminating in the inter-tribal musket wars of the late 1820s. As mentioned the earlier belligerence towards Rangitane in the Heretaunga plains came from Ngati Kahungunu taua from Turanga (Gisborne, Poverty Bay), Rangitane’s kindred ancestors. J.M.\_McEwen outlines Ngati Kahungunu’s migration through Rakaihikura (a son of Kahungunu) from Turanga, via Mahia. Tragic circumstances precipitated Rakaihikura’s continued migration further south through Mohaka to Ahuriri where he settled with his entourage. Ballara in her account of Ngati Kahungunu’s origin often draws on the translated scripts of Mohi Te Atahikoia.<sup>99</sup> From Te Atahikoia’s early history Ballara states that after the migration to Ahuriri from Turanga (Gisborne) the chief Te Aomatarahi who allied himself to Rakaihikura’s sons, Taraia and Tuwhakawhiurangi was a kinsman chief from a different descent group of Kahungunu, who took up residence somewhere between Cape Kidnappers and southern Hawke’s Bay where he already had whanau. Taraia and Tuwhakawhiurangi settled in Ahuriri. It is worth mentioning at this juncture some ambiguity over which Tamatea, Kahungunu descended from. No Maori ancestor has aroused more discussion than that of Tamatea. Iwi from Wairoa north regarded Tamatea-ariki-nui (-mai-tawhiti) and Tamatea-pokai-whenua (urehaea) as

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<sup>97</sup>James Belich in Mark Francis, "Writing On Colonial New Zealand: Nationalism and Intentionality," in *Histories: Power and Loss*, ed. Andrew Sharp and Paul McHugh (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd, 2001), p.169.

<sup>98</sup> This excerpt is attributed to Arthur Schlesinger. See King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, p.505.

<sup>99</sup> Mohi was a high born and respected kaumatua of Waimarama and later in the nineteenth century became renowned for his stoic defence of his peoples land rights in the Native Land Court hearings. He was an early Maori historian, writing a native history of Waimarama, ‘Ko tenei korero no Hawaiki ranoa’.

grandfather and grandson respectively. From south of Wairoa, through Heretaunga to Wairarapa, including Waimarama, the two were regarded as one and the same ancestor.<sup>100</sup> Percy Smith concurs with fellow nineteenth century author Gudgeon's synopsis that the Ngāti Kahungunu iwi's eponymous ancestor was Tamatea, the father of Kahungunu, who migrated to Ahuriri, originally from the far North. Without the risk of being pedantic, future reference to Tamatea will be on the basis that he was the father of Kahungunu. Returning to Rakaihikura's migration to Ahuriri, it was his two sons Taraia and Tuwhakawhiurangi who determined the eventual mana of Kahungunu throughout Heretaunga by conquest and inter-tribal marriages. The people of Te Roto-a-Tara became known as the Tu-te-ihonga people of Kahu.<sup>101</sup> At the time of Rakaihikura's arrival to Ahuriri, Rangitane were the pre-eminent tribe throughout Heretaunga. They were made up of other district tribes, including Ngati Mamoi, Ngati Awa, Ngati Tara, and other tribes. Ngati Tara occupied the coastal lands from Tukituki to Wairarapa, including Waimarama. Local Waimarama kaumatua Robert MacDonald also points to Ngati Awa and Muaupoko tribes living here as well. Soon after settling in Ahuriri the sons of Rakaihikura, Taraia and Tuwhakawhiurangi executed a series of inter-tribal skirmishes on Rangitane. During the sixteenth century Taraia became the most famous Ngati Kahungunu chief and soon established dominance throughout Heretaunga. Aligning himself with Rakaihikura's two sons was Chief Te Aomatarahi<sup>102</sup> who led attacks on Waimarama's strategic pa sites. These Ngati Kahungunu warriors waged a campaign of aggression and suppression, over Rangitane iwi. One of their first raids was at Heipipi pa at Petane (West shore/Tongoia), which was repelled and resulted in an incident that had ramifications for the Waimarama people. A revered tohunga in the pa, Tunui (Tunuiarangi), gave a karakia and the Ngati Kahungunu invaders under Taraia and Te Aomatarahi became paralysed. Peace was quickly negotiated. From Heipipi they progressed due south to the pa Otatara, including Hikurangi (Taradale),

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<sup>100</sup> Ballara's book *Iwi*, was born from her MA and PHD theses and gives a comprehensive account of Ngati Kahungunu's origin. See Ballara, *Iwi: The Dynamics of Māori Tribal Organisation from c.1769 to c.1945*. p.135.

<sup>101</sup> Smith acknowledges that this could be at odds with some tribal interpretation of events. He elaborates further by saying no Maori ancestor has aroused more discussion than that of Tamatea. See S. Percy Smith, *Maori Wars of the 19th Century* (Christchurch: Cadsonbury Publications, 2002). pp.289-90.

<sup>102</sup> Te Aomatarahi was not of Ngati Kahungunu descent but was apparently raised by the tribe after his grandfather was killed by them. He descended from Porangahau and his descendants became known as Ngai Tahu and Ngati Ira.

where they were successful. After a brief period of peace Taraia and Te Aomatarahi's taua proceeded south to attack Te Roto-a-Tara (Te Aute). During this major theatre of tribal warfare, taua parties were dispatched to Te Aratipi on the Maraetotara plateau at Waimarama. A Ngai Tara Chief, Tarawhakarewa assisting his kinsmen at Te Roto-a-Tara, escaped and returned to his pa, Te Ikatiere (or Te Ika-a-Tiere), south of Waimarama at Porangahau. It appears both Taraia and his ally chief, Te Aomatarahi, attacked the Waimarama pa of Matanginui (Maraetotara) and Hakikino (Te Apiti Rd). An anomaly appears in McEwen's narrative following the battle at Matanginui pa where the local chief, Whaitiranui, was killed. McEwen seems to attribute this pa sacking with a peace alliance facilitated by way of the marriage of Te Aomatarahi's son, Rongomaipureora, to Hinengatira, the daughter of the local chief Kopare (from this union sprang the hapu of Waimārama, Ngati Kurukuru, Ngati Whakaiti, and Ngati Urakiterangi). However it appears this inter-tribal peace marriage came about as a result of the next assault on Rangitane pa at Hakikino. Here Hinengatira was discovered hiding in a cave a few hundred metres from the pa. McEwen also makes mention of Kohuipu and Hinengatira as being descendants of Tunui but no explanation of who Kohuipu is.<sup>103</sup> Parsons states that Hinengatira was the daughter of chieftainess Kohuipu, wife of Chief Kopare. The next assault by Taraia and Te Aomatarahi was on the Waimarama coastal island pa of Karamea. During the attack on Karamea the young Ngai Tara chief, Tuteremoana, escaped to his brother, Tarawhakarewa's pa at Te Ikatiere. Te Aomatarahi and Taraia proceeded south staging two unsuccessful attacks on Tarawhakarewa's pa at Te Ikatiere before eventually capturing it.<sup>104</sup> As a result of these pa invasions local Waimarama chiefs' Taipounamu, Tokatoa and Pakura were killed and Taraia granted Te Aomatarahi mana over all the coastal land between the Tukituki River and the sea, from Matau-a-Maui (Cape Kidnappers) to Aramoana (Shoal Bay).<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Wilson names Hinengatira and Kohuipu as descendants of Tunui, the famed tohunga from the Heipipi peace settlement, hence the reason for the peace treaty. The name of Hakikino chief, Kopare appears, in Ballara's transcript from Mohi TeĀtahikoia, as does the name spelling of his daughter HineNgāti ra, which differs from Hinengatira in McEwen's narrative and the name Kohuipu with no explanation. See J. M. McEwen, *Rangitāne. A Tribal History* (Auckland: Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd, 1986). pp.41-43. See also Ballara, *Iwi: The Dynamics of Māori Tribal Organisation from c.1769 to c.1945*. p.136. Citing Mohi Te Atahikoia's transcripts pg 9.

<sup>104</sup> McEwen, *Rangitāne. A Tribal History*. p.43.

<sup>105</sup> Patrick Parsons, "Aramoana Beach Historical and Archaeological Report," (Waipukurau: Central Hawkes Bay District Council, 2001), p.6.

Karamea pa was to experience a second invasion centuries later in 1820 it was attacked and overrun by Ngati Porou and Ngati Maru warrior, Tangi te Ruru, following his successful capturing of the Ngati Whatuiapiti pa at Roto-o- Tara. The inhabitants at Karamea Pa were by now derived from various Heretaunga tribes and included Turereiro, a grandson of Hawea, who was killed in the fight.<sup>106</sup> Following the turmoil of the 1600s, the eighteenth century proved relatively peaceful with the cohesion of the Waimarama, Waipukurau, Haumoana and Poukawa districts orchestrated by strategic inter-tribal marriages through descendants of Kahungunu and Te Aomatarahi. Ngati Kahungunu had become the dominant and established tribe over the Heretaunga plains from east of Ahuriri to Wairoa, and south to Wairarapa, by the end of the seventeenth century, and was the established socio-political order confronting early European settlement. However specific tribal identifications remained strong. Descendants of Ngati Whatuiapiti, for example, which was to become the pre-eminent tribe of Heretaunga in the eighteenth century, and whose ancestors predated those of Ngati Kahungunu, continue to identify with their ancient tribal ancestors despite their subsequent relationships with other tribes. Early Waimarama historian Mohi Te Atahikoia once wrote. ‘The name of Kahungunu stayed on that Ahuriri side: the name Te Whatuiapiti stayed on this side, inside Heretaunga. This was translated from te reo: ‘Ka noho it era taha o Ahuriri, te ingoa o Kahungunu, ka noho i tenei taha i roto o Heretaunga te ingoa o te Whatui Apiti’.<sup>107</sup> Chief Rangikoianake I, who was very instrumental in maintaining peace and kinship bonds during the 1700s, was a descendant of Whatuiapiti, and it was his third son, Te Karaha who ‘... was taken away by the Waimarama people to be chief over them.’<sup>108</sup>

Today tribal identification is specific and important to individuals as it ever was. While an individual may trace his or her whakapapa through multiple tribal affiliations, they often prioritise and are specific to which line they descend, identifying with ancient lines, such as Ngati Whatuiapiti. Identification to Ngati Kahungunu is used conveniently and generically, when indicating allegiance to the

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<sup>106</sup> Wilson, *History of Hawke's Bay*. p.86.

<sup>107</sup> Taken from Mohi transcripts. Pg 24. See Ballara, *Iwi: The Dynamics of Māori Tribal Organisation from c.1769 to c.1945*. pp.139-40.

<sup>108</sup>. See Parsons, "Aramoana Beach Historical and Archaeological Report," p.13. Cited in Napier Minute Book number 27, page 234. Pukerowhita hearing-1893. Evidence from Urupene Puhara.

wider regional tribal boundary, as previously mentioned, spreading predominantly from Ahuriri through the Heretaunga plains south to the Wairarapa.

Returning to the chronology of Ngati Kahungunu evolution, the name Roto-a-Tara, already discussed in historic importance to Waimarama, featured again in the resurgence of the tribal conflict of the early nineteenth century and is worthy of further elaboration. Roto-a-Tara, in the Te Aute valley had always been a strategic area along the inland southward corridor from Ahuriri to Waipawa. Between 1820 and 1830 Roto-a-Tara became a theatre of intense inter tribal warfare, ‘...perhaps some of the biggest and most drawn out inter-tribal battles in the history of Aotearoa New Zealand’.<sup>109</sup>

By 1820 Ngati Kahungunu hapu were well established at Te Roto-a-Tara living on the island pa of Te Awarua-o-Pori-rua, (later given the European name, Peach Island). During this decade the use of muskets became an important feature of a taua’s arsenal. The island pa was invaded by the Northern tribes of Ngati-Paoa and Nga-Puhi in what appeared a surprise attack. Old men women and children were massacred, while the men folk were away fishing at Waimarama. A tapu was placed on the lake but this did not deter a second siege of the hapless pa a year later by another northern invasion. This time the war spilled over the Kahuranaki ranges towards Waimarama, but the invading northerners were defeated at Mangawharau on the Maraetotara plateau. According to Percy Smith the invaders (taua) returned to the same area at Waimarama and defeated the local iwi at Te Aratipi (c1820) with much loss of life and the loss of two sacred taonga. Apparently the Tuwharetoa contingent of the Northern invaders knew of, and procured from the vanquished Waimarama defenders, two sacred meres, Pahi-kaure, and Kai-arero and took them back to Taupo.<sup>110</sup> Buchanan states specifically, that the combined forces from Ngati Tuwharetoa (Taupo) and Ngai Te Upokoiri (Ruahine) who were besieging the resident tribe of Ngati Whatuiapiti at Te Roto-a-Tara, crossed the Kahuranaki

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<sup>109</sup> James Philip Hector Graham, "Whakatangata Kia Kaha: Toitu Te Whakapapa, Toitu Te Tuakiri, Toitu Te Mana - An Examination of the Contribution of Te Aute College to Maori Advancement" (Ph.D. , Massey University, 2009), p.31.

<sup>110</sup> Today these taonga are in the possession of the Te Heuheu family. See Smith, *Maori Wars of the 19th Century*. pp.293-96. These sacred patu are reputed to have been cut from a boulder at the entrance to Tunui’s whare. Tunui was the famous tohunga who arrived at Waimarama on the Takitimu canoe. See also Parsons, "An Overview History of Waimarama," p.7.

ranges to attack ‘the pa at Mangawharau on Te Aratipipiti’(sic).<sup>111</sup> The Waimarama iwi repelled the taua in this first assault, who then retreated to continue their siege on Te Roto-a-Tara. Parsons comments on the same event and notes that the siege on Roto-a-Tara proved unsuccessful, but before retreating back to Taupo, it seems that the Ngati Tuwharetoa chief, Te Heuheu, in a fit of pique, returned with a full compliment of warriors made up from his own tribe Tuwharetoa, Ngati Maniapoto, Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Upokoiri Ngati Maru. His second invasion on the Waimarama people at Mangawharau proved a success with much loss of life to the local inhabitants:

‘Without canoes Te Heuheu and Ngai Te Upokoiri found Roto-a-Tara impregnable so they divided their forces, half laying siege to the island fortress while the rest travelled to Maungawharau above Waimarama where some of the Roto-a-Tara people had gone fishing’.<sup>112</sup>

Pareihe by now was the new Whatuiapiti chief at Roto-a Tara, following the death of the old chief Te Nahu. After a prolonged period of resistance Pareihe abandoned the pa to the northern invaders. Over the next two years after the collapse of the Whatuiapiti stronghold at Roto-a-Tara, Ngati Kahungunu iwi fought to maintain dominance throughout Heretaunga. Pareihe resided at Waimarama for a while and in company with hief Te Wera of Ngapuhi, was active in reprisal skirmishes around the environs of Roto-a-Tara. However on receiving advice of another invasion force of 1000 warriors from the Northern and Central North Island tribes, he and his people took refuge at Nukutaurua (Mahia) during the 1830s. During the battle at Te Pakake (Ahuriri) musket invasion many prominent Ngati Kahungunu rangitira were captured and taken north. Graham states that the Waimarama chief Tiakitai, along with fellow chiefs Karawa, Te Hapuku, Te Moananui were among the captives and taken back to the Waikato.<sup>113</sup> There has existed the assertion through generations of Tiakitai’s descendants that their ancestor was not taken prisoner but remained at Ahuriri. This can partly be explained in evidence given to an 1889 Omaha Hearing by a young witness at the time of the battle, Te Meihana Takihi. He said:

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<sup>111</sup>The generally used and modern day spelling of Maungawharau is Mangawharau and Aratipipiti is Te Aratipi. See Buchanan, *Maori History and Place Names of Hawke's Bay*. p.36.

<sup>112</sup> Parsons, "Aramoana Beach Historical and Archaeological Report," p.30.

<sup>113</sup>See Graham’s 2009 PHD thesis in Graham, "Whakatangata Kia Kaha: Toitu Te Whakapapa, Toitu Te Tuakiri, Toitu Te Mana - An Examination of the Contribution of Te Aute College to Maori Advancement", p.30. Cited from Ballara’s 1991 PHD thesis.

‘When Waikato returned home they left Tiakitai and Karawa. They left them guns and powder and the wounded who were unable to walk...they invited Tiakitai and Karawa to come later on. At length they sent... to fetch Tiakitai and Karawa...’<sup>114</sup>

The cessation of hostilities in the early 1830s marked the consolidation of closer economic, social and spiritual interaction with Europeans. However it was not until England’s formal annexation of New Zealand by way of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 did the Ngati Kahungunu diaspora feel safe to return to Heretaunga after approximately twenty years exile at Nukutaurua (Mahia).<sup>115</sup> The Treaty document was brought by sea from the Bay of Islands to East Coast destinations on the *SS Herald* for signing by Ngati Porou and Ngati Kahungunu chiefs. Waimarama chief, Harawira Te Mahikai, along with Te Hapuku, and Hoani Waikato, signed when the *SS Herald* anchored inside the Tukituki river mouth at a place called Waipureku.<sup>116</sup> An interesting account of coercion used by the Crown’s deputised agent, a Major Thomas Bunbury, to secure Te Hapuku’s signature is given. Apparently Bunbury had difficulty procuring Te Hapuku’s signature, finally warning the chief Hapuku that ‘British authority was a fait accompli’ and introduced a previous incident of a stolen whale boat by local Maori to make a point. Unless the boat was returned to its Pakeha owners, Bunbury would authorise the demonstration of the *Herald*’s guns. It seems however that a Ngapuhi Chief accompanying Te Hapuku, was instrumental in persuading Te Hapuku to sign.<sup>117</sup> Te Hapuku was to feature prominently in Hawkes Bay lands sales of the 1850s, discussed in detail in chapter five.

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<sup>114</sup> Patrick Parsons, "Wai 400: The Ahuriri Block. Maori Customary Interests," (Waitangi Tribunal, May 1997), p.93.

<sup>115</sup> Remnants of various hapu stayed or commuted from Mahia to maintain their kainga. See Graham, "Whakatangata Kia Kaha: Toitu Te Whakapapa, Toitu Te Tuakiri, Toitu Te Mana - An Examination of the Contribution of Te Aute College to Maori Advancement", p.30.

<sup>116</sup> Parsons, "An Overview History of Waimarama," p.7.

<sup>117</sup>. See Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1987). p.83. No mention in Orange’s account is made of Harawira and Waikato’s outlook on the signing.

## Chapter 3

### Cook, Whalers and Christians

‘New Zealand History is not a single history of great White deeds; it is a multitude of different histories, including actions by hapu and iwi in actively engaging with rather than passively accepting, European intrusions’.<sup>118</sup>

As previously mentioned the eighteenth century according to what is known, was a relatively peaceful century for Waimarama and Heretaunga tangata whenua, with their culture and customs unchanged. However the first contact with the English navigator Captain James Cook in 1769 was to irrevocably change the social, political, and cultural landscape of Maori. His inaugural visit signalled the start of what was to become, at first, an incremental and ostensibly innocuous shift in Maori cultural practises throughout the land, to a steady period of acculturation in the nineteenth century that was to leave Maori and their tikanga incrementally assaulted by the end of the nineteenth century. Waimarama tangata whenua were to experience all the drama and evolutionary processes associated with initial European contact and adaption to an alien culture, but withstood the process of land alienation.

Waimarama tangata whenua initial contact with Cook’s 1769 expedition was as dramatic as any recorded between archipelago communities in the South Pacific rim and Cook’s eighteenth century expeditionary voyages. Eighty years after Cook’s inaugural voyage to Aotearoa, Hawke’s Bay’s most famous nineteenth missionary, William Colenso, was to record in his diary the following oral account given to him by Rangaika<sup>119</sup> chief, Hakaraia (Zechariah) Ngarangikamau, on Cook’s first contact with Waimarama and Hawke’s Bay Maori, which led to the naming of Cape Kidnappers:

‘While my tent was been struck, I received an interesting account from Zechariah Ngarangikamau, concerning Capt. Cook’s visit to these parts in 1769; and the plan and abduction of ‘Tayeto,’ the son of Tupaea the Otahaitian,

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<sup>118</sup> Augie Fleras and Paul Spoonley, *Recalling Aotearoa: Indigenous Politics and Ethnic Relations in New Zealand* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1999), p.4. See also E.S. Te Ahu Poata-Smith, "The Quest For Authenticity," in *The Waitangi Tribunal: Te Roopu Whakamana i te Titiri o Waitangi*, ed. Janine Hayward and Nicola R. When (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd, 2004), p.171.

<sup>119</sup> Rangaika was a small foreshore hapu located on southern Cape Kidnappers. It was to become a thriving whaling community in the 1840s, of which more information will follow.

( *Tahitian*) who accompanied Capt. Cook... In the affair (which took place on the 15<sup>th</sup> of October in that year, and which has given the name to the S. Cape of Hawke's Bay), the natives lost 2 men, Wakarue (*whakarue*) and Wakaika (*Whakaika*); Te Ori himself being also badly wounded by a ball, which lodging under the knee and never extracted, caused him to limp to the grave." Colenso did what any good historian attempts to do and confirmed the story with an account from Captain Cook's log: " Some of the gentlemen who traced the canoes to shore with their glasses, said, that they saw 3 men carried up the beach, who appeared to be either dead, or wholly disabled by their wounds'.

Colenso was told by Zechariah and 'other old men' that Te Ori and others were warned by Tupaea that they would be killed if they approached Cook's ship in a hostile manner, but that their Priests and Chiefs contemptuously over ruled all Tupaea said with 'Kahore he rakau o te hunga o Hawaiki; he pu kakaho, he korari! (The people of Hawaiki have no other arms than reeds and the stalks of flax- i.e. Phormium)...'<sup>120</sup>

Cook's own diary entry on Sunday 15 October 1769 correlates very closely with the same incident:

"Sunday 15<sup>th</sup>pm Stood over the southernmost land or South Point of the Bay...being a breast of the sw Point of the Bay, some fishing boats came off to us and sold us some stinking fish... These people behaved very well untill [sic] a large arm'd wherein were 22 Men, came along side. We soon saw that this boat had nothing to traffic, yet as they came boldly along side we gave them two or three peices [sic] of Cloth, articles they seem the most fond of; one man in this boat had on him a black skin something like a bear skin which I was desirous of having that I might be a better judge what sort of Animal the first owner was. I offer'd him for it a peice of Red Cloth which he seem'd to jump at by emmediatly (sic) putting of the Skin and holding it up to us, but would not part with it until he had the Cloth in his possession, and after that not attall but

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<sup>120</sup> Hakaraia (Zechariah) Ngarangikamau was a great grandson of Te Ori who carried out the abduction of a young crew member from Cook's *Endeavour* leading to the subsequent naming of Cape Kidnappers. See Journal entry dated 25 April 1851 in Colenso, *Journals of William Colenso 1841-1854*. Colenso's diary narrative finishes with: "It was, however from this vessel, and at this time, that the Natives received the cabbage, and another plant which they call a 'Haaria'; this latter has become extinct, but, from the Natives' description, and from their identifying and confounding it with my sunflowers at the Station, I presume it to have been an artichoke, or its near ally a Charton". See Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*. pp.151-52. See also A.G. Bagnall and G.C. Petersen, *William Colenso: His Life and Journeys*, ed. Ian St George (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2012). pp.296,441.

put of the boat and went away and with them all the rest, but in a very short time they return'd again and one of the fishing boat came along side and offer'd us some more fish, the Indian Boy Tiata, Tupia's servent being over the side, they seized hold of him, pulled him into the boat and endeavoured to carry him off, this obliged us to fire upon them which gave the Boy an opportunity (sic) to jump over board and we brought the Ship too, lower'd a boat into the Water and took him up unhurt. Two or Three paid for this daring attempt with the loss of their lives and many more would have suffered had it [not] been for fear of killing the boy. This affair occasion'd my giving (sic) this point of Land the name Cape Kidnappers: it is remarkable on account of the two white rocks in form of Hay Stacks standing very near it: on each side of the Cape are tolerable high white steep cliffs...distant 13 Leagues from the Isle of Portland, between them is a large Bay wherein we have been for 3 Days past; this Bay I have name'd *Hawkes Bay* in honour of Sr Edward [Hawke] first Lord of the Admiralty; we found in it 24 to 8 and 7 fathom every where good Anchoring"<sup>121</sup>

In the two transcripts the description of the kidnapped boy differs. Cook refers to him as 'the Indian Boy Tiata, Tupia's servent', while in Colenso's narrated account the boy is referred to as 'Tayeto,' the son of Tupaea the Otaheitian, (*Tahitian*). Apparently there has been conjecture about whether the boy was kidnapped or not. An article in a 1995 edition of Wellington's *Evening Post* (30 December 1995) fuelled the speculation when a group of Maori educationalists (Te Reo Areare) postulated that 'Maori believed their ancestors thought the Tahitian was being held by Captain Cook's crew, and wanted to free him...' They concluded that 'The accusation of kidnapping was inaccurate'.<sup>122</sup>

It would seem that the Cape Kidnappers incident may not have been an entirely random incident event. Cook's earlier diary entries reveal a series of perceived inhospitable overtures from inquisitive waka as the *Endeavour* chartered its course

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<sup>121</sup> This incident was evidently not forgotten by local Maori through the ensuing years when it was referred to by Cook on his second voyage to New Zealand in the *Adventure*, on October 22<sup>nd</sup> 1773 when he bartered goods with Maori further down the coast. A full inventory of introduced goods is given in Cook's 1773 diary entry on p.5. See Philip Edwards, *James Cook The Journals* (London: Penguin Books, 1999). pp.5,77,131.

<sup>122</sup> At face value this statement can only be regarded as hypothesising. In so far as much of New Zealand historiographical accounts appear through the lens of a neo-colonial construct, the danger of deconstructing and evaluating events through the *mentalités* of a pan Maori lens brings its own set of limitations and interpretations. See Cowie, "Rangahaua Whanui District 11B," p.14.

along the Hawke's Bay's coast line. From Mahia to Cape Turnagain neither Cook, nor his crew, disembarked ashore but noted the landscape and the people from the *Endeavour*. At Table Cape (Mahia) the first recorded anti social incident by Hawke's Bay and Turanga Maori occurred when a warrior bared his buttocks at Cooks ship when the crew failed to engage with the approaching canoes.<sup>123</sup> Cook described the terrain of Hawke' Bay as he sailed down from Mahia as 'very pleasant and fertile with a foreshore of sandy beaches and white cliffs...' Upon reaching Ahuriri lagoon (Te Whanganui-o-Orutu) he described the terrain as of 'fine sloping hills, which stretched out into beautiful green lawns, though not covered with wood, as other parts of the coast are'. Again the reception from advancing canoes from the lagoon appeared hostile, as did a similar reception at the mouth of the Ngaruroro River, a bit further along the coast towards Cape Kidnappers.<sup>124</sup> Nevertheless at Cape Kidnappers Cook must have felt sufficiently confident to stop and trade with the visiting waka. It could be argued, despite the debacle at Cape Kidnappers that this incident was the first account of trade between the indigenous people of Aotearoa and a foreigner visitor.

Following the Kidnappers drama, Cook's diary entry the following day, revealed his observation and naming of Bare Island (Motu-o-Kura) off Waimarama:

'Monday October 16<sup>th</sup> ... At 2 PM past by a small, but a pretty high white Island lying close to the Shore, on this Island we saw a good ma[n]y houses, Boats and some people, we concluded they must be fishers because the land was quite barren. We likewise saw several people upon the Shore in a small Bay on the Main within the Island...' <sup>125</sup>

In Cook's charting and naming of landscape and seascape features of Hawke's Bay he gave the name Hawke's Bay to the whole coastal region that was known as Te Matau-a-Maui (the mythical hook of Maui). The name Te Matau-a- Maui

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<sup>123</sup> Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*. p.145.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid. pp.147-48.

<sup>125</sup> This Monday 16 October entry was a notable absence in Philip Edward's selected and edited transcripts of J.C. Beaglehole's original manuscripts of Cook's diary entries. J.C. Beaglehole (1901-71) was a Professor of Commonwealth History at Victoria University, Wellington. He compiled a monumental four volumes of Cook's famous eighteenth century expeditions. These were compiled into his edition of *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery* published by the Hakluyt Society for the University Press, Cambridge, and 1955-67. For the above journal entry see National Library of Australia, "Cook's Journal: Daily Entries," South Seas, <http://southseas.nla.gov.au/journals/cook/17691016.html>.

subsequently became associated with Cape Kidnappers rather than the entire coastal region from Mahia to Waimarama as depicted by Maui's hook.<sup>126</sup> It is pertinent to note at this stage with reference to Cook's naming of the significant northern areas of Maui's famed hook, and their traditional Maori place names. The recreational fishing and resort peninsular which is known today as Mahia, derives its name from Maahi-mai-tawhiti. The small island off the southern tip of the peninsular, traditionally known as Waikawa, Cook named 'Isle of Portland' (Portland Island as it subsequently became known). The north eastern part of the peninsular known traditionally as Kahutara became Table Cape 'on account of its shape and figure'<sup>127</sup> As mentioned earlier the small island of Portland was the sacred repository of mauri, the spiritual symbol of the whales life force and it was said that this was the lure for prolific whale numbers to the waters of Te Matau-a-Maui (Hawke's Bay). The whales had acted and continued to act as 'sea guardians' for local iwi in their fishing expeditions throughout these waters.<sup>128</sup>

Earlier mention was made of the small Gisborne coastal settlement of Whangara (Chapter one). Whangara has a significant connection to the mauri of early Hawke's Bay, and Waimarama whaling, for it was the place of the celebrated story of Paikea<sup>129</sup> Paikea, a species of whale, is often mentioned in Maori whaling folklore as being the beneficent 'sea-god ancestor' that swam up and down the east coast, and a particular reference is made to Paikea in an oral account involving the small Waimarama whaling station, Pakaraka. Later nineteenth century activities of commercial whaling by Europeans would soon impact on the life force of mauri in the region.

As a further important adjunct to Cook's early interaction with East Coast Maori on his later voyage to Aotearoa in 1773, the following is an important unabridged transcript of his diary entry which was to have long term ramifications to aspects of Maori culture, not just for Waimarama and East Coast Maori, but for Maori

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<sup>126</sup> Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*. p.140.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid. pp.140-44.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid. p.139.

<sup>129</sup> The legend of Paikea is coveted by Whangara iwi, as it was here that he married a descendant of Maui, a daughter of Whironui descending down to Porourangi, the ancestor of Ngati Porou. Paikea took up residence at Whangara and his deity is depicted on the gable of their whareniui on Whangara marae. See Ibid. pp.157-58. The legend was made into the successful cinema production, *Whale Rider*.

throughout Aotearoa. Later missionaries and surveyors noted native gardens growing wheat and other crops mentioned in this quotation of Cooks. Also important was the heeding of Cook's advice not to kill the pigs he supplied. Consequently the progeny of this foundation stock became a stable diet of protein and the name of New Zealand's wild pigs are still referred to as 'Captain Cookers':

'Friday 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1773. '...At 5 o'Clock we passed the above mentioned Cape (Kidnappers) and at half past 9 o'Clock (being about 3 Leagues short of Black Head) we saw some canoes put off from the Shore upon which I bought to in order to give them time to come on board...It was not long before three canoes reached us in which were about 18 people, the first that came were fishers and exchanged some fish for Cloth and Nails. I was not over desirous of getting any of the Men in this Canoe aboard because in one of the other two I expected to find a Chief, nor was I mistaken for in the Second Canoe which came was one or two as appear'd by their dress and manner of acting, the principal of these two came aboard without hesitation and soon after followed by the other. I conducted him to the Cabbin and presented him with several large nails which he coveted so much that he seized hold of all he could cast his eyes upon and with such eagerness as plainly shewed that they were the most Valuable things in his eyes in our possession. I also gave him a nice peice of cloth and looking glass and then brought before him the Piggs, Fowls, Seeds and roots I intend'd for him, the Piggs and Fowls he at first took but little notice of till he was given to understand that [they] were for himself, nor was he then in such raptures as when I gave him a pike nail half the length of his arm, I however took notice that at going away he very well remember'd how many were brought before and took care that he had them all and kept a watchful eye over them least any should be taken away; he made me promise not to kill any, if he keeps his word and proper care is taken of them there were enough to stock the whole Island in due time, there being two Boars, two Sows, two Cocks and four hens; the seeds and roots were such as most usefull (viz) Wheat, French and Kidney Beans, pease, cabbages, Turnips, Onions, Carrots, Parsnips, Yams & ca & ca, with these Articles. I dismissed my two chiefs and made sail again... It was evident that these people had not forgot the Endeavour being on their Coast for the first words they said to us was we are afraid of the guns

[Mataou no te poupou], probably they were no strangers to the affair which happened at Cape Kidnappers'.<sup>130</sup>

By the close of the eighteenth century foreign whaling vessels were plying the New Zealand coastline including the coastal waters of Hawkes Bay and Gisborne. Off shore whaling, as it was called, had been a burgeoning industry from the late eighteenth century through to the early nineteenth century with many foreign ships operating throughout the South Pacific region. The first recorded whaling vessel in Hawkes Bay was the London based *Mermaid* in 1796.<sup>131</sup>

It is fair to argue that the inception of coastal whaling in the late eighteenth century ushered in the first settlements of European immigrants. The increase in numbers of European whalers, sealers, and the accumulative presence of European immigrants upon the landscape, commensurate with the introduction of their foods, hardware, including firearms, and other cultural items must have been an exciting epoch in Maori socio-political development. Ballara cites archaeologist Roger Green as describing 'the end of the Classic Maori phase as not starting with first contact with Europeans but at the point of intensive and regular contact'. Ballara further cites Green as saying:

'Until the 1840s traditional Maori culture was the dominant resident culture and it is only after that point that many of its constituents were totally replaced and the whole transformed into a new cultural entity. Before 1840 the process was one of addition to, and elaboration of already existing patterns.'

While Ballara is probably right in her assessment that the statement is problematic when the terms "transformation" and 'total replacement' are used, it cannot be deduced that previous to pre-European contact, Maori culture was static. Maori, as an indigenous culture, was not unique in confronting the introduction of western culture in the nineteenth century. Post 1840, Maori showed remarkable adaptability, and resilience, to the rapid acculturation process that confronted them. Ballara concedes to the consensus reached by archaeologists', 'that many aspects of pre-

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<sup>130</sup> Of particular note from this transcript is evidence of the first introduction of foreign protein and carbohydrates to Maori diet. The pigs referred to were the foundation stocks that were to become known throughout the land as 'Captain Cookers'. The seeds and roots given by Cook spawned a whole new addition to Maori diet as did the pork. The remembrance of the Cape kidnapper's incident in Cooks earlier visit speaks for itself. See Edwards, *James Cook The Journals*. p.311.

<sup>131</sup> Parsons, "Aramoana Beach Historical and Archaeological Report," p.14.

European contact Maori culture, continued well into the nineteenth century'.<sup>132</sup> It can be argued that this continuation has extended to the present time, and the general worldwide renaissance of indigenous cultures in the 1970s gave impetus to reinvigorating Maori culture with all its inherent tenets of tikanga, linguistic artistry, and spirituality. If the whaling industry, concomitant with all its participants, could be construed as the advance guard for eventual systematic colonisation by Britain, then the advent of missionaries could be construed as the facilitator of planned colonisation in response to the adhoc co-existence of early immigrants with Maori.

The advent of Christianity in 1814 was also a milestone in embryonic bicultural relations. Associated with Christian dogma came western education. While probably less exciting than the volatility and commerce of the whaling industry, Christianity was to prove another foreign tenet that tribes and hapu could appropriate, adding mana and prestige to rangitira. It is not disingenuous to postulate that Christianity was the Trojan horse for eventual acculturation. What at first may have appeared a benign form of dogma, and western principals was soon to prove a camouflage of goodwill for eventual acculturation by Britain- a practised and successful prototype of Western imperialism over indigenous people. Nearly forty years later in the 1850s, Hawke's Bay's Land Purchasing Officer, the wily and ambitious Scots immigrant, Donald McLean who at times seemed to operate under the veil of resident missionary, William Colenso, made a comment encapsulating this imperial ideology. (Referred to later in this thesis).

If Samuel Marsden could be accorded the mantle of Christ's first apostle to the shores of Aotearoa, his arrival and sermons would not have been an entirely unfamiliar experience for Maori. It was part of their culture for select individuals to listen and absorb their tohunga's incantations, connecting them to their spiritual world. It could be argued that Maori were preconditioned to Christianity by sermons given to them by Tupaia from Cook's *Endeavour* in 1769. He too could have been construed as a conduit to the spiritual world of the European God(s), as Cook was imagined as coming from the spiritual world of Hawaiiki. Marsden established

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<sup>132</sup> Green was a well travelled archaeologist and the writer of this thesis had the privilege of meeting him in 1972 on his archaeological site in a bush clearing in the interior of a small island called Ugi, in the remote eastern district of the Solomon Islands archipelago. See Angela Ballara, *Taua 'Musket Wars', 'Land Wars' or Tikanga? Warfare in Maori Society in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Penguin 2003), pp.395-96.

Aotearoa's first Church of England mission base in the Bay of Islands in 1814, known as the Christian Missionary Society (CMS). Waimarama was to get its first resident missionary in William Colenso twenty years later.

Marsden is worth analysis and therefore relevant to the discussion of Colenso in this thesis, for his personal and religious ideology reflected inherent British bigotry and intolerance. Marsden appeared an unashamed trail blazer for further European settlement, in much the same way as future religious zealots such as Doctor David Livingston paved the way for British colonial expansion in Africa later in the same century. There is little doubt Marsden was under instructions from England coming from his administrative colonial outpost of New South Wales. He prefaced his arrival in the Bay of islands with the comment:

‘...the arts of civilisation should be taught to the heathen Maori by artisan missionaries...Commerce promotes industry- Industry Civilisation and Civilisation offers a way for the Gospel. After commerce and trade, the mechanic arts could open the way for religion.’

However he appears to be unsure whether commerce or conversion should come first, when he also proclaimed Maori to have minds like:

‘...a rich soil that had never been cultivated and only the proper means of improvement to render them fit to rank with civilised nations...I knew that they were cannibals- that they were a savage race- full of superstition, and wholly under the power and influence of the Prince of darkness; and that there was only one remedy which could effectually free them from their cruel spiritual bondage and misery; and that was the gospel of a crucified Saviour’.

A further insight into New Zealand's founding CMS missionary shows a man exhibiting great cruelty and deep racial and religious bigotry. As magistrate in the colonial administrative state of New South Wales at the turn of the nineteenth century, he was infamous for authorising the floggings of suspected Irish perpetrators of the convict uprising in the State, in 1800. He became known as the ‘flogging parson’.<sup>133</sup> He regarded the Irish as being:

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<sup>133</sup> James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealand from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Allen Lane, 1996). p.135.

‘... the most wild, ignorant and savage Race that were ever favoured with the Light of Civilisation... extremely superstitious artful and treacherous’.

His vitriolic attitude towards the Irish was all the more compounded by his aversion to Catholicism. Marsden’s bias was probably more a reflection of innate institutionalised British racism and bigotry, born of centuries of frustration in trying to conquer and quell the recalcitrant Irish.<sup>134</sup>

As mentioned, twenty years after the establishment of Marsden’s Christian Missionary Society in 1814, the CMS missionary William Colenso displayed these personality traits, albeit without Marsden’s traits of cruelty, towards his fellow Catholic missionaries and Maori throughout his parish of Hawkes Bay. Chapter four discusses Colenso and his association with Waimarama from 1844. Concomitant with the advent of Christianity was the development of the whaling industry leading to the establishment of four Waimarama on-shore whaling stations in the 1840s..

On-shore whaling in New Zealand had begun, c1827, with the first whaling station reputed to have been established at Te Awaiti in the South Island.<sup>135</sup> From 1831-1837, Cloudy Bay became the strategic on-shore whaling base for ships as the trend to on-shore production took hold. By 1839 a total of 150 whaling ships were plying the East and West coastlines of New Zealand with increased activity on the East Coast following the migratory patterns of the right whale.<sup>136</sup> The establishment of on-shore whaling stations was a natural development from off- shore whaling, and had a marked affect on the evolutionary process of changing land practise and eventual commercial activities. On-shore whaling stations were a safer form of investment than that of off-shore whaling.<sup>137</sup> They were also a logical response to the migratory pattern of the right whale. The female of this species came to the warmer waters of the eastern shores of New Zealand on their annual migration from the southern ocean. They were often pregnant, or with a calf in tow, and swam slowly,

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<sup>134</sup> Anne Salmond, *Between Worlds. Early Exchanges Between Maori and Europeans 1773-1815* (Auckland: Viking. Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd, 1997). pp.406-07.

<sup>135</sup> C.R. Straubel, *The Whaling Journal of Captain W.B. Rhodes* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd, 1954). p.xxi.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.* pp.xxii-xxiv.

<sup>137</sup> Rickard suggests that the higher return on investment in on-shore whaling stations as opposed to offshore was because an owner’s entire capital investment could not be lost in an unfortunate sinking which was always a high probability. See L.S. Rickard, *The Whaling Trade in Old New Zealand* (Auckland: Minerva 1965). p.53.

close to the shoreline within easy access to the on-shore whalers.<sup>138</sup> The sperm whale migratory patterns happened further out to sea and were rarely caught by on-shore operators. The halcyon years for the whaling industry in Australia, as well as New Zealand, were the mid 1830's where the industry was regarded as 'a bonanza industry'. This moniker was particularly attributed to the slaughter of the black whale where people were said to be 'black whaling mad'. Between 1827 and 1850 there were over eighty whaling stations established in New Zealand, most of which were run from Sydney where the export products were shipped to London. The boom trans-Tasman trade period of the 1830s saw demand for New Zealand flax from Maori enterprise become as high as any other commodity, leading some merchants into thinking they could 'spin flax into gold'. Maori quickly became adept at trading. In 1831 New Zealand Maori imported six thousand muskets from Sydney in exchange for dressed flax.<sup>139</sup> The privately owned and operated Waimarama on-shore whaling stations were established in the denouement years of peak whaling revenue, and the export of flax was still a commodity that local hapu could export exclusively, along with oil and bone, to the mostly Sydney bound ships.

The reason for the decline of the on-shore whaling industry in the 1840s was a matter of sustainability. The practise of killing both mother and calf was always destined to make the industry finite. By 1875, according to the *Official Handbook of New Zealand*, the markets for the once staple products of oil and whale bone had all but disappeared signalling the end of the industry.<sup>140</sup> With the inception of East Coast on-shore whaling in the 1840s, a debate on whaling sustainability had developed in the media, with uncanny parallels to present day world media discussion on the sustainability of whaling. An article appeared in *The New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, condemning the indiscriminate killing of female whales and their calves. The article incorporated sustainable and conservation language such as: '...protect the whale fishery...', 'preservation of their young' (the Females' calf), 'to remedy the evil' (the wasteful killing of the calf to secure the mother), '...putting down coast whaling, the numbers we think would be greatly

<sup>138</sup> The authors of this report wrote that shore whaling was based on the right whale, also known as the black whale (*Eubalaena australis*), which yielded so-called 'black oil'. See Jaden Harris and Ian Smith, "The Te Hoe Shore Whaling Station Artefact Assemblage," (Dunedin: University of Otago, 2005), p.1.

<sup>139</sup> James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo World 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). p.276.

<sup>140</sup> Rickard, *The Whaling Trade in Old New Zealand*. pp.114-15.

increased....to declare that whale fishing within so many miles of the coast is illegal...' The article also laments the lessons not learnt from the 'indiscriminate slaughter' of the 'almost extinct' seals. It even heralds the example of Russia as preserving its 'sea elephant fishery' by legislation.<sup>141</sup>

As mentioned Hawke's Bay on-shore whaling stations were established against this backdrop of declining whale numbers and revenue in the 1840s. As mentioned, four were established along the Waimarama foreshore. As in many coastal regions, they brought a new wave of inhabitants to the landscape. It is important to recognise the importance of this earliest industry to communities, their landscape and their contribution to New Zealand's historiography of 'migration, settlement, and environmental transformation'.<sup>142</sup> On-shore whaling stations were arguably the first form of industrial activity to be introduced to New Zealand. It can reasonably be asserted that Maori were the original providers in the country, supplying whaling vessels and on-shore stations with life's necessities such as firewood for galley stoves, and try-pots,<sup>143</sup> water, agricultural products such as potato, kumara, and pork from the introduced 'Captain Cookers'. Local hapu contribution was not just confined to providers of consumer items; they were active participants in the dangerous excursion of killing whales, particular young Maori, who, as in any generational demographic discourse, were drawn to the adventure and excitement of something new. In the light of the earlier discussion on the significance of whales and mauri to the Hawke's Bay waters, it seems perplexing that Maori could participate in the actual killing and butchering of these celestial creatures, who featured so imminently in Maori mythology and were regarded by many tribes, particularly East Coast tribes, as 'cosmological creatures associated with oceanic voyaging and discovery'.<sup>144</sup>

The whaling industry brought with it the inevitable mixing of foreign blood with the local tangata whenua, including unions with English, Scots, Irish, Welsh, Scandinavians, Russians, Chinese, American Negroes, Indians, Frenchmen, Spanish,

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<sup>141</sup> "Untitled," *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 4 September 1841, p.2.

<sup>142</sup> See introduction in Tony Ballantyne and Judith A. Bennett, eds., *Landscape/Community Perspectives from New Zealand* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2005), p.9.

<sup>143</sup> Try-pots were an important inventory in the whaling masters' arsenal. Used for rendering down the blubber, it also denoted the place of a whaling station as 'a standing place for the Try-pot'. See Colenso's journal entry dated 9 December 1845 in Colenso, *Journals of William Colenso 1841-1854*.

<sup>144</sup> Salmond, *Between Worlds. Early Exchanges Between Maori and Europeans 1773-1815*. p.320.

Portuguese, Australian aborigines, Pacific Islanders, and sailors from the Caribbean. The fledgling industry could truly be construed as cosmopolitan.<sup>145</sup> Some historians viewed inter-racial unions as a universal element of imperialism,<sup>146</sup> yet the foreign individuals who came with the industry were not part of a conscious imperialistic ideology from any particular foreign state, but more an accidental meeting of ethnicities, derived from their following the migratory patterns of whales. The co-habitation and co-existence between foreign men and native women proved a symbiotic arrangement, particularly for the whalers' long term welfare. While some chiefs may have pawned their daughters and women folk off to whalers in exchange for money and desirable commodities such as muskets tobacco, tools, many unions with whalers were considered an 'excellent match', apparently bestowing status on the hapu or tribe. Hosting a resident whaling station was also apparently considered prestigious and brought added mana to local chiefs and as a consequence high ranking women desired to have status in both cultures, or perhaps it was just the opportunity to trade. The unions and their offspring introduced a new dynamic to existing indigenous cultural practises. They bound the two cultures together and offspring were regarded equally with other children within the hapu.<sup>147</sup> The local people were introduced to new technology and foreign accessories as well as the currency, the core of capitalism, in return for their labour. European whalers benefited from indigenous labour and the essential materials of life, food from crops, meat from animals and housing. Rope from flax weaving was also an important tradable commodity with Maori. Whaling stations positioned themselves close to local villages and in some cases villages and settlements grew from a whaling station site.<sup>148</sup> Initially these new hives of industry operated under Maori custom and functioned under the auspices of chiefly governance.<sup>149</sup> Chiefs possessed an intrinsic sense of commercial practise and renting their land to whaling operators which was a

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<sup>145</sup> The sailing ship, the *William and Ann* was the first recorded whaling vessel to arrive in New Zealand in 1792. See Department of conservation report. M. W. Cawthorn, "Maori, whales and whaling an ongoing relationship," in *Conservation Advisory Science Notes: 308* (Wellington: Department of Conservation, 2000), pp.4-6. See also Salmond, *Between Worlds. Early Exchanges Between Maori and Europeans 1773-1815*. p.316.

<sup>146</sup> See a localised history by Angella Wanhalla, "Marrying 'In': The Geography of Inter-marriage on the Taieri, 1830s-1920s," in *Landscape/Community Perspectives from New Zealand*, ed. Tony Ballantyne and Judith A. Bennett (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2005), pp.73-74.

<sup>147</sup> Rickard, *The Whaling Trade in Old New Zealand*. p.76. See also Henry Williams, *The Early Journal of Henry Williams 1822-1840* (Christchurch: Pegasus, 1961). p.42.

<sup>148</sup> King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*. p.135.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.* pp.135-37.

natural extension of customary tenure. Kurupou Te Moananui, who held mana over the land at Rangaika (Cape Kidnappers) rented it to William Morris for £5 per annum as the base to operate his whaling station.<sup>150</sup> James Belich, at times seems to accentuate the more vituperative aspects the whaling industry to the real integrity and basis of the industrial trade by placing undue emphasis on a burgeoning ‘sex industry’ between Maori women and European sailors.<sup>151</sup> Obviously this was an inevitable consequence of the situation and the times, but incidental to the bigger picture, though some might argue not so as far as health was concerned.

It is important to recognise the importance of this earliest industry to communities and their landscape and their contribution to New Zealand’s historiography of ‘migration, settlement, and environmental transformation’.<sup>152</sup> Initially those early European settlers involved in on-shore whaling were ‘forced to become Pakeha Maori’ assimilating into local hapu communities’ concomitant with all complexities of tribal society.<sup>153</sup> The reality for these early European migrants was there was very little alternative, living in a new land without any form of western governance or protection. However they were not entirely subjugated by Maori. A chief’s mana was enhanced by the inclusion of settler residents and the tradable goods they bought with them. In time, particularly during the burgeoning decade of the 1830s small trading towns began to emerge. Ahuriri (Napier) became a major trading port. Many small settlements evolved from on-shore whaling sites. One notable South Island entrepreneurial whaler settler, Johnny Jones, created the Waikouaiti settlement, complete with a school, medical practitioner. Tribes certainly regarded men like Jones as ‘tribal assets’.<sup>154</sup> Jones had reinvented himself in the denouement years of on-shore whaling as a business leader and land owner in the South Island positioning

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<sup>150</sup> William Colenso was called to adjudicate between Kurupoa and Morris when the former wished to raise the rent to £10/annum. Morris indicated he would leave if Kurupoa remained unmoved. Given that Morris continued there for many years after the matter must have been resolved. Kurupoa referred to the Station site as “a standing place for the Try-pot”. See Colenso’s journal entry 9 December 1845 in Colenso, *Journals of William Colenso 1841-1854*. p.140.

<sup>151</sup> Belich makes the extraordinary claim that the ‘sex industry’ had its genesis in Cook’s 1769 inaugural landings. See Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealand from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*. pp.152-72.

<sup>152</sup> See introduction. Ballantyne and Bennett, eds., *Landscape/Community Perspectives from New Zealand*, p.9.

<sup>153</sup> Michael Belgrave, *Historical Frictions: Maori Claims and Reinvented Histories* (Auckland Auckland University Press, 2005). p.98.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.* p.37.

himself to take advantage of the start of systematic colonisation in the 1840s.<sup>155</sup> Rangaika whaling station at Cape Kidnappers had such a man in William Morris of which further discussion will follow. Whalers such as Jones, Morris, and others foresaw the transition from diminishing littoral commercial whaling to the growing potential of agricultural and pastoral based activities derived from land procurement and development.

Of the on-shore stations established along Hawke's Bay's coastline, six were around Mahia peninsular and eleven from Wairoa to Pourerere, four were stationed along the Waimarama coast line.<sup>156</sup> The first station was established at Waikokopu in 1837 by the Ward brothers and others soon followed. By the mid 1840s other stations were established at Te Wairoa, Moeangiangi, Whakaari (near Tangoia), Whakamahia, Kinikini to Rangaika at Cape Kidnappers,<sup>157</sup> and three other Waimarama stations listed shortly. There were eleven boats operating from Hawke's Bay whaling stations in 1844, now the highest number from both islands.<sup>158</sup> By 1851 there were 150 European whalers manning 26 shore boats from these stations.<sup>159</sup> Prickett's report says there were 17 five oared boats operating out of Hawke's Bay stations in 1847 producing £3000 of oil<sup>160</sup> and 50 boats operating in 1852.<sup>161</sup> The Hawke's Bay coastal region was still lucrative, attracting a good number of whales and yet this apparent success ran contrary to the declining industry.

The four whaling stations identified by Prickett, along the Cape Kidnappers/Waimarama coastline included Rangaika, Ocean Beach, Putotaranui, and Taingamata.<sup>162</sup> Taingamata is noted as a whaling station approximately three kilometres south of Waimarama, with reports of the discovery of try-pots at

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<sup>155</sup> Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past*. pp.135-36.

<sup>156</sup> Nigel Prickett, *The Archaeology of New Zealand Shore Whaling* (Wellington: Department of Conservation, 2002). p.103.

<sup>157</sup> There appears to be a bit of a discrepancy as to who set up what whaling station. Cowie attributes Waikokopu to the Ward brothers while Lambert attributes this station to a Mr Ellis with the Ward brothers having established theirs at Mahia. Cowie, "Rangahaua Whanui District 11B," p.115. See also Thomas Lambert, *The Story of Old Wairoa and the East Coast* (Dunedin: Coulls Somerville Wilkie Ltd, 1925). p.336.

<sup>158</sup> Many on-shore stations had ceased to operate and fewer ships plied New Zealand waters. See Edward Jerningham Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand from 1839 to 1844*, vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1845). p.339.

<sup>159</sup> Cowie notes that Maori formed part of whaling crews while operating boats of their own. See Cowie, "Rangahaua Whanui District 11B," p.15.

<sup>160</sup> Prickett, *The Archaeology of New Zealand Shore Whaling*. p.103.

<sup>161</sup> Harris and Smith, "The Te Hoe Shore Whaling Station Artefact Assemblage," p.1.

<sup>162</sup> Prickett, *The Archaeology of New Zealand Shore Whaling*. p.103.

Kairakau. This would suggest that Taingamata was located near to Manawarakau, the present day beach settlement of Kairakau.<sup>163</sup> However there apparently existed a small whaling station also south of Waimarama, called Pakaraka, not identified by Prickett. On 15 March 2008, Patrick Parsons, identified Pakaraka at a field day address on a Te Apiti Station coastline site, between Waimarama settlement and Kairakau settlement. It was situated on the foreshore directly below a little known, but historic pa site called Ohinewhango.<sup>164</sup> Reference to Pakaraka as a small nineteenth century whaling station seems to appear also in Maori oral transmission. Parsons has been the recipient of two parallel recitations blending the practise of whaling with mythology. It is the story passed down from a nineteenth century Purerere kaumatua, Morena Hawea (?-1886), who stated that a whaling boat comprising European and Maori oarsman set out from Waimarama's coastal neighbour Purerere, in pursuit of whales. The offshore current and wind took them further out to sea and concerns for their safety forced the Europeans to pray to their God for a change in wind and current direction to assist them back to shore. Failure by their God to answer their prayers necessitated the leading Maori oarsman to perform a karakia to call on their ancestral sea god to assist them. Paikea the whale soon appeared and nudged the boat ashore at Pakaraka whaling station. It is feasible that such a whaling station existed in close proximity to a hapu pa site such as the aforementioned Ohinewhango, for obvious symbiotic labour, trading, relationships. Ohinewhango may have been the pa site discussed in the diaries of two early surveyors, H.S. Harrison and J. Thomas, on their 1844 journey from Wairarapa to Table Cape (Mahia Peninsular).<sup>165</sup> A local chief from Manawarakau (Kairakau) took them to a high hill and explained how he had successfully 'defended his pa against a raiding party from the "Waikatoes [sic] and Watanui's [sic] people' during the 1820s. The Whatanui people were from the Manawatu led by the Ngati Raukawa chief Te Whatanui. The exact location of this high hill was never identified.<sup>166</sup>

Further diary entries from the two surveyors make mention of a proposed whaling station site when they continued their journey from Kairakau by canoe along the coast to Waimarama (which they wrote Waimurrima). Here they met with local

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<sup>163</sup> Ibid. p.117.

<sup>164</sup> Ohinewhango pa, so named after its prominent ancestor Hinemanawa

<sup>165</sup> Harrison and Thomas were surveyors employed by Wakefield's New Zealand Company to undertake this route.

<sup>166</sup> Wilson, *History of Hawke's Bay*. p.156.

rangatira, Tiakitai, whom they recorded as 'Hakki-tie'. Whatever their experience was of the Waimarama people, it compelled them to write 'they are the most notorious thieves on the coast.' This would seem an extraordinarily premature statement made by two first time visitors to the East Coast, even for those times. Perhaps the seemingly high tariff of, 'a blanket and six yards of calico', that Tiakitai and his people charged the men for their canoe transport across the rivers, solicited this reflexion by the Europeans upon their hosts. During their stop over at Waimarama, Harrison and Thomas made interesting observations of the area, noting the growing of barley and wheat by the locals and that 'it is a bad shipping place' but stated that 'next season there will be a whaling station here'.<sup>167</sup> Their diaries make no mention of any further whaling stations as they ventured further north. Putotaranui would have been the next whaling station they would have encountered, situated on the foreshore between Ocean Beach and Waimarama beach. This station was owned by a European, William Edwards<sup>168</sup> who married a Maori woman, Charlotte Puma. Puma was the sister of Hadfield (Harawira) Tatere, chief and teacher of Manawarakau (Kairakau) and half brother to Tiakitai.<sup>169</sup> The Edwards' had six children, and Colenso described him as 'a quiet settler'.<sup>170</sup> Wilson also records that a European named Edwards owned Putotaranui.<sup>171</sup> However Buchanan throws confusion on the status and location of this whaling station. While not referring to it by the name Putotaranui, Buchanan says that a whaling station existed at the southern end of Ocean Beach which he refers to as Haupouri (dark wind) and

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<sup>167</sup> Sydney Grant in his commendable history of *Waimarama* references this stop over by Harrison and Thomas from author J.G. Wilson's account of it. Grant deduces from Wilson's florid writing style that it was 'the local Maoris who told Harrison and Thomas that a whaling station was to be established in Waimarama 'next year'. This may well have been the case due to the prestige and economic advantages derived from having a resident whaling station. However the actual diary entry appears simply a statement from the two men, making no reference as to where they got their information from. See "Journal of a Long Walk Along the East Coast," *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 10 May 1845, p.2.

<sup>168</sup> Edwards was one of the earliest European whalers to reside in Heretaunga, and in 1838, negotiated with Chief Tiakitai to establish an on shore whaling station at Putotaranui. See Marina Sciascia, Hilary Pedersen, and Brian Morris, eds., *Matatoa: Father & Sons* (Porangahau: Te Hanganui Partnership, 2011), p.138.

<sup>169</sup> Hadfield is the Anglicised name for Harawira and the title teacher alongside chief denotes his baptism by Colenso. Harawira was the half brother to the unbaptised Waimarama chief, Tiakitai, Colenso's nemesis. Harawira Mahikai te Tere died in 1886 and is buried at Waimarama cemetery. A photo of Harawira's grave is displayed along side that of his son Wi Te Maangi. Robert MacDonald, [www.waimaramamaori.com/blog/post/11/horiana-te-wharepu](http://www.waimaramamaori.com/blog/post/11/horiana-te-wharepu). Accessed on 12 May 2013. Harawira was painted by the eminent portrait painter Gottfried Lindauer depicting his heavily tattooed face. See Parsons, "An Overview History of Waimarama," p.10.

<sup>170</sup> See Colenso's journal entry 23 March 1851 in Colenso, *Journals of William Colenso 1841-1854*, p.716.

<sup>171</sup> Wilson, *History of Hawke's Bay*. p.139.

that it was owned by a Frenchman named Felix, also married to a Maori woman.<sup>172</sup> Prickett elaborates a little further identifying the Frenchman as Felix Goulet ‘who by 1863 had a European wife’.<sup>173</sup> Goulet’s first wife was identified as Amerepeka Rangiwaihoroa whom he married in 1855.<sup>174</sup> Parsons notes that Felix Goulet was whale master at Rangaika whaling station, under the ownership of the European William Morris. This is supported by the report of a fatal whaling accident in 1860, which gave a vivid account of ‘Mr. F. Goulett’s (the whaling master)’ handling of a most precarious predicament, when his boat and crew were being dragged beneath the surface by a diving whale they had just harpooned off Cape Kidnappers.<sup>175</sup> Rangaika whaling station was situated on the foreshore just south of the tip of Cape Kidnappers.

Rangaika<sup>176</sup> appears to have been the principal station of the four Waimarama coastal whaling stations, with the others possibly being ancillary, or feeder stations. The proprietor of Rangaika, William Morris, employed twenty whalers, operating three boats, producing eighteen tons of black oil and twelve tons of whale bone for the season ended 30 November 1847.<sup>177</sup> According to Wilson’s research the *Wellington Spectator* reported in 1854 ‘thirty sperm whales, valued at £9000’ were caught by the stations at the bottom of Hawke’s Bay,<sup>178</sup> highlighting the growing monetary importance commensurate with of the new wave of European occupiers of the whaling stations. Rangaika in 1847 produced eighteen tons of oil and twelve cwt (one ton) of whale bone. The combined oil tonnage for the other East Coast stations was ‘146 and whale bone was 95cwt’ (4ton 15cwt).<sup>179</sup> The combined tonnage of

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<sup>172</sup> Buchanan, *Maori History and Place Names of Hawke's Bay*. p.75.

<sup>173</sup> Prickett, *The Archaeology of New Zealand Shore Whaling*. p.116.

<sup>174</sup> Alison Wright is a great granddaughter of William Morris, and this is the second book on her whaling ancestor. Alison Wright, *William Morris Daybook: Life in Early Port Ahuriri* (Napier: Alison Wright, 2001). p.86.

<sup>175</sup> The fatality was that of a young half-caste boy called Harry who was believed to have become entangled in the rope as the boat went down. He was described as “a nice young lad and his sudden death cast “gloom over the whaling party”. The surviving crew and their boat were retrieved by the crew of the second whaling boat and the whale, “fatally wounded “and last seen drifting up the Bay.

<sup>176</sup> The name Ronga-ika [sic] means ‘medicine fish’. See Alison Wright, *William Morris: Master Whaler 1815-1882* (Napier: Alison Wright, 1999). p.34. Rangaika was also referred to by the sacred name of Tuhinapo where only tohunga came to offer at the altar the ‘first fruits of the season’. Other locations by the same name included sites on Bluff hill, and the mouth of the Wairoa river. See Buchanan, *Maori History and Place Names of Hawke's Bay*. p.44.

<sup>177</sup> "Port of Wellington, New Zealand," *Wellington Independent* 1848, p.3.

<sup>178</sup> Wilson, *History of Hawke's Bay*. p.136.

<sup>179</sup> Long Point station (Taramahiti) on Mahia Peninsular had an impressive 38 tons of whale oil that year, yet Waikokopu, on the eastern cusp of Mahia Peninsular had the most whale bone of 1 ton and

whale oil from all New Zealand's twenty eight whaling stations in 1846 was eight hundred and eighteen (the combination of black oil from the right whale, sperm oil, and humpback oil). London was the eventual market for whale products, via Wellington, and the 1841 revenue figure for all New Zealand whale products was £54,800.<sup>180</sup> However the revenue collected by whaling stations was not procured free of charge. Tangata whenua charged yearly rents 'for whaling, fishing and occupation rights'. As mentioned William Morris paid £5 per annum for his base at Rangaika.<sup>181</sup> During the halcyon years of Waimarama on-shore whaling this small slice of foreshore land off Cape Kidnappers was once a thriving microcosm of multiculturalism where Maori and European ethnicities lived and worked together. The commercial activity can be absorbed as a parallel discussion in the current debate on the Foreshore and Sea Bed, as the rent paid by Morris to the resident hapu leaves no doubt as to who owned the foreshore. Rangaika during this time comprised two autonomous Ngati Te Whatuiapiti hapu: Ngati Hawea and Ngati Kurukuru.<sup>182</sup> Prior to his death in 1847 Waimarama's Ngati Kurukuru Chief, Tiakitai, was said to be the patron of Rangaika.<sup>183</sup> In further discourse around hapu autonomy, Boast cites Ballara as hapu being 'the principal socio-political unit within Maori society' having preferential foreshore and seabed claims over wider iwi, and that this precept has been endorsed by the courts and the Waitangi Tribunal, who say 'the political units of Maori society were the descent groups called hapu'. An unsuccessful foreshore claim in recent times, brought by the principal claimant, the Te Arawa tribe, over their historic ownership of a segment of the Bay of Plenty coast, was convoluted by overlapping and identical claims brought by a hapu who were not just affiliated to Te Arawa, but to other tribes as well. While Ballara proffers that the overriding principal of property owning and political functioning was in the control of the hapu and that this precept is now claimed as 'scholarly orthodoxy' it is intriguing to ponder, as Boast appears to do so, the shift from the hierarchical, iwi/tribal-hapu-

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9cwt for 28 tons of oil. Most of the high producing stations appeared from Wairoa to Mahia. See "Port of Wellington, New Zealand," p.3.

<sup>180</sup> Whaling revenue was still a major contributor to New Zealand's gdp at the time, despite being an industry in decline. See Prickett, *The Archaeology of New Zealand Shore Whaling*. p.3,111.

<sup>181</sup> Cowie, "Rangahaua Whanui District 11B," p.16.

<sup>182</sup> The size of a hapu could range from 40 kinsmen in a small one, to 170 in a large hapu, but generally 60 was a n average sized hapu. See Ann Parsonson, "In Pursuit of Mana," in *The Oxford History Of New Zealand*, ed. W.H. Oliver and B.R. Williams (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p.141.

<sup>183</sup> Cowie notes in his report that Tiakitai 's death was in 1845 where in fact he met his death in 1847 on which further detail will be covered. See Cowie, "Rangahaua Whanui District 11B," p.7.

whanau model espoused by such earlier historians as Peter Buck and Elsdon Best, to the aforementioned held position of hapu status.<sup>184</sup> It could be argued that the view and recitation on the dynamics of tribal/hapu socio-political order by nineteenth and early twentieth century historians would indicate a more succinct appreciation over contemporary interpretations. However, in adopting Ballara's scholarly orthodoxy pronouncement, it is generally acknowledged that hapu identification took, and takes precedence over tribal identification, and that paramount rangitira and ariki held sway over tribal/hapu socio-political arrangements. While the ariki (supreme chiefs) presided over the social structure and cohesiveness of tribes, they were dependent on the cooperation of an autonomous hapu. Hapu under their local rangitira (junior chiefs) ordered their lives around the land they occupied.<sup>185</sup>

As mentioned earlier, these first on-shore stations of commerce can be viewed as making the first contribution to the economic structure, the employment and commercial prosperity of the region, altering the social dynamics of Waimarama inhabitants, whose coastal environs harboured the four aforementioned whaling stations. The author of a report commissioned by the Department of Conservation comments that the co-operative nature of whaling and inter-marriage has left a lasting legacy for New Zealand society including the early introduction of European agricultural practises.<sup>186</sup> This summation is supported by Rickard who regards the whalers' contribution to New Zealand history as 'a substantial one'.<sup>187</sup> Ballantyne while writing from a South Island perspective says that whaling was 'the chief extractive industry in southern New Zealand'.<sup>188</sup> Whalers provided the first European interface with Maori, after Captain Cook's 1869 visit to New Zealand, awakening a new world view beyond the oral history passed down from generations. The fledgling whaling industry gave New Zealand history a reference point well before New Zealand's annexation by Britain and the subsequent signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. It can be argued that the whaling industry provided the catalyst for New Zealand's founding document.<sup>189</sup> As previously mentioned, the

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<sup>184</sup> Richard Boast, *Foreshore and Seabed* (Wellington: Lexis Nexis, 2005). p.155.

<sup>185</sup> Te Maire Tau and Atholl Anderson, eds., *Ngai Tahu. A Migration History. The Carrington Text* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2008), p.30.

<sup>186</sup> Cawthorn, "Maori, whales and whaling an ongoing relationship," p.12.

<sup>187</sup> Rickard, *The Whaling Trade in Old New Zealand*. p.154.

<sup>188</sup> Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past*. p.126.

<sup>189</sup> Whalers precipitated early European immigration, leading to the presence of foreign Church missionaries. By 1840 Britain was so concerned at the consolidation of French whalers, the

presence of whaling stations in other parts of the country had been the catalyst in ushering in Church missionaries.<sup>190</sup> While these whaling stations made a valuable contribution to the development of the region, they also attracted vilification in relation to disruption to traditional Maori societal function, by virtue of the type of European the industry attracted. Hawke's Bay whaling stations in particular, acquired the unfortunate moniker 'the Alsatia of the colony'.<sup>191</sup> Some missionary perspectives and those of others, on Hawke's Bays' 'Alsatia' moniker will be discussed later in this thesis'. As an adjunct, whaling's sister industry, sealing, attracted similar descriptive idioms as places where most of 'the frontier chaos incidents' occurred.<sup>192</sup> Before embarking on a discussion of the missionary influence on the local geopolitical landscape, it is pertinent at this juncture to introduce an individual whaler to the region who was to cause much long term anxiety to Waimarama people. Captain William Rhodes emerged as a 1830s whaler whose ensuing prominence as a colourful entrepreneur, was to leave a lasting legacy on New Zealand's fledgling commercial and political landscape. Rhodes was a comparatively late entrant into the whaling industry. While he was an accomplished Captain, Rhodes had no experience in whaling when he left Sydney for New Zealand in 1836 on his barque, *Australian*. Large whaling vessels such as the *Australian*, carried with them up to four, twenty-four foot whaleboats, encompassing a crew of five men per boat. Rather than being paid a weekly wage whalers were paid commensurate with what they killed, essentially a modern day commission fee. As well as being the Captain, Rhodes also took command of one of his whaling boats and physically killed whales in his own right. However Rhodes' sojourn into the whaling industry was short lived. Upon his return to Sydney in 1838 he entered into a partnership arrangement with a Messrs. Cooper and Holt in 1839, to purchase large

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consolidation of the French settlement at Akaroa, as well as the increasing influence and activities of French missionaries upon Maori, that it acted quickly to annex the new found colony. See Rickard, *The Whaling Trade in Old New Zealand*. p.149.

<sup>190</sup> The emergence of the North German Missionary Society (a part of the Lutheran Church) on Ruapuke Island in Foveaux Strait was a direct result of a German whaler returning to his homeland with a Maori crew member. See Hugh Morrison et al., eds., *Mana Maori and Christianity* (Wellington: Huia 2012), pp.20-22.

<sup>191</sup> Alsatia was a name given to a place in London where criminals of every type sought refuge beyond the reach of the law. Alsatia was therefore referred to as a place without law. See Wilson, *History of Hawke's Bay*. p.138.

<sup>192</sup> Belich cites sealers as been the reason for fatal collisions with Maori, as they were invariable in direct competition for seals on land based areas, and Maori saw sealers as plundering their food source. See Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealand from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*. pp.152-72.

tracts of customary owned land in New Zealand for the purpose of establishing trade in cattle, and it was on 31 December 1839 that he entered into a contract with Tiakitai, and other chiefs to purchase a vast tract of Hawke's Bay Coast land stretching from Table Cape (Mahia Peninsular) south to Cape Turnagain, and extending southwards to Wellington. The extraordinary proposal included the Waimarama lands. In exchange for their lands the chiefs would receive monies, goods and merchandise, to the value of £158.<sup>193</sup>

Rhode's purchase proposal was given by William Williams in his journal to the Church Missionary Society (CMS) on 10 February 1840. In a lead up to the purchase, Williams addressed a large meeting of 'natives', including 'every principal chief', cautioning them against selling their lands to Europeans arriving in the country, and if they were not vigilant then:

'...in various places along the coast, buying the whole country out of the hands of the natives, who will soon be left at the mercy of the new proprietors'.

Williams goes on to specifically identify a Barque which was frequenting the East Coast waters at the time, with the Captains intention of 'buying the whole of this district'. The barque was identified as being the *Eleanor*, belonging to Rhodes.<sup>194</sup> On 19 February 1840, Williams at the behest of visiting Wairoa natives, ventured south to Table Cape (Mahia) to caution the people there, against the surreptitious activities of Rhodes who had drawn up a sale and purchase proposal for 'the whole district from Port Nicholson to Ahuriri, Hawks [sic] Bay, being a line of coast of more than 100 miles in extent. 'It is by report the finest district in New Zealand being principally rich grass land'. Williams bemoans that 'Surely British justice will not allow these proceedings to go on'.<sup>195</sup> Proceedings however were protracted over

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<sup>193</sup> The other names included Tukamona Hokunata, Pukaki, and Tureha. See Case Files Daniel Cooper James Holt and William Barnard Rhodes R18461381 ACFC 16153, (Archives New Zealand Wellington).

<sup>194</sup> Williams appears to be making his journal entry while in the East Cape region and the 'whole district he is referring to stretched around the Cape to Opotiki in the Bay of Plenty. Williams pre-empted the proposed Rhodes purchase by securing the land for himself on behalf of the CMS, and which thereafter would be held 'in trust for the natives and their children for ever.' Given that many Williams descendants went on to occupy much of the said area until relatively recent times, it cast doubts over William's altruistic motive at the time. Having said this, some Williams' descendants did marry native women. See Frances Porter, ed. *The Turanga Journals 1840-1850. Letters and Journals of William and Jane Williams* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1974), p.81.

<sup>195</sup> Williams cites the native report of goods received from Rhodes, in exchange for their lands, as being: 13 Casks of Powder of 25lb each, 36 Shirts, 36 Duck Trowsers [sic], a part of a Cask of

many years. In the interim Rhodes established various trading stations along the East Coast, as if to reinforce his claim. After protracted negotiations with the District Commissioner for ratification of the sale, the Rhodes claim was eventually dismissed in the late 1850s. An early nineteenth century map exists in the National Library referring to the Cape Kidnappers land as the Rhodes Block. His attempt to commandeer Waimarama would be the first of many attempts by individuals and the Crown to alienate Waimarama lands.

The equilibrium of Waimarama peoples socio-political had been altered to a degree by the introduction of whaling. Trading with the pakeha seemed a natural progression in Maori customary practise and development and they were particularly adept at it. The supposed inaugural trade of animals and food items with Captain Cook had stood Waimarama Maori in good stead for readiness to accommodate the incremental growth in pakeha immigrants their area. The early experience with Rhodes hinted at what was to come in 1850s land dealings, something which is discussed in chapter five. The early compatibility of Christian ideology with existing Maori belief systems was soon to become a basis of irritation and tension with the arrival of missionary Colenso in 1844.

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Tobacco, 36 Hatchets, 36 Garden Hoes, 29 Iron Pots, £12 in cash, 12 Blankets, 3 Cloaks, 1 Coat, 2 Boxes, 20 Handkerchiefs, 40 Knives. See Ibid. p.84.

## Chapter 4

### The Anguish of William Colenso

Christianity was ‘one of the principal causes of our easy conquest and retention of the New Zealand islands’.<sup>196</sup>

The indefatigable and intolerant character of William Colenso was to leave an indelible footprint on the spiritual ideoscape of Waimarama’s tangata whenua.<sup>197</sup> His eventful life is worthy of the place he holds within the annals of New Zealand historiography. As mentioned earlier, twenty years after the establishment of Marsden’s Christian Missionary Society, in the Bay of Islands, Colenso began his missionary work at Waimarama in 1844. An account of Colenso’s interaction with the people of Waimarama and his attempts to convert and control them deserves particular attention.

Extracts from his extensive and meticulous journal entries, give a valuable insight into how archetypical British Victorian attitudes impacted on local customs, beliefs and behaviour. He challenged local chiefs’ and tohunga and their traditional roles as mediators between their atua and their people, exhorting them to become intermediaries between his introduced Christian God and their people. His unwavering expectation that the omnipotent Christian doctrine should prevail over ‘heathen’ practises and beliefs, was not negotiable. Like Marsden he viewed his rivals, the Catholic missionaries’ with disdain. On many occasions when the rival missionaries came together within their extensive parish Colenso ignored them, and referred to them derogatorily through his journal entries as ‘Popish’, or ‘Papist priests’, and ‘...wailing to Mary’, despite the congenial overtures extended to him, by his fellow Christians.

Tiakitai was a worthy adversary of Colenso’s who consistently refused to accommodate Colenso’s religious overtures. Their simmering relationship ended with the tragic drowning of Tiakitai in 1847, three years after Colenso arrived in the

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<sup>196</sup> Bagnall and Petersen, *William Colenso: His Life and Journeys*. p.338.

<sup>197</sup> Appadurai identifies five disjunctures of global cultural processes, of which ideoscape is one. The disjuncture in this case is between the ideologies of Christianity and the Maori spiritual world. See Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1996). pp.45-46.

district. However the event failed to dent Colenso's obdurate attitude towards his prospective Native converts, exemplifying his inability to accommodate alternative customs and tikanga. In September 1847, Colenso had returned to his mission station at Waitangi from Raukawa, when he learnt of the drowning of Tiakitai, and twenty one others. Colenso mentions in his journal entry that he gave prior warning against their pending voyage to Poverty Bay and referred to Tiakitai's intent 'to carry out his heathen plans'. He notes among the deceased:

'4 communicants, all fine young men; the majority being aboriginals and Papist-heathens. It is somewhat remarkable, that all the male Papist-heathens of Tiakitai's village were on board and among the rest that miserable white man to whom Tiakitai sold a woman'.<sup>198</sup>

Colenso notes in his diary a few days later the name Hori Tutewirau as being another fatality on Tiakitai's boat. The 'boat', as Colenso refers to the vessel, 'was washed ashore quite uninjured'. He goes on to say 'Some of the Native Chiefs are for going to war with Natives wither Tiakitai is going!' A young chief Takamoana and other occupants in an accompanying boat on the ill fated voyage survived, and returned from 'Te Wairoa'. He visited Colenso in his study on the morning of 22 September confirming the tragedy. Takamoana was 'cast down' but agreed with Colenso that 'Tiakitai deserved his fate'. Colenso adds 'May God bless this awful visitation to the Chiefs, who are all hardened Heathens!'<sup>199</sup> The previous day on 21 September, according to Colenso, he was consoling Walker and Hadfield (Harawira), two younger Christian half brothers of Tiakitai. Tiakitai's tangi was held at Waimarama on 1 October 1847 with Colenso holding a service in the afternoon. He appears to have taken the opportunity to advance his Christian preaching, mingling among the mourners, including the entourage accompanying the 'heathen Chiefs Hapuku Puhara and Morena, the principal remaining heathen relative of Tiakitai'. Colenso makes comment that 'some of the old people appeared to be quite overwhelmed with stupid grief at the loss at the loss of their sons'. 'One (Broughton) attempted his own life, he has lost his only surviving child, Mathew a fine young

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<sup>198</sup> Tiakitai's unyielding response to Colenso's endeavors to convert and baptize him to Christianity was the kernel to their ongoing, albeit brief, combativeness. The reference to 'heathen plans and the derision towards the to the accompanying papists suggests full well that Colenso knew that Tiakitai's visitation to Mahia was to arrange a customary wedding for his son. See Colenso's journal entry, 16 September 1847, in Colenso, *Journals of William Colenso 1841-1854*. p.115.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid. p.116.

man, the last of his 10 children! Another old man lost 2 sons and one son-in-law all fine young men and communicants'. Colenso's presence was obviously not welcomed in some quarters, particularly by 'Te Hapuku and his party..' and on his departure the 'heathen party' delivered Colenso a verbal berating, 'Haere atu Korua Ko tou Atua wakamate tangata...Depart those & thy man- slaying God'.<sup>200</sup> Hapuku was later mentioned in a letter sent to Donald McLean by Colenso...

'that he told the heathen Chief Te Hapuku (who is exceedingly superstitious) that I had said that "I had caused the death of the Chief Tiakitai through the potency of my prayers"! and that " I was now praying to Te Atua that he (Te Hapuku) also might "speedily be cut off".<sup>201</sup>

Colenso obviously held a tempestuous relationship with Te Hapuku, as he did with Tiakitai. Despite this, Te Hapuku at one stage wished to procure Colenso's residency in his stronghold at Te Hauke and Colenso had lent Hapuku a total of £172 3d to the time of the Chief's bankruptcy application in the 1870s.<sup>202</sup>

Three years after Tiakitai's tragic demise, Colenso still insensitively used the incident as leverage for conversion, preaching outrageously on the subject:

'...I addressed the whole congregation, showing them that had Tiakitai but listened to me, he would in all probability have been here this day, with the 21 persons who were drowned with him- that all his plans, although aided and backed by all the Chiefs had proved abortive, while every word of mine which he had scoffed at, had come to pass in a very remarkable manner,- and that his six widows % many children whom he in 1845 had publicly given to the LORD & me, His servant, as recompense for my hurt, had all though subsequently hindered by him, become Baptised, and had been preserved to the present hour, while all the other Chiefs had lost both wives & children during the same

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<sup>200</sup> See Colenso's journal entries, 1- 2 October 1847, in *Ibid.* pp.119-33.

<sup>201</sup> See Colenso's letter to Donald McLean; Esq. A Resident Magistrate of the Province of New Munster/New Zealand in William Colenso, *Journals of William Colenso Letters from February 1850 - January 1854* (Dunedin: Hocken Library MS 63B). p.378. Colenso's usage of the provincial name New Munster for Hawkes Bay may have been in his interpretation of what New Zealand was temporarily partitioned off into in the 1840s. New Ulster was a name given for the upper North Island and New Munster, a name given by Governor William Hobson for the lower North Island and the South Island - so named after his birth province Munster, Ireland.

<sup>202</sup> AJHR, "Report of The Trusts Commissioner for the District of Hawke's Bay Under Native Lands Frauds Prevention Act 1870," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* G-07(1871): pp.8-12. Te Hapuku had enjoyed an elevated and rapacious lifestyle during his land selling days with McLean.

period. They all paid remarkable attention, and I plainly saw, that they assented to the truth of my statements'. In conclusion I once more urged them, to cast away entirely by every remaining portion of the pernicious custom of betrothing i.e. destroying? their children'.<sup>203</sup>

This tragic incident ending the life of Tiakitai neatly encapsulates the prejudice and uncompromising attitude of Colenso towards those whose creed or belief systems did not accord with his Christian ideology and how he perceived things should be. This also displays his inability or unwillingness to acknowledge the ancient custom of securing tribal affiliations for alliances by the arrangement inter-tribal customary marriages. As mentioned, Tiakitai was in fact venturing to Mahia to arrange for the marriage of his son and heir to his mana, Te Teira Tiakitai.<sup>204</sup>

Colenso had arrived in Hawke's Bay in 1844 following earlier instructions from Bishop Selwyn. The Bishop had identified a ten acre site on a visit there in 1842 and the local chiefs' deeded it over to the Church on 12 December 1843.<sup>205</sup> The site was apparently recommended to the CMS (Church Missionary Society) because no tribe throughout Heretaunga desired to claim ownership of it. On the 25 September 1843 Bishop Selwyn wrote to Colenso outlining his plans for his pending missionary work. He was instructed to sail with Archdeacon Williams on the *Columbine* to Turanga (Gisborne) and on to his eventual mission station and chapel. His instructions carried with it a codicil. On 10 December he wrote: 'I have already explained... the mode in which I wish your Catechetical Services to be conducted to distinguish them from those of ordained Clergymen who have received license and Commission to preach'.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>203</sup> See Colenso journal entry, 12 December 1850 in Colenso, *Journals of William Colenso 1841-1854*.

<sup>204</sup> See Ballara, *Iwi: The Dynamics of Māori Tribal Organisation from c.1769 to c.1945*. p.144.

<sup>205</sup> The mission site was to be known by Maori as Kowhakaroro and the site was signed over by the chiefs, Tareha, Te Waka Kawatini, Takamoā, Puhara, and Te Ota at the village of Te Awapuni. It is interesting to note the absence of Te Hapuku's signature, who was aware of the benefits that this resident missionary would bring to his mana which was high in the district at the time. He later tried to secure a site for Colenso close to his stronghold at Te Hauke. See Bagnall and Petersen, *William Colenso: His Life and Journeys*. pp.169-70. Wilson denotes the land as being "no-man's-land" meaning; Colenso would not be under the auspices of any particular chief. He further describes the land 'a wilderness of swamp, *toetoe*, nigger head and *raupo*...' See also Wilson, *History of Hawke's Bay*. p.183.

<sup>206</sup> Here Bishop Selwyn seemed to convey an early insight into Colenso's disposition as he had earlier overlooked him for ordination, due to his supposed difficulty in communicating with the Maori pupils he was tutoring. It appears Selwyn did not share the bigotry of other clerics, including Colenso, towards Roman Catholicism. It is fair to argue that 'High Anglican' and 'High Roman Catholicism,'

Colenso's voyage and pilgrimage to his future mission station in Hawke's Bay was an inauspicious one and his journey to it is worth noting. Having left the Bay of Islands on 3 October 1843 Colenso and his party under Archdeacon Henry Williams endured a tortuous sea voyage on the *Columbine* down the East Coast, eventually securing a safe harbour at Port Nicholson. On their return journey back up the East Coast, the seas were still treacherous. A party including Archdeacon Williams and Colenso embarked for shore in a small boat which capsized and the passengers were literally washed ashore at Rangiwahakaoma (Castle Point) on 15 November 1843; a place Colenso named 'Deliverance Cove'. The *Columbine* was adrift in the high seas and was eventually bought back under control, further back down the coast. In the meantime the marooned party with the help of local natives began their pilgrimage towards Ahuriri in the north. Colenso believed they were blazing a new route and that natives, who had nourished them had not had a *mihinare* (missionary) visit them before.<sup>207</sup> The party arrived at Porangahau on 4 December 1843 where Archdeacon Williams pressed on ahead towards Ahuriri.<sup>208</sup> Colenso and the reduced party followed later, arriving at Manawarakau village (Kairakau) on 7 December.<sup>209</sup> The next morning 'the natives and baggage went by canoe to Waimarama', Colenso followed overland. One or two miles after leaving Manawarakau village, 'fallen cliffs and rent [sic] rocks attested to the force of a recent earthquake. From this point a high ridge was followed to the summit of Te Puku, whose seaward face ended in bold promontory overshadowing a small island.'<sup>210</sup> To the north was the southern headland of Hawke's Bay, Te Matau-a-Maui, the place where Cook's great ship and terrifying pu were still remembered by an old man in the village of Waimarama below them. Colenso's party were greeted by Waimarama's 'great chief Tiakitai' and eighty followers with an 'adequate lunch'. 'Colenso's party, now half as numerous as themselves'. Continuing their journey for three hours along the beach

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were much more compatible in their Christian ideology than the 'Low Church' attitude of the Church Missionary Society whose doctrine Colenso and others subscribed to. However Colenso was made a Deacon on 22 September 1844. See Bagnall and Petersen, *William Colenso: His Life and Journeys*, pp.160-80.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>208</sup> Colenso estimated the population here to be approximately 70 people. This time of Colenso's first journey to his future mission station coincided with the repatriation of exiled tribes from Mahia back to Heretaunga. See Parsons, "Aramoana Beach Historical and Archaeological Report," p.24.

<sup>209</sup> Here Colenso observed fifty inhabitants including Chief Harawira Tatere who was later to be baptised by Colenso and became a native teacher. Ibid., pp.24-25.

<sup>210</sup> There is a high probability that the identified Island is the currently named 'Red Island' or the historically named 'Karamea', one of the three legendary pa sites of Waimarama. It is a small island in a cove known as Cray Bay and is accessible from land at low tide.

they ventured inland ‘camping at the last before the tableland’. The next morning on 9 December, Colenso and his party descended the ‘flat Tableland’ to Te Awapuni pa, on the Waitangi River (now named Tutaekuri) the eventual site of his mission station. This journey was ‘his first arrival in the district which was to be, from the following, his home for the remaining fifty-five years of his life’.<sup>211</sup> Upon arrival at Te Awapuni pa Colenso and his party were met by Archdeacon Williams who had organised for the construction of the first chapel, which according to Colenso could have seated six hundred people. The chapel site was on one side of the Tutaekuri River with Colenso’s future residence sited on the other.<sup>212</sup> The new year of 1845 saw the beginning of Colenso’s missionary duties. However his rival missionaries, the Roman Catholic missionaries, were already active in the area and a Catholic Mission Station was soon to follow.

The arrival of Roman Catholicism through the Marist Fathers (priests) and brothers came after the introduction of the Protestant/ Anglican creed in 1814. The Catholic missionaries were reasonably consolidated by 1838 when Bishop Jean Baptiste Pompallier set up the first Roman Catholic mission station, by which time, thanks to the earlier Anglican missionaries, many Maori had learnt to read and write. By 1844, twelve Roman Catholic mission settlements were established down the East Coast of the North Island and in the South Island.<sup>213</sup> At this time Father Jean Lampilla was given the extensive parish from Whakatane through to Hawke’s Bay, encompassing Colenso’s territory. Paramount chief, Puhara Hawaikirangi, became the patron of the Catholic Mission and he made land available for their mission station at Pakowhai, very close to Colenso’s Mission Station. Colenso’s obsession with his rival priests continued through to the 1850s when, again, his bias and competitiveness towards his missionary colleagues was exemplified in a diary entry: ‘By iv. p.m we reached Waimarama...found good party...bringing news... the sudden arrival, by vessel, from Turanga of the Popish Priest... who had immediately upon landing bought a piece of

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<sup>211</sup> Although Colenso’s missionary work only lasted until 1852 when he was dismissed from the CMS for siring a child from a Native housekeeper, he continued to live in the district until his death in February 1899 where he was buried in the Napier Hill cemetery. Bagnall and Petersen, *William Colenso: His Life and Journeys*. pp.167-91.

<sup>212</sup> At the time of Colenso’s arrival in HB there were eight chapels built under direction of the native teachers. When Colenso erected his residence, he bought the timber from the Bay of Islands and paid chief Kurupou (TeMoananui) £48 to assist in erecting it. See Wilson, *History of Hawke's Bay*. pp.172-73.

<sup>213</sup> Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealand from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*. p.135.

ground not far from the Mission Station of Puhara! By this cunning stratagem, he, doubtless, hopes, to secure himself ...an advantage over me'.<sup>214</sup> Colenso makes further mention of this in a letter to the ? disparagingly remarking in a letter to The Governor in Chief 'that Puhara... and his little party the only natives ( with the addition of 2 old persons at Waimarama and 1 at Manawarakau) amounting scarcely to 30 in all including infants who profess to uphold the Roman Catholic mode of worship'.<sup>215</sup> As a result of the death of Puhara at Pakiaka in 1857 at some stage prior to 1864 the Catholic Mission headquarters had moved to a 400 acre site at Meeanee,<sup>216</sup> described by a priest at the time as '...nothing but bog, covered with furse and bushes of phormium tenax...now dotted with pretty houses, corn and numerous herds of cattle'.<sup>217</sup>

Catholic missionaries appeared to be more sensitive and conciliatory towards Maori. They did not stand in judgement of traditional Maori customs and practises and this was enshrined in their *Instructions pour les Travzux de la Mission*.<sup>218</sup> Perhaps the Roman Catholic missionaries had an appreciation of the not so dissimilar parables of their respective beneficent deities as espoused through the Church scriptures and Maori mythology, as to how all things began. The splitting of Ranginui (sky father) and Papatuanuku (earth mother) by their son Tane created light to the cosmos, leading to the eventual creation of all earthly creatures and matter. The fundamental tenets of Christian teaching, from the Bible's book of Genesis, on earths creation was also the division of the sky or heaven, and earth. 'The earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep... God said let there be light and there was light'.<sup>219</sup> Maori had their omnipotent God, Io, the creator of the universe and like the Christian God, according to Sir Peter Buck was '...a primary

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<sup>214</sup> He goes on to say 'That there is no prospect of the French Priests increasing the number of their proselytes in these parts unless some of the natives in connection with the Church of England mission should go over to them which however has never yet happened in these parts'. See Colenso's journal entry, 28 November 1850, in Colenso, *Journals of William Colenso 1841-1854*. p.649.

<sup>215</sup> See Colenso's letter to His Excellency the Governor in Chief in William Colenso, "William Colenso in Waitangi Letter MS 0032-0021 13 December 1851," (Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library).

<sup>216</sup> Meeanee is still the site of the Marist brothers' refectory, and accommodation, now converted to the nationally renowned Mission Estate Winery, Taradale, (which the brothers started in the nineteenth century) and is also the home of the international Mission Concert venue.

<sup>217</sup> E.R. Simmons, *A Brief History Of The Catholic Church In New Zealand* (Auckland: Catholic Publications Centre, 1978). p.58.

<sup>218</sup> This ninety page document on RC religious approach and doctrine to Maori was released in 1841. See Ibid. 22.

<sup>219</sup> Salmond, *Between Worlds. Early Exchanges Between Maori and Europeans 1773-1815*. 401,02.

core, heart, essence, who existed in space. He had no parents and was self created'.<sup>220</sup> Certainly the readings of Judaism in the Old Testament had appeal to Maori. They found commonality with the Hebrew God and their Atua, and discovered a civilisation not dissimilar to Maori society. Some Maori even identified themselves as one of the lost tribes of Israel and 'God's chosen people'.<sup>221</sup> However there exists the belief that the introduction of Christianity distorted Maori belief systems and tikanga, with missionaries referencing only one God. As previously discussed, Maori gave creations to their many mythical entities, such as Tane, whose whakapapa connected the supernatural world to the natural world, giving Maori a genealogical connection to their deities, including Papatuanuku and Ranginui.<sup>222</sup>

A further missionary society operated in the area as well; the Wesleyan Missionary Society (WMS),<sup>223</sup> and displayed conjoint animosity with the CMS towards Catholicism. It was said by that CMS and WMS missionaries 'would rather the Maori stayed pagan than become a Papist'.<sup>224</sup>

Father Jean Lampilla's parish was extensive, and so too was Colenso's. It extended from Mohaka in the north of Heretaunga to Palliser Bay in the south.<sup>225</sup> A full geographical position of Colenso's parish is documented in his writings 'for the New Zealand Exhibition, 1865' when it is described as 'from Table Cape (Mahia) to Palliser Bay, extending 50 miles inland, generally to the mountains. The interior had a radius of about forty miles around 38 degrees 20' S. and 177 degrees longitude'. The area encompassed 5,572,989 acres with a Native population of 4,839.<sup>226</sup> As mentioned Colenso arrived at his Mission Station in Hawke's Bay in 1844, but his clerical duties ceased when he was excommunicated in 1853. His tenure as a missionary was comparatively brief, considering early New Zealand colonial missionary work was invariably a life time sacrifice, shortened in some cases by an

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<sup>220</sup> John Mitchell and Hilary Mitchell, "Te Ara Hou: The New Society," in *Te Au Ihu o Te Waka: A History of Maori of Nelson and Marlborough* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2007), p.71.

<sup>221</sup> See Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past*. 157. See also Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealand from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*. 141,66.

<sup>222</sup> W Norman M Roberts, N Minhinnick, D Wihongi, C Kirkwood, ed. *Kaitiakitanga: Maori Perspectives on Conservation* (Auckland: University of Auckland, 1995), 3-5.

<sup>223</sup> The WMS was well established in the 1830s. See Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealand from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*. p.135.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>225</sup> Wilson, *History of Hawke's Bay*. p.184.

<sup>226</sup> William Colenso, *On The Maori Races Of New Zealand* (Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 2001). p.83.

early death given the inhospitable environs that many worked in. It was said ‘The swamps and chills of missionary life brought many of the priests to an early grave...’<sup>227</sup> Despite his relatively brief tenure as a missionary Colenso had resided in an extremely inhospitable environment. As mentioned early, the ten acre site designated for him at Awapuni was conceivably the worst piece of land on which to establish any sort of residence, let alone a Church Mission Station. It was a site where nobody desired to live. ‘The location of the Station was swampy, subject to floods, unsheltered, destitute of firewood and altogether about the worst site that could have been chosen.’<sup>228</sup> Colenso himself mentions the inherent danger of the site, describing the sea level ‘That in the winter of the Year 1846, the floors of our house although raised nearly 3 feet from the ground (and the house itself in the highest elevation) were 9 inches under water’.<sup>229</sup> Donald McLean who visited Colenso describes his impression:

‘...The surf here has a very heavy drowning enormous sound as if its rage would overflow the land as if something combined with the inland floods does to a great extent rendering Mr Colenso’s Station anything but secure. Mr Colenso and the servants took refuge on the table on one occasion and ever since a whale boat is kept to remove them in case of a future overflow...’<sup>230</sup>

Despite their ideological differences McLean appears to hold Colenso in good regard. McLean writes of Colenso’s aspirations:

‘Got to Porongahau [sic] and had a long conversation with Mr Colenso respecting his letter [sic] and satisfied him that what he heard respecting it was incorrect, a long talk about a reserve to preserve the natives from entire destruction which Mr Colenso considered would be their fate if some steps of the kind are not take his place seems to be that one large reserve out of all the districts that may be purchased should be made so that the natives could always resort to it and call it a permanent home, he still seems anxious to have a mission station where he would be entirely isolated from the whites and speaks of the district between Manawarakau into Waimarama bounded by a range of

<sup>227</sup> Simmons, *A Brief History Of The Catholic Church In New Zealand*. p.58.

<sup>228</sup>It is unclear whose narration Wilson has taken this description from. See Wilson, *History of Hawke’s Bay*. pp.172-73.

<sup>229</sup> See Colenso letter to His Excellency the Governor in Chief in Colenso, "William Colenso in Waitangi Letter MS 0032-0021 13 December 1851."

<sup>230</sup>See McLean’s journal entry, 8 January 1852, in Donald McLean Papers MS 1231 14 December 1850 - 12 February 1851, (Alexander Turnbull Library).

hills that runs parallel with the Tukituki the land he tells me is poor and hilly not calculated for European purpose there are 100 natives already residing and more could be induced to go there and by getting a square mile of the land included in the present boundary added to the said block he considered he might fix on that as a permanent home for himself and the natives, moreover he is quite of the opinion that such an arrangement would add greatly to their religious and moral welfare as a race, he certainly deserves the utmost consideration being given to his places as he has really worked a wonderful change on the natives of this place and the whole bent of his inclination seems to be towards improving & promoting their ? welfare, all I am desirous to obtain is his views in writing on these subjects that I may submit them to Sir George Grey...'

McLean goes on to say in his journal entry two days later, that '...he declines placing his views on paper to be submitted to the Gov. In my opinion that no plan will surface...' <sup>231</sup>

Colenso aspirations never came to pass and he and his family lived out his mission in his harsh environment at Awapuni. Colenso had been looking at alternative sites but was prohibited from relocating due to jealousy amongst various Chiefs and the 'exorbitant sum (£100 and upward) demanded for a site for a house...' <sup>232</sup>

Despite his rigid and uncompromising Victorian attitude Colenso was a man of great fortitude, surviving many traumas in his missionary life, not just within his district parish but in his intrepid journeys throughout the upper North Island. It is evident from some of his journal entries that he earned the begrudging respect from the most militant and anti-Christian chiefs throughout his parish. Waimarama was an integral territory of Colenso's parish, and as evidenced by McLean's earlier journal entry the Waimarama district was where he wished to re-establish his mission station. As previously mentioned, Colenso arrived in Hawke's Bay initially as a catechist and was soon ordained as a Deacon. Unlike the French missionaries, Colenso could not, or would not, see the parallel aspects of Christian scripture to aspects of Maori

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<sup>231</sup> The area Colenso outlined to McLean for the Native reserve, and his Parish residence, incorporated an area of approximately 38,500 acres of Waimarama environs of which became a theatre of bitter dispute between Airini Donnelly and Gertrude Meinertzhagen from the 1880s (discussed in chapter four). 3,500 acres of Manawarakau (Kairakau) land, known today as Te Apiti Station is owned by the State Owned Enterprise, LandCorp. See McLean's journal entries, Saturday 29 and Monday 31 March 1851 in Donald McLean Papers MS-1232 16 March - 2 May 1851, (Alexander Turnbull Library).

<sup>232</sup> Colenso, "William Colenso in Waitangi Letter MS 0032-0021 13 December 1851."

mythology. His inflexibility and intolerance towards an alternative belief system and his unmitigated desire to super impose his Christian morality over Maori belief systems, caused him much anguish.

Aside from his evangelical work Colenso took on a de facto doctor's role by dispensing medicine throughout his Parish, particularly to concentrated working environments, such as Rangaika whaling station. His dispensing of medicine to locals seems to have provided him with secular authority to expound his Christian virtues. On one particular occasion he was asked to dispense medicine to Waimarama chief Tuahu, who like his fellow chief Tiakitai, was the recipient of much of Colenso's wrath, who accused them both of 'trafficking' local women and girls to the whalers. In one such journal entry Colenso comments:

'Received an application, today from Tuahu, the heathen Chief of Waimarama, for medicine. This is the Chief who got so enraged at my rebuking him, when at his place, for having bartered his daughter to some of the low whites at the whaling station'.<sup>233</sup>

Earlier in 1845 Colenso had remonstrated with Tuahu over the incident,<sup>234</sup> and again a year later in 1846.<sup>235</sup> In a lengthy journal entry Colenso accuses Tiakitai of trading Tuahu's only daughter, along with two other young women, at 'the Whaling Station' (Rangaika). According to Colenso while Tiakitai was carrying out this deed, his young daughter, Kore, was drowned in a Waimarama stream on 14 February 1845, leading Colenso to state '...that on that very hour her wretched father was engaged in his iniquitous traffic'.<sup>236</sup> In the wake of this tragedy Colenso, at Tiakitai's request, begrudgingly sold him a bag of flour at 30 shillings of which Tiakitai was only able to pay 20 shillings with the promise of supplying Colenso with a pig for the balance at a later date. However Colenso was soon to learn from his Waimarama parishioners that Tiakitai had duped him, telling his kinsmen that the money he procured from the sale of the women at the whaling station, he gave to Colenso for the flour, and

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<sup>233</sup> See Colenso's journal entry, 3 September 1847, in Colenso, *Journals of William Colenso 1841-1854*. p.111

<sup>234</sup> See Colenso's journal entry 3 March 1845 in William Colenso, *Journals of William Colenso December 1844 - December 1846* (Dunedin: Hocken Library MS 0065). p.63.

<sup>235</sup> Tuahu's daughter had since given birth to 'a halfcaste child'. See Colenso's journal entries: "the sad conduct of Tiakitai" and 11 February 1846 in *Ibid.* pp.117-53. The resultant child, according to local historian Patrick Parsons and a descendant, was called Maata, and was the mother of a future Waimarama Chief Mohi Te Atahikoia, of whom more will be discussed.

<sup>236</sup> See Colenso's journal entry 13 January 1845 titled "The sad conduct of Tiakitai" - in *Ibid.* p.115.

that Tiakitai had further said that ‘...he (Colenso) could continue to supply women to Europeans and bring you the money...’<sup>237</sup> Colenso’s strident and forceful character, unafraid of imposing his Christian doctrine on Maori, often led him into some life threatening situations, on occasions being manhandled and physically assaulted by offended chiefs. His journal entries are full of his strident views on any group, or person, who did not subscribe to his view of the Anglican doctrine, consequently the European whalers were viewed very dimly by him.

Prominent Church Missionary Society leaders, such as Bishop Selwyn, appeared kindly predisposed towards whalers, and their aspirations for an educated life for their children. He once proclaimed, ‘The truth is that their (whalers) evil doings, which were neither few nor small, were loudly proclaimed, while their good deeds were unrecorded’.<sup>238</sup> Extracts from Dr Thompson’s personal observations, published in 1859 in his *Story of New Zealand*, gives further balance to the archetypical stereotype of the whaler and lauds their contribution to cultural interaction and adaptation with Maori, when he states ‘that in spite of drunkenness and some immorality the whalers contact with the Maori was of great benefit to the latter and helped pave the way for the advent of the settler’.<sup>239</sup> Writing in his time Dr Thompson’s observation hint at an ethnocentric perspective, whereas Ballantyne postulates that whalers derived a benefit by being immersed in ‘a Maori cultural world’, where they were subject to chiefly authority. Ballantyne gives credence to the aforementioned ‘Alsatia’ hypothesis, by suggesting that this cultural immersion suited the whaler, as they derived a strong degree of protection from British law by operating under the auspices of Maori law. However the trajectory of his thinking unravels somewhat, when he suggests that ‘the Maori use of plunder and violence’ to maintain social order accorded with the whalers way of dealing with things,<sup>240</sup> highlighting an etic perspective based on assumption.<sup>241</sup> Despite his disparaging

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<sup>237</sup> Ibid.

<sup>238</sup> Rickard, *The Whaling Trade in Old New Zealand*. p.103.

<sup>239</sup> Wilson, *History of Hawke’s Bay*. p.137.

<sup>240</sup> Tony Ballantyne, *Webs Of Empire. Locating New Zealand’s Colonial Past* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd, 2012). p.131.

<sup>241</sup> An etic perspective is ‘taking the comparativist’s perspective in observing or describing a culture; highlighting that which is interesting from a cross-cultural perspective and discussing it in a developed cross-cultural vocabulary’. See John Omohundro, *Thinking Like an Anthropologist: A Practical Introduction to Cultural Anthropology* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2008). p.413.

attitude to whalers and their mode of vocation, Colenso nevertheless cultivated an abiding relationship with Rangaika's whaling station owner, William Morris.<sup>242</sup>

As evidenced throughout his writings, Colenso's life was full of anguish and drama, principally incurred through his characteristic approach to his prospective and baptised converts. His frustrations and aggravation were shared by other missionaries. Their mutual disappointment was that the people 'seemed destitute of the religion of the heart; they cared more for the size of their chapel than for repentance'.<sup>243</sup> Converted Maori were not a homogenous group; rather they saw themselves not as Christians but as 'Mihinare Maori' (Anglican missionary Maori), 'Katorika Maori' (Catholic Maori), or 'Weteriana Maori (Wesleyan/Methodist Maori). This adopted denominational identity gave a fresh new expression to kinship rivalries and boundaries.<sup>244</sup> It could be argued that the inter-denominational rivalry facilitated a new and fresh choice for Maori to delineate new boundaries and expressions of identity. An example of the shared aggravation that these early missionaries must have felt towards Maori converts is exemplified by Colenso in recounting the plundering of the Brig *Falco* in 1845 at Mahia:

'The Natives of Mahia', including baptised natives had stripped the European vessel of most of its merchandise. Some baptised natives were for going to Mahia to partake in the spoils when Colenso strongly discouraged them from doing so. In the aftermath a baptised Chief, Brown Kakihaki, 'a ring leader of the plundering party' came to Heretaunga offering some of the stolen goods as gifts, including 'tobacco, beads, looking glasses, combs, needles, knives etc etc!'

Colenso's rebuke to the Chief solicited the following response:

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<sup>242</sup> Morris's children were baptised Anglican. He gave money to the Church Missionary Society, Colenso's employer, and lent Bishop Williams £1000 towards Church work in Poverty Bay. Colenso and Morris's relationship is succinctly expressed in one of the numerous letters exchanged between the two. On June 27 1849 Colenso wrote to Morris '...Since you left our neighbourhood, I have very often indeed had you in my thoughts and heard you were coming back to Ronga-ika [sic], which pleased me not a little; for I have proved you to be a good neighbour and I am indebted to you for many acts of kindness...' See Alison Wright, *William Morris Master Whaler 1815-1882* (Napier: Alison Wright, 1999). pp.15-39. In this same letter Colenso once again expressed a desire to move to Waimarama. 'I want a warmer and dryer spot than this'.

<sup>243</sup> W.H. Oliver and B.R. Williams, eds., *The Oxford History of New Zealand* (Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1981), p.142.

<sup>244</sup> Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past*. p.156.

‘ Emea ana oti koe, tera etutau hahi? kana, akuanei, akuanei, maku ka horo ai nga kahi o Heretaunga maku tenei wenua ka wi ai ki te taonga’ - ‘dost thou say thy Church shall stand? Listen this day, directed by me shall the churches of Heretaunga be laid low. I shall overpower this country with goods’.<sup>245</sup>

As mentioned earlier, Colenso’s theological appointment officially ended on 2 June 1853. On 9 November 1852 a deed of suspension was issued to him by a CMS commission, and on the evening of the 23 March 1853 he was ordered by Bishop Selwyn to vacate his Mission Station, and leave the district immediately ‘... as he would never be restored to the Church...’ A defiant Colenso stayed on, but his wife Elizabeth left for Auckland with their two children, and Wiremu (after much cultural wrangling), on 30 August 1853.<sup>246</sup> Colenso’s crime for this harsh retribution laid down by his Church was the intimate relations he had with a member of his household, Ripeka (Rebecca) who bore their child Wiremu the previous year on 28 May 1851.<sup>247</sup> Colenso was not alone in this misconduct. Earlier CMS missionaries such as William Whyte, Charles Creed, and Thomas Kendall had also succumbed to temptation.<sup>248</sup> While the incident attracted much korero at hui held in the district, there was much sadness attributed to Colenso’s ignominious demise by iwi. He had been an integral part of their lives; albeit a fractious one. The benefits he brought to the community served to better understand the many intriguing aspects of the strange new Pakeha culture intruding on the ideoscape of traditional Maori culture. The singular most profound cultural import to illuminate the world of Maori was the written world of articles and books, including the Bible, facilitated by Colenso’s introduction of the first printing press to Aotearoa which he brought with him when he arrived at the Bay of Islands on 3 January 1835. On 17 February he printed the first book in New Zealand – the Epistles to the Ephesians and Philipians in the Maori language. In December 1837 he also printed the New Testament in Maori.<sup>249</sup> Maori foresaw literacy and the written form of communication as being the ‘magical

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<sup>245</sup> Colenso exclaims ‘never before did such a prize (the *Falco*) get into the hands of the N Zealander’. See Colenso journal entry 5 September 1845 in Colenso, *Journals of William Colenso December 1844 - December 1846*. p.106.

<sup>246</sup> Colenso continued to live at Napier throughout the remainder of his life engaging himself in public and political duties.

<sup>247</sup> The CMS ratified Colenso’s excommunication in a letter to him on 2 June 1853. See Bagnall and Petersen, *William Colenso: His Life and Journeys*. pp.297-332.

<sup>248</sup> Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealand from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*. p.136.

<sup>249</sup> "Obituary. the Rev.W. Colenso," *Press Association*, 11 February 1899, p.8.

keys to European knowledge'.<sup>250</sup> If the era of whaling, the introduction of Christianity, and Colenso's religious tutelage added a new dimension to Waimarama peoples beliefs, tikanga and social structure, then the last half of the nineteenth century did not appear to do so. In fact the land alienation process ultimately lead to the unravelling of their tikanga and social order.

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<sup>250</sup> Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealand from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*. p.165.

## Chapter 5

### The Power of the Hapu 1840 to 1929

‘Each place is unique as a result of its particular topography and demography and also because it sits at a specific point where a unique set of networks, movements and exchanges intersect. Places are constantly being remade by the work and changing shape of these convergences’.<sup>251</sup>

The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 put in place a formal basis from which to deal with the increasing complexities concomitant with two cultures interacting with one another. The aspiration of the Treaty might have ostensibly signaled to both parties, the foundation towards a bicultural nation - a partnership between two cultures, but its implementation was divergent. It was referred to as the founding date for ‘Settler New Zealand’.<sup>252</sup> The label itself implied an assumed dominance from the outset, and the subsequent years reinforced this assumption. The misinterpretation of New Zealand’s founding document by both parties is well traversed, but comment by Sir Hirini Moko Mead is worth considering as a further backdrop to events that followed. Mead interprets the different agendas of missionaries and colonial officials leading up to the 1840 signing of the Treaty. The missionaries may have genuinely believed in their divine responsibility to instruct and convert Maori to the doctrine of their Christian God, in order ‘for the Maori to be like them and accept not only their religion but also their civilisation, guidance and leadership’. The Crown wanted the same but probably with less emphasis on religious conversion and more on land acquisition, for arriving settlers. Governor Hobson proclaimed to those gathered that ‘People should recollect that were it not for the missionaries they would not be here this day, nor be in possession of a foot of land in New Zealand’. The last part of this proclamation is telling. In the epistemology of imperialist history, the missionaries appear as spiritual pioneers, camouflaging the real imperialistic agenda of the countries from whence they came.

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<sup>251</sup> This quote is applicable to the uniqueness of any localised history as a researcher’s inquisitiveness and an archaeologists trowel is forever peeling away layers to illuminate new evidence, to reinterpret the patterns that shape these convergences. See Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past*. p.275.

<sup>252</sup> This is an intriguing label as it implies the non recognition of the indigenous people. It is also interesting to note that the new colony, as it was referred to, served one year under the auspices of New South Wales. See Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo World 1783-1939*. p.83.

In the same way that missionaries assumed roles of ecclesiastical dominance over their native converts, so too would the Crown assume dominance in matters of governance and in due course land control. Mead argues that Governor Hobson's famous slogan 'He iwi tahi tatou' (We are now one people) is a simile for wiping the slate clean of Maori culture and their past, and that this same thinking still pervades. The 'one nation one people' paradigm is still the default position viewed by some New Zealanders when addressing the issues of long held Maori grievances brought before the Waitangi Tribunal today, and the grievances sit uncomfortably in the mindset of middle New Zealand.<sup>253</sup>

Whatever the essence and interpretation derived from the Treaty at the time, by both the early representatives of the British Crown, and signatory Chiefs,<sup>254</sup> events after the Treaty signing soon exposed the schism of misunderstanding. The ensuing cultural clashes<sup>255</sup> and events that soon followed, exemplified the well practiced process of acculturation and ethnocentrism practiced by imperial Britain. The acquisition of land was and always had been fundamental to Britain's imperial expansion. By 1890 Maori sovereignty, or tino rangatiratanga, and customary land tenure was almost completely extinguished, replaced by a mosaic of European fee simple titles. The loss of ancestral land led to the disintegration and disempowerment of Maori communal society, inherent with their detachment to the spiritual world of their Atua (gods) and their connection through whakapapa, and tikanga.<sup>256</sup> An early colonial administrator, J. E. Gorst, later to become a colonial magistrate, possessed an early empathy with indigenous cultures and an anthropologist's insight into the acculturation process. His prophetic insight into how post-Treaty events would unravel was graphically emphasised in his remark, 'the white race when sufficiently powerful enough will seize Maori land and reduce them to servitude as they have done to other indigenous races'.<sup>257</sup> In the aftermath of the 1840 Treaty signing, Maori had gone from owning most of the North Island to five

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<sup>253</sup> Sidney Moko Mead, *Landmarks, Bridges and Visions: Aspects of Maori Culture* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1997). pp.101-04.

<sup>254</sup> Signatory chiefs believed they were allowing the Crown to exercise their Kāwanatanga/governorship, while they retained their right to rangatiratanga/mana (Maori sovereignty and chiefly status). See Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*. pp.36, 257-66.

<sup>255</sup> Author James coined the phrase 'fatal tendency' to describe the inevitable clash of cultures. See James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* 1st ed. (Auckland: Penguin, 1986). p.78.

<sup>256</sup> Belgrave, *Historical Frictions: Maori Claims and Reinvented Histories*. p.98.

<sup>257</sup> J.E. Gorst, *The Maori King* (London: Macmillan, 1864). pp.x-ix.

per cent by the turn of the twentieth century. The incremental expansion of Crown authority was in direct proportion to the land acquired for European settlement from Maori.<sup>258</sup> Land retention was fundamental to the control of power and influence and both Maori and Pakeha understood this.

The Waikato led reactive movement to land alienation, Kingitanga<sup>259</sup> was matched by the Repudiation Movement in Hawke's Bay and Poverty Bay, but neither could counter the escalating tide of British sovereignty. Waimarama stood out as a district and community that defied the process of changing land tenure, with its iwi retaining customary ownership at the turn of the twentieth century. There were however, early attempts to alienate Waimarama customary owned land. As previously mentioned, the first attempt to acquire Waimarama land had been made by W.B. Rhode's in 1839, as part of a grand aspiration to secure land from Table Cape to Wellington. Further comment on this proposed purchase was made through the eyes of a Mr. F.W.C. Sturm, whose Sydney trading schooner was anchored off Waimarama at the time. He had witnessed the trade of 'a gown, print and calico which, with some half crowns from ('Barney') Rhodes to Waimarama chief, Tiakitai, as a deposit for the proposed purchase of coastal land from Table Cape to Castle Point'.<sup>260</sup> A prominent Waimarama kaumatua and chief, Mohi Te Atahikoia, many years later was known to comment: 'Had Rhodes come to take possession [of Waimarama lands] he would have been driven off'. In further evidence given by either Mohi Te Atahikoia, or Te Teira Tiakitai, a remuneration package for the purchase was mentioned: '...a pot, hooks and an axe: the sale was by Te Eketahi my father and he received these things'.<sup>261</sup> It is worth reiterating Rhodes's early land purchasing interests in the new colony, as it gives an insight into early colonial mentality that viewed vast tracts of apparently 'unused', unoccupied, or wasteland as readily available for possession.<sup>262</sup> Another interesting individual of similar ideological persuasion to that of Rhodes,

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<sup>258</sup> Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* p.78.

<sup>259</sup> See Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*. p.159.

<sup>260</sup> Bagnall and Petersen, *William Colenso: His Life and Journeys*. p.186.

<sup>261</sup> It is unclear whose evidence it is, as Mohi was adopted by the late Chief Tiakitai and Te Teira Tiakitai was his natural son. Their evidence given at a Native Land Court hearing in 1884 formed part of a Waimarama sub division claim, in which both men were in conflict over. See Grant, *Waimarama*. p.20. See also Napier Minute Book 7, pp. 104-65. The spelling Te Eketahi written in this evidence is phonetically close to Tiakitai, the name which is most commonly written. They are one and the same person.

<sup>262</sup> Raymond Firth, *Routledge Revivals Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori* (Oxford: Routledge, 2011). pp.375-76.

and whose name would be permanently cemented in the historiography of New Zealand's colonial past, was that of the controversial Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Wakefield also regarded land in the new colony, as being there for the taking, with little cognisance and regard of existing customary occupation. His New Zealand Company settlement scheme, post 1840, was to cause much inconvenience to a new fledgling state run immigration settlement plan and by the early 1850s had failed completely. As mentioned previously in chapter three, his company's tentacles spread to Waimarama in 1844 with the early exploratory trip by two of its surveyors, Harrison and Thomas.

‘Te toto o Te tangata, he kai; Te orange o Te tangata, he whenua’ - ‘Hold to your land, particular that whence you derive your living’.<sup>263</sup>

The next attempt to purchase Waimarama lands came from government officials during the 1850s. Between 1851 and 1863 the colonial administration's Chief Land Purchasing Officer, Donald McLean, was actively procuring land in Hawke's Bay and elsewhere.<sup>264</sup> During this period he had been successful in securing large tracts of Hawke's Bay land for the Government to on sell to European settlers.<sup>265</sup> McLean's interest in Waimarama land began in the early 1850s. On Wednesday 23 April 1851, he visited Waimarama with Te Hapuku to arrange the transfer of a parcel of land bequeathed by the late Tiakitai to the children of Mr William Edwards (former owner of the Putotaranui whaling station).<sup>266</sup> McLean noted in his diary.

‘Examined the natives at Waimarama, in reference to their offer to bequeath, or transfer, a piece of land to a European, married to a native woman, at their place; a Deed for which was made out during Tiakitae's [sic] lifetime, in April

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<sup>263</sup> The literal translation of this proverb contributed by Colenso is: ‘The blood of man (is from) food. The sustenance of man (is from) land’. See Colenso, *Contributions Towards A Better Knowledge of The Maori Race*. p.37.

<sup>264</sup> Much has been written about McLean. He was fluent in the Maori language and was seemingly kindly disposed towards them, as they were to him. However he seemed to display the innate racism, reflective of the British colonial psyche at the time, when he intimated that he did not regard Maori as equal. See Tony Sole, *Ngāti Ruanui : A History* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2005). p.240.

<sup>265</sup> Between 1846 and 1851 McLean was successful in procuring three large blocks of over half million acres of Hawke's Bay land for Pakeha settlement. See Ray Fargher, *The Best Man Who Ever Served the Crown?: A Life of Donald McLean* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2007). p.58.

<sup>266</sup> Edwards's wife was Maori and the transfer of thirty acres of customary owned land was to their children. Even though it was a relatively small parcel of land, it is interesting to ponder the motives of McLean who was accompanied by Chief Hapuku from Heretaunga, a controversial figure involved with McLean in the sale and purchase of customary owned land throughout Heretaunga to the Government. See Grant, *Waimarama*. p.23.

1844. I promised if possible, to go to Waimarama to-morrow. Te Hapuku goes with me. Edwards, and the Waimarama natives, have gone on to-day.<sup>267</sup>

Te Hapuku was the principal chief of his Ngati Whatuiapiti hapu in the near by Roto-o-Tara district. He was a charismatic and controversial chief who, as mentioned in a previous footnote, colluded with McLean to facilitate successful sales of vast tracts of customary owned land holdings throughout Heretaunga. In doing so he made many enemies amongst his kinsmen.<sup>268</sup> Apart from helping alienate nearly all his hapu's land by the time of his death in 1878, Te Hapuku also interfered and sold land outside his jurisdiction, or in blocks he had a minor interest in. He did have interests in the three Waimarama Blocks. It seems, at this early stage in 1851, that McLean was not interested in Waimarama land for settler occupation. On 24 April 1851 his diary entry reads:

‘The land about Waimarama is well suited for the natives; and I think, with Mr. Colenso, that from Manawarakau, (Kairakau) should be a perpetual Reserve, as there is abundances of fish, shell-fish, and grazing ground for stock that the natives are likely to possess, until they become European in habits and manners. Moreover, the land is not calculated for English settlers’.<sup>269</sup>

Colenso was certainly prophetic in his views on Native land retention. In his parish visitations he advised iwi ‘not to sell, but lease short to medium term; not to lease large blocks, and retain good grazing land for themselves’.<sup>270</sup> Colenso's stance on proposed Maori land sales followed early Crown pressure on him to encourage Maori to sell land for European settlement.<sup>271</sup>

It could be debated that Waimarama land was relatively cocooned from the pressures derived from competing rangatira, preoccupied with bigger tracts of land across the

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<sup>267</sup>McLean makes mention of this deed in his diary entry on Monday 21 April 1851, the day before his visit to Waimarama: ‘Examined a Deed of Richards, for land at Waimarama’. See McLean's journal entry in Donald McLean Papers MS-1232 16 March - 2 May 1851.

<sup>268</sup> AJHR, "Report of The Trusts Commissioner for the District of Hawke's Bay Under Native Lands Frauds Prevention Act 1870," pp.8-12.

<sup>269</sup> Donald McLean Papers MS-1232 16 March - 2 May 1851.

<sup>270</sup> Grant, *Waimarama*. p.28.

<sup>271</sup>In the 1840's the Crown was reacting to settlement pressure brought about by Wakefield's New Zealand Company's immigration activities. Correspondence between the Crown, its representatives, and Colenso, and Colenso's meeting with Hawke's Bay Chiefs took place during November and December of 1848 and Colenso's journal entries are cited in Angela Ballara and Gary Scott, "Crown Purchases and Other Acquisitions of Maori Land in Early Provincial Hawke's Bay," (Waitangi Tribunal, 1893), pp.52-53.

ranges on the Heretaunga plains. As mentioned earlier Ballara states that Maori land sales was more about Chiefs' exercising, or enhancing their mana, and vindicating their people's rightful claim to the land, rather than fully appreciating the European comprehension of the actual sale. By selling land and the ceremony of payment from an outside party merely validated a chief's prerogative to do so, and enhanced his mana amongst his tribe and hapu.<sup>272</sup> Certainly Tiakitai would have been exercising his prerogative to do so in regard to the 1839 Rhode's purchase proposition. It is fair to argue that since the death of this charismatic chief in 1847, a void existed in chiefly rankings within Waimarama environs, thereby negating any opportunity for rival chiefs to posture. It is also apparent, that Waimarama hapu, comprising Ngati Kurukuru, Ngati Whakaiti, Ngati Urakiterangi, Ngati Kautere, and Ngati Hikitoa were a close knit affiliate group and proved a formidable force in deterring would be purchasers of their lands, as McLean was soon to find out. It is also fair to surmise that these united hapu enjoyed the luxury and distinction of been relatively unaffected by the trauma and devastation inflicted by northern taua on Heretaunga hapu during the 1820s and 1830s musket wars, leading to the subsequent exodus to Mahia of these devastated hapu.

A good example exemplifying the cohesiveness of these Waimarama hapu was their collective resistance to a 'secret'<sup>273</sup> land deal played out in Wellington. On February 1855, McLean (not for the first time) had invited Chiefs to Wellington to procure their signatures to the sale of various tracts of Native land including on one occasion, the Waimarama Block (32,000 acres), and the Ngaruroro Block (5000 acres). According to Fargher, McLean procured the signatures of six Rangitira including 'Te Hapuku, Hine-i-paketia<sup>274</sup> and Hori Niania', for the deed of sale of Ngaruroro. Fargher does not specify who the other rangitira were and whether an amount of £200, paid by the Crown, was for Waimarama or Ngaruroro. He later says that

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<sup>272</sup>While Ballara indicates that this unusual rationale by chiefs was viewed by them as a 'unique opportunity to vindicate their rights to their land. There exists enough written evidence however to suggest that enough chiefs were cognisant of the permanent long term ramifications of such actions. See Angela Ballara, "The Pursuit of Mana? A Re-evaluation of the Process of Land Alienation by Maori, 1840-1890," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 91, no. 4 (1982): p.521.

<sup>273</sup> Secret land deals carried out by Chiefs and Government officials were known at the time as 'hoko tahae', sales by theft. See Ballara and Scott, "Crown Purchases and Other Acquisitions of Maori Land in Early Provincial Hawke's Bay," p.89.

<sup>274</sup> Hine-i-paketia was a Chieftainess and was periodically referred to as the Queen of Heretaunga. She outranked Te Hapuku who needed her consent when accompanying McLean on his land purchasing exploits, especially as a co-signatory in the Waipukurau block.

Cooper 'was unable to conclude the secret deal of Waimarama'.<sup>275</sup> However in author Cowie's research, quoting from Turton's deeds receipts page 578, he stipulates who the signatory chiefs were for the sale of the Ngaruroro Block on 16 February 1855. They included Te Hapuku, Kerei Tanguru, Paora Te Pakau, Puhara, Wereta and Te Harawira Tatari. Cowie notes '...of a deed showing that one person 'sold' 32,000 acres...'<sup>276</sup> The acreage would indicate it was the Waimarama lands. According to author and historian, Alan Ward, a Mr 'Tamihi-koia' apparently sold his share in Waimarama.<sup>277</sup> However this transaction does not appear in Turton's deeds of sale but a translated letter from Tamaihikoia to the District Commissioner, G.S. Cooper, has been sourced showing that £100 was paid to 'Tamaihikoia' by McLean for the purchase of 'the lands at Waimarama':

'I have received from Mr McLean the sum of one hundred pounds, £100, which has agreed to be given to me out of the price for the lands at Waimarama. I have also received from Mr McLean the sum of one hundred pounds (£100) which was further promised to me out of the price of the lands under offer by Te Hapuku and his people to the Queen. Added together these sums amount to two hundred pounds (£200) paid to me on account of lands at Ahuriri- that is- these are all the payments to me on account of Heretaunga'.<sup>278</sup>

According to evidence given many years later by Waimarama chief Te Teira Tiakitai, the supposed 1855 land sale never progressed.<sup>279</sup> It seems apparent that McLean was testing the waters with whoever purported to have claim to Waimarama's lands, and in general, appeared to be becoming more cavalier and determined in his programme of Maori owned land purchases, and with less consideration to customary interests. Nevertheless McLean continued his pursuit of

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<sup>275</sup> According to Fargher the above mentioned Chiefs were already in Wellington from 1854 helping McLean procure other tracts of Native land in Wairarapa. See Fargher, *The Best Man Who Ever Served the Crown?: A Life of Donald McLean*. p.172.

<sup>276</sup> Cowie, "Rangahaua Whanui District 11B," pp.41,165.

<sup>277</sup> Alan Ward, "National Overview," in *Waitangi Tribunal Rangahaua Whanui Series* (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 1997), p.198.

<sup>278</sup> Probably due to translation discrepancies, this letter from Tamaihikoia to McLean, dated 10 February 1855, is a bit ambiguous. However there is no doubting the literacy of the £100 paid for the Waimarama lands, and the sum of £200 correlates with Fargher's figure of the same. The letter was signed 'Tamaihikoia x his mark', with witnesses, 'Kai to this Te Hapuku x, Te Harawira Tatere, and GS Cooper'. Obviously both Te Hapuku and Tamaihikoia could not write their own names. Te Harawira was a baptised Waimarama Chief and could obviously write. By signing the letter he is culpable in the proposed sale of Waimarama lands. LINZ, "Crown Purchase Deeds Index Image 53," (Wellington: Land Information New Zealand).

<sup>279</sup> See Teira Tiakitai's evidence given on 3 March 1884 Napier Minute Book 7, p.108.

Waimarama lands, authorising the District Commissioner G. S. Cooper, in 1856, to offer the owners £600 for the purchase of their land, which was subsequently declined. It is worth noting Cooper's report to McLean:

‘With respect to the Waimarama Block, I have the honor to state that the Natives will not accept the sum of £600 for this land. With the enquiries which I made respecting Porangahau, I learned that the Natives there are greatly in need of money, and that although they state at present that they will not accept the sum offered for the North Block, it is probable that were the money placed before them they would take it, I therefore considered it advisable to avoid meeting them until I should have the money ready and in the meantime I wrote to let them know what the determination of the Government was in the matter’.

It is apparent at this time that Cooper was under instructions from McLean to secure as much Hawke's Bay coast land as possible, for he was running a campaign to purchase the Cape Kidnappers Block, comprising approximately 30,000 acres, at the same time as the Waimarama and Porangahau propositions. If successful this would have given the Crown a substantial tract of approximately one hundred thousand acres. It seems apparent that Cooper was having difficulty in achieving this objective and the pressure applied on Maori to sell their lands is evident in his closing comment.<sup>280</sup> The Waimarama block was still listed as ‘purchases under negotiation in the 1856/57 Colonial administration's financial year, with a purchase sum due of £600, with the land ‘already surveyed for the purpose of the Land Purchase Department’.<sup>281</sup> Waimarama hapu resolve in repudiating Crown overtures to purchase their land, and not accepting Crown money, appears to have reached a crisis point in 1858. The District Commissioner, Cooper, reported to McLean, urging caution:

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<sup>280</sup>G. S. Cooper made this report to McLean, on 29 November 1856, after offering Porangahau natives £1400 for their lands. At this time Cooper was also having difficulty completing the final stage payment for the purchase of Cape Kidnappers, validating Parson's date of settlement. See AJHR, "Report of the Land Purchase Department to the Extinguishment of Native Title in the Ahuriri District" *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* C-01(1862): pp.58,223, 323.

<sup>281</sup>This report was identifying ‘outstanding liabilities from New Purchases’ of Native land. See AJHR, "Native Land Purchase Department," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (1856): p.4.

‘... owing to the state of the Natives, I do not think it safe to press the Waimarama question at present; though the Government should be prepared to pay a sum of £1,500 for it whenever it may be advisable to purchase’.<sup>282</sup>

In 1855 McLean began his negotiations with iwi to purchase Cape Kidnappers/ Matau-a-Maui. Cape Kidnappers comprised approximately 30,000 acres of customary owned land, hitherto considered part of Waimarama’s environs, containing its hapu interests, as well as the interests of various Ngati Kahungunu hapu. In Cowie’s report, he cites Ballara and Scott as saying, ‘the Crown failed to take the interests of the Waimarama hapu, Ngati Kurukuru and Ngati Kautere into account when purchasing the Matau-a-Maui Block’.<sup>283</sup> The Cape Kidnappers transaction was a two year drawn out affair, due mainly to the disenchantment by the Ngati Kahungunu hapu who were unhappy with the Crown’s pressure to sell though their Chiefs’ Te Moananui, Tareha, Karaitiana and others, according to Cowie. Waimarama chieftainess, Airini Donnelly (Tonore) was questioned at a Maori Affairs Committee many years later in 1887 on whether ‘the tribe objected to the sale of Te Matauamaui [sic]’ by Te Moananui, Airini replied:

‘I am not aware whether the people disapproved or not; but I know there was general discussion of the conduct of the *rangatiras* in selling the property of the tribe without their concurrence’.<sup>284</sup>

According to Cowie’s citation from Ballara and Scott, a last payment by the Crown of £1000 was finally accepted in July 1857. The ubiquitous Hapuku was evident in this sale, as it appears he received £300 in January 1857, following a demand for payment to Cooper for his involvement.<sup>285</sup> An inducement to close the Cape Kidnappers sale seems to have been made by the Crown agreeing to set aside, as a Native reserve, Rangaika, just south of Cape Kidnappers. However on 3 October 1866, this inalienable reserve was eventually sold to the European purchaser of Cape Kidnappers, Mr Gordon. Mr Gordon purchased the reserve for £100 from the sole

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<sup>282</sup> From G.S. Cooper’s letter to the Chief Commissioner 10 May 1858 in AJHR, "Report of the Land Purchase Department to the Extinguishment of Native Title in the Ahuriri District ": p.337.

<sup>283</sup> Cowie, "Rangahaua Whanui District 11B," p.41.

<sup>284</sup> As Airini Donnelly was born c1856 her account is understandably indistinct. However due to her Chiefly status her response seems more concerned with the tribe’s disenchantment over their rangatiras decision making and lack of consultation with them, rather than the actual sale. See AJHR, "Native Affairs Committee: Petition of Te Teira Tiakitai, of Hawke's Bay, and Seven Others," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* 1-3c(1887): p.6.

<sup>285</sup> Cowie, "Rangahaua Whanui District 11B," p.41.

grantee Karauria who apparently was under pressure to pay debts.<sup>286</sup> Karauria Pupu was Ngati Kurukuru of Waimarama. He was also the nephew of Heretaunga Chief Te Moananui who was one of the signatories to the proposed sale of Cape Kidnappers to the Crown in 1855. Final settlement was made on 24 February 1857. McLean apparently promised Te Moananui the reserve at Rangaika and another at Te Awanga to procure his signature.<sup>287</sup> This gesture may have been an attempt to mitigate the controversial circumstances in which the deed of sale was undertaken in the first place.<sup>288</sup> District Commissioner Cooper's letter to Chief Commissioner McLean shows the Crown's manoeuvring and cajoling of Te Moananui to settle the deed of sale: 'I have been endeavouring to get Moananui's party to give up the C.Kidnappers money to Hapuku who would then in return agree to their demands upon Aorangi & Otaranga...'<sup>289</sup> In any case if Te Moananui had stood fast the Crown may well have implemented its right not to accept returned payments for land repudiated. Samuel Williams states in that:

'In some circumstances, where money on account had been paid in this way, the bulk of the owners repudiated the sale, and even brought the money thus advanced to the Land Purchase Commissioner, requesting him to take it back and leave them in possession. The reply was that money once paid in the name of the Queen could not be taken back and that the only course open to them was to carry out the agreement'.<sup>290</sup>

As an adjunct to the eventual alienation of the above mentioned Rangaika reserve in 1866, there have been recent attempts by the descendants of the disenfranchised hapu to restore ownership back to the iwi through the Waitangi Tribunal process. It

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<sup>286</sup> The whaling station, Rangaika, comprising approximately 326 acres was partitioned off as a reserve following the sale of Cape Kidnappers (Te Matau-a-Maui) to the Crown in 1855. JG Gordon who bought and founded Clifton Station from the Crown leased and later purchased Rangaika. See *Ibid.*, p.97.

<sup>287</sup> Parsons settlement date of Cape Kidnappers differs from Cowie's final settlement date of July 1857. According to Parson's research the last instalment of £1000 was due in March 1856, but not paid until 24 February 1857 for reasons discussed above. Part of the proceeds was paid to another half brother of the late Chief Tiakitai, Waka Te Papaka. See Parsons, "An Overview History of Waimarama," p.8.

<sup>288</sup> According to Ballara and Scott a ' Matau-a-Maui file' exists on the controversial Cape Kidnappers sale. See Ballara and Scott, "Crown Purchases and Other Acquisitions of Maori Land in Early Provincial Hawke's Bay," p.92.

<sup>289</sup> Coopers correspondence to McLean, 24 February 1857. See Donald McLean Papers 1018929 MS Papers 0032-0227, (Alexander Turnbull Library).

<sup>290</sup> Samuel Williams was referring to a dubious sale of a block of Hawke's Bay land to the felon sons of a prominent Heretaunga Chief. See Ballara and Scott, "Crown Purchases and Other Acquisitions of Maori Land in Early Provincial Hawke's Bay," pp.92-93.

seems however that the claim is languishing with little validity. As a further adjunct in another current foreshore issue, their exist before the Waitangi Tribunal over the Ahuriri environs, primarily where the Hawke's Bay Airport is today, and this had its genesis in the 1850s. The District Commissioner, G.S. Cooper reporting to the Chief Commissioner, Donald McLean in 1861 says that chief 'Tareha one day said to him that he only sold the land as far as the high-water mark, and that all, that is now been reclaimed, is his property, as having been under the sea when he sold the Ahuriri Block'. Cooper goes on to warn the Crown to be prepared lest Tareha 'should urge his claim'.<sup>291</sup>

Concomitant with Crown land purchasing of the 1850s was the demand to lease Maori land by prospective European settlers. Aspiring European settler farmers negotiated with Waimarama iwi to lease their land for grazing, but arrangements were invariably informal and prone to misunderstandings between lessee and lessor. Hence land laws were being formulated by the fledgling Colonial Administration, under Governor Grey,<sup>292</sup> to facilitate legal grazing arrangements.<sup>293</sup> It was also the first time a Crown surveyor, Mr Samuel Locke, emerged in the Waimarama area in the response to the need to determine boundaries for containing stock, rather than to determine legal boundaries which came after the 1865 Native Lands Act. The 1850s Waimarama graziers included W. F. Hargrave and Captain John Morrison who were both prosecuted for illegal grazing.<sup>294</sup> An unusual name Haleel also appears as a prospective squatter of Waimarama lands in the 1850s.<sup>295</sup>

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<sup>291</sup> AJHR, "Report of the Land Purchase Department to the Extinguishment of Native Title in the Ahuriri District": p.353.

<sup>292</sup> Grey is arguably the most renown of New Zealand's early Colonial Governors. He was an ignominious individual who 'ruled New Zealand as a complete autocrat' imposing legislation that did much to exacerbate the alienation of Maori land, yet he was well regarded by many Maori, immersing himself in their culture and language. He was regarded as an English Whig who gave the new colony its first constitution. See David Hackett Fischer, *Fairness and Freedom: A History of Two Open Societies: New Zealand and the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012). pp.90-93.

<sup>293</sup> In 1852 a provincial system of Government was established with a national body called the General Assembly, with the Governor appointed by Britain, being the ultimate authority. Governor Grey introduced the Crown Lands Amendment and Extensions Ordinance, by which settler farmers were required to hold pastoral licenses. The early European graziers did not adhere to this legal requirement and were in fact squatters. See Grant, *Waimarama*. p.31.

<sup>294</sup> Samuel Locke was the first recorded surveyor in the Waimarama district. He had been active in Waimarama in the 1850s, presumably at the behest of the illegal graziers to determine their grazing boundaries See Ibid. p.32.

<sup>295</sup> Te Hapuku and Waka of Waimarama approached Domett for his consent to allow Haleel to 'settle upon land at Waimarama...' See Alfred Domett's correspondence to Donald McLean ,7 March 1854. Donald McLean Papers 1027341 MS-Papers-0032-0245, (Alexander Turnbull Library).

The first formal and legal lease of Waimarama customary owned land began in 1868 with two young aspiring farmers from Britain, Frederick Huth Meinertzhagen, (later known as Fritz) and Walter Lorne Campbell.<sup>296</sup> They formed a partnership that became known as the Meinertzhagen Partnership. The Meinertzhagen partnership enjoyed a good relationship with their Maori lessors which endured through to the twentieth century, leaving an indelible footprint on Waimarama's landscape. However the lives of the two men who formed the initial partnership ended prematurely. Campbell was drowned on 17 July 1874, aged twenty-nine years, near the present day Patangata Bridge on the Tukituki River.<sup>297</sup> In 1881 Meinertzhagen experienced the devastating loss of his wife and three children on a return trip back to England, and never recovered. He died, aged forty-nine years, in Tunbridge Wells, England in 1895.<sup>298</sup> A nephew of Fritz Meinertzhagen was later to write 'Frederich never recovered from his triple bereavement and my recollection of him as a thin, gaunt, bearded man with sad eyes'.<sup>299</sup> From the beginning of their tenure of Waimarama Station, Campbell and Meinertzhagen became avid collectors of local Maori remains and artefacts from wahi tapu (sacred) burial sites, most of which were sent to the London and Edinburgh Museums.<sup>300</sup> Some locals attribute the early demise of Campbell, and Meinertzhagen's tragedy, to the despoliation of the wahi tapu sites.

As mentioned the start of a twenty-one year lease in 1868 of the Meinertzhagen partnership was the first legitimate lease of customary owned Waimarama land, and the lease was renewed for three consecutive terms, eventually ending in 1929.

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<sup>296</sup> Despite his Germanic names, Fritz was born in England in 1845 and descended from the wealthy merchant family of Huth. He immigrated to New Zealand in the 1860s. Campbell was of Scottish aristocratic ancestry. Both were well educated young men, with financial backing from their parents. Fritz had married in 1866 and Campbell was single. See Grant, *Waimarama*. p.36.

<sup>297</sup> See Ibid. p.46. A full report on the tragedy is recorded in the *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 20 July 1874.

<sup>298</sup> The briefest of entries noting Fritz's death appeared in the *Hawke's Bay Herald*, p. 2 on 28 May, 1895. See also "Local And General," *Otago Witness*, 26 March 1896, p.3. An identical entry to the *Otago Witness* appeared in the *Daily Telegraph*, 21 March 1896, pg 3, adding the address, 2 Culverden Gardens, Tunbridge Wells..

<sup>299</sup> See Richard Meinertzhagen, *Diary of a Black Sheep* (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1964). p.35.

<sup>300</sup> London Museum became home to the largest collection of Maori artifacts in the world, with most coming from Waimarama. Over 500 specimens and artifacts were presented over time by Meinertzhagen and Campbell. On a return trip to his native land in Scotland, Campbell notes in his diary entry, 11 July 1872, his pleasure at presenting some of his Waimarama artifacts to the curator of the Antiquarian Museum in Edinburgh. See Amber Kiri Aranui, "Koiwi Tangata Report: Te Taiwhenua o Waimarama Koiwi tangata," (Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme, 2013), pp.8,37. Meinertzhagen was also an amateur ornithologist, a member of the Hawke's Bay Agricultural and Pastoral Association, the Hawke's Bay Acclimatization Society, and the Hawke's Bay Philosophical Society. See also Grant, *Waimarama*. p.102.

Campbell's diary entry notes the agreement began on 14 October 1868.<sup>301</sup> There is a variance of land leased and stock grazed from Campbell's diary record to that recorded by Sydney Grant where the total leased land was approximately 34,442 acres, at 10d per acre. It was at this stage that the Waimarama environs were partitioned into three blocks comprising Waimarama, 18,510 acres; Okaihau (Maraetotara), 5,615 acres; and Waipuka (Ocean Beach), 10,317 acres, with a composite value of £11,300.<sup>302</sup> The whole leased area was initially referred to as the Waimarama Block and soon became known as the 'Waimarama Estate' or 'Waimarama Station'. Today Waimarama denotes the beach settlement and immediate environs, Waipuka is loosely referred to as the Ocean Beach environs, and Maraetotara is a recognised fertile sheep and cattle grazing area in its own right.

Merino sheep were the established breed in New Zealand at the time of the first Meinertzhagen lease, and wool was the chief export commodity during nineteenth century.<sup>303</sup> The Meinertzhagen partnership went on to establish a high quality Merino flock at Waimarama.<sup>304</sup> As sheep numbers increased with the alienation of more and more customary owned land, it is not inappropriate to draw a parallel with the influx of the Cheviot breed to the Scottish Highlands during the prolonged period of Highland clearances from 1745 to well into the nineteenth century. Customary held clan land was transformed into grazing estates by England's gentry, transforming customary land tenure to fee simple title, disenfranchising and disempowering generations of Highland clansmen. Waimarama land owners' disenfranchisement and disempowering by Crown legislation was not complete until 1929, long after much of the customary held land throughout Aotearoa had been alienated. Sheep grazing on Waimarama's land was already carried out by some of

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<sup>301</sup> 'Kinross drew up the agreement and we signed it – 'so now we have 31,000 acres of country, 11,000 sheep and 46 head of cattle. I hope we have made a good spec (sic). I rather fancy we have. Our agreement is dated 14 October'. Walter Lorne Campbell Journals, (Patrick Parsons Private Collection).

<sup>302</sup> See Grant, *Waimarama*. pp.36,42.

<sup>303</sup> The first sheep were introduced to New Zealand by Captain Cook in his 1773 and 1777 voyages with little success of breeding. Samuel Marsden introduced them again, along with Christianity in 1814, with minimal increase in numbers. Again in 1834 a Mr John Bell introduced 103 sheep primarily as food for whalers. See "Sheep Farming," in *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, ed. Jock Philips (Wellington: Ministry for Culture and Heritage of the New Zealand Government, 2012).

<sup>304</sup> Grant, *Waimarama*. p.82. 'Mr F.H. Meinertzhagen has recently imported from the celebrated breeder, Mr John Murray, Murray Vale, South Australia, three magnificent merino rams... Mr Murray's flock has been kept pure for the last 35 years'. See also "The Hawke's Bay Sheepfarmers," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 28 November 1879, p.2.

the owners alongside the early settler graziers, and during the Meinertzhagen lease. Some owners sold their sheep to the partners on commencement of the lease.<sup>305</sup> The partnership continued with their Merino breed throughout their tenure at Waimarama, despite a national shift in preference to the Romney breed and meat breeds following the innovation of refrigerated shipping in 1882.<sup>306</sup>

### Covert invasion

‘The white race when sufficiently powerful enough will seize Maori land and reduce them to servitude as they have done to other indigenous races’.<sup>307</sup>

At the inception of the 1868 Meinertzhagen partnership lease, the general landscape of Waimarama was described as wild, ungrassed, unfenced, covered in scrub with native foliage and bush, including tutu which was fatal to stock grazing at a certain time of the year. It was also inhabited by wild pigs and wandering dogs.<sup>308</sup> However as mentioned prior to the commencement of the lease the Waimarama environs were now three blocks (Waimarama, Okaihau and Waipuka). They were surveyed and partitioned in 1867 at the behest of the communal owners, and with it carried the distinction of the first known local implementation of the 1865 Native Land Act carried out by the Te Ikaroa District Land Board of Hawke’s Bay.<sup>309</sup> The second and further partition of these three blocks was bought to the Native Land Court in 1884. The influential Whatuiapiti Chief, Te Hapuku, held customary interests in all three of these newly created blocks. He and nine other iwi signed the lease of the Waimarama Block of 18,077 acres to the Meinertzhagen partnership. However he was not a signatory to the lease of the other two blocks; the Okaihau Block, 5544

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<sup>305</sup> In his diary entry, 20 August 1868, Campbell says ‘...Paora wanted me to buy his 200 sheep but I would not hear of it at present’. Five days later on 25.8.1868 (at Waimarama) Campbell writes ‘...after two hours and a half of talk I bought 100 of Paora’s sheep at 5/- per head. I think I made a very fair bargain. See Walter Lorne Campbell Journals.

<sup>306</sup> By 1892 Merino comprised only one third of New Zealand sheep breeds. See Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo World 1783-1939*. p.367. Today, after a century of Romney dominance, the Merino breed is experiencing a renaissance both for the desirability of its wool as well as its meat.

<sup>307</sup> Gorst, *The Maori King*. pp.x-ix.

<sup>308</sup> Grant, *Waimarama*. p.34.

<sup>309</sup> Judge H. A. H. Monro of the Native Land Court awarded these titles to 135 iwi owners. In this initial partition, the name Waipuka was not used and only appeared at a later date. It is fair to surmise that this partition was sought to establish definite boundaries as a necessary prerequisite for viable lease negotiations, given the historic trouble over disputed boundaries from former graziers. Grant supposes that the owners had notions of material gain derived from this new form of European land tenure, presumably based on observations from the activities of other district owners. See *Ibid.* p.51. See also evidence in Napier Minute Book 2, pp.13-22.

acres and the Waipuka Block of 11,580 acres, even though he was a grantee over all the blocks. An 1870 Crown report shows these leases, and rent, on Waimarama and Okaihau starting 8 October 1869, at £240/annum, and 13 December, 1869 at £60/annum, respectively. No precise date is given for the start of the Waipuka lease, but its rent was £200/annum.<sup>310</sup> The partitioning effectively cast the dye for what eventually happened to Waimarama customary land tenure at the turn of the twentieth century.

The Meinertzhagen lease began and operated throughout the most tempestuous and convoluted land legislative period in New Zealand's history. This epoch of late nineteenth century land legislation must have been as bewildering for the Maori lessors as it would have been for the Meinertzhagen partnership, as the juggernaut of legislative land reform gathered momentum. The Crown's legislative mechanism that started the process of land alienation was the 1862 Native Lands Act<sup>311</sup> and the subsequent and Acts thereafter, were described by Hugh Kawharu, as 'engines of destruction.'<sup>312</sup>

In the aftermath of the 1860s New Zealand wars, Maori, Pakeha, and intra-Maori relationships were strained nationally, with periods of state confiscation and acquisition of customary land exacerbating tensions. Opportunists took advantage of this dysfunctional predicament, and Hawke's Bay in particular was noted for questionable land purchases and attained the unfortunate repute as 'a land of shepherd kings' whose wealth was derived from robbing the Maori.<sup>313</sup> The practise of indebting Maori owners in business transactions by unscrupulous European land aspirants, or by buying out each owner's share under the 'ten owner rule' and then

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<sup>310</sup> AJHR, "Report of The Trusts Commissioner for the District of Hawke's Bay Under Native Lands Frauds Prevention Act 1870," pp.8-12.

<sup>311</sup> The inaugural 1862 Native Land Act ostensibly waived the Crown's right of pre-emptive buying of native land secured under the Treaty of Waitangi and The Constitution Act of 1852. Its overarching principle was to investigate and establish customary title before land could be partitioned, or alienated, for prospective sales. It effectively paved the way for the creation of the Native Land Act of 1865 and subsequent Native Land Acts thereafter. See Richard Boast, *Buying the Land, Selling the Land: Governments and Maori Land in the North Island 1865-1921* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2008). p.66.

<sup>312</sup> Ian Hugh Kawharu, *Maori Land Tenure: Studies of a Changing Institution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977). p.15.

<sup>313</sup> Keith Sinclair, *Kinds of Peace: Maori People After the Wars 1970-85* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1991). p.112.

bringing it to the Native Courts for authentication was sometimes exercised.<sup>314</sup> Hawke's Bay Native Land Court rulings differed somewhat to the rest of the country. A little background is necessary to explain how the propensity for the above mentioned practises eventuated.

The 1865 Native Lands Act enabled title to be derived from land declared to be the property of a tribe in its name, or if owners did not exceed ten, then their individual names were placed on the title without the tribe's name to which they belonged. This formed a dangerous precedent considering all lands were held tribally, and created inter-hapu dissension, between those who wished to sell (tuku whenua) and those who did not (pupuri whenua). It effectively began the process of removing Maori land from collective ownership, to enable the granting of title to individual members.<sup>315</sup> This ten owner rule was the source of enormous difficulties for Maori signatories, since they were legally required to be absolute owners, not trustees for the tribe.<sup>316</sup> In Hawke's Bay 569,220 acres of prime land, which belonged to 4000 natives was vested in the ownership of approximately 250 individuals/grantees.<sup>317</sup> The ensuing 1867 Native Lands Act was seen as a weak attempt to modify the ten owner rule. This Act reinforced, but did not repeal the 1865 Act. However it included a clause, section 17, whereby in addition to the ten prescribed owners on the title, a supplementary list of other owners could be added. Section 17 also prohibited the sale of the land until it had been subdivided, theoretically making the land more difficult to alienate. The 1867 Act, section 17, did not seem to be acknowledged in Hawke's Bay Land Courts 'where it did not prevent blocks from being routinely granted to ten owners only', still placing the land at greater risk of alienation. Boast stipulates that the 'ten-owner rule was certainly the norm in Hawke's Bay', and the 1867 Act 'had little impact on that region'. However between 1866 and 1873, one hundred and forty Hawke's Bay blocks were investigated, comprising approximately 648,669 acres. 'Of the 140 blocks investigated from 1866-1873, there were s 17 awards in just seven: Waipuka (10 grantees, 33 "s 17" names), Waimarama (10 and 11), Okaihu (10 and 62), Koparakore (10 and 35),

<sup>314</sup> See David Vernon Williams, *"Te Kooti tango whenua": the Native Land Court 1864-1909* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 1999). pp.341-42.

<sup>315</sup> Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*. pp.36, 257-66.

<sup>316</sup> Bryan Gilling, "The Maori Land Court in New Zealand: An Historical Overview," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 13, no. 1 (1993): p.20.

<sup>317</sup> See the 1891 Rees-Carroll commission report in Bradford Haami, *Putea Whakairo: Maori and the Written Word* (Wellington: Huia, 2004). p.33.

Turamoe (10 and 5), Te Ipu-o-taraia (10 and 2), and in two of the four subdivisions of Patangata'. Of the 648,669 acres investigated only '41,838 acres are known to have been definitely the subject of s 17 awards'. According to Boast 'there being no acreages given in the minutes for Waimarama and Okaihu [sic]', but the Waipuka block was listed at 35,211 acres. The omission of acreages for Waimarama and Okaihau in the minutes can be explained in that the three blocks comprised this total of 35,211 acres. Many large and supposedly more valuable blocks in Hawke's Bay were 'not made subject to the s 17 awards...' <sup>318</sup> presumably due to the sheer volume of names that would be required for the supplementary list of section 17.

The 1873 Native Lands Act erased section 17 from the 1867 Act and was seen as further promoting the individualisation of land titles. This Act was seen by the Rees-Carroll Commission in 1891 as the most disastrous for Maori.<sup>319</sup> The 1873 Native Land Act determined the certificate of title became known as the 'memorial of ownership', whereby every member of a tribe became owners of a parcel of land, not just the tribe by name, as was explicit in the Native Land Act of 1865.<sup>320</sup> It merely created a convoluted and confusing form of trying to establish legal title when no such system existed in pre European times: 'the continual attempts to force upon tribal ownership of Maori lands a more pronounced and exact system of individual and personal title than ever obtained under the feudal system among all English-speaking peoples has been the evil of Native-land dealings in New Zealand.'<sup>321</sup>

Aside from the legal gymnastics and the myriad of convoluted land policies Waimarama's relative isolation and the fact that the owners customary lands were locked into the first formal twenty one year lease to the Meinertzhagen partnership from 1868 to 1889 meant that it was protected to some degree from the sinister land

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<sup>318</sup> The 1891 Rees-Carroll Commission 'thought that "large areas" were set aside under the 1867 Act'. See Richard Boast, *The Native Land Court. A Historical Study, Cases and Commentary 1862-1887* (Wellington: Brookers Ltd, 2013). pp.74-75.

<sup>319</sup> The right to occupy and work the land passed down from father to son became a commodity to sell. See Grant, *Waimarama*. p.49.

<sup>320</sup> See 1891 commissioners report by William Lee Rees, James Carroll and Thomas Mackay. AJHR, "Report of the Commission: Appointed to Inquire into the Subject of the Native Land Laws.," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives G-1(1891)*: p.viii.

<sup>321</sup> See Ibid. To add to the conundrum Boast says: "The "memorial of title" system set up by the 1873 Act was, however, more or less the same as titles issued under s 17 of the 1867 amendment, and in practise "s 17" and "memorial" land were treated as a single category of investigated land, distinct from Crown-granted land in Maori ownership, the latter being registrable as freehold under Land Transfer Act 1870". See also Boast, *The Native Land Court. A Historical Study, Cases and Commentary 1862-1887*. p.74.

deals of the Heretaunga plains of the time, not to mention the aforementioned resolve of its' hapu. However there were unsuccessful attempts to delineate Te Hapuku's share in some Waimarama land to offset his compounding debts to various mercantile firms, and others. Grant records a sale to the Crown of 496 acres in Okaihau 1D with no reference cited.<sup>322</sup> Another contributory factor in the Waimarama owners retaining their lands for the foreseeable future came with the emergence of the enigmatic Airini Donnelly in the 1880s. Donnelly inherited customary interests to Waimarama land through her great grandfather Tiakitai, and also had impressive whakapapa links throughout Ngati Kahungunu, including kinship links to leading Heretaunga Chiefs', Te Moananui and Kawepo.<sup>323</sup> Throughout her life she was often referred to as the leading Chieftainess of Heretaunga/Ngati Kahungunu/ Hawke's Bay.

In 1884, seventeen years after the first partition of the Waimarama block in 1867, Airini Donnelly applied to the Courts to have the Waimarama block partitioned further. Her mother, Haromi Tiakitai had died and Airini automatically succeeded to her interests in the Okaihau and Waimarama blocks. This was the beginning of an orchestrated attempt by Donnelly, aided and abetted by her ambitious Irish born husband, George Prior Donnelly (known as GP), to procure as much local land in her (and her husband's) personal ownership. It naturally followed that friction and division amongst her fellow owners developed. Airini was successful in her 1884 Native Land Court application to partition and increase her personal ownership, mostly at the expense of her fellow owners. High ranking chief and kaumatua, Mohi Te Atahikoia led a delegation from the Court in disgust when it was apparent a ruling was imminent in Airini's favour.<sup>324</sup> Airini's interference in the renewal of the Meinertzhagen Partnership lease in 1889 created a battle over Waimarama lands on

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<sup>322</sup> Due to Te Hapuku's extensive creditors list and applications for his bankruptcy up until his death in 1878, the Crown may well have incrementally bought out his shares in Okaihau and applied for partition of its interests in 1884. Confirmation of this is currently been investigated. See Grant, *Waimarama*. p.58.

<sup>323</sup> S.W. Grant, "Donnelly, Airini," in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, ed. Jock Phillips (Wellington: Ministry for Culture and Heritage of the New Zealand Government, 2012). See also Grant, *Waimarama*. p.52.

<sup>324</sup> The judge ruled that through Te Teira Tiakitai and Airini's line they possessed the principal mana over the blocks, exceeding that of Mohi Te Atahikoia and his twenty supporters who the judge said were originally 'refugees' from Wairoa. Of the 35,000 acres at stake, the court granted 25,000 acres to Donnelly and her whanau, and the balance to Mohi's whanau. See Grant, *Waimarama*. p.54. See also Napier Minute Book 7, pp.156-62.

two fronts; her own people, as well as the young and formidable new head of the partnership, Gertrude Meinertzhagen.<sup>325</sup>

At this juncture it is pertinent to remember the semantics of the Native Court theatre when customary land was put under the microscope of alienation, by both sale and partition externally (sale to an outside entity), and internally (partitioning out other claimants). As mentioned earlier, Ballara states that Maori land sales were as much about Chiefs' exercising or enhancing their mana and vindicating their people's rightful claim to the land. Young extrapolates further on this premise, by quoting Sir Apirana Ngata's proclamation that some Chief's used the Native Land Courts as a theatre to gloat and remind vanquished rivals of their standing: ' I know of many large areas sold hurriedly to place the issue beyond doubt and as a final taunt to the enemy'.<sup>326</sup> In the 1884 land partition Airini was certainly reminding the Court and Mohi of her superior status taunting he and his fellow claimants by stating that they were refugees from Wairoa, who had lived under the mana of her grandfather Tiakitai. Mention has been made of the Repudiation Movement, born from Maori frustrations over dubious land sale transactions and the convoluted Native Land Court process. Though the Waimarama district was not directly affected by the Repudiation Movement of 1871<sup>327</sup>, Airini Donnelly nevertheless supported it,<sup>328</sup> and a Repudiation meeting was convened at Waimarama in May 1873.<sup>329</sup> Comments were made at this meeting that provide a valuable insight into Maori awareness of what was happening to them and their understanding of the adverse ramifications that could follow. The first comment came from Heta Matua, the younger brother of the movements' leader, Henare Matua, when following the passing of numerous resolutions; he spoke in the allegorical custom:

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<sup>325</sup> Gertrude was a daughter of Frederick Meinertzhagen, who because of the family tragedy in 1881 became an ineffectual and non-operative partner.

<sup>326</sup> See Grant Young, "Nga Kooti Whenua The Dynamics Of A Colonial Encounter" (PH.D thesis, Massey University, 2003), p.6.

<sup>327</sup> The movement reflected the antagonism towards some European land purchases. Complaints brought before the 1873 Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission found that the sale proceeds of a block of land in 1870, of ten Maori owners, went from the purchaser, a Thomas Richardson, directly to a Mr. R. D. Maney, a storekeeper, who had extended credit to these same ten owners. See Waitangi Tribunal, "The Mohaka ki Ahuriri Report," Waitangi Tribunal, <http://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/reports/view.asp?reportid=d6d0c6a3-efe6-4507-b4b3-6dd4bf5c5552>.

<sup>328</sup> Airini is noted amongst other prominent Ngati Kahungunu leaders supporting the Repudiation Movement. See also John Adrian Williams, *Politics Of The New Zealand Maori: protest and cooperation 1891-1909* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969). pp.36,195.

<sup>329</sup> For further comment see "The Waimarama Meeting," *North Otago Times* 1873, p.4.

‘These resolutions have come from the sea and the clouds, not from the valleys, hills, and cliffs of this Island. *They were made by Europeans*, who, when they wish, will find some means of putting them aside’.<sup>330</sup>

The other perceptive comments came from the old Waimarama Chief and kaumatua, Harawira and two others, as an adjunct to the meetings closing discussion on how the movement’s legal council would be funded:

‘Old Harawira and one or two other gentlemen were much exercised about “the million loan,” as they call it, for which “New Zealand has been mortgaged,” and without their consent. One of them named Hori te Aunga, objected to it very decidedly, “because,” he said, “if it were not paid back, New Zealand would be taken as payment, and if that were not sufficient, then his horses and cattle would be taken as well!”’.<sup>331</sup>

This last comment by Hori te Aunga seems to be in direct reference to the newly introduced Vogel infrastructure schemes of the 1870s, backed by heavy Government borrowing from English lenders. As a result of the Repudiation Movement, between 1872 and 1878, Parliament was inundated with petitions over Hawke’s Bay land grievances, twenty in 1876 alone, of which the courts were unable, or unwilling, to deal with.<sup>332</sup> As mentioned the preservation of Maori land in the Waimarama district remained unaffected by the breakup of Heretaunga lands, facilitated by the mechanisms of the Native Land Courts. There has been recorded, however, a parcel of 496 acres purportedly sold to the Crown in 1884, but no evidence to date has been found to substantiate this.<sup>333</sup> While Waimarama Maori ownership might have remained intact through until the beginning of the twentieth century, the configuration of Maori owners in the new freehold land titles altered much, creating disharmony amongst iwi. Undoubtedly Airini Donnelly contributed to the retention of Maori land in the district but she was culpable in creating the disharmony and destabilisation of customary land tenure. It is not unreasonable to surmise that because of her high rank, she deliberately used the Crowns’ established Native Land Court mechanism to gain ownership of the land over her fellow owners. While this

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<sup>330</sup> Ibid.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid.

<sup>332</sup> Sinclair, *Kinds of Peace: Maori People After the Wars 1970-85*. pp.113-19.

<sup>333</sup> Grant notes this in his book. See Grant, *Waimarama*. p.54.

could be construed as preserving Maori land ownership it distorted the true meaning and practise of customary land tenure.

Between 1870 and 1894 the Crown had acquired 5,833,664 acres of Maori land in the North Island. By 1905 they had acquired 7,972,309 acres.<sup>334</sup> At the inception of the new Liberal Government in 1891 there had been nineteen Acts and amendments to the original Native Lands Act of 1862. As mentioned earlier the Court system of delineating freehold title from customary title was convoluted, confusing and much criticised by all competing factions, and an anathema to Maori. The Rees Carroll Commission reported in 1891 on the history and role of the Native Land Court system and was damning of the Courts inability to fully appreciate traditional Maori land tenure and that imposing separate individual titles on Maori land was ‘anathema’ to Maori tikanga.<sup>335</sup> Sir Robert Stout, Premier and Chief Justice in New Zealand in the nineteenth and early twentieth century’s, advocated a fairer deal for Maori in his report. ‘They are just as competent as Europeans to look after themselves. Give them title to their land and let them do with it as they please.’ He went further:

‘The Natives cannot equal the Europeans in buying or selling, or in any other things. They have not gone through that long process of evolution which the white race has gone through...The Natives have not emerged from the communal system fifty years, and it is absurd to say they can compete with Europeans...I say, therefore, that the state... has, so far as the Maoris are concerned, to be a paternal state... It is its highest duty to preserve their race, and it can only do that by preserving their lands for them, so that they are not left landless... We can only do that duty by recognising their communal system, and by the Government stepping in and preventing them from parting with their means of subsistence recklessly’.<sup>336</sup>

The new Liberal Government’s ‘closer settlement’ land policies exacerbated the alienation of Maori land. By the early twentieth century the new Liberal Native

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<sup>334</sup> Boast, *Buying the Land, Selling the Land: Governments and Maori Land in the North Island 1865-1921*. p.214.

<sup>335</sup> Michael Belgrave, "Counting the Hectares: Qualifying Maori Land Loss in the Auckland District, 1865-1908," in *Waitangi Tribunal Rangahaua Whanui Series* (Auckland1997).

<sup>336</sup> See M.P.K. Sorrenson, "The Purchase of Maori Lands, 1865-1892." (Masters Thesis, Auckland University College, 1955), pp.237-38 See also AJHR, "Report of the Commission: Appointed to Inquire into the Subject of the Native Land Laws.," p.168.

Minister, James Carroll,<sup>337</sup> attempted to stem the tide of customary land alienation leading to his ‘taihoa’ (stop) advocacy. His portfolio placed him in the invidious position of preserving what was left of customary land as well as been party to the ‘close settlement’ ideology of the Liberal Government. He was concerned that the continual alienation of Maori land leading to dispossessed Maori would become a burden on the state.<sup>338</sup> From the 1880s Maori sheep farming had been progressing well, but the Liberals ‘land grab’ had stymied any further development and progress, forcing more and more Maori into dependency. In the end Maori farming was described as ‘an agricultural mess and financial disaster’.<sup>339</sup>

The relentless momentum of customary land alienation through the Native Land Court mechanisms continued, despite the apparent best intentions of various Government individuals, such as Carroll, and the implementation of Maori Councils, Maori land boards and trusts. The early twentieth century years were tumultuous for Waimarama iwi whose split loyalties were drawn further into the conflict and acrimony of the Donnelly/Meinertzhagen land saga, which had and continued to be discussed at Government level. A letter sent by Waimarama Chief Mohi Te Atahikoia to Native Minister James Carroll in 1906 encapsulates the aggravation and destabilisation of the social structure, caused by the ongoing land dispute.

‘The bad work of Mr J.M. Fraser [Meinertzhagens lease attorney] is very great towards the people of Waimarama. His desire is to put Waimarama into the Court for the purpose of partitioning it. This amounts to a design to cause us (the owners) to fight amongst ourselves. ...at a meeting at Waimarama applied to the Premier [Dick Seddon] to allow this land to remain for the use and occupation of us and our descendants ... Friend my word to you is, if an application for partition of Waimarama appears there (Wellington) do not

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<sup>337</sup> James Carroll was of Irish and Maori descent and won the European seat of Waiapu in 1893. He was an interpreter for the House of Representatives in 1879, and a ‘Member of the Executive Council to represent the Native Race in 1892. He became Native Minister in 1899. Author Richard Boast proclaims a biography on Carroll is long overdue. See Boast, *Buying the Land, Selling the Land: Governments and Maori Land in the North Island 1865-1921*. p.213.

<sup>338</sup> See Young, "Nga Kooti Whenua The Dynamics Of A Colonial Encounter", p.107.

<sup>339</sup> This was the comment of George Thomson, the author of ‘The Crown and Ngati Pahauwera from 1864’ - a report for the Waitangi Tribunal, claim 119/201, January 1992. See Tom Brooking, *Lands For The People? The Highland Clearances and the Colonisation of New Zealand. A Biography of John McKenzie* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1996). pp.263-64.

consent to it proceeding – we are suffering very much owing to Fraser’s work, he is scheming to cause us to quarrel amongst ourselves...’<sup>340</sup>

It was during this period Airini Donnelly’s mana was at its zenith. She entertained the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall on the occasion of their Royal visit to New Zealand in 1901. Airini and her husband, GP Donnelly, had attended celebrations at Rotorua in honour of the Royal Couple where she was presented with a gold souvenir medal by the Duchess. Airini was selected for special mention by the papers of the time as been ‘the well known Hawke’s Bay Chieftainess’. Airini acted as an interpreter to the Royal Couple in response to the native speeches, protocol, and customs.<sup>341</sup> A year or two later, at the invitation of the Royal Couple, the Donnelly’s visited England and were entertained by King Edward VII and the Queen. There exists a famous portrait photo of Airini resplendent in her Royal Court dress and three ostrich plumes adorning her hair.<sup>342</sup> A further accolade to her mana came in February 1906, when Premier Richard Seddon, (King Dick) attended a wedding at Waimarama staged by Airini, for her niece Miss Tiana Karauria who married a Mr Tu Teira. Premier Seddon and his entourage were transported by carriage from Hastings to Waimarama along the traditional beach route of Waipuka (Ocean Beach), past what was once the site of Edward’s 1840s Putotaranui whaling station. Care had to be taken to coincide with low tide as road access to Waimarama was only just being developed at the time.<sup>343</sup>

Despite these very public accolades, Airini came under fire in Government circles. Robert Stout was still vociferous on Maori land matters in the early twentieth century and as a result of yet another Land Act, the 1907 Act, joined forces with Apirana Ngata in producing regional reports in 1907 and 1908, on Native Lands and Native Land Tenure for a Government Commission. These became known as the

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<sup>340</sup> Personal letter to James Carroll dated 19 April 1906 and signed ‘From your kinsman, Mohi Te Atahikoia’. See Mohi Te Atahikoia MAI 881 1906/367, "Waimarama Block Objecting to Partition of Waimarama Block " (Archives New Zealand, Wellington, 1906).

<sup>341</sup>The Duke and Duchess were later to become King George V and Queen Mary. See Correspondent Special, "The Royal Visit. The Maori Demonstration," *Poverty Bay Herald*, 17 June 1901, p.2. Following the celebrations the Donnelly’s were invited to travel with the Royal couple on the royal train to Auckland. It is interesting to note the recording of the vast array of Māori gifts presented to the Duke and Duchess at the time. See also "The Royal Visit," *Bay Of Plenty Times* 1901, p.2. It appears the Donnelly’s ingratiated themselves well with the royal couple having been asked to a reception at Government house a few days later. See also "Royalty and Wellington Society at Government House," *New Zealand Free Lance*, 22 June 1901, p.18.

<sup>342</sup> A photograph. See Grant, *Waimarama*. p.89. Patrick Parsons possesses a copy.

<sup>343</sup> See *Ibid.* pp.63,109.

Stout-Ngata Commission. In a general report on ‘recent purchases in the King Country, Whanganui and Hawke’s Bay’ they pointed out amongst other things that the practise of undivided share purchase carried out by the Crown’s land purchase officers on willing sellers was yet another cog in the mechanism of land alienation:

‘...the experience of half a century shows that ...the individualisation of titles to the extent of ascertaining and defining the share of each individual owner in a tribal block owned by a large number gives each owner the right of bargaining with the crown and selling his interest: it gives scope to secret dealing, and renders impossible concerted action on the part of the tribe or hapu in the consideration of the fairness or otherwise of the price offered, or in the consideration of the advisability of parting at all with the tribal lands.. the sight of a Government cheque-book and the prospect of a good time at the hotels or on the racecourse or of an investment in the latest motor-car are sufficient for the majority of owners in any Native block to waive all consideration, and put their signatures to the purchase-deeds’.<sup>344</sup>

In another 1907 Report on the ‘Waimarama Case’ the land turmoil between the two protagonists, Airini Donnelly and Gertrude Meinertzhagen was discussed. In it Airini showed a similar modus operandi to ‘Government’ inducements over land dealings, as previously mentioned in the Stout/ Ngata Report. The matter arose of her disbursement of £300 at the Ellingham Hotel, Hastings, to her fellow lessors and whanau just prior to a Native Land Court hearing, was seen as an inducement in soliciting their support in her fight against Gertrude Meinertzhagen’s pending third term lease renewal. Also mentioned was the matter of 3000 acres of land given to Airini by Te Teira Tiakitai (Tiakitai’s son) as gratuity for her services and expenses in fighting her land cause.<sup>345</sup>

1909 was a watershed year for Waimarama iwi denoting the end of Airini’s long running campaign of self fulfilment and combativeness with her nemesis, Gertrude

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<sup>344</sup> Boast, *Buying the Land, Selling the Land: Governments and Maori Land in the North Island 1865-1921*. pp.226-28.

<sup>345</sup> In the report Sir Robert Stout and Apirana Turupa Ngata, note that ‘we think that when history is stated it will appear plain that the mode of dealing with Native lands in the past has not been beneficial to the Natives, nor to the Europeans desiring to obtain land for settlement, nor to the State.’ See AJHR, "Native Lands And Native-Land Tenure. The Waimarama Estate," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* G-1(1907): p.1. See also Grant, *Waimarama*. pp.73-74.

Meinertzhagen. On 6 June 1909 Airini Donnelly died,<sup>346</sup> and in 1910 Gertrude left Waimarama, and New Zealand, for the land of her forefathers in England, never to return. During the inclement early years of the twentieth century as a continuation of its 'closer settlement' land policy, the Liberal Government capitalised on Waimarama hapus' dysfunctional state, incrementally buying land interests off disenchanted individuals, partitioning, and on selling to prospective European farmers. During her litigious life with Meinertzhagen over the Waimarama Block Airini had succeeded in acquiring 6,698 acres of freehold tenure in her own name, which was still construed as being Maori owned land under the umbrella of customary ownership. The fact that Airini bequeathed this land to her Irish born husband, and not her surviving daughter Maud, or indeed to her own iwi she once shared common ownership with, seems incongruous. It is possible Airini may have lost her ancestral compass, or given the opportunities that her status afforded, she simply exemplified the comparable traits of behaviour that are apparent in hierarchal structured cultures. Whatever the reason, her Waimarama land holdings slipped out of customary ownership into European title.<sup>347</sup> GP Donnelly, rather than offering his wife's land it back to the original owners, elected to sell the 6,698 acres by auction at the Kings Theatre, Hastings on 30 November 1911. Of the seventeen lots offered up and sold for between £9 and £18 per acre, only one lot went to a Maori purchaser, a Mr Tuahine Renata. The rest went into European ownership. The sale was lambasted in the Hawke's Bay Tribune on 5 December 1911 as being a betrayal of Liberal land ideology and was strongly critical of G. P. Donnelly's motives.<sup>348</sup>

By 1910 the drama over Waimarama ancestral land and the resilience of the tangata whenua to retain ownership had waned; worn down by the Donnelly/Meinertzhagen fiasco to resolve their indifferences and continuous Crown intervention. The ensuing years to 1928 were the denouement years for Waimarama tangata whenua. The last remaining tract of Waimarama customary owned land was that of 5000 acres known

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<sup>346</sup> Airini Donnelly's tombstone reads 'The noblest of her race, the shelter tree of her people' The Hastings Standard certainly portrays her in a noble light. See Grant, *Waimarama*. p.88. See also "Passing of a Chieftainess," *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 7 June 1909, p.5.

<sup>347</sup> The current day beach settlement sections are on the reserve land that Airini Donnelly made available towards the end of her life.

<sup>348</sup> According to the newspaper article it recounts the duplicity of Liberal politicians authorising the sale of the 'famous Waimarama Estate' in the form presented, as prohibitive for the first farm buyer with little, or no capital, to enter the market. Instead allowing existing land owners to increase their acreage, citing the example of a large land owner from the South Island purchasing a lot of approximately 2,100 acres for £23,000 (pounds). See Grant, *Waimarama*. pp.91-93.

as the 'Southern Run' along Te Apiti road. This was all that remained of the original 35,000 acre Meinertzhagen lease of 1868. The lease was managed by a Mr Kennedy in Gertrude Meinertzhagen's absence. The Government had previously identified this tract as suitable for closer settlement and incrementally continued their campaign of coercion on individual Maori owners to sell their share. One tragic example of this, resulting in an individual's disconnection from his ancestral land, was given in the Press of the time. As early as 1910, a Mr Abraham Te Whero was paid out £13,000<sup>349</sup> for his share of the Waimarama Estate by the Crown. In 1917 he murdered his wife and committed suicide in Gisborne, with money problems cited as the cause.<sup>350</sup>

Meanwhile the mechanism of the Native Land Court system continued. The Native Lands Act of 1909 signalled the recommencement of Maori land purchasing. The Act merged all previous Acts and amendments into one. Of particular note was the ability of ten owners, provided they owned the majority of shares in a block, to assemble, and vote to sell outright to any prospective purchaser. Papakainga held land which was previously inalienable was now eligible for sale. Minority share holding owners were now seriously disadvantaged and marginalised. Nevertheless in some instances it proved very difficult for assemble owners to push through with their sale. In the well known and documented region of the Urewera, much disharmony prevailed between sellers and non sellers over proposed government purchases and the Native purchasing officers were forced to resort to the tried and tedious methodology of 'combing out' or picking off willing individual owners. The new incoming Reform Government of 1912 under William Massey and his Native Minister William Herries took advantage of the Act's empowerment to press ahead with purchasing and leasing Maori land. From 1911 to 1920 the Crown purchased 1,076,570 acres of Maori land at a cost of £2,505,473.<sup>351</sup> During the period from 1910-1933, 2.3 million acres of Maori land was purchased and 1.9 million acres

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<sup>349</sup> This large sum would indicate a major owner of the Southern Run.

<sup>350</sup> Te Whero was a Hastings taxi driver, reputed to have used up the money within a year of his payout. He died in 1917 following his confession of murdering his wife. See "The Gisborne Murder," *Thames Star*, 12 June 1917, p.3.

<sup>351</sup> A total of 2.43 million acres of Maori land was sold during this period. See Tom Brooking, "Busting up' the greatest estate of all: Liberal Maori land policy, 1891-1911 " *New Zealand Journal of History* 26, no. 1 (1992): p.78. This article was presented by Brooking at a 1991 New Zealand Historical Association Conference in Christchurch on the damage done to customary ownership during the tenure the Liberal Government of the same period.

leased, much of it under the 'assembled' owners' inscription in the Act, and sanctioned by the Maori Land Boards. A further 1.2 million acres of Maori land was purchased by the Government which did not require Maori Land Board approval. A total of 3.5 million acres of land had passed from Maori ownership during this period, and a total of only 3.6 million acres remained in Maori ownership throughout all New Zealand, much of it unsuitable for 'commercial farming'.<sup>352</sup>

The 1912 Reform Government continued with the popular principal of the former Liberal Governments closer settlement policies for undercapitalised aspiring farmers. The Great War of 1915-18 gave further impetus to the procurement of land by the Crown and provided them with moral legitimacy to do so. Large existing estates and Maori land continued to be targeted. The introduction of The Discharged Soldier Settlement Act of 1915<sup>353</sup> provided the Crown with the leverage of patriotic cajolement towards Waimarama tangata whenua to sell and by 1928 the Crown had achieved their objective and partitioned the last tract of customary owned land for sale, ostensibly to returned service men. Local kaumatua Robert MacDonald recounts the oral transmission from his grandmother of how the Government pressured her to sell. She had already paid the ultimate sacrifice in losing one of her two sons in the Great War, who was subsequently buried in a French War Cemetery. Incongruously, according to her recitation, her returning son was precluded, or at least discouraged from applying for a partitioned ballot farm in the 1929 Crown offering of the Southern Run, despite his direct ancestral links to the land. Apparently there existed much ambiguity over the equality and fairness of eligibility to land for returned Maori soldiers compared with their Pakeha counterparts. Ashley Gould in his Ph.D thesis on soldier settlement and rehabilitation firmly states that the Reform Governments Soldier Settlement Act of 1915 made no differentiation of the type of soldier returning, other than he must be a returning soldier from New Zealand's First Expeditionary Force encompassing the three armed forces - Navy, Army, and Air force.<sup>354</sup> Concerns for the inclusion of returning Maori soldiers in the scheme were expressed as early as 1916 by the Gisborne Office of the Department of

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<sup>352</sup> Alan Ward, *An Unsettled History: Treaty Claims in New Zealand Today* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1999). pp.156-59.

<sup>353</sup> Under this Act 22,000 ex-servicemen were eventually settled on land over New Zealand much of which was marginal pastoral land. The cost of which was £22million. See Boast, *Buying the Land, Selling the Land: Governments and Maori Land in the North Island 1865-1921*. p.237.

<sup>354</sup> See Ashley Nevil Gould, "Proof of Gratitude? Soldier Land Settlement in New Zealand After World War I" (Ph.D Massey University, 1992), pp.312-14

Internal Affairs. This could probably have been a pre-emptive measure of concern, expressed because of some initial reluctance by Maori to participate in the War, and by entrenched British attitudes of bias towards coloured combatants. Despite the patriotic efforts to garner support for the war effort by such Maori leaders as Maui Pomare and Sir Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) there pervaded reluctance on behalf of some in Maoridom to participate. Waikato's princess Te Puea Herangi was very active in heading the people's resistance to enlisting, even when conscription extended to include Maori.<sup>355</sup> However Massey's Cabinet responded positively to the concerns and stated that 'Maori soldiers were to be placed in the same position as Europeans'.<sup>356</sup> During unfolding Government land policy, land for returning Maori soldiers was to be derived from 'Native' land purchases in the districts whence they came from.<sup>357</sup> It seems peculiar and convoluted that tracts of alienated native land were offered back by way of purchase, to returned soldiers who once held customary ownership to it. Gould proffers that from the evidence he compiled, there was assistance available for returned Maori soldiers '...but the opportunity was taken up by a smaller proportion of Maori soldiers than Pakeha soldiers'.<sup>358</sup> This may have been due to the natural propensity and desire for returned Maori soldiers to be rehabilitated on their ancestral land, when the opportunity afforded them. It certainly afforded the opportunity for Robert MacDonald's great uncle, so it is difficult to reconcile this very personal oral account to what was proclaimed as the official policy of soldier land repatriation. Perhaps the length of time from his return from the Great War of 1914-18, to the ballot of 1929 might have contributed to this anomaly. Certainly the eligibility criterion of capital contribution was prohibitive to many in 1929, and not all successful ballotees were returned servicemen, Gould appears determined to state his case of official impartiality when he cites a

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<sup>355</sup> Boast, *Buying the Land, Selling the Land: Governments and Maori Land in the North Island 1865-1921*, p.237.

<sup>356</sup> 500 Maori soldiers came from the Gisborne district See Gould, "Proof of Gratitude? Soldier Land Settlement in New Zealand After World War I", pp.312-13.

<sup>357</sup> *Ibid.*, p.313.

<sup>358</sup> Of the 1800 returned Maori soldiers, from an original intake of 2227, only 30 (2 per cent) were identified as taking up land under 'various settlement schemes'. Apart from the above mentioned, many factors may account for the disproportionate uptake of Maori applicants for farms. The ideological impasse between European and Maori over land matters would have been a contributing impediment to uptake, and the imposition of stringent criteria and conditions attached to settlement by European authorities would have been construed as not in the spirit of a 'gift' as understood in traditional Maori tikanga. See *Ibid.*, pp.310-28.

publication, called *The Soldiers Guide* given to soldiers on service from 1917 where it states that:

‘Applications from Maori Soldiers of the New Zealand expeditionary force come before the same boards and committees as those from pakeha soldiers and will be treated in exactly the same way... Their interests are safeguarded by the appointment of the board or committee of a Maori member (in most cases a returned soldier)’.<sup>359</sup>

Gould’s findings are supported by Boast’s evidence in citing the efforts of Native Minister William Herries (1912-1921)<sup>360</sup> and Apirana Ngata’s efforts to repatriate returned Maori soldiers on land, particularly land from what were once Maori blocks.<sup>361</sup> However it appears that Herries motives were not altogether altruistic. His first six years as Native Minister were devoted to the acquisition of Maori land. Author Michael Belgrave notes that Herries believed that all Maori land should be put into trust and leased to individuals, Maori and Pakeha alike, and he particularly favoured the individualisation of Maori titles. He obviously desired that land should be utilised to its maximum potential and that any idle or undeveloped land owned by Maori or Pakeha should be compulsory acquired if necessary.<sup>362</sup> ‘Closer settlement’ and ‘soldier settlement’ became synonymous, at least in the minds of the public.

An example of the determination of the Crown’s Native Department to buy out individual interests in Maori blocks such as Waimarama was given in a report to the Department by WH Bowler, a land purchasing officer active in the Urewera region in 1919:

‘In compliance with your instructions I put in the best part of the last three months exclusively on these [ Urewera] purchases, and gave the district a good ‘combing out’, working both the coastal district and also the Ruatahuna end and also going as far as Gisborne and Wairoa. From the returns you will see that a good number of interests were purchased, including 700 signatures taken last month. It is noticeable that many of the interests are very small ones. This is

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<sup>359</sup> Ibid., p.311.

<sup>360</sup> Herries was appointed Native Minister in the new Massey Reform Government of 1912 and was proactive in settling Maori returned servicemen. See Boast, *Buying the Land, Selling the Land: Governments and Maori Land in the North Island 1865-1921*. pp.231-38.

<sup>361</sup> Ibid. p.238.

<sup>362</sup> S. K. L. Campbell, "National Overview on Land Consolidation Schemes 1909-1931," (Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 1998), pp.49-50

only going to emphasise the point that the purchases of these blocks is necessarily long and tedious'.<sup>363</sup>

During the same period the Crown was also active in land acquisition in the nearby region of Tutira (North of Napier). The Tutira Block comprising 20,490 acres was targeted ostensibly for soldier settlement farms as early as 1913. Despite the District Surveyor's report deeming the block unsuitable for soldier settlement, the Native Department negotiated with a group of owners in 1917 who wished to sell the whole block to the Crown. The reasons varied from that of financial hardship to simply wishing to disperse of ownership because of residing elsewhere in the country. By 1921 the Crown had acquired 28 and  $\frac{3}{4}$  shares of the 40 shares and applied for partition in 1922. It was not until 1931 that partition was complete with the Crown owning 22,790 acres and the non sellers 677 acres.<sup>364</sup> This mirrored what would undoubtedly have been the process of purchase for the Southern Run at Waimarama.

By 1926 the Crown had practically completed its acquisition of the Southern Run (the last remnant of Waimarama ancestral land) and the Department of Lands and Surveys presented its annual report to Parliament under the heading *Work in Progress*. With one year remaining on the Meinertzhagen lease, instructions were given to the 'staff surveyor' to carry out a topographical survey for a pending subdivision of Crown lands at Waimarama of approximately 4000 acres.<sup>365</sup> In their 1927 report the Department described the 'keen competition expected for the Waimarama Block, which has a great reputation in the district'.<sup>366</sup> A composite total of 3,900 acre was subdivided into six small farms (sections) ranging from 463 acres to 882 acres and in February 1929 were offered up for ballot. A 1929 Crown Lands Settlement report was presented to Parliament describing among other things the readiness for offering up the last remaining lands of the Meinertzhagen lease for ballot. It drew 200 applicants and the land was described as 'being exceptionally fine sheep-country' and '...only occasionally that the Department has an opportunity of offering the grazing-country and favourable situation of the Waimarama Block'. It

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<sup>363</sup> Boast, *Buying the Land, Selling the Land: Governments and Maori Land in the North Island 1865-1921*. p.330.

<sup>364</sup> Ibid. pp.353-72.

<sup>365</sup> AJHR, "Departments of Lands and Surveys. Surveys (Annual Report On)," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* 1-A(1926): p.13.

<sup>366</sup> See AJHR, "Department of Land and Surveys. Settlement of Crown Lands (Annual Report On)." *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* C-1(1927): p.12

goes on to mention that many of prospective applicants to the Crown Land sections have little or no capital, and under the existing law, applicants must have a deposit equivalent to half the first years rent instalment (approximately £250) and 'be in a position to improve and stock the land they wish to select'.<sup>367</sup> Reference was made to the criteria of ineligibility of unmarried young men to the ballots, who were desirous of suitable land in which to set up a home.<sup>368</sup>

The final act of Maori land alienation in the Waimarama district was now complete. The Waimarama tangata whenua stake holders in the Southern Run had been incrementally bought out under the guise of the Soldier Settlement, but the successful applicants of the 1929 were not all returned soldier and further investigation at National Archives in Wellington and LINZ is currently being undertaken to investigate each individual application. In the same year of 1929, the Department of Lands and Survey's financial year report shows that a large area of 12,932 acres further down the coast at Castle Point, had been purchased 'some years ago' for supposed soldier settlement, and had since been run by the Department of Lands and Surveys. This formed part of a large tract of 462,563 acres acquired by the Crown to this date.<sup>369</sup> So it seems the Crown's philanthropic Soldier Settlement Act towards returned servicemen by way of recompensing them with land for their patriotic services, could be construed as a camouflage of gratitude and goodwill for the real agenda of continued closer settlement policies of breaking up of customary owned land as well as big unprofitable estates.

Trading in freehold and remnants of Maori customary land has continued to the present day with real estate transactions characterised by increasingly smaller partitions of land, often referred today as lifestyle blocks. Waimarama today denotes mainly the beach settlement, consisting of retired, permanent and holidaying residents. Some foreshore facing holiday homes in the seaside community are currently selling for well over \$1,000,000. A recent unreported one off purchase for a foreshore residence for over \$4 million dollar was made by a Mr Rod Drury, CEO

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<sup>367</sup> See "On The Land," *Evening Post*, 14 August 1929, p.10.

<sup>368</sup> See "Land Ballots: Question Of Preference," *Evening Post*, 16 February 1929, p.11.

<sup>369</sup> At this time there were regions in New Zealand considered still marginal for productive land use by the Department. The Reporoa region of Rotorua was construed such an area, simply because of the absence of certain trace elements in the soil. Today the land is some of the most sought after in the Country. AJHR, "Department of Lands and Survey. Settlement of Crown Lands (Annual Report On)." *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives C-1(1929)*: pp.3-4,12

of the glamour accounting software company Zero, from owner, Mr Stefan Lepionka, a former co-owner with Marc Ellis of the Charlies Juice Company which was sold to a Japanese Brewer, Asahi, for \$129 million in 2011.

Of notable significance in the cycle and continuation of history is the gradual buy back by Waimarama tangata whenua of parts of their ancestral land. The local Marae (Taupunga) Committee is a strong and progress body, proactive in determining the communities long term direction and influencing local Government community policies. It would be fair to postulate that within Waimarama milieu, local iwi today are probably more cognisant than most, that a people's history is embedded in their landscape.

'In Maoridom we look forward to our past, the future is behind us'.<sup>370</sup> The past is 'nga ra o mua', or the days ahead, and the future is 'nga ra o muri', or the days behind.

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<sup>370</sup> This quote is attributed to Ian Taylor from his interview with *The Listener*. Taylor is from Ngati Kahungunu and European descent. His Dunedin Company, Animation research, is avant-garde technology that has captured the imagination of the international maritime industry with his innovative graphics showing the intricacies of America's Cup racing. See Guyon Espiner, "You May Say He's A Dreamer," *New Zealand Listener*, 12-18 October 2013, p.26.

## Conclusion

“There is one past but many histories”. ‘It is not the date that matters, it is the place. Time passes, but land endures, demanding attention. For most people, history’s purpose is to enrich the world they inhabit by explaining the origin of some feature on the landscape... for that is the most obvious way the past forces itself on the present, and the past unalive in the present is not history’<sup>371</sup>

This thesis has strived to develop the argument that micro-histories of local communities, such as Waimarama are integral threads that compile the fabric of a national history. They are not just an adjunct to compliment a national, or state driven narrative, but act as a unique attachment, underpinning and overarching the socio-economic, political and cultural structure framing the historiography of New Zealand’s past. Peter Gibbons has been a strong advocate for disaggregating the state driven paradigm stating in 2003 that New Zealand was and is ‘a discursive construction, a short hand device for referring to a multiplicity of places, peoples, products, practises and histories’.<sup>372</sup>

Miles Fairburn’s parallel New Zealand connection with Braudel’s *long durée* is laudable where the effect of physical geography on human history is the central concern in environmental history’, and underpins social history, and that social history in the nineteenth century operated at the local level.

The methodological approach to this thesis has always been to operate within a cultural relative framework. By adhering as much as possible to the empiricist approach of identifying and interpreting objectively, research material (the ‘common core of historical method’<sup>373</sup>), cognisance is also given to traditional Maori belief constructs, and oral interpretations of how and why things happened. Hopefully the blending of two methodologies may in some way, portray a holistic understanding of the epistemologies of Maori and Pakeha culture as they were relevant to Waimarama’s story.

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<sup>371</sup> Glassie, *Passing the Time in Ballymenone. Culture and History of an Ulster Community*. pp.196, 650.

<sup>372</sup> Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past*. p.269.

<sup>373</sup> Giselle Byrnes, *The Waitangi Tribunal and New Zealand History* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2004). p.104.

The spiritual homeland of Hawaiiki is from where all Maori whakapapa, through their respective founding canoes, and in death is where their wairua (spirit) returns. The convergence of mythology and science at Aotearoa's settlement date of c1300 AD is important to the discussion of every person of Maori descent in New Zealand and at least one Waimarama resident knows of his connection to the cradle of New Zealand's civilisation at Marlborough's Wairau bar. In the realms of mythology Waimarama's Motu-o-Kura (Bare Island) makes a substantial claim to the natural world personification of Tane's moon, how it was created and its function. Waimarama and its iwi connection to the mythical entities Maui, Kupe, and Toi are discussed. The focus of discussion is narrowed to the Takitimu, Ngati Kahungunu's founding canoe, and its importance to Waimarama's history, being a place where Tohunga/priest were dispatched on its voyage down the East Coast of both Islands. The original inhabitants, the Ngai-Tara and Rangitane people enjoyed peaceful occupation from circa 1300 AD until they were overwhelmed by the Ngati Kahungunu migration from Turanga (Gisborne) from approximately 1550 AD.

Ngati Kahungunu's absorption of the Ngai-Tara and Rangitane peoples and their hapu meant they eventually held mana over the land of Hawke's Bay. Of particular focus and relevance to Waimarama was a theatre of intermittent tribal warfare, around the environs of Te Roto-a-Tara (Te Aute in central Hawke's Bay), between 1820 and 1830 (the time of the musket wars) and was described as '...perhaps some of the biggest and most drawn out inter-tribal battles in the history of Aotearoa New Zealand'.<sup>374</sup>

Waimarama was an historic place of first contact with Europeans. The arrival of Captain Cook and his crew at Cape Kidnappers on the *Endeavour's* inaugural voyage in 1769 resonated for many years and the plants and livestock he introduced for longer still. The introduction of Christianity followed the inception of the whaling industry that developed soon after Cook's founding voyages to New Zealand. The inevitable clash of cultures caused much consternation, at least in the eyes of the early missionaries. The introduction of Christianity naturally followed early European migration patterns to foreign lands with indigenous populations, and where the culture was that of the Native people. The missionaries could be construed

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<sup>374</sup> Graham, "Whakatangata Kia Kaha: Toitu Te Whakapapa, Toitu Te Tuakiri, Toitu Te Mana - An Examination of the Contribution of Te Aute College to Maori Advancement", p.31.

as pioneers for eventual British acculturation. Early immigrants and whalers to New Zealand resided in Maori communities under Chiefly rule, and the perception was that European order and governance must be introduced to at least negate the propensity for situations to develop, as was described of Hawke's Bay - 'the Alsatia of the colony'.<sup>375</sup> The Church Missionary Society (CMS) from England consolidated itself as the foundation Church in the Bay of Islands in 1814 with other denominational orders such as the Catholic Church following shortly after. The dynamics of inter Maori-whaler relations are discussed with Waimarama featuring prominently in this burgeoning new industry. The introduction of missionary William Colenso is expanded due to his relevance to the Waimarama people in his extensive of Hawke's Bay. Waimarama was the place he wished to relocate from his inhospitable environment at Awapuni (Clive).

Colenso was an enigmatic individual deserving of his eminence in the annals of New Zealand's historiography. He arrived to New Zealand as a printer introducing the first printing press and printing, amongst other things, the Bible into Maori. He seemed a recalcitrant individual with his own strident Christian ideology and the CMS were not keen to fast track his ordination into the Church. He was posted to Hawke's Bay in December 1844, having been ordained two months prior, on 22 September, despite earlier been instructed to operate as Catechist only to distinguish himself from ordained Clergymen. His duties to his extensive Hawke's Bay were multifarious but above all he pushed his Christian doctrine with evangelical zeal creating more anguish to himself than his prospective native converts, often bemused at his antics, and at worse, hostile. He lambasted his fellow missionaries of alternative Church persuasion, at any opportunity, referring regularly to 'the Popish' or 'Papist Priests' This thesis argues that the two competing spiritual ideologies of Maori and Christian were not too dissimilar, certainly not as far as earths creation was (is) interpreted. Colenso's evangelical crusade must have been eternally frustrating, as it must have been for competing priests, as Maori seem to find in the competing clerics, a new dimension to express their kinship rivalries and boundaries by affiliating to whatever faith they chose. Some did not choose to follow any denomination, such as Colenso's nemesis, the redoubtable Waimarama Chief

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<sup>375</sup> Alsatia was a name given to a place in London where criminals of every type sought refuge beyond the reach of the law. Alsatia was therefore referred to as a place without law. See Wilson, *History of Hawke's Bay*. p.138.

Tiakitai, with whom Colenso had many altercations. To date, aside from the traumas of inter-tribal wars Waimarama iwi to this stage appeared to have been relatively unfazed by European customs and culture, and embraced aspects of it, while still maintaining their own tikanga. However a major threat to their turangawaewae (a place to stand on the soil of Papatuanuku) leading to their disempowerment was looming.

The Treaty of Waitangi held aspirations for both cultures. The destructive decades of the Native Land Court Acts and their implementation led to the complete alienation of Maori lands and the correlating disempowerment of iwi throughout Aotearoa and erosion of their tikanga. Waimarama hapu and their lands repudiated the process, due largely through leasing and not selling and partly through the emergence of one of their own imminent individuals. Airini Donnelly (married to an ambitious Irishman, George Prior Donnelly) was a Chieftainess of high ranking not just in Waimarama but throughout Heretaunga. She championed her rights, and her people, to their Waimarama ancestral land leased to a European Woman, Gertrude Meinertzhagen who was portrayed, or at least was seen, as a threat to their customary tenure. Their land litigation enveloped much of the newly introduced Native Land Court sittings. The myriad of Native Land Acts and amendments, were the judicial mechanism by which the Colonial Administration were able to dismantle customary land tenure and turn it into British fee simple title, providing free hold tenure to settlers, which could be on traded. Airini Donnelly, who mixed with Premiers and British Royalty, was able to keep Waimarama land, ostensibly, in customary title. The early twentieth century leading to her death in 1909, exposed the schism she had created amongst her people and the eventual transfer of their ancestral land to the Crown and European individuals. Of the 35,000 acres they once held in customary title, only 5000 acres remained by 1910, and that area, for the moment, was protected by the third and final lease to Gertrude Meinertzhagen, due to expire in 1929. The Crown in the meantime by a process of 'combing out' through the ever evolving Native Land Court system, procured this last tract of Waimarama land and offered up it up as six smaller farms for ballot, ostensibly for returned servicemen, in 1929.

This thesis argues that Waimarama's micro-history is unique in the annals of New Zealand's historiography in that the practice of leasing land resulted in the retention of that land. It does not mirror that of other localised history. It seemed to assimilate

the new waves of occupation better than other community history. Waimarama transcended well through the nineteenth century, successfully contesting the great land alienation process, surpassing the fate of so many other communities throughout Aotearoa. In the end Waimarama's early twentieth century land demise, it could be argued, came from within. Today Waimarama Maori land holdings are still one of the highest in the country, and the people's preference for leasing, rather than selling, through the great nineteenth century alienation period, better enabled them to stay connected, preserving their tikanga, mythology and oral history. Against Western ideals of fact and reason, faith and legend still play an integral role in Waimarama ontology. While the name Waimarama is now attributably mainly to the beach settlement, and is glamorised to some degree as an expensive beach resort, it is still much more than this. Waimarama's contribution to the cosmogony of Maori ontology is significant and enduring, and the iwi leaders of Waimarama's Taupunga marae continue to make it so.

## Appendix

Throughout this thesis interchangeable labels and idioms have been used as appropriate language to what has been discussed or described. Linda Tuhiwai Smith describes researching Maori as ‘tricky ground’ because labels are rendered almost redundant at a local level.<sup>376</sup> Terms such as Maori, Pakeha, hapu, tribe, iwi, colonisation, imperialism, globalisation, acculturation, and tangata whenua have been used accordingly.

Maori, Maoridom and Pakeha are invented labels born from easy descriptors to denote the ‘other’ in the earliest collision of indigenous and western cultures, and are a construct of post colonial discourse. They can be misused to denote or signify one homogenous group, which invariably is not the case. Their inappropriate usage can often distort the real message an author is trying to convey when a tribal name or the naming of a specific hapu would be more appropriate. Maori and Pakeha were, and still are, binary opposing concepts encapsulating ethnic, social and cultural categories. They have continued co-existing, abrasively at times, and now harbour connotations of Pakeha guilt and Maori struggle.<sup>377</sup> Ann Parsonson appears comfortable in her description as a Pakeha woman. ‘Pakeha is a Maori word for non-Maori and is used by many Pakeha New Zealanders today to denote their cultural identity alongside that of Maori.’<sup>378</sup> The origins of the word are not precise, apparently derived from first contact with Cooks *Endeavour* crew where the strange new visitors were referred to as ‘pakepakeha’ (fairy folk) or ‘atua’ (supernatural beings). The dichotomy of the all too apparent differences of culture (appearance, dress, speech, and strange technologies) framed the future marker descriptors of what we know refer to as Maori and Pakeha. Ballantyne denotes a date of 1810 by which the term Pakeha was accepted vernacular and. In addition and prior to this date Maori had a specific descriptor for whalers and sealers, ‘takata pora’.<sup>379</sup> Iwi is

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<sup>376</sup> Linda Tuhiwai Smith, "On tricky ground: Researching the native in the age of uncertainty," in *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. N. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2005), p. 85.

<sup>377</sup> Averil Bell, "'Cultural Vandalism' and Pākehā Politics of Guilt and Responsibility," in *Tangata Tangata: The Changing Ethnic Contours of New Zealand*, ed. Paul Spoonley and David George Pearson (Southbank Victoria: Thomson Dunmore Press, 2004), 90,94.

<sup>378</sup> Ann Parsonson et al., "'Race', gender and nation in history and law," in *Law, History, Colonialism: The reach of empire*, ed. Diane Kirkby and Catharine Colebourne (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 281.

<sup>379</sup> Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past*. 106,15.

used generically throughout this thesis but tangata whenua / mana whenua, hapu, and the people are used in specific reference to Waimarama.

Tangata whenua is a descriptor to refer to descendants of the first people of the land, and mana whenua as governors of the land, and are used interchangeably. Today these descriptors unfortunately harbour strong political connotations with an overarching perception of some sort of a unified identity and used as a vehicle to achieve political ends. An interesting contemporary definition is that Tangata whenua refers to the imagined indigenous polity that formed the Maori, 'other', in partnership with the Crown'.<sup>380</sup>

These labels will be used, when appropriate to a collective circumstance, otherwise the name of the hapu or tribe, and country of origin will be specified. The reason for closer identification of tribal groups is because iwi identified with their place of origin, when any notion of a national identity was obscure and premature. Identification was tribal and more specifically hapu based. Tribal members identified first through hapu and related whakapapa, supported by oral recantations of the past, depicted in carvings waiata, and karakia. Joseph Pere illuminates the premise of a European fabrication to regard the tribes as a homogenous unit for the expediency of control. 'It is clearly a term which fails to give recognition to a specific iwi or tribal group'. Pere cites Raj Vasil from his book, *Biculturalism-Reconciling Aotearoa with New Zealand*, that 'tribal organisation provided a stronger base of loyalty and a rudimentary sense of nationhood than their identity as Maori'.<sup>381</sup>

Whakapapa requires elaboration. 'Whakapapa provides our identity within tribal structure and later in life gives an individual the right to say. 'I am Maori...whakapapa is belonging. Without it an individual is outside looking in'.<sup>382</sup> Judith Binney regards whakapapa as the backbone of all Maori history.<sup>383</sup> Elizabeth McKinley stresses that 'there are two fundamental aspects to a Maori world view: Whakapapa and the personification of natural phenomena. It is the personification of land as Papatuanuku and the supernatural qualities bestowed her, that differentiates

<sup>380</sup> Danny Keenan, ed. *Huia Histories of Māori: Nga Tāhuhu Kōrero* (Wellington: Huia, 2012), 360.

<sup>381</sup> Joseph Pere, "Hitori Maori," in *The Future of the Past. Themes in New Zealand History*, ed. Colin Davis and Peter Lineham (Palmerston North: Department of History, Massey University, 1991), 30-35.

<sup>382</sup> Hirini Moko Mead, *Tikanga Maori: Living by Maori Values* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2003). 42,43.

<sup>383</sup> Binney, "Maori Oral Narratives, Pakeha Written Texts," 7.

Maori attitudes from European Attitudes towards our natural resources...In traditional Maori world view all natural resources were birthed from Papatuanuku'.<sup>384</sup> Te Maire Tau proffers that whakapapa provides the skeletal structure to Maori epistemology. It determines how Maori thought tracing descent lines back to atua and giving mana and spiritual meaning to the Maori world view of everything.<sup>385</sup>

The language of imperialism has been used where applicable but it is a relatively outmoded term with globalisation appearing to supersede its usage. However it is necessary to be mindful of its origin, and meaning, as an overarching principal in the development of New Zealand's historiography as an acquired Colony, and its effect on indigenous communities. The phenomenon of imperialism is no better illuminated than that of the scramble to partition and colonise the continent of Africa by Britain and other European nations, during the 19th century. Author Linda Tuhiwai Smith proffers that imperialism was a European phenomena born from the Enlightenment spirit; 'a complex ideology with widespread cultural intellectual and technical expressions as well as military economic and political undertones; a way of European states developing their 'European-ness.' Colonialism became imperialism's outpost, subjugating indigenous peoples and heralding their new found colonial outpost as a cultural sites as well as a rich source of wealth'. Within the vast interpretative discourse of what colonialism was and did, Tuhiwai Smith identifies indigenous communities as a very local and specific experience significant and contributory to the grand narrative of imperialism, extending beyond colonialism.<sup>386</sup> As mentioned replacing the now redundant language of imperialism is the contemporary and much used term, globalisation, to reflect minority cultures' subjugation and struggle in today's Western driven capitalist and political models

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<sup>384</sup> McKinley, "Maori Women and Natural Resource Management: Towards a Sustainable Future," 40

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