REBEL DISCOURSES:

COLONIAL VIOLENCE, PAI MARIRE RESISTANCE AND LAND ALLOCATION AT TAURANGA

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of resistance and power in a colonial situation, based on the ethnography of a confiscated-land claim of three hapu who had been Kingitanga supporters and Pai Marire adherents in the 19th century. It draws on archival material and insider ethnography and is arranged into four parts. The first part looks at the relationship between anthropology and colonialism, particularly the role of Sir George Grey, a Governor who used anthropological knowledge to facilitate colonial domination of Maori. Grey instigated the establishment of learned societies which introduced the use of ethnology and anthropology to study Maori. This led to the development of colonial anthropology and its emphasis on salvage anthropology in the late nineteenth century, which in turn gave rise to an intellectual tradition of Maori anthropology. The first proponents of Maori anthropology, Te Rangihiroa and Apirana Ngata, emphasised the role of anthropology for cultural recovery and 'insider' ethnographer. The second part examines the Kingitanga and Pai Marire political and religious expressions of resistance. Political resistance to colonialism was met by legislation by the settler colonial government to punish 'rebellion', a system of collaboration or cultivation of 'loyalty' amongst 'friendly' Maori, and other policies directed at suppressing indigenous expressions of rebel consciousness. This programme had a major bearing on the ongoing existence of these hapu into the twentieth century. Pai Marire was a rebel religious phenomenon that became the object of a campaign of coercion, surveillance, and violence by the settler colonial government. The adherents were subject to policies of exclusion from the redistribution and allocation of confiscated land by local government officials and civil commissioners. The government supported, instead, the land claims of 'friendly' and 'surrendered rebel' chiefs. The third part is hapu ethnography. Key transformations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries related to changing political and kin alliances for one hapu, Ngati Kahu, while another hapu, Ngati Pango which was involved with Pai Marire, suffered from claims on their traditional lands leading to the undermining of its identity and existence as a socially operating hapu. The fourth part uses historical and ethnographic fragments to consider what Pai Marire meant to its adherents. The colonial construct of Pai Marire and Hauhau was forms of savagery and a mix of Christian syncretism, an image that has little changed from the nineteenth century.

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Whanau and hapu of Ngati Kahu, Ngati Pango and Ngati Rangi can take ownership of this document because it has come from my memories and experiences of Te Wairoa and Kaimai. It also belongs to Ngati Pukenga and Ngapotiki, as it was Tatana who married Matire of Ngati Kahu, and it was my Ngati Pukenga and Ngapotiki kin who wholeheartedly supported me during the difficult periods of the advocacy role I undertook for hapu and iwi in Tauranga Moana.

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> At first they curiously enquire who we are, what worship we propose. And we invariably have to listen to objections and grievances; for there is a history of wrongs real and imaginary, and we amongst people who but a few years ago bore arms against the Government. They are bitter in many cases against Pakehas, and against ministers as Pakehas, and prejudices and misconceptions abound. There is great need then of patience and tact. We hope we may not fail in our object. Some say openly "We as Hau Haus; we have surrendered your worship back to you. Bishop Selwyn burnt us; other missionaries deceived us".
>
> *[Missionary efforts among the Hau Haus] Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani 16 May 1876*

INTRODUCTION

The focus of this study is the land claims of three *hapu* (sub-tribe) - Ngati Kahu, Ngati Pango and Ngati Rangi - situated in the Tauranga district (Tauranga Moana) on the east coast of the North Island (Te Ika a Maui) of Aotearoa/New Zealand. These three hapu, referred to collectively as the Wairoa hapu, have traditionally been resident along the Wairoa River that flows into the Tauranga Harbour, and have a traditional territorial range that extends inland following the Wairoa River, specifically along its western side and along it upper catchment streams - the Opuiaki, Ngaumuwahine and Ruangarara. These traditional territories are known as Kaimai, Poripori and Te Irihanga after the names of 19th century *kainga* or settlements and their surrounding lands.

Today the Wairoa hapu are identified with the *iwi* (tribe) Ngati Ranginui although their origins were Ngamarama, an iwi which preceded Ngati Ranginui in the Tauranga district. Their neighbouring hapu are Te Pirirakau (at Te Puna and Tawhitinui), Ngati Hangarau (at Peterehema), and Ngaitamarawaho (at Huria) which are all hapu of Ngati Ranginui. Ngaiteahi (at Hairini) and Ngati Ruahine (at Waimapu) are two other Ngati Ranginui hapu but they are resident on the upper eastern section of the Tauranga Harbour, and are not the focus of this work. The territory of the Wairoa hapu is on the western boundary of Tauranga Moana, alongside them are Ngati Raukawa hapu of Koakoaroa ki Te Patetere who are their kin (fig.1).

Marae of Tauranga Moana (20th C.)

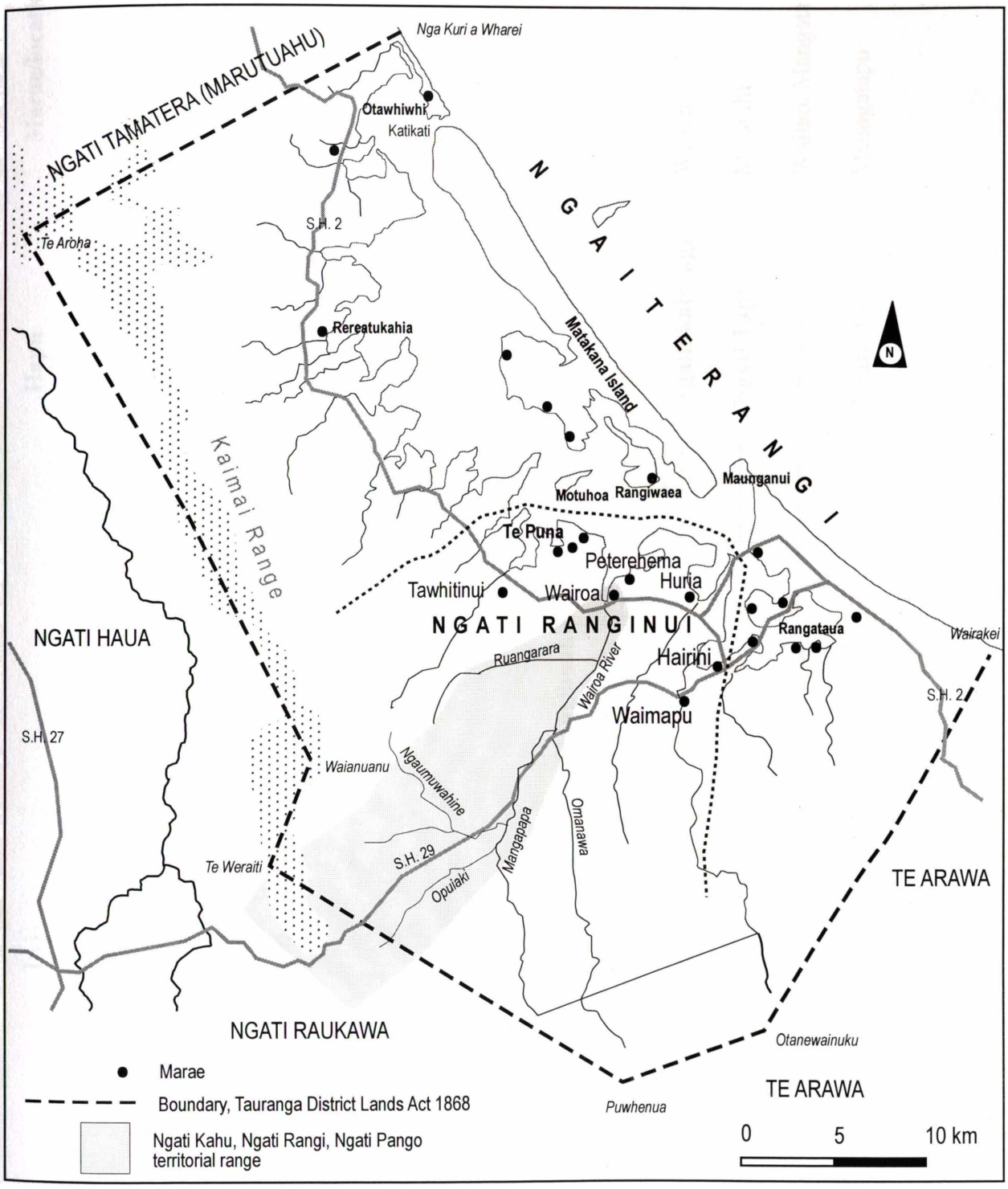


Figure 1

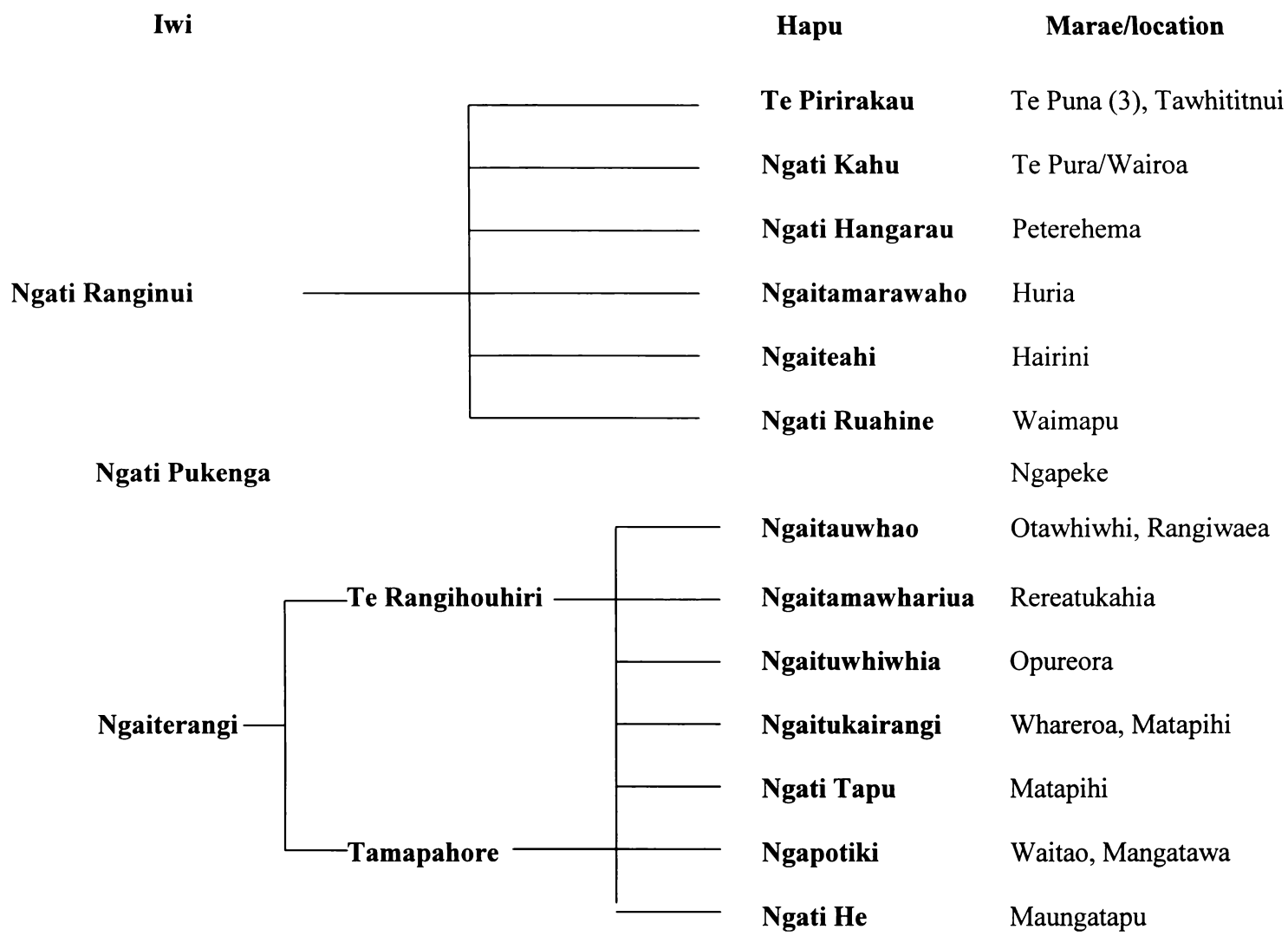
figure i

IWI

TAURANGA

REGION

(20th C)



The other iwi in Tauranga Moana is Ngaiterangi, which includes hapu located on the northern section of the Tauranga harbour at Rereatukahia and Otawhiwhi, on the islands of Matakana, Motuhoa and Rangiwaea in the central harbour, and in the southeast section of the harbour at Whareroa, Matapihi, and Rangataua. In the Rangataua section of the Tauranga Harbour another iwi whose origins and history are intertwined with Ngaiterangi is located, and whose status has been elevated by modern inter-iwi politics. Waitaha are a Te Arawa iwi on the eastern boundary who have ancestral links to Tauranga but my focus in this study is on Ngaiterangi iwi and certain Ngati Ranginui hapu. Since the early 19th century, Tauranga iwi have been identified through those hapu who had settlements on the Tauranga harbour and on its islands, from the Katikati heads at the northern entrance, to the south-east section of Rangataua (fig.1).

The land claims discussed in this thesis relate to the confiscation of tribal lands in Tauranga by the colonial government in 1864. Ngati Kahu, Ngati Pango and Ngati Rangi were identified in a census in 1864 by T.H. Smith, a Civil Commissioner for the colonial government, as having settlements on the Wairoa River (AJHR 1864 E2:12). Hapu in the west of Tauranga were the main supporters of the neighbouring region of Waikato for the war against the colonial government. These Tauranga hapu and their chiefs supported the formation of the Kingitanga movement, a political movement based in the Waikato, of resistance to colonialism in Aotearoa/New Zealand in the 1850s. Their support of the Kingitanga led to their military engagement with British troops in the Waikato in 1863 and in Tauranga in 1864, and eventually to the confiscation of their lands by the colonial government. Insurgent resistance to colonisation and its demands for land took place in the central North Island regions of Taranaki, Waikato, Tauranga, Eastern Bay of Plenty and Gisborne. In 1863, The New Zealand Settlements Act was introduced by the colonial government as the legal mechanism for the confiscation of land as the punishment for participation in the war (Orange 1987: 166) (fig.2,3).

The years 1866 to 1886 in Tauranga was an era dominated by the redistribution and allocation of confiscated land under legislation that was particular to that area. This era and that area are the focus of this historical anthropological study. It was this period of hapu history, during which the colonial settler government's

policies were directed at indigenous expressions of rebel consciousness, which had a major bearing on the ongoing existence of these hapu or kin groups into the twentieth century. During the period of 1864-1867 the hapu of the Wairoa River took up Pai Marire as a form of rebel religious expression and resisted the government survey of their confiscated land. This rebel religious phenomenon became the object of a campaign by the colonial regime that became widespread throughout the North Island. As a result, the Wairoa hapu became exposed to coercion, surveillance, and violence by the settler colonial government. They were subject to policies of exclusion from the redistribution and allocation of confiscated land by local government officials and civil commissioners. The government supported, instead, the land claims of 'friendly' and 'surrendered rebel' chiefs. In contrast to the treatment of the latter, one Wairoa hapu, Ngati Pango, which was involved with Pai Marire, suffered particularly from claims by Ngaiterangi hapu on their traditional lands. Pai Marire as a form of rebel consciousness, and the process and politics of the allocation of confiscated land, receive particular attention in this thesis.

Claim Research

From 1986 to 2001 I was involved, on behalf of Ngati Kahu of Wairoa, to which I belong, in Treaty of Waitangi claims relating to the Tauranga land confiscation. The research I undertook, which was necessary for strengthening the claim, entailed conducting archival and whakapapa research, interviews with elders, hui (meetings) with hapu members, and consultancy in the area of archaeology, cultural heritage, resource management, Environment Court hearings, and even carving for new meeting house projects. A whole range of activity was conducted over this period to produce what I call my ethnography of the Wairoa claims. I had a key role in the hapu claim process from its very beginning, from writing up a claim under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, to the conclusion of the hearings. This role made me an ethnographic 'insider', one raised in the claim area and active as a hapu member, but who also is a 'native informant' anthropologist. With the support of the community, I extended the Ngati Kahu claim to include Ngati Pango and Ngati Rangi, because for historical reasons their demise as operating hapu related directly to their resistance as Kingitanga supporters and Pai Marire adherents in Tauranga. Effectively, I wanted to retrieve their history of

insurgency - and to include these particular rebels as 'the conscious subject of their own history' (Guha 1988: 76, 77).

A central theme that emerged from the historical reports I wrote for the hapu was the role of the Crown in the patronage of particular chiefs who supported its objectives and policies in the post-*raupatu* (land confiscation) 'peaceful settlement' of the Tauranga region. This policy elevated and rewarded these chiefs for the support they gave to the Crown. Another theme was the consequent ability of these chiefs to raise and utilise their status through the exercise of mana in the support of the Crown, and the key role they played in the allocation of confiscated lands. The policy of the Colonial government was to suppress any opposition through political and military means and, in contrast to this, those chiefs who supported the Crown were rewarded with acknowledgment of their land claims, in addition to pensions and salaries. As a claimant-researcher, I developed the goal of learning how to challenge and deconstruct these doubtful 19th century claims, and especially the consequent allocation of confiscated lands in our hapu territory to 'loyalist' chiefs. In order to better do this, I also began researching land tenure at Tauranga for my doctoral dissertation.

The writing of the Ngati Kahu Raupatu report and its general conclusions raised more issues than were answered, so that I realised the difficulty of finding answers within the confines of the claim process. As I explored and followed the theme of patronage, anthropological questions arose regarding the relationships of mana to leadership, hapu membership, and concepts of land ownership and to the Crown's allocation of confiscated lands back to hapu and individuals. These were issues for consideration in a thesis rather than a land claim.

When writing the first land claim report for the claimants in 1996, and in further reports during the hearing process in 1998, I was confronted with the particularity of historiography and the absence of cultural or political analysis in claims reports. The first historical reports for claims described in great detail what transpired historically, but there was little in the way of analysis of the politics of those times. The detailed historical research required for the hapu claims, as produced by historians, hapu researchers and writers, created an opportunity for individuals or groups to completely re-write history. Prior to that, only a few

published sources had been produced, mainly as local histories. I carefully considered ways of analysing and presenting the new data that was being discovered, in particular the 'archive' which contained the 'hidden history' of the 'insurgent' and which promised to reveal more than the thinking and working of the colonial administration during the periods of resistance.

When writing the reports in the 1990s, I knew from fragments in publications on local history relating to the post-1864 period that certain ancestors were 'Hauhau' (Pai Marire). But I discovered that the extent of participation by even my own ancestors or hapu in Pai Marire was not obtainable from oral sources. I believe this loss of tradition, or historical 'memory loss', was the result of the programme of coercion, surveillance and violence conducted against the Kingitanga and 'Hauhau' hapu in Tauranga, especially the Wairoa hapu. Amongst senior relatives questioned during the claims research, there was 'memory' of their 'Hauhau' ancestors as people. But there seemed to be a total absence of any recall or knowledge of this period of history of these 'Hauhau' hapu, existed in, even though it was both dramatic and traumatic. No stories or experiences were told or recalled about this era in the history of the hapu, even in families whose ancestors played a major role. Discussions with older hapu members about the period of the late nineteenth century, four generations ago, revealed that their memory of this historical period was fragmentary and sketchy.

I compare this to the recall by other hapu of the history of Te Kooti who was contemporary with Hauhau in Tauranga. Elders recalled the visits Te Kooti had made to the area and the sayings he left for the area. My mother recited to me incidents of the Ngapuhi incursions into Tauranga during the 1820s which she heard on the marae in the 1970s. My uncle Albert Brown who was a first cousin to my mother, could also talk of the approach by Ngapuhi taua to the Wairoa hapu during this same period. But neither could elaborate on the period of the 'Hauhau'. Perhaps most surprisingly, a grand aunt (mother's father's first cousin) raised by her grandfather Tokona, who was an active 'Hauhau' and Kingitanga supporter known then as Maaka, was equally silent. Not once in all the considerable time I spent talking to her over the years did she mention or display knowledge of the Hauhau or Pai Marire past of Tokona. This absence of orally

transmitted 'memory' led to my growing dependence on the 'archive' as a source of historical ethnography of the hapu.

Ngati Kahu is today the only one of the three Wairoa hapu that is socially active. The wharepuni, or meeting house, symbolises the continuity of hapu in Tauranga as a socially active kin group. For Ngati Kahu, tension over the ancestral name of a meeting house occurred during the latter part of the 20th century, mirroring the changing social relations of the hapu of Ngati Kahu from the 19th century, when the first wharepuni was built, up to the present time. Ngati Pango exist as a residence group and landowners at Wairoa and Poripori: their situation is the subject of a specific chapter in this thesis. Over time Ngati Rangi has become submerged with Ngati Kahu at Te Pura, Wairoa.

History of a Thesis

I had originally aimed to focus this thesis on the anthropology of land tenure, a theme that seemed most relevant to my involvement in the Tauranga confiscated land claims as claimant and researcher since 1986. Land tenure is central to any land claim research where traditional land use, territoriality, and ancestral land rights are elements that have to be addressed. My research material was largely drawn from the early land claim hearings in the Native Land Court of the nineteenth century, and from recent Waitangi Tribunal hearings relating to the confiscation of land in Tauranga for 1997 to 2001. Once I started on the dissertation I soon abandoned the land tenure theme in favour of the nature of the confiscation and administrative processes that historically occurred in Tauranga. Land ownership was based on colonial government administration and allocation policies relating to confiscated lands rather than traditional or customary rights. No detailed records were made of the hearings into the allocation of the confiscated lands in the 19th century, but it is clear that, because of the colonial government policy in Tauranga, 'friendly' chiefs were acknowledged in their land claims above those who remained antagonistic to the government's colonial objective in Tauranga.

A critical phase in the development of this thesis was reached when I began to apply Guha's notion of 'cultivation of loyalty' to the 'friendly chiefs' of my Tauranga material. Through application of the post-colonial theories of the Indian

historical works entitled *Subaltern Studies* I was beginning to make sense of the claims, reports and claim process, and also, more importantly, my historical and social ethnographic material which was revealed independently of the claims and the hapu themselves. This period of history in Tauranga was a period of cultural transformation and the political subordination of tribes, both the colonised and resisters, was very relevant to the themes of post-colonial theory. I then decided to switch the focus in my thesis from land tenure to colonization, incorporating the insights of post-colonial theory and in particular the *Subaltern Studies* of India. Nineteenth century colonialism, resistance, land confiscation, anthropology and insider ethnography then became the ingredients that have gone into the mix in this dissertation. Colonial discourse or constructions of reality is the theoretical framework, and active 'insider' participation is the research methodology, rather than the 'detached observer,' were the changes that were made. However the land claim process remained the consistent focus during these developments in the writing of this thesis.

Robert Young emphasises that post-colonial critique and the historical basis of its theoretical formulations is the product of resistance to colonialism and imperialism. Post-colonial theory is relevant to any form of historical resistance to colonialism (2001:15 quoting [Ashcroft, Griffins and Tiffin 1989]). What makes post colonialism distinctive is:

> the comprehensiveness of the research into the continuing cultural and political ramifications of colonialism in both colonising and colonised societies. This reveals that the values of colonialism seeped much more widely into the general culture, including academic culture, than had ever been assumed. That archaeological retrieval and revaluation is central to much activity in the postcolonial field. Postcolonial theory involves a political analysis of the cultural history of colonialism, and investigates its contemporary effects in western and tricontinental cultures, making connections between the past and the politics of the present (Young 2001:6).

Post-colonial theory not only supports the recovery of the histories of native insurgency, but also allows us to analyze them at a theoretical level (Childs & Williams 1997:26).

Historical anthropology

The study of resistance and power in the colonial situation is one of the primary subject matters of an historical anthropology (Sivaramakrishnan 1992:213 [after Cohn 1987:44]). But there have been objections to this position in the past. Referring to the land wars and religious consciousness of Pai Marire and Te Kooti, Raymond Firth, a Pakeha New Zealander who was to become an anthropologist of world renown, felt that this area was not for the anthropologist:

> With the conduct of the war it is for the historian, not for the economist or anthropologist to deal. As time went on, religious factors were added to the original forces, but in any event the consequences were grave for the economic prosperity of the Maori. The struggle affected the major part of the North Island, and involved on one side or the other most of the leading tribes (Firth 1972:454 – 455).

Firth's view was that the Maori colonial resistance, or the 'conduct of war' was an area for the historian, rather than the anthropologist. This was a view that predominated until recently and was a result of the influence of functionalism with its focus on the 'ethnographic present'. For the examination and theorising of the colonial historical past, anthropologists suggested other disciplines such as history take over from anthropology. This view was undermined when historians such as Judith Binney on Te Kooti and Angela Ballara on iwi organisation; ventured into anthropology.

Anthropologists such as Marshall Sahlins and Anne Salmond have made Cook's voyaging texts of contact with Hawaiians and Maori in the eighteenth century their anthropological projects in order to retrieve the pre-European native and the western intruder. Their interest in historical anthropology has been part of a shift away from the ethnographic present which portrays people as static and unchanging (Nader 2002:441).

The Wairoa hapu had a history of resistance to colonialism and therefore had to contend with a programme of coercion conducted by the settler colonial government. This has shaped their current functioning as hapu. The reasons for the submergence of Ngati Rangi within Ngati Kahu, and the lack of marae, hapu history and whakapapa for Ngati Pango, could only be recovered by historical ethnography.

Tauranga 1864

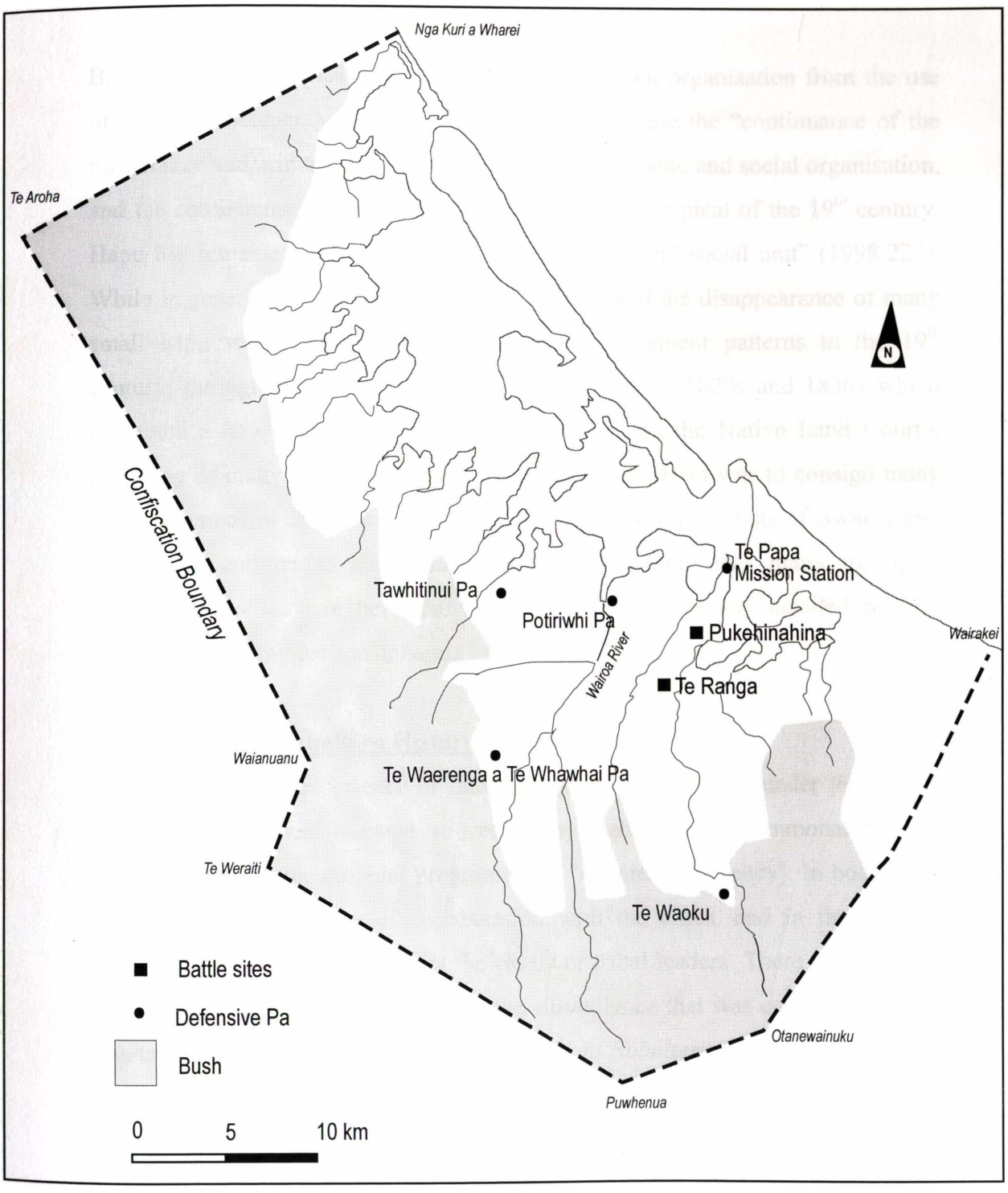


Figure 2

Steve Webster (1997) attributes the lack of historic ethnographic examination of hapu in Aotearoa/New Zealand to the influence of 1960s anthropology students of Ralph Piddington and his theory of functionalism. This group of students looked at contemporary Maori social organisation and had no historical perspective in their research on hapu.

Ballara's historiograpical examination of Maori social organisation from the use of primary documentary sources sought to demonstrate the "continuance of the importance and primary status of hapu in Maori economic and social organisation, and the continuance of some hapu settlement patterns typical of the 19th century. Hapu has remained the primary political, economic and social unit" (1998:227). While in general hapu units continued, she also noted the disappearance of many small hapu which she attributes to changing settlement patterns in the 19th century, through the period of the musket wars of the 1820s and 1830s which promoted a new coalescence among kin groups, and the Native Land Court's assigning of many small hapu to iwi. The secondary effect was to consign many of hapu names to oblivion through their omission from the lists of owners and individuals entitled to succession (1998:275). Ballara uses many examples throughout Aotearoa in her examination, without giving any detailed historic ethnography of any particular hapu.

Postcolonial and Subaltern History and Theory

While the colonial experience of India and Maori in Aotearoa under the British was different, when it came to resistance there was a commonality. The commonality was the colonial programme of 'counter-insurgency'. In both cases there was the cultivation of collaboration with the elites, and in the case of Aotearoa/New Zealand this meant the chiefs or tribal leaders. There was also the production of a colonial archive from the surveillance that was conducted on the resistance. This historical archive was central to *Subaltern Studies* quest for the history of the subaltern. Colonial India was remarkable for the number of rebellions, the variety of forms adopted, and the continent-wide spread of outbreaks of rebellions (Childs & Williams 1997:28). This was recorded by historians as the nationalism of the indigenous elites and the peasants, and as a response to imperialism, which ignored other histories and different kinds of resistance.

The *Subaltern Studies* began as a series of contributions to debates about the writing of modern Indian history. It focused on the historical agency located in the rebellion of the Indian peasantry, who were equally instrumental, but have been under-represented, in India's history (Chakrabarty 2003:190-3; Childs & Williams 1997:161). The declared aim of *Subaltern Studies* was to produce historical analyses in which the subaltern groups were viewed as subjects of history (Chakrabarty 2003:192). Subaltern groups formed a relatively autonomous political domain with specific features and collective mentalities which needed to be explored (Sarkar 1984:273).

Ranajit Guha probed bias in history, and demonstrated the need to query the source, the creator, of evidence rather than to accept uncritically what the source itself apparently maintains. But in Guha's project the analysis goes further: he locates his deconstructed text within the creation of knowledge and the processes of control by the Raj, the 'complex of coercive intervention...with arms and words' that constituted the Raj's 'code of pacification'(Guha 1983:15). Guha asks whether, if this was the case for primary texts, the primary discourse of Empire, was it also the case with secondary and tertiary discourses, subsequent texts and histories of Empire and of later Indian commentators. Guha's answer was that while they are perspectives from the Raj, they are constructions of insurgency which differ from past reality because of the contemporary concerns of those who created them as texts.

Guha reappropriated Gramsci's term 'subaltern' (the economically dispossessed) in order to locate and re-establish a 'voice' or collective locus of agency in postcolonial India (Brown 1998). To Guha, the term 'subaltern' in the title is consistent with the meanings in the Concise Oxford dictionary, that is, 'of inferior rank' and 'the general attribute of subordination in South Asian society whether this is expressed in terms of class, caste, age, gender and office or in any other way' (Guha 1988:35) For Guha the 'subaltern' represents the economically dispossessed, while the term 'colonial subordination' emphasizes the fundamental relationships of power, i.e. domination and subordination (Sarkar 1984:273). The key for Guha is that the subaltern is in a state of subordination. Central to subaltern mobilization was 'a notion of resistance to elite domination', in this case the Raj or the British representation.

The archives on peasant insurgencies were produced by the elite in the process of their counter-insurgency measures undertaken by their armies and police forces. Guha emphasized the need for the historian to develop a conscious strategy in reading the archives, not only by looking for the biases of the elite but also by analyzing the textual properties of the documents. Elites' modes of thought produced in their archival documents, tended to be reproduced by historians (Chakrabarty 2003:199). Guha suggests Roland Barthe's procedure for analysing texts through the semiology of signs. He recommends looking for signifiers - the words, phrases and contexts used in texts - and what is signified by them i.e. their underlying implications and connotations (Masellos 2002:198).

The Subaltern Studies theory of change suggests that the moments of change be pluralized and plotted as confrontations rather than transition, which is seen as histories of domination and exploitation, and that such changes are signalled or marked by functional change in sign systems. "The most important functional change is from the religious to the militant" (Spivak 1987:197) and in the case for Maori passive to insurgency. The agency of change is located in the insurgent or the "subaltern" (Guha 1988:3). In Aotearoa/New Zealand in the nineteenth century, the Kingitanga and Pai Marire were new forms of consciousness that were innovative and creative political and religious forms of organising resistance. The term 'pre-political' was coined to describe the 'stagist' view of history which was challenged by Guha; his discussion of power resisted distinctions between modern and the pre-modern (Chakrabarty 2003:199). In Aotearoa/New Zealand the colonial construct of Maori suggested that contact with Europeans was detrimental to the 'original native,' creating a people who were in decline in population numbers and culture. Political and religious responses such as the Kingitanga and Pai Marire were also seen as degenerate.

Guha uses a diversity of disciplines, some of which are anthropological in nature, in tracking the logic of peasant consciousness at the moment of rebellion:

> The *Subaltern Studies* project intersected with some anthropological approaches and their concern to hear the Other speak; to elicit the narrative constructions of identity among subordinated groups in rural society and elucidate the cultural structures mediating and shaping subaltern resistance and protest (Sivaramakrishnan 2002:216).

I concluded that *Subaltern Studies* model is appropriate for my anthropological study of the resistance of my Kingitanga and Pai Marire ancestors. Where I differ from Guha and the Subaltern Group is in my 'insider' position, from which I have gained a wider context to read more into the archive. My direct ancestral relationship was important in contemporary relationships outside the archive, particularly in collecting and interpreting *whakapapa* (genealogy) and fragments of oral history.

From my 'insider' ethnographic perspective, and my methodology for analysing the claims of both individuals and hapu to land, insights into some aspects of the social organisation and history of the hapu emerge. It has led to the use of whakapapa, land court records and archives to examine hapu membership and what hapu themselves were thinking when they drew up lists of owners to their land.

In a settler–colonial society such as Aotearoa/New Zealand, the coloniser's archive or penchant for record-keeping makes data available to re-examine the anthropological models and theories developed by Raymond Firth and other twentieth century ethnographers of the Maori. What is most important to hapu today is traditional and historical knowledge, rather than anthropological knowledge per se. Anthropological knowledge may, however, have its use in advocating a position in land claims and the Environment Court.

Thesis Outline

In chapter one I examine the link between imperialism, colonialism and anthropology in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Contemporary New Zealand anthropology generally does not define its genealogical links to its colonial history. That is the objective of this chapter. In the period under examination, Sir George Grey was the central colonial figure as Governor. He had two terms of office as Governor and in each case he was specifically appointed by the Colonial Office for his skills in managing the two major periods of Maori resistance. Grey used anthropological knowledge in order to facilitate colonial domination of Maori, and established a system of patronage of chiefs to 'cultivate loyalty'. In 1867 he became the patron of the New Zealand Institute, which was the forerunner to the Royal Society of New Zealand. The New Zealand Institute saw

ethnology as one aspect of colonial science. The 'salvage ethnology' often associated with the Polynesian Society and its journal emerged in the 1890s as a colonial alternative to the scientific ethnology of the New Zealand Institute, and this in turn stimulated the emergence of a specifically Maori anthropology.

In the second chapter I define the nature and place of Maori anthropology. Maori anthropology was an important moment in anthropology as it was a product of the 'colonised indigenous' people themselves. In the wider history of the discipline of anthropology there has been little acknowledgement of this branch which has its beginnings in 1906 with the first generation of western-educated Maori intellectuals, especially Apirana Ngata and Te Rangihiroa. The adoption of ethnology and anthropology by the first Maori intellectuals was integral to their political strategy of ameliorating the neo-colonial experiences of domination. What is here significant was the role and relevance of anthropology for both Ngata and Te Rangihiroa for Maori as colonised people. The origin of anthropology was associated with Western imperial expansion into new worlds, and explanation of the peoples and cultures encountered back to the west. Ngata and Te Rangihiroa saw anthropology as a tool for cultural recovery and for expressing and maintaining a deeply-held sense of identity and cultural being.

The anthropological 'Native informant' discussed in chapter three is a position I deployed to describe myself as an indigenous anthropologist working within the post-colonial era of Maori and indigenous anthropologies, as an insider, and ethnographer, operating within the genealogies of hapu descent and upbringing. I bring to the position an intellectual genealogy that stems both from traditional woodcarving and its links to Maori anthropology and an academic anthropology of culture–history, prehistory, and Maori archaeology. As a Maori archaeologist, working within a post-colonial space, I was confronted in other tribal areas by my outsider status, where other groups incorporated me into their ancestral spaces, leading me eventually to the role of an advocate for hapu heritage. This was the personal background to my approach to the Raupatu research which included the position of the active 'insider' participant.

The historical era of the land wars resistance, Tauranga support for the Kingitanga, the introduction of Pai Marire, and the violence perpetrated on Tauranga Pai Marire is the topic for Chapter 4. Colonial surveillance identified

that Kingitanga support came mainly from various Ngati Ranginui hapu, although it was Ngaiterangi chiefs who provided the Kingitanga leadership. Battle with Imperial troops was followed by surrender of arms and the shift by Ngaiterangi Kingitanga supporters to loyalty to the Crown. Meanwhile, the introduction of Pai Marire added a religious dimension to the political consciousness and continued resistance by some Kingitanga supporters. Certain Ngati Ranginui hapu, including the Wairoa hapu, resisted survey of their confiscated lands and became the object of an intense unprecedented campaign of coercion, surveillance, and violence.

Chapter five relates how part of the colonial government's response to the Kingitanga movement from the 1850s was the cultivation of support among Maori for the Crown or the Queen. The Queenites played major roles in the post-confiscation era in Tauranga. Their numbers were swelled by former Kingitanga supporters who were courted by the Crown in what I describe as the 'friendly chief' or the 'cultivation of loyalty' policies of the Crown. Colonial settler government administration for the confiscated lands of Tauranga meant that the power to interpret and implement Crown policy lay with local government officials. I examine the Crown's understanding of mana, land, and tribal leadership, and the use that Crown agents' made of this to achieve their objectives for the peaceful containment and settlement of the area for immigrant colonisation. To consolidate its own authority, the Crown utilised the notion of one iwi having mana over other Tauranga tribes through conquest validated by traditions. This dissertation contains a critique of this notion, where I dispute the Crown's policy that certain chiefs had pre-eminent rights and access to Wairoa hapu land. The mana these chiefs were exercising stemmed from the Crown and the context of the Raupatu.

Chapter six, titled 'Land Allocation', is a description of the processes of Tauranga land hearings relating to the allocation of the confiscated lands. I ask the essential questions of what land was allocated to whom, and on what basis, in the Kaimai, Poripori, and Wairoa areas? The theme of this chapter, and an objective of this dissertation, was to determine whether there was any traditional basis for the Ngaiterangi chiefs to exercise their mana over the Ngati Ranginui hapu of the Wairoa River, to make land claims for themselves and their hapu with the support of the Crown. To show that there was no traditional basis, I provide detailed

analysis of confiscated land allocation lists, whakapapa, land succession records of the Native Land Court and historical material.

Chapter Seven describes the ethnographic and research methodology used in preparation of the Wairoa hapu land claim: how I got involved, how it was conducted, and what my role was as 'hapu insider', archaeologist, carver and heritage management consultant. The Treaty of Waitangi claim and hearing process has its own requirements and expectations which focus on the history of colonial administration, and may not fit with the claimants' desire to measure loss of land and mana. The power relations that were acted out in Tauranga with the land confiscation of the 1860s were reflected again in the Tribunal hearings in relation to the funding for research, the commissioning of reports, and the utilisation of Pakeha historians. My hapu claims utilised a particular ethnography based on the 'archive,' which speak with an ancestral voice the recorded comments and actions of ancestors. With the help of my subaltern perspective an alternative view of traditional land rights has come through.

Key transformations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries relate to changing Ngati Ranginui and Ngati Raukawa political and kin alliances, which surfaced as tension around the name of the Ngati Kahu wharepuni from the 1970s, is the subject of chapter eight, titled the 'Social History of Wairoa'. Researching and learning about the life of these hapu since 1864 resulted in a social history that was quite different to how hapu saw themselves. In the early 1990s interviews by tape recorder were made of a number of the older generation, and each contributed to a collective memory of hapu members through various generations. Archives, newspaper accounts, government correspondence and reports and Land Court records added an element to the social history of these hapu that had previously been inaccessible.

Chapter nine describes how Ngati Pango, whose members were Hauhau adherents and Kingitanga supporters along with Ngati Rangi and Te Pirirakau, was the object of an intense colonial campaign to dismantle its resistance. The hapu's subaltern position was related to their active resistance and opposition to the colonial power. Ngati Pango also became the object of attacks by the indigenous elite particularly through official support being given to claims made on their

traditional lands by Ngati Kuku, a Ngaiterangi hapu. The result was the transformation of Ngati Pango, and the undermining if its identity and existence as a socially operating hapu. However, in 1904 Ngati Pango took a legal challenge against Ngati Kuku land owners, and this archive became critical to my deconstruction of Ngati Kuku claims to Ngati Pango lands.

Finally, in the last chapter, I challenge the colonial construct of Pai Marire and Hauhau, and consider what Pai Marire meant to its adherents. Throughout various chapters in this thesis, I raise and highlight polices of the settler colonial government towards resistance and rebel consciousness. When Pai Marire was perceived as a religious consciousness, a specific policy of coercion, surveillance and violence was conducted against Pai Marire adherents. A construct of the religion as 'fanaticism', a reversion to 'savagery', using an 'unintelligible mix' of words, and a 'distorted' version of Christianity, was part of this deliberate policy. This imagery of Pai Marire has continued up to the present time. Personal exposure to Pai Marire of the 20th century Kingitanga, as practised by contemporary flowers of the religion in the Waikato, and cultural traces in Tauranga and the archival ethnography, have all contributed to the provision of my insights into the religious essence of Pai Marire.

The Tauranga Raupatu

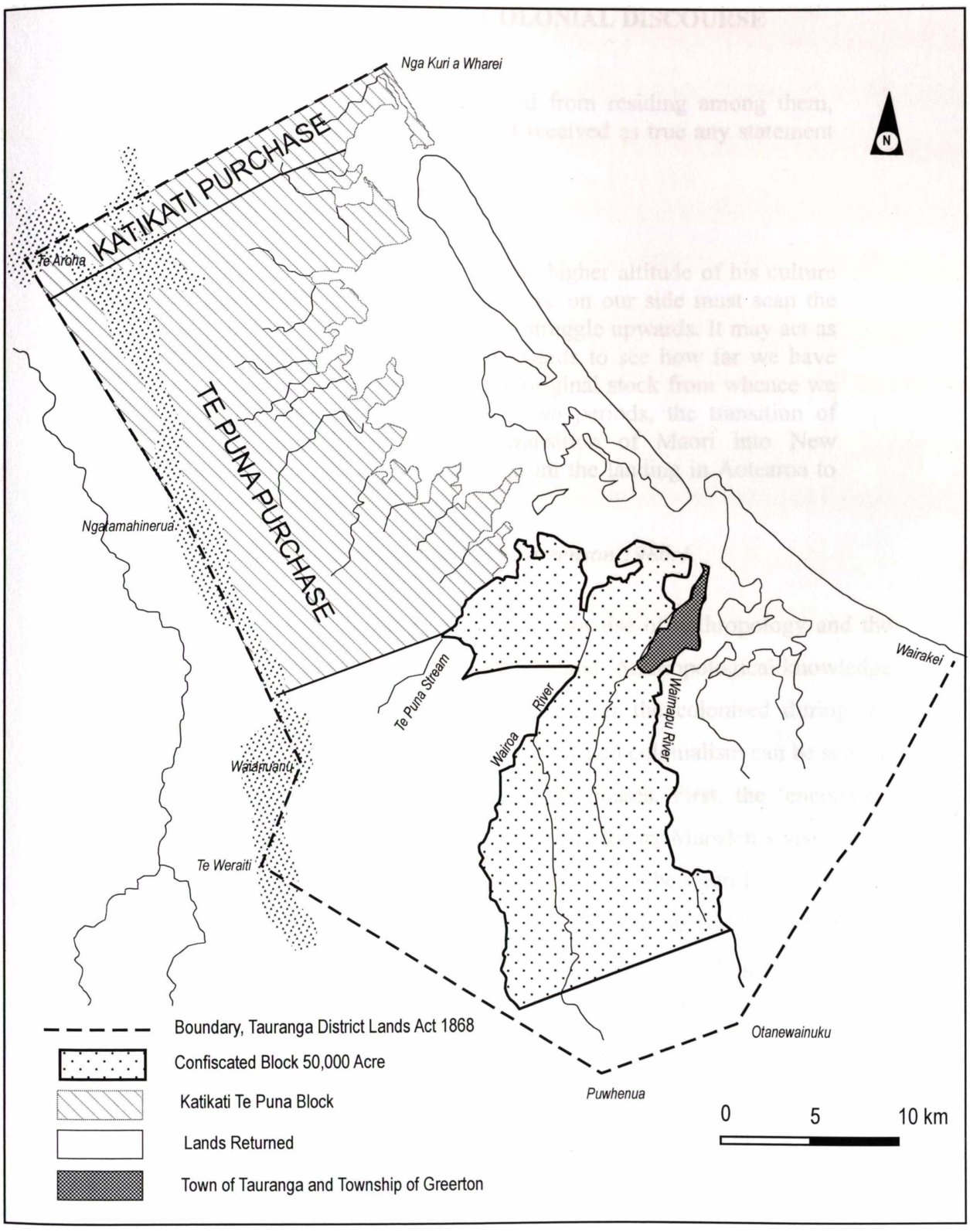


Figure 3

SECTION ONE: COLONISATION AND ANTHROPOLOGY

1.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND COLONIAL DISCOURSE

> The result of my experience, derived from residing among them, taught me to be very cautious how I received as true any statement obtained from purely native sources
>
> *Edward Shortland 1851:25*

> Whilst the Pakeha regards us from the higher altitude of his culture and stresses how far we are behind, we on our side must scan the heights to realize how far we have to struggle upwards. It may act as a stimulus, however, to glance backwards to see how far we have come and how we compare with the original stock from whence we sprung. Our progress resolves into two periods, the transition of Polynesian into Maori and the transition of Maori into New Zealander. The first period extends from the landing in Aotearoa to the advent of European culture
>
> *Te Rangihiroa to Ngata May 4 1930 Sorrenson 1986:1.*

There is an historical relationship between the practise of anthropology and the institutions of colonialism in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Anthropological knowledge was used to achieve and maintain domination over the colonised during the nineteenth century. The link between anthropology and colonialism can be seen in Aotearoa as having emerged over some distinct phases. First, the 'encounter' phase (1769-1814), from Cook's voyages to the missionary Marsden's visit, when ethnological descriptions were based on brief encounters between Europeans and Maori. Second, the 'missionary' phase (1815-1840), during which missionaries and others lived in close contact with Maori and wrote accordingly. Third, the 'colonial phase' (1840 – 1870), from the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi to the end of the Land Wars and suppression of Te Kooti, when many writers on Maori issues were colonial officials like Governor Sir George Grey. Fourth, the 'scientific' phase (1870-1950), when anthropology was largely in the hands of natural scientists in museums and other government institutions.

Banks made the initial observations on Maori on Cook's first voyage and the Forsters undertook 'the objective and comparative study of native peoples' on the

second voyage (Smith 1960:7). With access to the region via the Sydney Penal Colony, the British, through limited observations, had begun by 1840 to form a good understanding of Maori society (Orange 1988:6-7).

After 1840, Britain, as the metropolitan or imperial centre administered the settler colony indirectly as a Crown Colony. But this changed in 1853 when the colony became politically and administratively independent from Britain after the Constitution Act 1852 came into force giving settlers control of their own affairs (Simpson 1979:113). In the settler colonial state, the 'native's' subjection to social, political and cultural domination by the now resident settler colonist was a more encompassing process than subjection to administration from the metropolitan centre. There was early Maori resistance to the colonisation project in the form of individual actions by chiefs such as Hone Heke at Kororareka and Te Rauparaha in the Wellington region during the 1840s.

The settler colony's assertion of dominance over the Maori was first enacted through systematic colonisation as implemented by the New Zealand Land Company in the 1840s, and second through the large-scale land purchases under the Native Land Acts and the war and confiscation of land in the 1860s (Sorrenson 1967). When resistance to colonisation by Maori grew in the 1860s and threatened colonial objectives of continued land acquisition, Grey was recalled for a second term as Governor. Governor Grey, noted for his knowledge and use of anthropology for purposes of achieving domination of the 'subject other', broke this resistance by the use of British troops under his command.

By the 1870s anthropology had become engaged in the domination of a subject people, the subaltern Maori. This was by the colonial settler state patronage of anthropology through learned societies which were established by special legislation to form the New Zealand Institute leading to the formation of colonial anthropology.

This link between anthropology and its use by nineteenth century colonialism to achieve domination of the subject other, has not been made in the field of anthropology because the debate on the relationship between colonialism and anthropology has been centred on the role of professional anthropologists in the British and French colonies of the twentieth century. This has been a discussion of

the relationship between trained anthropologists and colonial administrators (Asad 1979:607). This debate materialised from the decolonization context of the African continent of the 1950s and 1960s. A consequence of the decolonisation process was that doubt was thrown upon the scientific credentials of anthropology, and educated Africans questioned the close relations between anthropology and colonialism (Maquet 1964:47, 51). Criticisms were made of the role of individual anthropologists in the colonies, and it was argued anthropology had originated for the purposes of colonisers to achieving domination over the colonised. Talal Asad defined the historical relationship between colonisation and anthropology:

> anthropology as a holistic discipline nurtured within bourgeois society, having as its object of study a variety of non-European societies which has come under its economic, political and intellectual dominion...All these disciplines are rooted in that complex historical encounter between the West and the third World which commenced about the 16th century: when capitalist Europe began to emerge out of feudal Christendom...for ever since the Renaissance the West has sought to subordinate and devalue other societies, and at the same time to find in them clues to its own humanity (1973:103).

Asad's argument was that anthropology was rooted in the unequal encounter between the West and the Third World, and the way anthropology chose its topics, defined its field, and objectified its knowledge confirmed the powerful in their world (1973:16). This argument has been taken much further by Edward Said (Wright 1995:76), whose pioneering text *Orientalism* contextualised the historical circumstances of European colonialism and imperialism, and explored the range of Orientalism and the ways it authorized and thereby helped control the Orient and its peoples (Mongia 1996:4). Said critiques the numerous texts of Orientalism - philology, ethnography, political science, art, literature - that augmented Western control over the Orient by its construction. The West explored the world and came into contact with exotic peoples, followed by the expansion of the Western empires and subjugation of the native peoples who became the subject other to the West in knowledge and subordination (Said 1993:10). Knowledge about the native thus became a field for the control of the native subject, and anthropology became one such knowledge system. What Said has argued regarding the Orient or Orientalism is also applicable to the Pacific and Oceania in the use of knowledge to control and dominate the 'subject other' of this part of the world.

The institutional relationship between anthropology and colonialism came into being during the 19th century in settler colonial states such as America, Australia, Canada and Aotearoa/New Zealand. It was a particular discipline dedicated exclusively to the study of non-Western cultures, reflecting the Victorian and 19th century European sense of superiority and useful to the colonial expansion of that period (Maquet 1964:51). Anthropology became the discipline par excellence dedicated to validating the unequal power relations between the colonisers and the colonised.

Nineteenth century colonial anthropology in Aotearoa used the stories and history of the colonised "native" to construct theories of Maori origin, while the twentieth century anthropology formulated models or discourses of culture history and change. During the twentieth century there was a shift in New Zealand anthropology from 19th century unilineal evolutionary models to culture history and cultural change theories, and anthropology became embedded in academic teaching institutions where academic knowledge continued to form part of the apparatus of western power (Young 2001:387). This shift coincided with colonial domination in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Where indigenous informants were once necessary for the colonial salvage anthropology of Elsdon Best as a source for history, they were not important for the museum anthropologists and ethnologists where culture could be gauged by material items such as artefacts and the use of archaeology to recover artefacts.

As early twentieth century anthropology turned its back on its evolutionist past, culture was projected as common to all groups of people, although concepts such as 'primitive' remained to describe certain cultures. Key people associated with the modern 20th century form of anthropology advocated an ongoing relationship between anthropology with colonialism. They understood that ethnography and other kinds of anthropological fieldwork were facilitated by European power. Rivers had suggested early in 1913 that the most favourable moment for ethnographic work was 10-30 years after people had been brought under the influence of missionaries and colonial administrators. He believed it took this initial period for the "native" to become receptive and peaceful (Stocking 1992:217). In the early 1920's Malinowski established the principles of modern ethnographic fieldwork where western trained ethnographers resided with the subject group. He subsequently envisioned a situation where the anthropologist

and colonial officer worked hand in hand mobilizing anthropology for the 'task of assisting colonial control' (Malinowski 1930:408).

In the 1970s, Asad pitched the 'colonial encounter' debate at a more conceptual and ideological level, critiquing the absence of reference to colonial context in ethnographies. He examined the imagery of politics and power in Western accounts of the 'other'. The partial imagery of African political systems – e.g. Fortes and Evans-Prichard 1940 - presented small homogenous tribal societies as integrated and ordered and did not include in the picture their subjection to colonial rule, even when imposed by force. Fieldwork and ethnography were to be questioned when the colonial context of subject people were ignored, he argued.

Twenty years later, Asad urged a shift in preoccupations 'from the history of colonial anthropology to the anthropology of Western hegemony' (Asad 1991). Asad's observation was that the role of anthropologists in the colonial project was a relatively minor one, and the role of anthropology for colonialism was relatively unimportant (ibid.). However, the 'process of European global power has been central to the anthropological task of recording and analysing the ways of life of subject populations' and 'the fact of European power, as discourse and practice, was always part of the reality anthropologists sought to understand, and of the way they sought to understand it' (Asad 1991).

The relationship between power and knowing was raised by Said in his 'discourse' on 'Orientalism' where there was complicity of academic forms of knowledge with institutions of power (Young 1990:127). Orientalism as a British and French cultural enterprise became based on an 'academic tradition'.

> Orientalism can be discussed and analysed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient - dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient… (Said 1978:3).

Said also saw anthropology occupying a particular place in this tradition:

> it is anthropology above all that has been historically constituted and constructed in its point of origin during an ethnographic encounter between a sovereign European observer and a non-European native occupying, so as to speak, a lesser status and a distant place (Said 1989:141-142).

There were two phases to the encounter of the West and the 'other'. First was the finding of the 'other,' and initial contact through oceanic voyaging of 'discovery' and reporting back. Second, imperialism and colonialism, which gave control and domination over 'other' people who were different in their language, economy and technology, culture and physiology which in turn provided the justification for the West to control and administer "the primitive other" (Wright 1995:76). Anthropology made Western peoples authoritative in respect to non-western peoples.

British imperialism

British imperialism was a global project of commerce and science that penetrated the Americas, Africa, Asia and the Pacific, constructing a universal picture of both natural and human history (Ballantyne 2002:193). Imperial activities generated multi-functional networks bringing previously unconnected regions into a global system of exchange and movement. It transformed worldviews and produced a comprehension of the world as global. With the imperial networks of colonial officials, administrators, and the military, the flows of personnel, policies and ideas influenced the development of colonial cultures (ibid.194-195). Although anthropology was a Europe-wide venture, the British were to develop their own tradition, first during the nineteenth century as a medium for the imperial and metropolitan centre to comprehend the world, and second, as the rescue ethnography for cultures seen to be vulnerable to western contact and domination. Officials such as governors of crown colonies had great power in their administrative positions; many also had relatively short terms in different countries, and consequently a range of experiences with indigenous populations which they transported between contexts.

The emergence of British ethnology as a scientific discipline was associated with moral concerns. Following the shift from the successful campaign for the abolition of slavery, attention was transferred to the suffering of the aboriginal peoples in and around British settlements. Slavery and the maltreatment of natives not colonialism, thus constituted the real object of humanitarian critique and the rationale of 'protective colonisation' (Young 2001:77). The Aboriginal Protection Society was formed in 1837, preceding the Ethnological Society of London which was formed in 1842-43 (Pels 1999:104). With the establishment of the Aotearoa/New Zealand colony, The Aborigine Protection Society lobbied the

Colonial Office in its efforts to protect 'native' people, and to avert "the worst effects of European contact - disease, loss of land, degradation, depopulation and ultimately racial extinction" (Orange 1987:2).

As a colony, Aotearoa/New Zealand was a source of information for the 'West', with travelling observers and colonists producing and publishing accounts of their engagement with the colonial 'other', variously called the 'New Zealanders' (Dieffenbach 1843, Polack 1840), the 'natives' (Dieffenbach 1843), and the 'Maori race'. The missionaries in the 1830s, as well as the first resident British officials, applied some of the emerging concepts and ideas of early 19th century anthropology to Maori. Hobson's task was to secure sovereignty of Aotearoa for Britain and in 1837 he corresponded to Bourke, a past governor of New South Wales, drawing on his knowledge of Aotearoa and making comments implying the evolutionary state of Maori:

> In reporting to your Excellency my views and observations on the social condition of the New Zealanders I cannot repress a feeling of deep regret that so fine and intelligent a race of human beings should in the present state of general Civilisation be found in Barbarism, for there is not on earth a people more susceptible of high intellectual attainments or more capable of becoming a useful and industrious race under a wise Government (B.P.P. Vol.3:151).

The achievement of settler colonial political and social domination in the mid-1800s saw ethnology and anthropology change from observations of the 'exotic savage' to a primary focus on recording language and traditions to understand the 'other'. The objective for understanding the 'other', was accompanied by the anticipation of their decline during colonisation and the rise of the newly merging evolutionary theories. Evolutionary theory helped legitimise domination by giving validation to the right to take over native populations.

Power relations

Aotearoa/New Zealand began as a settler-colony state of British origin. Power relations between the colonisers (Pakeha) and colonised (Maori) were established in 1840 when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed between the British Crown and Maori chiefs. In the Treaty, from the imperial view, Maori ceded sovereignty to the Crown (Durie 1991:157), while from the Maori view important rights and powers such as title to the tribal estate and tino rangatiratanga (chieftainship) were not ceded (Williams 1991:193). Both language versions acknowledged Maori as

British subjects and granted the Crown pre-emption over purchases of land from Maori. The Maori language version guaranteed *tino rangatiratanga* (full authority) over lands (whenua), villages (kainga) and *taonga* (valued resources).

After the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 a settler colonial government of Parliamentary sovereignty was formed on the Whig theory of government by consent. Maori were excluded although limited representation was provided from 1867. Letters Patent in 1840 established the Crown Colony of New Zealand, a system of government where the governor was appointed by the Crown in Great Britain, receiving his instructions from the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Two councils, a Legislative Council and an Executive Council, advised and assisted the Governor (Dalziel 1992:87). The Governor was given full power and authority and was authorised to appoint at least six other persons or public officers to form with himself a Legislative Council to make laws and ordinances for the "peace and good government of the Colony" (Schofield 1950:12). The Governor could revoke their appointments and all laws, and subjects for debate had to be proposed by the Governor (Schofield 1950:12). The Colonial Office in the metropolitan centre of empire also provided advice (McHugh 2001:192).

By 1843 demand from British settlers for popular representation in the government led to the second governor, Governor Grey, establishing a constitution and setting up a General Assembly for the colony, to consist of the Governor in Chief, a Legislative Council appointed by the Crown, and a House of Representatives appointed by the provincial houses from their own members. In 1852 the New Zealand Constitution passed through the British Parliament and Crown Colony governance was transformed into representative government, a parliament based on the British model with a responsible government of ministers elected by local settlers. Settler Pakeha political dominance was achieved by Parliamentary sovereignty where settlers were given wide powers over internal affairs and policies of exclusion.

Parliamentary sovereignty cleared the way for immediate abrogation of tribal sovereignty and the post-annexation status of customary law and property rights. Acquisition of land was the settler colonial objective. With this exclusion from power, the Treaty of Waitangi became a rallying point for Maori resistance and engagement during the1840s and 1860s. In some tribal regions, out of reach of

colonial settlers, resistance to colonial domination and exclusion was motivated by the tribal prerogative of self-government and a desire to maintain the tribal estate (Walker 1990).

Governor Sir George Grey

Sir George Grey stands as a central figure in the nineteenth century history of the settler colony. As a Governor he was noted for his effective suppression of Maori resistance during the 1840s and 1860s and his counter-insurgent polices of eliciting native military support and loyalty. Initial Maori resistance to land sales during the 1840s was overcome by his policies encouraging the alienation of Maori land by sale to the Crown. His terms of office were 1845 - 1853 and 1861-1868. He oversaw the establishment of a land purchase department which utilised a system of organising land sales that adhered to a chiefly system of rule which effectively negated the custom of consensus decision-making in regard to the tribal or sub-tribal estate. This achievement was associated with his interest in the anthropology of subject peoples and his knowledge of Maori culture to support his political ambitions of containing resistance to colonization.

During his first term of office Governor Grey was patron of the first 'scientific society" in colonial New Zealand, established in 1851. When Grey was in South Australia with the military, he had offered his services to the Royal Geographical Society for the exploration of the then unknown regions of that continent. His 1840 – 42 accounts of Western Australia included natural science and Aboriginal ethnology and he presented natural specimens and bodies taken from burial grounds to the Royal College of Surgeons and the British Museum. His correspondence during this period with scientific leaders such as Sir Charles Lyell and Sir John Lubbock (Fleming 1987:6) showed the breath of his interest in evolutionary theories and familiarity with anthropological ideas.

By 1845 there appeared a point of crisis for British rule in New Zealand with Maori insurgency in the North and challenges to the New Zealand Company by Maori in the Wellington and Nelson regions. Grey was selected to replace the incumbent Fitzroy as Governor, at least partly because of earlier subjugation views expressed by Grey. A memorandum he wrote on native policy in 1840 argued that British law should supersede native custom as quickly as possible, that the authority of the chiefs should be destroyed, that native custom should be

supplanted by common law, and that amalgamation of natives with colonists take place (Ward 1983:72-73). In a 1837 letter from Lord Russell, Secretary of State of the Colonial Office, to Hobson, the first Governor who was responsible for the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, Russell made it clear that he was impressed by Grey's report of 'Upon the best Means of Promoting the Civilization of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Australia'. According to Russell, this report was "an illustration of a manner in which men far more ignorant of the arts of civilized life than the New Zealanders may be won over", and a copy was attached as enclosure No 5 to Hobson's formal instructions[1] (Williams 2001:18). When Grey arrived in New Zealand 1845 he found:

> Her Majesty's native subjects engaged in hostilities with the Queen's troops against whom they had up to that time contended with considerable success; so much discontent also prevailed generally amongst the native population, that where disturbances had not yet taken place there was too much reason to apprehend they would soon break out, as they shortly afterwards did in several parts of the Islands... (Grey 1971:xi).

As Governor and in his role as representative of the British Crown, he found the dependence on interpreters unsatisfactory and realised the importance of learning Maori language and culture:

> These reasons and others of equal force made me feel it to be my duty to make myself acquainted, with the least possible delay, with the language of the New Zealanders, as also with their manners, customs, and prejudices... My thoughts and time were so occupied with the cares of the government of a country then pressed upon by many difficulties and with a formidable rebellion raging in it that I could find but very few hours to devote to the acquisition of an unwritten and difficult language... (ibid).

Grey also early on saw both the practical and political value of collecting Maori myths and traditions:

> Soon, however, a new and quite unexpected difficulty presented itself. On the side of the rebel party were engaged, either openly or covertly, some of the oldest, least civilized, and most influential chiefs in the islands. With them I had either personally or by written communications to discuss questions which involved peace or war, and on which the whole future of the islands and of the native race depended; so that it was in the highest degree essential that I should fully and entirely comprehend their thoughts and intentions, and that they should not in any way misunderstand the nature of the engagements into which I entered with them.

> To my surprise, however, I found that these chiefs, either in their speeches to me, or in their letters, frequently quoted, in explanation of their views and intentions, fragments of ancient poems or proverbs, or made allusions which rested on an ancient system of mythology; and although it was clear that the most important parts of their communications were embodied in these figurative forms, the interpreters were at fault;... (Grey 1971:xiii).

Grey also represented himself as engaging in a kind of salvage ethnology, of recording knowledge before it was lost through the passing away of informants:

> Another reason that has made me anxious to impart to the public that most material portions of the information I have thus attained is that probably to no other person but myself would have many of their ancient rhythmical prayers and traditions have been imparted by their priests; and it is less likely that any one could now acquire them, as I regret to say that most of their old chiefs, and even some of the middle-aged ones who aided me in researches, have already passed to the tomb (Grey 1971:xv).

But as noted by Naomi McNeill-Te Hinii, a Maori student of anthropology, after confronting a *waiata* Grey had collected from her direct ancestor of Tapuika of Te Puke, the "reason for his prolific collection of our taonga is made chillingly clear in the preface to 'Nga Mahi O nga Tupuna'. Grey believed that by understanding the Maori world view, by learning our language and customs, the people would be easier to subjugate" (1986:30).

I have discussed Grey in terms of the his patronage of science in New Zealand, but his primary role was as Governor and as such he strongly influenced the direction of the colony and its domination of the 'other'. Control of Maori affairs was the prerogative of the Colonial Office in London and resident governors since the founding of the colony, and such control was based on the view that the Crown's duty was to stand between the settler and Maori (Orange 1987:140). This was to create obstacles to settler ambitions for full responsible government. The Protectorate Department established in 1840, which was sensitive to Maori viewpoints but unpopular with settlers, was disbanded by Grey in 1846. He replaced the Protectorate with the office of Native Secretary, an administrator working under the Governor to promote land settlement (ibid.). Grey forged and cultivated a direct line of reportage through the 'native secretary' and John Symons was appointed to this office and was incorporated into Grey's interpersonal networks mediated by correspondence (Hickford 1999:274). Under

Grey's administration the Crown purchased most of the South Island by the early 1850s.

During his first term, the proposition that Grey held, that tribal organisation and native custom must be superseded by British institutions and civil laws, was thwarted by Maori who out numbered Pakeha and who had greater geographical dispersion and strength of tribal organisation against his paucity of resources (Rutherford:205). To achieve political control, insurgency was suppressed by the use of British troops, aided by friendly natives, colonial militia and an Armed Police Force. Prohibition of sale of arms and ammunition was enforced by the Arms Ordinance of 1845. Grey cultivated loyalty by transforming chieftainship into a titular title or form of salaried Government office, as well as through the use of magistrates' courts, a system of native assessors, and a mixed police force of Pakeha and Maori (ibid:206-207). Through direct approaches to chiefs, Grey cultivated personal attachment with them. He communicated and displayed an interest in their songs and speech forms, and sometimes provided them with gifts and loans. The patronage of the chiefs was to induce them to play the role of an indigenous elite in the colony, a strategy that had been first undertaken by the missionaries in the early Christianisation process.

Grey departed in 1853, and by this time it was becoming more difficult for Maori to reconcile government actions with official statements about the Treaty's good intent. The sovereignty they wished to retain was 'mana of the land', and the question they wanted to resolve was what power and authority could be exercised respectively by chiefs and government (Orange 1987:136). Maori political concern led in 1858 to the formation of the Kingitanga movement and disturbances over the sale of a block of land at Waitara in Taranaki. Grey was reappointed as Governor in 1861 when doubts were being raised about the suitability of his predecessor Browne, and because of the growing tension over the different perception of sovereignty between Maori and Pakeha (Orange 1987:157).

In 1861, Governor Grey, Attorney General Sewell and Judge Fenton worked out a policy for the administration of Maori districts, which came to be called 'the Runanga system'. The objective was to bring colonial law into areas not touched by colonial settlements. Village Runanga under the direction of Resident

Magistrates, and District Runanga under officers called Civil Commissioners, were enabled to pass by-laws which could be enforced by Maori Assessors and Maori police (Ward 1983:125). This was a policy designed by Grey to bring Maori within the compass of British authority (Orange 1987.161), but it was also a further development of his earlier 'cultivation of loyalty' programme. In districts affected by the land wars of the 1860s the assessors were to become essentially political and intelligence agents serving the colonial government. It was proposed that the Resident Magistrates and Runanga define tribal, hapu or individual interests in land and, when these were confirmed by Crown grant, to authorize the alienation of land.

Colonial scientific and learned societies

Cook's first expedition to the Pacific in 1769 was a scientific voyage that went hand in hand with political and strategic purpose (Frost 1988:32-37). The British and French explorations of that era gave rise to immense natural history and ethnographic collections, which scientists in Europe examined, classified and used in the development of modern disciplines. Such information vastly extended Western knowledge of the world's oceans and islands, and of the coastlines and people inhabiting them (ibid.27). In hand with the Pacific becoming a "veritable school for science", there also occurred the deployment of Western political, military and religious interests, and growing relationships between scientific discovery, geographical exploration, territorial acquisition, colonial settlement and trade (Macleod & Renbock 1988:1-2). The extreme isolation of Aotearoa and its proximity to Australia meant that the initial British imperial contacts and plans for annexation of Aotearoa were New South Wales centred. This Australian connection became significant because of the links that had been established between the colony of New South Wales and Aotearoa before annexation and the large number of colonists who had links to Australia, but also because of Grey's close association with both colonies.

The Royal Society sponsored the scientific endeavour of Banks on the first of Cook's voyages and now Australian colonists were establishing the Society for their colonial scientific enterprise and the relationship between the Crown and the Society was continued with the patronage of the Governor. During the early nineteenth century scientific societies were established in each of the Australian colonies. The first scientific society in the British Colony of New South Wales

was formed in 1821 "with a view to enquiring into the various branches of physical science of this vast continent [Australia] and its adjacent regions". On his arrival in Sydney late in 1821 the new Governor (as he was then called), Sir Thomas Brisbane, was offered and accepted the position of President (Royal Society of New South Wales 2005).

These 19th century Antipodean scientific societies were based on British models, produced journals along the lines of their British counterparts, and investigated problems posed by British based scientists (Butcher 1988:140-41). But very little ethnography was conducted on the Aboriginal peoples. In 1827 when the idea of a museum was proposed, the impetus came from the desire to procure the many rare and curious specimens of Natural History for naturalists in England, and it was not until the 1880s that there was an impetus towards collating ethnography on Aboriginal peoples (Australian Museum 2004).

The establishment of scientific societies came about in Aotearoa through the colonial networks with Australia, and the role of the Governor as patron sanctioning colonial science as an 'imperial enterprise'. The New Zealand Society, a scientific and cultural organisation, was formed in 1851 by a group of Wellington citizens with close Australian links and Governor Grey was invited to be the President. The objects of the society were "the development of the physical character of the New Zealand group, its natural history, resources and capabilities, the collection of materials illustrating the history, language, customs, poetry, and traditions of the Maori, publications on these subjects, and the establishment of corresponding societies in other centres" (Fleming 1987:7). The Society went through periods of in-activity but with the return of Grey from South Africa in the early 1860s he reformed the Society. A collection of natural and cultural material held by the Society was transferred to the Colonial Museum established in 1865 (Fleming 1987:7).

Because of the failure of the New Zealand Society to remain an active scientific body, the New Zealand Institute Act 1867 created a permanent body for colonial science, to be presided over by the Queen's representative in the colony and

financially supported by the Government (Williams 2001:11). Thus the settler colonial state became the sponsor of, amongst other disciplines, anthropology.

Although not specifically mentioned in the New Zealand Institute Act 1867, ethnology – in the context of 'the heroic work of colonisation' - was highlighted by the Governor's inaugural address to the New Zealand Institute in August 1868:

> Still let me remind you, that the main object of the Legislature in founding this Institute, was not merely to make provision for healthy intellectual recreation, but rather to provide guidance and aid for the people of New Zealand in subduing and replenishing the earth, -in the heroic work of colonisation....
> And now, gentleman, we must not forget that the halls in which we are assembled, contain numerous and valuable illustrations, not only of the Natural History and Geology of this country, but also of the manners and customs of the aboriginal inhabitants. It will be one of the main objects of this Institute to collect all records that can help to throw light on that very complicated and difficult, but highly interesting subject, - the past and present condition and future prospects of the Maori race. My predecessor, Sir George Grey, has done much for the preservation of the poetry and traditions of the Maoris.... I will only add that no problem of Ethnology, - can be regarded as alien to us Britons, who, throughout our vast Empire, are brought into contact with so many and such diverse nations (Hector 1869).

In the contents list of the Proceedings of the Auckland Institute (Hector 1869:ii), the latter being the very first publication of the Transactions of the New Zealand Institute, Maori ethnology was the very first entry.

> The Editor has also desired to give publicity to the following list of subjects on which special information is desirable, which has been circulated among the Members of the Auckland Institute, in the hope that it may be found useful, as suggesting future communications, to the various Societies:
> 1. History, Mythology, Ethnology, etc. of the Maori Race.

Speaking to the fourth meeting of the Institute in September 1868, Sir George Grey is reported as referring:

> ... at some length as to the interesting field open in this colony for contributing to science important observations bearing on the study of the human race. Sir George Grey gave some interesting examples of the curious results likely to ensue from a comparison of the traditions and history of the Maori race, with that of the early inhabitants of Britain (Hector 1869).

The New Zealand Institute Act 1868 incorporated the Wellington Philosophical Society (formerly the New Zealand Society), the Auckland Institute, the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury and the Westland Naturalists' and Acclimatization Society. Sir George Grey was the President of the Wellington

Philosophical Society and Frederick Whitaker the President of the Auckland Institute. Whitaker was the then government leader in the Council and also Attorney General. As Premier from 1861 to 1868 Whitaker was responsible for the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863, the Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863, and the Loan Act 1863, all of which were crucial developments in the suppression of Maori resistance and the confiscation of Maori lands. When he introduced the Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863 in Parliament Whitaker noted its antecedent:

> The Act is similar to that passed in 1798 for the suppression of the Irish Rebellion, with such alterations and modifications as render it suitable for New Zealand (AJHR 1864 A1:3).

Grey had tacitly agreed to this kind of legislation when he asked the Attorney General to draft a bill along the lines of the Suppression of Disturbances Act 1833, but Whittaker had opted for the more severe Irish Act 1798 as his model (Rutherford 1961:497). Similarly, in respect to the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863, Whitaker noted:

> the complete defeat of the rebels would have little effect in permanently securing the peace for the Colony... In former wars in New Zealand the natives have been permitted to leave off fighting when they thought fit, to keep all the plunder they have obtained; and they have not been subjected to any kind of punishment for disturbing the peace of the country, killing Her Majesty's subjects and destroying their property.... For the most part the natives of New Zealand possess little personal property, and therefore suffer but little from losing temporary possession of their settlements. What they have most dreaded in their own wars have been slavery and the permanent loss of their landed possessions. There is no doubt that the native lands offer the most effectual means of securing the objective the Government has in view... (AJHR 1864 A1:3-4).

Ethnographic observation of 'custom' in respect to land and warfare was in these circumstances being used to validate colonial government. There was opposition in Parliament to laws that denied citizens their 'habeas corpus' with one critic in Parliament describing the confiscation of land as "repugnant to the law of England" (FitzGerald NZPD 1861-63:786). But these coercive laws matched Grey's colonising objective of bringing Maori under permanent control and containing insurgency. Grey's rapport with Maori and his ways was admired by other parliamentarians, as shown by this comment in a debate on financial appropriations for schools, courts, medicine, pensions, gifts and feasts for Maori:

> I find that the Imperial Government, fully aware of the difficulty of the task to be accomplished in governing and civilising them, selected as Governor, at this important crisis, the man who, above all others in the British dominions, had seemed to them the most eminently qualified for the arduous post; and it was naturally hoped, not only at Home, but by the European inhabitants of the colony generally, that Sir George Grey, by his knowledge of the language, customs, and habits of the Maoris, as well as of their religion and superstitions, and also by the influence he had acquired over them by familiar intercourse during the former period in which he administered the affairs of the country (Fox NZPD 1861-1863: 803).

In Aotearoa during the 19th century the relationship between anthropology and colonisation developed as an aspect of post-Enlightenment imperialism, and reflected the value of anthropology in acquiring dominance over the subject other. Asad noted that an objective of twentieth century anthropological explanation and study "has often been to show that the rationality of African cultures is comprehensible to (and therefore capable of being accommodated by) the West" (Asad 1973). Grey expressed a similar sentiment a century earlier, where the intelligence of Maori reflected in their history, traditions and customs acceptable to Pakeha was an indication that these people were amenable to rational thought and the civilising process of Western colonisation.

In a young settler colonial state like New Zealand, the scientific societies had an important role and function prior to the establishment of universities. The colonial state as the main institution of power was the sponsor of academic forms of knowledge and was led and patronised by Governor Grey. This suggests the complicity and collusion of scientific production in colonial power relations.

Colonial/Salvage Anthropology

According to Peter Pels, the concept and practise of salvage ethnology originated with the humanitarian concerns of the Aboriginal Protection Society where they advocated the salvage of the knowledge of 'uncivilized races'. The Aboriginal Protection Society did not advocate the interest of the people studied, except in respect to the latter's capacity to be converted (Pels 1999:104-05). By the 1890s, locally born colonists were taking an active part in Maori ethnology. They were noted for their Maori language skills and their role in the military during the Maori insurgencies of the 1860s and 1870s, as well as for their roles in the Native Land Court and Survey Office of the post land war period. Their lack of formal

education and enthusiasm for the 'salvage' style of anthropology were eventually to put them on a collision with the academic and learned establishment of the New Zealand Institute.

Whereas the New Zealand Institute dealt broadly with all the sciences, in 1891 Percy Smith proposed the formation of a new society for the express purpose of studying and preserving material on the anthropology, ethnology, philology, manners and customs of Oceanic peoples (Sorrenson 1992:11) threatened with depopulation and extinction. Around this time Elsdon Best undertook extended fieldwork amongst the Tuhoe of the Urewera, thus becoming New Zealand's "first professional ethnographer" (Sissons 1993:39). Tribal elders and their traditional knowledge were increasingly being seen as under the threat of extinction from the impact of Western civilisation.

The formation of the Polynesian Society in 1892 for publication of anthropological material was distinct from the New Zealand Institute. Land alienation through the native land court and post-war land confiscation opened previously isolated Maori areas to colonial settlement. By the turn of the twentieth century, Maori were considered to be a 'dying race'. Contact by colonial officials with Maori, and the establishment of a Polynesian Society that emphasised Maori and Oceanic history, ethnology and anthropology, led to Maori themselves contributing to the discourse of colonial anthropology. Maori contributors had become experienced in the Native Land Court procedures where histories, traditions and genealogies were presented for title investigation. Best himself had been clerk of the Native Land Court at Whakatane where key people who had given evidence in the land court became his informants.

Publication in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* was specified by legislation and papers went through a system of vigorous scrutiny and presentation, typical of the British Royal Society model of a 'learned' society. By contrast the Polynesian Society developed a format whereby contributors made direct submissions to the editor. This accessibility meant participation by a wide range of people, including Maori. During the period of publication from 1892 to 1922 over half the articles published in the Journal of Polynesian Society were on Maori subjects, divided equally between history and anthropology. 'Anthropology' consisted of ethnographic description, myths and legends and

other customary information. Material classified as 'history' consisted of unstructured oral narrative The anthropology produced in the JPS has been described by Sorrenson as 'amateur anthropology (Sorrenson 1992:52).

Maori Intellectuals

The published *Journal of the Polynesian Society* became the source of intellectual engagement with anthropology for the first generation of Maori university graduates' Apirana Ngata and Te Rangihiroa (Peter Buck) of Te Aute College and The Young Maori Party. Ngata and Te Rangihiroa foresaw a role anthropology and ethnology should play for Maori. Ngata was an avid reader of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* and of the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute,* making notes on the language, culture, traditions, chants and genealogies of the Maori and the people of the Pacific to complement what he was learning first hand on the ground from Maori communities. He supported the view held by Percy Smith that the work in recording traditional Maori knowledge was of national importance and should be supported by the state (Walker 2002:119-120).

Te Rangihiroa developed an interest in physical anthropology and Maori material culture while at medical school in the 1900s where he completed a thesis in medical anthropology in 1910. He contributed articles firstly on material culture in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* and the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*. He began publishing on Niue, Cook Island and Maori material culture in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* and the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Ranginui 20002: 147). During the 1920s, he published more articles on material culture and did field work with Best and Andersen for the Maori Ethnological Board. In 1926 he took up a position with the Bishop Museum in Honolulu and in 1951 died there.

Ngata became a Member of Parliament in 1903 and from 1906 gained government funds for the Polynesian Society to enable publication of manuscripts on Maori subjects, and later took a more direct role in the affairs of the society. He also turned his attention to recording Maori music. In 1920 Ngata, with support from fellow Maori MPs persuaded the government to establish a Board of Maori Ethnological Research. Its purpose was to establish a fund from Maori money to

promote the study and investigation of the arts, languages, customs, history and traditions of the Maori and related races of the South Pacific (Walker 2002:204). He promoted the revival of meeting house arts in Ngati Porou and extended this on a national scale by establishing a school of Maori arts and crafts in Rotorua. This early embrace of anthropology by Ngata and Te Rangihiroa created a tradition of Maori participation in academic anthropology. It is arguable that they were the first indigenous people anywhere to engage with anthropology as 'anthropologists', formally and informally, rather than as the 'native informants'.

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[1] Russell to Hobson, 9 December 1840, British Parliamentary Papers, Vol. 3, p 151

MAORI ANTHROPOLOGY

> Even in ethnology, I doubt whether a native people is really regarded as other than a project to give the white writer a job and a chance for fame. I have suggested at times that the most profitable method of studying a people would be to take some of their brightest men and train them in anthropology. Ka he ra, ka kore he mahi mate Pakeha (but that will be wrong for there will be no work for the Pakeha)
>
> *Rangihiroa to Ngata February 11 1934 Sorrenson 1986:126.*

Figure ii. Apirana Ngata and Te Rangihiroa with tukutuku panel at Waiomatatini 1923 1/2-007887 ATL

During the late nineteenth century when anthropology was white and western with an imperialist gaze that was unquestioned, the first generation of educated Maori began to confront their colonised state through anthropology. This first generation of Maori intellectuals during the 1890s were inspired by the colonial anthropology of Elsdon Best, Percy Smith and others of the 1890s. Their publication of Maori culture history, salvage ethnography and predictions of the Maori demise generated for one intellectual, Apirana Ngata, an attraction to the Polynesian

Society and anthropology in general. This interest in anthropology arose because it was a field that examined and theorised Maori social organisation and culture, an appropriate medium for the ideology of Maori social reformation and cultural restoration objectives taken on by this first generation of educated Maori. The publications of nineteenth century colonial anthropology of Aotearoa/New Zealand were to generate twentieth century "indigenous" nativist anthropology or Maori anthropology.

Apirana Ngata was the first Maori university graduate. He was a product of Te Aute College, which produced an elite group of Maori intellectuals who were to graduate from university during the closing stages of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century including Te Rangihiroa and Maui Pomare, the first medical graduates. The capacity of these first Maori graduates to absorb anthropological and ethnological debates had its genesis at Te Aute College. John Thornton, headmaster of Te Aute from 1878, believed that Maori students should be trained to take their place in the professions of medicine, law and the clergy and he prepared the bright students for the matriculation examination to enable them to go on to university (Walker 2001:62). He also prepared them for their future elite roles by exposing them to the ideology of assimilation, Christian morals and principles, and the view that the reversal of the decline of the Maori people must begin with the reformation of Maori society (ibid: 68, 74). The senior students of Te Aute College, under the patronage of their headmaster, in 1891 formed the Association for the Amelioration of the Condition for the Maori Race (Condliffe 1971:103). In their enthusiasm for the reform of living conditions and customs, they attempted to bring about sanitation change in some *pa* (settlements) they visited in the Hawkes Bay area, but in this they were unsuccessful (Sorrenson 1990:327).

In 1897, a conference at Te Aute was organised for past and present students to discuss the welfare of the Maori race. At this conference, students such as Te Rangihiroa and Ngata, the latter now a law graduate, wrote and presented papers on various topics. The Te Aute College Students Association (TACSA), also known as the Te Kotahitanga o Te Aute, was formed and a draft constitution of TACSA was drawn up with the objective "To aid in the amelioration of the condition of the Maori race physically, intellectually, socially and spiritually" (Walker 2001:75). TACSA was to be the launch pad of Ngata's political career,

where as secretary he promoted the organisation at *hui* (meetings) of the political organisation Te Kohitahitanga and other tribal gatherings. TACSA changed to the Young Maori Party to include students from the other Maori secondary schools. Of this generation, Apirana Ngata and Te Rangihiroa (Peter Buck) made anthropology their life.

It was Ngata who specified anthropology as a discipline that was central to their restorative objectives. In the draft constitution of the Young Maori Party in 1906, Ngata expressed the objectives for both anthropology and ethnology:

> Since it is destructive to the self-respect of the race to break suddenly with the traditions of the past, it is one of the aims of the Party, though not the primary one, to preserve the language, poetry, tradition and such of the customs and arts of the Maori as may be desirable and by promoting research in the Anthropology and Ethnology of the Polynesian race to contribute to science and provide a fund of material which should enrich Literature and Art of the future (Ngata MS 1906:2).

Te Rangihiroa, another Te Aute student who had gravitated to anthropology, acknowledged the role of colonial anthropology in his thesis 1910:

> As much of the present work has been drawn from personal observation, during my term of work as a Maori officer of Health, obtained at the bedside, in the meeting house and from conversation with men of the various tribes, the bibliography is, of necessity, small. I have to acknowledge my obligations to Elsdon Best, Lieu-Col. Gudgeon and others whose writings in the Transactions of the N.Z. Institute and the Journal of the Polynesian Society, have done much to preserve the ancient lore of the Maori (Buck 1910).

Apirana Ngata and Te Rangihiroa were to spend the next 40 years engaging with anthropology.

Apirana Ngata

The figure of Ngata looms large in the twentieth century for his political programme for Maori land development and cultural restoration. As a Member of Parliament and Cabinet he was to use public and Maori money to finance his initiatives. His formal Pakeha education was initiated by his iwi when his Ngati Porou elders sent him to Te Aute. He viewed this later in life as a mission on their part and his:

> He saw himself as a descendent of Maui, the embodiment of the spirit of the ancestors when Maori flourished in the land before the advent of Pakeha. The elders and repositories of the spirit sent him off a great distance from home to be nourished by Pakeha knowledge. He thought the elders and chiefs had dedicated him to find remedies, in the schools and towns of the Pakeha, for the ills inflicted on the people by colonisation. Now he was bringing back that knowledge for their consideration approval and implementation (Walker 2002:75).

When offered a special grant by the Makarini Trust, a scholarship endowment of Te Aute, to attend university, there was a mixed reaction from his elders many of whom saw formal Pakeha education as a process of contamination to Maori identity. But it was Rapata Wahawaha, a grandfather figure who had raised Paratene, Ngata's father, as his own, who decided the matter by placing the decision in Ngata's hands (Sorrenson 1987:43).

In 1893 Ngata published his first paper which was a "condensed discussion of Maori myths, traditions and current theories on Maori origins, tribal culture and responses to Christianity and colonisation" (Walker 2002:66). After the third conference of TACSA was held in 1898, Ngata was appointed as travelling secretary, charged with explaining the aims of the Association, soliciting support from the Maori people, and publishing the newspaper Te Pipiwharauroa. Ngata wrote many papers for the Association's conferences and reports on its proceedings for circulation to Maori communities. This drive and ability and early experience in publishing saw Ngata later, when he was a Parliamentary Minister, support the publication of Maori material through the Polynesian Society and to establish the Maori Ethnological Board in the 1920s. Ngata's commitment to his work caught the attention of James Carroll, Member of Parliament for Gisborne, himself of a Maori mother, who encouraged Ngata to contest a seat in Parliament in 1905.

The Pakeha patrons of the TACSA, the headmaster Thornton and Archdeacon Samuel Williams, pushed an assimilation agenda, including the elimination of what they considered to be objectionable Maori customs. However at a *hui* at Putiki in 1900, Ngata was explicit about the objectives he had in mind for the Association. The aim was not to turn Maori into Pakeha but to retain the good customs of the Maori and discard only those customs that were 'evil' (ibid 2002:91). The Association promoted a health campaign for Maori survival and vitalisation which included modifications to meeting houses to allow light and air

in the buildings, wooden floors for houses, sanitation, and the containment of alcohol at gatherings. The objectives of the Young Maori Party were a modernisation programme, the promotion of education and commercial farming of land, suppression of objectionable customs, restrictions on alcohol, and the role of Christian religion in the lives of Maori peoples.

Ngata's role as travelling secretary was to take him to his home region of Tairawhiti (East Coast) attending the hui of Te Kotahitanga, a political organisation advocating 'self determination'. Ngata was to take advantage of the gathering of people at the hui they held on marae to promote the aims of the Young Maori Party. The Kotahitanga meetings took him into other tribal areas, and in areas such as Ngati Awa (Whakatane) he became familiar with the names of hapu, their wharepuni, symbols of identity such as *maunga* (mountain) and *awa* (river) and areas of concern such as tension in the Native Land Court over remaining land.

Because of the profile Ngata had as secretary for the Young Maori Party, Turi (James) Carroll MP appointed him Organising Inspector of Maori Councils in 1902, to promote the establishment of Councils and assist in their management and administration. Ngata had helped Carroll with the drafting of the Maori Councils Act and the Maori Land Administration Act that was passed in 1900, giving Maori Councils limited powers of self-government. Ngata resigned his post in 1904 and stood for the Parliamentary seat of Tairawhiti in 1905 and was voted in with solid support from Ngati Porou (Sorrenson 1986:19). The Young Maori Party had been the platform on which Ngata had launched his political career, and it was the sounding board for many of the policies he would later introduce into Parliament for the strengthening of Maori culture.

In December 1928, following the election of the farmer-based United Party, Ngata was appointed to a number of ministerial portfolios, and during the 1930s he became a senior minister (anon 1950:44). Ngata remained as a parliamentarian until 1946 when he was unsuccessful in re-election. The most productive period for him was from the early 1900s until his ministerial appointments. Ngata advocated land tenure reform and land development, which he first concentrated on his own iwi, Ngati Porou (ibid.22-23). This he did by his own example by

improvement of pastures and stock numbers. Along the way, he developed an interest in anthropology, in all its facets, but above all for practical application; for what we would call 'anthropology in action'. Ngata did not hesitate to use his masterly knowledge of genealogy and oral traditions, songs and poetry, for practical purposes – to encourage his own Ngati Porou and other tribes to accept reforms (Sorrenson 1986:21).

Te Rangihiroa

Te Rangihiroa came from a different tribal background from Ngata, Taranaki. His iwi, Ngati Mutunga, lived where the land wars of the 1860s erupted. Their land was confiscated and Taranaki became the source and centre of Pai Marire a religious movement and Te Whiti and Tohu's passive resistance to the land confiscation. His father was an Irish Pakeha who came to New Zealand and joined the New Zealand Constabulary in the latter stages of the Land Wars of the 1860s. Based in Taranaki, he took a Maori wife and fathered Te Rangihiroa to a cousin of his wife (Ramsden 1954:10). The family lived in the Pakeha sector of Urenui and Te Rangihiroa was determined to attend Te Aute College, which he did at the age of 19 in 1896. Te Rangihiroa's first meeting with Apirana Ngata was at the TACSA conference in 1897 where he observed Ngata engrossed in colonial anthropology: "he had a copy of the *Polynesian Journal* and that he discussed with our headmaster, John Thornton, a paper by Archdeacon Herbert L. Williams on the construction of a Maori house. Ngata had followed it up, with a paper on the Ngati Porou methods of building" (Buck (Te Rangihiroa) 1951:22).

Te Rangihiroa went on to Medical School at the University of Otago, with a scholarship which had been instigated by Ngata (Condliffe 1971: 92). Condliffe attributes the start of Te Rangihiroa's interest in material culture to the time when he was at Medical School. There Augustus Hamilton, a collector who later became the Director of the Colonial Museum, encouraged him to develop his interest in anthropology.

Te Rangihiroa became the medical officer for the North and when Hone Heke the incumbent in the Northern Maori seat died, Te Rangihiroa with the support of Ngata was invited by the leaders of Tai Tokerau (northern Maori) to contest the seat. Te Rangihiroa won the seat and entered Parliament in 1909. As a member of

Parliament he completed his medical thesis which was a treatise on the medical anthropology of the Maori:

> It seems to me that with a young university such as that of New Zealand, without the facilities for research work provided by older and richer homes of learning, the scope for original work, which is the duty of every University to encourage and foster, is somewhat limited. In the philology, history and ethnology of the Polynesian Race, however, is provided a wide field for research work which is the bounden duty of this University to explore and lead the way. As an obligation to my 'alma mater' I take the subject nearest to my faculty - Medicine amongst the Maoris, in ancient and modern times (Buck 1910).

Te Rangihiroa was to extend his anthropological interests with the publication of the first of his many articles for the *Journal of Polynesian Society* in 1910 and notes on material culture for the *Dominion Museum Bulletin* in 1911 (Sorrenson 1986:27). During the parliamentary recess of 1910 he went to the Cook Islands as Medical Officer. He visited the Cook Islands again during the 1912-13 parliamentary recess, and spent six months on Niue Island in 1911. His political career came to an end in 1914 when he contested a European seat and failed to get elected (ibid: 28). In 1915 Te Rangihiroa volunteered for war service with the Maori contingent and rose to the position of deputy commander. On their way home from France in 1919 he carried out an exercise in somatology on the Maori troops. By the 1920s Te Rangihiroa had taken up an administrative post as Director of Maori Health which gave him plenty of time to pursue his interest in anthropology. He produced a steady stream of papers for the *Journal of Polynesian Society* and for *The Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*. In 1922 and 1923 he published a series of articles of 'Maori Somatology' in *Journal of Polynesian Society* from measurements he had conducted on 814 members of the Maori Battalion in 1919 on they way back to Aotearoa from World War 1. Te Rangihiroa published a paper in 1924 'The Passing of the Maori' where he was able to refute the assumptions of the decline of the Maori. The Polynesian Society produced his first monograph, *The Evolution of Maori Clothing,* in 1926 (ibid:34).

Te Rangihiroa took a wider interest in the world of anthropology. He and H.D. Skinner, representing The Polynesian Society, attended the Pan-Pacific Scientific Congress Anthropology and Ethnology section in Australia in 1923. Te Rangihiroa presented a paper 'Maori technology' where Maori plaits and basketry were illustrated with Kinema films (anon.1923:179-180). He presented two public

lectures, one titled 'The Maori Race, by a Maori' (Buck 1923:3-4). There he met Professor Herbert E. Gregory, Director of the Bishop Museum and this meeting was to eventually launch Te Rangihiroa into his career as an anthropologist in America. The museum was conducting research in the South Pacific and Gregory nominated Te Rangihiroa to join its expedition to the Cook Islands, where he spent ten weeks on Aitutaki and Rarotonga in 1926 (Sorrenson 1986:35). A regional survey of Polynesia was being undertaken by the Bernice P. Bishop Museum and Te Rangihiroa relinquished a position as Director of Maori Hygiene to join the staff of the Bishop Museum as an ethnologist to aid in the fieldwork (Buck 1964: v). He wrote to Ngata in 1927 to explain what this opportunity meant for him:

> The five years intensive research work is the biggest thing attempted in anthropology so far. At the end of it, the Polynesians should be the best recorded race of any of the tinted races of mankind. It is too big and important a study for us to neglect having a share in it. There is enough in New Zealand to occupy a life time in study but I feel that one's full time ought to be devoted to it. I am tired of doing a bit here and a bit there and burning the mid-night electric to do work that counts in a spasmodic way in one's own time that ought to be devoted to reading and seeing what others are doing. I feel that some one else could do my health work equally well or better. I have worked up the stage that I am dissatisfied with myself and want to do the best work of which I am capable. This lies in the field of anthropology. The past (studies) have gradually trained me for it. I think the time is now ripe when I should devote myself entirely to it and keep up our reputation in this branch of scientific work (cited in Sorrenson 1986:47-48).

Both Te Rangihiroa and Ngata were dedicated to anthropological work, although Ngata's scholarship had to take second place to his political commitment. They both had clear ideas about anthropology; it did not concern them that their theories or ideas might not be popular in the wider field of anthropology, especially with the new approach advocated by functionalism, but they were comfortable in the knowledge that they had the exclusive position of the insider and that they were fluent in their native language and culture, which they saw as being important for their kinds of practical and empirical anthropology.

Maoritanga

In his report, *Native Development,* presented to parliament in 1931, Ngata used the anthropologist Raymond Firth's model of economic change to illustrate transformations that had occurred since first contact with the Pakeha (Firth 1928).

Firth's fourth phase related to the social and political domination of Maori by Pakeha in the twentieth century, where Maori material culture had been replaced by Pakeha culture, economic systems, and economic structures and the communal system of owning land had 'been gradually abandoned'. Ngata took issue with Firth's analysis by stating that although it appears to be the case on the surface, "beneath the surface Native characteristics may persist and racial influences continue their sway over the mind and spirit of the people to a greater extent than European investigators can appreciate" (Ngata 1931:G 10:ix). Ngata pointed out that administrators had to recognise that tribal organisation, native social custom, and social stratification still remained (ibid.). These cultural aspects that persisted were referred to and idealised by Ngata as 'Maoritanga'.

At the turn of the twentieth century, 'Maoritanga' symbolised cultural difference and the divide between Maori and Pakeha. It was to be the expression for Maori cultural identity used throughout the twentieth century. 'Maoritanga' was not the material culture or the Maori economy, which colonial domination had transformed, but referred to the ceremonies, values, practices, beliefs, customs, and traditions that remained and featured in people's lives. This term was in common use until the 1970s and 1980s when other words such as taha Maori (Walker 1996: 25), and matauranga Maori (Salmond 1986:309), were introduced.

Maoritanga became synonymous with Ngata because of his constant reference to it. In 1940 he explained that Maoritanga was:

> an emphasis on the continuing individuality of the Maori people, the maintenance of such Maori characteristics and such features of Maori culture as present day circumstances will permit, the inculcation of pride in Maori history and traditions, the retention so far as possible of old time ceremonial, the continuous attempt to interpret the Maori point of view to the *pakeha* in power' (Ngata 1940:175-76).

Metge refers to this quote by Ngata in her 1960s study of a rural hapu community in the far North and of the members of the hapu in the city. Maoritanga symbolised a Maoriness that was shared and used to denote things Maori – Maori culture or Maori ways and pride in things Maori. 'Maoritanga' was a powerful bond between rural and urban kin (Metge 1964:95, 249).

Many attribute the concept and promotion of Maoritanga to Sir James Carroll (Webster 1998:92), who was Minister for Native Affairs when Ngata entered

Parliament, but 'Maoritanga' had been discussed at a hui on the marae of King Mahuta at Waahi at Huntly in 1910. Then at a hui at Te Kuiti in 1911, called by Sir James Carroll and attended by the Kingitanga, the Maori MPs, James Carroll, Ngata Ngata, and North Island iwi (Ormsby Ms). Pepene Eketone of Ngati Maniapoto laid out the following in his welcoming speech:

> Ko nga take tenei to tatou raa, epiri i te take o te kara nei;
> Ko Te Maoritanga
> Ko Te Ture
> Ko Te Whakapono
>
> Ko te Maoritanga tenei mo nga iwi katoa o te motu nei noreira, e hoki e ia iwi, ki to taonga, kua mahue, ki muri, kua warewaretia, ara, to tatou Maoritanga, ko te hiahia kia tae tatou, ki tetehi taumata pai, hei okiokinga, mo tatou. Whakarongo mai, E rua otatou tihi, ko Mahuta, Ko Taa Timi Kara, ki te kore, e taea tatou, me tuku atu ma raua, te taonga nei e hanga, e whakaoti, a ka waiho hai taonga nei e hanga, e whakaoti, a ka waiho hei taonga mo nga uri whakatupu, o te maori, e tata ana kua ngaro, ki raro I te Pakeha.
>
> The issues for our day, which are the issues of Carroll
> Maoritanga
> Law
> Religion
>
> This thing Maoritanga of all the tribes of this country, we must as each tribe go back to the treasured possession, that has been lost, forgotten this our Maoritanga, it should be our desire to reach a good platform for comfort for us. Listen here, we have two peaks, Mahuta and Sir James Carroll, if we do not achieve our goal we give it to them this prized possession to build and complete as a prized possession for the next generation of Maori, who are close to being lost beneath the Pakeha (Ormsby Ms – translation Des Kahotea).

At the Te Kuiti hui Pepene proposed a motion for the return to Maoritanga which prompted much discussion. Rere Nikitini asked whether the gathering was Maori or Pakeha. If those present at the gathering were Pakeha (in thinking), the motion would be lost, if we went back to Maoritanga the motion would be passed. Te Para Hanuora mentioned that his elders went to the raising of Potatau as King in 1857 and told him:

> it was to lay themselves down for a place for him, Te Para, but if you tremble this what we have laid for you will collapse. But I am a fish of the sea which never trembles and those words are my support for the motion (Ormsby Ms– translation Des Kahotea).

Ngata supported the motion and said that Maoritanga had three heads, King Mahuta, Taingakawa (Kingitanga Kingmaker of Ngati Haua) and Kahupokoro. Mahuta has hold of the custom, and this means the custom is raised to a high esteem. Ngata observed that the language needed to be grasped or it would be lost:

> Children of today seek to speak Pakeha, to know the language of the Pakeha is a mistaken thought of children. Why is it that children do not have a foundation to view. That is why they are like that. My thoughts are that we should raise ourselves to do the things of our elders, whakapapa, waiata, rurirui, karakia of the distant past. The elders are going, we are losing them, who will do this work, who will create a the future for us. This is my grasp for Maoritanga I talk about. I say to you Maniapoto, it is for you to seek a place for this large burden for us, for Maori (Ormsby ms– translation Des Kahotea).

These sentiments expressed by Ngata were to become the basis of his striving for the restoration of Maoritanga in the years to follow. It was the Kingitanga that was raising the place of Maoritanga and some speakers at the Te Kuiti hui placed Maoritanga in the arena of continued resistance to colonisation, and there was acknowledgement from Ngata that the role of the leadership of the Kingitanga was to provide the leadership for Maoritanga.

This resolve and his strength for Maoritanga came from his background, his upbringing in Ngati Porou, and the guidance of his mentors. Because of the length of time Ngata had spent at Te Aute there had been concern from his elders about the alienating effects this would have on his being Maori. In 1887 his father made Ngata take a two-year break from formal education. The years at Te Aute had suppressed the accomplishments his kin were noted for, such as waiata. During this period he "knocked about at home in the Waiapu Valley or in villages along the coast where relatives lived" (Ngata 1959 [1949]: xxix). Importantly, too, eight months was spent at Otorohanga in the King Country where his father Paratene was assessor with the Native Land Court sitting at Otorohanga. "Those two years remedied many shortcomings in my education as a Maori in the things that belong to him and retaining it by the faculty of memory stimulated by the lack of resort to written records" (Ngata 1959 [1949]: xxix). The ability and power of the elders among his relatives to learn genealogies, land boundaries and strange songs with ease when they lacked formal literacy, made a long lasting impression on Ngata (ibid.). During this period of learning, 1887 to 1889, Ngata was to remark that he

learned many things, but foremost was songs of his people which he was to spend many years as a parliamentarian compiling as *Nga Moteatea*. All this was part of his preparation for leadership. He was sent by his elders and iwi Ngati Porou to attain the education of the Pakeha and it appears that they took it upon themselves to see that his Maori side was catered for. On his return to Ngati Porou, after completion of his education, the roles and responsibilities placed upon Ngata were further preparation. Working with and being guided at the same time by his Ngati Porou elders stood him well when doing the work for the Young Maori Party in other tribal areas.

Te Rangihiroa's exposure to Maoritanga was very different from Ngata's. He was to comment that as Medical Officer of Health he was received routinely in ceremony on marae with speech making to which he replied as best he could. He commented that:

> Five years study at a medical school with a year in hospital had made a serious break in the continuity of my Maori education. My Maori words unconsciously flowed along an English channel of grammar, and I was horribly conscious that I was talking to my own people like a foreigner (Buck (1964[1938]:269).

Te Rangihiroa found it necessary to attain cultural knowledge which he lacked:

> I early realized that to gain the interests and support of chiefs and leaders older than myself, I must overcome the handicap of youth by an exhibition of Maori scholarship that would not only earn their respect but indicate clearly where my sympathies lay. I commenced an intensive study of Maori mythology, legends, traditions, and the details of customs, and etiquette. I learned a pattern of ceremonial speech and the forms of metaphor and simile that went with it. The more speech is illustrated with quotations from myths and ancient traditions, the better a Maori audience likes it. Old songs and incantations with an apt bearing on the subject matter are necessary because a speech is regarded as incomplete without them. I was never good at rendering songs, but I acquired a host of chants and incantations to illustrate speeches. I combed the printed literature, and I learned at first-hand from the experts of various tribes who were only too pleased to impart their knowledge to an appreciative student of their own blood (Buck 1964[1937]:271).

Te Rangihiroa was to see anthropology, 'Maoritanga', and the future of the Maori people as inter-linked:

> With others of the younger leaders, I became a homemade anthropologist-not to obtain a university degree, but to gain an inner understanding of our own people in order that we might the better help them through the problems and trials created by civilization (ibid.).

In a paper he presented in Honolulu in 1936 Te Rangihiroa referred to himself as an 'empirical anthropologist':

> When I went out to teach among my own people, I soon found that I did not know enough about their language and traditions. I was obliged to sit down and study, to learn the language, and the customs of my people. In this way I became an empirical anthropologist, as have others of my race, who in one way or another have assisted in making their adjustment to their changed mode of living. (Buck 1936/7:6).

Ngata and Te Rangihiroa did not reflect on what Maoritanga meant to them or what they thought it was about until late in their life. Although their personal experiences were very different they both agreed on the impact the pursuit of Pakeha education and knowledge had on individuals and their learning of 'Maori culture'. In 1949, Ngata was to write:

> it explains the case of thousands of Maoris, old and young, who entered the schools of this country and passed out, with their minds closed to the culture, which is their inheritance and which lies wounded, slighted and neglected at their very door (Ngata 1959:xxx).

Te Rangihiroa was to say of the commitment of his close friend Ngata:

> In his constant urge to the younger people to retain their Maoritanga, he had to demonstrate in a practical manner what elements could be retained and preserved for continued use in this changing world. The most obvious elements in a culture are the material things. Ngata recognized, as I do, that the centre of Maori community life was the marae with its carved meeting-house. The carved meeting-house added dignity and prestige to the marae outside and the carved ancestors within created an atmosphere which was intensely Maori and spiritual. Without the carvings the meeting-house becomes a mere hall without a soul. It was to restore this fundamental feature of our Maoritanga that Ngata advocated the establishment of the school of Maori carving (Buck 1951:66).

In a undated manuscript in Maori titled 'Te Marae o Te Maori-Maoritanga' Ngata expresses his notion of Maoritanga:

> I puritia ki nga tikanga a te Maori i popokina e ia ki konei anei te taonga, a, ko te pataka tenei, I whakatapua ai ki roto i tona Maoritanga. Tera atu pea nga aronga te kupu nei Maoritanga, engari ko tenei i whakamaramatia raro nei, ma tatou hei titiro. Ko te mea e kiia nei ko

> to tatou Maoritaga ehara i te mea poka noa, engari he mea tuku iho ki nga tatai tangata, ki nga tipuna, mai te wahi I heke mai ai ratou. Ko te reo, ko nga tikanga, ko te titiro me te whakaaro o te hinengaro, ko te whakapiri, ko te momo kotahi, ko nga taonga enei, I waiho iho e ratou (Kaa 1996: 308-Ngata).
>
> Maori custom was placed on the marae as a cover for this gift where in this enclosure a person becomes prominent within his Maoritanga. That is perhaps the direction of this word Maoritanga, but for this to be clear we need to look at it. This thing given our Maoritanga is not a thing that appears unusual, but something that is passed down through the ancestors from the place they come from (Hawaiki). Language, custom, looking and thinking of the mind, the closeness of the race are valued items left from them (ancestors).

Ngata was not sent to a 'wananga'(the ritualised school of traditional learning) by his elders to learn, history, whakapapa, tikanga and other forms of knowledge taught there. His perception and immersion and understated passion for Maoritanga, and its vulnerability in a young settler colony, became a drive for the preservation of Maoritanga the source of which was Hawaiki, the ancestral home and spirit land.

Maoritanga and cultural preservation

Ngata's contribution to anthropology was the fruition of fifty years of effort for Maoritanga. He first confronted the assimilationist agenda of the Pakeha patrons of the Te Aute College Students Association, Thornton and Williams and the Christian beliefs of both Williams when their views were in conflict with the culture that Ngata supported (Walker 2001: 88). At an Association conference in 1900 Ngata challenged the Association's attitude to certain Maori customs and pass times such as the haka and poi (ibid.). Thornton at the Association conference at Ohinemutu 1905 made the pessimistic prediction that the Maori language was doomed to die out in two generations. However Ngata argued the case for the two languages, and the retention of elements of Maori culture, such as language and haka, and moved the motion to ask the Minister of Maori Affairs to save Maori waiata and whaikorero on recording machines (ibid.).

The draft constitution that had been written by Ngata in 1906 for the Young Maori party was to become the template that he followed for his preservation objectives of Maoritanga or Maori culture:

> The party cannot believe the Pakeha to entertain the idea that the Maori has no characteristics worth preserving and transmitting, seeing

> that so many efforts are made by the former to enrich, colour, and render distinctive the art, music, literature, history and science of the Dominion from the art, music, language traditions and customs of Polynesia (Ngata Ms 1906).

He had established a pedagogic programme that helped Maori studies to be accepted by the university academic hierarchy in the early 1950s. Ngata had anticipated future expansion of university learning to teach Maori traditions, history, art and culture (Walker 2001:223). In particular, he campaigned for Maori language to be taught for the degree of the Bachelor of Arts at the Auckland University College, arguing that language is the means by which culture is expressed, maintained and transmitted. Ngata used the Board of Maori Ethnological Research in 1926 to send the recommendation to the University of New Zealand Senate, citing the political patronage of the board, which included the Prime Minister, and scholars of Maori, and that many Maori scholars were available to examine and pass judgement on the work of students. He argued that there was a considerable body of literature available; the publications of Grey and White, a wide range of Maori newspapers and a collection of manuscripts (Walker 2001:223).

In 1983 anthropologist Hirini Moko Mead said that in our universities:

> Maori Studies consists of two types of courses, those that focus on language (te reo) and those which deal broadly with culture, including such topics as prehistory, traditions, tribal histories, art, oratory and customary concepts (*nga tikanga, nga matauranga Maori I tua atu o te reo*)' (1983:333).

An important contribution from Ngata was his patronage of contemporary and traditional meeting house art, traditional and dance forms of *haka* and *waiata a ringa,* operating tribal structures, and maintenance of language and culture through support and publication, using anthropologists and ethnographers to fulfil his objectives of cultural preservation.

Ngata extended and preserved art and performance culture, by using large ceremonial occasions to become staged events of song and dance. He composed many songs in Maori, setting them to popular tunes. The modern form of *kapa haka* of combining men and women together in *haka* and *waiata ringa* can be attributed to Ngata. Traditionally male and female formal performances were separated into gender such as *ngeri* (chant performed by men) and poi (chant

performed by women with ball on a string). In the world of art he revived the carved meetinghouses with the artwork of *tukutuku* (interior wall lattice designs), *whakairo* (wood carving), and *waituhi* (painted designs) embellished by *whariki* whakairo (floor mats with designs). In his view a fully decorated house exuded more *wairua* than a house without extensive artwork.

Land development schemes for the northern North Island exposed the northern people to the active use of traditional dance forms by the farm instructors from Ngati Porou:

> The Northern tribes have tasted the appeal of the old-time dances, songs and chants and are demanding some rallying point in East Coast instructors (Ngata to Te Rangihiroa 11 June 1933 Sorrenson 1987:86).

Ngata talks about the demand from the north for:

> definite; revival haka, songs chants- *haris, peruperu, kaioraora, pihe, haka* if still lingering in the memories of some of the old people shall be recovered and registered and revived in time for the Carved Treaty Memorial Runanga House (ibid).

The 1934 Waitangi celebrations were seen as a 'renaissance in song, haka of all kinds and peruperu' by Ngata, which eclipsed the Maori *powhiri* (welcome) in 1901 at Rotorua for the Duke of York where Ngata had played a role (Ngata 1901). Most of the 1200-1300 performers in 1934 were under 30 years of age, a source of pride for both Ngata and the Taitokerau (northerners) who were represented. A competition for the Lady Bledisloe Trophy, conducted and judged by Ngata and Tomo Te Taite, was performances of traditional and modern styles or what Ngata called adaptations. This was Ngata's promotion of Maori performing arts. A key objective for the cultural performance for the celebrations was to demonstrate the Maori renaissance to the public and politicians.

> I think that so far as the pakeha was concerned all right thinking people realised that in the retention of elements of the old culture and the maintenance of the individuality of the race New Zealand would have a good investment (Ngata to Te Rangihiroa 17 March 1934 Sorrenson 1988:136-137).

More important was the demonstration the cultural revival had on people:

> Of all those present I think the North Auckland tribes were the most impressed. Nothing on the same scale had been seen north of Auckland City in the last three generations; practically three generations had been born without seeing Maori ceremonial accompanied by such a variety of song and dance, and to them the

> displays by their relatives from other parts were beyond their wildest imaginings.

Ngata's promotion of traditional culture included the formation in 1927 of a Maori School of Arts where he had an input into teaching, alongside the carving instructors. He researched carving styles in the museums and directed the carvers to reproduce tribal regional styles.

> I spent two afternoons in the Auckland Museum early this month studying the carvings there. With some rearrangement in the display of the exhibits it is possible to get a classification of types – North Auckland, Arawa, Ngatiawa, Apanui, Gisborne – the three last being sub-classes of an East Coast type....Our traditions relating to knowledge of the arts and crafts will need to be studied anew, as also the references therein to games, dances &c. that are not easily explained by the East Polynesian culture (Ngata to Te Rangihiroa 22 May 1930 Sorrenson 1987:20-1).

Pine Taiapa of Ngati Porou and Piri Poutapu and Waka Graham of Waikato were the first three students at the school which soon attracted students from throughout the country and the Cook Islands. The list of projects around the country gave Ngata the impression that people were awakening to the need for proper marae with superior houses as centres and the recovering and maintaining of the arts and crafts (ibid.:56 Ngata to te Rangihiroa 20 September 1930). The students were sent to Auckland museum to research the tribal art styles:

> It is proposed to give the students and expert Rotohiko a fortnight at the Auckland Museum to study the North Auckland, Whanau-a-Apanui and other examples there. Pine Taiapa our East Coast student at the school has been making an intensive study of the Porourangi and Hinetapora carvings, also some of Hone Ngatoto's work (Ngata to Te Rangihiroa 11 January 1930 Sorrenson 1987: 101).

Walker argues that Ngata's desire for the recovery of Maori art went back to the opening of Rapata's house Porourangi at Waiomatatini in 1888. This was the last large house built in the late nineteenth century with an opening ceremony with protocols of oratory, waiata and rituals (2001:212). Ngata had seen the carvers Tamati Ngakaho and Kihirini at work:

> I remember old Tamati Ngakaho working away with the adze on the Porourangi slabs. Not only was the relief of the figure built up in proper symmetry but also smoothed ready for the detail work of the chisel. The method drove the chisel to concentrate on ornamentation, its proper function (ibid.:101).

Ngata's preservation ethic for Maoritanga came from his personal experience and exposure to the Maoritanga he was raised with in Ngati Porou from his childhood days. His personal scholarship was an eight-volume publication of *Nga moteatea* of *oriori* (lullabies), *waiata tangi* (laments), *patere and kaioraora* (abusive songs and songs of defiance) and *waiata whaiapo* (love songs) (Ngata 1959:xvii-xviii). Wherever he went about his travels around Aotearoa, Ngata collected moteatea, which he translated with annotations identifying composers, their tribal origins, the events that inspired the composition of each song and references to the place names of ancient battles (Ranginui 2001:222). This had been prompted by Governor Grey's collection of Maori compositions titled *Nga Moteatea* where the:

> collection could not be properly understood without a profound knowledge of the Maori language, history, traditions and cosmogony which prompted the effort to discover the authorship, the history and the background of the cryptic expressions and allusions contained in these compositions (Ngata 1959:xxxi).

The material Sir George Grey had collected did not have any background information explaining origins and meaning.

Contact with Anthropology

Although separated by *Te Moananui a Kiwa* (Pacific Ocean) for over twenty years, Te Rangihiroa and Ngata were to keep in regular contact by correspondence. Te Rangihiroa's original appointment as ethnologist at the Bishop Museum was for five years. As already noted he left to take up an appointment as Bishop Museum Professor of Anthropology at Yale. When at Yale he was to met the 'who's who' of the metropolitan centres of anthropology in Britain and America. He went to the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science held in Atlantic City in 1933, travelling to the conference with Ernest Beaglehole, a New Zealander on a fellowship to Yale. Te Rangihiroa distinguished between the American 'historical' school of anthropology, associated with Boas, and the British functionalism of Malinowski. He commented to Ngata that "The functional school associated with the name of Malinowski somewhat disparages the historical method." (Te Rangihiroa to Ngata 11 March 1933 Sorrenson 1988:65). Along the way Te Rangihiroa met Boas, as well as Ales Hardlicka, a physical anthropologist, Ruth Benedict who gave a dinner for him, Fay-Cooper Cole, head of anthropology at Chicago University,

and Radcliffe Brown who was teaching at Chicago, and he met Malinowski at Yale. Of the latter he said in his letter to Ngata:

> I saw quite a lot of him and we became good friends. He is the first exponent of the functional school in ethnology as against the historic method of America. Both methods have their issues and the attempts to create hard cut distinctions between various schools are purely academic dodges with no practical use (ibid.:79).

In a letter to his wife from Tuamotu, several years later, Te Rangihiroa's reflected further on the word 'function':

> The influence of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown creeps in as shown by my frequent use of the word "function". It is a wonderful word in academic life but I would like to see these two "functionalists" apply their theories to the obtaining of ethnological data in Mangareva without the use of any historical technique (Te Rangihiroa 1934:9).

As an anthropologist in the Tuamotu, Te Rangihiroa was seeking out elders who could recite ancient chants, genealogies and stories for him to record. As a scholarly Polynesian, history was paramount in any understanding and explanations of culture. Te Rangihiroa informed Ngata of his impressions of the two schools:

> You will see from this that there is somewhat of a controversy about the functional school in America. Malinowski and his followers hold that the American school have been recording the dry complexes of culture in a historical sequence whereas the functional school has as its object the drawing of a picture as (to) how the various parts of a culture function in that culture at the time of writing. The trouble in America is that the Indian culture is about defunct and they have to use the historical method to get anything to write about (Te Rangihiroa to Ngata 11 March 1933, Sorrenson 1988:66).

Ngata was also in his own way exposing himself to anthropological theories and ideas, but, like Te Rangihiroa preferred to stay with their own form of Maori anthropology. Te Rangihiroa's exposure to the wider world of anthropology and anthropologists reinforced their Maori anthropology which was practical, hands on, and emphasised the insider having the cultural advantage over the outsider in generating insights into Maori culture (2002:326). In a letter to Ngata, Te Rangihiroa wrote:

> With regard to the approach to the Chicago University symposium, there is no doubt that our approach should be that of the bearer of the brown man's burden struggling up the hill... Judd, President of the Bishop Museum, has just returned from Yale and other centres of American learning. He has made arrangements for Field workers from the Bishop Museum to lecture at Yale. He swept away our difference as to our scientific shortcomings by assuring us that Yale and other Universities were sick and tied of Library ethnologists. They want to hear from men who had been in touch with problems in the field and have been in actual personal touch with the native races of the pacific. Our approach is thus definitely indicated for not only are we workers in the field but we are part and parcel of the problem that is being studied. Your division of the scope of investigation into two main lines - from within and from without - enables the subject to be viewed from the two angles that we have always advocated (Te Rangihiroa to Ngata August 1930, Sorrenson 1986:47-48).

Ngata was to support the sentiments expressed by Te Rangihiroa:

> I have the full text of Radcliffe-Brown's paper on Applied Anthropology. Its chief value is that it illustrates how an expert can put together and arrange in scientific terms the things that one has been handling all one's life. I have got a better idea of the meaning of applied anthropology in relations to the branch of the Polynesian I know something about. I am reminded of your dictum that we have been the empirical anthropologists (Ngata to Te Rangihiroa 15 May 1931, Sorrenson 1987:139).

Te Rangihiroa was to reply to Ngata that when he met Radcliffe-Brown in Honolulu on his way to the States, he told him of Ngata's interest in his paper and an expert such as Radcliffe-Brown arranged the things Ngata have been doing all his life without realising that he himself was a practical anthropologist (Sorrenson 1987:166).

The Search for Maori theory

In the 1970 debate on 'native anthropology', a Black American anthropologist, Delmos Jones, suggested that there has been little theory in anthropology formulated from the point of view of tribal, peasant, or minority peoples (Jones 1970:257). For both Ngata and Te Rangihiroa 'theory' was very much part of their Maori anthropology. For both Ngata and Te Rangihiroa, the ideology of the Te Kohitanga o Te Aute, or the Young Maori Party, that they embraced in their younger days, remained entrenched in both men throughout their lives - the revitalisation and maintenance of Maoritanga and the reform and welfare of the

Maori 'race'. In the work of both Ngata and Te Rangihiroa theory was necessary in objectifying the achievement of Maori in the past and present.

Adaptation of the Maori was a key issue for both Te Rangihiroa and Ngata. For Te Rangihiroa it was the adaptation of ancestors from the tropics to New Zealand, and for Ngata, the adaptation of pre-Pakeha Maori to colonisation and to becoming Maori New Zealanders. An observation from Keesing in America that the placing of Indians on reservations to preserve them more as a zoological specimens rather than as vital citizens facing and solving the problem of adaptation for inclusion in a living community, was passed from Te Rangihiroa to Ngata:

> Whilst the Pakeha regards us from the higher altitude of his culture and stresses how far we are behind, we on our side must scan the heights to realise how far we have to struggle upwards. It may act as a stimulus, however, to glance backwards to see how far we have come and how we compare with the original stock from whence we sprung. Our progress resolves into two periods, the transition of Polynesian into Maori and the transition of Maori into New Zealander. The first period extends from the landing in Aotearoa to the advent of European culture.
>
> The development of a local Maori culture is an ethnological study that has had much time devoted to it. Best and the others have put on record the total results arrived at when the Pakeha came into the land. To determine what has been adapted and developed locally we need the background of the culture of the near Hawaiki at the period when the Fleet left for the land discovered by Kupe. This need the Bishop museum has been trying to supply. We need published work on both the Society and Cook Islands areas, not only on material culture but social organisation and religion. Difference in flora must have been one of the greatest trials (Te Rangihiroa to Ngata 4 May 1930, Sorrenson 1987:12-13).

Maori adaptation to colonial domination was theorised in anthropological terms by Ngata in his vision for Maori economic and social development. The adaptation model was applied to a number of different scenarios, including the isolation of tribes and their amount of contact with Pakeha:

> We have probably to thank the geographical distribution of our people, the unevenness in their progress, the reactions caused by the wars and confiscation, acts of Pakeha impatience and injustice, for the fact that large sections of our people have been thrown back

> on themselves. In the slow process of warily re-establishing contact with the Pakeha, unconscious adaptation has followed. Waikato, Taranaki and Tuhoe may be used to illustrate this. Hawkes Bay and Wairarapa are examples of tribes that literally threw themselves at the Pakeha and suffered, but have yet retained midst the wreck of dignity and the ways of the man who has seen better days – Wairoa and N'Raukawa in a less degree. The Ngati Porou and Whanau-a-Apanui (following the lead of the former) on the whole exemplify conscious adaptation of the externals of civilisation, while maintaining the spirit of the old institutions at their best (Ngata to Te Rangihiroa 16 July 1930 Sorrenson 1987:42).

Their view on the colonisation:

> We might have to lay down some principles that we could adhere to in our analysis of the various cultural elements in the different periods laid down for study. First of all, western culture descended on New Zealand to exploit a new country for what they could get out of it. What did the land and the people have to offer during the various periods? We will have to avoid looking at our assets with western eyes but we must simply include them in our stocktaking as a plain statement of what existed from the Maori point of view. On the other hand what had the western culture to offer that the Maori desired? (Te Rangihiroa to Ngata August 1930, Sorrenson 1987:48).

Both Te Rangihiroa and Ngata consistently attributed Maori progress to the efforts of Maori themselves, not of the Pakeha and to the employment by Maori of the 'Scientific angle of anthropology':

> In running over the cultural adaptations that have taken place and are taking place in our own country, one is forced to the conclusion that the side which approached the problems from the really scientific angle of anthropology were the people of the lower culture. The higher culture tried to cram solidified matter into a mould devised for themselves without much consideration of the material it was endeavouring to shape to its own purpose. The time factor was necessary for the adequate preparation of material hence the Taranaki war .....In part we have played in the cultural adaptations that have taken place, we were none of us provided with an educational equipment in anthropology by the higher culture in order that we might help them through with the problems that face them in intelligent government. The government circle of the higher culture did not know what anthropology was. They had done without it and it is difficult to persuade them even now that it has a practical value. Percy Smith, Elsdon Best, Tregear and others were voices crying in the wilderness to members of their own culture for support. Sir James Carroll was ridiculed by the higher culture because he

> recognised that cultural adaptation required time. I have come to the conclusion that all old Maori chiefs who tried to smooth things over and the succession of people with Maori blood from Jimmy to ourselves were all empirical anthropologists (Te Rangihiroa to Ngata 29 June 1930, Sorrenson 1987:36).

Ngata and Te Rangihiroa used Smith's basic chronology for the Maori settlement of Aotearoa, starting with the discovery by Toi and Whatonga in 1150 and the *heke* or 'fleet' from Hawaiki, (Sorrenson 1988:264). As traditions were used by Best and Smith to establish a form of chronology for Maori migration and history, the use of tradition became important also for Ngata and Te Rangihiroa. The use of traditions for Best and Smith was to explain origins, but for Te Rangihiroa and Ngata tradition was a basis for their theories of Maoritanga.

Robert Park was one American social scientist who was to impress Te Rangihiroa and Ngata, beginning with the concept of 'Marginal Man" which Te Rangihiroa first heard at a lecture in Honolulu in 1931. Marginal man belonged to two cultures and was the mediator between the two cultures who interprets each one to the other. Te Rangihiroa informed Ngata that he "recognised ourselves" in this category (Sorrenson 1987:230 Letter Buck to Ngata 19 Oct. 1931). Park was interested in the insider's perspective, or life histories of the Native experience in modern conditions. Te Rangihiroa sent Ngata's *Native Land Development* report to Park who then told Te Rangihiroa that the report gave a clearer picture of the struggles and problems that native people have in adjusting themselves to western culture (ibid: 242-43 Letter Buck to Ngata 15 December 1931). Ngata and Te Rangihiroa saw Park's marginal man model in them, and serves in the concept of biculturalism. Ngata in 1940 said that the Nga Moteatea series of Maori compositions, songs or poems was for the bilingual and bicultural Maori (Ngata 1940:xxxi) and Te Rangihiroa said:

> I am binomial, bilingual, and inherit a mixture of two bloods that I would not change for a total of either. I mention this brief family history to show from my birth I was endowed with a background for the study of Polynesian manners and customs that no university could have given me. (Buck 1964[1937]:268).

Maharaia Winiata was at the Maori leadership conference in 1943 which Ngata presided over, and he uses the bi-cultural concept as a model to describe the categories of Maori leadership in social change 1900-1953. The Bilingual and Bi-

cultural person mediates between the two societies for the adjustment of Maori society. The Maori sponsored represents mana Maori and protests the reintegration of Maori society, while the European sponsored supported assimilation (Winiata 1954).

Te Rangihiroa informed Ngata (letter 29 June 1930) that he had been approached to contribute a paper to a proceeding of the Fourth Pacific Science Congress where the compilation of the papers were hoped to serve two purposes: "1. to make available first-hand scientific information on the contemporary situation of native races, in places where there are practical problems to be solved. 2. a series of objective accounts of the course of change undergone by simpler peoples under the Western influence might serve as a basis for some degree of generalization in the field of social anthropology". Te Rangihiroa saw their views on 'Cultural Adaptations' as very definite information to convey to both the Pacific Science Congress and the institute of Pacific Relations (Sorrenson 1987:37-8).

> The Maoris today do not want to go back to their old ways. They want to advance, but to be allowed to make their adaptation in such a way that certain things in their heritage shall not perish (Buck 1936:7).

The adaptation model of Te Rangihiroa and Ngata was to reiterate that Maori take control of their own destiny and on their own terms.

Practical Anthropology

As a government minister, Ngata despaired at the attitudes of Pakeha bureaucrats and anthropologists towards Maori. There was discussion between Ngata and Te Rangihiroa on a proposal from Ngata for a course of instruction in anthropology for the Civil Service for New Zealand Cook Islands and Samoa. Ngata had suggested that students try out in a Maori area first. He believed that training in anthropology would facilitate a better understanding and ability by Pakeha bureaucrats towards non-Pakeha. Te Rangihiroa was to remind Ngata that:

> I am inclined to doubt the value of work done by untried students in a new field for which they have no background except a theoretical course in anthropology at a western University. Clark Wissler has stated that Anthropology together with the other sciences is a European development and it is the Europeans' view-point observing the rest of mankind. The first thing to do with your prospective worker amongst native races is to try and get him to cultivate the view point of the race he is supposed to work amongst.

> You and I know how difficult it is to get the Pakeha to look at things from our point of view (Te Rangihiroa to Ngata 9 March 1931, Sorrenson 1987: 124).

Ngata also believed Maori did not give themselves credit for their achievements, Pakeha claimed the credit for Maori success.

> Claiming the successes and disowning the failures seems characteristic of the white man's attitude towards native races. Sometimes positive disparagement of native future and mentality is propagated as an excuse for the criminal neglect shown by Governments in the past (Te Rangihiroa to Ngata 4 May 1930, Sorrenson 1987:12).

This sentiment was shared by Te Rangihiroa, "It is now accepted in thinking circles that Government officials who have to do with the administration of native races should have some preliminary training in anthropology" the objective being that the administrator would be sympathetic to native races (Te Rangihiroa Ms 6.02). The perspective of Te Rangihiroa had been influenced by his engagement with the anthropology of medicine when he was a medical officer.

Ngata saw Te Rangihiroa's time in America as a short furlough for making contacts, a chance to visit museums in Europe, to gain teaching experience and prestige which would stand him in good stead when he ultimately returned to Aotearoa (Condliffe 1971:169). Ngata was driven to publish or to have people work on the voluminous Maori data and he valued the scientific approach of someone like Te Rangihiroa:

> Viewed in the light of your recent researches the Maori material needs re marshalling badly. Not that the day of Monographs is done by any means. The Museum Bulletins were not written by trained scientific men. Any of Best's bulletins lacks just that touch that one like yourself, expert in dissection and analysis and arrangement, can give it. It may be full of good material, but it confuses the student. He kupenga kaharoa tana e hao ana I nga momo ika katoa, ma nga wahine I uta I wehewehe [His is a drag net fishing in all types of fish, for the women on shore to separate out] (Ngata to Te Rangihiroa 17 October 1930, Sorrenson 1987:63).

With the passing of Best and Te Rangihiroa's absence in America, Ngata despaired at the lack of people publishing material on Maori in the way Ngata envisaged:

> In this country as you know the data collected has never been overhauled scientifically by any one competent to do so. Other than

> yourself, and Skinner and Archey as to part only of the material, there has been no comprehensive and scientific arrangement of our Maori data. It is perhaps the richest or the most voluminous taking the bibliography. But if any section is taken, the material culture, the social organisation, the archaeology, history, the unwritten literature and even the language - it is when an expert visitor comes along and asks for compact material to study and take away we realise the dearth or absence of any comprehensive critical collection of Maori data. And there is no one here to do it. Mau tonu e mahi mai I tena taha o te ao ka taea. (Ngata to Te Rangihiroa 5 August 1936, Sorrenson 1987:232).
>
> Best's "The Maori" and "The Maori as he Was" were the first serious attempts to bring into a small compact form the results of his own researches as well as those of his contemporaries and predecessors. But the old man had already passed the zenith of his powers, and it may be doubted whether he had the gift of condescension as you have shown so brilliantly in "The Coming of the Maori" (ibid: 234).

Te Rangihiroa was exposed to American archaeological work in areas where "Indians have practically disappeared. By digging up old village sites in a systematic manner, much valuable information has been obtained" (ibid.:66).

> I feel sure that much useful data would be obtained by digging in some of the old historical pa sites and carrying out work like Skinner has done in the South with the moa hunter people. The trouble would be that it would have to be done systemically in the cause of science and not as a means of obtaining curios (ibid.:66).

Te Rangihiroa was passing comment on the archaeological methodology of Skinner, which in reality was no more than systematic fossicking or 'looting' where archaeological sites were excavated for artefacts and little stratigraphy or site features were largely overlooked.

Ngata and Te Rangihiroa were critical patrons of the new generation of Pakeha anthropologists who included H.D. Skinner, Felix Keesing, Raymond Firth, I.L. G. Sutherland, and Ernest Beaglehole, all of whom had postgraduate training overseas (Sorrenson 1986:10). It was their own insider status, their Maori ancestry and upbringing, which they saw as their real advantage over Pakeha anthropologists.

An area that was not explicitly explored by Te Rangihiroa and Ngata was the place of 'tikanga' (rule of custom) in their anthropology. This would have been foremost in the upbringing and life of Ngata. Te Rangihiroa, in a detailed diary letter to his wife, describes an excavation he conducted in the "Cave at Tutea"

Tuamotu, which was a burial cave. The purpose was to find an undisturbed body in its "original wrappings" of tapa and sennit braid. The cave was noted for having been ransacked by Pakeha visitors to the Island and there was no suitable body, but he was able to gather samples of tapa and sennit braid and he recovered a tapa wrapped bundle of bones and took measurements of a skull (Te Rangihiroa 1934:3). In his letter to Ngata regarding his visit to the Tuamotu, Te Rangihiroa does not reveal any detail of his looting of the ana tupapku (burial cave). Ngata would not have been impressed with his friend's desecration of the burial cave. In fact the Maori Ethnological Board in 1926 passed the following resolution regarding Maori burial caves:

> That ancient Maori Burial Caves be protected by law and the Government be recommended to introduce legislation for the purpose (Balneavis 1926 memo Archives New Zealand MA S1 8).

Te Rangihiroa was a medical doctor who had served in World War One and would not have any problem with his actions. In his view, there would have been an anthropological objective in retrieving tapa and sennit, and this was the difference between him and Ngata.

Maori Anthropology

The collection of ethnographic data from informants and observations by Te Rangihiroa and Ngata informed their anthropology. Writing to Te Rangihiroa (1928) that Hone Ngatoto, the last of the Ngati Porou carvers and one of his own informants, Ngata reflected that "Armed with the stereotyped question of 'Notes and Queries' the eager investigator was treated as he deserved with information hot from the mint of Johnny's mind, manufactured for the occasion... I let the old fellow ramble on by the fireside of winter nights and picked up much Tairawhiti history which I have checked with other sources. On songs and hakas he was good" (Sorrenson 1986:107). Te Rangihiroa wrote to Ngata:

> It is great comfort to turn to New Zealand and to realise how her own people are now doing the work that the pakehas are unable to do. Your collection of songs with the delving into 'whakatauki', incantations etc. will be invaluable in the future. So will the collection of genealogies. I would like to see a history written up for each dominant tribe with the maps showing the development and spread down the various generations...I am delighted that you are using men like Henare Ruru to collect material and that you have put Tutere on to something in the way of collecting data in another field. We have

> the greatest organisation, not only in Polynesia, but in the whole realm of ethnology for that matter because you are utilising the race itself to record its own culture with its own interpretation. I would put every blessed thing Maori on record. I only regret that I am not there to work up a comprehensive survey and a detailed material culture with the full technology. The other part dealing with social organisation, land tenure, etc. we will have to work at some other time or other. I think that with the material and workers we can use, Maori ethnology could be made a monument of real research work that would be second to none in the world as regards a native race. All these other native cultures are being worked out by pakehas with all the drawbacks that they have regards language and view point. Kua mutu haere te wa kia Te Peehi ma, kua riro ma taua ma te Maori taua e korero [with Best and the others gone it is left to us Maori to speak]. It is left up to us to straighten up what has been written by our pakeha pioneers and to carry on the work in intensive detail (Te Rangihiroa to Ngata 10 Feb, 1931 Sorrenson 1987: 114-5).

Te Rangihiroa and Ngata, as colonised indigenous people, did not question or challenge the link between anthropology and colonialism instead they embraced it, for they saw anthropology as a means of achieving the "preservation of Maori culture, not in museums but as a living thing" (Ramsden 1948:89 quoting Ngata). They only questioned the methodology and purpose of the individual anthropologist; believing knowledge of language and custom was an essential prerequisite, which the trained Pakeha anthropologist often lacked.

Their achievement in anthropology has been passed over because their work is taken for granted, it is accessible, but this accessibility as published material is the achievement in itself. No other colonised indigenous minority engaged with and produced anthropology as early as they did. The international debate regarding 'native' or 'indigenous' anthropology was not raised until the 1970s, and up to that period the objective western outsider was the model anthropologist. This tradition of 'Maori anthropology' is distinguished by the incorporation of anthropological theories and methods into these two key Maori intellectuals' response to 'colonialism'. It has been Maori Studies in universities that has maintained the intellectual legacy of Ngata.

Ngata and Te Rangihiroa were closely linked throughout their lives by anthropology. Ngata pushed Te Rangihiroa to be a Member of Parliament which gave Te Rangihiroa opportunity to publish and travel to the Cook Islands and Niue to broaden his scope to the wider Polynesia. Te Rangihiroa was Ngata's

close confidant, who became acknowledged internationally for his work on Maori and Polynesian material culture. They saw and were part of the great changes in the field of anthropology during the first half of the twentieth century. But they stayed with their own particular brand of anthropology which they carved out for themselves, the anthropology of the native insider, the 'other'. Levi-Strauss was emphatic that when anthropology:

> is practised by members of the culture which it endeavours to study, anthropology loses its specific nature and becomes rather akin to archaeology, history, and philology. For anthropology is the science of culture as seen from the outside, and the first concern of people is made aware of their independent existence and originality must be to claim the right to observe their culture themselves, from the inside (1966:126).

Levi-Strauss's was a metropolitan perspective from the mid twentieth century, whereas today the anthropology of the periphery claims for itself the notion of indigenous anthropology. Te Rangihiroa and Ngata were the 'Whatonga' of the colonised indigenous seeking, discovering, claiming and naming anthropology for themselves. Whatonga was a founding ancestor from Hawaiki.

Edward Said describes two general kinds of resistance one called 'primary resistance' which meant 'literally fighting against outside intrusion' which is typically followed by a period of 'secondary or ideological resistance' when efforts are made to reconstitute a "shattered community, to save or restore the sense and fact of community against all pressures of the colonial system" (Said 1993:209). In the Maori context, primary resistance was undertaken by the Kingitanga, Hauhau and Te Kooti insurgency of the 1860s and 1870s, organisations that were "evolved by the Maori people for resisting the destruction of their culture and the loss of its foundation, the land" (Ngata 1940:178). The role and programme of the first Maori intellectuals led by Ngata was Said's secondary resistance. Ngata saw Maori culture or Maoritanga as the essence of subaltern resistance, and accorded an important place to anthropology in the restoration and maintenance of Maoritanga.

The African independence fighter and postcolonial theorist, Cabral, recognised the role of what he characterized as the "indestructible character of cultural resistance of the masses of people when confronted with foreign domination". Culture is a product of people's history, national liberation 'is necessarily an act of culture' and the liberation movement 'the organised political expression of the culture of a people who are undertaking the struggle'. Liberation struggle was thus 'not only a product of culture but also a determinant of culture' (Young 2001:289).

> The value of culture as an element of resistance to foreign domination lies in the fact that culture is the vigorous manifestation, on the ideological or idealist level, of the material and historical reality of the society that is dominated or to be dominated. Culture is simultaneously the fruit of a people's history and a determinant of history, by the positive or negative influence it exerts on the evolution of relations between man and his environment and among men or human groups within a society, as well as between different societies (Cabral 1979 in Brydon 2000:474).

To achieve liberation in Guinea-Bassau, Cabral espoused armed insurgency. Culture as resistance and liberation, psychological reconstruction and cultural assertion, were the theoretical formulations for Cabral, where the still living culture was the prime instrument of resistance in the assertion of political and cultural rights against Portuguese colonial repression (Young 2001:285).

To someone such as Ngata, culture was an instrument for the "amelioration of the Maori race, physically, mentally and spiritually" as stated in the objectives of the Young Maori Party. A perception of Te Rangihiroa was that the living culture centred on the Maori meeting house and Maori tribal life had not ceased to function. "The new leaders (Young Maori Party), therefore, took advantage of this to further the welfare of the people" by positioning themselves on the marae and tribe (Te Rangihiroa 1933). Clearly they understood the role of the 'insider'.

3.

THE NATIVE INFORMANT

> No country has better potentialities amongst its native race for working out and recording its own ethnology. No course in a School of Anthropology can supply the Pakeha student with the advantages derived from blood and a personal equipment of language and culture. Percy Smith and Pehi have given us a start and with the assistance of moral support and advice from the older man like Hapeta, it is up to us to record ourselves before the younger school of pakehas who require subject matter for theses label us with tags that were printed in Europe and America
>
> *Letter Te Rangihiroa to Ngata 4 November 1930 Sorrenson 191987:77*

> the anthropologist, by definition, must leave home, but only so that s/he can return. It is "there," wherever home is, that the writing, the skilled act of translation from one culture into the idiom of the other, takes place
>
> *David Scott 1989.*

Anthropology has been about western intellectuals investigating the ways of life of those classified as 'others' by dominant European social theory. Anthropologists have sought to immerse themselves in the lives of the people they study to gain an "insider's" point of view and then to translate and represent these "Native points of view" to western audiences (Culhane 1998:19). My role in working for the hapu has been beyond anthropology. It has been the role of the native informant, which emphasises the 'insider' perspective in anthropology. Spivak appropriates the 'native informant' from anthropology, informs us that the native informant is the person who feeds anthropology (Spivak 1999:142), where she borrows the term from ethnography, a discipline where the native informant is denied autobiography as it is understood in the west, where the native informant is a blank though it generates a text (Spivak 1999:6).

I 'appropriate' her use of the term 'native informant' to describe my role in the 1990s as an 'indigenous' advocate in Aotearoa/New Zealand in Waitangi Tribunal land confiscation claims processes and hapu resource and heritage management, in relation to land. Rather than placing myself in the ethnographic field tradition of the 'native informant' entering into a relationship with and providing information to an 'outsider' anthropologist, the Maori anthropologist becomes

both 'native informant' and 'native anthropologist', an advocate from within and for a community.

By the New Zealand postcolonial period, Maori have already undergone transformation as a result of political and social domination, first by the settler colonial state with its racial amalgamation objectives (Ward 1983), and second by the 20th century state's political and social objectives of assimilation and integration. Since the 19th century the role of the informant has been reversed. Where once the Maori 'informant' served the western ethnographer, whether traveller, government official or settler, now Maori demand to be the 'informant' and also the ethnographer who produces the texts as an insider. Waitangi Tribunal claims, resource and heritage management, and self-determination political objectives have Maori explaining themselves from the position of 'informant'. Former colonised peoples have now reversed the pen by 'reading and critiquing traditional ethnographic representations of themselves; conducting their own research' (Culhane 1998:20).

Anthropology

Western anthropology is guided by the tradition of the enlightenment period, the source of intellectual inspiration for Western anthropology where intellectual rationalism tried to make sense of the expanding world of people. According to Malinowski, the goal of anthropology was to grasp the way in which the native views their world, their understanding of reality (Stanton 1997:14). Stocking saw the anthropologist as the procurer of exotic and esoteric knowledge of great value (1989:209). During the colonial and postcolonial twentieth century, anthropology has been the domain of the Anglo/American metropolitan centre, and the anthropologist has occupied a privileged position of wealth, social and class position, and education. There was privilege also for the western person, who occupied a power position by producing anthropology and anthropological knowledge intended for consumption by academic institutions of the metropolitan centre, rather than by the ethnographic source, the peoples of the marginal periphery. Ethnographic observation, theory, and text were produced to serve this position of privilege.

The view projected from the metropolitan centre was of the ethnographer as an outsider, who was alien to the culture being examined and at the same time an

unbiased objective observer. Ever since its inception as a discipline in the late 19th century and the move away from philosophy towards the empiricism of the physical sciences, anthropology has emphasised 'scientific objectivity'. In general, a tenet of science has been the separation of researcher from the subject being studied (Quinlin 2000: 128 –131).

The indigenous peoples of the non-western countries, former colonies especially, have pointed out the bias of practitioners with a western perspective, in the selection of topics, approaches to problems, and interpretation of data. New concepts and explanatory models generated from other cultural perspectives are seen as providing a better fit between social reality and anthropological paradigms (Fahim and Helmer 1982:xiv). Many of the formative ethnographies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were of colonised peoples and they were studied without consideration of the colonisers and missionaries who were part of the very context of everyday life of the colonised (Asad 1973). Anthropologists were part of a larger colonial power structure, and this affected their analysis (Glenhill 2000:69).

The world changed in the twentieth century, and how anthropology was constituted changed also (Nader 2002:442). The reaction of the 'native' to anthropological 'intrusion', and decolonisation, has particularly subjected anthropology to change. The heated discussion on reflexivity in ethnography led Marcus to comment that it:

> mark the opening of the ethnographic tradition to new possibility; a departure from the ideology of objectivity, distance, and the transparency of reality to concepts; and the need to explore the ethical, political, and epistemological dimensions of ethnographic research as an integral part of producing knowledge about others (1994:568).

The post World War II growth in indigenous political strength has also had a significant impact on anthropology (Culhane 1998:129). After the 1960s, anthropologists began to encounter resentment from the groups they had chosen to study, and sometimes outright distrust and suspicion, and an increased likelihood of confrontation and challenge to the validity of their findings by representatives of the group they have studied (Lewis 1973:581). In the words of Clifford, "Scholarly outsiders now find themselves barred from access to research

sites…the anthropologist broadly and sometimes stereotypically defined has become a negative alter ego in contemporary indigenous discourse, invoked as the epitome of arrogant, intrusive colonial authority" (Clifford 2004:5).

With the decolonisation process well under way in many parts of the world by the 1960s, a debate emerged over the relationship between anthropology and colonisation. Considerable discussion took place over the role of the insider, indigenous and reflexive anthropology, and the scientific objectivity of anthropology (Lewis 1975:55). Up to the 1930s and 40s, the 'indigenous insider' were generally excluded from playing the role of ethnographer, except as the 'native informant' who provides ethnographic experience and knowledge for the ethnographer and remains a 'blank'. Te Rangihiroa and Ngata reiterated the position of the knowing insider in their Maori anthropology. Jomo Kenyatta too breached this rule of insider ethnographer by producing a thesis on his own tribe the Kikiyu, in the 1930s under the patronage of Malinowski.

Ethnography and anthropology's distinctive contribution to social science (Glenhill 2000:7) is that it has a purpose for the colonised. The dramatic and rapid transformation of culture that western imperialism and colonisation brought about had been captured by the ethnographies of anthropology. A strength of anthropology is its high appreciation of the native past and traditional cultures, a point that has been well received by native intellectuals (Maquet 1964:49). This is the anthropology that gave Apirana Ngata and Te Rangihiroa their direction in the field.

Indigenous anthropologists

Anthropology belongs to the West in its origins and orientation, but a genre of ethnographic writing that is becoming increasingly visible is "native anthropology" in which people who were formerly the subjects of ethnography become the authors of studies of their own group (Reed-Danahay 1997:2). The precursors were the insider ethnographies of Jomo Kenyatta and Maha Winiata, both indigenous colonised people. Neither Kenyetta and Winiata followed the anthropological convention of fieldwork which entailed travel to an exotic location to a culture or society that was distinct from their own. Their journey instead was to the imperial centre of London, a location greatly isolated from their culture but where they wrote up their ethnography as a dissertation. This was the

reverse of the student from the west who typically travelled to an exotic location, generally did not speak the native language, and then returned to their own culture and academic institution, to write up their field notes as ethnography. Kenyatta and Winiata did, however, follow the standard functionalist convention of providing a description of their culture and society which was conceived, on theoretical grounds, to be divided according to a table of contents into geography, kinship, economics, politics, and religion (Marcus & Cushman 1982:31). This gave the appearance of living amongst their people and doing anthropological fieldwork, ethnographic observation and recording. As insiders, their native language was the foundation of their fieldwork. In the foreword to Winiata's book on Maori leadership, Little described Winiata's ethnography as not based on systematic field work, but the product of personal participation, the close observation of all that went on around him (Winiata 1967:9).

The theoretical argument for 'indigenous anthropology' contrasted the objective outsider and "the insightful insider. The concept of indigenous anthropology implies a qualitative change in the research process and results, attributable to the researcher's affiliation with a particular nation-state, culture or ethnic group" (Fahim&Helner 1982:xiii). Boas encouraged Native Americans, such as George Hunt of the Kwakiutl to write personal ethnographies and William Jones, a Fox Indian, graduated PhD in 1904 at Colombia under Boas. Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Maharaia Winiata of Aotearoa/New Zealand were indigenous scholars of British and British settler colonies who graduated in anthropology. Kenyatta in 1934, at the London School of Economics, and Winiata with a PhD in anthropology in 1954 at University of Edinburgh. Jomo Kenyatta and Maharaia Winiata were motivated by their respective colonial pasts and post-colonial present. For Kenyatta it was tribal land taken for white farmers, and for Maharaia 19th century land confiscation, and contemporary social and racial inequalities and inequities. Jomo Kenyatta described himself as a person of pre-contact Kikuyu culture. The main education he had experienced was "prior to the advent of the European" (1938:95).

In the introduction to Jomo Kenyatta's 1938 book, based on his anthropological thesis on his tribe the Kikiyu, Malinowski validated the African writing about his own tribe and acknowledged the 'credentials' of the ethnographer as having

undertaken the African course of training and being acquainted with the administrative and economic issues of East African colonial policy.

Kenyatta states that he was the spokesman for the Kikiyu before the Royal Commissions on land matters in 1928-29 and 1931-32, and in 1932 he gave evidence in London before the Morris Carter Kenya Land Commission. "Before setting to work I realised the difficulty which faced me owing to my lack of training in comparative social anthropology, and accordingly set about finding ways and means to acquire the necessary knowledge for recording the information scientifically" (Kenyatta 1968:xvi). He lived in Great Britain from 1931 to 1944, and attended the London School of Economics for one year where Raymond Firth became a mentor. Jomo played a major role for the Kikuyu reaction to British colonisation and land grab. He used anthropology as a tool for articulating land tenure issues and engaging politically with colonisation and the loss of traditional lands. His political language was much more direct compared to the accommodating language of Maori of the Ngata era, as his experience of colonisation was recent and comparable to the period when my ancestors took up battle at Pukehinahina in 1864.

Asking for support for Kenyatta, Malinowski in a letter to Lugard describes how when Kenyatta started at the Anthropology Department he had a "political bias in all his approach", but that his exposure to the "depoliticising influence of scientific anthropology had worked a remarkable change". Kenyatta had considerable influence and Malinowski stated that "the contribution will not only be to the advancement of theoretical studies but also towards the political influence of anthropology" (Stocking 1992:264). Malinowski's aim was to convince Lugard, a British colonial administrator, of the merits of scientific training in negating anti-colonial political sentiments of natives.

The context for Maori in the twentieth century was played out much differently, but there was the same intent to manage the experience of colonisation. For Kenyatta, the alienation of land was the burning issue. For Winiata, the colonial experience of land dispossession had occurred eighty years earlier during Winiata's grandparent's generation, so that he was dealing with a settler colony achieving domination by numbers at a different phase of colonial domination. Where Kenyatta was motivated by the political objectives of the land claims of his

Kikuyu people, Winiata was particularly concerned about Maori education levels, the general lack of employment opportunities other than in labouring jobs, and the racism Maori frequently encountered. He and his family personally experienced discrimination in Pukekohe. Among his concerns were the appalling living conditions of Maori workers in the local market gardens (Winiata 2000).

Both Kenyatta and Winiata saw that anthropology could serve a purpose for native people because of the essential role of ethnography in anthropology, and the appreciation of the native past as important to any contemporary contexts. However, Kenyatta questioned the status of the outsider in the comment that the "African is in the best position properly to discuss and disclose the psychological background of tribal custom.... and he should be given the opportunity to acquire the scientific training which would enable him to do so" (1968:154). Although Kenyetta and Winiata are overlooked in the world of anthropology, the actions of these two indigenous anthropologists was important in breaking new ground by undertaking 'scientific training' and creating a new kind of anthropology by the 'native' as insider. Both their ethnographies were reflective, writing from their upbringing and experience within their respective cultures.

Hapu Ethnographer

My position as an ethnographer of the confiscated land claim is from the subject position of being both the colonised, 'native insider' and anthropologist of the hapu. The 'insider' position comes through *whakapapa* (genealogy), upbringing (my first twenty years on remaining hapu lands), continuing periods of residence on this land, and the ongoing maintenance of social and cultural obligations within the hapu. My kin relations are through both my mother (Ngati Rangi) and my father (Ngati Kahu), with the link to the land of residence being through Ngati Kahu.

During 1986 and 1987 when Ngati Kahu lodged a claim under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1976 for land confiscated in the 19th century, the hapu comprised people who were active in the social and cultural life of the marae and resident on hapu lands, including *kaumatua* (elders), *pakeke* (middle aged adults), *rangatahi* (younger generation) and *tamariki* (children). Their primary identification was Ngati Kahu because of their residence on the hapu lands, and participation on the marae. These were the people I was largely concerned with in the hapu claims

process. The hapu lands along the eastern side of the Wairoa River were surrounded by a changing landscape driven by the rapid shifts in land use by the surrounding Pakeha property owners since the 1970s. The rural landscape had been transformed by the kiwifruit orchards of the 1970s, and then urbanisation in the 1990s.

Many other hapu members live away from the area, in the urban areas of Tauranga or other towns and cities. Their contact with and social commitment to the hapu is dependent on their individual sense of obligation to the affairs of the hapu and the nature of their social relationship with resident kin. My understanding of the hapu has expanded considerably over these years of research for the land confiscation claim. The understanding has included the history and traditions of the hapu, whakapapa, the composition of hapu membership, and how Ngati Kahu and Ngati Pango see themselves as hapu in contemporary Tauranga Moana.

A question that can be asked of the 'insider' is what privilege they have. The privilege the position of the insider brings is the native understanding of the world (Hastrup 1996:75). As natives, depending on personal background and upbringing, we have an intimate and largely intuitive knowledge which the ethnographer who is an outsider will never achieve, and we regard ourselves as articulate in matters concerning our society (ibid:78). The privilege is not only the immediate access to the culture of the hapu, but extensive background and experience on wider Maori issues, and for someone with my background, my anthropological genealogy, of which there are two strands. One strand is Maori learning from Ngata and Te Rangihiroa through my carving background in the Waikato region with the Kingitanga, and the other my archaeological training. Both strands bind with my anthropological and cultural heritage fieldwork experience. This research privilege thus in membership and participation in the social and political objectives of the hapu, stands in contrast to the individual enterprise and effort of an anthropologist whose membership is in the intellectual or academic community.

The Treaty of Waitangi claims procedure has become an empowering process for hapu through the production of information to which it does not normally have access, such as archival material in the form of reports has developed their ability

to use knowledge to challenge Pakeha authority effectively, whether local Council or the Crown, on decisions that impact on or affect a hapu. My knowledge of the culture of my hapu has come from my engagement with the hapu, my commitment to spend time with its people, to be visible and to be seen to work for the hapu. My Maori anthropology is a combination of the academic and professional, and has been as archaeologist, heritage consultant, claims researcher, report writer, community advocate, archival researcher, material culture specialist, and the cultural insider. I have collated and excavated from archives and informant's narratives, and I have attempted to realign narrative tradition, informant's personal experiences and knowledge, landscape settlement pattern, territorial boundaries and whakapapa for the claims process.

It is with Maori anthropology that I position myself as the 'insider' in this dissertation. I have been drawn to Maori anthropology because of its absence in the historiography of New Zealand anthropology. The emphasis in world anthropology on the 'metropolitan centres' of Britain and United States projects the self-image of twentieth-century academic anthropology to all ethnographic activities that played a role in the formation of the discipline, while other important moments in the development of anthropology have been ignored (Pels & Salmink 1999:1). Maori anthropology was such an important moment in anthropology as it was a product of the 'colonised indigenous' and has its beginnings as early as early 1900s with the first generation western trained Maori intellectuals. The adoption by the Maori intellectuals of both ethnology and anthropology was integral to their political strategy of ameliorating the colonial experiences resulting from the political and social domination of Maori by Pakeha and Britain.

Cultural genealogy

The small area of settlement lands allocated by government officials as reserves at Wairoa (Parish of Te Papa 8, 91, 453) to Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi in the 1870s has produced an inclusive marae community. Kin relations and hapu identification since the 1870s has been largely influenced by the post-confiscation land allocation. This was done in the main by the drawing up of a list of names with allotted shares and residence at Wairoa (Append. 1(i, ii, iii), 6). This covers an area of 300 acres of which half is estuarine and freshwater wetland (see fig. 23).

My parents were never resident at Wairoa, though my grandparents Matire and Te Pura were. My inclusion or acceptance by the hapu comes from upbringing and continued residence in Te Ongaonga of Kaimai, the inland area of Ngati Kahu, for the older generation my upbringing by Harata, a grandaunt or Matire's sister, was also important.

Harata adopted my father when his mother Matire died leaving a young family. Harata was an older sister to Matire and had also adopted a niece, Amy Johnson, daughter of her sister Fanny. Harata later built a house at Te Ongaonga and asked my father to come with his young family to be with her at the Kaimai. My parents at the time lived in Hamilton, but shifted to Kaimai in 1956 to remain in that rural district until I left high school in 1969. The grand-aunt acted as a matriarch and she directed the social milieu. Ngati Kahu was the hapu of Harata, and Wairoa was her marae. The Ngati Kahu kin used to come and stay with Harata. They included her whanau of Te Keeti or Gates and Rahiri. Harata was a *morehu*, a Ratana church member, and so we were regularly at Te Omeka, the Ratana church at Te Poi, the resident area of Ngati Kirihika and Ngati Wehiwehi of Ngati Raukawa. There were close social relations with the whanau of Te Omeka, such as the Smith and Henare families who at one time in the 1910s lived in the Kaimai. Our main social relationships were with whanau of Ngati Kahu of Wairoa, Tauranga, and Ngati Kirihika and Ngati Wehiwehi of Te Poi. It was only after she died that our family became exposed to the Kahotea and Paraone whanau. These relationships established by Harata, and later by my parents, became important to me as 'insider' because as claims researcher my acceptance by informants and hapu was through the older generation knowing Harata and my parents, being raised in the area, and maintaining close links.

When involved with the Raupatu (confiscation) claim, the elders of Ngati Kahu and Ngati Pango related to me as the mokopuna of Harata, knowing that I was raised with her. I resided in Harata's house up to her death with periods at my parents house. This gave the elders confidence in my ability to handle my role in the claim. Being raised with Harata meant I had access to a different range of people to my natural parents. For Harata, her visitors were the older people of her generation, people in their seventies and eighties, while my parent's social network was among their own generation. The social circle of my parents became important to my 'insider' position because they were now the elder generation and

I became identified to them as the son of my parents. The elders of Ngati Kahu who were of my parent's generation in the 1990s saw my upbringing with Harata as giving access to a knowledge environment attained from the *tupuna* generation, as well as access to the kin links and social activities of my parents and people of their generation. In fact my mother was to play a key role after the passing of Harata in 1966, and of Arapeta her son in 1972, by informing me of the dialogue she had with the older generation who were raised in the Kaimai such as Hoana Brown and Piko (Atarea) Poumako.

My upbringing was rural in a cultural landscape of ancestors and experiences that came with a belief system of wairua (spirits) in places. After Harata's death in 1966 I was at High School in Tauranga. I began to spend time with my Kahotea side at Ngapeke staying with my grandfather Tatana and Anaru and Tari my fathers' brothers. The significance of the kin and social relationships I have outlined is that in this day and age, where Maori are now urban and take up employment outside the region, the social relationships and dynamics have changed. Access to informants and the confidence of the hapu comes from having a local profile and being known to people.

Ngapotiki, Ngati Pukenga

My upbringing was on my Ngati Kahu side, but important to my perspective in the land claims process was my Kahotea background and links to Ngapotiki and Ngati Pukenga. Kahotea was my father's (Te Reimana) grandfather and Tatana my father's father, was Ngapotiki and Ngati Pukenga. Ngapotiki is a Ngaiterangi hapu descended from Tamapahore, the younger half brother of Te Rangihouhiri the eponymous ancestor of Ngaiterangi iwi. The mother of Tamapahore, Tuwairua was of Ngati Pukenga. Tuwairua was the source of the relationship between Ngati Pukenga and Tamapahore and his older brothers. Ngati Pukenga are an iwi located at Pakikaikutu near Whangarei, Ngapeke in Tauranga, Manaia in the Coromandel, and Maketu. Kahotea married Wharepi Hirama who was also Ngati Pukenga and Ngapotiki also. My Kahotea whanau lived on land at Ngapeke, Waitao, Te Maunga, and Paengaroa near Te Puke. Compared to the Wairoa hapu, Ngapotiki and Ngati Pukenga had good holdings of land. This background enabled me to see a distinct difference between these hapu and iwi in their attitudes to land. During the 1970s and 1980s I attended land meetings at Ngati Kahu where tension and

conflict emerged over principles of land ownership. People at meetings made statements that only their whanau were the owners of the block, no one else. Where the homestead or the kainga of tupuna were located, they argued, gave them a prerogative over all the other whanau and landowners. In contrast, Ngapotiki and Ngati Pukenga have a more relaxed attitude to land.

The Wairoa hapu lands were confiscated while Ngapotiki and Ngati Pukenga confiscated lands were given back as 'returned lands'. In 1886 all the Wairoa hapu members of Ngati Rangi and Ngati Kahu (54) were placed in Parish of Te Papa 8, 91 and 453 blocks, a total of 300 acres. Whereas Ngapotiki had the Papamoa Block (12763 acres) allocated to them and Ngati Pukenga the Ngapeke Block (1496 acres). The Ngapeke Block of Ngati Pukenga was smaller but they also had lands at Manaia on the Coromandel, Pakikaikutu at the Whangarei Heads, and Maketu. The land of Ngapotiki was subdivided in the 1910s and whanau members or close kin had blocks partitioned for them, which usually consisted of 5 owners for an average of 200 acres. In the case of the Wairoa hapu of Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi, there was only 300 acres of land for 54 people in 1886.

With Ngapotiki, there is a different sense of connectedness to the land or 'memory'. Even where land had been alienated to Pakeha, the families who previously farmed or lived on the land had oral traditions associated with these lands. For the Wairoa hapu, affected by land confiscation, their 'memory' was confined to the hapu reserve land – the 250 acres returned in 1886. Ngati Kahu whanau have a deep relationship with the river. Fishing and other river activities such as swimming as well as location have maintained this association, but there was less connection with the wider ancestral landscape because of the confiscation. The Wairoa River is an icon, its mana signified by the location of a taniwha in the river below the Papaowharia pa. For Ngapotiki and Ngati Pukenga, the Rangataua habour with its battle sites, food resources and pa located around it, and the 'three whales' (hills), are cultural icons. The ancestral history is also different. Ngapotiki and Ngati Pukenga ancestors migrated into Tauranga and fought the Waitaha and then among themselves over the land and many whanau have recorded histories which emphasise their ancestors' exploits and ways of acquiring the land through battle and marriage. The Wairoa hapu, because they

had been Pai Marire, were subjected to colonial coercion, surveillance, violence and political domination which has produced a culture of 'memory loss' regarding the period of resistance and the production of narrative histories. Access to this information has been critical to my postcolonial theoretical position.

Intellectual Genealogy

My intellectual genealogy came through wood carving. I had some exposure to the Maori anthropological tradition through Waka Graham and Piri Poutapu as a carver in the Waikato during 1973 - 79. I had joined a group based in Hamilton working under Piri Poutapu, whose second project was a meeting house in Hamilton for a Catholic marae, where I also worked alongside Waka Graham. Both Piri Poutapu and Waka Graham were the foundation students of the Ao Marama, the school of Maori Arts established by Apirana Ngata at Ohinemutu in 1928. Te Puea of Waikato had sent Piri and Waka to this school to learn to carve for meeting house projects. The school focussed on the artistic, rather than the carving culture. Piri Poutapu acknowledged and practiced the ritual aspects of carving such as tapu, whereas his colleagues such as Pine Taiapa and Waka Graham did not follow these traditional beliefs associated with carving. One tutor who was brought to the school, Eramiha Kapua of Ngati Tarawhai, who came from Te Teko, also had come from this tradition of tapu through his Ringatu religion. Piri Poutapu was Pai Marire and an adherent to Kingitanga, which explains his adherence to the tradition of tapu and other beliefs associated with wood carving.

Apirana had a 'hands on' approach to the School, but gave the directions for the carving styles. There was a restoration of tribal styles that had terminated. In a letter to Te Rangihiroa, Apirana explained that:

> It is proposed to give students and the expert Rotohiko a fortnight at the Auckland Museum to study the North Auckland, Whanau-a-Apanui and other examples there (Apirana to Te Rangihiroa 11 January 1930, Sorrenson 1987:101).

And he later was to tell Te Rangihiroa:

> The school has been in Auckland for a fortnight at the expense of the Maori Purposes Fund. It was Archey's idea to get them there to study the examples of carving in the Museum. The students and experts will have an opportunity to classify according to culture

> areas, to note peculiarities of design and differences in technique (Apirana to Te Rangihiroa 8 March 1931, Sorrenson 1986:120).

The Waikato Carving School of the Kingitanga was based on men who gave their time freely for the production of art and carving for the Kingitanga. I was not from Waikato but was absorbed into this tribal tradition of Waikato, embraced by the philosophy of the Kingitanga and the principles it was based on. Although I was an outsider, the Kingitanga elders told me that the Kingitanga was for the "motu" (people of Aotearoa), there was always a place for an outsider to work within their *kaupapa* (guiding principles). However, it helped that I had close connections to Ngati Koroki of Maungatautari through my father who was raised there during his teenage years. Ngati Koroki were strong supporters of the Kingitanga and when I spoke of the access I had to Ngati Kahu for the land claim research through people behind me, elders of Ngati Koroki knew both my parents and this was conveyed to Turangawaewae.

Piri Poutapu was a ritual tohunga who clung to the 'tapu' of carving and Pai Marire was his religious practice. Pai Marire was a religion that emerged from the resistance and insurgency of the Land Wars of the 1860s, and promoted Maori religious forms that were non-Christian. The Kingitanga movement took up Pai Marire and integrated this religion into their political beliefs and philosophies. The carving of a new urban wharenui at the local Catholic Church gave me an opportunity to learn another perspective when Waka Graham joined us. He had a different philosophy and attitude to carving from Piri Poutapu. The *kaupapa* and teaching of the School was that the carving area was a tapu space and in it we were enveloped into the world of rituals, ancestors and the mana of the Kingitanga and exposure to the Pai Marire religion.

This carving environment created in me a personal interest in museums as a place of research for material culture and a place to extend knowledge of the culture. In the carving shed we were surrounded by books on carving and the concept of research which was a legacy from the School in the 1930's (Sorrenson 1988:101, 120). Of great importance was the philosophy, which stemmed from Piri Poutapu as a ritual expert and Pai Marire practitioner. It emphasised creative ideas and inspiration came from your ancestors, not the western idea of individual creativity, and the acquisition of personal vision for seeing and understanding Maori forms, shapes, and proportions. In Piri's view my university education would impair my

vision, through contamination by western philosophies and ideas. The philosophy that came from Pai Marire was about learning by vision rather than through enquiry.

In the carving shed we discussed topics relating to the activities of the carvers and the Kingitanga who were based in Kirikiriroa (Hamilton). From Piri Poutapu came the idea and discipline of research and "doing your homework" and the ability for experimentation. This led us to examine museum collections to understand the breath of the art and all the tribal variations. This school upheld the philosophy of keeping rigidly to traditional styles and any departure from convention was a breach of ritual.

Academic genealogy and cultural space

Ralph Piddington had studied under Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, in Britain in the 1930s, and in 1950 became the foundation Professor of Anthropology at the University of Auckland. He succeeded in establishing a very strong department in social anthropology, Maori, linguistics, and archaeology (Sinclair 1983:206). This was the first Anthropology Department in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and Piddington organised it according to the Boasian 'four field' model (Webster 1989:103). The first lecturer in prehistory was Jack Golson in 1954 and subsequently he was joined by Roger Green and others.

As a student of archaeology from 1979 to 1983 I felt a sense of isolation. Maori students previously had never majored in this sub-discipline doing their anthropology major in archaeology as part of the anthropology department. It was an area that was avoided by Maori students. It was because of my ritual training and experience as a Waikato trained carver that I could feel comfortable in what I had to do as a student. However I struggled as a Maori to see the relevance of the theory and teaching that I was exposed to. To me archaeology was a tool for making sense of our world; an opportunity for cultural restoration through empowerment. Bob Kerr, who was a Waikato kaumatua and lecturer in Maori Studies related to me the occasion during the 1950s when Jack Golson, the first teaching academic archaeologist in New Zealand, in an anthropology class with a number of Maori students confronted them with a skull to examine its Polynesian features. That incident turned that generation of Maori students away from archaeology.

Coming directly from a carving shed which practiced 'tapu' I was confronted with a department of archaeology where the concept of tapu was unheard of and unknown in any real sense. My experience with 'tapu' made the fieldtrips, field surveys and excavation possible. In these areas one is dealing with tapu, and the acknowledgement of tapu was necessary in tribal areas where I did not have any direct blood links. In the classroom and laboratory I had to deal with handling coprolites, seeing people working on human bones (Maori), eating food and there being no ritual separation between working and eating areas. Similar dilemmas also applied in the field whether field survey or excavation.

Fieldwork experience for undergraduate training brought me into contact with tangata whenua (resident tribe) of fieldwork areas. Because the work related to their ancestors, they engaged me in their 'cultural space'. They exposed me to their knowledge of their ancestral landscape, its history and their beliefs. As a Maori archaeologist it was ritually important for me to make links with tangata whenua when entering the space over which they have ritual mana (authority) and with the tapu (spiritual power) associated with places and their ancestors who had lived there. Examination of what these ancestors left behind on the surface and below the surface was the objects of archaeology. The tangata whenua would recite to me the history of an ancestor associated with the site or relate an incident that occurred there or cultural obligations I had to undertake. My first major fieldwork experience as a student which involved both field survey and excavation was in Kawerau, the residence of my kuia Emere and where my mother was raised. The area was confiscated land in the nineteenth century and this gave me exposure to the mapping and land alienation processes. This was the area of Ngati Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau and the local resident elders knew my mother and were contemporaries of Emere, allowing me to form a relationship with them. This was followed by field experience with Whanau a Apanui on the East Coast who were strong in the knowledge of their traditions and relation to place.

My first major individual fieldwork contract was a summer job for a forestry block at the Motu and Hawai Rivers in the Te Whanau a Apanui area. My connection with this area came from Wikuki Kingi in 1975, when I had carved a pou aro for the wharenui, Tutewake, and I had spent other time working on the marae and spending summers along the coast. I contacted Monita Delamare,

Wikuki's uncle and called into his house in Opotiki. Monita was a Tohunga of the Ringatu Church and, as it is their custom, conducted a karakia for me to enable me to undertake the survey work. The Hawai, Motu River survey was of an area which still remained in Maori ownership except for a farm at Hawai, and the Motu was well known for waahi tapu. This was reiterated by the experiences of forestry workers in clearing and planting pine. I had heard some of the traditions and now I was surveying pa and papakainga of these ancestors and Monita related to me the ancestors and more stories relating to place. I felt uncomfortable with this information because Monita spoke freely to me, where from my upbringing in the Kaimai and experience of Ngati Kahu, people were more guarded about their knowledge of place.

For my MA thesis I attempted to carry on the theme of relationship between people and place and did a settlement pattern study of the 50,000 acre confiscation block in Tauranga south of State Highway 29 to the bush edge, but had little historical material to work on because of the minimal recording of evidence in the Commissioner's hearings held under the Tauranga District Acts of 1867 and 68, which dealt with the confiscated land that was returned to Tauranga iwi. But I looked at minute books on the neighbouring regions of Waikato and Maketu which were much richer. I had to rush to finish my thesis and was not happy with it because I had a certain approach to ancestral landscape but did not have the appropriate supervision for such an undertaking. I began to recognise that archaeology was a colonising knowledge system. My archaeological training and theories were foremost when I was in the field and writing up, but ancestors loomed large and the ongoing relationships of people with place became a primary concern.

In reconciling myself to the role of the Maori/native/insider as a Maori archaeologist for my MA dissertation, it was an aunt, a neighbour in the Kaimai who confronted me with this role. In 1982 I was living in my home area and was told by Hera Tutahi, who was an eel fishing expert, of a place on the Opuiaki stream which she had come across which she recognised as an ancestral place. An area of shrub land had been cleared and burnt to turn to pasture for cattle which gave her ready access to fish for eels. She was made aware of the subterranean storage pits and raised walls of houses and immediately made an assertion that

this was an ancestral place. I went to examine the area, and ground surface features suggesting a settlement of sorts with the remains of raised walls of houses, subterranean storage pits, obsidian flaking and stone working floor, and fire burnt stones used for earth ovens. Here in this location, since ancestors last occupied the area, the forest had set its regenerative process and the area remained in an undisturbed state until an uncle, Tommy Clair who farmed the area, had burnt the regenerating native vegetation. Another uncle, Piko Poumako, who was familiar with the area, told me later in 1986 that when he and his kuia, Te Kahui, would fish for eels at night in this locality on the Opuiaki, the place was noted for voices. This signified to me that it was a special place.

The first thought that came into my mind was, "What is the history of this place?" – meaning, who were the ancestors that lived here. For the archaeology, I decided on a settlement pattern and landscape approach and decided to survey a wide region for site comparison, but the overriding question was that I wanted to use tradition as a model to explain settlement patterns. Twenty years later, tradition predominates and it is even larger. Whereas in 1982, at first I could not answer the question regarding the history of this place, now with the archive resource and the research I had undertaken for the land claim twenty years later, I can produce an answer with this reference to Te Popotetaka, which was the name of the place:

> Opposition continued to the survey where the survey stations were pulled down. The station at Kaikaikaroro (Poripori), that at Puremu (Kaimai) twice and at Poupoutetaka (Opuiaki - Kaimai) once. Tutera of Ngati Kirihika with his wife and children living in the area obstructed the survey by destroying the stations. He said that it was his wife who obstructed first and some of the children took calico for clothes. Ngati Hangarau and Ngati Tawhairangi also tried to stop the survey but Akuhata Tupaea and Te Puru carried the survey through (National Archives - BABG A52 55 Box 25 Brabant Notes - Kaimai Survey).

These are comments relating to people relevant for understanding place. The field survey for my thesis covered an extensive area, recording pa and other site types and in some areas I was able to communicate with elders of various hapu about their knowledge of place, but surveying confiscated land I could see the relationship between alienation of land and knowledge of ancestral landscape. In many areas there was no knowledge of place because of the confiscation. The

knowledge that was maintained was where people were employed on farms or still fished the rivers and streams for eels.

Over this period as a student of archaeology I had developed a special relationship with three kuia of the Ngati Kahu hapu, who were senior relatives of both my mother and father: Hoana Brown, Hera Tutahi and Emere Ngaheu. Hoana had been brought up in the Kaimai by Te Kahui, sister to her mother Parekaroro. Hera had grown up at Te Puna with her grandparents, Tokona or Maaka, who was Pai Marire, and Ngarama of Ngati Rangi (see Append. 2(i) for relationship). Emere was raised at Te Wairoa by her mother Riripeti Tokona and her father, Te Rauhea Paraone, from Huria or Ngaitamarawaho. Hera built a house just before Harata had her house built at Te Ongaonga in the Kaimai. As close kin and kuia of the hapu I had always engendered a relationship with them. But also, Hoana had been raised at Te Ongaonga, Hera lived next door at Te Ongaonga, and Emere had raised my mother, and was the only kuia out of the three who grew up at Te Wairoa. The relationship with these kuia as elders and kin was ritually important for me in taking up archaeology, because of the tapu associated with ancestral places. I always informed them of areas I worked in, especially of iwi where I had no blood connection, an important first stage in the protocol for walking over land where one has never previously been.

Heritage Advocate

My experiences as a student of anthropology and archaeology were to be followed over the next 10 years by my role as an hapu heritage advocate. Whereas I had training in the interpretation of the past through archaeological field methods, the people who owned this ancestral past through descent, the living descendents, engaged with their ancestors more than with the archaeological features. For instance, in 1986 I was called by the Te Mahurehure hapu of Tuhoe in the eastern Bay of Plenty to identify archaeological sites and areas on Taiarahia, a significant

Figure iii. Hera Rahiri and Hoana Paraiki 1986 Wairoa Marae. Photo D. Kahotea.

ancestral landscape owned by the hapu. Their tribal Trust Board was proposing to convert the native vegetation of forest and regenerative plants to exotic timber plantation. Te Mahurehure stopped the afforestation and occupied the land. I was asked to examine the archaeological and cultural features of Taiarahia. I undertook the request and produced a report to support their objectives of the preservation of Taiarahia in its current natural state. The report identified archaeological sites and the cultural relationships of this landscape. As a recent graduate (1984), this put me off side with the Maori committee of New Zealand Historic Places Trust and my former university Professor Roger Green and many of the archaeology hierarchy. Archaeology was not to be seen to service Maori protest activity.

In the case of Taiarahia, archaeology subsequently confirmed cultural relationships. Taiarahia was a maunga karanga (a mountain that calls), pae maunga (a hill range with a variety of archaeological sites), a rongoa rahui (medicinal plant reserve) and a waahi turehu (place of spirits), and the vegetation of native forest and regenerating shrubs represented a native cloak. It was a traditional settlement location of a noted ancestor, the fighting chief Te Purewa, who had lived here. His mana (prowess) and his defiance was such that he had lived in an unfortified settlement. I was shown the location of his settlement, which was on a narrow ridge, and there was no obvious surface evidence to suggest an area of occupation. However, excavation for a forestry track revealed

subsurface features that supported the location as an unfortified kainga. To combat the plans of the Trust the Te Mahurehure brought together the various meanings of the maunga (mountain) with archaeological sites a component amongst a range of other cultural elements integrated as Taiarahia. I learned from the Te Mahurehure what the meaning and relationships of space and place of Taiarahia were for them. It was just one place amongst many in their tribal area. For instance there was Hinekohurangi, the mist ancestor and Whakatane River a water spirit. Te Mahurehure sought the preservation of their mountain, Taiarahia was a significant cultural space for them.

In 1994, while based at the Maori Studies Department of Victoria University, I was informed that an authority had been given for a major residential development at Papamoa under the Historic Places Act 1993. This would destroy an estimated 26 archaeological sites. I sent a letter to the Historic Places Trust and made approaches to appeal the authority. I had to put an injunction in place to halt all work and rushed back to Tauranga. Previously I had monitored a storm water pipeline in the coastal sand dunes and the extent of archaeological sites in this location had become obvious to me.

With the Environment Court case pending I went back to Tauranga to build up a case and get the support of elders. I had to produce an affidavit for the appeal. In this affidavit I stated that Kaikino Paraire, although an elder of Ngapotiki, did not have the expertise to condone the destruction of sites. He had been consulted as part of the requirement of the resource consent under the Resource Management Act 1991. The developer had a letter of support from Kaikino representing Ngaiterangi Iwi and Ngapotiki for the 26 sites to be destroyed. Kaikino had stated the sites were of no value. In my view he did not understand archaeological sites, especially sites that were not visible above the ground. The authority was approved by Dr Bruce McFadgen of Department of Conservation and Warren Gumley of the Historic Places Trust, archaeologists who did a special review because of the request to destroy such a large number of sites. They concluded in their assessment that the sites were shell fish processing sites for people who occupied pa in the Papamoa hills.

In the 1970s and 1980s, Ngapotiki and Ngati Pukenga had made use of archaeology to reinforce cultural arguments for the protection of cultural heritage

areas and sites. Wiremu Ohia developed a good understanding in working with archaeologists and he recorded pa sites of the Papamoa area and their ancestral associations. However by the 1990s, elders did not have the same experience and did not display the same understanding.

In preparation for an Environment Court hearing I spent a whole summer examining the area, archaeological sites of pa and kainga, to validate the relationship between landscape and narrative traditions. A whanau member presented me with their whakapapa books with writings dating back to the 1870s with a traditional narrative of Ngati Pukenga and Ngapotiki ancestors' migration into the area through battle and intermarriage with Waitaha. With this information I was able to correlate traditional narratives with a settlement pattern of pa and kainga. The elders of Ngapotiki did not support my appeal because of my statements in the affidavit regarding Kaikino. But my position was that there were principles I had to uphold as a Maori archaeologist. As my tupuna, Kahotea and Tatana were Ngapotiki, I was Ngapotiki, and I could not condone the overt destruction of heritage on such a scale, especially where it related directly to my ancestry.

The actions I took had placed me in an adversarial role in relation to the New Zealand Historic Places Trust, the statutory body, and Pakeha consulting archaeologists. There is an ideology that the capturing of information a site contains, as an excavation record, has scientific importance for the history of the country. But this information is an archaeological construct. It implies the hegemony of archaeological scientific method over Maori cultural space. My heritage advocacy role emphasises the value of people who directly relate to the ancestral landscape and sites remaining in their physical forms and locations rather than the transformation of this information into a report and other publication forms.

In the appropriation of land and space, colonialism was fundamentally an act of geographical violence, a geographical violence employed against indigenous peoples and their land rights [(Said 1993:1-15) quoted in Young 2001:20)]. A key component of my insider intellectual position has been my engagement with postcolonial space. In this sphere I have utilised my archaeological training, rural upbringing and cultural and ancestral landscape consciousness regarding heritage

relations with land. This experience and the role I took up as a hapu advocate for heritage protection has been an important aspect of my research methodology for the land claim during the 1990s. This involved field checking land block survey maps to realign boundaries and identify the location of historic nineteenth century Pai Marire kainga, trails and other cultural features, and to know and feel for land by engaging with various dimensions, both material and spiritual. The Colonial relations of space, particularly as manifested in the alienation of land, land survey systemisation, and private property rights, had a far-reaching impact on the colonised. The severance of the traditional links between time, space and place played a major part in the development of modern consciousness (Ashcroft 2001:152).

SECTION TWO: RESISTANCE AT TAURANGA

4.

KINGITANGA AND PAI MARIRE RESISTANCE

Figure iv. Robley, Horatio Gordon: Sketch in trenches, Gate Pa 30 April 1864. ATL A-033-036

The Kingitanga movement which developed in the late 1850s was a new form of political organisation and consciousness, a Maori response to colonisation. "The King organization was conceived in an area where European influence was, on the whole welcome [Otaki]. It had found its leadership and strength in areas where European influence was less strong [Taranaki and Waikato]", and received no support in the South Island or the northern North Island (Sinclair1974:75). The real concern of Maori who supported the establishment of the Kingitanga was that with colonisation "they were losing control of their own destinies, and being subordinated to the political and economic power of the settlers" (Ward 1995:98). An objective in the

formation of the Kingitanga was to keep the remaining Maori land out of the hands of the Pakeha colonisers.

In 1860-61 a land war began in Taranaki over a disputed land purchase at Waitara, when the purchase was protected from Maori challenges by military intervention from Governor Gore-Browne. There was support for the Taranaki cause from various Kingitanga followers, and the colonial government in turn demanded from the Kingitanga movement submission to the Queen or acknowledgement of the authority of the government (Sinclair 1976:234). In 1861, Sir George Grey was sent back to New Zealand by the Colonial Office as governor to avert war and to introduce institutions of civil government amongst Maori. But an advance into Waikato by Grey in 1863 led to the spread of the land war, drawing in support from the Tauranga Kingitanga. This in turn led to military action in Tauranga in April 1864 between Tauranga iwi and Imperial troops, who had been stationed there to contain any support for Waikato from the East Coast and Tauranga.

Pai Marire, a new religious consciousness, emerged in Taranaki in the midst of the land wars of the 1860s and came to Tauranga following the military defeat of the Kingitanga insurgents at Te Ranga and the surrender of arms in August 1864. Pai Marire was brought to Tauranga, specifically to the Ngati Kahu inland kainga of Kaimai in December 1864, and was promoted by Hori Tupaea, an elder Tauranga fighting chief of the 1830s, a leader with ariki status and mana. The Pai Marire followers retreated inland from their harbour edge settlements to distance themselves from colonialism and the military settlement at Te Papa (fig.5). The Wairoa hapu and their neighbours, Te Pirirakau, became Pai Marire and continued their support for the Kingitanga. They were to maintain their resistance to colonisation by disrupting the survey of confiscated land and by isolating themselves in their bush edge settlements. There they became the object of surveillance, coercion, suppression and violence for their continued resistance after Ngaiterangi chiefs and hapu of Tauranga had changed their loyalty to the Queen. The reaction of the colonists to the Pai Marire followers, or Hauhau, as they were to be called, was fear and obsession, associated with the notions of savagery that had been conjured up in reaction to the Pai Marire religious consciousness in Taranaki, Whanganui and Opotiki.

The Maori resistance was an expression of *mana Maori motuhake,* or the desire to remain on their lands distinct and separate from the colonisers, a refusal to be absorbed (Ashcroft 2001:20). The means of colonial 'subject oppression' were parliamentary law, military containment, and the 'native construct'. Parliamentary law involved settler political domination and exclusion from the political process, military containment involved the exercise of British imperial power, and the 'native construct' (colonial view) involved the manipulation of 'traditional' power relations (chiefly mana) to control the political and social transformation of the 'colonial native' through the cultivation of loyalty, and the construct of 'Hauhau' to negatively define Pai Marire resistance.

Kingitanga

The objective of a 'colony of settlement' was to acquire land for British colonists. By the mid-1850s apprehension amongst North Island Maori about the demands for land led to the creation of the Kingitanga modelled on the English monarchy, but the similarity ended with the term. The pressure on Maori land came from the transfer of power from the Governor to the Cabinet of Ministers, who pursued a policy of purchasing remaining Maori land in the North Island. Maori opposition to immigration and further colonisation generated the idea of *pupuri whenua*, withholding land from sale as a means of controlling and slowing down settlement (Walker 1990:111). The hurdle these fiercely independent tribal groups had to overcome was the inability to bind together politically, and so the chiefs promoted the concept of putting the mana of all the tribes under a single person in the office of a King. Spivak says that nationalism of the colonised mirrors that of the coloniser; in this case the mirroring was the adoption of the concept of monarch as head of a political system to counter or stem the tide of colonisation (1987). Comments from the Methodist missionary Thomas Bundle expressed the underlying chiefly orientation of the Kingitanga:

> It was not this new thing that the King's party sought to establish, but an old thing that they sought to preserve, viz., the Chief's status, his influence in his tribe, and the national independence. They felt the spread of European customs was fast undermining the authority of the chiefs, and destroying their independence as a people. They thought that a King would preserve their nationality, and uphold the status of the chiefs by giving them a position in the administration of Native Affairs within their own territory (Buddle 1860:19, 20).

Traditional considerations of mana and whakapapa were crucial to the selection of a king, but much of the leadership came from young chiefs who were Christian, progressives and enthusiasts for peace, stability and law (Ward 1995:99).

In the process of selection of a suitable candidate for King, approaches were made to individual Paramount chiefs of the central North Island. They all rejected the approaches in the 1850s. One was Hori Tupaea, the Ngaiterangi fighting chief of the 1830s. Tamihana Tarapipipi Te Waharoa of Ngati Haua then set out to install Potatau, an aging chief of Waikato, in a series of meetings in the Waikato in 1857 which were attended by Ngaiterangi chiefs of Tauranga. Although there were important kin and political links between Ngati Haua and other Waikato iwi and several Tauranga iwi and hapu, it was the Ngaiterangi chiefs who were the advocates for the Kingitanga to be established in Tauranga.

> I tenei tau 1857 e rua nga wahanga i taua hui, he Kiingi etehi, he Kuini etehi. Ko etehi e mea ana hei Kingi aha engari te Kuini. Ko etahi e mea ana e tika ana me tu ano he Kiingi mo te Maori. Ka tu ko Wiremu Tamehana. Ko ia te rangatira i tu i taua hui i waenganui o nga iwi Kuini me nga minita o Te Hahi Mihingare. Kaore taua iwi e whakae kia tu he Kiingi mo nga tangata Maori. Ko nga rangatira o Tauranga i tuku i a ratau ki raro i a Kiingi Potatau i aua wa ko Tupaea, ko Tawaha, ko Tarakiteawa, ko Te Uamai tangi, ko Te Manotini, ko Rawiri Tangitu, ko Hamiora Tu, ko Rangitangimoana, ko Rotoihu, ko Te Harawira, ko Tomika, ko Tuere, ko Hohepa Hikutaia. Ko nga tangata enei i herea ai a Tauranga ki Tongariro, Tongariro ki Taupiri, ko Potatau ano te tangata.
>
> *In 1857 there was two sides of the gathering, King and Queen supporters. There were those who supported the setting up of a King for Maori. Wiremu Tamihana stood to speak. He was the chief who stood amidst the Queen supporters and Anglicans. This group did not support the establishment of a King for Maori. The chiefs of Tauranga who put themselves under Potatau were Tupaea, Tawaha, Tarakiteawa, Te Uamai tangi, Te Manotini, Rawiri Tangitu, Hamiora Tu, Rangitangimoana, Rotoihu, Te Harawira, ko Tomika, Tuere, Hohepa Hikutaia. It was these chiefs who tied Tauranga to the mountains Tongariro, Taupiri and Potatau* (Tamateapokaiwhenua Sovenir Booklet 1958).

At a meeting at Ngaruawahia in 1860 the erection of a flagstaff, considered to be the symbolic establishment of the Kingitanga, was attended by:

> the tribes of the Manukau and Lower Waikato, except the Waiuku people; divisions of the tribes of the interior, at Waipa, Otawhao, Rangiaohia, Maungoatautou, Taupo, and Matamata; divisions of the tribes on the East Coast – at Tauranga, Ahuriri, Opotiki, and Heretaunga; divisions of the tribes on the West Coast – at Kawhia and Taranaki, along the Coast to Wanganui; (Buddle 1860:61).

Those Ngaiterangi chiefs who supported the political objectives of the Kingitanga pledged their lands to be placed under the mana of, firstly Kingi Potatau, and then his successor Kingi Tawhiao. Giving the mana of the land to the King was to prevent sale, following the principle of *pupuri whenua (hold* the land), the notion being that the King decided the fate of the land:

> The main object proposed by the movement party is the preservation of their land. Their watchword is, "No further alienation of Maori territory." To prevent this it has required that the tribes joining the league shall give over their territory to the King, to have and hold for ever. This is done in writing, and the records are carefully preserved (Buddle 1860:19, 20).

The concept of a King, modelled on the British Crown, went further than a notion of halting land sales, but the idea of an entity to deal with land and related issues, driven by policies formed by a consensus of a confederation of iwi, can be contrasted to the land alienation through land purchase that occurred under policies driven by Governor Grey and his successors. At first land purchases were negotiated directly with all the superior or subordinate leaders or chiefs of hapu and iwi, seeking the consent of all, but in the latter era of land purchases under McLean during the 1850s, buying land occurred without securing the consent of the majority of the tribe, or even that of the chiefs (Ward 1995:59). The background to the selection of Potatau as King was the land dispute in Taranaki which erupted into war in 1861, to be supported by elements of the Kingitanga. With the Kingitanga support and engagement in the Taranaki conflict, war was then perceived to be imminent in the Waikato.

The threat of war in the Waikato made Kingitanga supporters in Tauranga nervous in the face of any action by the colonial state. Clarke, the Civil Commissioner for Tauranga, noted that the Kingitanga supporters in Tauranga were reluctant to fly the King's flag for fear of invasion by the Governor with troops in event of war with Waikato, as Tauranga was only two easy days journey from Waikato (Clarke to Smith July 8th 1861 AJHR E No.12:1 1863). In anticipation of action by Grey and the Colonial State, Tamihana invited chiefs to attend a meeting at Peria on 21 October 1862 "to ascertain the state of feeling throughout the Island and the question of maintaining national independence" under the King. The hui was attended by chiefs and their people from "Ngati Kahungunu, Ngati Porou, Ngaiterangi, Hauraki, Rotorua, Taupo, Upper Waikato and Ngati Haua and Kawhia" (Smith to Native Minister September 13 1862 AJHR E No.12:1 1863).

Hori Tupaea was one of the principal chiefs in attendance, although the main support for the Waikato and the Kingitanga came from Ngaiterangi chiefs such as Reweti Manotini. Te Raihi, one of many government informants at the hui, wrote to Grey explaining that "the things decided by the Runanga were, that the road should not cross Mangatawhiri, and that the large boat should not sail in the Waikato," and that the land dispute of Waitara should be investigated. Waikato were anticipating an invasion, and Tauranga, or Ngaiterangi, were strong in their support for Waikato and the Kingitanga (Raiha to Grey 28 Oct. 1862 AJHR E No.12:17).

The invasion of Waikato by British troops in 1863 rallied Tauranga Kingitanga to the military aid of Waikato. A fighting party led by Reweti Manotini and Hori Ngatai went to support Waikato at Meremere. This signalled to the Government Tauranga's role in the land war (H.T. Clarke to Smith August 15 1863 TDC Library Archives). The response of the government was to land British troops in Tauranga and establish a military camp on Mission land at Te Papa in January 1864. The outcome of this was war in Tauranga. The initial British defeat at the battle at Pukehinahina (Gate Pa) in April was followed by the overwhelming defeat of Tauranga Kingitanga and their supporters from other tribes at Te Ranga later that year, where many of the major Kingitanga leaders were killed, including the war leader Puhirake, brother of Penetaka Tuaia. The surrender of arms and terms of peace that followed saw many Ngaiterangi chiefs pledging loyalty to the Crown, symbolised by the Queen, and the relinquishing of their Kingitanga links. Ngaiterangi chiefs who were once Kingitanga supporters moved over to the government side. The only group refusing to come in and surrender were the Pirirakau hapu and elements of the Wairoa hapu. Te Pirirakau had direct links with Wiremu Tamihana, and remained loyal to the politics of the Kingitanga and refused to surrender.

Hori Tupaea

The concept of the Kingitanga had been embraced and supported by chiefs of Tauranga in the 1850s and Hori Tupaea as ariki had been considered for the role:

> Ina tetehi korero i rongo te kai-tuhi ki tona matua ake, a tuhia hoki ki roto i nga pukapuka a nga uri o taua tupuna. I te whakaturanga o Te Kiingi-tanga ka puta tetehi korero i a Matena Te Whiwhi kia whiua mai te taonga o te Kiingitanga ki te moana o Tauranga. I penei taua

> kupu 'Ko Mauao te maunga, ko Tauranga te moana, ko Tupaea te tangata.' Ka uru atu ai te moana o Tauranga me ona iwi ki roto i te take whakatutu Kiingi, a ka whanui hoki te haere o tenei taonga ki nga uri rangatira katoa o te motu.
>
> *In some talk I the writer heard from my elder, written in books held by a descendent, when the Kingitanga was established, Matene Te Whiwhi said to send the gift of the Kingitanga to Tauranga moana. The word was Mauao the mountain, Tauranga the moana, Tupaea the chief. Tauranga iwi supported the cause of establishing a King, which went out to all the chiefs of the lands.*
> (Tamateapokaiwhenua Sovenir Booklet 1958).

Political relations between iwi of Tauranga and Waikato, stemming from the 1830s have been seen as instrumental in the Tauranga support for the Kingitanga movement. However there was a special relationship between Potatau, the first King and Tupaea as fighting chiefs of the 1830s and the Tauranga-Waikato alliance. There was also Tupaea's important Raukawa kin links to Tainui. In 1844 a hakari was given by Te Wherowhero (Potatau) and Wetere at Remuera in return for one given to him the previous year in the Waikato. This was seen by the governor and the citizens of Auckland and left a strong impression on the "English colonists" who watched the activities of sham fights and the food and gift distribution of the hakari. It was estimated that the 'native' attendance was over 4000. The chiefs met Governor Fitzroy at Government House and when asked by the Governor to relate outstanding issues to him, Te Wherowhero raised the dispute over Motiti Island between Tupaea of Ngaiterangi and Ngati Whakaue, asking for the intervention of the Governor so that "Ngati Whakaue may be persuaded to depart in a peaceable friendly way". The attendance by Tupaea and Ngaiterangi at the hakari affirmed the special status and relationship he had with Waikato. Ngatiawa, as Ngaiterangi was sometimes called, numbered 200 out of an attendance of 3360. Of those who attended, all except the Tauranga contingent led by Tupaea, were from Waikato, with a smaller number of Ngati Whatua of Orakei. (80). The total number of iwi affiliates attending numbered sixteen (Govenor FitzRoy to Lord Stanley Colonial Office Despatch May 25 1844). This special relationship between Tupaea and Potatau Te Wherowhero was illustrated through letters from Tupaea and other Ngaiterangi chiefs of Tauranga to the Kingitanga, confirming their support for Potatau and Tawhiao and the principle of *pupuri whenua* (Hokioi Hune 15th 1862). In February 1863 Hori Tupaea, as elder statesman and the remaining fighting chief of the 1830s who was

acknowledged as the leading ariki of Tauranga, moved inland over the Kaimai Ranges to Kuranui, the settlement of Ngati Motai at Patetere. From there he sent a series of messages to Tawhiao and Tamihana confirming the support of Tauranga.

> Te Hokioi, E Rere Atu Na.
> Ngaruawahia, Pepuere 15, 1863
> Kuranui wahi o Patetere, Hanuere (12, 1863)
> Kia Wi-Tamihana raua ko Matutaera Potatau, E hoa ma tenei au nei kua eke kei uta, na korua hoki i tu tonu ake i uta, na korua hoki i tu tonu ake; uta; kora au ka peke mai ki to korua turanga: e whakarongorongo kau ana hoki ma tou ki te rongo o kawana kua tae mai ki Nga-Rauru, he tika ra nei hori ra nei. Ka huri...
> Na w.remu-haumu, Na Hori Tupaea
> (Te Hokioi February 15 1863).
>
> Kuranui, place of Patetere January 12
> To Wi Tamihana and Matutaera Potatau, friends this is me gone inland, you two stand inland, your stand is permanently inland, that is why I step closer to you two to understand more about the Government who has reached Nga-Rauru (Ngaiterangi), this is correct for me
> From W. remu-haumu (Ngati Kirihika), from Hori Tupaea

Tupaea's kin links to Raukawa were to see him based at Kuranui in the Patetere region, at the western foot of the Kaimai Range which separated the Tauranga and Waikato regions. The Ngati Raukawa hapu of the Kaimai and neighbouring Patetere acknowledged the mana of Tupaea in their support for him which was maintained into the 1880s.

Confiscation

The military support given by Tauranga to the Kingitanga in the Taranaki and Waikato conflicts had been observed and recorded by the Civil Commissioner Smith. This was to have a major bearing on the direction and outcome of the peace settlement with Governor Grey. Grey's plan for native government, a form of indirect rule, was introduced to Tauranga in 1861, with a domiciled local government official whose objectives were the coercion and surveillance of the Kingitanga supporters and the giving of favourable consideration to the supporters of the Queen in Tauranga.

In 1861 T.H. Smith observed the political division that existed then in Tauranga. Ngaiterangi living on the east side of the harbour, and the Maungatapu people were well disposed towards the Government's proposals, accepting the institutions

formulated by Governor Grey. But a boundary could be drawn at Te Wairoa "the most disaffected people".

The Ngaiterangi east of the harbour also were to play a key role in the 'peace settlement' after the battle at Te Ranga three years later:

> Rice [translator- government official] absent amongst the Rebels. Baker [resident magistrate] asked to accompany expedition of Defence Force to Wairoa. Found Rice Wi Patene, Hohepa and Maihi Pohepohe on north bank. The peace movement originated from the "Queen's side". Hori Tupaea's people in the neighbourhood of Wairoa refusing to make peace, but when threatened the soldiers would be fetched they were more submissive. Retemana, Wi Parera and Tamati Mauao three friendly chiefs (Mackay to Colonial Secretary July 1864 AJHR A18).

A small group comprising Pirirakau and members of the neighbouring hapu Ngati Pango and Ngati Rangi of Wairoa refused to bring in their arms, surrender and take an oath of loyalty. When Tawhiao retired to Te Nehenehenui or the Rohe Potae in the upper catchments of the Waipa River, Tamihana Tarapipipi was at Kuranui or Patetere where his political influence became more direct in attempts by the loyal Kingitanga supporters to oppose government policy in Tauranga. This group, who were referred to as Pirirakau (Pirirakau and Wairoa hapu), refused to surrender and submit to the mana of the Queen, and remained steadfast with the Kingitanga. This political divide was to be played out in 1866 in the differences between the loyal and surrendered Ngaiterangi and the still resisting Ngati Ranginui Pai Marire.

When Grey returned from South Africa in 1861 he gave support to a scheme for military settlers from New Zealand and Australian goldfields to be rewarded with the confiscated land. In 1863 legislation was passed, the Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863, which permitted trial by court martial and the suspension of habeas corpus, and the New Zealand Settlements Act that authorised the confiscation of land belonging to the rebels. The New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 stated any tribe or section of tribe which since January 1863 "had been engaged in rebellion" in a district which was declared under provisions of the Act, was to have its land taken or set aside for settlements of colonisation. People not entitled to compensation for the taking of land were 'rebels' who made war or carried arms against the Crown and those who assisted the 'rebels'. The Governor demanded by proclamation that arms be surrendered by a certain date. Meanwhile the Public

Works Act of 1864 gave the Government power to take Maori land compulsorily and was used for setting up road networks through Maori districts, legislation seen by Ward as acting solely in the interest of the colonisers (Ward 1995:169).

A pacification hui for peace at Te Papa was conducted by Grey during August 1864 when the surrendering chiefs gave up their lands to the Colonial Government in atonement for the 'rebellion,' and Grey promised them that he would act swiftly to expedite the confiscation. There was considerable delay in the formalising of the confiscation. The Government Surveyor, Theopilus Heale was sent to Tauranga to survey sections for the military settlers of the 1st Waikato Regiment and by April 1865 he had "surveyed whole coastline of Tauranga", laid out the township of Te Puna, and subdivided land near Te Papa and Otumoetai into 50 and 100 acre sections.

Pai Marire

Pai Marire was a religious movement that appeared out of the turmoil of the land wars in Taranaki in the early 1860s. Pai Marire began in Taranaki with the vision of a prophet, Te Ua Haumene who along with his supporters was involved in the fighting in Taranaki and Whanganui. There were three violent clashes, at Ahuahu, Te Morere and Moutua, which signalled the existence of Pai Marire to Pakeha (Clark1975:16) (see fig. 31). In August 1864, Tawhiao, the Maori King went south to Taranaki to meet Te Ua Haumene at Taiporohenui and changed his name from Matutaera to Tawhiao (Jones 1968:136). Having established an alliance with Tawhiao and the Kingitanga, Te Ua then despatched his message to Hirini Te Kani a Takirau of Turanganui in Poverty Bay, Tairawhiti. The messengers were Patara Raukatauri of Taranaki and Kereopa Te Rau of Te Arawa (Clark 1975:19). The Kingitanga had now embraced Pai Marire, leading to the word coming to Tauranga via Waikato, the Taranaki emissary coming from Ngati Haua in December 1864. This shows how rapid Pai Marire spread amongst the Kingitanga supporters. Pai Marire remains today the official religion of the Kingitanga.

In the aftermath of the surrender at Tauranga, and with Ngaiterangi chiefs in Auckland at the Katikati Te Puna purchase negotiations, the Pai Marire emissary Tiu Tamihana from Taranaki reached Tauranga. Hakaraia of Waitaha (Te Puke) was a noted tohunga and Te Ua sent word that he saw the mana of Hakaraia as

appropriate as a Pai Marire religious leader. Te Puke, the kainga of Hakaraia, soon became the centre of attention for Tupaea and Te Tiu Tamihana:

> Hori Tupaea and Te Tui Tamihana were actively engaged in propagating the Pai marire superstition, and that their efforts were attended with considerable success. They were then in the neighbourhood of Maketu (Clarke to Native Minister February 11 1865 BPP 14:305).

Hori Tupaea was observed by colonial officials to play a key role in the introduction of Pai Marire into Tauranga. Rice, a local government official reporting to the Native Minister, identified Hori Tupaea as sending out letters to different hapu inviting them to a meeting.

> I have the honour to report for your information that on the 21st instant that two emissaries (Wi Roti and Wiremu Huiaua) came to Tauranga from Hori Tupara's settlement, to request the people to go inland and take part in a large meeting to be holden on the 25th December, and promising a full explanation of Te Anahera Hau's new religion.
> ...I have received information that Hori Tupaea had again despatched letters to all the different "hapus" entreating them not to turn a deaf ear, but to go up to the meeting (Rice to Native Minister December 28 1864 BPP 14 p.263).

Colonel Greer, the British troop commander, reported to D. Q. M. General that in the absence of chiefs in Auckland to conduct the deal of the Katikati Te Puna purchase, Hori Tupaea regained his former influence by writing to 'everyone' in Tauranga telling them to go inland to hear the emissary of the prophet and be initiated into Pai Marire.

> I beg to remind you that it was "Hori Tupaea" and "Te Tui Tamihana" who recently drew the Ngaiterangi out to the "bush" (Greer to Grey February 11 1865 BPP 14:306).

Greer sent Rice up to "Hori Tupaea's" Kaimai settlement as Greer, in a letter dated February 4 1865 to T.H. Smith at Maketu points out:

> I have just heard that "Hori Tupaea" has returned to Kai Mai [When the forces of militia and Te Arawa had sacked the Kaimai village, letters of correspondence between Tamihana and Tupaea were found (The Daily Southern Cross February 28 1867).

The spread of Pai Marire into Tauranga and its adoption by all of Tauranga was viewed by Greer as a threat to the stability of the area:

> I have sent Mr. Rice up to "Hoie Tupei's" settlement in the Ranges (where I hear there is a Prophet and a good number of "Pai marire" Maoris collected), to see what they are up to... (The Daily Southern Cross Feb. 28 1867)

Rice first went to the settlements at Wairoa and found Ngati Kahu, Ngati Pango and Ngati Rangi had gone inland:

> At the settlement at the Wairoa river, to the eastward, I found Penetaka and his people had all gone off and left me only a souvenir in the shape of a charcoal epistle on the whare door. On the western side of the stream I found the Matakana people remaining at the mill, who had assured me that under no circumstances, however alluring, could they be induced to leave during the absence of their chiefs now in Auckland. At Iraia's settlement no one had left. Here I found my old friends, Nopera Heremaia and Hoani...Nothing approaching a belief in the new religion could be traced here (Rice to Native Minister 28th December 1864 BPP 14:263).

Greer observed that there had been some prior preparation as Penetaka with Ngati Rangi moved inland to embrace Pai Marire:

> The Chief, Penetaka, the great warrior and engineer of the tribe, who, before the Governor and General in July last, was vehement in his promises of loyalty to the Queen for the future, and expressions of regret for the past.... he and his people made a clear flitting, taking everything away; and I am told that for months they have been preparing dried pipis. Before going he left a touching farewell to Mr. Rice with a burnt stick on the door of his whare (Greer December 26 1864 BPP14:266).

Penetaka had surrendered to the Governor immediately after Te Ranga and pledged loyalty to the Crown, but on converting to Pai Marire he became one of the main Hauhau leaders and supporters of the Kingitanga.

Greer recognised the roles of Hori Tupaea and Te Tui Tamihana in the establishment of Pai Marire in Tauranga, and on hearing that they were in Te Puke and intending to cross hostile Arawa territory to the east coast, Greer sent a message to Te Arawa to capture them. They were caught at Rotoiti by Ngati Pikiao and brought back to Tauranga. On being captured troops were sent out to quickly gather Tupaea and shield him against harm or abuse from Te Arawa. The 'friendly' Ngaiterangi chiefs, upon hearing of Tupaea's capture lobbied for Tupaea to remain in Tauranga as a prisoner as any public belittling of Hori Tupaea would

not only be a slight to his mana but to Tauranga overall. He was their ariki and respect for him was still acknowledged.

Hori Tupaea recanted to the Crown on having strayed from his allegiance. He told Greer that he had been influenced by Wiremu Tamihana. Hori Tupaea was to deny to T.H. Smith that he played an important role introducing Pai Marire, as he had been on his way to Matata to pay his respects to relatives (T.H. Smith to Grey Feb 13 1865 BPP 14 p.308). The capture of Hori Tupaea was seen by Greer as dealing the death-blow to Pai Marire in the Tauranga district:

> I consider his submission and arrest of Te Tui tamihana will establish peace, and put out Pai marire here (Greer to Grey Feb.11 1865 BPP.14 :306).

But at the same time Hori Tupaea had been at Kaimai, Wiremu Tamihana had been based at Kuranui, and Kuranui was to remain an important centre for the practise of Pai Marire for the Wairoa hapu for the next three to four years, despite the comment and denial of local Pakeha officials.

Survey Disputes

A promise that surveyors would accompany the chiefs who were in Auckland back to Tauranga was made on August 1864 (Heale memo 27 June, AJHR 1867 A20:14). The survey of the confiscated land commenced in September 1864 by contract surveyors overseen by Theo Heale. The district from Otumoetai to Te Puna was surveyed (cut into 50 and 100 acres sections) and the town lots of Te Papa and Te Puna were marked out. There were delays because the boundaries of the confiscated lands had not been defined (Heale to Defence Minister 7 April 1866 AJHR 1867 A20:8).

On December 9th 1864 Wiremu Tamihana was approached by Puckey and Te Oriori who had been sent by the Colonial government to ascertain whether Tamihana had become Pai Marire. Tamihana told Puckey that:

> Pukutira had come to him that Heale and his party were surveying land, upon which other tribes than Ngaiterangi had claim [meaning Ngati Ranginui and Ngati Tokotoko], and asked permission to cut them off [Captain Heale and party] that he [W. Te Waharoa] refused to give it as it would be said to be a murder - that he then wrote a letter to Captain Heale advising him to keep the seaside and not go inland - that he had put the word Pai Marire in the letter not attaching to it any other

> meaning other than which the word "Pai" and "Marire" imply.".... That Captain Heale had made his answer that he would wait further instructions from the Governor. A short time after this, another Tauranga native (named Pete) came to him asking to be allowed to kill Captain Heale and party but that he had again refused him" (E.W. Puckey to Halse Native Secretary 14 December 1864 AJHR E No 4: 7-8).

These were the first indications of objections to the survey of confiscated lands. The survey was completed by April 1865 and Heale closed the survey and withdrew his survey parties on completion of their work. The boundaries of the land confiscated for the 50,000 acres had not been determined and settlement of "Native" land claims had also not been addressed (Heale to Defence Minister 7 April 1866 AJHR 1867 A20:8).

After the reports by Heale and Knight in April 1865, the Order in Council was issued declaring lands at Tauranga to be subject to the New Zealand Settlements Act, with the boundaries described in an attached schedule (Battersby 2001:165). Colonel Hautain visited Tauranga in February 1866 to settle the question of land in Tauranga, and in March 1866 Grey and Whitaker met Maori in Tauranga to further discuss the question of which area of 50,000 was to be taken (Battersby 2001:166-67). At the meeting, Haultain said that 50,000 acres out of a total area of 250,000 acres was to remain with the Government, and he was challenged by Enoka who said that the Governor had not said that and that it was more than had earlier been demanded. Other chiefs at the meeting were also perplexed by this demand for 50,000 acres. Clarke wrote in a report in May 1867 that the Natives showed a different spirit from "that manifest in 1864" when under threat from the Governor they had agreed to give up 50,000 acres (Clarke to Native Minister May 10 1867 AJHR 1867 A20:62). It was arranged that Clarke was to set the boundary:

> I am here busy from the morning to night this land business is taking up most of my time – I have had a ride to day of more than twenty miles to inspect country to the South – Mr. Whitaker and the natives have appointed me to Whakatuturu the boundary in the Maungatapu direction – I have made up my mind and expect to have some hot work (Clarke to T.H. Smith April 18th 1866 QMS-1839 ATL).

Clarke was expecting strong remonstrations from Ngaiteahi of Hairini to an eastern boundary past Waimapu (ibid.). The eastern boundary had been fixed at

Waimapu according to Clarke writing in a report in May 1867 a year after the event in May 1866, whereas the Wairoa boundary was not fixed (Clarke to Native Minister May 10 1867 AJHR 1867 A-20:62).

After the survey started in early 1866, Clarke was informed by surveyors that 50,000 acres of "good agricultural land" (District Surveyor Letter Book: 29 May 1866) could not be obtained between the Waimapu and Wairoa Rivers. Utting reported that within the limits of the two rivers, the required area of 50,000 was not going to be found. An attempt to carry out the survey beyond the southern confiscation boundary was met with objection and was not pursued further. Utting then suggested crossing the Wairoa River to make up the shortfall (Jenks 1991:29). The survey was then extended to the north side of the Wairoa River on Clarke's instructions (Clarke to Richmond, Native Minister AJHR 1867 A20:62).

The first notice sent to the surveyors from Tamihana before they crossed the Wairoa was dated June 19 1866:

> Kia Te Karaka
> E hoa, tena taku kupu me hoki atu to tini ki te Papa. No te waahi tena, I nga totoa te Maori o te Pakeha. Kua rongo au kua tae mai to tini ki Paengaroa, Putamou, ki Oropi. E hoa, hoki atu to tini ki raro I te whenua o te kingi.
> Na Wiremu Te Waharoa
>
> To Mr Clarke
> Friend-This is my word; take back your claim to Te Papa, for it was there that the blood of the Maoris and Europeans were shed. I have heard that your chain has reached Paengaroa, Putamou, and Oropi. Friend take back your chain below the land of the King.
> (Signed) Wiremu Te Waharoa
> (Daily Southern Cross 1867 25 February 1867).

By mentioning "Paengaroa, Putamou [Taumata], and Oropi", Tamihana was referring to inclusion of the Pai Marire and Kingitanga kainga of Ngaiteahi, Ngaitamarawaho and Ngati Hangarau within the survey, asking the survey to shift below these kainga (fig.4).

In September 1866 the survey of the north bank of the Wairoa was stopped by Pirirakau, and the surveyor's instruments were taken away (Clarke to Richmond 20th September 1867 AJHR 1867 A20:20). The surveyor Hewson tried to recover his instruments but was told they were taken on instructions from Tamihana.

Clarke received a letter from Tamihana asking him to stop the survey, but Clarke's attitude was that he was following the arrangement made by the Governor and Whitaker to make up any shortfall on the 50,000 acre confiscation between the Waimapu and Wairoa Rivers. Clarke was determined that the survey was to cross over to the north side of the Wairoa River and could not see why:

> the most implicated in the rebellion, many of whom have never surrendered and now the most troublesome in the district – should be allowed to escape without the forfeiture of a single acre of land, while their less guilty neighbours have in some instances lost nearly all the land they possessed (Clarke to Richmond 20 September 1867 AJHR 1867, A-20:20-21).

The Kingitanga under Tawhiao had now isolated themselves in the "King Country", south of the Waikato Confiscation at the settlements of Tokongamutu and Hangatiki. Tamihana with Ngati Haua remained on their eastern boundaries and continued his political role as the mentor to the Pirirakau Pai Marire and other Ngati Ranginui hapu who remained Kingitanga supporters and were now Pai Marire. Tamihana Te Waharoa had given his approval for the initial survey by MacKay but reversed his decision in a letter to Colonel Greer under the cloud of the negotiations over land claims in the Katikati-Te Puna Purchase.

> Many of the Natives of this District especially those closely connected with the Patetere and William people have left for their inland Kaingas, so that (it is reported) they can practice their Pai Marire worship unmolested. Under these circumstances I have thought it advisable to caution the surveyors against carrying on surveys in that neighbourhood (Clarke AJHR 1865 E4).

On the 17th September 1866, survey equipment was taken from R. C. Jordan, a Government surveyor at Ruahihi, which is a Ngati Kahu area. Wiremu Hunia was identified by Jordan as one of a group of "unidentified Maoris". This equipment was taken because the surveyor ignored Tamihana's letters to surveyors asking them to desist from surveying the left bank of the Wairoa (R.C. Jordan to Clarke. 18th September 1866 AJHR 1867 A20:21). Tamihana's letter asked Clarke to leave the disputed boundary of the Wairoa river to him and the surveyor was asked to return to the 'other' side (east) of Te Wairoa (AJHR 1867 A20:21-22).

Another surveyor reported to Clarke that his survey pegs were removed and he had received several warnings to stop his survey between Te Puna and Katikati. He was given a letter from Tamihana and the 'Pirirakau' then took some of his instruments while he was away at Te Papa (Hewson to Clarke 19th September 1866 AJHR 1867 A20:22).

As a response to the interruption of the survey of the 50,000 acres by Ngati Rangi and Te Pirirakau, MacKay suggested to Rolleston, the Undersecretary of the Native Department, that he confiscate all their lands and reserve 2500 acres for their use.

> Their lands are principally between Te Puna and the Wairoa, and I would suggest that a portion of these should be given to those friendly Natives who have lost land in the block of 50,000 acres before mentioned (MacKay to Rolleston 25 September 1866 AJHR 1866 A20:22).

Rawiri Tata of Pirirakau was to tell Clarke that he was "acting under the advice of William Thompson [Wiremu Tamihana] Te Waharoa; that he had sent a letter to that chief with a measuring tape, and that he would not give up the articles and instruments taken out of the surveyors tents until he had heard from William Thompson" (Clarke to Richmond 25 September 1866 AJHR 1867 A-20:23).

The survey of the 50,000 acre was brought to a standstill because Clarke thought that it was not safe for surveyors to continue without an armed escort. This had to be sanctioned by the Governor. Clarke suggested that "friendly natives" could also be used as an escort (AJHR 1867 A20). A meeting was then called at Motuhoa to discuss the extension of the confiscated land on the west side of the Wairoa River in the absence of Pirirakau who refused all invitations that were extended to them. Those Ngaiterangi present agreed to Clarke's arrangement to extend the survey of the confiscation across the Wairoa River. MacKay explained to the hui that there was an excess of 5,000 acres and the boundary would be placed at the Ruangarara Stream and Te Puna River (Mackay to Richmond 22 November 1866 AJHR 1867 A20:27).

South of Te Puna were the lands of Ngati Pango, Ngati Rangi, and towards Te Puna, of Pirirakau. MacKay went to Waiwhatawhata to ask them to accept the arrangement of the 'friendly' chiefs but they refused. Ngaiterangi chiefs went to

talk to Pirirakau who still refused and on their return MacKay wrote to the Officer commanding the Troops in the district for a protective force of 200 for the surveys. They went out on the 9th of November (Clarke to Richmond 12 Nov.1866 AJHR 1866 A20:25).

> When Mr MacKay had exhausted every means of conciliation, he told them that the Government could not allow the district to remain in an unsettled state any longer, and that therefore he would go out on the following day with surveyors and, if necessary, a party of soldiers to protect them (Clarke to Richmond 12 November 1866 AJHR 1867 A20:25).

MacKay went to the settlement of the 'disaffected' at Waiwhatawhata and warned them the surveyors would be protected by soldiers. He was told by Rawiri Tata that:

> If you want the land go to Tawhiao and William Thompson, if they consent to you having it, well... William Thompson has given orders to stop the surveyors, and the whole affair is in the hands of Thompson and the Governor (Mackay to Richmond 1866 AJHR A20:28).

MacKay then made a request to the commander of the troops in Tauranga for a protecting party, and the troops went out with the surveyors on the 9th of November. The soldiers were to protect the surveyors and not make a hostile attack so long as they were not interfered with (AJHR 1867 A20:25-26 Letter from Clarke to Richmond 20th November 1866). Twelve Ngaiterangi 'friendly' chiefs were issued with arms and accompanied the troops "at their [the chiefs] request"(AJHR1867A20:30).

Posts were set up to protect the surveyors between the Waimapu and Wairoa Rivers and an encampment was formed at Omanawa. In Mackay's letter to Colonel Hamilton requesting troops he states:

> On computing the area of the whole of the pieces surveyed between the rivers Waimapu and Wairoa, it had been found that there are about 38,000 acres there: at Otumoetai West about 2,800 acres. To

Survey Disputes
50,000 Acre Confiscation

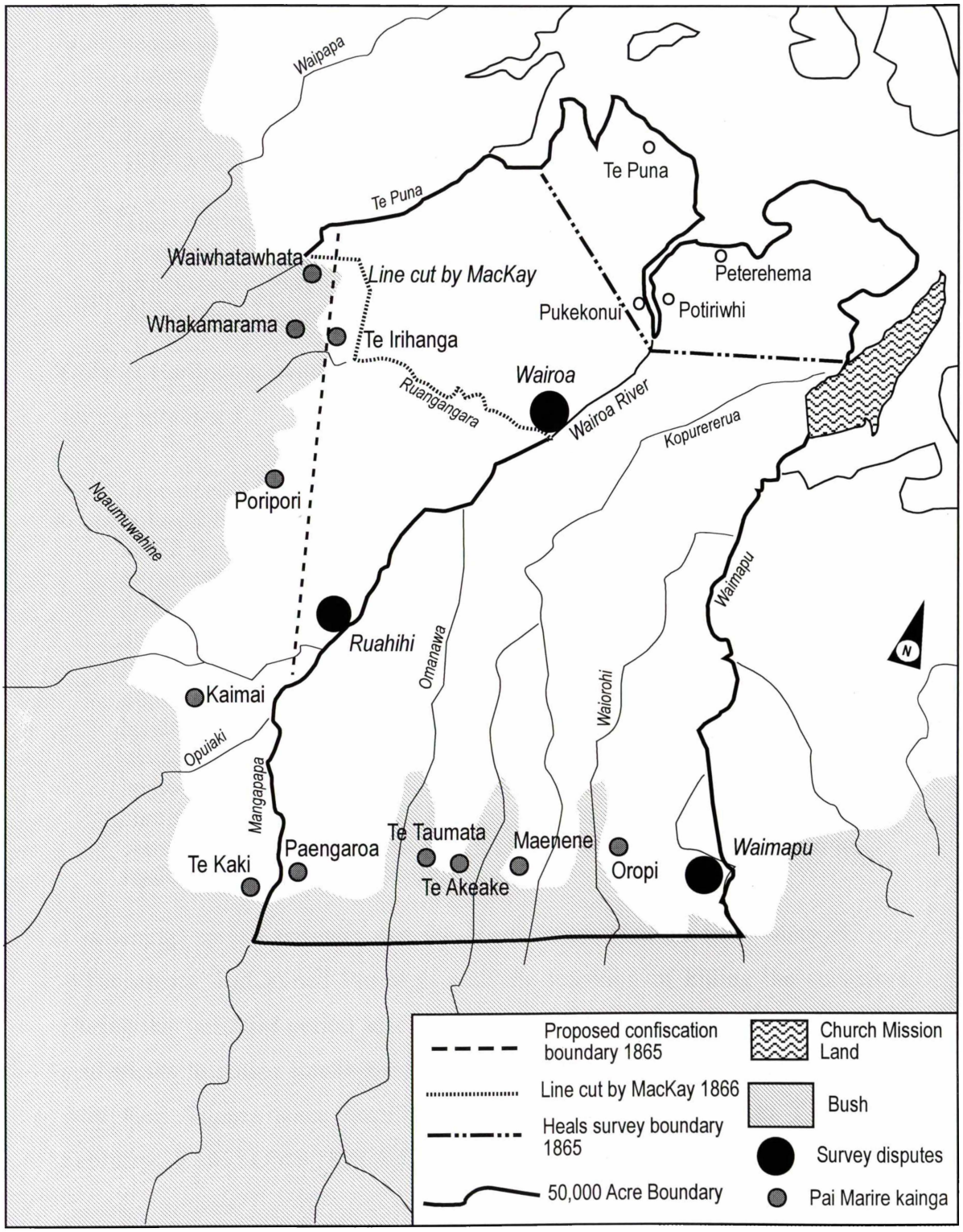


Figure 4

> make up the balance of the 50,000 acres, it has been found necessary to extend the survey from Te Wairoa to Te Puna.
> It appears that from a mistake made by the surveyors, that 14,200 acres have been laid off in that locality instead of 9,200 the quantity actually required. I have returned to the Natives the 5,000 acres taken in excess. The whole of the influential men and the majority of the people of the tribe Ngaiterangi have publicly agreed to give up to the Government a block of land between the rivers Puna and Wairoa, and extending inland to the Ruangarara Stream, containing the estimated area of 9,000 acres (MacKay to Hamilton 7th November 1866 AJHR 1867 A20:32).
>
> They (Pirirakau) had lost very little land, although they had been in rebellion from the first, and they had better consent to the arrangement made by the remainder of the tribe (MacKay to Richmond 22 November 1866. AJHR 1867 A20:28).

Colonel Harrington wrote to Haultain explaining his actions in providing an escort for the surveyors:

> Last week Mr. MacKay and Mr. Clarke held a meeting to settle the boundaries of certain lands, between the west bank of the Waiua river and Katti Katti, arrangements were made with the Ngaiterangi chiefs regarding the purchase of some land in this block which has not been confiscated. The Pirirakau Natives, residing at the edge of the bush about six miles from the west bank of the Waiua river, were invited by Mr MacKay to attend the meeting, but declined, stating their objections to the whole proceeding. Mr. MacKay informed them that he should proceed to cut the lines of the Government boundary, but he would not molest them; to which they replied "that they did not approve " of the proceedings, and should oppose any surveyors coming there." Upon this Mr.MacKay applied to Colonel Hamilton, commanding the district, to give him a covering party (Harrington to Hautain November12 1866 BPP 14:823).

Ngaiterangi spread rumours that the Ngati Porou Hauhau from Mataora, near Whangamata, had joined Pirirakau with the intention of killing the surveyors. During this unsettled period MacKay and Clarke were sending spies to the inland settlements to gather intelligence. Ngati Porou based at Kenana had been living with Hori Tupaea since hostilities ceased [Gate Pa] (Clarke to T.H. Smith February 29 1865 QMS 1839 ATL).

During November 1866 MacKay told the surveyors employed between Waimapu and Wairoa to return to Te Papa because of the danger, based on reports of an attack to be made on them by Ngati Porou Hauhau purported to be in the area (MacKay to Richmond 22 November 1866. AJHR 1867 A20:38). In December a

survey party was warned to leave Oropi by Ngaiteahi living there, as they had been informed by Hauhau in the vicinity on their way to Hakaraia at Te Puke. The Hauhau then advanced to Waimapu Block where they carried off survey equipment. In January 1867, MacKay reported that the survey of the 50,000 block had come to a halt (AJHR A20:37- 41). Then, in early January 1867 Tamihana Te Waharoa died (MacKay to Native Minister 10th January 1867 LE1 1867/120, NA-W).

Colonial Violence

Reports were made of the Ngati Porou, Ngati Rangi and Pirirakau Hauhau being seen at Oropi, Taumata and Paengaroa. Also a large whare was built at Oropi by Pai Marire living there and at Kahakaharoa, on what MacKay described as undisputed confiscated land. The Pai Marire from Ngati Rangi and Pirirakau were seen travelling to these settlements. A force of Militia and Volunteers went to Oropi on January 8 and waited until January 15 to intercept any hostile party. They burnt the whare and returned to Te Papa. On the 17th, a military force was moved to Omanawa Redoubt to "catch the perpetrators of the late outrages upon the surveyors", and Clarke recorded in a report that a warrant was made out for the apprehension of "Pene Taka and others of Ngaiterangi (sic. Ngati Rangi), and Kewene and others of Ngati Porou". The Hauhau were said to be at Waiwhatawhata, Te Irihanga and Whakamarama (AJHR 1867 A20:41).

The Omanawa Redoubt was occupied on instructions from the Defence Minister, Colonel Hautain, in Wellington on January 17th, and some men were left at Poteriwhi to cover the Wairoa River ferry. Patrols were made through the area and on the 18th, Captain Goldsmith the officer in charge of the Omanawa Redoubt, crossed the Wairoa river to familiarise himself with the roads on "the left bank of the Wairoa". They followed the East West road to below the Irihanga settlement where the advance guard was fired upon and Sergeant Major Emus was shot. An engagement took place and the defenders of Te Irihanga retreated into the bush.

> On the 18th, unfortunately the officer in charge of the Omanawa Redoubt either mistaking his orders, or for some other cause, crossed over the Wairoa River to its west bank, with a force of forty men, they followed up the track to the first Maori village, Te Irihanga. The party, as it approached Te Irihanga, could see the Natives walking about, apparently without arms; presently one man was seen to advance; Corporal Willis of the Militia, remarked to Sergeant-Major

> Ennis (sic), of the Militia, who was leading the advance guard, that he thought he saw a rifle in the Maori's hands... The Militia were then extended in skirmishing order across the track, and a heavy fire was kept up on both sides for about three-quarters of an hour (Clarke to Richmond 28th January 67 AJHR 1867 A20:43).

> acquainted with the roads of the left bank of the Wairoa, I considered this a good opportunity to effect that purpose...We marched Westwards for about 2.5 miles when the north and south roads were crossed.....We followed the East and West Roads for about half a mile further, when some natives showed themselves on the hills to the West. We continued our march – the Sergeant Major leading the advance guard...On approaching some Tupaki bushes fire was opened by the Maories from behind the bushes – the Sergeant Major was shot through the shoulder – upon this I extended the men in the fern and returned the fire – the Maories retreated, occasionally stopping to deliver their fire, we followed, and drove them into the bush – We then retired in good order (Capt. Goldsmith to Col. Harrington 18 January 1867 LE1 1867/120, NA-W).

Harrington, the Commander at Te Papa, then rode out to Omanawa and arrested Goldsmith for "leaving his post and bringing on a collision with the enemy without my instructions" (ibid.). Other incidents also occurred. Advice had been received that a large whare had been recently been built at Kahakaharoa capable of housing a large hostile force. Troops on the 18th went to Kahakaharoa which was deserted, and burnt the whare. On the 21st a boat was shot at on the Wairoa River. On the 22nd a force of Militia, Volunteers and friendly natives left the Omanawa Redoubt for Te Irihanga. The force was fired upon when they were 50 yards from Te Irihanga which was taken within a few minutes. The defenders retreated into the bush and Te Irihanga was then burned (Clark to Richmond 28 January 1867 AJHR A20:43).

Colonel Hamilton of the British 12th regiment received orders from Wellington to co-operate with the Colonial forces to capture the offending Natives, and he sent 200 men to the Wairoa. They crossed over the Wairoa River to the Minden Peak then to Waiwhatawhata but the Militia was already there. Waiwhatawhata had been abandoned before the Militia arrived. Notices were left stating the reasons for the attack on the "kaingas", and these were the robbing of the surveyors, and firing on the Militia. It was recommended that they give themselves up (Clarke to Richmond 28th January 67 AJHR 1867 A20:43).

On the morning of January 23 following the instruction from the Defence Minister Colonel Hautain, a force commanded by Colonel Harrington went to Te Irihanga which he described as "situated on the top of a steep hill, with dense bush in the rear and on the right flank, I observed an old pah, which commanded the road up the settlement." Some shots were exchanged "but the enemy were speedily driven from the settlement". Orders were given for the destruction of the "whares [houses] and crops". They continued on to Waiwhatawhata which had been evacuated and where again the "whares and plantations [were] destroyed". They were met here by the 12th Regiment. On their return to Te Irihanga, the soldiers also entered Whakamarama, where following an exchange of "sharp firing the Natives took to the bush, when we destroyed their whares and plantations". The large quantities of wheat, potatoes, maize and other crops in these three kainga would take days to destroy (Col. Harrington to Col. Haultain Defence Minister 24 January1867 LE11867/120, NA-W).

The forces returned to Te Papa and Omanawa, but the Militia, losing their way, were caught in heavy fire in a clearing:

> although our force greatly exceeded that of the enemy they bravely contested every inch of the ground...Several of the hostile Natives were seen to fall, but the number killed has not yet been ascertained. Some of the friendly Natives distinguished themselves in this affair (ibid.).

The force then returned to Omanawa. Fearing widespread conflict in the district, the recruitment of a Native force comprising Te Arawa from Maketu was suggested and taken up.

> Mr. Mair, Resident Magistrate, has received instructions from the Honourable Defence Minister to raise a force of two hundred Arawas, to act in the rear of the enemy's position, first visiting Te Puke, the head-quarters of old Hakaraia (ibid).

Haultain, the Defence Minister, was then in Tauranga and his instruction to Mair was:

> As it is a matter of the first importance to the Colony that the present hostile attitude assumed by the disaffected Ngaiterangi, Ngatiporou, Pirirakau and Arawa tribes should be at once checked and put down - and as it has been ascertained by careful enquiry that the rebels are under the immediate guidance and control of the old Chief Hakaraia Mahaki of Te Puke, who is now in this District directing the movements of the hostile Natives – you are hereby authorised to

> raise with as little delay as possible a Force of two hundred Arawas....You are requested to commence operations at Te Puke, the head quarters of Hakaraia, as soon as you can get sufficient force together to destroy cultivations in that locality belonging to the rebels, after which to push your way to Oropi as soon as possible.
> Will you explain to the Arawa that the Government deplores the stern necessity which compels them to adopt these extreme measures, but their only desire is to see peace established in these districts on a proper basis.
> Urge upon them the importance of sparing human life, and in no case to take the life of a fellow creature, unless an armed resistance is offered (Haultain to Mair 25th January 1867 AJHR 1867 A20:45).

This was the first indication of any official order to destroy the crops of the inland settlements, a policy that was implemented with zeal on all the villages. On January 31, Mair with 41 Arawa, left Maketu for Tauranga to support forces occupying native villages there. They destroyed Te Puke -"some horses, pigs, and poultry being looted". Henry Graham's surveying tools were found there, (Penetaka had taken them to see Hakaraia on their way to Te Puke). The Arawa had refused to advance upon Te Puke unless they received higher pay, and the greater number marched to Tauranga.

The Militia moved to Pyes Pa (Otupuraho) on the 31st January to attack Akeake and Taumata, which was supposed to be the headquarters of Hakaraia. Haultain met with Te Arawa in Tauranga and agreed to engage their services for three shillings per diem and supply them with rations till they got into the enemy's country, where they were to forage for themselves (Clarke to Richmond 10 February 1867 AJHR A20:46).

On 1st February, 156 Arawa came from Maketu to make their way to Omanawa creek under charge of Commissioner Clarke. The old pa Kahakaharoa had been occupied by Pai Marire, but Clarke and the Arawa found it abandoned when they got there.

> Our force being strong - militia and volunteers about 300; natives 200; and the 12th Regiment 150 - it was decided to attack and drive them even from the bush, and to destroy their villages. The plan of attack was carried out admirably, and proved most satisfactory.
> The numbers were known to be in number upwards of one hundred round the village of Akeake, a small place on the skirts of the bush, immediately in front of which is known as Press's Pa - distant about two miles from that place, the larger village of the Taumata being

Colonial Troops, Te Arawa and Ngaiterangi Friendly Chiefs
Attacks on Hauhau Kainga 1867

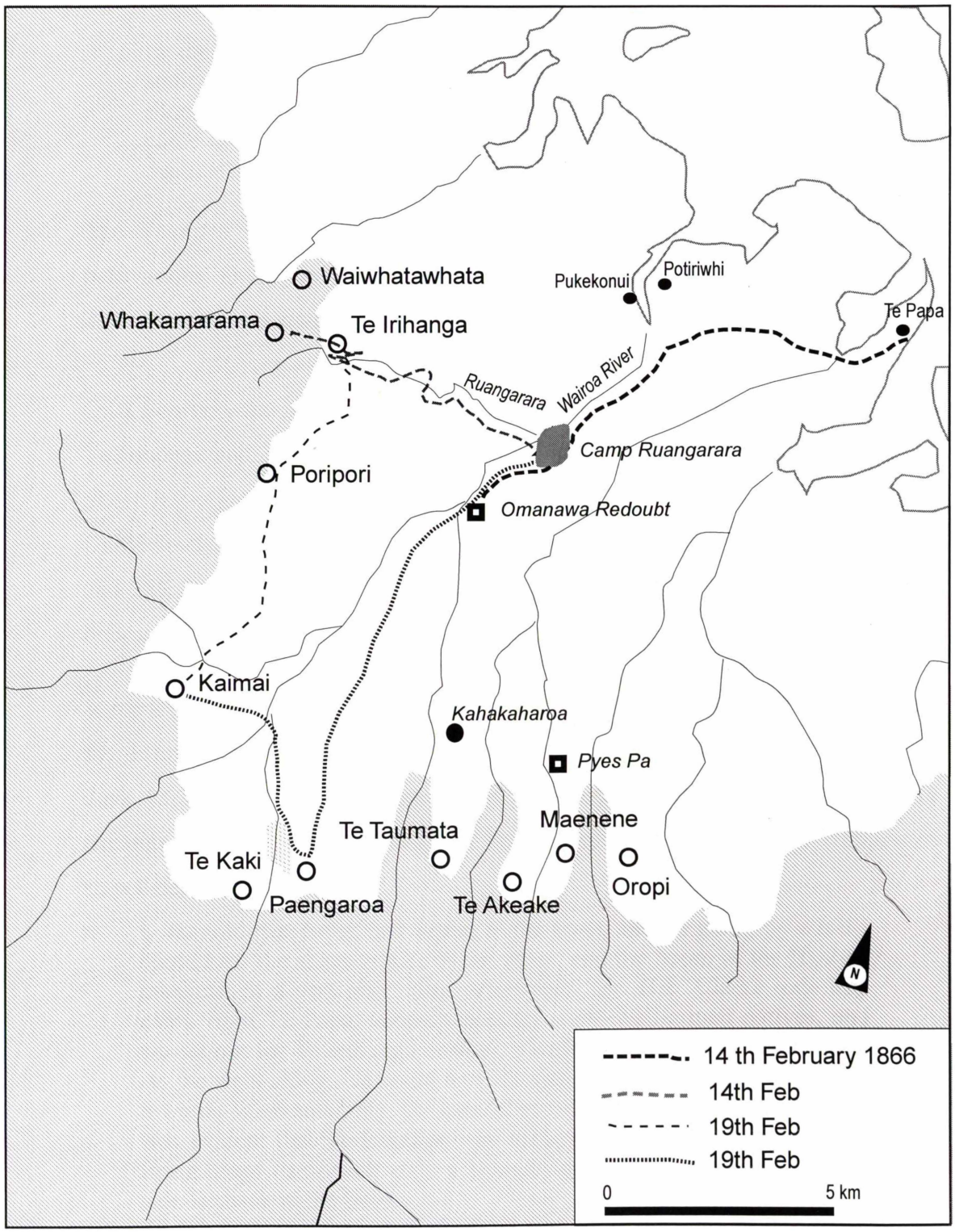


Figure 5

> behind it, further in the bush (The Daily Southern Cross March 1 1867).

Te Akeake was attacked but no stand was made and the force then went to Taumata where some women and a young boy were taken prisoner. This indicated that these villages had women and children resident there.

> In the villages which were destroyed, Mr. Clarke put up notices stating that the soldiers had been brought up in consequence of the shooting of Sergeant-Major Emus.... and advising the people to come in and give up their arms. This was replied to in a very defiant manner by letter, saying that they would never come in (ibid.).

The Taumata village was destroyed, and it took three days to destroy the cultivations. Oropi was likewise devastated. The Arawa then spent the next few days scouting and attacking Paengaroa.

On 8 February the force moved up the Wairoa to Omanawa redoubt to move onto Te Irihanga and Whakamarama. The following day the Engineers under Captain Skeet left Akeake for Omanawa and the main body left soon afterwards. The Daily Southern Cross reported that the force of 395 Europeans, 15 Ngaiterangi and 253 Arawas were assembled at Camp Ruangarara on February 14th (D.S.C. February 25 1867).

A reporter for the Daily Southern Cross described the attack on Te Irihanga and the destruction of the village and crops. The force crossed the Wairoa River at dusk, paraded at 1.00 am and marched at 2.00am to take up a position to attack Te Irihanga which it was believed had been reoccupied. The reporter (unnamed) stayed behind. He reported:

> I was told that firing had begun in the bush, and on going up a hill I could hear the sharp cracks of our rifles, and the boom of the Hauhau muskets. In a very short time afterwards, Mr. H.T. Clarke rode into camp from Te Papa, accompanied by some well-armed natives, and we set out for Te Irihanga on foot, a walk of some six or eight miles. As we went along, we could hear the firing going back into the forest, towards Whakamarama. On careful reconnoitring at some distance, it was evident that Te Irihanga was occupied by the Arawas, and the firing spent itself until only a strangling shot was heard from either side far back in the bush.
> Te Irihanga, as I have before mentioned, is at the edge of the forest, on the face of the range that slopes towards Te Papa. It is Penetaka's village, in front of which Sergeant-major Emus was killed. It was visited before, and the whares burnt, but the crops were untouched,

> and indeed, they would take weeks, if not months, to destroy. There and at Whakamarama, which lies on the other side of the ridge were collected a number of natives, from the other villages which had been destroyed...The force was seen coming up the ridge, and the natives soon opened fire, retiring as the militia and Arawas pressed up. There are three small ridges in Te Irihanga, before the bush is reached, and at each of them, the rebels or Hauhaus stopped and fired a volley...No earthworks had been erected, but the Hauhaus had arranged at each corner of the track good places for shooting... (Daily Southern Cross March 1 1867).
>
> In the first bush, Lieutenant Pitt saw spots of blood, and followed the track with some of the Arawas, who killed the man. It turned out to be Te Rota te Kotuku *(see Stokes 1990 Appendix 15:306),* a native of Te Irihanga, who had persistently refused to take to oath of allegiance. A few years ago Rota murdered a relative of his own. Being a baptised native, Archdeacon Brown went up to Te Irihanga about the matter, and the only punishment Rota received was a good scolding. His weapon was a rifle that had belonged to a sergeant of the 43rd Regiment, and which had probably been taken at the Gate Pa....
>
> After looking over Irihanga, where there was splendid crops of maize, potatoes, pumpkins, and where I noticed a plough...The Hauhaus fought with great courage and skill, and there can be no doubt that Penetaka has some first-rate men with him...
>
> A strong detachment will be left at Te Irihanga for some time, and from it attacks will be made on Kaimai and Te Irihanga. The body of one of Penetaka's people, a man named Hapahapa, has been found in the bush, he having been killed in the fight at Te Whakamarama.

Clarke was to report that two members of Penetaka's hapu (Ngati Rangi) were killed and they had both taken part in "the outrages upon the surveyors" (Clarke to Richmond 28 February 1867 AJHR A-20:48). The reporter further stated that:

> Te Papa February 18
> No fighting has taken place on the ranges since I wrote on Saturday last, and the bush for a considerable distance round the settlement of Te Irihanga and Whakamarama has been scoured by the Arawas without finding any enemy. In all three bodies of the Hauhau have been found in the bush. The small settlement of Poripori has been visited by the Arawas and burned (Daily Southern Cross 25 Feb 1867).
>
> February 20.
> I went up to the Wairoa yesterday, and found that the whole of the force, Europeans and Maoris, had moved down from Te Irihanga and Whakamarama to Ruangarara, preparatory to moving further up the river, to a place convenient for an attack on Kaimai, a settlement which has not yet been visited.... The crop destroyed at the different settlements must be worth thousands of pounds. Fires were burning

> yesterday at several parts on the ranges, where it was clear, the Hauhaus were....The fires seen yesterday were at settlements which have been taken by our men, which shows us that when we leave a place the Hauhau emerge from the bush and take possession again.
>
> On Wednesday night last the Arawas, under Captain Walker, Mr. W. Mair, and Mr. G. Mair, with a small detachment of the Engineers, under Lieutenant Gundry, left the camp on the Wairoa for a reconnoitring expedition. They were to go to Kaimai, and, if that place was occupied in strength, they were to send down for the Waikatos. It was fully expected that natives would be found at Kaimai (The Daily Southern Cross February 25 1867).

The Arawa and engineers then went on to Paengaroa again:

> On Thursday, one party was sent towards Akeake, and another towards Kaimai, while the main body remained at Paengaroa, destroying the cultivations... When the party got about half a mile from Kaimai, a halt was made, to allow the main body, consisting of about 200 men, to come up. When they were about a mile off, the advanced party ran into the first clearing, where fields of gigantic maize, acres of potatoes, and groves of peach trees, laden with splendid fruit. The settlement extends over a large space of ground, the houses been widely scattered. In a very short time the Arawas were everywhere, but had little success in the way of loot, the people having taken most of their things away. In one house a large bundle of letters was found by one of the engineers. I have looked through them, but there is none of any political intent. One is from William Thompson, written by his own hand, to Hori Tupaea, asking him to attend a meeting at Waikato; and another is from Matene Te Whiwhi to Hori Tupaea...The houses were burned on Saturday afternoon and most of the Indian corn on Sunday morning (The Daily Southern Cross Feb. 28 1867).
>
> Te Papa February 25
> The operations in the Tauranga district are now, I believe, closed for the present only, the greater part of the hostile natives having left the district. The Tauranga volunteers have been already disbanded. I understand that it is intended to station the 1st Waikatos in detachments on the Wairoa for the protection of the surveyors - which, certainly, is absolutely required - and to send the Arawas to Paengaroa, to keep the bush clear (Daily Southern Cross February 28 1867).

The 'scorched earth' policy of destroying villages and crops achieved the objective of cutting off the crop food supplies for the Pai Marire, but the villages were soon seen to be re-occupied by the presence of smoke in their vicinity (Daily Southern Cross February 25 1867; Clarke to Richmond 12th March 1867 AJHR

A20:50). The conflict dissipated with the return of Pai Marire to their kainga and the withdrawal of Imperial troops.

The campaign to destroy the inland *kainga* and lives had started with a 'mistake' in the form of the first intrusion of troops at Te Irihanga, which in turn led to the death of Sergeant Emus and quickly escalated into a widespread local war, where the Colonial Government was the aggressor. It was fundamentally a campaign to suppress opposition to the Government's land confiscation policy in Tauranga. The resulting loss of life cannot be ascertained accurately, but it appears to have been considerable because of the large force that was employed against these hapu in their inland kainga. The unprovoked attacks on the villages by the colonial forces was never officially questioned.

> We may with great propriety ask the question - What was the real cause of the disturbance at Tauranga? It is quite certain that it was a question of boundary; and it is equally probable that, had it been made the subject of negotiation, no fighting would have taken place. Further, it is quite certain that when Captain Goldsmith led his company, and retired with great propriety when Sergeant-Major Emus was shot, mortally wounded, the gallant captain was not turning his sword into a ploughshare. Although placed under arrest at the time, we have not heard of his having been tried by court-martial, but we have heard of his being in command of a division since (Daily Southern Cross March 18 1867).

George Graham, MP for Newton, in the parliamentary debate for the Tauranga District Land Bill in September 1867, commented that the disturbance at Tauranga was over the survey of the confiscated land and that "he felt it his duty to protest against a Bill which attempted to take away lands from the Natives which it had been thoroughly understood they were to retain". He referred to the Governor's recent visit and the fact that the Natives had made their cultivations outside of what they knew to be the boundary of the confiscated lands. The Government then attempted to survey the land they had resettled on, causing the Natives to attack the survey party, taking away the theodolite after which Imperial troops were sent to protect the surveyors:

> After the survey was completed, a party of Colonial Forces was sent down, some Natives were shot at and they of course returned the compliment, which resulted in the death of Corporal Evans. An engagement afterwards took place between those forces, numbering from 200-300, and about forty of the Natives. The latter were driven

> from their homes, and during the last winter were compelled to live in the woods and subsist on fern roots (NZPD 1867:978).

The violent action undertaken against the Pai Marire kainga was initiated by the colonial settler state. Local officials, with the support and direction from the colonial government, undertook it with colonial and imperial troops as well as with Ngaiterangi and Te Arawa allies. It was justified by the argument that the state acted only to carry out the survey of confiscated land for 50,000 acres which through circumstances at the time of surrender had not been properly defined. An eastern boundary had been determined, but the overall boundaries became dependent on the availability of "good agricultural land". The purpose of Kingitanga Pai Marire was to "stop the surveys on the north bank of the Wairoa, on the ground that this land belonged to them, that they were not parties to the Tauranga surrender, and that Ngaiterangi had no right to cede their territory" (Clarke to Richmond 25 September 1866 AJHR 1867 A20:23). But the state was later to conduct a series of violent operations on the Pai Marire kainga from Waiwhatawhata to Oropi, kainga that did not have any of the protective defences (pa), that were common in times of war such as when the Kingitanga established a series of pa when Imperial troops were landed in Tauranga in January 1864.

Gyanendra Pandey describes how orthodox historiography treated the violence of the state in India:

> Violence of the state is 'represented as being organised, carefully controlled, therefore minimal and, of course legitimate. 'Reasons of state', themselves self-evident, explained in its use, and the violence of the state tended to become more and more invisible in the writing. The violence of the people was the polar opposite of this: chaotic, uncontrolled, excessive and, almost always illegitimate (Pandey 1996:191).

This was also the view and perspective of the colonial officials active in Tauranga and directing the violent actions against the Kingitanga Pai Marire.

Koura (gold) and Kaimai access

Tamihana Te Waharoa died early in December 1866, dispirited and depressed at the role he played in the Kingitanga, especially at the Colonial government's deliberate policy of undermining the Kingitanga (Ward 1995:201). His role of facilitating communication and links between the Tauranga Pai Marire (who were

to become mainly the Wairoa hapu of Ngati Rangi, Ngati Pango and Te Pirirakau) and Tawhiao in the Rohe Potae, was taken over by his son Wi Tana Te Waharoa.

During 1867 the Kingitanga called on Pai Marire throughout the island to cease fighting, and Tawhiao made indications that he wanted to make peace if his *Tekau ma rua* (a form of Kingitanga council) were allowed to travel throughout Waikato unmolested (Ward 1995:201). In February 1868 a meeting was attended by chiefs from most districts of the North Island, including representation from those which were "loyal districts". The Kingitanga message to C.O. Davis, interpreter in the Native Department, announced a new order:

> Weapons were to be put away, but the King's territory was closed to lease or sale, to roads, gold prospecting, and the King Movement would not recognise the confiscation of the Waikato (Ward 1995:202).

In September 1872 the Bay of Plenty Times correspondent reported about Tauranga generally that:

> Native matters here are in a state of profound quietude. War's rude alarms have ceased to resound, in this once eminently disturbed district. Hauhau, Queen Maori, and pakeha dwell together in unity on the most amicable terms. A tribe (the Ngati raua) [Ngaitamarawaho] against which, at one time, the entire male European population of Tauranga was marched, supported by hundreds of militia and the Native Contingent, have left their old settlements in the bush, and now at Judea occupy farms of their own, which they have substantially fenced and ploughed (BOP Times 4 September 1872).

With the growing presence of Pakeha in Tauranga with the consolidation of colonial settlement, the Tauranga Kingitanga Pai Marire followers and supporters dwindled to the Pirirakau, Ngati Rangi and Ngati Pango at Te Irihanga and Whakamarama.

The gold strikes in the Ohinemuri, north of Katikati, led many to believe that gold would be found in the Kaimai ranges close to Tauranga. The first exploratory survey was conducted in 1867, under the threat of Pai Marire attack:

> It has long been known that gold exists at a settlement called Kaimai, situated at the head of the Wairoa river. Recently the native owners of that country had a meeting at Te Papa, and it was agreed that a deputation should be sent to the settlement to ascertain the mind of the natives living there, and also to inform them that the owners of

> the land had made up their minds to throw open the country for prospecting parties. The handful of Hauhaus residing there received the deputation with every mark of respect, but told them that the land and the golden treasures underneath it were in the hands of King Tawhiao, and that, if prospectors should determine to visit the district, they should fly off to the King for succour (Daily Southern Cross 7 December 1868).

On 5th October 1872 a meeting was convened by the Government at Rangiwaea to discuss the opening of the road between Cambridge and Tauranga. The subject of gold prospecting was raised at that meeting. There was support for the road by Ngaiterangi chiefs and opposition from Ngati Raukawa and Pai Marire supporters of the Kingitanga. The meeting was chaired by Hori Tupaea and opened by Penetana (of Ngati Raukawa); the latter expressed support for the opening of the road. Te Kuka of Ngaituwhiawhia a hapu of Ngaiterangi, opposed the holding of the meeting because Ngaiterangi should have been consulted first, rather than Ngati Raukawa. The majority present opposed the road.

Those Pai Marire present objected as supporters of the Kingitanga, wishing to restrict Pakeha access to land that came under the mana of the King Tawhiao. Hori Tupaea opposed the road. The Times commented that his stand was made because of Ngaituwhiwhia (Kuka) being annoyed at him using his mana on the side of Raukawa instead of assenting on behalf of his tribe, Ngaiterangi. Akuhata Tupaea, Hori's son, supported the government's plan and Hori Ngatai of Ngati Kuku also spoke in favour of the road but told Ngati Raukawa to "confine their transactions to their own district and not interfere with Ngaiterangi". Ngawharau (Ngati Kahu) spoke for his father, Herewini, who accepted the opposing majority, but Ngawharau voiced his personal support for the road. Ngaiterangi made heated claims to a portion of land which the road was likely to pass over, and Hori Ngatai and Hori Tupaea argued over their respective ancestors they said belonged to the area. Two chiefs (Ngati Raukawa) from the interior opposed the plan and said that they would not allow the road to be opened under any consideration.

The Times recorded that Mr Clarke told the meeting that "as Ngati Raukawa were willing that the road should pass through their land, and no obstacle being put in the way, the road would at once be surveyed as far as the Ngati Raukawa boundary. The opposition on the side of Ngaiterangi will shortly be withdrawn" (BOP Times October 1872)

Rumours were to persist about the presence of gold in the Kaimai. A meeting of the Town Board in 1875 publicly raised the likelihood of gold in the Kaimai:

> Mr Warbrick stated that Captains Fraser and Goldsmith, Mr. C. O. Davis, and himself, visited the locality years ago, and that auriferous stone was handed to them by the Natives (BOP Times 1875).

Hori Tupaea called a hui at Wairoa in July 1876 to discuss the opening of the Kaimai area for gold prospecting. It was reported by the BOP Times that there were 700 people in attendance including representatives from Ngaiterangi and Ngati Raukawa.

> Some of the most influential of the Ngatiraukawa tribe arrived yesterday for the purpose of attending the large native meeting to take place at Wairoa on Monday relative to the opening of the Kaimai lands and are guests of Hori Ngatai and Enoka Te Whanake at Whareroa (BOP Times July 29 1876).

Support for the opening came from Ngaiterangi, and opposition to it from the King supporters of Ngati Raukawa. There was heated discussion over ancestral rights and ownership of the land with Ngaiterangi and Ngati Raukawa demonstrating their respective rights and each claiming priority. A B.O.P. Times reporter at the meeting recorded the following statements from the various speakers:

> I am not clear about the talk of the Ngaiterangi; they are not the owners of the land, and they only come here to talk and create confusion (Tutauanui - Ngaiteahi).
> I think the Ngaiterangi are the legitimate owners (Hamuera Te Paki - Ngaiterangi).
>
> Kiritapu (Ngati Kirihika), with many gesticulations, objected to some of the speakers, and tried to prove he was the owner of the land.
>
> Maihi te Ngaru: the Ngati raukawa have only come here to listen, and while there is opposition my word shall be carried out, ie. that it shall be opened: let the hauhaus be silent for ever.
>
> Hori Ngatai: One is saying one thing and one another, and nothing has been done so far; I don't know why the Ngati raukawas have any say in the matter, the Ngaiterangis living in Tauranga are the only men having any say.
>
> Karonama: Listen Ngaiterangi. You have been disputing about your ancestors with the Ngatiraukawa all the time. I am of a different tribe myself, the names Ngatitama and other tribes belong to me.

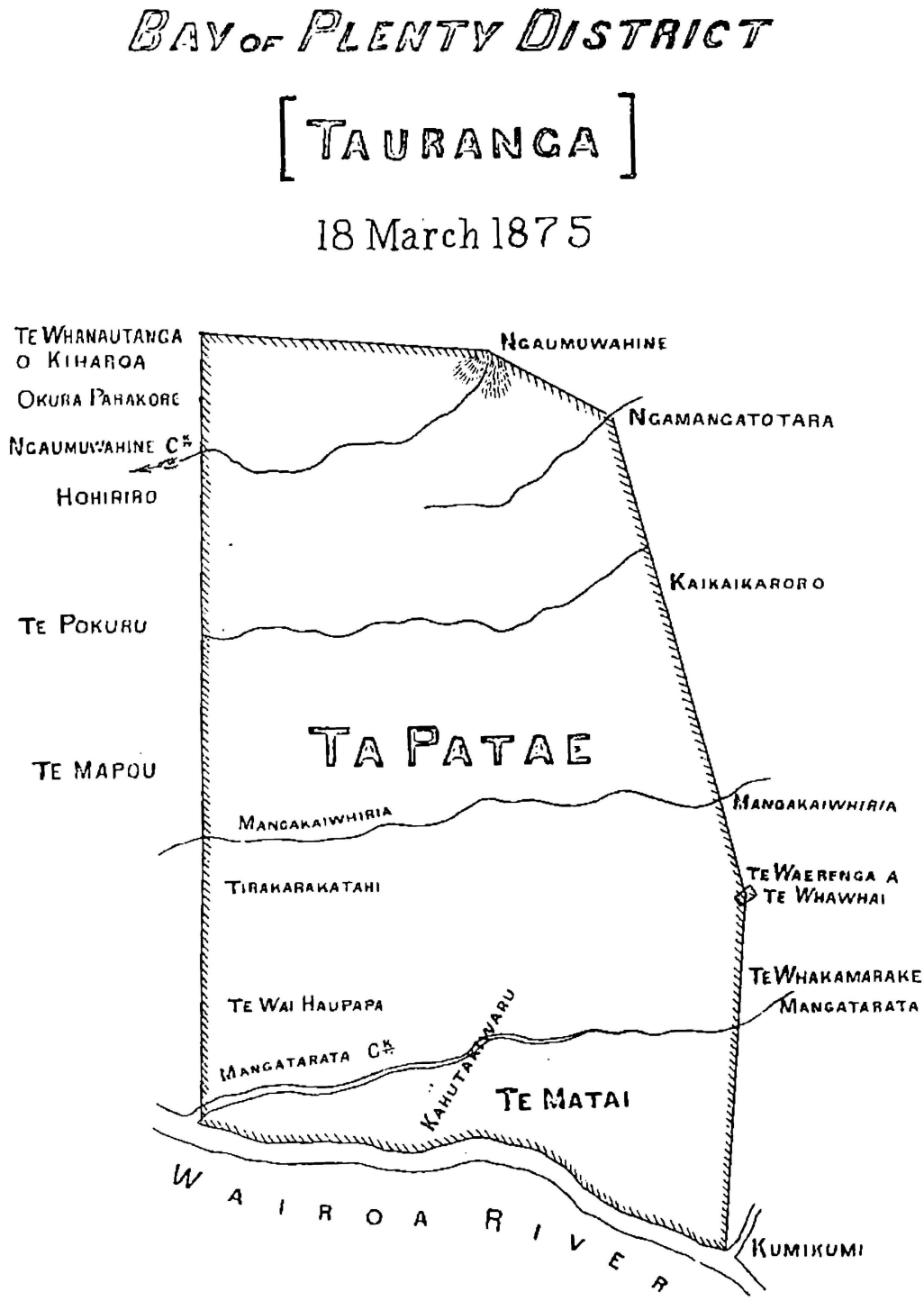
> Henare Ranginui (Ngaitamarawaho) I am not the principal person interested; some of the Ngati raukawa have superior claims; Ngaiterangi are not the owners.
>
> Karenama, chief of Ngati Raukawa, went into his ancestral claims, showing them to be superior to any others.
>
> Hamiora Tu (Ngaiterangi): We all claim through our ancestors. (BOP Time 5/8/1876).

Some speakers argued that opening up the Kaimai was to seek gold only, and that land would not be sold.

> Ngamoka: If there is no gold, as Hori Tupaea told you, the land still remains to the owners. I am favourable to prospectors looking for gold.
>
> The rest of the evening was occupied in disputing rights of the several hapus to this block, but we gathered from the finish that Kaimai was to be opened, as Hori Tupaea had given his consent there was no opposing him (BOP Time 5/8/1876).

To clarify ownership of the Kaimai, Hori Tupaea wrote a letter to Sir Donald McLean in 1876 and identified the following as hapu of Ngati Raukawa who possess land at Kaimai:

> Ko te ua tenei i Putahi ai te korero o enei iwi mo te whakapuaretanga o te koura o Kaimai me ona atu wahi he tino whakapumautanga tenei na matou mo taua koura kia kimihia E kore rawa e kaha tetahi iwi tangata ranei i waho atu o enei ka tuhia ki raro iho nei
> *It is our strength together that the words of these tribes in agreement for the opening of the gold of the places at Kaimai which has been established by us for the seeking of gold. There is no way a tribe, or person who are not of those written below are able to do this.*
>
> Te Matewaka
> Ngati Kahu
> Ngati Tamatewharia
> Ngatitama
> Ngati Te Apunga
> Ngati Takahu
> Ngati Tauterangi
> Ngati Hangarau
> Ko nga Hapu enei o ngatiraukawa i uru ki tenei whenua nana nei tenei whakaaetanga



Kaimai Survey
NA BABG A52 55
sketch map

figure 6

Drawn Boundaries of Ta Patae Sketch Plan

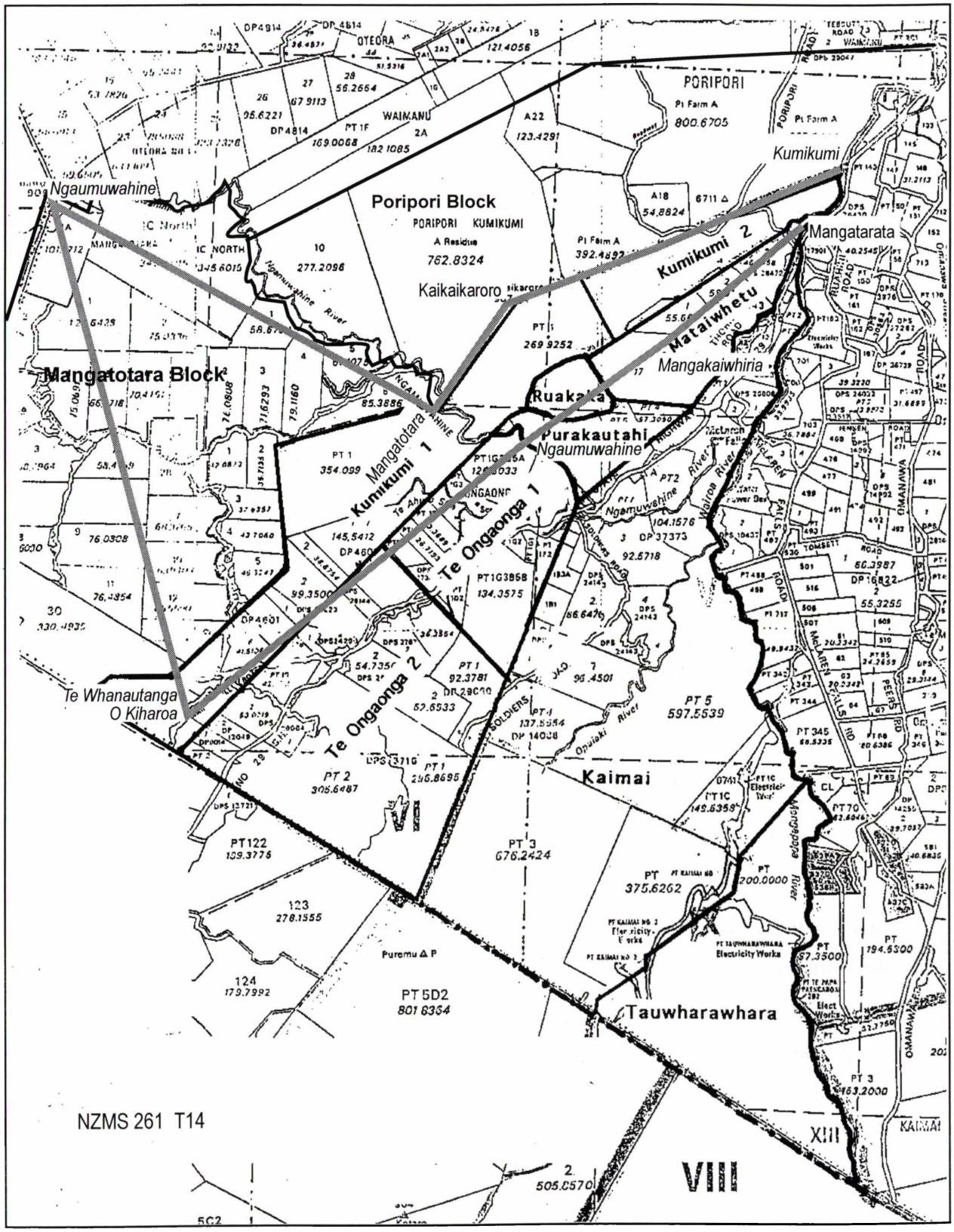


Figure 7

These are the hapu of Ngati Raukawa who own this land and give their agreement

Na Hori Tupaea (National Archives BABG A52/55 Box 25).

Commissioner Clark was to report that all of the "Owners" were agreeable to the opening of the land within certain boundaries for prospecting, but were opposed by the 'Hauhau' who objected to the opening of any land to Europeans for any purpose whatever: "The block agreed to be opened was supposed to contain about twenty to thirty thousand acres - the details of the arrangement were to be left between Mr Brabant and the owners" (Clarke memo MA 13/24b 1876). Brabant was the Commissioner appointed under the Tauranga District Lands Acts of 1867 and 1868 to administrate the return of the Tauranga confiscated lands to the 'Natives'.

A meeting was held at Te Papa by Brabant to conclude arrangements of boundaries and the appointment of a committee to manage affairs. Penetana (Ngati Kirihika) demanded money be paid the owners in exchange for exploration in the Kaimai but Brabant replied that they:

> cannot have payment until it is known there is gold. If gold is found and not otherwise then the Govt. will treat with the Natives in which case the Maoris will acquire a valuable property (Brabant notes BABG A52/55 Box 25 National Archives).

Brabant told the meeting that for prospecting to take place their consent does not come at a price. Brabant gauged from the meeting that the goldfield would not be able to be opened unless the owners received some payment.

On 5 August Hori Tupaea, with a large party, went to see Mr Brabant and demanded payment for giving up his 'mana' over the land (Clarke memo MA 13/24b). Five days later 1876 Brabant called Hori Tupaea and Akuhata to another meeting. Penetana also was present. Hori was asked by Brabant whether, if he received money, would he be willing to take it on security of miners rights provided gold was found. He agreed, and £50 was the sum agreed to which was paid as a security for licences or taken as a lease (ibid.). The Maori landowners of the Kaimai wanted a fee from prospectors to enter their land and the Commissioner opposed this, and tended the money as an advance on the land

Sketch Plan of Kaimai 1876
Land Ownership Claims

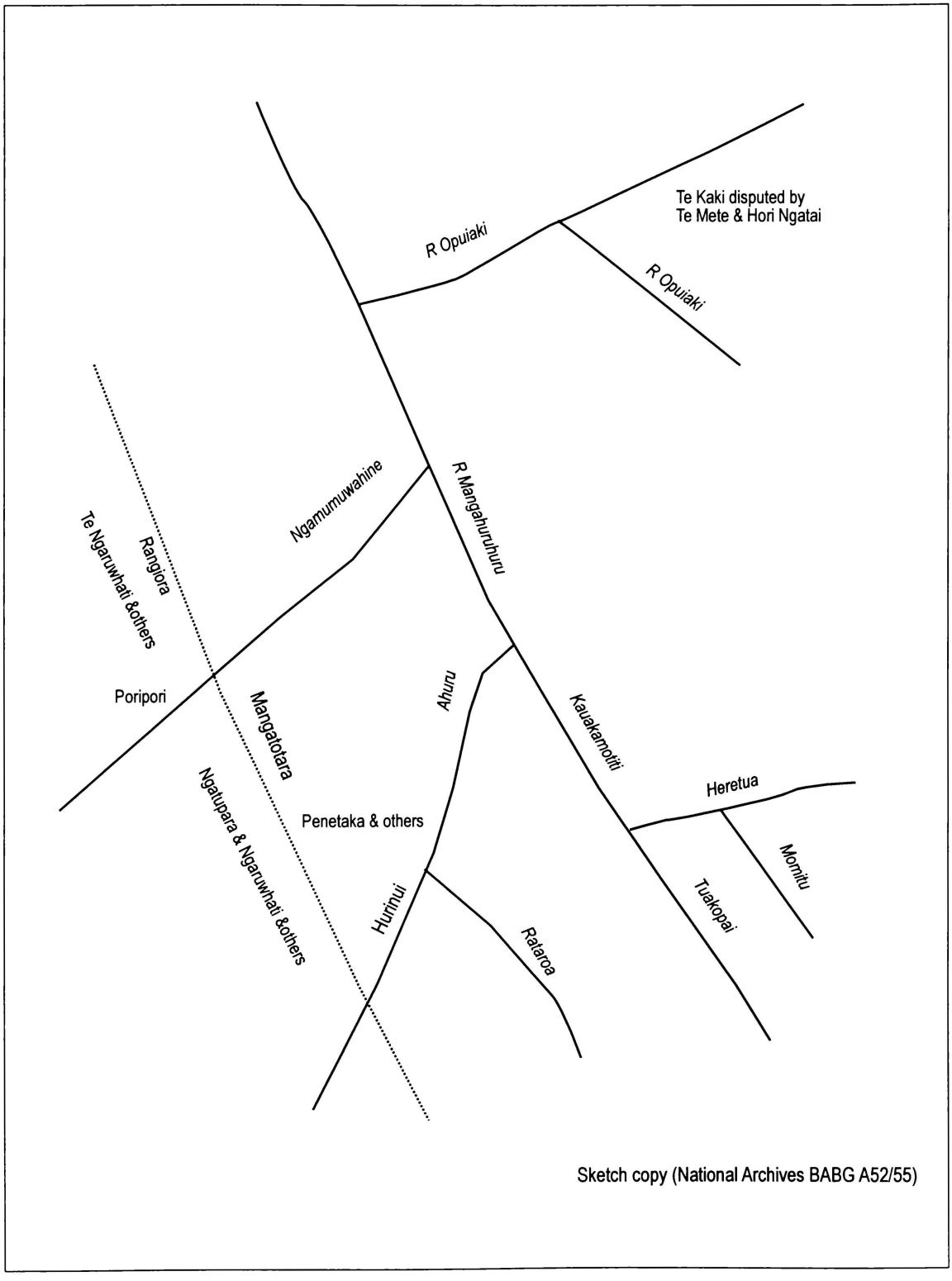


Figure 8

instead rather than payment for the entry of gold prospectors (Clarke to Undersecretary Native Department 12 August 1876 MA 13/24b). Soon after the meeting, Brabant the Civil Commissioner for Tauranga Lands under the Tauranga District Act 1867 and 1868, was able to inform Captain Ebenezer Norris, Chairman Tauranga Township Highway Board, that:

> I have the pleasure to inform you that I have this afternoon settled with Hori Tupaea and party re Kaimai and I do not think there will be any further opposition on the part of the natives to prospecting - They are prepared to send a man to show boundaries of block when required (Brabant to Morris August 11 1876 memo MA 13/24b).

A Bay of Plenty Times report on August 1876 was headlined "Kaimai Thrown up to Prospectors". But Penetana Te Kauri of Ngati Kirihika, who lived at Te Ongaonga sent a letter warning of the presence of armed Hauhau in the area.

> Kia te Paramena, E pa ma tena koutou, kua tae mai te hauhau ki konei ki te ongaonga nei, me o ratou pu ano, he whai mai ia Akuhata ratou ko ana Pakeha
> na te Penetana te Kauri
> (National Archives BABG A52/55 Box 25).
>
> To Brabant, o fathers greetings to you, the Hauhau have arrived at Te Ongaonga with their guns and they are following Akuhata and his prospectors. From Penetana Te Kauri.

The Pai Marire were to advise Clarke by letter of their opposition to the propsecting:

> Kia Hapi Karaka
> E Hoa
> Tena koe kua tae mai matou ki Poripori nei ko the Kupu I whakaaturia e Matou kia Te Ngaruwhati Me mutu te tuku koura ana Me mutu ta nga Tangata Kuini Me mutu hoki tanga Pakeha Ka mutu hoki ta matou I tenei na Ehara I te mea he ngakau pouri he hoha ranei he riri ranei Kao Engari kua tata te Rangatiratanga o te Atua Heoi
> Na Hotu
> Na Ngatupara
> Otira na matou Katoa
>
> To Hopkins Clarke
> Friend
> To you, we have reached Poripori and the word from us and to Te Ngaruwhati, stop the access to gold, stop the Queen Maori, stop the bringing of Pakeha, we have stopped this. It is not from a dark heart, impatience or anger, No, it is from the chieflyness of the God

> From Hotu, from Ngatupara, from all of us.
> (Ngatupara to Clarke 27 August 1876 NA MA 13/24b)

A party of prospectors went up with Akuhata Tupaea, but after two days were turned away by a party of Pirirakau. Hori sent word to Brabant that he had sorted the matter out with Manuera and that opposition would not be renewed. Prospectors got licences to prospect for gold and went about prospecting without authority from Brabant to enter the Kaimai. One went prospecting outside Kaimai at Poripori, claimed by Hori Ngatai and Enoka Te Whanake, who sent up a man to stop this (Clarke memo MA 13/24b). Two 'friendly' chiefs of Ngaiterangi also went to the Pai Marire to get their consent:

> Hamiora Tu and Raniera left yesterday from Whakamarama to interview the natives resident at that settlement re. the opening of Kaimai to the prospectors (B.O.P. Times October 14 1876).

The agreement from Tupaea for access to prospect for gold was not acknowledged by the Pai Marire who continued to turn away prospectors from the Kaimai:

> Recently the chief Hori Tupaea convened a meeting of natives with the hope of opening Kaimai; and some days after the gathering that chief was paid $50 for "opening Kaimai", and the Commissioner said that he did not think there would be any further opposition on the part of the natives. The public were glad to get such an assurance, and several prospecting parties were at once organised and started for Kaimai; some of them reached the locality, but as soon as the Pirirakau natives heard that there were Europeans on the ground they came and peremptorily ordered them back...Since that time numbers of people have tried to prospect, both openly and clandestinely, but have all been turned off the ground by Pirirakau, who say that they do not care for Hori Tupaea's consent, that they are acting under the instructions or orders of King Tawhiao (B.O.P. Times 18 November 1876).

Enoka and Hori Ngaitai called a meeting when the prospectors had entered land they claimed around the Poripori area:

> Meeting called at Whareroa 7th/8th November and attended by Ngaiterangi and Pirirakau where Pirirakau still objected to the Prospecting and Ngaiterangi supported the prospectors. The meeting continued the next day but the Pirirakau left the meeting and Enoka addressing Commissioner Brabant said that "Kaimai is opened by Ngaiterangi" and "Pirirakau are still opposed" and that Ngaiterangi have agreed to convey the diggers up to the Kaimai (November 11 1876 BOP Times).

Kaimai Koura (gold)

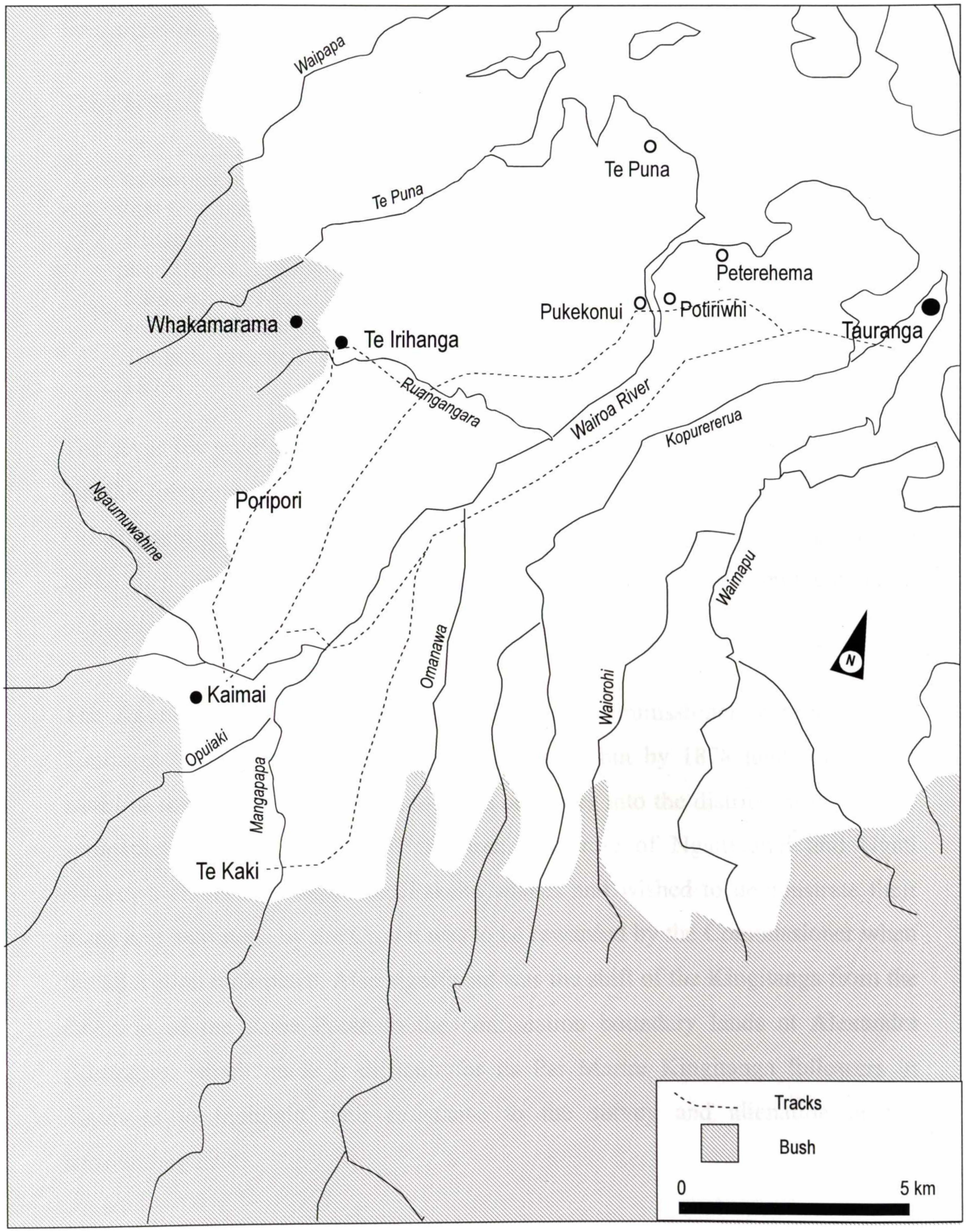


Figure 9

The meeting gave their consent to prospecting to land between Te Kaki and Ruangarara stream and Pirirakau continued to oppose because 'Tawhiao was against it'. The Ngaiterangi assured the colonial officials that they did not recognise the authority said to be claimed by Tawhiao over these lands, and that they intended at once to place prospectors on the block, whoever might oppose their decision (Brabant December 2 1876 MA 13/24b).

The Pai Marire went to seek advice from Tawhiao

> The attitude, which we are credibly informed, the Pirirakaus are assuming against the opening of Kaimai is not encouraging. We hear that they are assembled at a settlement named Puripuri *(sic Poripori),* which overlooks all the approaches to Kaimai and Irihanga, and all are armed... Rawiri Tangitu, the head chief of the Pirirakaus, returned on Monday night from Hikurangi, where he had been to confer with the "king." .... The "king" was not at Hikurangi, and Tangitu returned without seeing him (BOP Times 22 November 1876).

The fever for gold in the Kaimai expired when prospecting proved unsuccessful but the lobbying from Pakeha and those chiefs sympathetic or supportive of a Government policy of opening up the region created an anticipation that was to make such inevitable despite Pai Marire persistence in trying to keep the area out of bounds for Pakeha.

The Kaimai area had not yet come before the Commissioner in terms of the Tauranga District Land Acts of 1867 and 1868, but by 1878 land speculators based in the Waikato had begun to make advances into the district through those sympathetic to the opening of the area. The role of Ngaiterangi and Ngati Raukawa chiefs who supported Pakeha wishes and wished to demonstrate their mana and patronage by the Crown was to be rewarded by the Commissioner when the allocation took place. Also significant was the shift of the Kingitanga from the isolation of the Rohe Potae to the confiscation boundary lands at Alexandra (Pirongia), which made it difficult for its Pai Marire Kingitanga followers in Tauranga to maintain their resistance to the survey and alienation of the surrounding lands.

FRIENDLY CHIEFS AND LOYALTY DISCOURSE

> I shall attempt, by firmness, prudence, and substantial benefits to obtain a personal influence over the chiefs which may allay the present excitement, and give me time to organise such a force as may place the Government in a position of greater security
>
> *Grey 22 Nov 1845: PP 1846/712 - Rutherford 1961:83*
>
> The Natives of the district of the Bay of Plenty appear from recent accounts to be in an unsettled temper of mind, hanging between submission to the Queen's authority and adherence to the King movement. It is of importance that no time should be lost in tranquillizing their minds, and securing their allegiance to the Government.
>
> *Sewell to T.H. Smith 14th Dec: 1861 AJHR 1862 E9:*

The spread of the Kingitanga movement, resistance and 'insurgency' elicited responses from the Governor and colonial government in the form of policies to counter the political influence of the movement. Kingitanga was an alternative Maori authority to the Governor and colonial settler government, advocating the separation and retention of Maori territory autonomous from the settler colony.

In 1858 a representative constitution was introduced in New Zealand for the government of the colony then facing challenges in the form of political inexperience, and the isolated, small and scattered nature of Pakeha settlements on the coasts. Because of the delicate nature of relations between Maori and Pakeha settler colonists, the Governor kept overall control of native affairs (Dalton1967:1-2). The Colonial Office, the Governor, and the settler Colonial Government shared roles and responsibilities for the administration of Maori in the colony. Responsibilities shifted in response to changes in political power and relations between the Colonial Office, its representative, the Governor, and his Ministers of the settler colonial government. As well as political shifts within the settler colonial government, there was also a developing independence from the Colonial Office centre.

Governors of the period sought the subjection of Maori to British law, primarily as a means of accessing the remaining Maori land for colonial settlers. The first

pieces of legislation to this affect were the Native Districts Regulation Act 1858 and the Native Circuits Act 1858, introduced under Governor Gore-Browne. These provided a system of law and legislation for areas where native customary title had not been extinguished. The Governor proposed to use the law to promote land alienation policies (Ward 1983:107). Regulations in Native Districts were to be established by Maori *runanga* (council) with the support of a Pakeha resident magistrate and his Native assessor. The objective was to bring colonial law into Maori districts and also to introduce a device to turn Maori customary land into native title, through the issue of Crown Grants to land they owned, hence facilitating later alienation. Since colonisation began, Maori appeared to have little notion of being subject to colonial rule and government. Their traditional notions of mana were dominant over their understanding of colonial rule over their territory. For example, Henry Sewell who was a solicitor and the first Colonial Secretary, in correspondence to the Colonial Office in 1857 referred to the absence of colonial presence and law in Maori territory:

> It seems to have been overlooked in this colonization of New Zealand, that to govern a people who retain to themselves the permanent seigniory of the soil is impossible. Theoretically there is a plain and inseparable connection between territorial and political sovereignty - practically this is proved by daily experience in New Zealand (Sewell to Ball 8 May 1857 CO209/144).

The Native District Regulation and the Native Circuit Acts were seen as facilitating land acquisition by Pakeha, serving the growing demand for land by settler colonists, and easing the 'civilisation of the Natives' (Morrell 1969: 226). Since the arrival of the missionaries it had been thought that settler colonists living in the midst of Maori would bring law, colonial power and a civilising presence. The granting of titles to Maori on their land was seen realistically by Sewell:

> The policy of the Colonial Government is in fact to make Colonists of the Natives on their own lands - that is, by giving them individual titles and making Crown grants to them.... (Sewell to Ball 8 May 1857 CO209/144).

There was a constant demand from the settler colonist government for more control and say in Native matters, which was then held primarily in the Governor's hands. The problem for the colonial government was that Maori did not acknowledge its authority over them as their significant relationship was with

the Governor through the Treaty of Waitangi. Governor Gore Browne, in correspondence to the Colonial Office, had stated that the colony contained 'a proud and independent race of savages, recognising Her Majesty's supremacy but imperfectly and repudiating all authority except that of her representative' (Gore Brown to Labouchere 21 Sept. 1856 CO209/159). Maori were not receptive to the colonial settler Government because of its blatant demands for making more Maori land available for colonists. Maori saw their relationship with the Queen and her representative, the Governor, as paramount over any relationship with the settler colonists. Another factor was that the office of Governor mirrored the chiefly system, which the chiefs knew and understood. The wider Westminster system of government of the colonial settler, however, was a unfamiliar power structure which represented people who were antagonistic to Maori.

The system of indirect rule promoted in the Native District Regulation Act 1858 was aimed at promoting and cultivating 'friendly' chiefs to loyalty and submission to colonial authority and rule. To counter the spread and influence of the Kingitanga movement, Governor Gore-Brown set out to form a viable Maori alternative. Loyalty was promoted by the ideology of the special relationship between the Queen, or Crown, and Maori as British subjects which the Treaty promised. A speech to the Legislative Council by Governor Browne (30/7/1860) revealed his plan to bring chiefs together to explain the Crown's position to them, hence countering the Kingitanga:

> A dangerous Sympathy with the Insurgents has however been displayed by the Waikato Tribes. These Tribes have been for some years past the centre of the agitation for the establishment of an independent Maori State, under a Maori Sovereign, and it is in furtherance of this project that aid from Waikato has been afforded to the Insurgents.
> To check the growth of plans fraught with so much peril to both Races, and to remove doubts, which extensively prevail amongst the Natives as to the ultimate objects of the British Government, I have invited a considerable number of the influential Chiefs from all parts of the Colony to meet and confer with me in Auckland (N.Z. Gazette No. 25 P.135 30/7/1860).

This was the Kohimarama conference. The conference was an attempt by the Governor to deal with the problem of Maori insurgency in Taranaki and the emergence of the Kingitanga movement by sounding out Maori opinion. But it excluded chiefs known to be in opposition to the government, namely those

involved with the Kingitanga and supporters of Waikato and Taranaki (Orange 1987:148). The government had invited the chiefs in order to seek an endorsement from them. This was achieved with a major resolution passed, as follows:

> That this Conference takes cognisance of the fact that the several Chiefs, members thereof, are pledged to each other to do nothing inconsistent with their declared recognition of the Queen's sovereignty, and of the union of the two races, also to discountenance all proceedings tending to a breach of the covenant here solemnly entered into by them.

This gathering of chiefs pledged loyalty to the Crown. There was a representation of 'Chiefs' from Tauranga at the conference who supported the Queen and her representative the Governor. Tomika Te Mutu of Ngati He made the following comments at Kohimarama:

> This is what we have thought in or hearts respecting the terms of the Waitangi Treaty. They are as they should be, and by adhering to them our present plans will prosper. Yes - we consent that she, that is, the Queen, shall have the sovereignty, so that she may look to these two races, the Pakeha and maori. Yes we will cling to you, O Queen, and (to you) O Governor! There is no power that can put down the Queen for we are now united.
> From Tomika Te Mutu
> Wiremu Patene Whitirangi
> Hamiora Matenga Tu
> Hamuera Te Paki
> (Te Karere Maori November 30 1860).

This display of loyalty to the Queen at Kohimarama by the Tauranga chiefs, Tomika Te Mutu, Wiremu Patene, Hamiora Tu and Hamuera Te Paki indicated what was to become a significant feature of the political situation in Tauranga for the next thirty years, the division of Tauranga between those favouring resistance and those advocating 'loyalty'.

The Kohimarama 'hui' called by the Governor in 1860 was a large gathering of chiefs which promoted a loyalist discourse, affirming their subordination to a named sovereign power (Queen Victoria) as British Subjects (Guha 1997:44). Loyalty was activated to induce collaboration whenever the regime felt insecure for political or military reasons. On such occasions, the appeal to loyalty would be successfully promulgated by emphasising the mutuality of interest between rulers and the ruled (see Guha 1997 42-43).

When Grey returned to New Zealand in 1861 he immediately instigated policies to counter the political influence of the Kingitanga. His main policy thrust was to launch a system of indirect rule known as the 'Native Districts' system. This had been first suggested to Grey by the Colonial Office to be included in the Constitution Act 1852 in order to establish representative government for Native Districts wherein Maori institutions could be preserved. Grey, however, was averse to a reliance on Maori customary law. He had his own theories of how British law should be introduced to Maori, preferring to rely instead on pensions and presents to chiefs, a system he had first introduced in 1845 in the suppression of the 'Heke rebellion' or Northern War (Ward 1983:90). It was a system of cultivating loyalty. Instead of using customary law, Grey introduced the Resident Magistrates Courts Ordinance in 1846 which provided for the appointment of assessors, who were effectively Maori agents of the Crown, and the Pakeha Resident Magistrates who were Government agents reporting on the tribes and acting as Justices of the Peace in tribal areas (Sinclair 1976:36).

During the northern 'rebellion' of Hone Heke and Kawiti in 1844, native forces led by chiefs such as Tamati Waka Nene would not join the northern 'rebels' but instead attacked them. When Grey replaced Fitzroy as governor in 1845, he first directed his attention to resolving the Northern War. Of his meeting with chiefs, he wrote:

> I shall attempt, by firmness, prudence, and substantial benefits to obtain a personal influence over the chiefs which may allay the present excitement, and give me time to organise such a force as may place the Government in a position of greater security (Rutherford 1961:83; Grey (private) 22 Nov 1845, PP 1846/712).

Grey met the 'loyal' chiefs assembled at Kororareka on 25 November 1845 in an effort to confirm the loyalty of his native allies. He tried not to allow any chief to remain neutral. In his successful campaign against the rebellion of Hone Heke and Kawiti, Grey was to reward chiefs such as Nene, his brother Patuone and another brother, with pensions of up to £100 a year and valuable land. Other chiefs received lesser gifts. Several were made magistrates with small annual salaries. Rutherford viewed this as "an announced policy of Grey of attaching chiefs to him by personal friendship and by tangible benefits" (Rutherford 1961:92).

Grey thus sought out the loyalty of chiefs, much as missionaries had done earlier in their efforts to convert them to Christianity. Grey also sought to develop the recruitment of native forces, and the use of the resident magistrates' court and assessor systems. He advocated a system of cultivated loyalty which he was to develop during his first term and to utilise even more extensively in his second term of Governor (1861 – 68). In the latter period, it began as a programme to counter the resistance in Taranaki and the Waikato region. While Rutherford did not consider Grey's largesse as bribing "the chiefs into professions of loyalty" (Rutherford 1961:210), his actions were specifically directed at chiefs he had hoped would be using their authority to support colonisation. Grey also turned to coercion, in that he did not hesitate to use Imperial troops or the threat of their use to sway chiefs towards his rule (Sinclair 1976:35).

On his return to New Zealand in 1861, Grey received instructions from Newcastle, the Colonial Secretary, to introduce institutions of civil government among the Maori and perhaps pay salaries to a few chiefs. Grey's response to Newcastle's instruction was to perpetuate the system he had adopted during his first term as governor, involving the payment of salaries to chiefly officials to become allies or 'loyalists,' and the use of Maori police and assessors (Sinclair 1976:237, 240).

The basis for the administration of Native Districts upon which Grey was to build his new institutions was the runanga system instituted under the Native Districts Regulation Act 1858 and the Native Courts Act 1858. The runanga reflected the imposition of the Government's leadership or mana over the existing structure of chiefly rank. It worked in some districts and failed in others. This political structure was derived from the colonial mind set, with the colonisers deeming it their right to decide on behalf of the colonised how they should be governed. Chiefs who were invited to join runanga regarded as it their right to be there to exercise their rangatiratanga (Walker 1991:118). What this created was a system of patronage where the colonisers' power enhanced the ability of selected chiefs to exercise their rangatiratanga. They exercised their rangatiratanga in support of the Crown by assuming leadership roles over political opponents and 'rebel kin' and by acceptance of gratuities from the Crown for their services. Another policy of the governor and colonial state was the establishment a Maori newspaper, 'Te Waka Maori' to promote government thinking, policies and loyalty.

In 1852 T.H. Smith was sent to Rotorua and the Bay of Plenty by Grey to be Resident Magistrate. In 1861 he was appointed as the first Civil Commissioner for Tauranga. The instruction from the Attorney-General's Office to Smith illustrates the role of the Civil Commissioner in countering the influence of the Kingitanga by cultivating 'loyalty' to the Crown:

> The Natives of the district of the Bay of Plenty appear from recent accounts to be in an unsettled temper of mind, hanging between submission to the Queen's authority and adherence to the King movement. It is of importance that no time should be lost in tranquillizing their minds, and securing their allegiance to the Government (Sewell to T.H. Smith 14th Dec 1861 AJHR 1862 E9:3).

As Civil Commissioner, Smith was to seek the assent of the Natives of Tauranga to the introduction of new Government institutions. These were the establishment of Resident Magistrates, Native assessors under the Native Districts Regulation Act and Native Circuit Courts Act, and a District Runanga with resident magistrates, chiefs, and assessors. An officer termed Civil Commissioner was also appointed, whose function was primarily political, communicating with the Government on political matters affecting the district (Sewell to T.H. Smith 14th December 1861 AJHR 1862 E9).

Smith met 'Ngaiterangi' at Matapihi and laid out the Governor's proposal. There was a mixed response, including outright rejection from Kingitanga supporters. Some said that they did not accept the Queen or Governor having authority over them, some were neutral but accepted the proffered aid, and a few accepted the offer without reservation (Smith to Native Minister 1861. AJHR1862 E9:14). A list of Native Officers recommended by Smith as Tauranga Assessors were:

> Wiremu Patene (Opoutea), Hamiora Tu (Matapihi), Maihi Pohepohe (Maungatapu, Urumingi), Maihi Hongomate (Otumoetai), Harawira (Motuhoa) (ibid AJHR 1862 E9:15.);

A second list was as follows:

> **Assessors**
> Maihi Pohepohe, of Maungatapu
> Hamiora Tu of Te Matapihi,
> Wiremu Patene of Opoutea
> Maihi Hongimate, of Otumoeta
> Te Kuka, of Motuhoa
> Te Kahakoti, of Paihau

Wardens
Tawaewae, of Maungatapu.
Hamiora Tangiawa, of Opoutea.
Rawiri Taukawe, of Motuhoa.
Kareres [messengers]
Ihaka Te Reiwhati Maungatapu and Paihau
Whati " "
Hone Kiki " "
Wiremu te Matewai Te Matapihi
Ihaka Nga kaho "
Pikaka Tamumu, Opoutea
Te Moanaui, Motuhoa
(ibid AJHR 1862 E9:19)

These chiefs, who were all exclusively Ngaiterangi, selected for various roles became 'friendly' chiefs, supporting the Governor and settler colonial government policies against Kingitanga and Pai Marire resistance. By 1863 there was a division in Tauranga between the supporters of the Maori King and those loyal to the British Queen, with the majority supporters of the Kingitanga (Rev. C. Baker to Colonial Secretary 28th January AJHR 1864 E2:11). MacKay and Clarke, the Civil Commissioners, were to use these 'friendly' Ngaiterangi chiefs and some of the 'surrendered rebels' as the native authorities for Tauranga.

The Civil Commissioner's role was to conduct surveillance of the political leanings of the Tauranga Kingitanga and to undertake a census. Tauranga Maori were generally supportive of the Waikato in their war against the Imperial army's invasion of their lands, but the landing of British troops in Tauranga in January 1864 had major ramifications which by August included battles, defeat, the surrender of arms, the swearing an oath of loyalty to the Queen, and the confiscation of lands. The 'friendly' natives acted as guides to the British troops and assumed an important role in the Governor's and colonial government's plans for Tauranga. The Governor promised the 'friendly' and 'surrendered' natives that consideration would be given to them as a reward for their loyalty, also that they would not be penalised by the confiscation of their lands.

Friendly chiefs

The 'cultivation of loyalty' through different forms of patronage was important to the settler colonial government's strategy of containing resistance and insurgency. There was political value in dividing tribal groups where Kingitanga support was predominant. The 'friendly' chiefs and natives were to provide intelligence for

surveillance, and legitimise colonial power by their support and allegiance as chiefs. In December 1860 McLean saw that the recent defeat of 'Natives' at Mohoetahi (Taranaki), provided an opportunity for the inducement of 'loyalty' through pensions, which would be seen as:

> an Act of grace on the part of the Government which would not fail to produce an excellent effect upon the minds of the Natives at present, by convincing them that the Government is really in earnest in studying their welfare by recognising their services even though a section of the tribes are at war with the English (McLean memo Native Secretary's Office Dec. 22 1860 MA11861/90)

McLean recommended that important chiefs should be placed upon a 'Pension List'. The Chiefs selected were in the provinces of Auckland (12), Wellington (17), Hawkes Bay (7), and Taranaki (3). They were recommended because of their proximity to European settlements:

> There are many other Chiefs in various districts in the Island deserving of pay, but I consider in a political point of view, that the pensioning of the above named chiefs would have a most important point and beneficial effect upon the country at large, in the present unsettled state of our relations with the Natives, by affording some guarantee for the safety of the English Settlements, where the Chiefs reside. All of which must be admitted are at present in a very critical position, and liable to an Attack at any moment (ibid.).

In the 'Native' districts the reward for loyalty was a position as an assessor or membership of the Native Police. At a hui held in Tauranga August 1864 for the Ngaiterangi surrender, Sir George Grey made a promise that:

> £100 a year will be set apart from Native funds to be shared between the fifty natives who have been faithful during the War – In this manner Eight Chiefs will be selected by the Government between whom this sum will be shared annually as pensions – When one dies another of the fifty will be selected in his place – When the fifty are reduced to seven the £100 will be shared between the seven and so on until the last survivors receive the £100 a year (Lewis to Clarke 26/3/1880).

The chiefs were never named, but Clarke, as Civil Commissioner, carried out Grey's promise. In a letter to the Native Minister (December 30 1864), Clarke recommended eight chiefs for the Government's approval and in December 1867 he produced a list of Tauranga Natives entitled to receive pensions out of the £100 allowed by the Governor.

Raniera Te Hiahia (P)
Wiremu Parera (P/D)
Arama Karaka (P)
Hohepa Hikutaia (P)
Te Ranapia Kahukotu (P/D)
Te Patu (P)
Turere (D)
Hetaraka (D)
Tomika Te Mutu (D)
Tamati Mauao (D)
Rawiri Taipari (D)
Wiremu Patene (D)
Herewini Pikaka(D)
Maihi Hangamate (D)
Rini of Rangiwaea (D)
Te Hakeo (D)
Tuarawera V
Hona (D)
Hamiora Tu (A)
Hohaia Koronateka (D)
Eruera Tamapahote (P)
Maihi Pohephoe (a rebel)
Matene Ngakuru (P)
Piahana (P)
Ta Kerei (P)
Hakopa
Hamiora Te Paki (D)
Mita (D)
Tiro
Peita
Tuarakiora (D)
Whakaheke
Te Maire
Te Manihera (P)
Hirini Turi (D)
Te Kapa
Henare Piahna
Ngamanu
Te Teria/Te Titari
Anaru Haua
Heretama
Hohepa Paama
Rini Tametekapua (D)
Kuka Te Mea (D)
Te Wharehera
Parete Tawaewae (A)

(Clarke to Native Secretary 13 July 1873 MA1 1873/52)
P (pension), A (assessor), D (died)

The inclusion of Maihi Pohepohe on the list was questioned by the Secretary of the Native Department in 1873. Clarke responded by stating he could not strike out a name when a promise had been made and that Pohepohe was a forceful character, resuming his position as a leading chief of his tribe and influential over Ngaiterangi (Clarke to Native Secretary 13 July 1873 MA1 1873/52).

Due to the proximity of the Kingitanga followers to Auckland, the 'Manukau district and Waikato frontier,' and the consequent threat of a raid on Auckland in July 1863, Grey authorised John Gorst and other Native Officers to ask chiefs in the wider region to take an oath of allegiance, give up their arms or leave the district to retire to Waikato, beyond Mangatawhiri (Halse memo Sept. 9 1863 MA1 1863/186). The oath read as follows:

Oath of Allegiance
Ko au ko_____ e tino whakaae ka
Oati pono ahau, a ka piri ki a Kuini Wkitoria
Penei ma te Atua au e whakakaha
Sworn before me at _____in the
District of _____this
Day of _____18

I_____do sincerely promise and swear
That I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria
So help me God
(MA1 1863/186)

This swearing of an oath was carried out in Tauranga during the surrendering of arms and the pledging of loyalty by the 'rebels'. The main reward promised by Grey to the 'friendly Chiefs' was that of land. In his address at Tauranga on 6th August 1864 at the Ngaiterangi surrender of arms, Governor Grey spoke directly to the 'friendly chiefs' present:

> I now speak to you, the friendly Natives. I thank you warmly for your good conduct under circumstances of great difficulty. I will consider in what manner you shall be rewarded for your fidelity. In the meantime in any arrangements which may be made about the lands of your tribe your rights will be scrupulously respected (AJHR 1867 A20:5).

The defeat of the Tauranga Kingitanga at Te Ranga, involving the loss of their leaders and the surrender of arms, led to the 'friendly chiefs' assuming leadership roles as *rangatira* for all Tauranga under the patronage and watchful eye of the Government and local officials. They were to provide support for the survey and sale of land, and military services against the Pai Marire kainga.

A legislative framework of various Acts was applied to Tauranga to authorise the confiscation, survey, administration and colonial settlement of the confiscated lands. The New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 extinguished customary title; the Tauranga Districts Lands Acts of 1867 and 1868 established Commissioners who conducted hearings in a formal process to allocate the confiscated land and more specifically to interpret the terms of surrender. But the Crown pledged that the 'friendly' natives whose land had been confiscated were to be given particular regard in the allocation of lands.

The 'friendly chiefs' were to act quickly to establish their role as intermediaries between their rebel kin and the Colonial government. Directly after the battle at Pukehinahina, T.H. Smith was approached by 'friendly chiefs':

> Yesterday morning a letter was brought to me from Wi Patene and other friendly chiefs, proposing that they should communicate with the hostile natives for the purpose of urging them to submit and bring in their arms (Smith May 3 1864 BPP 13 Sess 1862-64).

The adoption of the Pai Marire religious consciousness and the maintenance of the Kingitanga political beliefs by Ngati Ranginui hapu brought them into direct conflict with the 'friendly' Ngaiterangi chiefs over their rangatiratanga and mana over Tauranga. Tauranga had become politically and socially dominated by Pakeha with the acquiescence of the 'friendly' and 'surrendered rebel' chiefs.

The 'friendly' Ngaiterangi chiefs, who included the 'surrendered rebels' now patronised by the Crown, used their position to assert their mana over the opposing camp by providing intelligence relating to the nature and movement of the Pai Marire. The Ngaiterangi chiefs provided the Crown with information, some of it inaccurate, about the activities of the Pai Marire. This was used by Clarke to suppress and destroy opposition to the survey of the confiscated lands with the help of military force. An example was when Clarke requested that Lt. Colonel Harrington attack Whakamarama to destroy stores of provision which may have supported a large hostile force rumoured to be gathering there. Harrington wrote to the Undersecretary of Defence to explain why he did not send troops at Clarke's request:

> In reply to your letter No.91/3 of the 1st inst. I have the honor to acquaint you for the information of the Honble Defence Minister that every effort has been made to procure information as to the numbers of the Hau Hau threatening the District, but the reports from the friendly Natives are most conflicting - No aggression Innermost has been made on the settlers at the District since the departure of the Imperial Troops, and I therefore deem it most expedient to renew hostilities at a time when a larger meeting is being held to discuss the question of peace or war (RDB Vol. 136 pp 52286-89).

Ngaiterangi claimed that their traditional conquest of Ngati Ranginui gave them conquerors' rights over that iwi. This was emphasised by Clarke and was repeated on many occasions and in many reports. For instance Clarke was to comment in a

letter to Richmond dated (25 September 1866) on the confiscation of survey instruments by Pirirakau.

> The act was a deliberate one, and had been in contemplation and the subject of runanga for some days previously. Its object - to stop the surveys on the north bank of the Wairoa, on the ground that the land belonged to them, that they were not parties to the Tauranga surrender, and that the Ngaiterangi had no right to cede their territory. It can be easily shown that they are of the inferior hapus of Ngaiterangi, and that they were always kept in a state of vassalage (AJHR 1867 A20:23).

And on another occasion he was to say that:

> Most of the difficulties in settling the claims in this district will arise from the fact that the Ngaiterangi claim only by conquest. They did not destroy the original inhabitants, but allowed them to remain as cultivators of the soils (not slaves), subject to the conquerors. Some of the principal chiefs took the best of the women as wives (ibid.).

Tomika Te Mutu of Ngati He in 1860 at the Kohimarama hui, hinted at the historical tradition for the mana of Ngaiterangi over Ngati Ranginui when he made the following statements:

> This is another matter. Our land at Tauranga was owned formerly by a different people - by Ranginui. Our ancestors made war upon them and took the land. It was inherited by their children, and has thus descended to us. Now the descendants of the conquered tribe, who are related to us through inter-marriage, insist upon having it back. This is not right, in as much as we were the conquerors and our mana over this land has never been lost.... (Te Karere Maori Nov. 30.1860).

But these traditions of conquest did not determine hapu territory. The friendly chiefs took advantage of their favourable position with the Crown in their land claims:

> Some friendly Natives, who had lost considerable pieces of land within the 50,000 acre block, applied for reserves, and they were promised that their cases would be inquired into (Mackay to Richmond 22 Nov. 1866 AJHR A20:27).

> I was engaged with Mr Clarke and the Ngaiterangi Natives on the 14th, 15th and 16th November, in arranging about reserves to be made for Natives within the 50,000 acre block... On Saturday, the 17th, I proceeded to the Wairoa with Enoka te Whanake and Hori

> Ngatai to inspect some land required for reserves in the neighbourhood (MacKay to Richmond AJHR 1866 A20:30).

They said reserves were land grants from the Crown, promised by Grey as a reward for the services of 'friendly chiefs'. Officials such as Clarke validated the grants referring to the chiefly status of the 'friendly chiefs'. Colonel Greer, however, thought that the land claims made by the 'friendly' Ngaiterangi chiefs were excessive. He wrote to Grey after the capture of Tupaea, stating that his presence would moderate excessive land claims from the 'friendly' chiefs:

> I believe that Hori Tupaea, in his present humour, might materially assist in making an amicable and final settlement of the land question here, which I believe has been becoming a little complicated of late, in consequence of the claims of friendly natives (Greer to Grey Feb.11 1865 BPP 14 p 305).

In contrast, as a result of Pirirakau's refusal to surrender, their isolation from the 'confiscation settlement process' and their Hauhau and Kingitanga support, this hapu became the objective of government policies of disempowerment. Pirirakau, Ngati Rangi and Ngati Pango disputed the terms of the Te Puna purchase of land. The stand made by Ngati Rangi, Ngati Pango and Pirirakau in relation to the sale and survey of Te Puna area was that they were the owners of this land, and as hapu of Ngati Ranginui and Ngamarama origin, they did not acknowledge the mana of the 'friendly' Ngaiterangi chiefs over their lands, or the role they played in the settlement with Grey and government officials.

The issue became a boundary dispute because the 50,000 acre confiscation boundary was not defined during the peace making at Te Papa in 1864 (Sorrenson 1978 RDB Vol. 139 p53362). Playing a crucial role in support of the government's position, were the 'friendly' Ngaiterangi who had a vested interest in the suppression of the 'Hauhau' beliefs. These beliefs challenged the mana of the Ngaiterangi chiefs and threatened the perceived rewards resulting from Pakeha patronage under their 'peaceful settlement' policy.

The survey of the 50,000 block and the extension of the confiscation boundaries across the Wairoa River brought the Pai Marire into direct conflict with the government and the Ngaiterangi chiefs. The Pai Marire followers became determined to put an *aukati* (boundary of prohibition) in place to limit the

expansion of Pakeha inland. They confiscated survey equipment and disrupted the survey, resulting in an armed response by the local administrators. This led to even further division in Tauranga between those Pai Marire Ngati Ranginui hapu and the 'friendly' Ngaiterangi chiefs. The provision by the government of arms to 'friendly' Ngaiterangi chiefs, and their participation in the colonial militia, and the use of Te Arawa native forces for the attacks on the Pai Marire kainga, demonstrated the resolve of the Government to destroy the resistance.

By June 1869 the Kingitanga of Waikato sought to re-open links with Tauranga rangatira who were rigorously opposed by the 'friendlies'. Clarke reported that the different hapu of Ngaiterangi received letters from Waikato chiefs informing them of their intention to visit Tauranga. Clarke was approached by a delegation led by Hori Ngatai and Enoka, who looked upon the intended visit with suspicion, as they thought it aimed to reactivate their Kingitanga links and lead them into trouble (Clarke to Cooper 6th June 1869 AJHR 1869 A10:67). The King party visited Tupaea, now resident at Katikati; Clarke found out that Waikato had been encouraged to visit him (AJHR A10:73). The purpose of the visit was to reclaim former supporters and explain the meaning of Tawhiao's new peaceful directives for coping with the impact of colonial Pakeha settlement and domination that was now occurring in the confiscated area of Waikato and Tauranga.

A new threat to the Government and 'friendly' chiefs to emerge in Tauranga was the movement led by Te Kooti, who had spearheaded an escape from Rekohu or Chatham Islands when he was imprisoned there with Pai Marire supporters from Poverty Bay. During August 1869, Clarke reported that he had received letters conveying information about Te Kooti's movements around the lower North Island, and that on Te Kooti's return to Tauranga or Rotorua these places would be attacked. Maihi Pohepohe of Ngaiteahi had joined Te Kooti at Taupo (AJHR 1870 A8:4). Te Kooti's venturing into the Tauranga area added another dimension to this challenge to the authority or mana of the Ngaiterangi chiefs. He first turned up at Kuranui, then went on to Okauia in January 1870 (AJHR 1870 A8:71). Te Kooti came to Patetere to seek refuge from pursuing forces and to use Tapapa as a base (Binney 1997:198).

Ngaiterangi chiefs used the occasion of Te Kooti's sojourn in the area and the rumours of a possible attack on Te Papa to lobby McLean, acting as Defence

Minister, for weapons to protect themselves. Hohepa Hikutaia said to McLean that Te Kooti is the enemy of Ngaiterangi and they reiterated their loyalty so they would be trusted with guns to protect themselves if Te Kooti attacked them (AJHR 1870 A8:32-33). Te Kooti went to the Urewera from Tapapa but he was to become an important religious influence in Tauranga for both Ngati Ranginui and Ngaiterangi hapu. Brabant, in a letter to the Native Minister in 1878, stated that few of the Natives in the district were now nominal Christians as the large majority have turned to what he called the "Te Kooti's karakia" (Brabant to Native Minister 10th June AJHR 1878 G1:10). Thomas Grace, in his annual letter to the Church Missionary Society for 1877, commented that Te Kooti's followers had been more successful than the King's prophets, with many in Tauranga turning to Te Kooti and only two places largely remaining King followers, Te Irihanga and Te Whakamarama (Grace 1928). Three whare karakia were built at Katikati (1879), Waiau (1880) and Te Tahawai (1878) (Binney 1995:280) as both Ngaiterangi and Ngati Ranginui hapu became Ringatu (Te Kooti followers). Ngaitamarawaho, Ngati Ruahine and Ngaiteahi were the Ringatu Ngati Ranginui hapu and for Ngaiterangi they were Ngaitauwhao, Ngaitamawhariua and Ngapotiki.

By the 1880s there were three factions in Tauranga - 'friendlies', Ringatu and Kingitanga. In 1872 Hori Ngatai, with his new-found wealth from his role as assessor in the Native Land Court at Maketu, built and paid for Ngati Awa carvers to carve a wharenui at Whareroa, named Rauru ki Tahi. Te Kooti was invited to open the wharenui Tamapahore at Karikari (Ngapotiki) and Ngaiteahi invited representatives of the Kingitanga to their new wharenui at Hairini; both accepted and officiated the opening. *Tomo whare* (house opening ceremonies) are important social and political events and the invitation of a *manuhiri* or special guests to officially open the *whare* was a political statement.

An indication of the success of the programme of 'cultivation of loyalty' by the Governors and settler colonial government is that in the Whanganui, Waikato, Tauranga, Rotorua, Gisbourne and East Coast regions almost all the chiefs who were given posts as assessors in the early 1860s remained loyal and provided leadership in support of the suppression of land wars and Pai Marire insurgency, and were the sources for the 'kupapa' anti-insurgency native forces.

Role of the Civil Commissioners

Native administration took many turns and twists following the changes in Governors and settler colonial governments, as parties interpreted various instructions from the Colonial Office and conducted their own policies and actions in relation to the administration of Native affairs. The Native Department assumed a new importance in the 'unsettled areas' during the land wars, where department officers were instructed to:

> present the Government's case on the need for war, to refute the teaching of Kingite or Pai marire emissaries, make gifts and offer pay, plunder and promises of support in traditional rivalries in an effort to prevent hapu from joining the rebellion, and, if possible, to attach them to the Government side. They were to inform the Maori of government victories, explain proclamations, take submissions or oaths of allegiance and send back detailed information on the fluctuating attitudes of the chiefs and the movement of war parties. The refutation of rumour was a particularly important duty (Ward 1983:171).

The Native Secretary's office became a kind of government department under Governor Gore-Brown, administered by a Minister and Secretary to the Minister. But the Governor still exercised a large measure of authority over native policy. The Ministers were anxious to retain Grey with his access to Imperial financial and military resources (Sinclair 1976:88-89, Ward 1983:131). Grey's intention on arrival in 1861 was to hand over the responsibilities of administration of native affairs to the ministers, but ultimately he still wanted them to follow what he wanted (Sinclair 1976:238).

In all districts the Resident Magistrate or Civil Commissioner toured his district, meeting the chiefs and explaining the nature of the purpose of the new institutions. Chiefs were selected to fill the positions of assessors, wardens and *karere* (messengers), who acted as policemen (Ward 1983:132).

In November 1864 the Weld Ministry replaced the government of Whitaker and Fox and introduced a policy of government administrators taking full responsibility for Maori affairs. But the withdrawal of British regiments and the settling of confiscations of Maori land remained with Governor Grey. Weld gave increased powers and responsibilities to local civil officers to control the Pai Marire. His instructions to Donald McLean as General Government Agent for Hawkes Bay were "to bypass the standing military authorities and raise and direct

the militia and *Kupapa* auxillaries (native forces) himself.... He (McLean) was authorised to offer pay, plunder, pensions and shares in confiscated land to Maori allies they could enlist on the Government side and to remove Pai Marire agents 'or actively disloyal persons' without benefit of trial" (Ward 1983:178). H.T. Clarke, who had replaced T.H. Smith as Civil Commissioner, was given powers similar to McLean's.

In 1865 Russell, as Native Minister, set about dismantling the Native Department through the reorganisation of the civil service. Russell had at one time been a Civil Commissioner of Hawkes Bay, but believed the system now served no useful purpose. Tauranga was one of three troubled out-districts of the Native Department and hence Clarke remained as Civil Commissioner there (Ward 1983:195-97). Russell resigned as Native Minister in 1866 and the office was taken over by Richmond though he was not designated a Native Minister, as Native affairs was to be conducted by the Colonial Secretary or by some other Minister (ibid.).

H.T. Clarke, in his various roles as a local government official and Civil Commissioner for the colonial settler government at Tauranga was to play a key role in the 'settlement' of the confiscation. A fluent Maori speaker with considerable experience of Maori society, Clarke was Resident Magistrate in 1860 and Civil Commissioner in 1864. He was appointed Commissioner of Tauranga Lands from July 1868 to January 1870, January 1871 to July 1876, and January 1878 to April 1878. During these times he was Civil Commissioner, Resident Magistrate, Compensation Commissioner for the Auckland Province, and in 1873, Under Secretary for the Native Affairs.

Apart from introducing law and order as Magistrate in the district, Clarke's principal task from 1860 to 1864 was to counter and contain the influence of the Kingitanga in Tauranga. He continued this role during the Pai Marire disturbances over the survey of the confiscated land. He also oversaw the distribution of reserves and undertook the 'due inquiry' required by the Order in Council and the Tauranga District Lands Act 1867, as Tauranga Lands Commissioner for the 'returned lands'. Clarke in some ways follow the procedure that was being established in the Native Land Court for the determination of 'title' to land, but he considered compensation for land lost in the 50,000 acre confiscation and the fact

that did not adhere to customary tenure in the admittance of individuals into hapu lists. The Commissioner was free to admit persons into blocks under consideration. Friendly and 'surrendered rebels' chiefs could be admitted into blocks where they may not have been a member of the hapu.

The peace building and confiscation settlement process that was conducted by Clarke and MacKay was a manipulation of the instability that had been created by the trauma of battle and its political aftermath. 'Friendly chiefs' were used to define the terms of surrender and confiscation settlement. There was opposition to the 50,000 acre confiscation area and the complication it imposed on the already tenuous land tenure system. The final decision was left to Clarke and MacKay, who disadvantaged hapu with close and traditional links with Waikato. The 'friendly' Ngaiterangi chiefs felt the Kingitanga threatened their mana, as the Kingitanga followers ignored them. Their mana increasingly emanated from the patronage of the Crown.

It can be argued that the open instructions and unlimited power of the Civil Commissioners in their handling of the 'civil dispute' caused the 'survey disputes'. They acted independently and spontaneously on the spot, interpreting and dictating government policy to suppress any opposition to Government. They instigated the attack on the Pai Marire settlements, even though the Pai Marire remained inland and were well away from the fledgling military settlement of Te Papa.

> I have the honour to report for your information what has occurred in this district within the last few days.
> Last week Mr. MacKay and Mr. Clarke had a meeting to settle the boundaries of certain lands, between the west bank of the Waiua (sic. Wairoa) and Katti Katti (sic. Katikati). Arrangements were made with the Ngaiterangi chiefs regarding the purchase of some land in the block which had not been confiscated.
> The Pirirakau natives, residing at the edge of the bush about six miles from the west bank of the Waiua river, were invited by Mr. MacKay to attend the meeting, but declined, stating their objections to the whole proceeding. Mr. MacKay informed them that he should proceed to cut the lines of the Government boundary, but would not molest them; to which they replied "that they did not approve of his proceedings, and should oppose any surveyors coming there." Upon this Mr. MacKay applied to Colonel Hamilton, commanding the district, to give him a covering party, and on Friday morning the 9th instant, a detachment of 200 men of Her Majesty's 12th Regiment

> proceeded to take up a commanding position on the west bank of the Waiaua (Harrington to Hautain November 12 1866. BPP 14:823).

A correspondent to the *New Zealand Herald* commenting on the "Tauranga and Kaimai Lands Ten Years After The Event" made the observation that:

> After Te Ranga, when the Tauranga natives made peace, they ceded their lands to the Government. They were told that 50,000 acres would be taken, but they said they knew nothing about how much that was, and asked the Government to fix certain boundaries. This was done, but after a long time, when the land was surveyed, it was found that it did not amount to 50,000 acres or anything like it, and another piece was taken. Some natives disputed our rights to do this, and we blundered into a costly war. (B.O.P. Times 1 November 1876).

This eyewitness to the events is clearly stating that the representatives of the Government were the instigators of the survey war. And no punishment was suggested for those who took part in this 'blunder'.

> At Tauranga it was promised to the natives that the river Wairoa should not be crossed; - yet it was crossed, and that lies at the bottom of the present troubles (Daily Southern Cross January23 1867).

Mana

Throughout the nineteenth century, the political and military mana for Tauranga belonged to Ngaiterangi. All documented references to Tauranga cited the principal chiefs as belonging to Ngaiterangi. In 1872, Sergeant Putman produced a report on the Tauranga District describing settlements, hapu and leading men. He identified Ngaiterangi and Ngati Ranginui hapu, the first official acknowledgement of Ngati Ranginui (National Archives CD72/1149).

The mana accrued through patronage, salaries and land was also an acknowledgement of the 'friendly' chiefs service to the government, in support of colonisation. In November 1872, Clarke met representatives of Ngaiterangi hapu to discuss the Native Representation Act of 1872:

> The principal men present were, Hori Tupaea, Te Muri, Hori Ngatai, Harawira Kotai, Enoka Te Whanake, Raniera Te Hiahia, Kuka Te Mea, Tareha Kiharoa, Hone Makarauri, Te Wherehera, Hauwhenua, Maihi Pohepohe, besides several chiefs of inferior rank (Lett. Clarke to Undersecretary to Native Depart. 3 Dec. 1872; AJHR 1873 G1B:1).

The reference to 'principal men' was from the perspective of Clark, the government official mainly responsible for patronising and elevating the status of the 'friendly' and 'surrendered rebel' chiefs.

A *hui* was called by the Ngati Maniapoto Kingitanga on January 1873 at Maungatautari, which was attended by Ngati Maniapoto, Ngati Haua, Hauraki, Te Arawa and Ngaiterangi. Hori Tupaea, Hamiora Tu, Te Ranapia, Harawira Kotai representing Clarke reacted to a suggestion which was gaining support that the authority of chiefs was being placed aside. He commented "[I]t is easier to deal with chiefs of rank, rather than a number of low born schemers. Te Ranapia said that he and his people would have nothing to do with the King party" (Clarke to McLean 30 January 1873 AJHR 1873 G1B:6). Bush, in a report to McLean, the Native Minister, said Tauranga was represented by "Hamiora Tu and Hori Tupaea, Hauhau camp and hosts were Ngati Haua and Ngati Koroki" (R.S. Bush to Native Minister 31 Jan. 1873 AJHR 1873G1B:8).

The rivalry between the Kingitanga supporters and 'friendly chiefs' was intensified by the attitudes of officials such as Clarke. A visit was made by the Native Minister McLean to Tauranga in 1875, where he held separate audiences with the Kingitanga supporters and 'friendly' Ngaiterangi chiefs. He met Ngaiterangi in the Court House at Te Papa, and another meeting for 'Pirirakau' (Kingitanga) was held at Te Puna. Clarke described the demand Pirirakau had for a separate audience as "jealousy of Ngaiterangi". As the local official, Clarke was attempting to maintain Ngaiterangi as the representative voice for Tauranga for the government to deal with. Attempts by Pirirakau to present themselves as a valid alternative representation of Tauranga Maori were negated by Clarke's comments and actions. At the meeting McLean held with Pirirakau at Te Puna, he asked Pirirakau to go to Te Papa and Penetaka stated that:

> Enoka and Hori Kingi have asked for half the land to be given back to them. Do not listen to him, Mr. McLean; he has got of plenty land; do not give him any more (AJHR 1875 G1:10).

A meeting was held between Tauranga chiefs and the Native Minister John Balance at Whareroa on 21st February 1885. Those who presented speeches were recorded by a Government official as: Pikea, Hori Ngatai, Tareha, Wiremu Parera, Te Puru Te Mea, Te Ranapia Kahukoti, Hohepa Hikutaia and Te Mete

Raukawa (AJHR 1885 G1:58- 60). Ranapia Kahukoti was of Ngaiteahi, and Te Mete Raukawa from Ngati Hangarau hapu of Ngati Ranginui. Throughout the presentations to the Prime Minister, Ngaiterangi was mentioned as officially representing the Tauranga region, even including Ngati Ranginui lands at Paengaroa and Te Taumata (Ngati Hangarau and Ngaitamarawaho).

> There are some [Ngati Ranginui] blocks of land which have already passed through the Court and have been awarded to Ngaiterangi, yet they have been brought under the action of the Thermal Springs Act. Taumata Nos. 3 and 4, and Oropi, are the names of some of the blocks (Te Mete Raukawa AJHR 1885 G1:60).

Officials including H.T. Clarke were defining who were the leaders for Tauranga. Ranapia of Ngaiteahi [Ngati Ranginui] was described as being Ngaiterangi:

> Te Ranapia (Ngaiterangi): I do not concur in what you say. The time for speaking about land has long since passed. There are two races now living in this country; let us devise some means by which they can live peaceably together. What is the good of throwing obstacles in the way of sales of land, &c. I cannot countenance you in these measures (Bush AJHR 1875 G1B:10).

Colonial politics had divided the Maori communities and leadership of the nineteenth century. With the turn of the twentieth century, and the increasing dominance of Pakeha in Tauranga, and the loss of land through confiscation and land sales, changing relationships and roles emerged between government and friendly chiefs. The 'friendly' chiefs lost their decision-making power and looked to Maori political media as the government's role in Tauranga was taken over by the local Pakeha population. Government no longer required the services of the 'friendlies'. Land was now openly available.

'Kupapa' was the term used in Waikato and other regions to distinguish the 'loyalists' in contrast with the insurgents, Pai Marire and Kingitanga. In Tauranga, the word 'Kuini' or queen was used to distinguish their political allegiance: either 'Te Iwi Kuini', or, in a case where a hapu was divided politically, they would distinguish themselves such as Materawaho Kuini or "te Iwi Kuini" (RDB 124:47814,47650).

The word 'kupapa' does not appear to have been used in Tauranga because of the political dominance of the 'friendly' and 'surrendered' chiefs, who remained politically dominant from 1864. The Kingitanga and Hauhau supporters in the

area were politically marginalized. In the Waikato, the loss of land was deeply felt and enshrined into the politics and history of the Kingitanga. As a result kupapa and their descendents have been ostracized for generations. But in Tauranga the divisions between colonial government supporters (mainly Ngaiterangi) and opponents (mainly Ngati Ranginui) largely matched the divisions between the two iwi. The pro-colonial camp remained politically dominant, which was an indication of the success of the colonial Government's policies in Tauranga, compared to its relative failure the Waikato area.

Political and social dominance by Ngaiterangi led to suppression of the traditions and political voice of Ngati Ranginui. Ngaiterangi mana, and the theme of their earlier conquest of Ngati Ranginui, were reinforced by published histories such as those by J.A. Wilson (1906) - who was for a short period a Commissioner for the Tauranga confiscated lands from 1878 to 1880 - and Gifford and Williams (1940). Emphasis on conquest minimized the important political implications of kin relationships through marriage, and disregarded Ngati Ranginui traditions. The political and social dominance of Ngaiterangi also resulted in the disregarding of Hauhau hapu history during the twentieth century. Few experiences of the Pai Marire movement have been orally transmitted between generations. This 'memory loss' was induced by 19th century government repressive policies towards the Pai Marire or Hauhau rebels.

Conquest Discourse

In the meetings held to acknowledge the subordination of Ngaiterangi to the will of the colonial settler government, the refusal of Pirirakau and Ngati Rangi to join the 'Tauranga surrendered rebels' and their obstruction to the surveys was seen to pose a threat to the colonial settler government in Tauranga. To elevate the mana of Ngaiterangi chiefs over the Ngati Ranginui Pai Marire hapu, local officials, Commissioners Clarke and McKay, emphasised the narrative traditions of conquest of Ngati Ranginui by Ngaiterangi. The conquest narrative tradition was to become a major 'native' construct of the Crown in Tauranga. The argument was that conquest meant that Ngati Ranginui was subordinate and inferior to Ngaiterangi.

This theme of conquest had to be supported by published narrative history. The first published account of Tauranga history was incorporated into J.A. Wilson's

Te Waharoa in 1906. Wilson was the son of a Tauranga missionary, and was a fluent speaker of Maori. He was a land court judge and Commissioner for Tauranga Lands, and his historical narrative probably would have originated there, from the hearings he presided over. Unfortunately there was no acknowledgement of sources, either from informants or land hearings in the book. Wilson writes that the 'Takitimu' waka called in at Te Awanui and found the district in possession of a tribe of aborigines whose name was Purukupenga and Ngamarama, who originally lived at Matamata and other places in the Upper Thames Valley and then moved to Tauranga. Wilson tells of Takitimu settling with Ngamarama. Several generations later the conquest of Ngamarama began with an incident at the Wairoa River which Wilson mistakenly records as Katikati. This narrative, I believe, follows the evidence of Te Kaponga of the Ngaitamarawaho hapu of Ngati Ranginui, presented in the Te Taumata Native Land Court case held in 1882 at Tauranga.

Ngaiterangi, however, have a Mataatua origin in the eastern Bay of Plenty, and migrated westwards along the coast towards Maketu led by Te Rangihouhiri. They lived in different localities, were forced to move on by local iwi, and eventually ended up at Maketu. Conflict occurred between Te Rangihouhiri and his *heke* (migratory party) and Waitaha and Tapuika iwi of Te Puke, Otawa and Maketu, and Ngati Ranginui of Tauranga. Te Rangihouhiri was killed and the leadership of the *heke* was taken over by his youngest half-brother Tamapahore whose mother, Tuwairua, was Ngati Pukenga. The conquest episode begins with the death of Taurawheke of Ngati Ranginui at Maketu and the subsequent revenge act by Ngati Ranginui on Tauaiti and Tuwhiwhia of Ngaiterangi, son and grandson to Te Rangihouhiri. Kotorerua, another grandson of Te Rangihouhiri, then lead a 'retaliatory' expedition against the pa at Mount Maunganui bearing *kokowai* (red ochre) as gifts. Wilson describes it:

> Thus with the head rather than the arm, did Kotorerua break the power of Ngatiranginui and Waitaha, and it was done by a *coup de main* in a few short hours. The conquest of Tauranga speedily followed. Katikati and the islands on the north side of the harbour were first subdued. This was Kinonui's own domain, and the poor people in it were too panic-stricken to offer any effectual resistance. Tamapahore took the Waitaha country on the east, including the possessions of the Kaponga, hapu of Ngatiranginui, at Waimapu and Waipapa, which were still intact when Kotorerua returned to Tauranga after a temporary absence. He was then surprised and

> displeased to find that terms of peace had been granted to Ngatiranginui at Otumoetai pa, that the same had been ratified by a marriage. Kotorerua refused absolutely to be a party to the arrangement. He immediately attacked Otumoetai and destroyed the people in the pa. This, with the fall of some minor pas on the south side of the harbour, completed the subjugation of the Tauranga country by Ngaeterangi (Wilson 1906:206-7).

This incident becomes what I call the conquest orthodoxy. The focus was on conquest, not the marriage relationships which were formed that gave Ngaiterangi access to lands and allowed Ngati Ranginui to remain on their lands. The civil commissioners deduced simplistically that the occupation of Tauranga by Ngaiterangi resulted from the defeat of Ngati Ranginui at certain pa.

Wilson's publication was followed by that of W.H. Gifford and H.B. Williams, *The Centennial History of Tauranga,* in 1940. Gifford and Williams used Wilson's *Sketches of Ancient Maori Life* for their history and had a chapter headed 'To the Conquest by Ngaiterangi'. Don Stafford wrote in detail of the *heke* of Te Rangihouhiri to Maketu and Tauranga in his book T*e Arawa: The History of the Arawa People* published in 1967. According to Gifford and Williams, the killing of Taurawheke of Ngati Ranginui by Ngaiterangi at Maketu led to the subsequent killings of Tuwhiwhia and his son Tauaiti by Ngati Ranginui. A retaliatory expedition against the pa at Maunganui occupied by Ngati Ranginui and Waitaha was successfully undertaken by Kotorerua. The conquest of the rest of the district of Tauranga speedily followed. Peace was made with the Otumoetai pa in Kotorerua's absence. But when he returned, he did not accept the terms and attacked the pa. Some minor pa on the south side of the harbour also were overcome which complete the subjugation of the Tauranga region by Ngaiterangi (1940:14-17) (fig.10).

Other more recent accounts presented in Tauranga follow this narrative, in which the fall of Maunganui through the stratagem of Kotorerua was the decisive point at which Ngaiterangi entered Tauranga and stayed (e.g. Te Kani 1963; Stokes 1980). Turi Te Kani of Ngaitukairangi, writing for the Tauranga Historical Society in the early 1960s, refers to Kotorerua and his taua occupying one site on Maunganui, with Tamapahore and his *taua* on the lower slopes. Tamapahore was forced to move by stones being rolled on them by Kotorerua and his party. The 'toa of Te Rangihouhiri' moved to Matakana and Bowentown leaving

Ngaitukairangi at Maunganui, while the main migratory party under Tamapahore moved to Whaaro and Papamoa (Turi Te Kani 1963:3). This version varies from that presented by Wilson. Te Kani says that it was Ngati Pukenga and Te Rangihouhiri a Kahukino (grandson of Tamapahore) who attacked Otumoetai, and Ngati Pukenga retook the pa a second time. But both Wilson and Stafford describe Kotorerua as being annoyed that the pa was taken and a peace treaty made in his absence, upon which he attacked the place to seek a personal satisfaction. Stafford says that Kotorerua went back to Maketu and Tamapahore went to Maungatapu and built a pa there. Te Rangihouhiri (brother to Tamapahore) had occupied Maketu, and that Ngaiterangi were engaged in many battles there with Ngati Ranginui, Waitaha, Tapuika, also forces from Hauraki, Rotorua and Waikato, allies of Ngati Ranginui and Waitaha. Important sources for Stafford's book, *Te Arawa*, were the Maketu Land Court Minute Books, as well as informants.

Turi Te Kani is influenced by narratives emanating from Ngapotiki, Ngati He who descend from Tamapahore and Ngati Pukenga which acknowledge the role of Kotorerua in initiating the strategy to take Kinonui in his pa at Mauao or Maunganui, but emphasise the role of Ngai Tamapahore and Ngati Pukenga in the attacks on Ngati Ranginui and Waitaha pa in Tauranga. Ngati Pukenga narratives emphasise the role of Te Rangihouhiri a Kahukino, the grandson of Tamapahore and the Ngati Pukenga allies.

Ngati Pukenga traditional narratives talk of the attacks against Papamoa pa held by Waitaha with support from Te Whanau a Tamapahore. But a key to understanding traditional power dynamics is the relationships that occur with intermarriage between Ngati Pukenga and Waitaha after battles as a form of peace treaty, giving access to pa and locations where Waitaha resistance could not be overcome by battle alone. These narratives speak of the attack against Waitaha at the Papamoa pa of Otawa supported by the grandson of Tamapahore, Te Rangihouhiri a Kahukino; likewise against the pa of Oruamatua and Maungatapu. Ngati Pukenga and Te Rangihouhiri a Kahukino were living at Papamoa prior to the fall of Kino's pa to Kotorerua, and Tamapahore and Ngaiterangi went back to Maketu after the success of Kotorerua. The idea to move to Papamoa from Maketu was sanctioned by Tamapahore because it was there that his older brother Tamapinaki and his son Tamapiri, were killed by Hikapa (Maungatapu) and

Waitaha at Karamuramu on Otawa. Te Kohokino of Ngati Pukenga took a force to Papamoa and built the pa at Whaaro (Hetara circa 1960) and Te Rangihouhiri a Kahukino went to Pukeouru (Kahotea circa 1880). After the fall of Kino's pa at Maunganui, Ngati Pukenga attacked various pa around Tauranga and at Otumoetai. In the aftermath Takau of Otumoetai gave his daughter, Hinewa, to Te Rangihouhiri a Kahukino. Huikai of Waitaha, who was first married to Te Rangihouhiri a Kahukino, then went with Te Ikaiti of Ngati Pukenga to Opotiki. They had a child and Te Ikaiti decided to bring the child Tuarae back to Waitaha, and with his brother-in-law Te Matau they lived at Oruamatua pa with Waitaha at Ohuki (now known as Matapihi). Ngati Pukenga, under the leadership of Te Kohokino relocated to Ohuki (Matapihi) from Whaaro and Te Rangihouhiri a Kahukino moved to Mangatawa (fig.10).

Through intermarriages between Waitaha and Ngati Pukenga, the issue of Tamapahore and his brothers, Tamapinaki and Tamaumuroa, the iwi of the Rangataua area became virtually one people, but this closeness was disrupted when Nga Pukenga was forced out of Tauranga by Ngaiterangi. Descendents of Tamaumuroa, Tamapinaki and Tamapahore separated to form Ngapotiki and Ngati He. These hapu emphasised Tamapahore as their ancestor of origin, but Ngati He also acknowledge their Waitaha ancestors in their whakapapa. A large part of the eastern portion of Tauranga was consequently settled by Te Whanau a Tamapahore, from Matapihi, Maungatapu and Otawa.

Support for the Ngati Pukenga version of events in Tauranga comes from a Ngaiterangi source, Tawaha of Ngaitamawhariua, in his evidence at a hearing related to the Matakana Block on Matakana Island in the 1883. He said that Ngati Ha (Ngati Pukenga) originally came from Ohiwa and attacked Ngati Ranginui pa on Matakana. He suggests that this was the first martial foray by Ngaiterangi or their allies into Tauranga (Stokes 1990).

> Ka whati a Ngatiranginui, ka puta a Ngatiha ki waho, ka hoke(i) ki Ohiwa. Ka mahara Ngaiterangi kua puare te pakanga i a Ngatiha ki Tauranga

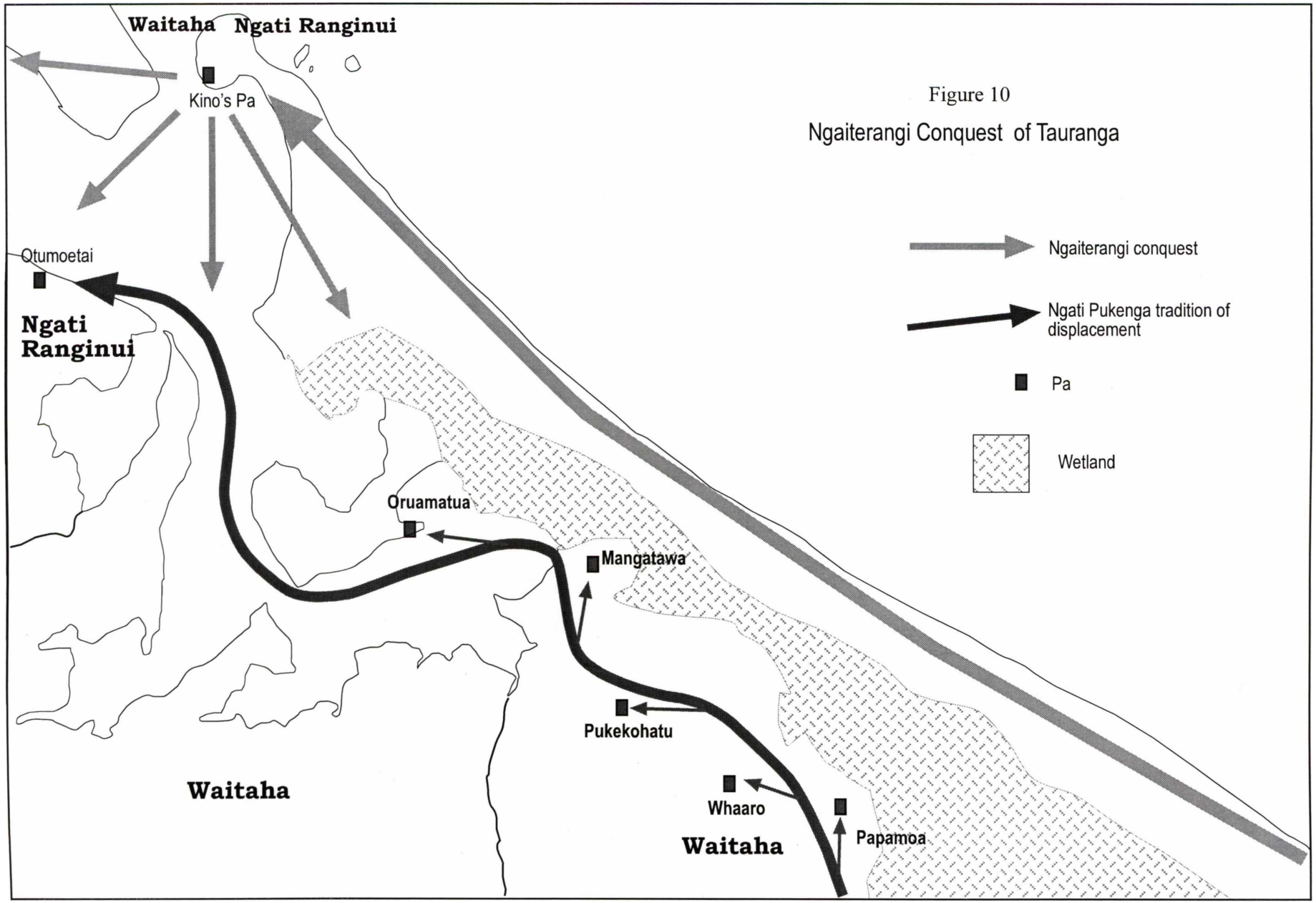


Figure 10

Ngaiterangi Conquest of Tauranga

> Ngati Ranginui is broken, Ngati Ha comes out and goes back to Ohiwa, Ngaiterangi knows that Ngati Ha has opened the war at Tauranga (Stokes 1992: Ngaitamawhariua MS).

Ngati Ha are also Ngati Pukenga. Tawaha's version includes Te Rangihouhiri a Kahukino as leading a group in the attack on Kino's pa on Maunganui. He then emphasises the role of his ancestor Tamawhariua in the subjugation of the Otumoetai pa, whereas Wilson's version emphasises Kotorerua, and Te Kani's emphasises Te Rangihouhiri a Kahukino.

Tawaha's tradition supports the Ngati Pukenga version which says that Ngaiterangi went back to Maketu after the fall of Kinonui's pa at Maunganui, and that they did not settle in Tauranga until a number of Ngati Ranginui pa had fallen. This also contrasts with the version promoted by Wilson, which suggests Ngaiterangi occupied Tauranga immediately after the fall of Kino's pa at Maunganui. Henare Te Kaponga of Ngaitamarawho of Ngati Ranginui also is close to Tawaha's tradition and he emphasises the relationships between Ngaiterangi and Ngati Ranginui through intermarriage.

The long-submerged 'subaltern' narrative tradition does not point out any displacement of Ngati Ranginui by conquest, just their defeat in battle and the resulting deaths of ancestors. The offer of Hinewa as wife to Te Rangihouhiri a Kahukino by her father Takau was a common political strategy for peace, as a way of avoiding their physical displacement. In the 19th century Ngaiterangi hapu were living at Otumoetai and Te Papa through the mana of the Ngati Ranginui ancestor, Hinewa. There was some dislodgment at Katikati, Matakana Island and around Maunganui, but at Maungatapu, Hikapa one of the Waitaha chiefs at Maungatapu was not able to be displaced. However, Ngati He, the hapu of that area, today have a whakapapa that descends from both Tamapahore and Kumaramaoa the Waitaha ancestor.

I first came across one of these manuscripts, the Hetara manuscript, in 1982 while a student at Auckland University researching history for my MA thesis. During the 1960s, the local Historical Society had taken an interest in local Maori history which in turn caught the attention of the then young Maori male leaders, Turi Te Kani, of Ngaitukairangi, Wiremu Ohia, of Ngati Pukenga and Ngapotiki, Charlie Kuka, of Te Pirirakau, and others. A programme was undertaken to identify pa,

explain the background to their names and maybe some history. A.T. Clark, a local school teacher, had copied whakapapa and Maori text from a whakapapa book of a noted elder in the 1970s, and a copy had been microfilmed and deposited at the Mormon centre in Utah. Bruce Biggs, Professor of Maori Studies at Auckland University had acquired a copy for the Auckland University Library. The Hetara narrative focus was on the ancestor Tamapahore, the eponymous ancestor of Ngapotiki and Ngati He, and the narrative was titled Te Heke a Te Rangihouhiri (the migration of Te Rangihouhiri). Te Rangihouhiri the eponymous ancestor of Ngaiterangi was the older half bother of Tamapahore. In 1986 I asked Turi Te Kani, who was then a noted expert on Tauranga history, what he thought of the Hetara narrative and his reply was that it was his version of the Heke o Te Rangihouhiri. I knew that Hetara's narrative differed from published accounts, one of which was Turi's. It was not until I wrote a report for the Waitangi Tribunal that I saw that there are many versions and each differed considerably in detail, such as which ancestors were key in significant events.

LAND ALLOCATION

This points to the fundamental role played by law in the capture of indigenous peoples and their territories.... Law was particularly important in the case of settler colonies established by the British Crown in the 19th century such as Canada, Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand. These were colonies, which from the outset were to be governed in accordance with British common law. As a result, the basis of their property law lay in the feudal doctrine of tenure whereby all title to land is ultimately derived from the Crown. The Crown is the ultimate authority with regard to ownership of land in the territory and the centre of appropriation and alienation of land title.

Patton 2000:12.

Figure v. Robley, Horatio Gordon: Surrender of the Ngaiterangi at Te Papa - coming in with arms. 25th July, 1864.ATL A-033-010

The acquisition and expropriation of land traditionally belonging to Maori was an objective of the settler colonists of Aotearoa/New Zealand and the cause of Maori-settler conflict in the 1860s. The Treaty of Waitangi signed in 1840 provided 'nominal sovereignty' to the British Crown, and the problem facing Governor Hobson and his successors was how they might consolidate that sovereignty and extend control into native districts until the whole of the country

was under the control of the Crown. Land acquisition was built into the Crown's right of pre-emption of purchase of land as stated in the Treaty; expropriation came later with the establishment of political domination (Walker 1990:98). The issuing to Hobson of the Royal Charter for the colony in November 1840 gave the Governor power to survey the whole of Aotearoa and divide it up into districts, counties, towns, townships and parishes. Reserves were to be set aside for roads, town sites, churches and schools. The charter declared all waste and uncleared land to be Crown land, which was to be sold at a uniform price per acre to European settlers (Walker 1990:98-99).

The Crown's exclusive right of pre-emption is embedded in the English text of Article Two of the Treaty. This gave the Crown the exclusive right to be the purchaser of land (Williams 1999:104). The Colonial Secretary Normanby's instructions to Hobson emphasised that no land should be ceded except to the Crown and Hobson had to announce by proclamation to all the Queen's subjects in New Zealand that any title to land not derived from or confirmed by a grant from the Crown would not be acknowledged. The radical title of the Crown to all land and the English law doctrines of tenure were thus assumed as axiomatic by Lord Normandy in the Land Claims Ordinance of 1841. (Williams 1999:106). The colonising process can be described as follows:

> The conversion of portions of the earth inhabited by so-called primitive peoples into an appropriable and exploitable resource, therefore requires the establishment of a juridical centre of appropriation. The centre establishes a monopoly over what has now become land and assigns to itself the right to allocate ownership of portions of unclaimed land. This centre is legal sovereign and the monopoly is the assertion of sovereignty over the territories in question (Patton 2000:123-24).

Speculators in land and Pakeha settlers such as the missionaries had acquired large areas of land before the Treaty of Waitangi. After the assumption of sovereignty by the Crown with the signing of the Treaty, the British Government sent a lawyer, William Spain, to investigate European land claims and he mainly concentrated on the claims of the New Zealand Company. In the North Island the Governors scrutinised the pre-Waitangi land purchases (Sinclair 1976:49-50). The Christian Missionary Society purchase of Te Papa peninsula in Tauranga in 1839 by Rev. A.N. Brown was one such purchase, and the only land in Tauranga which was given a Crown grant prior to the land confiscation in 1864. Land purchases

under the Crown's pre-emption policy was first set up by Governor Hobson in 1841 under the Protectorate Department. The Chief Protector of Aborigines was protector of the Native Race and Commissioner for "the purchase of such waste Lands as the Natives may alienate without prejudice to their own interests with manifest advantage to the country at large" (Hobson to George Clarke, 9 April 1841 quoted in Sinclair 1976:28-29). Thus the first office for native administration was set up with conflicting roles. This was to remain the case for the administration of native affairs over the next forty years. Government officials or officers had several roles each over their terms of engagement, such as Resident Magistrate, land purchase officer, Civil Commissioner, Native Land Court judge, and military roles with the colonial militia. Their foremost role was serving the interests of the settler colonists. The Protectorate was replaced by Grey with the appointment of a Native Secretary and he developed a system for Native administration with his agents of native government - land purchase officers and Resident Magistrates. A Native Land Purchase Department was created in 1853 headed by Donald McLean as Chief Land Purchase Commissioner, served by a small group of officials located in different parts of the country.

McLean was Governor Grey's most important land negotiator and under Grey it was necessary to gain Grey's permission for all negotiations for land. But when Grey left New Zealand in 1853, McLean, with the support of the incumbent Governor Gore Browne, acted independently and unencumbered to enact his principal role of providing lands for Pakeha colonist settlement. According to Sinclair, his targeting of individual Maori land sellers over the collective landowners lead to Maori disturbances regarding land purchases and the rise of the anti-land selling sentiment (1976:60). When the settler colonists gained responsible government in the 1850s, they also gained control over Maori policy and exerted pressure for land, and McLean was compliant with their desires. By the late 1850s there was a policy shift towards the individualisation of Maori land tenure and direct purchase. This was followed by the introduction of the 1862 Native Land Act and a series of Acts for the confiscation of Maori land (New Zealand Settlements Act 1863), and an Act to individualise land tenure (Native Land Act 1873) which gave rise to the rapid alienation of Maori land. This had been preceded by the Native Territorial Rights Bill of 1858, which expressed a

policy popular with settler colonists to access more Maori land, individualise Maori land tenure and allow direct purchase, but the Bill did not receive the royal assent or support of the Colonial Office at that time.

In 1846 Grey disbanded the Protectorate Department, which had provided a framework for the organisation of native government, and replaced it with a system suited to his own ideas. On his departure he left neither a clear policy nor an effective administration (Sinclair 1976:85). His legacy, however, was a system centred on Native Officers or Resident Magistrates, which he was to continue on his return in 1863. Native officers such as Donald McLean who had studied and learnt under Grey, accepting his system of patronage of chiefs and the view that British law had a civilising mission for Maori. Their official task was to acquire land for settlers and assimilate Maori into the colonist's ranks and "extinguish their aboriginal right in the soil" (Ward 1983:108). Another Native officer, Henry Tracey Clarke, had roles as Civil Commissioner and Commissioner for Tauranga Lands. In these roles Clarke oversaw the administration of land confiscation, Pai Marire survey disputes, and the allocation and return of confiscated land in Tauranga.

New Zealand in the 1860s was dominated by the political ambitions of the settler colonists for self government, unrestricted access to Maori land, extensive colonisation, and the development of the land. Aware of this pressure from the settler colonists for Maori land to be made accessible, and the monopoly on land purchase given to the Crown through the pre-emption, the Colonial Office agreed to some legal changes. In 1861 the Duke of Newcastle as colonial secretary instructed Grey on his incoming second term as Governor. He gave the assent of the imperial authorities to the individualisation of Native Title, and the direct purchase of native lands under proper safeguards, leading to passing of the Native Lands Act 1862 (Boast 1999). The 1862 and 1865 Native Acts abolished Crown pre-emption so as to allow for greater access to Maori land.

Native policy and administration therefore went through different stages according to the development phase of the settler colony. Firstly it was overseen by the Colonial Office in its Imperial role, when responsibilities to Maori were administered through the Governor of the Crown Colony. Later, when the settler

colonists were handed self-government their actions created a Maori reaction to their land policies.

Native Land Acts

The introduction of the Native Lands Act in 1862 was "to provide for the ascertainment of the Ownership of Native Lands and for the granting of Certificates of Title thereto and for regulating the disposal of Native Lands and for other purposes". The Act introduced courts to ascertain Native title and ownership, issued Certificates, the registration of Certificates, and the disposal or sale of land. The preamble to the 1862 Act asserted the necessity of assimilating the ownership of land as nearly as possible to English law (Williams 1999:133) and the formation of the Court:

> Whereas by the Treaty of Waitangi entered into by and between Her Majesty and the Chiefs of New Zealand it was among other things declared that Her Majesty confirmed and guaranteed to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and the respective families and individuals thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates which they collectively or individually held so long as it should be their desire to retain the same. And it was further declared that the Chiefs yielded to her Majesty the exclusive right of pre-emption over such lands as the proprietors thereof might be disposed to alienate.
> And whereas it would greatly promote the peaceful settlement of the Colony and the advancement and civilization of the Natives if their rights to land were ascertained defined and declared and if ownership of such lands were so ascertained defined and declared were assimilated as nearly as possible to the ownership of land according to British law.
> AND WHEREAS with a view to the foregoing objects Her Majesty may be pleased to waive in favour of the Natives so much of the said Treaty of Waitangi as reserves to Her Majesty the right of preemption of their lands and to establish Courts and to make other provision for ascertaining and defining the rights of the Natives to their lands (Native Land Act 1862).

The preamble to the Native Lands Act 1865 expressed the explicit policy of legislators and the Crown relating to the individualization of land title and ownership systems.

> Whereas it is expedient to amend and consolidate the laws relating to lands in the Colony which are still subject to Maori propriety customs and to provide for the ascertainment of the persons who according to such customs are the owners thereof and to encourage the extinction of such propriety customs and to provide for the conversion of such modes of ownership into titles derived from the Crown to provide for

the regulation of descent of such lands when the title thereto is converted as aforesaid.

According to Williams the key elements of the policy were:

i) to provide for the ascertainment of 'owners' of customary Maori land; with a view to
ii) the extinction of Maori custom, which would be replaced by titles to land derived from the Crown; and, to ensure the ongoing impact of the tenure reform,
iii) to regulate succession to those lands which had been converted to Crown derived titles but not sold out of Maori hands (Williams 1999:142).

The settler colonist objective for the Native Land Acts was the change of tenure from collective customary title to individual, but usually undivided, shares in land. Owners were awarded a relative interest in a block of land as tenants in common. No land was returned to hapu as collective entities; in all cases, title was granted to named individuals. In those cases where Land Court judges did award title to hapu, or, in the case of lands surrounding Maketu, iwi, they had to produce a list which would give each person on the list relative interests in the land (Waitangi Tribunal 2004:264). This was the system of individualisation which allowed individuals to sell land, either where a whole block is sold if agreed to by all, or in most cases, a block is partitioned to separate groups of landowners between sellers and non-sellers. Under the Act, there was a formal procedure where appeals could be made against decisions of the court. Appeals ranged from inclusion on ownership lists, or memorial of ownership lists, to challenges to the decision of Court.

Whereas the previous pre-emption period of land transactions between the Crown and Maori landowners meant that the chiefs were essential and key to land transactions, under the Native Land Acts the Court did not recognise the role of chiefs over land. The government policy prior to the Land Acts was founded on the principle of "recognising the chiefs of Maori tribes and working through them" (Smith 1948:112). Under the Native Lands Act, any Maori claiming to be an owner of a block could apply to the Native Land Court to initiate proceedings for customary land to be passed through the Court to determine ownership according to native custom, a process which by-passed the roles of chiefs and decision-making by tribal consensus. This process also was effective in overcoming Maori resistance to bringing land forward for alienation purposes.

Elders now played a key role in the land court. Hugh Kawharu, a Maori anthropologist who published a book *Native Land Tenure*, saw the Native Land Court as making the role of elders paramount in 'title' investigation. In the earlier land purchase period he saw the government dealing with 'tribal elders' or their spokesperson, the paramount chief, the government viewing them as the lawful proprietors and the only possessors of sufficient authority to alienate (Kawharu 1977: 73-74). Kawharu also saw tribal elders as the traditional authority who were usually specified as the representative owners in the first Crown Grant certificates when the early Acts limited the numbers of owners to ten (Kawharu 1977:76). A key role of elders in the courts however, was for the transmission of tribal lore or knowledge where the smallest detail was carefully remembered and transmitted through successive generations. But the Native Land Court changed the role of elders to litigants. Claims to large and valuable lands were decided solely on the litigant's ability to argue the facts of history in their own favour (Kawharu 1977:78). It is this process, driven by the Colonial will to knowledge, which saw the production of 'traditional' narratives, whakapapa, tribal boundaries, culture and custom. Knowledge that has been specifically generated under the aegis of 'custom' for the coloniser's purpose.

Reserves in confiscated lands

James Mackay and H.T. Clarke, Civil Commissioners at Tauranga, were the officials responsible for negotiations for the Katikati Te Puna Block, allocating reserves in the town of Tauranga, and the confiscated block from 1865 to 1867, and the Government continued their role passed this period. The Tauranga lands were confiscated by Order–in-Council in 1865 under the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863. The Tauranga District Lands Act of 1867 and an amendment in 1868 were passed to validate all Clarke's and MacKay's proceedings up to that time, the agreements and awards and accurately describe the boundary. Other Acts also had application in Tauranga such as the Confiscated Lands Act 1867 which gave the Governor power to award land to 'friendlies' and 'surrendered rebels' and authorised under The Special Powers and Contracts Acts of 1879 and 1883 for the fulfilment of grants to certain Tauranga Maori (Stokes 1997:99) (fig.11).

The procedure in the Tauranga Districts Land Act 1867 did not follow what was prescribed in the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 and did not give any

The Tauranga Raupatu

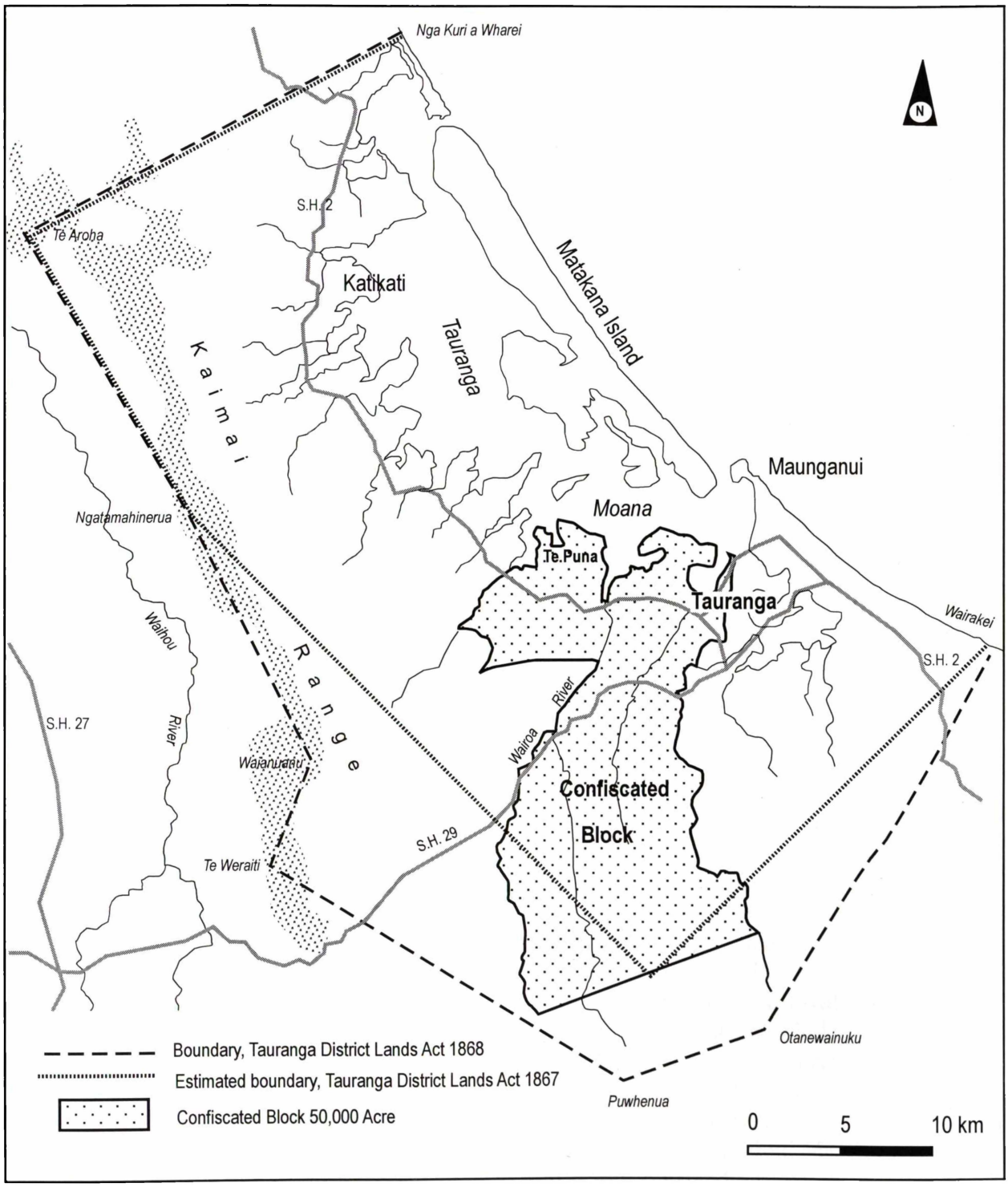


Figure 11

guidelines for operation (Waitangi Tribunal 2004:266). The Commissioner recommended the issuing of a Crown grant to certain people, traditional owners, and/or others with no reference to relative interests or shares. If the grant was issued within the terms of the Native Grantees Act 1873, the shares were deemed not to be equal unless expressed in the grant.

The Commissioner's principle function was to oversee the return of land and to allocate land to hapu, individuals or groups acting as "owners". The Civil administrators for Tauranga (H.T. Clarke) and Hauraki (J. MacKay) played a key role in the early allocation of confiscated and reserve lands. In their previous roles as Civil Commissioners they had established relationships with Tauranga hapu leaders by cultivating 'friendly chiefs' and later the 'surrendered rebels'. These relationships influenced the distribution of land and elevated the status of certain chiefs. Some Tauranga chiefs had supported the introduction of Colonial Administration into Tauranga, competing with the Kingitanga which the majority of Tauranga hapu had supported politically.

Commissioners H.T. Clarke and MacKay, were influenced by their official relationships and their patronage of loyal and surrendered chiefs or leaders and they allocated land in the Katikati Te Puna Purchase and the 50,000 acre Confiscated Block (reserves and individual grants) according to their personal knowledge of the people, hapu and leaders. MacKay, in a letter of 31st July 1867, to the Under-Secretary of the Native Department, identifies the procedure the Civil Commissioners followed:

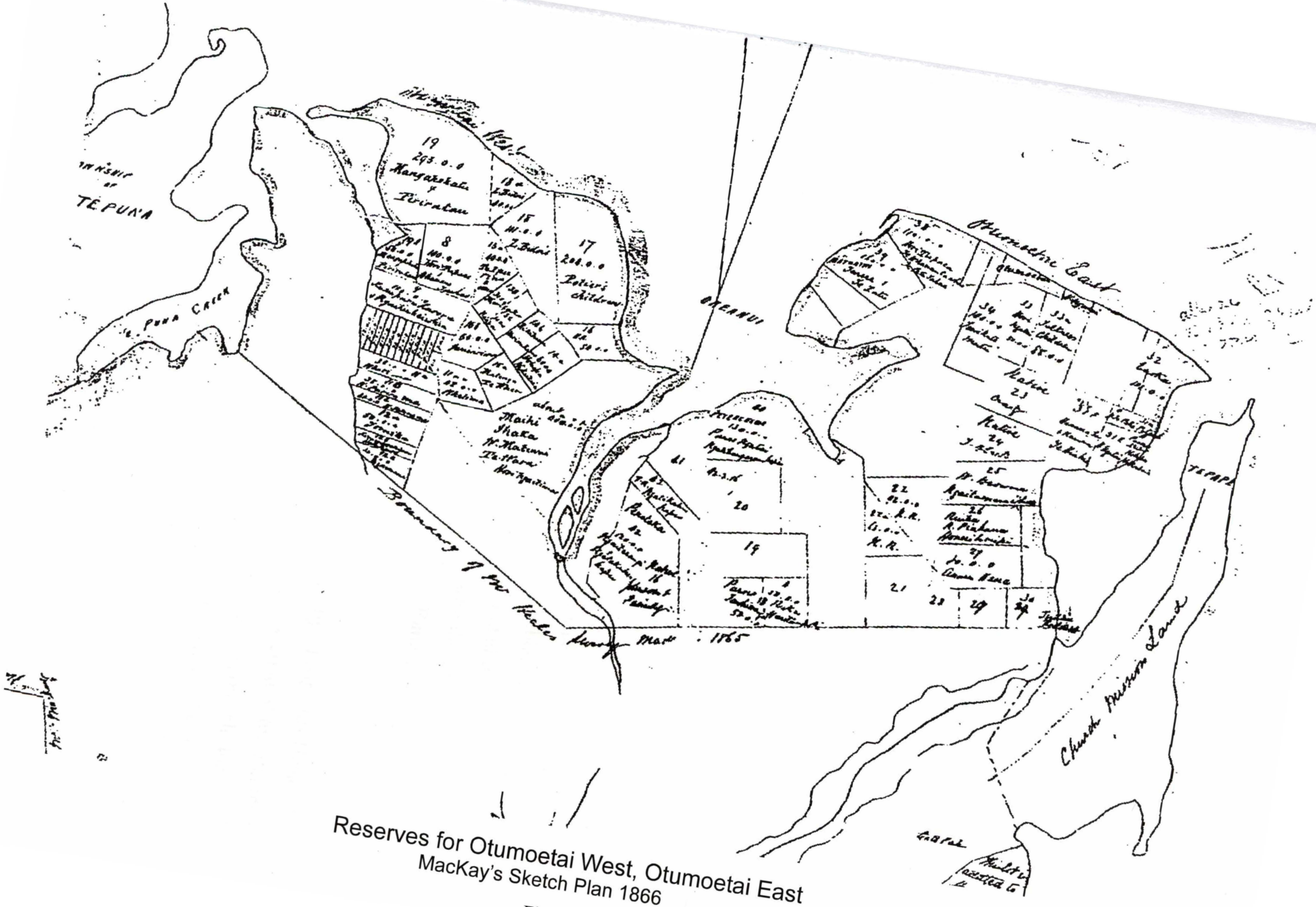
> Out of the lands reserved or returned to loyal Natives within the military settlements block of 50,000 acres, I would observe that these were at first to be more in the light of gifts from the Crown to Natives on account of having lost land than as compensation....The intention of the Governor, in the first instance, was evidently that the question of compensation to loyal Natives should be adjusted out of the three-fourths of the whole district to be returned to the tribe, and not out of the one-fourth retained by him... The fact of the Natives having sold to the Crown the Katikati and Te Puna Blocks to a certain extent altered the position of the case. However, in arranging this question Mr. Clarke and myself endeavoured to adjust any outstanding claims by making reserves for some of the loyal persons who had but little before, on account of their lands being within the military settlement block of 50,000 acres, although they had but very small right to land otherwise within the Katikati and Puna Blocks. We

> also proposed to the ex-rebel party who owned the greater part of the purchased blocks that they should adjust the matter by giving a large share of the consideration-money to the loyal claimants. Neither party, however cared much for this proposition (MacKay to Under Secretary Native Department 31 July 1867 RDB Vol.124 p47557-47558).

The process of allocation of reserves and 'returned lands' in the Tauranga confiscation took place over a long period from 1865 to 1886. It took some time for the issuing of some grants in the confiscated block. For example, Herbert Brabant, as Commissioner for Tauranga Lands, issued the grant for the reserve for Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi in 1886, whereas MacKay and Clarke had made recommendations for these reserves in 1866. There were differences in the way reserves and 'returned lands' were allocated in the 1860s and 1880s. After the confiscation in 1865 and until 1868, a primary concern was whether the grantee was 'friendly' or 'loyal'. Reserves were awarded to individual chiefs for services rendered. Compensation for land confiscated from 'loyal natives' and grants to 'surrendered rebels' were also significant. The 'unsurrendered rebels' and 'Hauhau' who had retreated inland were not eligible for reserves. But by the 1880s the identification of 'rebels' was not important as the colonial 'apprehension' surrounding the Kingitanga Hauhau had dissipated and the Pai Marire no longer posed a threat to the Pakeha settlement objectives (Stokes 1997:13).

By the 1870s and 1880s the Commissioners were dealing with the 'returned lands' and the identification or 'rebel' status according to Stokes had become unimportant. What became important however was the status of land confiscated under the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 which extinguished 'customary title'. When Commissioner Herbert Brabant in the 1870s and 1880s conducted his hearings for the 'returned lands' he did not have the same attitude or experience of the Kingitanga or Pai Marire as H.T. Clarke had when he was Civil Commissioner and responsible for allocation of reserves. Consequently we find Pai Marire adherents admitted into hapu lists in the 1880s.

The 50,000 acre confiscation reserves included the town and suburbs of Tauranga, the township of Greerton, and land outside the town and suburbs of Tauranga. The township of Greerton was designated as the parishes of Te Papa and Te Puna.



Reserves for Otumoetai West, Otumoetai East
MacKay's Sketch Plan 1866

Figure 12

Most of the town lots and individual rural awards went to 'loyalist' or surrendered Ngaiterangi. 'Loyalist' Ngaiterangi chiefs were doubly rewarded, first for their support for the Crown in the battles at Pukehinahina and Te Ranga, and in the peace negotiations, and secondly for their support during the survey disputes campaign, through grants that came largely at the expense of Ngati Ranginui hapu. Grants were made from Te Puna, the territory of Te Pirirakau. A number of awards were made to hapu, mainly of Ngaiterangi, such as Te Whanau a Tauwhao and Patutahora, but two Ngati Ranginui hapu - Ngati Hangarau and Ngaitamarawaho - were awarded a reserve each. The award of land to Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi was made by Brabant later in 1886 under the Volunteers and Other Lands Act 1877 (Waitangi Tribunal 2004:273-4). The size of land returned in the 50,000 acre confiscation for Ngati Ranginui hapu was helped by the 'loyalists' in their ranks - eleven hundred and sixty four acres was returned to Te Pirirakau, to individual Pirirakau chiefs, Maungapohatu and Te Wanakore who had remained 'loyal' (204 acres) and to the half-caste descendents of three French settlers whose wives were Pirirakau (860 acres). A reserve was also awarded to the hapu of Ngaitamarawaho (157 acres) along with awards of land to individuals of that hapu (165 acres) (fig.13).

The promise made to the 'surrendered' rebels and 'friendly chiefs' by Grey that "settlements be at once assigned to you, as far as possible, in such localities as you may select" had been met. As a result of land allocated to them, the hapu of Ngati Ranginui established marae at Huria (Ngaitamarawaho), Peterehema (Ngati Hangarau), Te Pura Wairoa (Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi) and Potuterangi (Pirirakau) by the 1880s.

The process of allocating reserves began once the survey by Theophilus Heale of the area between Te Puna and Otumoetai - the harbour edge section of the 50,000 acre confiscation - had been completed in 1865. Mackay was responsible for the awards in 1866, receiving requests for the reserves in person, by written submission from 'loyalist' chiefs, and personal recommendation as civil Commissioner. H.T. Clarke then produced '*A List of Awards Within the 50,000 Confiscated Block*' based on Mackay's recommendations, which became the official list from which grants were awarded. Examples of this are in an undated memo are as follows:

Huhana Te Arawaera - wife of John Calloway – Claims a piece of land on the Southbank of Te Wairoa at a place called Mangapukatea – on behalf of herself and five children – (one son and four daughters). The land is said to have been made over to the son Robert Calloway by Kopa te Wheko and Te Tera both of te Ngare (te Tera was killed in rebellion at the Gate Pa) – It appears that Huhana Calloway is a non-resident – has never resided on the land.

Recommended
That Huhana and family be allowed thirty acres (30) at Mangapukatea. 30 acres of land have been surveyed above Hori Ngatai's block at Pukekonui Wairoa
(Mackay's Awards 1866 RDB Vol.124:47849).

Huhana was claiming as Ngati Tane and had requested an area further up the Wairoa River which was outside the 50,000 acre confiscated block. The request was granted by giving her a block that had been surveyed. Another request was from Riripeti Tanukotahi, who had made an application in the form of a document dated May 6 1866, claim Papa o wharia (RDB 124 47854). A block which encompassed Potiriwhi was awarded to her children, as 'half-caste' children with the family name of Johnson. An undated note of Mackay's refers to "Penetaka etc. at Papa O wharia 120 acres, water frontage to be a reserve" (RDB 124:47847) which was formalised in the following way:

No.of allotment	*To whom granted*	*Acreages*
42	*Pene taka Ngatirangi & Ngatikahu hapus*	*120*
42c	*Temporary Reserve to be granted to Ngatikahu subject to good behaviour*	*53*

Penetaka was a 'surrendered rebel' from Ngaiterangi, whose two wives were from Ngati Rangi. It appears that MacKay allocated the Wairoa reserves to Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi through Penetaka. Stokes too, refers to Whitaker's Special File of Tauranga papers in 1866, in which he referred to 'Ngatirangi' and Penetaka as chief and "At the same place Ngatitama, the chief Te Wharepapa" (Stokes 1997:254), Te Wharepapa being a Ngati Kahu who had surrendered. The neighbouring Ngati Hangarau (Rewi Maihi, Pauri Ngati), Pirirakau (Maungapohatu) and Ngaitamarawaho hapu awards all involved allocations to their chiefs but nothing is listed as being awarded to chiefs of Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi undoubtedly because they had not surrendered. The Wairoa lands

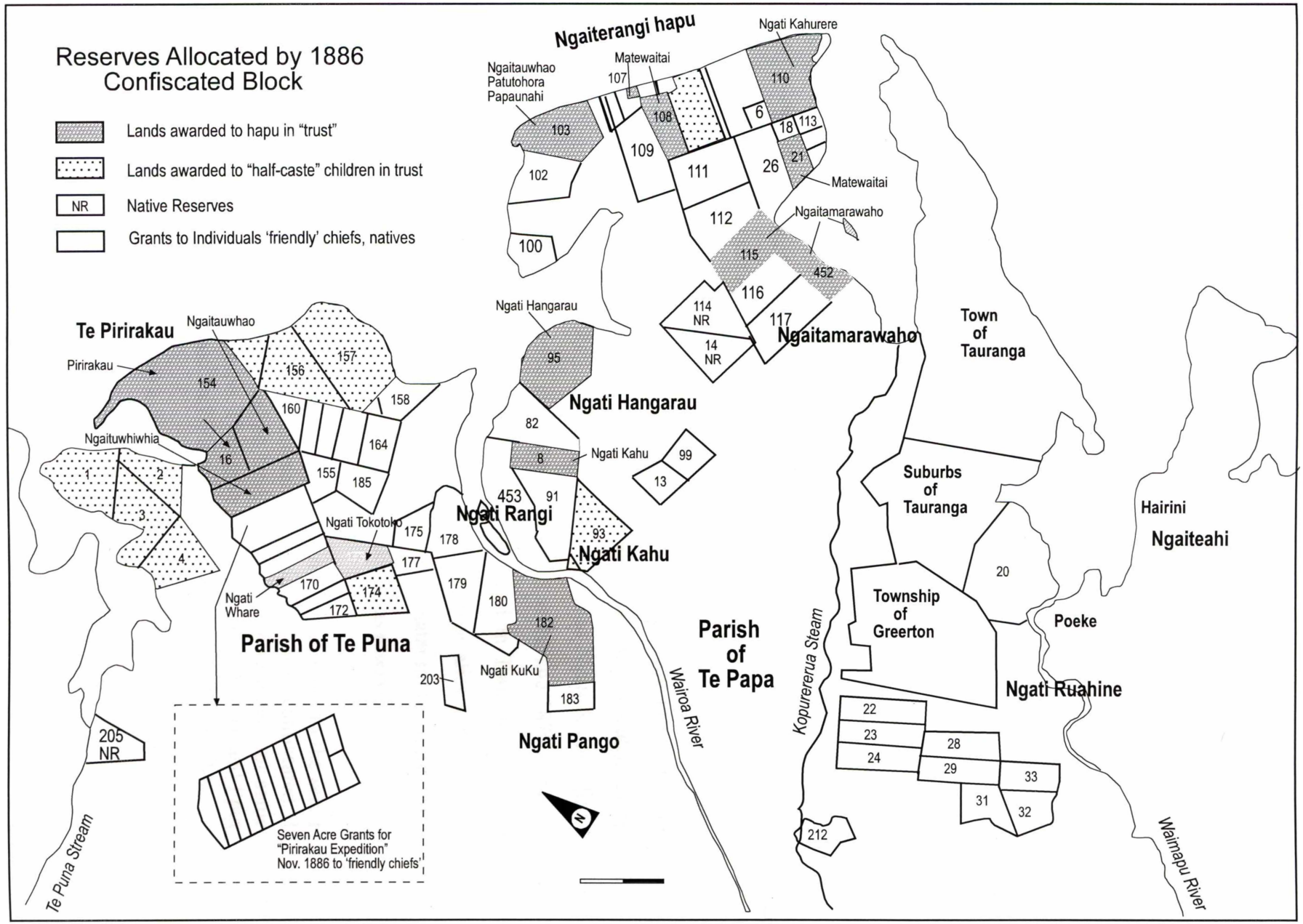

Reserves Allocated by 1886
Confiscated Block
Lands awarded to hapu in "trust"
Lands awarded to "half-caste" children in trust
NR
Native Reserves
Grants to Individuals 'friendly' chiefs, natives
Ngaiterangi hapu
Ngati Kahurere
Ngaitauwhao
Patutohora
Papaunahi
Matewaitai
107
110
108
6
18
113
103
109
111
26
21
102
Matewaitai
112
Ngaitamarawaho
100
115
452
116
114
NR
117
14
NR
Ngaitamarawaho
Ngati Hangarau
95
Ngati Hangarau
82
8
Ngati Kahu
99
13
Te Pirirakau
Ngaitauwhao
Pirirakau
154
156
157
158
160
164
Ngaituwhiwhia
16
155
185
1
2
3
4
453
91
Ngati Rangi
Ngati Tokotoko
175
178
93
Ngati Kahu
177
170
174
179
180
172
Ngati
Whare
Parish of Te Puna
182
Ngati KuKu
203
183
Ngati Pango
205
NR
Seven Acre Grants for
"Pirirakau Expedition"
Nov. 1886 to 'friendly chiefs'
Te Puna Stream
Wairoa River
Parish
of
Te Papa
Kopurererua Steam
Town
of
Tauranga
Suburbs
of
Tauranga
Hairini
Ngaiteahi
20
Township
of
Greerton
Poeke
Ngati Ruahine
22
23
24
28
29
33
31
32
212
Waimapu River

Figure 13

were finally granted to Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi in 1886 by Brabant under section 6 of the Volunteers and Others Land Act 1877. Lot 8 (52 acres) was a Native Reserve for Ngati Kahu, while Lot 91 (120 acres) and Lot 453 (143 acres) were granted to both Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi (Append.1 (i),(ii),(iii)).

In H.T. Clarke's Schedule of Awards 1868–1875 there is a reference to Ngati Pango, laid out in the following form (RDB 126 p 47999 H.T. Clarke's Schedule of Awards 1868 – 1875):

Locality and number of allotment	*To whom granted*	*Acreage*
Wairoa West	*Brought forward*	
Otumoetai West		
Pukekonui	*Hori Ngatai, and Ngati Pango hapu to include mill claim*	*150 acres*

But is allocated on the plan for the Parish of Te Puna 182 (ML 9760) to Hori Ngatai and Ngati Kuku, his hapu. Stokes refers to the grant to Hori Ngatai, Renata Toriri and Te Aria being held "in trust" for Ngati Kuku and comments that Hori Ngatai maintained that he acted for Ngati Pango and subsequently some from the hapu settled there on ancestral lands (Stokes 1997:254). But the statement by Hori Ngatai was made in 1904, and the grant was given to Ngati Kuku when Ngati Pango members were active as Hauhau from 1866 to the late 1870's. Also in her 1997 report 'The Allocation of Reserves for Maori in Tauranga Confiscation' Stoke's notes the Parish of Te Puna 182 (Pukekonui) as allocated to Ngati Kuku (Stokes 1997:232). A statement was made by Hori Ngatai in the Native Appellate Court in 1906 explaining why he claimed Pukekonui as reserves:

> After Gate pa Sir George Grey wrote to me to come out to the sea. I brought Pango out to Otumoetai then this land was confiscated. I considered that Pango had no land, I asked the Government for some land for these back hapu. They gave me 200 acres at Wairoa, and I put Ngati Pango on it and they occupy it now (Hori Ngatai TMB6:96).

The Crown Grant was issued to Hori Ngatai, Renata Toriri and Te Aria in trust for the "Ngati Kuku tribe" from the Office of Civil Commissioners Oct 9 1868 (RDB Vol.127 p 49097).

Military Settlements and Native Reserves 1868

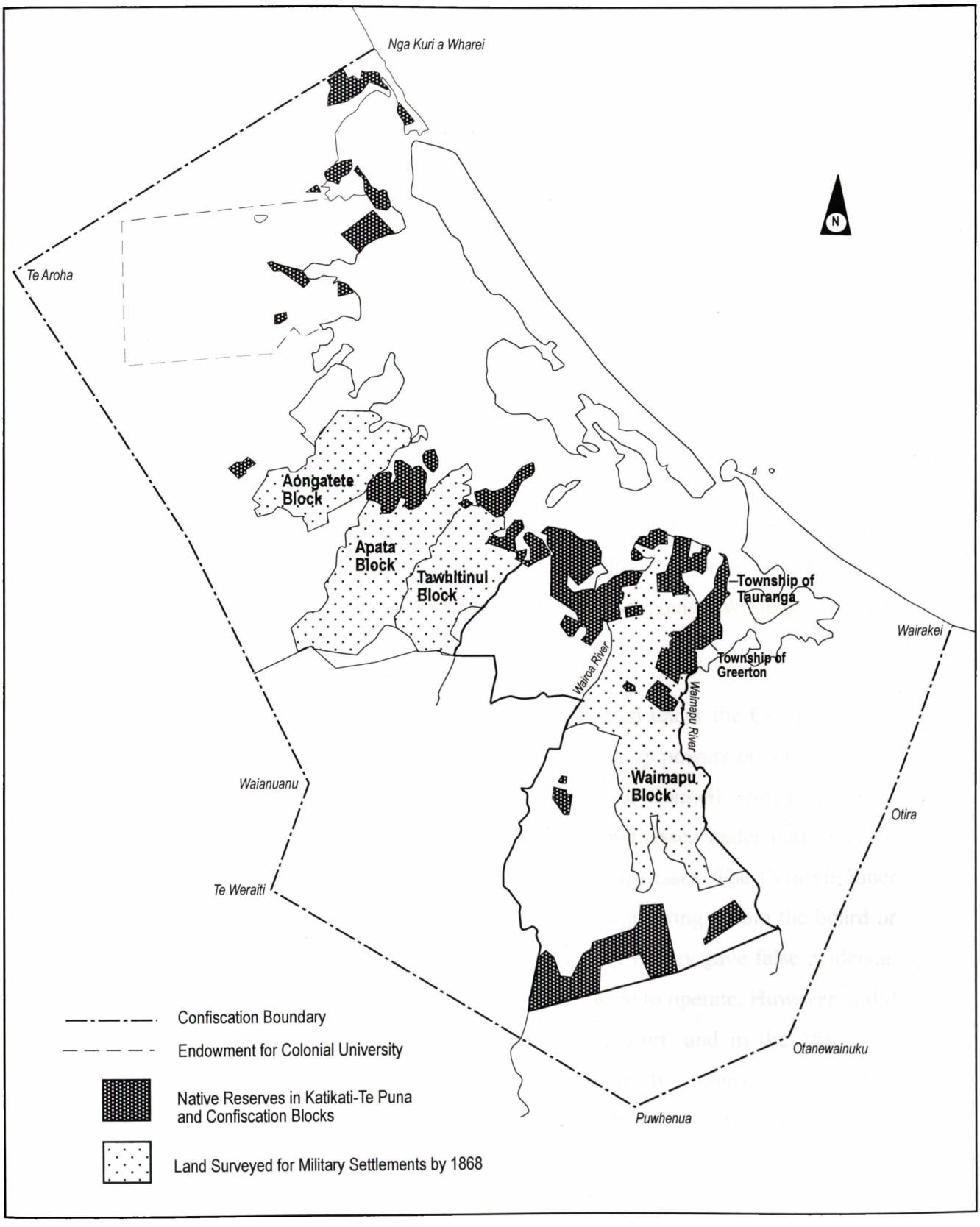


figure 14

Commissioners' Court

The civil commissioners MacKay and Clarke were used by the Government to arrange the allocation of reserves in the Te Puna-Katikati Blocks and the confiscated block, but there was a need to validate these arrangements, which was the reason for the enactment of the Tauranga District Lands Act in 1867. The Act validated the proceedings and grants of MacKay and Clarke and gave authority to continue the awarding of grants. The Act did not set out how the commissioners were to go about their tasks (Waitangi Tribunal 2004:265-6). In May 1868, following the enactment of the Tauranga District Lands Act, civil commissioner Clarke was given the additional position of Commissioner of Tauranga Lands, extending his jurisdiction over a greater area. He retained this position until 1876, when Herbert Brabant, the Resident Magistrate at Tauranga, also assumed the position of Commissioner of Tauranga Lands, a post he held until he had completed the return of lands in 1886. John Wilson was commissioner for a short period from 1878 to 1880 while he was a Native Land Court Judge (Nightingale 1996:13). Commissioners often had multiple functions including serving as resident magistrates and judges in the Native Land Court. They were appointed intermittently and had administration duties in the allocation or alienation of land; on occasions they also acted as Crown land purchase agents (Waitangi Tribunal 2004:266).

The commissioners of Tauranga lands were appointed under the Commissioners Powers Act 1867, which conferred general investigatory powers on any 'board or commission appointed or issued by the Governor in Council'. Such boards or commissions had the power to call and examine witnesses under oath, receive evidence, and fine those who refused to appear as witnesses. The Commissioner was entitled to pay witnesses for costs involved in appearing before the board or the commission, and could charge them with perjury if they gave false evidence. The Act offered scant detail on how commissions were to operate. However, it did confer on them some powers akin to those of a court, and in the 1880s the commissioners of Tauranga lands were frequently referred to as the 'Commissioner's Court'. In the absence of instructions on how to proceed, the commissioners when expedient behaved like Native Land Court judges.

The Commissioners when overseeing the 'Returned Lands' used customary land concepts that had been adopted by the Native Land Court in determining title. In

1881 T. W. Lewis, the under-secretary to the Native Minister, sent a telegram to Commissioner Brabant asking him to make suggestions in connection with the Tauranga District Lands Act (RDB Vol.127: 48669). In a draft letter of reply to T.W. Lewis, Brabant says:

> The "Enquiry" required by the Act has always been made by an officer appointed from time to time by the Government and called the Commissioner of Tauranga Lands. There is no direction in the Acts as to how the Enquiry should be made but the Commissioners have as far as I know always made it an open court and have more or less closely assimilated their practise to that of the Judges of the Native Lands Courts - the cases coming before them for decision being similar in character.

Brabant offered the following suggestion:

> The Commissioner should set an open court to hear claims and should proceed as near may be in accordance with the practise of the Native land court (RDB Vol. 127: 48670-48672).

T.W. Lewis replied with a letter to Brabant dated 7th June 1881:

> Respecting the points referred to in your letter, Mr Rolleston, considers that you assimilate your practise to that of the Native Land Court without fresh legislation (ibid).

This statement confirmed that Brabant should proceed with his suggestion that the operation of the Commissioner's Court should be based on the Native Land Court, without any changes to the Act. From this period, 1881-1886, when Brabant completed the investigation under the Tauranga District Lands Act 1867 and 1868, both the notes and evidence he recorded in his minute books, and that of his assessors, reflected the format and practise of the Native Land Court, similar to those adopted by him previously in determining title to the 'returned lands'. An application was made for a Certificate of a Block, an agent was appointed by the claimants to run the case and speakers were scheduled, survey plans were submitted, and evidence was presented based on tupuna, ancestral history, occupation, ahi kaa, and resource use up to the time of the hearing.

> In the Commissioner's Court as in the Native lands court the natives themselves settle the Lists of names for the several hapus after the Court has decided which hapus are the owners, any dispute as to any name being referred afterwards to sue for enquiry (Brabant to Lewis, March 30 1882 MA 13/24b).

As customary title was extinguished under the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863, the Commissioners' proceedings were not limited to those who were entitled to shares in land by customary right as hapu members, but admitted non hapu members as land owners.

Returned Lands

By the mid 1870s, events in the regions neighbouring Tauranga began to impinge on the hearings of the Commissioner's Court. Private land purchases and speculation were occurring in the neighbouring Waikato, Piako and Patetere districts from the 1860s to 1880s. The Land Wars had resulted in major land confiscation in the Waikato, along with the retreat of many of the Waikato Kingitanga behind the Aukati or Rohe Potae, thus leaving the Thames Valley and Waikato exposed to less than ethical entrepreneurs. J. C. Firth led the way in leasing thousands of acres at Matamata in 1866, and he was followed by others, mainly Auckland entrepreneurs. The most notable were William Aitken, Thomas Russell Frederick Whitaker, Falconer Larworthy, James Ferguson, Robert and Every Maclean, J.B. Whyte, E.B. Walker, Thomas Morrin and Francis Rich (Stone 1973:17).

In the Waikato, the ending of Crown pre-emption when the Native Land Act was passed in 1865, enabled Pakeha to buy land directly from Maori land owners. The Native Land Act of 1865 made negotiations prior to the award of a certificate by the Court, void, but not illegal. This sanctioned the practice of negotiating for Maori lands before the Court had decided ownership. But the land had to be surveyed before it was brought before the court.

Speculators in Maori land operating in the Waikato and Patetere next ventured into Tauranga following the presence of Ngati Raukawa landowners on the Tauranga side of the Kaimai whose lands also bordered the Patetere lands (Kaimai, Whakamarama, Mangatotara, Kura Whaitinui, Paengaroa). Some of the leading figures of Ngati Raukawa were in the alienation of their lands in the Patetere, and were also claiming land in the Kaimai. The Ngaiterangi 'friendlies' also were active in soliciting the sale of land. Ngati Hinerangi sent a petition to the Government in 1877 complaining about land selling between the Waihou River and the Kaimai Ranges, mainly by Ngatimaru, Ngati Raukawa, Ngaiterangi, and Ngati Haua. At the enquiry, Paikea of Ngaiterangi, as a retort to

the complaint of Ngati Hinerangi, stated "that he owns part of the land in the boundary. He wants to sell if he likes" (October 1 1877 Notes of a meeting with Parawhau and the Ngatihinerangi RDB Vol. 127 p48929).

The Kingitanga council in the Rohe Potae was influential in maintaining an "anti-land sale" stance which helped to keep land sales in check. But Tawhiao's authority was beginning to wane. In the Patetere area the influence of the Kingitanga went beyond the Waikato Raupatu boundary and amongst the Pai Marire supporters, but the pressure to sell had been building up since 1877 among a land-selling group of the Ngati Raukawa. This was fostered by a syndicate advancing money to land sellers within the Patetere block in spite of the government proclamation which made it illegal to do so (Stone 1967:63). In 1878 the Government had introduced a proclamation to halt all surveys in the area, but despite the proclamation, Ngati Raukawa had commissioned surveys for the Te Whaiti Kuranui Block, land immediately west of the Confiscation boundary in the Kaimai. In 1879 Ngati Haua and Ngati Raukawa land sellers petitioned Parliament to drop its proclamation policy (NZ Herald 14 July 1879).

Kaimai Block

After the Kaimai was opened up for gold exploration with the assent of Hori Tupaea, the survey of the Kaimai area was begun by a surveyor named Clare, working for Campbell, a surveyor for the Patetere land sellers. This foray into Tauranga was encouraged by both Ngati Raukawa and Ngaiterangi land sellers. Clare started the survey in 1876 but it was not completed until 1879. There was opposition to the survey in that surveyors were stopped and stations destroyed. But 'friendly Ngaiterangi chiefs', especially Akuhata Tupaea (son of Hori Tupaea) and Te Puru (Ngaituwhiwhia), who knew the area well, assisted the surveyors by identifying boundaries. Clare restarted the survey in 1877, completing from Kumikumi and went to Mangatotara, but was stopped for four or five months by Ngati Kirihika and Ngati Kahu. In May 1878 he recommenced the survey continuing to Mangapapa. Opposition continued and survey stations were pulled down at Kaikaikaroro (Poripori), at Puremu (Kaimai) twice, and at Popotetaka. Ngati Hangarau and Ngati Tawhairangi also tried to stop the survey but Akuhata Tupaea and Te Puru carried the survey through (National Archives - BABG A52 55 Box 25 Brabant Notes - Kaimai Survey).

Kainga, Pa and Tracks

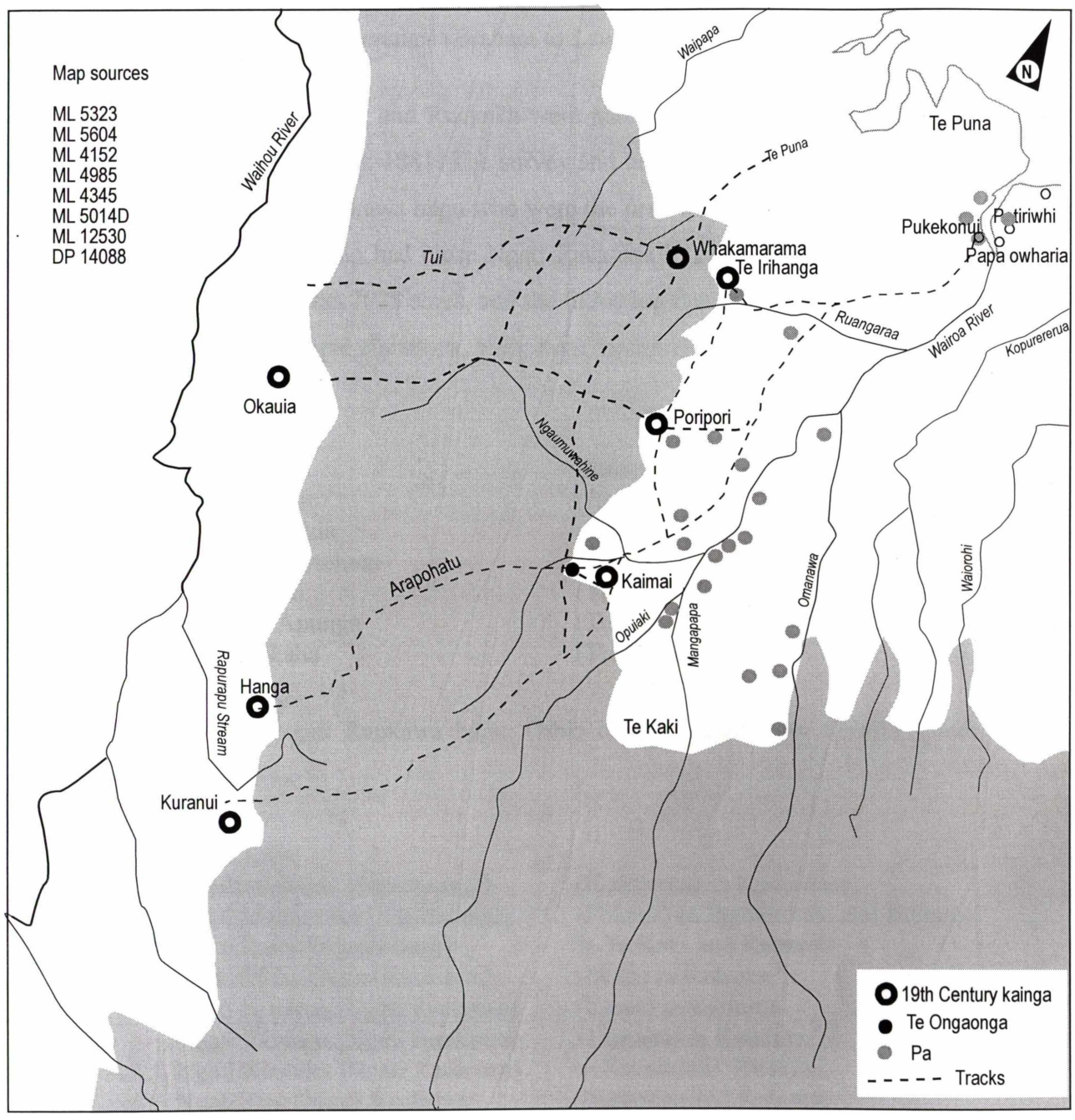


Figure 15

In 1878 Ngaiterangi, with some Ngati Raukawa claimants, made an arrangement to sell Kaimai to Mr. White a land speculator based in Cambridge. But a party who wanted to sell to a Mr Walker, another land speculator, blocked the survey. Brabant noted in 1881 that Purakautahi, a subdivision of Kaimai, had been the cause of dispute for years. It had been surveyed three times (twice by stealth) and twice 'sold' to Europeans. The block was claimed by Ngati Mauri (Ngati Raukawa), Ngati Kahu (Ngati Ranginui), Ngatitira (Ngati Raukawa), and Ngaitamawhariua (Ngaiterangi) (Brabant to Lewis 2 Nov. 1881 MA 13/24b).

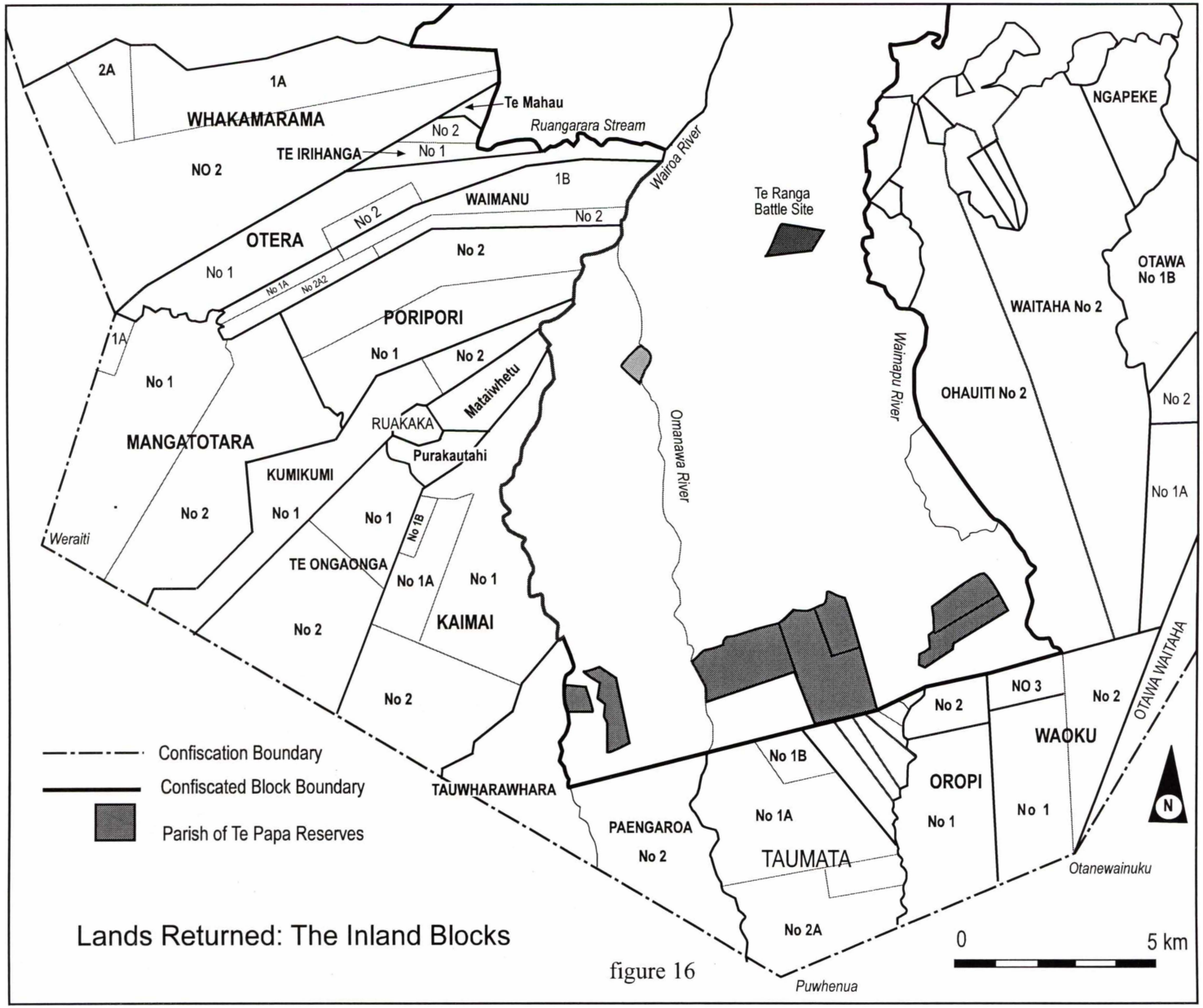
The Te Ongaonga Block and Ruakaka were part of the Kaimai Block, heard by Commissioner Brabant in 1881. The survey and hearing of the Kaimai block was promoted by Ngati Raukawa hapu who were the principal claimants, and Te Mete of Ngati Hangarau, who had close Ngati Raukawa links acted as agent (fig.16). The Kaimai Block was 7078 acres, and the following hapu were acknowledged by Brabant as the principal claimants, with mana tupuna (founding ancestor) given in brackets:

Ngati Mauri	(Mauri)
Ngati Te Rau	(Harapa)
Ngati Rangiaia	(Tauterangi)
Te Paungaherehere	(Tumoana)
Ngati Motai	(Tauterangi)
Ngati Te Apunga	(Te Kuta)
Ngati Takaha	(Tumoana)

These were all Ngati Raukawa hapu. Other claims accepted by Commissioner Brabant were from:

Ngati Kahu	
Ngaituwhiwhia [Ngaiterangi]	(Kotorerua) in Kumikumi
Ngati Makamaka [Ngaiterangi]	(Pokena) in Purakautahi and Kaharoa
Ngati Kuku [Ngaiterangi]	in Te Kaki and Kaharoa
Ngati Maka [Ngati Raukawa]	(Maki) in Kaharoa*
Ngati Kuraroa [Ngati Raukawa]	(Kawa) in Kaharoa
Ngati Tamapu [Ngati Raukawa]	(Tamapu) in Kaharoa
Ngati Kirihika [Ngati Raukawa]	in Kumikumi, Ruahihi
Ngati Tira [Ngati Raukawa]	Ongaonga and Kaharoa
Ngati Tawharangi [Ngati Raukawa]	
Ngati Kokoti [Ngati Raukawa]	in Ruahihi
Ngaitamawhariua [Ngaiterangi]	"a few" in Purakautahi

* Kaimai No 1 Block



Lands Returned: The Inland Blocks

figure 16

The *mana tupuna* (ancestor) claim in brackets in the above list. The Commissioner awarded the Kaimai Block to the Ngati Raukawa hapu as listed, but they were allocated as specific subdivisions to hapu. Ngati Kahu and Ngati Kirihika (Ngati Raukawa) were awarded Te Ongaonga No1 and 2, while Purakautahi, Mataiwhetu and Ruakaka blocks were allocated to Ngati Kahu. The Ngaiterangi hapu Ngaituwhiwhia was allocated the Kumikumi block. The Kaimai No 1 which was referred to as the 'karauna atea' was awarded to a mix of Ngaiterangi, Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Kahu and Ngati Hangarau, and the remaining Kaimai No. 2 block was allocated to Ngati Raukawa hapu, Ngati Motai and Ngati Apunga. Ngati Hangarau was allocated the Tauwharawhara block. Ngaiterangi were put into the Kaimai lands because of representations they had made to the Commissioners.

The partition of the Kaimai Block followed a pattern based on kainga and walking tracks between settlements on the Wairoa River and the Patetere side of the Kaimai Ranges. The track between the Ngati Motai kainga of Kuranui and Kaimai went through the Kaimai and Whati Kuranui 5 Blocks or Hanga A11. The track connecting the Ngati Kirihika kainga of Hanga to Kaimai was called the Arapohatu trail which went through the Te Ongaonga and Whaitikuranui 6 blocks (fig.15). This relationship of interconnectivity of trails, lands and kainga also applied between the kainga of Te Pirirakau and Ngati Hinerangi, Okauia, Whakamarama and Te Puna. These hapu and land relationships between Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Ranginui hapu highlight how the claims of Ngaiterangi hapu and individuals to the lands west of the Wairoa River were inconsistent with the hapu territorial model. Ngaiterangi individuals and hapu had relationships through ancestry that stem from their Ngati Ranginui and Ngati Raukawa ancestors in whose names they made ancestral claims, but the 'confiscation' allowed them to make claims to land traditionally owned by Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Ranginui hapu whose members were active as 'Hauhau'.

> In the forested ranges of the 'Lands returned' west of the Confiscated Block the ancestral rights were complex. Commissioner Brabant's investigation of the Kaimai Block (7078 acres) in 1881 also included Kumikumi (3240 acres), Ongaonga (4390 acres), Purakautahi (463 acres) Mataiwhetu Block (862 acres) and Ruakaka Blocks (208 acres) (Stokes 1997: 255-6).

Stokes refers to the inclusion of Ngai Tuwhiwhia and Ngai Tamawhariua in the Kaimai Block, but on what basis is not recorded and Stokes explains "In this investigation Commissioner Brabant appears to have taken into account to some extent the complex overlapping and interlocking ancestral rights of many hapu who used this area of bush and the Wairoa River system as a mahinga kai and principal corridor between the coastal and inland people" (Stokes 1997:256).

Kumikumi Block

Ngaituwhiwhia claimed the tupuna Kotorerua as the mana for the Kumikumi Block of the Kaimai claim. Although no evidence was recorded for the Commissioner's hearing, it appears that the basis for the Ngaituwhiwhia claim to the land in the Kaimai was the association of the tupuna Kotorerua to Pawhakahoro, which was a kainga in that block. In 1874 Commissioner Clarke considered the claims to lands at Papamoa and Otawa by Waitaha, Ngapotiki, Ngati Pukenga and Ngati He and he wrote in his report the following:

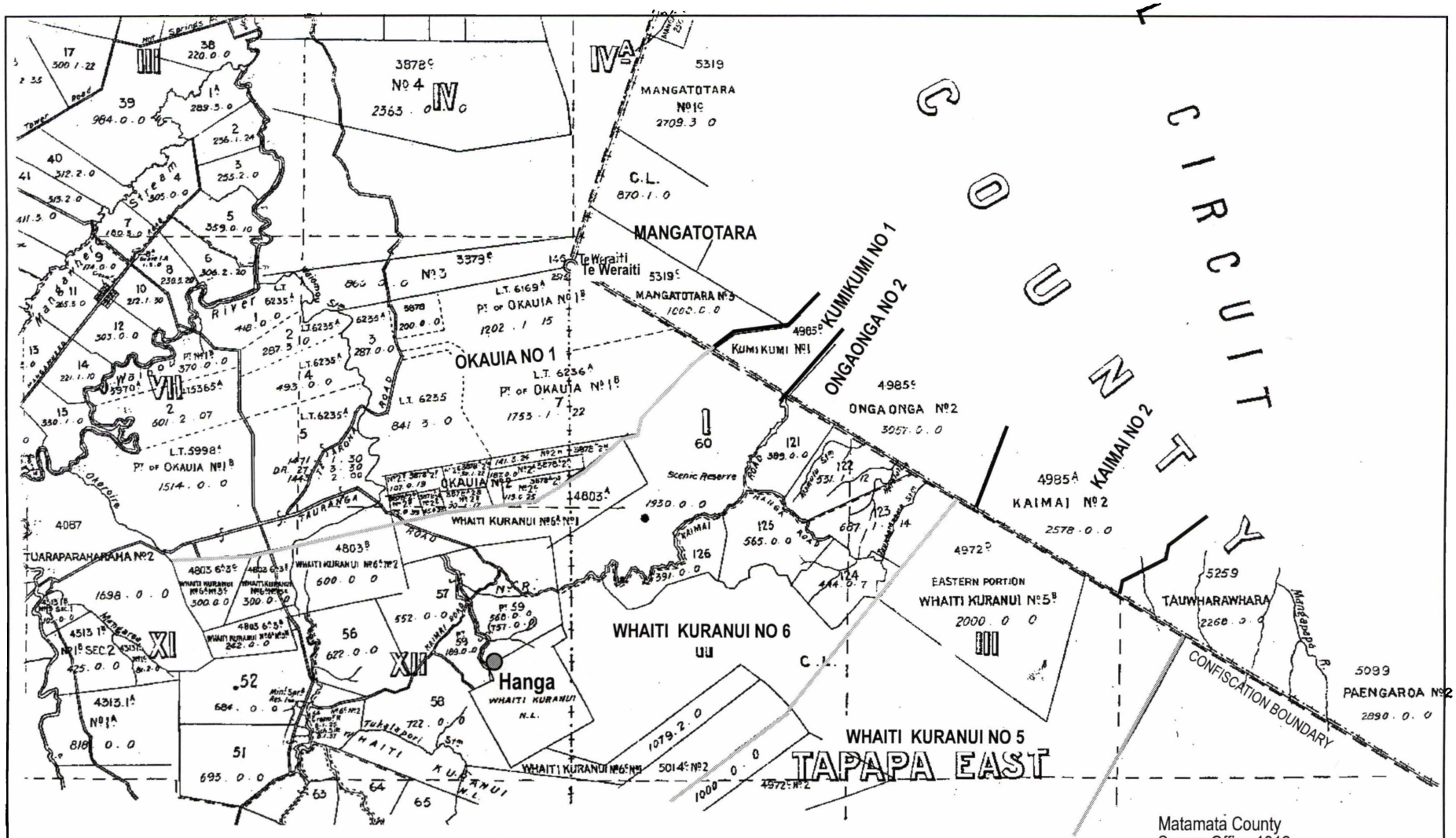
> E whakaae ana a Ngapotiki kite tukunga o tetahi piihi whenua o roto tona rohe kia Tumakairoro *(sic Tunakairoro)* tupuna o Ruka Tamakoha raua ko Enoka Te Whanake.
> *Ngapotiki had agreed to give part of the land to Tunakairoro (Tunakairoro) ancestor of Ruka Tamakoha and Enoka Te Whanake.*

In the setting out of the boundaries for Ngapotiki and the Papamoa Block:

> Kei roto ki tenei hoki te whenua e keremetia an e Enoka Te Whanake raua ko Ruka Tamakoha ki runga ki to raua tupuna ki Tumakairoro (sic Tunakairoro).
> *Inside this land is the claim of Enoka Te Whanake and Ruka Tamakoha through their ancestor Tunakairoro* (Notes from Commissioner Clarke Raupatu Document Bank Vol.50 pp19459-19466)

The Commissioner consented to the use of 'custom' for claims to the Papamoa land where Tunakairoro was killed, the basis of the claim from Enoka Te Whanake and Ruka Tamakoha who were Ngaitukairangi.

A number of Ngaituwhiwhia who are in the list of names for the Kumikumi No 2 Block were placed in the Hikutawatawa Block. It is my contention that



Ngati Raukawa and Tauranga Confiscation Land Blocks

Matamata County
Survey Office 1912
Auckland

figure 17

Ngaituwhiwhia were applying a similar principle to Kumikumi. Their ancestor Kotorerua has an association with the land. He was singled out by Putangimaru, a tohunga of Ngati Raukawa, when they were supporting Waitaha and Ngati Ranginui in the attack against pa at Maketu. The tohunga suggested that in order for Ngaiterangi to defeat the pa of Kino at Maunganui, Kotorerua was to come to visit him. Putangimaru gave specific instructions to Kotorerua that he was to go to Pa whakahoro where he will come across a *urukehu* (redhead), a man of his own tribe who he was to kill as a ritual sacrifice (Kahotea Ms). Another version is Putangimaru appears at Maketu and Kotorerua gives his sister Tuweru to him:

> Ka hoki a Putangimaru me tana wahine [Tuwera], ka kii iho a Putangimaru, me haere atu I muri ia raua. Ki te pa whakahorohoro I tua atu I Poripori I reira ate Ika, e noho ana, hei kai arahi atu ia Kotorerua, ka patua e Kotorerua tanga tangata, ka mate ka haria te hau ki Putangimaru. Ka hoki a Kotorerua ki Maketu (Tawaha 1883 Tarawa Ms 1982).
>
> Putangimaru and his woman left [Tuwera]. His parting words were to go after them. At Te Pa Whakahorohoro near Poripori, Ika lived as a guide for Putangimaru. He was killed there by Kotorerua who then took the ritual power to Putangimaru. He went back to Maketu.

The fall of Kino's pa to Ngaiterangi is attributed to the strategy of Kotorerua, suggested to him by Putangimaru, who in turn was given Tuwera, the sister of Kotorerua. This explains the association of Kotorerua to this area of the Kaimai, which was partitioned out as Kumikumi, and how it relates to the kainga Pawhakahoro. The reference to the tupuna Kotorerua allowed Ngaituwhiwhia a wider representation of Tuwhiwhia hapu to the ownership lists in contrast to the Hikutawatawa Block which was made out as a group of individuals descending from Tunakairoro. But the list also included names from Ngaitauwhao, Ngaitukairangi and Ngati Matewaitai, who descend presumably from Kotorerua. There are also a number of Ngati Raukawa names (Ngati Kirihika) in the list of owners (Append. 1(ix, x). A key to the Ngaituwhiwhia claim was the role of John Wilson as commissioner. He conducted the initial hearings for neighbouring Mataiwhetu Block and also the investigation for Papamoa in the period 1878 to 1880. Both hearings were completed by Brabant. Wilson is the source of the history of Tauranga of which the 'conquest orthodoxy' is centred on the role of Kotorerua. Ngaituwhiwhia would have received this consideration to their claim in the Kaimai Block. The kainga Pa whakahoro was located in the Kumikumi No.

Progress of 'Commissioners' Court' and Hearings

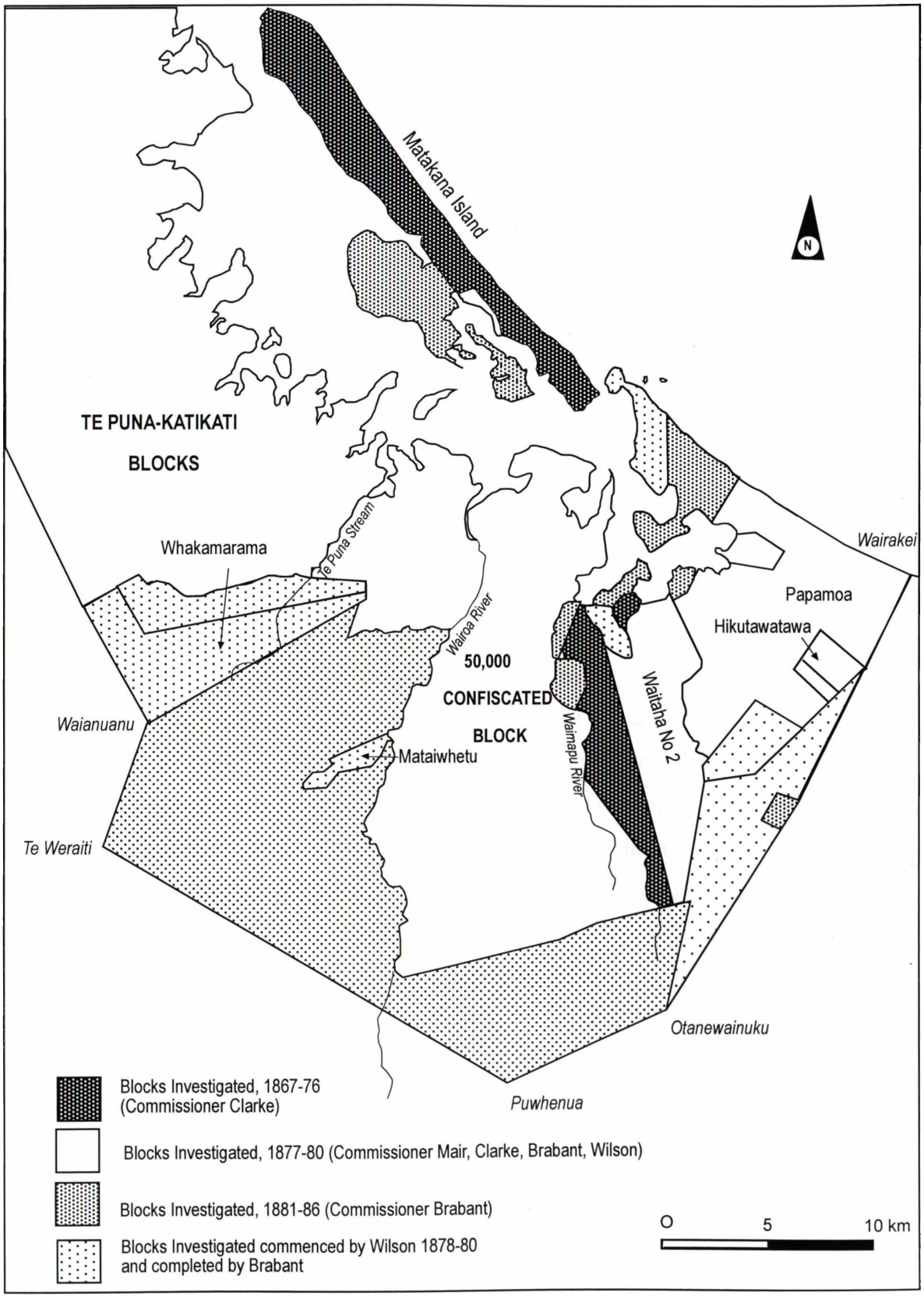


Figure 18

2 Block which was sold and had a smaller list of owners compared to Kumikumi No 1. This would give some indication of the lack of attachment of Ngaituwhiwhia to Pa whakahoro (fig. 22 p 245).

A check of the lists of names for the Kumikumi (Append. 15), Te Ongaonga (Append.1 (iv), (vii)) and Kaimai Blocks with the neighbouring Ngati Raukawa Blocks on the western Confiscation Boundary of Whati Kuranui No 5 and 6 and Okauia No 1 and 2. There is a pattern of tribal boundary ownership between Ngati Kahu and Ngati Pango with Ngati Raukawa hapu which is not matched by the claims of the Ngaiterangi hapu such as Ngaituwhiwhia. There are Ngaiterangi individuals in various blocks but a list of names indicating a hapu is not discernible (Append. 1, fig.s 15,16,17).

Te Irihanga Block

The Te Irihanga Block was claimed by Ngati Rangi, with Hatana Ngawharau acting as agent, and Hera Ngawharau or Wharepapa as the person who provided the traditional evidence. The tupuna mana was represented by Paretotaha. Sergeant Putnam in his report of 1872 recorded Raumati as the chief for Ngati Rangi. Hatana and Hera Ngawharau were Ngati Kahu, not Ngati Rangi, although they had whakapapa links through their Ngamarama whakapapa. Through the 1870s Hatana Ngawharau supported the opening of the area to gold prospecting and of the road to Cambridge. This would have put him in favour with Government officials and this status would have provided an opportunity to make land claims in the absence of Ngati Rangi Pai Marire Kingitanga supporters. The list of names for the Te Irihanga Block (Append.s 1 iv,v) also included the Te Ngare hapu who were Ngaiterangi and were on the Wairoa River as the Ngamarama hapu of Ngati Tane (see Chapter 8 p.253).

The Mangatotara and Poripori Blocks

The Mangatotara Block was heard in October 1881. This land was claimed by Ngati Tokotoko of Okauia and Ngati Pango. Enoka of Ngati Kuku acted as agent for Ngati Pango, with Hamuera Paki as the main speaker. The court awarded the block to both Ngati Tokotoko and Ngati Pango with the Ngati Pango tupuna Pukaki recognised as the mana for the land. A small list of landowners was drawn up and consisted of the following: male adults - Hori Ngatai, Tanupo Hamuera, Maihi Te Poria, Te Heke, Te Aria, Renata Toriri, Tuari, Parawhau, Reweti Ngatai

and Maihi Ngaru; female adults - Hiria Enoka, Pukehou and Hirihiri. The 'court' awarded Ngati Pango 2500 acres (Mangatotara No. 2), which was all bush or forested land backing onto the Poripori Block (for lists of owners, Append. 15).

The Poripori Block was heard in December 1881, with Hori Ngatai of Ngati Kuku appearing as agent for the Ngati Pango claimants for the Poripori and Te Rangiora blocks, and Hamuera giving evidence and whakapapa for Hori Ngatai (Stokes 1992:186). For both the Mangatotara and Poripori Blocks, there were representations to the Commissioner's hearings by Ngati Pango individuals to be included in the list of owners because Ngati Kuku of Ngaiterangi was making claims to Poripori in the name of Ngati Pango. This will be discussed in detail in chapter 9. Meanwhile claims were made for Poripori by Maihi Haki and Maihi Te Ngaru of Ngati Pango, acting as agents, with the speaker being Pukehou (Stokes 1990:180). The title to Poripori was a certificate under the Land Transfer Act Vol. 76 Folio 194 dated 16th February 1886 in the name of Renata Toriri and others (Poripori 1&2 Title Orders. Maori Land Court, Hamilton); Renata Toriri was Ngati Kuku. The Block was partitioned into Poripori 1 and 2, and lists of owners comprising Ngati Kuku and Ngati Pango were made. Hori Ngatai explained in the Appellate Court in 1906 aspects of the conduct of the case:

> When this block was surveyed it came before the Commissioners 'Pango and 'Kuku were together [with] myself and Hamuera of Ngati Kuku gave evidence. 'Pango did not put up a witness, nor did they wish to. Te Morehu opposed me so did Hinerangi but the land was awarded to my section (Hori Ngatai TMB6:96).

The Poripori Block was also the target of land speculators who tried to purchase the block in a similar manner as had occurred with the Kaimai Block. That is, money was paid to the owners before the Commissioner had heard the case. A Commission of Enquiry was heard for Poripori as part of a wider investigation into the allegations of fraudulent actions by land purchase agents for the Crown in Tauranga. G.E. Barton the Commissioner, was appointed by the Governor on 26th April 1886, "to inquire into all applications for the removal of restrictions referred to by the Native Minister" around the country. Attention had been drawn to the practice of rival agents trying to secure blocks of land in advance of each other before the lands had come before the Commissioner's Court. The Commissioner had found in Tauranga that:

> At the time when the Tauranga purchases before me were initiated - that is, in 1878, 1879, 1880 - and the rival agents were struggling to secure the blocks in advance of each other, none of the lands had gone through the Commissioners Court nor through the Native Land Court, their boundaries were undefined, no reserves for the permanent use of the Natives had been selected, and the conflicting claims of contending tribes and individuals had not been adjusted (AJHR 1886 G11).

Hori Ngatai had negotiated the sale of Poripori and had stated that all of the owners had agreed to the sale. The Commissioner had come across evidence of fraud for the Poripori No.1. and the lifting of alienation restrictions was reversed by the Commissioner. This stopped the sale of the Poripori Block (lists of owners Append.s13,14).

Land Allocation

The Waitangi Tribunal, in its 2004 report on the Tauranga Raupatu, recognised that between the settlements on the harbour edges there was a distinct boundary between the hapu territory of Ngati Ranginui and that of Ngaiterangi. This came from Ngati Ranginui claimant evidence and presentations, which stated that in the Te Puna, Wairoa and Bethlehem areas individual Ngaiterangi loyalist and surrendered chiefs were awarded land "within areas where Ngati Ranginui maintained kainga and had strong customary interests" (2004:273-275). Ngaitamarawaho and Ngati Hangarau had been given hapu reserves, and other forms of reserves had been given to Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi and Te Pirirakau. The evidence for "strong customary interests" was also given by the Ngati Ranginui hapu of Huria, Poeke and Hairini settlement areas. However, at Otumoetai and Te Papa, reserves had been allocated to Ngaiterangi, both individuals and hapu. These hapu had retained rights in these areas as a result of intermarriage that occurred between Ngaiterangi and Ngati Ranginui tupuna during the Ngaiterangi invasion from Maketu and subsequent attacks on Ngati Ranginui pa at Otumoetai. What is noteworthy, however, is the sale of these hapu blocks by the grantees and the relocation of two Ngaiterangi hapu: Ngaitauwhao, to Rangiwaea Island; and Ngati Matewaitai (who were Ngati Kuku) to Whareroa. Stokes refers to this as Ngaiterangi being forced to leave their kainga, being 'displaced'. However, they were 'surrendered rebels' now favourable to the Crown, in contrast to the Ngati Ranginui hapu who were Pai Marire and maintained their political support to the Kingitanga. Ngati Ranginui hapu Pai

Marire beliefs meant fleeing to inland kainga to separate themselves from the colonisers and 'loyalists'. Ngati Ranginui, however, have generally, up to the present day, retained their lands on the harbour edge as a hapu community, surrounding the hapu kainga identified in the T.H. Smith report of 1864.

In the Waitangi Tribunal hearings Ngati Ranginui hapu were not as emphatic in their claim evidence relating to the inland areas as they were for the harbour edge lands. These inland territories were claimed by Ngati Raukawa, Ngaiterangi and Ngati Ranginui hapu and individuals (in the blocks from Kaimai to Whakamarama), and by Ngaiterangi individuals (in the Taumata, Maenene and Oropi areas). Also, since 1900, the main focus of settlement for Ngati Ranginui has been on the harbour edge, which offered the prime resources of harbour, river, ocean, subtropical climate and good soils. Evelyn Stokes makes a reference to the claims by the Ngaiterangi hapu, Ngaitukairangi and Tuwhiawhia to lands on the western side of the Wairoa River. She states that these Ngaiterangi hapu were claiming mahinga kai rights, that these lands were on the tribal margins, were refuge areas "particularly intricate" after "disputes over land in earlier generations" and the subsequent kin networks from this environment was complex" (1990:257-258).

But Stokes does not provide any ethnographic detail to illustrate her points. She notes the problem of complexity of land use patterns, and a paucity of evidence recorded by the Commissioners. These factors make it difficult to identify land use rights from documented sources. But my examination of the Commissioner's court processes and ethnographic sources for these areas indicates that Ngaiterangi claims to these lands were received favourably by the Commissioners because of that tribe's loyalist relationship with the Crown rather than because of 'traditional rights'.

Ngaiterangi hapu did not have Ngaiterangi ancestors who occupied the many pa in the area (Kaimai and Poripori), and did not have urupa where their tupuna or hapu members were buried. There is no record of any Ngaiterangi hapu living in this area during the historic period, only references to Ngaiterangi who had married into hapu of this area. Rights that Ngaiterangi hapu had to these predominantly Ngati Ranginui hapu lands would have been as individuals descending from Ngati Ranginui and Ngati Raukawa ancestors though specific hapu.

Alienation of Awarded Lands 1886

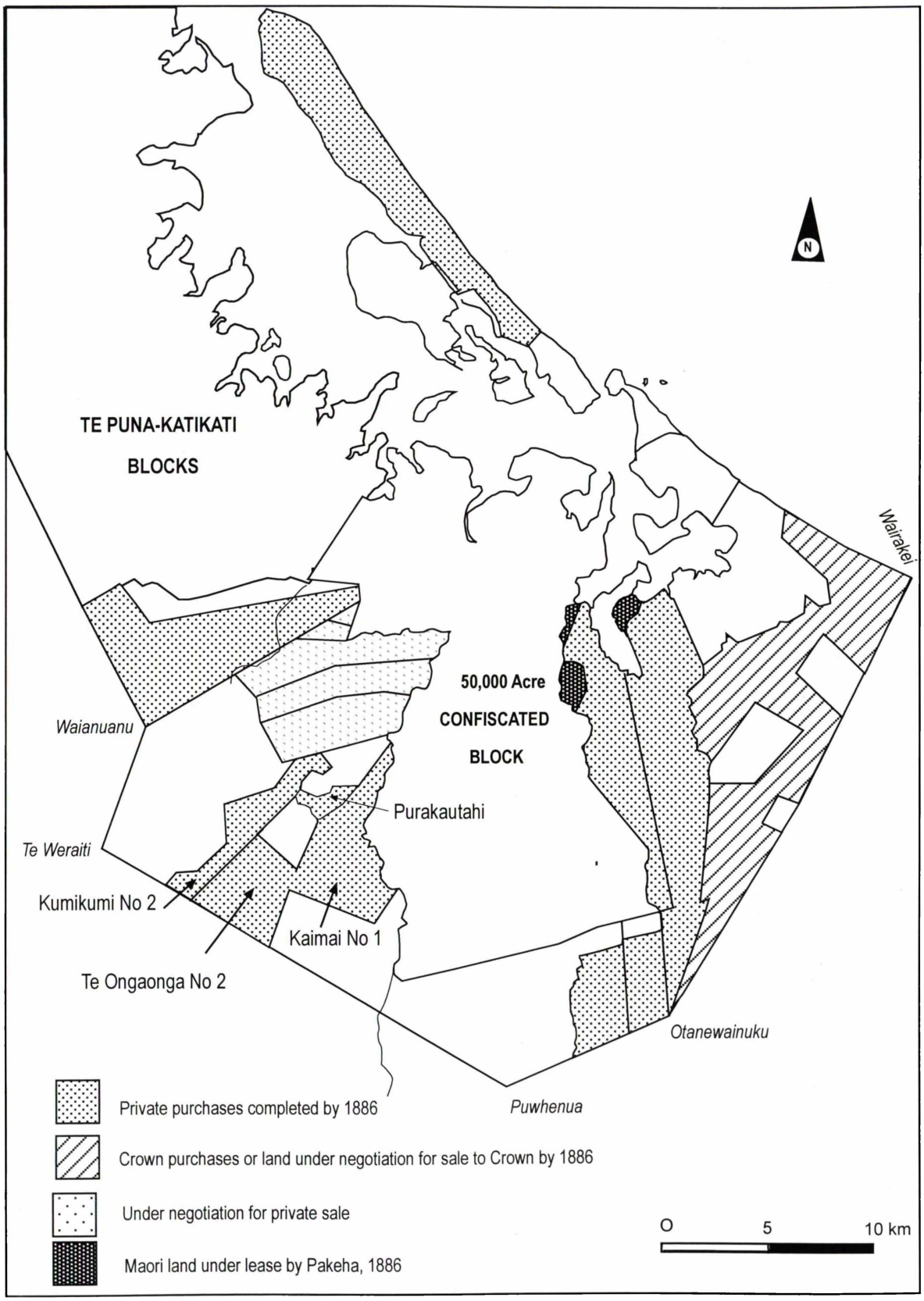


Figure 19

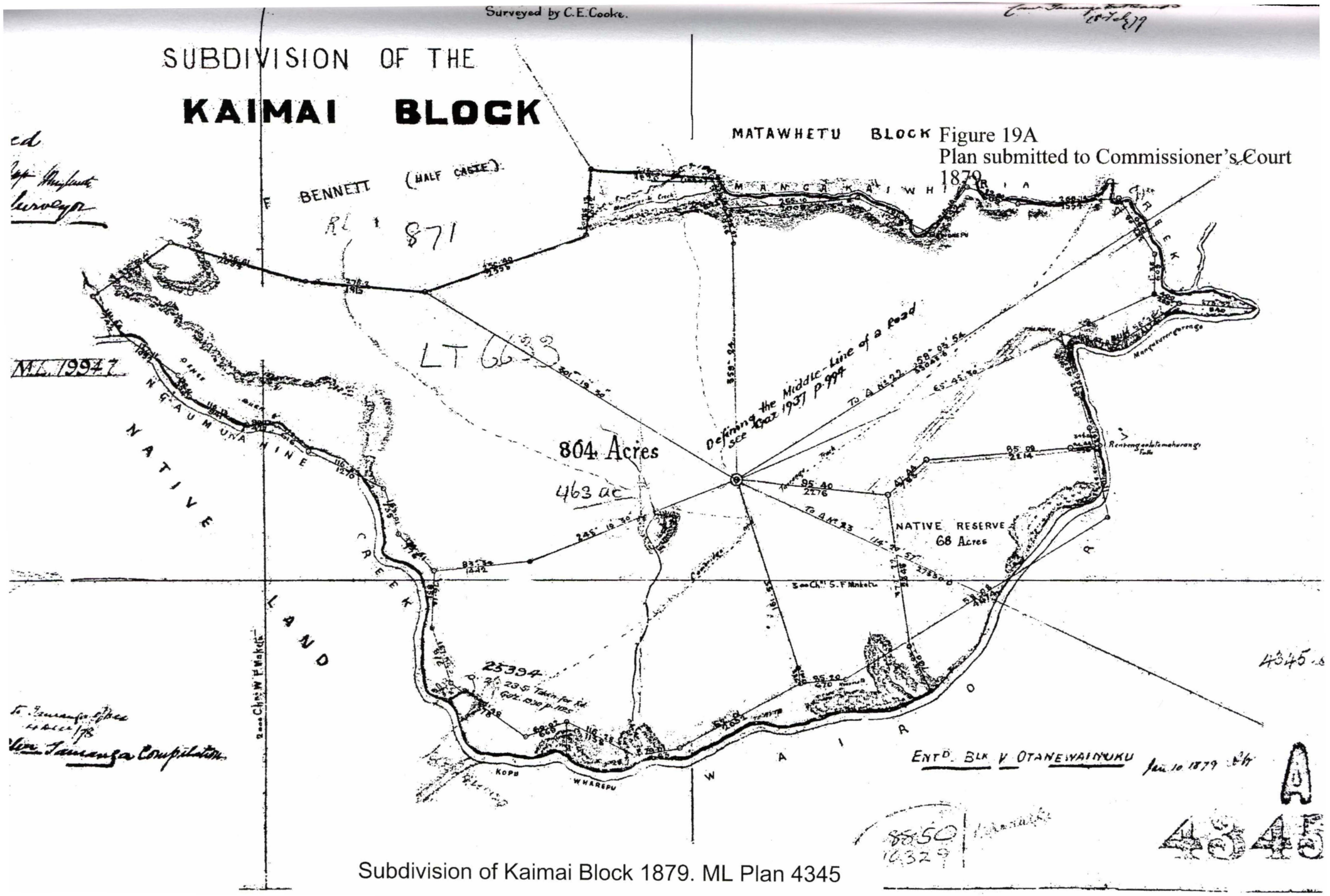


Figure 19A
Plan submitted to Commissioner's Court 1879

Subdivision of Kaimai Block 1879. ML Plan 4345

A similar pattern of hapu ownership existed in the areas south-east of Wairoa River, Taumata and Oropi, where there were land claims by hapu of Te Arawa, Ngati Ranginui, and Ngaiterangi. This was a boundary area between Ngati Ranginui and the Ngati Rangiwewehi hapu of Te Arawa. There was a large area south of the confiscation block which was heard by the Native Land Court in 1884, and which decided that the Taumata Block be partitioned between Ngaitamarawaho and Ngaiteahi (Ngati Ranginui-Taumata 3B), Ngati Rangiwewehi (Te Arawa-Taumata 3A) and Ngati Rehu and Te Ngati Te Awhai (Taumata 3C) (TMB 2:171-176). In the Taumata and Oropi area, including the 50,000-acre confiscation, Returned Lands and land beyond the Raupatu boundary, Ngaiterangi individuals were included in Ngati Ranginui hapu lists as individuals, but not as Ngaiterangi hapu entities (Stokes 1997, Kahotea 2000).

In the lands west of the Wairoa River, the Ngaiterangi hapu, of Ngaitamawhariua, Ngaituwhiwhia and Ngati Kuku made claims to the Kaimai, Mangatotara and Poripori Blocks. It can be demonstrated that the early claims by Ngati Kuku to Poripori and Mangatotara were made when Ngati Pango were in the main, Hauhau, and their isolation facilitated the favour Ngaiterangi hapu and individuals consequently received from the Crown in respect to these lands.

The claim to the Commissioner's Court for ownership to the Poripori Block was made in the name of Ngati Pango through their agent, Hori Ngatai, who was Ngati Kuku. For the Kaimai and Whakamarama Blocks, the Ngati Ranginui hapu had their own leaders acting as agents Te Mete Raukawa for Ngati Hangarau, Hatana Ngawharau for Ngati Kahu, and Kerekau for Pirirakau. They were chiefs who were 'friendly' in the 1870s and 1880s and were therefore considered acceptable to appear as hapu agents before the Commissioners.

In comparison to the Ngati Ranginui inland areas, the blocks of land surrounding Rangataua and the inland hill country and forest area of Otawa, the Waitaha No 1, Otawa and Papamoa Blocks, went to specific Ngaiterangi hapu. These blocks of Ngati He and Ngapotiki did not have the mix of hapu claiming each block which we get for Ngati Ranginui inland blocks of land.

Finally, Stokes makes a reference to the bush lands as a 'refuge' by way of explaining the claim of Ngaiterangi hapu to lands west of the Wairoa River. But the observation of the missionary, Rev. A. N. Brown, during the 1830s inter-regional war between Ngaiterangi and Te Arawa was that all the Tauranga hapu and iwi sheltered in the main pa around Tauranga. Any isolated inland groups were vulnerable to taua coming inland from Rotorua, via Mangorewa or Patetere. Only during the war with the Pakeha did people take shelter inland, as the threat came from the troops based at Te Papa. Hori Ngatai states in the Appellate hearing of 1906 that in the Pakeha war, Ngati Kuku fell back to Poripori and other hapu to other places (TM6:96). Thus, Ngaiterangi never used inland areas as places of refuge.

7.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF A CLAIM

> rediscovery and repatriation of what has been suppressed in the native's past by the process of imperialism ...
>
> *Said 1993:20*

My engagement with the Wairoa hapu claims process began with my first experience as a consultant in 1986. The Tauranga Moana Maori Trust Board had recommended me to the Ministry of Works to undertake a commission to write a report on the effect of urbanisation and urban encroachment on Maori hapu communities and the resources important to these communities, such as heritage and land. This was for the Western Bay of Plenty Urban Strategy, for urban and rural local bodies of the Tauranga region that were undertaking a planning exercise for urban growth extending into rural areas where most hapu communities in Tauranga were located. As a consultant I attended a meeting of trustees for a land trust of one of my hapu, Ngati Kahu, in which I explained that their area was one of a number of 'growth option areas' identified by the strategy for potential urban development. Their reaction to the perceived threat of urbanisation in their locality was to place a claim under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975. Their thinking was that as a consequence of land confiscation in 1864 the hapu had only a small amount of land in a rural environment. This was an area of 'traditional' occupation with high cultural landscape values, so it was imperative to protect it from urban encroachment which had already affected two Ngati Ranginui hapu, Ngaitamarawaho of Judea (Huria) and Ngaiteahi at Hairini. A Waitangi Tribunal hearing would assist opposition to any urban boundary extensions into the area. Urbanisation was perceived as a threat to the hapu as their cultural integrity lay in this rural landscape.

In 1986 a meeting was called by the combined Ngati Kahu Land Trusts to discuss the claim to the Waitangi Tribunal. As a hapu member I took on the task of historical research. I put myself forward as a researcher believing that I had the necessary research experience and academic background as I had submitted a masters thesis in December 1983 based on a study of settlement patterns on land

in the original '50,000 acre confiscation' area in Tauranga district. Also I had some familiarity with early survey maps, land court records, recorded history and informants. This background was appropriate to researching a 'land claim'. The claim was written and sent to the Waitangi Tribunal by the son-in-law of the chair of the Trusts. It was the first relating to the Tauranga land confiscations submitted since the 1985 changes to the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975. We were to work as a team to research and advance the claim. At the same time I was preparing to do the carvings for my Ngati Pukenga wharenui and marae of Whetu ki Te Rangi at Ngapeke.

However my research offer was revoked six months later when a second cousin became chair of the combined Ngati Kahu Land Trusts. I received a letter from the Trust stating that my services were no longer required. I did not take this rejection or disappointment personally as I viewed the letter as the decision of the chair as an individual. The decision was not tabled at a meeting, whereas my original research offer had been put forward at a meeting of the trusts and endorsed by that meeting. I knew that the claim would not get off the ground because of the lack of funds, and the inability of anyone in the hapu to advance the claim.

In 1987, not long after I commenced the carving project at Whetu marae, carving ancestors for the front of the house - maihi, amo, papepae, tekoteko and koruru - an elder of Ngati Kahu, Albert Brown, arrived at the marae and said "come with me, I'm going to see Jack Steedman" (a second cousin to my grandfather Tatana), which was his way of saying "I've got a job for you, the research for Ngati Kahu" (see Append. 2(i) for relationship). Albert, as an elder, grew impatient with the infighting of Ngati Kahu Land Trusts and he went around assigning people tasks for the hapu. My task was the hapu *raupatu* research.

Ngaitamarawaho, a Ngati Ranginui hapu, had followed Ngati Kahu with a *raupatu* claim in 1987, and politicised their claim with the occupation of the local town hall, which the Council was demolishing to make way for a complex for a library, retail shops and Council offices. The land was originally a Crown land grant for Maori purposes in the 1870s, and like many blocks of confiscated land, original town sections had passed into local government hands. Because his father was from Ngaitamarawaho, my uncle Albert was expected to represent the male

line of his grandfather. He attended hui with Ngaitamarawaho over the Town Hall and raupatu issues. This inspired him to restart the Ngati Kahu claims process, thinking that it was better for him to spend his time working on the Ngati Kahu claim rather than on the claim of the Ngaitamarawaho hapu.

Albert and I went to see Jack Steedman, a Ngati Pukenga whakapapa specialist who lived up the road from the marae, to enquire about Ngati Kahu whakapapa books he had access to, and to talk about whakapapa. Jack had put together some of the Ngati Kahu whakapapa and quoted the source as Ngawharau, an ancestor of the hapu active from the 1870s to the 1910s. His role has been as hapu agent for Ngati Kahu, first for the Tauranga Commissioners hearings into the confiscated lands, and second, for the Native Land Court. Jack would not reveal to us the source of his access to the Ngawharau whakapapa books as he wanted to 'trade' it for the whakapapa from Albert. Jack was aware that Albert had whakapapa books. I approached Jack later myself and obtained the source of the books. At one stage the Ngawharau books were in the hands of an elder of Ngaitamarawaho and this is when Jack had got access to them and copied the whakapapa.

The Ngawharau books, dating back to the 1880s, contained whakapapa and records of events and meetings of the hapu. Whakapapa books generally were created for the conduct of hearings of the Native Land Court, and hapu whakapapa and other records were made for this purpose. Hatana Ngawharau and his wife Wairua had acted on behalf of Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi at the Tauranga Commissioner's hearings on the allocation of the confiscated lands at Kaimai and Te Irihanga 1880s, and to me this was the importance and value of the books.

We set about researching whakapapa, and talking about what the hapu claims would entail. We walked over the land around the Wairoa Bethlehem area and Albert showed me *waahi tapu* (sacred sites). We interviewed his mother and a number of the older generation. I had access to his collection of whakapapa books. I did not do much writing but collated material and worked through a number of issues with the objective of defining in terms of tupuna, mana and whanau, who was Ngati Kahu.

The research Albert and I carried out was to provide some clarity through whakapapa of the hapu identity and social relations which was critical to the claim. First the Ngawharau whakapapa was orientated to Ngamarama, ancestors who preceded Ngati Ranginui in Tauranga, and to the Ngati Raukawa hapu of Kaokaoroa ki Te Patetere, the neighbouring tribal region. Ngati Kahu identifies today as a Ngati Ranginui hapu. Most Ngati Ranginui hapu in their whakapapa show direct descent from the eponymous ancestor Ranginui in their main whakapapa, except two Ranginui hapu who had eponymous ancestors who were of Te Arawa origin. These two hapu have whakapapa which emphasise descent from Ranginui through intermarriage of ancestors. Ngati Kahu traced their descent to two ancestors, Kahu who descended from Ngamarama and Kahutapu who descended from both Tainui and Ranginui ancestors. The question of these two ancestors, Kahu and Kahutapu, has been debated by Ngati Kahu which has been played out in a dispute over the name of the wharepuni over the last 30 years.

Our objective for the research was to define a "boundary of interest" for the three Wairoa hapu, Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi and Ngati Pango hapu, now all located on the Wairoa River. Ngati Rangi became incorporated with Ngati Kahu when the Crown in the 1860s placed them together with Ngati Kahu on confiscated reserves on the Wairoa River. Ngati Pango were located on the west side across the Wairoa River from Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi. We used early survey plans and other maps to plot areas of interest for the hapu claims, based on Albert's personal knowledge of the area from the harbour to the forested hills. His knowledge came from hunting and fishing in the forested catchments of the Wairoa River, guided by elders and families of this area. There also had been employment in this area logging native timber and on road maintenance gangs.

My personal input came from having been raised in the Kaimai area, the inland settlement area of Ngati Kahu, my familiarity with the Poripori and Te Irihanga areas, the former inland settlement areas of Ngati Pango and Ngati Rangi, and the research I had covered for my MA thesis, both in the field and archives. I had also used kin informants and elderly Pakeha farmers who had settled in the Kaimai in the 1910s for my thesis research.

In the research of the whakapapa, we came to the conclusion that the focus for the Ngati Kahu claim was as a Ngamarama hapu. Albert had family whakapapa

showing the Ngati Ranginui lines and Ngati Raukawa, and his mana as Ngati Ranginui. But for Ngati Kahu, their origin was Ngamarama. Two key indicators of this were first, that his mother Hoana wrote on the invitation for the 21st birthday of one of Albert's sons during the 1960s, that the venue for the birthday was the wharekai on the marae, Te Hoata o Ngamarama. Second, years later I had access to a book where notes were taken from the books of Te Kapene, a grandson of Ngawharau, who recorded the meeting held by elders of Ngati Kahu, Ngaiterangi from Rangiwaea Island and Ngati Raukawa to name the wharekai during the 1940s, and there a reference is made to Kahu o Ngamarama of Tainui origin, confirming the Ngamarama foundation and orientation of the Ngati Kahu whakapapa. Another area Albert had links to Te Irihanga, through his Ngati Rangi side. This was through his Ngati Rangi grandmother Riripeti Ngarama, and the fact that his parents lived at Whakamarama where his father Tame worked at the saw mill in the 1910s to 1930s. Albert referred to the skill of a Ngawharau in bridge-building for the bush mill tramline, indicating the persistence of skills the Wairoa hapu was noted for in pa defences under the leadership of Penetaka. Cowan visited Whakamarama in 1915 for material on his book on the New Zealand wars relating to the 'Hauhau' of Tauranga. While at Whakamarama he noted that "the Whakamarama Mill employs 60 to 70 men, mostly Maoris, many of them descendents of the Hauhau who held the fertile garden land of Whakamarama" (Cowan see 1923:154).

Albert and I operated alone to develop clarity on the claim because involving other elders or hapu members would have confused the direction, as elders or the older family heads might have wished to push their own family perspective. He also had a strong sense of the identity and mana of the two Wairoa hapu, Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi. His Ngati Kahu whakapapa was Ngawharau on his mother's side and Ngati Rangi on his father's side, and he had a good understanding and feel for these two hapu. He had a good knowledge of the area having been raised and lived all his life in the area, as well as working in the Tauranga area.

For information from the Ngati Pango hapu, I spent time with Meka Apaapa whose mother was Hinehui Aorangi, and he lived on the Ngati Pango block, Pukekonui, across the Wairoa River from Ngati Kahu. Ngati Pango comprised a cluster of households on a block of land. A desire and dream of Meka was for

Ngati Pango to have a marae on their land. They had a urupa, Pukehou, which was the former pa Pukekonui and some families connected to Ngati Kahu used the Wairoa marae. Meka was in his late 70s or early 80s, and had spent all his life at Te Wairoa, having never left the area. From Meka I gathered there was a lack of oral tradition relating to the period of the Pai Marire and an absence of whakapapa for Ngati Pango. Meka could recount to his life time at Te Wairoa and what he had seen, but his narratives never went back any further.

I was able to distinguish and separate Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi through my communication with elderly informants. They did not voice the separation of the two hapu but rather emphasised their identity and unity. Emere, my grandfather's sister, who was a key informant, said her mother Riripeti Tokona or Ngarama was Ngati Rangi, and her father Te Rauhea, who came from Huria, was Ngai Tamarawaho. She never once referred to herself as Ngati Kahu. Hera, her cousin, who had a house next door to us in the Te Ongaonga, referred to herself as Ngati Kahu. Her father was Rahiri, the son of Ngawaharau, and her mother, Merewaki, was a sister to Riripeti. Hera never talked about Ngati Rangi as distinctive hapu like Emere did, and she was raised as a young child by Tokona and Ngarama, her grandparents, who lived in Te Puna, having been given shares in land by Pirirakau because of Tokona's Pai Marire association.

Later I concluded that Ngati Rangi had became inoperative as a hapu as a consequence of confiscated land allocation, when they had been forced to share the land and a marae with Ngati Kahu. There also was the lack of males to maintain a presence on the paepae on the marae by the 1920s, which likewise would have contributed to their current social state. Ngati Pango were also located at Okauia on the western slopes of the Kaimai Range, but it was not until 2001 that I was able to work on this link. They had a marae at Okauia, but the whanau at Pukekonui did not engage with the Okauia side, and by 2000 the Okauia marae was rarely used.

As the Waitangi claim was land based we emphasised *tupuna* (ancestors) who had been used for claiming mana over land in the confiscated lands at the Commissioner's hearings during the late nineteenth century. The name of the wharepuni was Kahu and the *wharekai* (dining hall- companion to the meeting house) was Te Hoata, showed up on the Ngamarama whakapapa. Te Hoata was

the tupuna who was claimed by Ngawharau and Wairua as mana for the Purakautahi Block in the Kaimai in the 1880s. The base of the raupatu claim was the use of Ngamarama as ancestor for claiming mana for Ngati Kahu in the Kaimai area, and according to Hoana (Albert's mother), Ngamarama the *tupuna* had lived at Te Pura, Wairoa. We also agreed that we would be objective in defining boundaries with other hapu, in order to acknowledge the areas of interest of Ngati Kahu, and to show relationships rather than a claim based on land loss through a defined acreage number. There was no published or written history for Ngati Kahu, except for a story about the taniwha, Te Pura, published by the geographer Evelyn Stokes, and stories about the wider region of Tauranga Moana. But in a story of the taniwha written in her manuscript books by Hoana, mother of Albert, the name of the taniwha is given as Arama Reia. Evelyn Stokes wrote a story about Ngati Kahu and the conflict with Ngamarama at Kaimai which she never sourced in her publication (1986), but while visiting a Pakeha farmer in February 2004 about the urupa on the Ruakaka Block I was given a spare copy of a story written by Cowan in the 1930s which clearly was the source of Stoke's story. Where an ethnographer may ask the 'informant' about aspects of knowledge of the hapu such as history and kin relationships and genealogy, I researched answers myself.

My uncle died suddenly in 1988 and I was left to continue with the research alone. Not long after he passed away, where I once had access to his papers which he had set out in a garage on a table, his family cut access and these books quickly disappeared out of sight. I was offered a Fellowship in Waikato History at Waikato University, which I took as a three-year contract. After it ended I returned to Tauranga, teaching part time and taking work as a heritage management consultant.

Because of my association with Albert, my motivation for advancing the claim was never openly questioned by the hapu. Back in Tauranga I ran some workshops on the marae and set up a project to interview some of the older generation by tape recorder. My objective was success in the land claims and I was able to compare how Jack Steedman handled the whakapapa and what was relevant for the claim.

This research work was funded by money put aside by Kotene Pihema when he was chair of the Ngati Kahu Land Trusts. He had put aside $2000 for Wairoa River issues which was used to cover some expenses. The money was used for photocopying and some travel costs for archive work. Accessing documents in the archives opened up to me the era of the 19th century, of which there was no oral tradition amongst the Wairoa hapu and whanau. An example was the role of Ngati Kahu in disturbing the survey of the Kaimai area by surveyors hired by land speculators based in Cambridge in the 1870s, as well as the accounts and reports of the Pai Marire resistance.

Urban Issues

In 1989 the Local Government Commission changed the make up of local authorities in the Tauranga region – until then a city, two boroughs, and a county - by forming two district councils, rural and urban. Ngati Kahu along with five other hapu communities were now in the urban district council. In 1992 on my return to Tauranga I was commissioned to write a report for the Tauranga Urban Study to identify Maori issues associated with urban boundary extensions. A study done by consultants had recommended that the Bethlehem area remain rural because of the two hapu, Ngati Kahu and Ngati Hangarau, with their resident hapu members, marae, lands and urupa, key components of a hapu community. However public submissions and a market-led planning ideology led to the Tauranga District Council proposing urban zoning for Bethlehem in 1992 under the Urban Growth Strategy. I approached the trustees of the Ngati Kahu Land Trusts and marae committee to write objections to the proposed zone changes but they did not act on this advice. So I submitted submissions on behalf of the Land Trusts and marae committee myself.

On behalf of the hapu, I also presented submissions to resource consent applications relating to the vicinity of the marae. I approached a Maori lawyer, Joe Williams, who was commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal to oversee the Tauranga Raupatu in 1992, and asked if he was interested in acting as counsel for Ngati Kahu submissions against the District Council proposals for making Bethlehem and Wairoa an urban area. Joe Williams took on Ngati Kahu's case as legal counsel in 1993 to the Council's hearings of submissions on the Urban Growth Strategy, and the Council's decision to propose zoning the Bethlehem area urban led to Ngati Kahu taking an appeal to the Environment Court in 1994.

The appeal gave Ngati Kahu an opportunity to prepare evidence, and Williams used Anne Salmond, an anthropologist of note, as an expert witness. The Environment Court supported the appeal in its decision of 1994, which was that the area remain rural. This decision was a legal precedent regarding consultation with tangata whenua under the new Resource Management Act. And it slowed down developers who had set their sights on rapidly changing Wairoa and Bethlehem from rural to urban (fig.20).

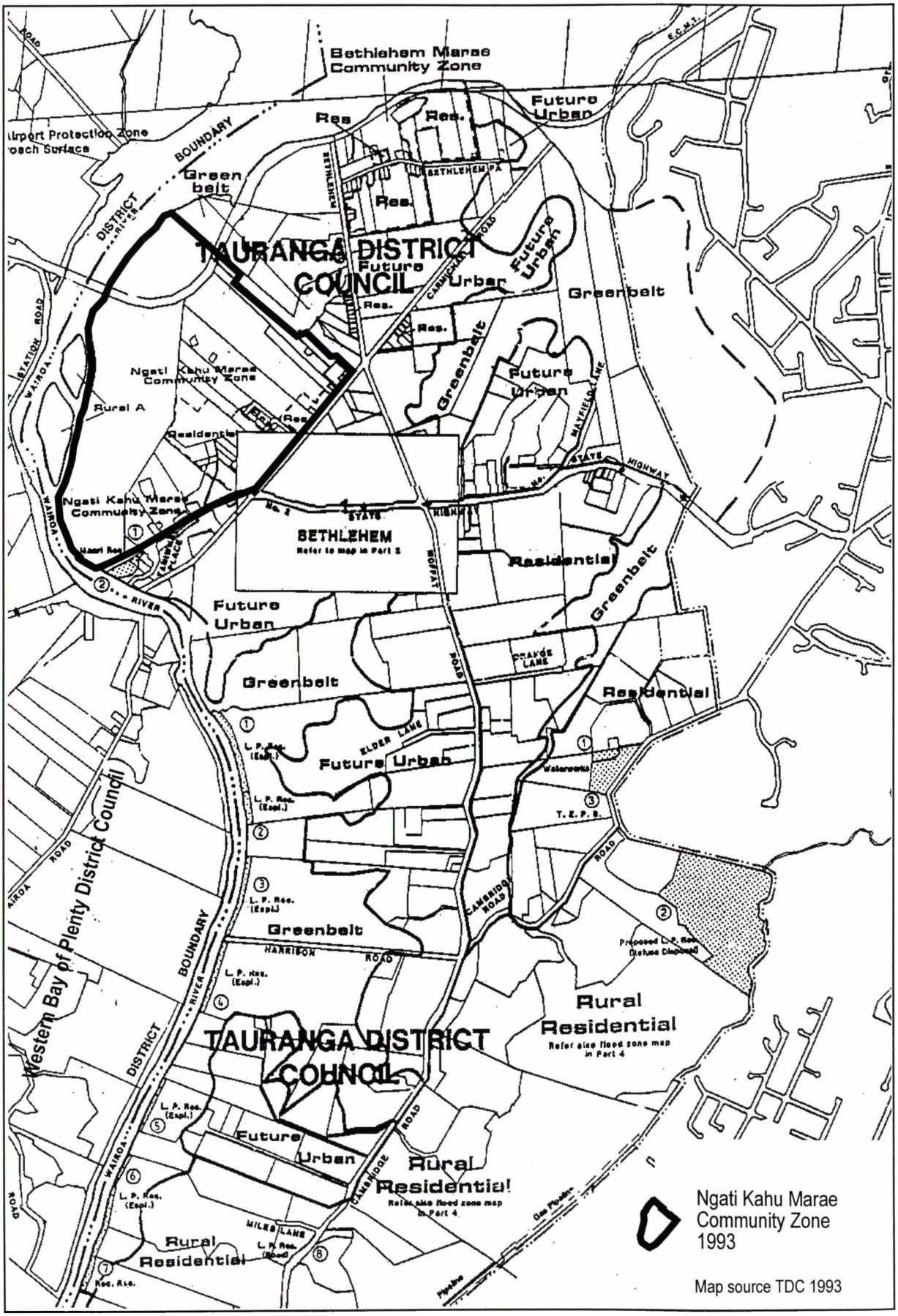
My impetus to act on behalf of the hapu came from the endorsement by Albert Brown to lead the Ngati Kahu Raupatu research, which I followed through by instigating submissions to the Council Urban Strategy, right through to the decision of the Court. Urbanisation threatened our claim, which was the heritage areas of the Wairoa River, pa, and waahi tapu. The objective was that when the Treaty of Waitangi settlement came around, the hapu could buy back important heritage areas from private property owners. The work with Albert Brown had given me confidence to pursue Ngati Kahu issues through the planning environment. A key element was the knowledge that had been built up from the land claim research. I was to follow up the appeal decision in 1996 with a submission on a proposed commercial zone change for a shopping centre in Bethlehem, where the Council had failed to address matters affecting Ngati Kahu that the Court had recommended. Council then funded a heritage management plan which was adopted by the Council in the 1998 District Plan Change.

I left Tauranga in late 1994, intending to enrol in a doctoral programme at Victoria University, Wellington, where I also had been offered some teaching with Maori Studies. My proposed research theme was land tenure as it related to the raupatu land claims, as this had become an all-consuming interest at that time and was a theme that was confronting many land claims to the Waitangi Tribunal. I wanted to use the material from my Tauranga land claim research to define a credible model of Maori land tenure, as such a model appeared to be absent from the claim research landscape.

The Urban Growth Strategy urban zone proposals not only affected Ngati Kahu but other hapu as well. One in particular was Ngapotiki, at Papamoa, an area that had been zoned urban in 1993. In Wellington I had contact with the Department of

Tauranga Urban Growth Strategy 1993
Showing Proposed Urban Zoning

Figure 20



Conservation archaeologists who had worked in Tauranga, and I had heard from them that the New Zealand Historic Places Trust was approving the destruction of 26 sites described as shell midden sites for a coastal residential development at Papamoa in late 1994. In 1993, I had conducted monitoring of a storm water pipeline in the sand dunes which went through some archaeological sites, as well as other archaeological monitoring in Tauranga, and I was aware that New Zealand Historic Places Trust had no heritage management strategy in place. I was concerned about the continuing wholesale destruction of heritage condoned by legislation and statutory bodies. Furthermore the implication for me personally was that this area related to the Kahotea side of my whakapapa. My great grand father Kahotea was both Ngapotiki and Ngati Pukenga, and this was his hapu and area.

I appealed the authority of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust to destroy the sites and spent the summer in Tauranga preparing for the appeal. I had to counter the opinion of mainstream archaeologists that these heritage sites were of no heritage or little archaeological value. But my argument was about ancestry and heritage. I examined pa, the coastal edge, waahi tapu and hills to work out cultural relationships between places and people. I received manuscripts from whanau and worked out relationships between sites and narrative histories. I spent the main part of January 1995 at Papamoa, because of the high level of residential development proposals, the presence of a high number of archaeological sites, and the demand for their destruction by developers. Papamoa sand dunes were noted as an area for ancestral burials, and while I was resident in Wellington in 1995 I was called back to Papamoa when human bones were uncovered by a consultant archaeologist in a housing subdivision.

My Ngapotiki and Ngati Pukenga links have been important for my Raupatu research for the Wairoa hapu, because whereas Wairoa hapu lands were confiscated and they had little land remaining, Ngati Pukenga and Ngapotiki lands had been returned and for generations they had enjoyed the benefits of having land to maintain and utilise. I was able to gauge the impact of land confiscation on the Wairoa hapu by direct comparisons with kin whose relationships with ancestral landscape were relatively undisturbed. Ngapotiki and Ngati Pukenga were to me an important source of historic narratives and social comparisons to help identify relationships between colonial policies of coercion, surveillance and

violence against the Pai Marire followers of Ngati Ranginui and the colonial constructs of mana and traditions the colonial officials used to validate their policies against the Pai Marire. Whereas I had attained a certain level of understanding of the Wairoa hapu through the land claim research, I achieved a similar level of understanding of Ngati Pukenga and Ngapotiki through archaeological and the wider heritage and advocacy role.

Claim Issues

While at Victoria University in 1995 I rewrote the Ngati Kahu claim to include Ngati Pango and Ngati Rangi because the names of the kaumatua placed on the claim had whakapapa which covered two or even three of these hapu. For example Meka Apaapa was Ngati Kahu and Ngati Pango, while Awhi Paraone was Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi. This had occurred with the intermarriage of their parents. There was some reaction and objection to this from some Ngati Kahu hapu members, but my objective was to be inclusive of all the Wairoa hapu. My understanding was that claims originated with hapu that had existed during the Land Wars, and because they had been Pai Marire, their current relative state of visibility and functioning as hapu was a direct consequence of policies implemented against them by the colonial government. The rewriting of the claim enabled the Waitangi Tribunal to commission claim reports for the Wairoa hapu because specific breaches of the Treaty were identified in the new claim. I then left Victoria University because I had been on a short term contract, and returned to Tauranga in January 1996 with the objective of writing the long overdue hapu reports, which I had optimistically started in 1986.

By 1995 Ngati Kahu had set up an administration for resource management and health services for the hapu. On my return, after I had set up an office in a cousin's garage at Te Reti in the Ngaitamarawaho area to write the reports, a message arrived for me from the hapu requesting that I hand over all my research material to a young hapu member, Anton Coffin. They wanted Anton to write the reports rather than me. My second cousin who back in 1986 had terminated my research obligations with Ngati Kahu, was now directing the hapu and issued the instruction that I hand over my research material. My response was a message to the hapu that the data stays with me. A meeting was called with kaumatua and a van was sent to pick me up to attend the meeting. I told the meeting of elders my position, and that I was not handing any material over to anyone. A kuia of the

hapu, Louie Knap, then stated that she wanted me to be involved in the writing of the reports, that it would be of comfort to her as she feared that her *mokopuna* (Anton was her sister's grandson) would be exposed to 'hurt' in the writing of the raupatu reports, and that my involvement in this would give protection to him. So it was agreed that we should work together. I did not have any disagreement with this arrangement, but one hapu member did not want me to write the reports. For him it was a matter of control and the power of information. They would have control over Anton, who was a young person in his mid-twenties, but not over me see Append. 2(ii) for relationship).

Anton and I shared the report writing. I did the historical background while he wrote about the post 1900 era. In 1996 I completed a raupatu report from which emerged certain themes: mana, leadership roles, and Crown patronage. But the report, to me, remained incomplete because it inadequately covered Ngati Pango and Ngati Rangi. During 1997 I continued further research, in between a teaching position in Auckland, and produced three more reports for the Waitangi Tribunal Wairoa hapu hearing that was conducted in Tauranga in December 1998.

Doctorate

I enrolled in a doctoral programme at Waikato University in 1997 with the same objective I had at Victoria of making use of the detailed raupatu research to write a dissertation. But the themes were now based on the 1996 report, and the issues of mana, leadership, and Crown patronage. I had abandoned the land tenure theme because I realised by then that, because of the confiscation and the administrative processes that occurred in Tauranga, it was not a good area to define a model of traditional land tenure. Also, the main source of data, land court records of title investigation, was based on English jurisprudence concepts which made it hard to work out what would have been the case in a "pre-Pakeha system". An important factor was the fact that in the 19th century there was no detailed ethnographic studies done on Maori in the manner of modern field ethnography. But then I started to realise that the issue is not about what was there before Pakeha came to Aotearoa but rather what colonisation did, the transformation that occurred through land alienation and the introduction of English land tenure ideas and concepts.

In 2001 I produced another report for Ngati Pango and continued research with this hapu. It was an extension of the 1996 Wairoa Hapu report because of the confirmation I had after the earlier hearings of Ngati Pango as Pai Marire. When writing the 1996 report there had been little direct information stating that Ngati Pango was Pai Marire because of the use by colonial officials of 'Pirirakau' as a generic term for the three Pai Marire hapu of Ngati Pango, Ngati Rangi and Te Pirirakau, but there were some references to Ngati Rangi as Pai Marire

But after the Ngati Kahu hearing in 1998 I gained access to manuscript papers which were a record of a meeting of Kingitanga supporters in the 1880s. Those who attended belonged to Ngati Pango, Ngati Rangi and Te Pirirakau. The record of those who attended the meeting was also a record of the Pai Marire followers of Ngati Rangi and Ngati Pango. There were no Ngati Kahu names, and by this stage the hapu politics under the direction of Hatana Ngawharau lay with Ngaiterangi iwi. This information was critical, because prior to this reference there was no record of Ngati Pango being Pai Marire.

I encouraged a cousin, Grace Gates, whose mother's family was Maihi of Ngati Pango, to do some Land Court research for a report, as I felt that she had a better understanding of the Ngati Pango side than I did. Also it provided an opportunity for Grace or someone from Ngati Pango to research through the archives, a form of empowerment. There was some pressure on Grace from people who did not like any exposure of the past, which they felt was threatening, especially information that was not commonly known, and they did not support the research because it negated the claim of Ngati Kuku to Ngati Pango lands.

The motivation for the doctorate came from the accumulation of research data produced in the claim, and from my desire give more scholarly attention to anthropological questions arising from the research. I was in the unique position as a claims researcher with a general anthropological background who was working in an area of land claim research that had produced a wealth of material concerning topical anthropological theoretical issues. The format of the claim research reports imposed some limitations on addressing anthropological theoretical topics such as mana, hapu, and leadership because of the leading role of historians in the writing of claim reports. Social organisation was not a specific focus of the claims, although this topic was a core research issue for claimants.

There was also the personal motivation to extend the research boundary of the hapu claim adding more depth and dimension to claim issues.

An important consideration for the doctorate research and writing was to present critical material and evidence which I had been unable to bring forward in the reports. Many current landowners of remaining blocks of land would have taken offence to material challenging their rights to these lands. There would also be a reaction from some families to any exposure of the actions of their ancestors who supported the colonial government and their policies and received patronage from the Crown. Land confiscation has involved great loss to many, and all claimants wanted to maintain this image. Intermarriage, political change over time, and contemporary leadership had blurred the historic political distinctions that marked the land confiscation era, and many contemporary Maori have ancestors who were in both camps of supporting and opposing the colonial government, with both loss and gain that occurred. I also had to consider hapu members as a whole, whether they were comfortable or could handle any backlash from presenting evidence that was sensitive to some members.

In the neighbouring Waikato, the great loss of land suffered by most of Tainui was enshrined in the politics of the Kingitanga, and kupapa and their descendents had been ostracised for generations. But in Tauranga the divisions between colonial government supporters and Pai Marire resisters reflected the division between the two iwi, Ngaiterangi and Ngati Ranginui respectively, and the 'friendly chiefs' had tended to dominate the official histories and oral narratives. But also there was a matter of research ethics, where I had to consider what was the appropriate forum to raise issues that may be controversial. An example is that *kupapa* chiefs could not be pointed out without their descendents taking great offence. Controversy raged within a neighbouring hapu, Te Pirirakau, when a historian wrote in a draft report that a named ancestor was *kupapa* and a particular whanau challenged the hapu claimants and set up a counter claim that was heard by the Tribunal. This spilled over in 2002 to a recent threat by this same whanau to bulldoze a urupa. Such a problem would not emerge in a dissertation because it is not a public forum and the presentation of argument and direct consequences differ from a claim report and hearing.

Land Claims

There has been a history in Tauranga since the early 1900s of approaches being made to the government about the land confiscation and the impact that the loss of land had. The early lobbying was specifically from Ngati Ranginui, led by Ngaitamarawaho who made petitions for land and in 1926 made a presentation to the Sims Commission. My mother's paternal grandfather, Te Rauhea, had a major role in seeking redress for Ngati Ranginui, although his nephew Kohu headed the petition. My mother's aunt, Emere talked of helping her father, Te Rauhea, in the writing of correspondence and reiterated this role to me. By the 1970s the Tauranga Moana Maori Executive Committee of the New Zealand Maori Council had taken over the land confiscation lobbying and included both Ngaiterangi and Ngati Ranginui. Where once appeals to the Crown for the redress of land confiscation had been taken only by Ngati Ranginui, it was now directed by Ngaiterangi. The Committee made representations to the government seeking compensation for land confiscated in Tauranga in 1864. A Labour government responded with compensation of $250,000 in 1981, with conditions that this was a full and final settlement of any claims. In 1992 the Waitangi Tribunal appointed Joe Williams as a legal counsel to get the Tauranga Raupatu Claim underway. This was the first attempt at organising the Tauranga Raupatu Claim and by now there were a number of claimants. The Waitangi Tribunal commissioned some generic reports and some of the individual claims. Joe Williams had applied to the Crown Rental Forestry Trust for funding, as part of the Athenree Forests was within the Tauranga Raupatu boundary. By 1993 a number of claimant groups were now meeting regularly to advance the claim, especially in the area of funding for reports. I attended these meetings representing Ngati Kahu.

The Tauranga land confiscation claims stuttered along in the 1990s because of a lack of finance for research, and an absence of claim management and direction. Hearings of the claims began in 1997, as land confiscation claims were given a government priority for settlement, and ended in early 2002, covering the period of 1864 to 1886. The arbitrary date of 1886 was to separate the Tauranga Raupatu claims from other claims, such as for public takings of land by the government which post-dated this period. The Tribunal established this timeframe to hurry the process along, as many hapu and iwi claimants dealt with a number of issues and events from 1864 right up to the present.

Waitangi Tribunal Research and Hearings

The process of making a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal involved the writing of a statement of claim against the Crown for breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi, the engagement of legal counsel to represent the claimants, the commissioning of researchers by the Tribunal to write reports on the claim – or, in the case of Crown Forest Rental Trust funding, the claimants commissioning reports - and then hearings for the presentation of reports and other forms of evidence. The Tribunal completes the claim with a report of their findings. Linda Tuhiwai Smith describes this formal procedure the writing and production of reports as a claim process which was demanded by the Waitangi Tribunal (1999:169). This gave the opportunity for either hapu or iwi claimants to develop their own research programme, but many claimants were handicapped by the lack of skilled researchers and people with tertiary qualifications.

The breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi have to be the focus of claim and research, supported by documentation. The claims process is heavily reliant on documented sources, as the complaint is against the actions of the Crown, and this has to be verified by evidence in the form of supporting documentary material. After the first period of Tribunal hearings for claims, the Tribunal then moved towards more formal presentations and expert witnesses, and the standard of reports reflected this development. Many reports written by claimants were found to be inadequate, reflecting the lack of skill and academic training. A role was then created for historians to write historical reports. Buddy Mikaere was a Maori historian who was head of the Tribunal Research Unit and in 1995 he made public opinions that were scathing of many claimant reports. He reinforced the position of historians, who were mainly Pakeha, as report writers for the claimants. The claimant's inability to direct the claims because of their lack of expertise is a thesis in itself.

The Ngati Ranginui claim was hapu based and the reports were historical in nature, backgrounding history relevant to the hapu, whakapapa, and some analysis of political activity from the 1860s to the early 1900s. An aspect of the hapu research was the dependence on historical material and the relative absence of oral tradition relating to the 19th century. It is only now that I can attribute the absence of oral tradition to the cultural effects of confiscation, and the long-term impact of specific colonial policies in suppressing the cultural and political resistance of the

Pai Marire hapu. Another factor was that most hapu had not developed a 'claims culture', a tradition of lobbying and presenting submissions over a generation or two. A 'claims culture' as I use it here, involves the development of the claims information base, with the knowledge that is gathered being retained in the hapu with claimants learning how to present this material for specific hapu objectives. Claims require a certain way of thinking, and methods of accumulating and presenting knowledge as specific texts.

There has been little communication and sharing of research information between the Ngati Ranginui hapu. There has been plenty of dialogue at meetings, both supportive and oppositional, and discussion of common issues, but research was kept by the hapu, and other hapu did not get access to reports until they had been released to the Tribunal or claimant lawyers. Although Ngati Ranginui hapu were neighbours, little dialogue had occurred over common Raupatu issues. In the first Raupatu draft for Te Pirirakau, Ngati Rangi were claimed as a hapu of Pirirakau, a statement they attributed to their report writer, Buddy Makaere who was formerly of the Waitangi Tribunal. But it was because of a lack of communication amongst the Ngati Ranginui hapu claimants. This lack of communication had come about because Ngai Tamarawaho hapu were asserting a central role amongst themselves for the Ranginui claimants. They projected themselves as having suffered the greatest loss, whereas historically they had played a key role in seeking redress, and at the same time they had maintained the mana of Ranginui. This theme was picked up by Te Pirirakau, which created an environment of factions amongst the claimants, leading to considerable personal dialogue but little information sharing.

Prior to the first hearing by the Waitangi Tribunal, the hapu claimants who were advanced in their reports and claims felt that they were running or controlling the process. They commissioned lawyers for the claims hearings and it was not until a hearing date was decided upon that the reality of the hearing process came to the fore. Legal counsel then came to dominate the claims research and hearing process and the claimants were relegated to the back. There was also criticism from Ngaitamarawaho of Ngati Ranginui hapu claimants who had engaged lawyers who also had Ngaiterangi iwi as claim clients, which the former saw as a conflict of interest. The Ngati Kahu lawyer, Joe Williams, was one such lawyer.

The Waitangi Tribunal heard the first Ngati Ranginui hapu claim in 1997. This was from Te Pirirakau, the neighbouring hapu of the Wairoa hapu, from west of the Wairoa River. This hapu received extensive funding from the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, as they had identified an ancestral link to the Athenree Forest. The objective was that Pirirakau would produce reports that would cover other Ranginui hapu claimants. There was some ancestral occupation links of Ngati Ranginui in the Athenree area, but according to Ngaiterangi tradition this was supplanted by Ngaiterangi occupation and use of the area.

From my perspective as a hapu researcher, the Tribunal was economical in their approach to research funding, partly because of the political pressure and partly finance. As long as the commissioned research had satisfied the Waitangi Tribunal research outline this was acceptable to the Tribunal. In many reports there was little detail or depth of analysis, just historiography. Recent graduates produced many claim reports and towards the end of the hearings the Tribunal commissioned specialist generic overview reports from noted historians. A higher quality of research and ability was evident in these later reports. The Tribunal had a commitment to funding research but this was limited by their budgets. I say this in spite of numerous reports that had been commissioned and written.

At this time, Government policy and direction was influencing the Tribunal. Government was acknowledging that land confiscations were a breach of the Treaty which became a settlement priority after the Tainui Settlement in 1996. Tainui went directly to the Crown bypassing the Tribunal claim hearings. The Government wanted to get the settlement process over and done with for political expediency, and they wanted raupatu regions to go into direct negotiations, the same as Tainui did. During election years they pointed out settlements that had been reached hoping to show the electorate they were managing the Treaty Claims process.

At the beginning of the Tauranga Raupatu hearings, the Tribunal rather than the claimants drove the research process through the commissioning of reports. When more funding became available to claimants via the Crown Forest Rental Trust during 1999, the claimants had become more aware of how much they could direct the claim research themselves, rather than leaving it to the Tribunal to commission the research. The research generally now became guided by the

claimant's lawyers. Once the claimants understood the claim process and the formal presentation of evidence, it became obvious that the type of detail that satisfied the Tribunal and the claimants were different. For the claimants, traditional detail and analysis was important to their claim. For the Tribunal it was the historical detail.

The backgrounds of researchers were also important for the claims. Margaret Mutu-Grigg found many short-comings in the role of historians for the Muriwhenua Claim in the Taitokerau region. The historians were recent graduates who had written theses on Maori related matters but had no formal training in Maori Studies, and more importantly no knowledge of Maori language. A large part of the information available at hui was in Maori and the historians struggled to cope. Mutu-Grigg found the historians produced very good supporting evidence for the claimants but in the long run the ignorance of historians proved disastrous for Muriwhenua. The Crown criticised the evidence presented by researchers assisting the claimants and the Tribunal gave serious consideration to these criticisms (Mutu-Grigg 1999:56).

> It is an ongoing problem for Maori research that so many historians who deal with Maori matters as part of their research are still unable to apply anything other than a strictly western historical perspective and analysis to the evidence they uncover (ibid:56).

She goes on further to say that:

> The prevailing view a significant number of very influential individuals in the field appear to be that the current western academic histories are proper histories and that although it would be interesting to add a Maori perspective, there is really no need to change what is currently being done' (ibid.).

In respect to Muriwhenua, Mutu-Grigg was expressing what Tauranga claimants also felt and observed - that the historical evidence of the historians was considered by the Tribunal officials to be more important than hapu evidence.

But Keith Sorrenson, an academic historian and a member of the Waitangi Tribunal, in 1989, drew attention to the historical issues underlying contemporary Maori claims (McHugh 2000:38). The appearance and role of lawyers in the hearings, with their agendas, and the claimants' needs of the present, and preservation of the integrity of the past, made history a politically charged

exercise for Treaty of Waitangi claims. Hapu claimants' evidence and history was orientated to demonstrate loss and impact.

The Ngati Kahu reports for the hearings were commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal. When the lawyer, Joe Williams, came on board there was no further source of funds to commission further reports, and the Tribunal reports were regarded as adequate in number for a hearing. Williams was commissioned by Ngati Kahu because of his supportive role in the Environment Court appeal against the Tauranga District Council in 1993 and 1994. The input of Williams was only in the briefs of evidence by elders and other hapu members. Anton Coffin and I covered the historical aspects of the claim with our reports. After the Ngati Kahu hearing, the Crown Forest Rental Trust released more funding for the Tauranga claimants and we started to see the input of more lawyers into the Tauranga Raupatu claims, although most legal teams were funded by the Justice Department through legal aid. What Sorrenson had pointed out was that lawyers were giving the directions for claim reports to follow the arguments they advocated for the 'clients' (Sorrenson 1987).

An observation I made in the mid 1990s was that social impact reports written for Treaty of Waitangi claims were generally written by historians and that the methodology used meant that it was not possible to distinguish between iwi whose land was confiscated from those whose land has not been confiscated. Loss of land, whether through confiscation or sale, had the same impact which was settler colonisation and domination with long term negative social and economic consequence for Maori. The social impact report for Ngati Makino, for example, showed an iwi on the eastern coastal regional boundary of Otamarakau of the former Tauranga County, now the Western Bay of Plenty District Council, where impact had been from gradual land alienation policies of the colonial government over a long period of time. But Pai Marire hapu, or those who resisted as insurgents, were subjected to specific measures, with sudden losses of all or most of their lands as punishment for resisting the colonial settler government.

These hearings with the presentation of historical reports and hapu and iwi evidence were an important empowering process for the hapu and iwi claimants. A core group of hearing followers analysed and examined each hearing, and the presentation and cross-examination by the Tribunal, claimant lawyers and the

Crown. The performance of a claimant's hearing team was important. There was the presentation of evidence by historians, experts and hapu witnesses, and questioning by the Tribunal, the Crown and other claimants through their lawyers. The local Iwi radio station broadcast the hearings for those who were not in attendance, and discussion was widespread throughout Tauranga. The Tribunal was not interested in local political issues, but for some claimants it was hard to separate historical experience that originated with the land confiscation from the claims process. The claimants were separated into two iwi camps, Ngati Ranginui and Ngaiterangi.

The first major Raupatu claim heard by the Waitangi Tribunal had been the Taranaki claim which was first heard in 1990 and completed in 1996. In the Taranaki hearings, the process followed was that the Tribunal heard the claim as presented and then commissioned reports as issues emerged. However this process was lengthy and was changed by the Tribunal at Tauranga. They adopted what was called the 'case book approach' where key research reports were used or commissioned to develop a case book, and then the hearings began, with claimants adding reports for their hearings. A series of Tribunal hearings was conducted between 1997 and 2001, and preliminary settlement meetings amongst various claimants began tentatively in 2002.

Claim Reports

The claims hearing process involved the commissioning of reports by either the Tribunal or Crown Forest Rental Trust, presentation of a brief overview, and cross-examination by the Crown and other claimants over matters relating to the reports. The report I wrote for the Wairoa hapu was mainly from documented sources and personal and hapu knowledge. This dependence on documented sources for claims research, rather than oral tradition gives some indication of the oppression suffered by adherents to Pai Marire, to the extent that their descendents suffered collective 'memory loss' during the twentieth century, with little tradition of experiences of the Pai Marire being transmitted orally between generations.

For instance, there is little oral tradition remaining regarding the Pai Marire (Hauhau) and Gate Pa facets of the history of these hapu. At first, I considered this 'memory loss' as part of a process of changing lifestyles, where a generation

becomes more dependent on the cash economy than subsistence, and the demands such employment makes on peoples' time and minds. Less importance was placed by the younger generation on the role for traditions. Many kaumatua I have talked with and interviewed over the years talked about how they had not listened to the korero the old people spoke about places when they were eeling and engaged in other food-gathering activity. And they displayed no knowledge or any inclination to talk about the Pai Marire era, or Gate Pa and post-Gate Pa. People knew broad details about the battle, but that was all.

It is only now writing the dissertation that I can reflect and propose that this 'memory loss' is attributable to the coercion and violence committed upon the Pai Marire hapu by the colonial government. This is the bigger picture, colonisation. It was not until August 2002, when I adopted the theoretical paradigm of the Indian 'subaltern school' and theorists, which I found reflected my personal outlook to my core research problems, that the historical discourses associated with nineteenth century land confiscation and its legacy for three Tauranga hapu began to make full sense. It was not so much the theories and ideas of the 'subaltern school', but the context of British colonisation and the Subalterns' deconstruction of colonial history. There are many differences between the former colonies of India and New Zealand (Aotearoa) and their indigenous peoples, but both share an experience of colonisation as part of the global force of British imperialism and both have been subjected to the wider culture of imperialism (Spivak 1996:204).

Ethnography

Ethnography of the Maori during the nineteenth century was closely associated with British imperialism. The first phase of ethnography during the colonial era involved the accounts by the missionaries, travellers, colonial officials and Maori informants who produced texts representing Maori life and beliefs as they existed at the time. The second phase was the era of the colonial anthropology of Best, Smith, Tregear and others, who generally were most concerned with ideas of Maori origins and who looked to recreate Maori before 'contamination' by the advancement of civilisation. But in between these two anthropological epochs was an episode in the early 1860s when Maori resisted the achievement of colonial domination and which effectively came to an end in the 1890s as indicated by the

role of Native Land Court in the depletion of the Maori estate through land alienation.

This period produced texts that effectively constitute an alternative archive, particularly in respect to 'rebel' or 'insurgent' Maori. It can be especially found in records of meetings, letters, messages, descriptions of conflicts and representations of culture through Land Court hearings. This representation of Maori colonial culture has so far been addressed by historians such as Judith Binney and museum ethnologists such as Roger Neich. The subject matter of this ethnographic archive becomes a representation of the resistance that was undertaken by the Pai Marire Wairoa hapu and an important source of ethnography for the twentieth century land claim research which I conducted and produced as historical revision.

The archive has been important to the "subaltern school" theorists in their deconstructions of Indian colonial history. Guha points out the primary sources speak to the historian with an ancestral voice and make him feel close to the subject (1993:48). This also has been my situation, where events and names encountered had a direct ancestral relationship. From the early beginnings of the Kingitanga in the 1850s, followed by the Land Wars and land confiscation, the colonisers generated a record of coercion, surveillance and violence against the 'rebel' or 'insurgent' in the form of reports, letters, eye witness accounts, newspaper articles. This archive in turn, now dominates the historic discourse central to claims research.

> The corpus of historical writings on peasant insurgency in colonial India is made up of three types of discourse. These may be described as primary, secondary and tertiary according to their order of time and filiations. Each of these is differentiated from the other two by the degree of its formal and /or acknowledged (as opposed to real and/or tacit) identification with an official point of view, by the measure of the distance from the event to which it refers, and by the ratio of the distributive and integrative components in its narrative (Guha 1988:47).

The primary discourse originated with bureaucrats, soldiers, and others directly employed by the government. It was official and meant primarily for administrative use - for the information of the government, for action on its part and for the determination of its policy (ibid). A large quantity of the primary

discourse was in the form of correspondence between colonial officials. The insurgents in the New Zealand case such as Kingitanga and Hauhau (Pai Marire) also generated statements either directly by letter or informant or indirectly in the body of official correspondence.

It has been the primary discourse archive, the messages of the bureaucrats and military and the observations of newspaper reporters that have provided the subaltern hapu a voice. Colonialist discourse does not acknowledge the insurgent as the subject of their own history (cf. Guha 1988:82) but the claims process allows a claimant to project their voice or consciousness, their versions and interpretation of events. The period of the Land Wars generated an ethnography of colonial political and military discourse and marked the rapid transformation of an 'oral' culture into a 'literate' culture.

Anthropology belongs to the West, but a genre of writing that is becoming increasingly visible is "native anthropology" in which people who were formerly the objects of ethnography become the authors of studies of their own group (Reed-Danahay 1997:2). The precursors were the insider ethnographies and publication of indigenous colonised people, writers like Jomo Kenyatta and Maha Winiata.

For this dissertation in social anthropology, the ethnographic focus is a land confiscation claim. Leadership, social organisation, land tenure, politics, social organisation, and kinship are aspects of study, but my purpose is not to construct a anthropological description of the hapu but to deconstruct the colonial history and experiences of the hapu as a means of explaining their contemporary social state. The 19th century ancestors of these hapu were Kingitanga and Pai Marire. They became the object of military and political containment leading to colonial transformation. In the case of Ngati Pango, for example, the themes explored are the absence of hapu history and whakapapa and the validity of Ngati Kuku's claiming of Ngati Pango lands at Poripori.

As the initial research was for a land claim, I placed parameters on the informants I had interviewed or people I had general discussions with, the objective being to draw out the information relevant to the claim. Over the years I have been able to examine issues of the hapu within the context of the debate over the name of the

wharepuni, and incidents such as the burning of the first 'new' wharepuni and observation of the dismantling of the 'old' wharepuni. A common story was that the wharepuni use to be down in the swamp and the carvings were taken off and the house shifted to the present location. The story about the removal of carvings was that the carvings were a medium for *makutu* (witchcraft) and this was prevalent amongst the hapu at this period. There were booklets and photographs of the wharepuni and marae ca 1905 in the local library archives, which Albert and I saw together. The wharepuni was in the form of the 1880-90s style of Maori house architecture and similar in form to the neighbouring Ngati Hangarau wharepuni at Peterehema which has the original layout of tahuhu and heke. Emere remembered Te Urukaraka, one of the wives of Penetaka Tuaia, having a whare next to the wharenui in 1910 and one photo shows a cluster of houses surrounding the wharepuni (figure (vi)). With the dismantling of the wharepuni in 1991 I was able to observe that house was not the original whare seen in the photographs but a whare that would have been built in the 1910s because it was completely framed in the Pakeha building style with floorboards. Names of the builders were found in the roof. But there was no collective memory of the building of this newer wharepuni by the older generation of the hapu.

8.

SOCIAL HISTORY OF WAIROA HAPU

Two key transformations for the Wairoa hapu have been the historical experience of land confiscation in the 19th century, and the changing kinship and political alliances of the nineteenth and twentieth century. Both of these have been more recently played out in the twentieth century land confiscation claims and the disputes over the name of the Ngati Kahu wharepuni. During the nineteenth century the main Ngati Kahu kin interactions were with the Ngati Raukawa hapu of Ngati Motai and Ngati Kirihika in their inland territory of the Kaimai. The kin orientation for these hapu has been formed through intermarriage and the sharing of a common territory. Land confiscation and the Kaimai land alienation by the 1890s meant that Ngati Kahu began to concentrate their kin interactions with their Tauranga harbour edge lands, the confiscated reserves on the Wairoa River (Parish of Te Papa 8, 91 and 453).

The British colonial settler perspective has been a major influence on our understanding of the hapu. This has been through the attention given to the hapu as the landowning group rather than its other aspects such as the centre of social relations with kin and other kin related groups. From anthropological studies of 19th century Maori social organisation and kinship structure, the hapu is seen foremost as the significant operational unit for the transmission of land rights because of the colonial attention to native land tenure, confiscation and selling of land to colonists, and the legal operation of the Native Land Court, established by the colonists for the acquisition of Maori land.

My argument is that anthropological views of the hapu have been largely influenced by the Native Land Court and its processes of 'title investigation'. Colonial anthropologists and supporters of the Polynesian Society drew upon the workings of the Native Land Court, the land court records, and hearings for tribal histories which included aspects of social organisation and culture. Raymond Firth also drew much of his ethnographic information from land court hearings for his study of Maori economic organisation in 1929. Apirana Ngata wrote that the operation of the Native Land Court was the judicial interpretation of native custom which was accompanied by the reduction of tribal traditions and genealogical

descent where the names of individuals then living for various reason was recorded in the orders of the Court and were declared to be beneficial owners of the land. Under this system, awards were made in accordance with the rights and residence of ancestors, subject only to occupation at a recent period. The court decided in favour of ancestors, and accepted into the title, with or without conditions as to occupation, all persons tracing descent from such ancestors (1931:G10i). Also, the Treaty of Waitangi claims process, in highlighting the central role of the hapu to land, has elevated the hapu as the primary social organization that deals with land. Durie describes the hapu rather than the iwi as the primary social organisation during the 19th century. Iwi was a social category which existed at the ideological and expeditionary level, while hapu was the main functioning social group (Durie 1998:30).

When the Native Land Act 1862 was introduced, and the Land Court was established, the hapu as a landowning group assumed a dominant role in land title claims which were contested in an adversarial court environment where the presentation of evidence was supported by history, traditions, genealogies and evidence of occupation with a survey plan to define the area of claim. A list or memorial of 'owners' was produced by the successful claimants generally in the form of hapu lists, and these lists of names and system of succession created the current landowners as tenants in common of Maori freehold land.

Although land was confiscated in Tauranga, what was produced in the allocation of land in the nineteenth century was a mixture of tenure for different blocks of land and lists of hapu for land surrounding the marae and urupa. Land around the marae of the Ngati Ranginui hapu of 1870s and 1880s were confiscation hapu reserves whose lists of 'owners' were drawn up after the grants were allocated. For most hapu these hapu lists have become representative of the hapu at that point of time. For land that was inland or distant from the marae, the hapu ownership lists included individual or groups not socially aligned with the hapu, although there may be some genealogical connection. Through an examination of hapu lists on reserves (Parish of Te Papa 8, 91 and 453) and returned lands (Te Ongaonga 1, Purakautahi) for Ngati Kahu, I will now explore the theme of hapu social relations.

The examination of Maori social organisation by Te Rangihiroa and Elsdon Best was cursory, while Firth, reflecting his functionalist background, provided more

detail. Best (1924:89) refers to tribal organisation of the Maori in terms of three different groups – the tribe (iwi), the clan (hapu), and the family group. Buck (1950:333) describes the formation of the tribe where the whanau was an evolutionary model, the smallest social unit and with each generation as the number of families increased in number, the term could no longer be used and hapu was the term to denote the expanded family group. The word hapu expressed the idea of birth from common ancestors and thus stressed the blood tie which united the families for the purpose of cooperation in active operations and in defence. That was as far as he went in his description. Winiata maintained this general view in his examination of changing Maori leadership, although he does give some description of observations of hapu in social action (1954). Best, Te Rangihiroa and Firth were very much aware of the impact of colonisation, but following the pattern 19th century colonial anthropology their comments were orientated to descriptions of pre-Pakeha Maori society rather than detailed analysis of contemporary social structure and function. Metge suggests that the model of Maori social structure developed by Best, Firth and Te Rangihiroa was limited in its provision of detail and its handling of variation, process and change. Their description was structural rather than of process (1995:37). They wanted to describe Maori society in general from a variety of sources, rather than examine a specific social group as in direct ethnographic observation of a particular group of people within their social context.

Firth was the first to pursue the idea of the hapu as a corporate group operating as an economic unit (1928). Firth, in describing the character of the hapu, says:

> The hapu in traditional Maori society was a group of kin tracing their relationship to one another by genealogies with an ultimate point of reference to a common ancestor. The members of the hapu were categorized by the use of a common name, transmitted from one generation to another. They operated as a group on specific occasions and regard to specific resources, but occasions and resources were multiple. The generation depth of a hapu varied according to the level of segmentation, but recognition of eight to ten generations was common.....But criterion which primarily determined his membership - granted consanguineal kinship ties - was residence (Firth 1963; 1971:68).

In Firth's view, kin structure and operation defined the hapu. The system of defining membership was the extended bilateral family, three or four generations

deep which was the main production, consumption, residential and land holding unit (Firth 1971:68) but he did not describe the process of how membership may arise.

The ethnographies of the 1950s and 1960s by Joan Metge, Pat Hohepa, Hugh Kawharu and Bernie Kernot overseen by Piddington and were centrally interested in the transition from traditional to modern culture, based on field observations of contemporary Maori communities (Webster 1998:126). Webster's view is that the theoretical issue of this era was that the hapu did not exist any more. But most of these ethnographies were in the Taitokerau region, and this view of the hapu could be indicative of that region, compared to the Waikato and Bay of Plenty region, which may have a different focus on the hapu as a functioning social unit. My analysis starts from the place and role of the hapu in Tauranga, where the current form of the hapu marae and wharepuni with elaborate decoration can be traced to the hapu settlements from the 1870s and the recording of the opening ceremonies for most marae by the local newspaper Bay of Plenty Times.

Firth had theorized that hapu were formed by fission, but Schwimmer demonstrated that hapu formation was a highly complex process which involved the fission and fusion of existing hapu and periodic restructuring of their genealogical basis in response to historical changes (Metge 1995:46). Webster takes a different perspective. He provides a historical overview of hapu, between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with a focus on descent. Webster differentiates between the ideology of descent, which enables hapu to persist through time, and the process of restriction and recruitment, which enable them to function as groups. He also distinguishes between the hapu as a descent category and the hapu as a descent group. The first defined hapu membership by descent alone and thus comprises all the descendents of the hapu ancestor, regardless of where they live or whether they keep in touch. The hapu descent group is defined by descent plus participation in group activities and comprises only those members of the descent category who live and work together (1975:137). He critiques anthropological studies of Maori communities of the 1950s and 1960s as functionalist in their approach and not concerned with any historical depth.

According to Webster (1998:128), the assumption that was made by this earlier group Joan Metge, Patiriki Hohepa and Hugh Kawharu was that hapu were "no

longer significant or merely residual in modern Maori society." But this view overlooks a region like Tauranga where hapu have been relatively consistent in their form from the early 1800s up to the present. That form has been the physical location of the hapu with their settlements of pa, kainga and the nineteenth century innovation of marae as ceremonial centre, with surrounding hapu lands, urupa (burial ground) and ancestral landscape. These components emphasise place in the identity of the hapu and its mana, as a site for the acting out of social relations with other hapu.

Colonial period

During the nineteenth century inter-regional tribal warfare period of the 1810s through to the 1840s, Tauranga was under the leadership and dominated by the Ngaiterangi fighting chiefs, and the Ngati Raukawa hapu and Ngati Haua iwi on the western boundary were important allies of the Tauranga iwi during this period. In the nineteenth century the Ngati Raukawa and Ngaiterangi kin links to the Wairoa hapu were politically important, and in the twentieth century the Ngati Ranginui links to Ngati Kahu became dominated by the politicisation of post raupatu land claims by Ngati Ranginui.

Christianity was introduced by missionaries of the Church Missionary Society who established a mission station at Te Papa in 1834. The Wairoa hapu were among their early converts. The C.M.S. supported the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in Tauranga in 1840, which was followed by colonial settler political domination and colonisation. The demand for land for settlers gave rise to the formation of the Kingitanga a mode of political resistance and consciousness. The Wairoa hapu became Kingitanga supporters in the late 1850s, following in the pattern of their traditional alliances with their Waikato kin. Later they turned to Pai Marire as a form of religious consciousness when the Kingitanga military resistance failed. Pai Marire was a further attempt to resist colonisation. The surrender to the Imperial forces in 1864 and the coercion of Ngaiterangi iwi into pledging loyalty to the Crown divided the Wairoa hapu, especially Ngati Kahu. Some complied and others continued to support the Kingitanga and took up Pai Marire. After the battles at Pukehinahina (Gate Pa) and Te Ranga, and the pacification hui, the Ngati Ranginui hapu became the centre of resistance to colonisation in Tauranga as they retained their links to and support for the Kingitanga. Where once Ngaiterangi chiefs had the political and military leadership roles in the Kingitanga resistance,

figure vi Papa o wharia 1858 Sketch by Kinder. Auckland Art Gallery 1989/19/2.

figure vii Building redoubt at Potiriwhi, Wairoa, Robley 1864. Location of current marae where the tents are pitched.

they now shifted their political ground and allegiance by pledging loyalty to the Crown at the surrender of arms. The presence of the military in Tauranga and government officials overseeing the confiscation created an environment where there was direct exposure to coercion to support the colonial settlement of the area.

Land loss through confiscation meant adjustments had to be made not only to the economic base but to the role of land as identity, mana, and what might be referred to as the ancestral landscape. Social relations for the Wairoa hapu with their close kin of Ngati Raukawa hapu (Ngati Kirihika, Ngati Motai and Ngati Apunga) was maintained throughout the nineteenth century. In fact the commitment to the new political forms during the colonial period was along these traditional kin links. Wiremu Tamihana Te Waharoa of Ngati Haua established the Kingitanga in Waikato, and the Wairoa hapu supported the Tauranga commitment with their support for Tupaea of Ngaitauwhao, a Ngaiterangi hapu. He had ariki status through his fighting chief role during the 1830s and 1840s.

Tupaea had important Raukawa lineage which was the source of the support from Wairoa hapu for his political leadership roles. Kuranui was the Ngati Motai kainga on the western slopes of the Kaimai Range and was a residence for Tupaea's with the Kingitanga based in Ngaruawahia in the late 1850s. Pai Marire was introduced to Tauranga in December 1864, and promoted by Tupaea from the Kaimai kainga of Ngati Kahu. But there was a political shift at the turn of the twentieth century away from the Raukawa kin to those of Tauranga. This was due to the push by Ngaitamarawaho hapu for Ngati Ranginui to distinguish their mana and rangatiratanga from Ngaiterangi, and the leading role they took in the 1920s in seeking redress for the confiscation of land. These changing kin and political alliances of the Wairoa hapu underlie the contested area for hapu identity today.

Two important aspects of the social history of the Wairoa hapu have been their postcolonial historical experience associated with colonial resistance and land confiscation, and their changing hapu kin alliances caused by their political orientations. The inter-regional tribal wars prior to colonisation, the Christian Missionary Society Mission Station at Te Papa, the Kingitanga movement, the Pai Marire religion, land confiscation and survey, the post confiscation settlement of land and political and social domination by British colonists, were key factors in the social history of these hapu during the nineteenth century. Kin alliances were

different for the three respective Wairoa hapu and provide some explanation for the varying levels of participation in colonial resistance with the Kingitanga movement and in the Pai Marire religion from each of the three hapu. Their individual ancestral origins and history prior to colonisation partly explains these differences. Each hapu had different kin links following their respective territories inland, Kaimai, Poripori and Te Irihanga, but shared a common location on the Wairoa River.

Wairoa

Wairoa is a geographical reference for the location of hapu on the Wairoa River. Ngati Kahu has a marae and two *urupa (*cemetery), the former *pa* (fortified settlement with ditches and banks and palisades) Whakaheke, and a small knoll known as Taumatawhioi below the marae. There is also a waahi tapu, Te Umukuri, known as a *waro,* which was wetland for burials in the swamp. Ngati Pango has a *kainga* (settlements of dispersed households) located on the west side of the Wairoa river consisting of resident landowners with the hapu urupa, Pukehou, and a *pa,* known in the past as Pukekonui, overlooking the Wairoa River. Ngati Rangi was an active and distinctive hapu until 1900 but does not exist as a hapu today. The identity of Ngati Rangi has been incorporated into Ngati Kahu through intermarriage, migration and leadership changes during the twentieth century. A factor contributing to the amalgamation of these two hapu was the allocation of settlement reserves (Parish of Te Papa, 453 and 91) by the Crown, to both Ngati Rangi and Ngati Kahu. Traditional animosities between Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi are, however, still maintained by families continuing age old disputes.

On the marae is the wharepuni, the structural element of the marae that expresses the identity of the hapu, especially if the house is named after an ancestor important to the hapu. The antiquity of wharepuni in this country can be traced back archaeologically to the 12th century (Prickett 1979), but the contemporary image and role of the hapu wharenui has its origins in the period following the land wars (Neich 1993), where the wharepuni became the centre of hapu settlement or kainga. In 1864, Robley, a British military officer, sketched a *pataka* at Papa o wharia, the Ngati Kahu kainga of the 1840s-60s on the Wairoa River, indicating that there was no wharepuni in the settlement. Pataka were then significant status structures within the settlement of a hapu (Neich). A date for the building of the Wairoa wharenui is 1897, the end of a period in Tauranga when hapu were relocating settlements and

Location of Wairoa Hapu 2000

figure 21

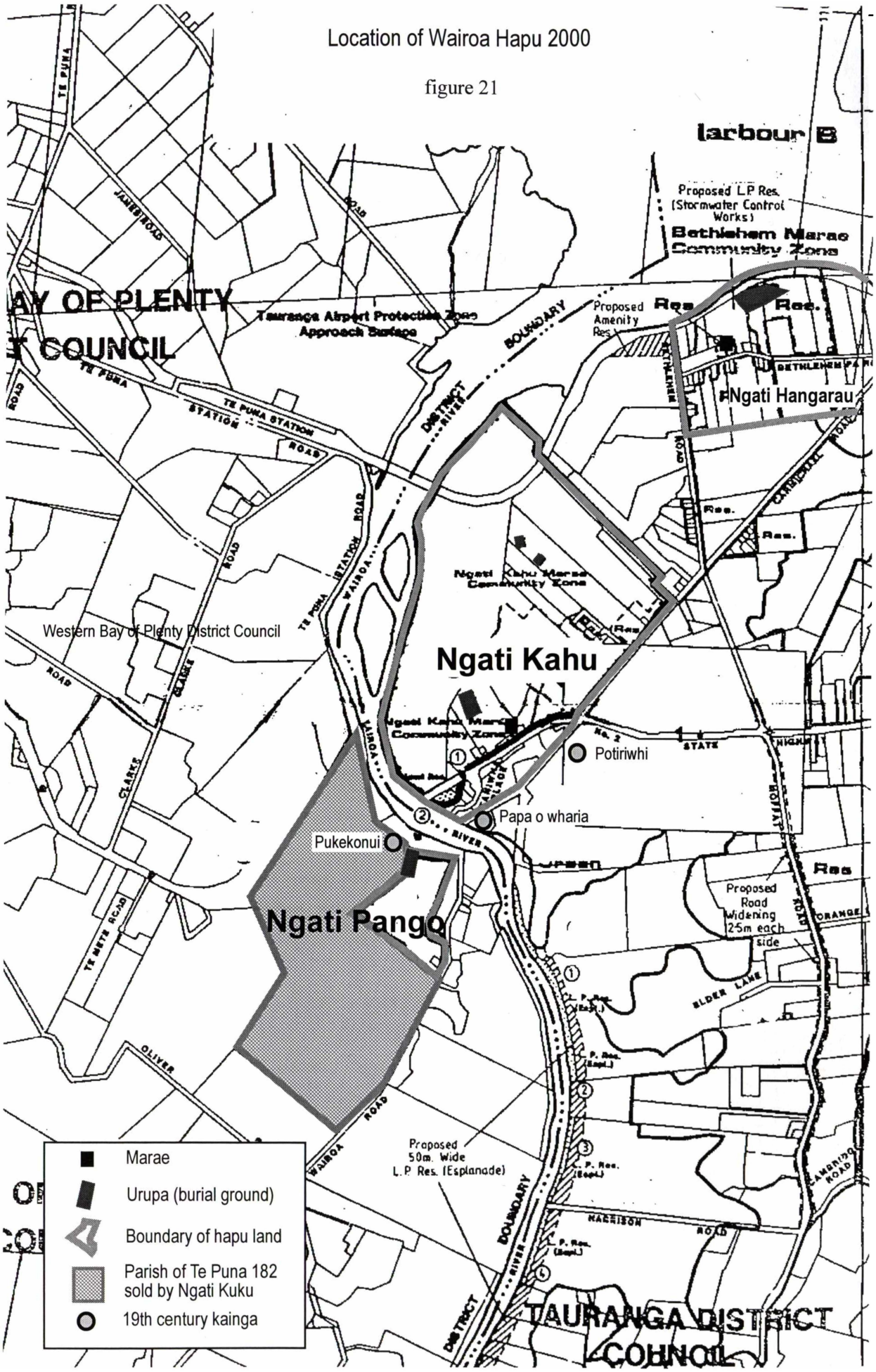


Figure viii. Wairoa 1990s – Wairoa River, Ngati Kahu Marae Community Zone
Wairoa Bridge Aerial T.D.C. Photo Tauranga City Libraries Collection 04-006 ca 1993-6

setting up the new form of marae and wharepuni. Intermarriage has blended Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi families as a mixed hapu but there are families whose whakapapa is still distinctly Ngati Rangi. Whakaheke and Potiriwhi were Ngati Rangi pa and kainga, and Papa o wharia was the kainga and pa of Ngati Kahu. Ngati Pango has survived as a hapu without a marae through residence on ancestral land or kainga. The descendents of Te Poria of Ngati Pango have reclaimed what remains of Parish of Te Puna 182 as Ngati Pango, although the Crown originally gave Ngati Kuku, a Ngaiterangi hapu, the block as a land confiscation grant. Maihi Te Poria and his mother, Pukehou, also known as Rangikau, succeeded to Te Aria of Ngati Kuku in 1890 and it is these descendents of Pukehou who still reside on the land while Ngati Kuku have sold all their shares on the block and abandoned the area.

Ngati Kahu and Ngati Pango identify as hapu of Ngati Ranginui iwi of Takitimu waka, but these two hapu have a Ngamarama and Tainui origin and strong kinship links to Ngati Raukawa. The neighbouring Ranginui hapu are Pirirakau of Te Puna to the north, west of the Wairoa River, and Ngati Hangarau one kilometre to the east on the harbour's edge. These hapu have clear and a distinct origin as Ngati Ranginui or descend directly from Ranginui.

Wharepuni discourse.

The contemporary issues for Ngati Kahu of their whakapapa relationships with certain Ngati Ranginui and Ngati Raukawa kin surfaced with the naming of the new wharepuni in 1992. At the opening ceremony, Haki Thompson, representing the whanau and hapu of Ngati Kahu, and also a noted elder from Ngati Raukawa, named the wharepuni Kahutapu, and referred to the Ngati Kahu hapu as Ngati Kahutapu. In the 1970s, a dispute had arisen in the hapu when a panel was placed above the window with the name Kahu. Up to this time no name had been placed on the wharepuni and this act became a source of contention where some were saying that the name should be Kahutapu rather than Kahu. One proponent of a name change from within the hapu was Hinetu Ormsby, one of the senior kuia in the hapu and who was married to Kapene Rahiri. During the 1970s this tension over the name led to an incident in the 1980s where the original *tekoteko (*ancestor figure at the apex on the gable of the meeting house [see photo]) was removed and burnt. This was followed by the burning of the new wharepuni in 1991 and more recently, in 2003, the removal of photographs from the rear wall of the wharepuni.

These events that have surrounded the wharepuni have been claimed by the Ngati Raukawa kin and elder Haki Thompson to be due to the non-acknowledgement of their Kahutapu tupuna by the hapu. In his view, if this could be set right, the trouble that has been afflicting the wharepuni would cease.

Disputes within the hapu over the wharepuni go back to the early 1900s when the original wharepuni was dismantled and buried in the swamp because of the tension within the hapu. *Makutu* (magic) was prevalent in the hapu, and the wharenui was dismantled to lessen the activity of *makutu*. Anecdotal comments have been that the carvings taken off the house were buried, but the photograph on page (plate 1) shows the house had only kowhaiwhai rafter patterns. The tekoteko from that house was taken off the wharepuni and put on the new house. In 1990 I watched the dismantling of the wharepuni when it was being replaced by the new building and saw that the house then was different from the house in the photograph, built in the 1910s. There was no reference within the hapu to the building of the second house.

The tension surrounding the wharepuni in many ways reflects the complexity of the origin and relationships of Ngati Kahu to Ngati Ranginui, Ngati Raukawa, and changing political contexts. Ngaitamarawaho want to see Ngati Kahu emphasise their identity as a hapu of Ngati Ranginui with the stress on the Kahutapu whakapapa with descent from Tutereinga, the son of Ranginui. The Ngati Raukawa whanau of Ngati Kahu themselves place an emphasis on Kahutapu and refer to Ngati Kahu as Ngati Kahutapu (Append. 4). This position is driven by twentieth century politics and overlooks the kin associations of Ngati Kahu that were important in the nineteenth century. This nineteenth century relationship of Ngati Kahu to Ngati Raukawa is revealed by the locations of settlements, the sharing of territory, whakapapa, and, more significantly, is the name of the tekoteko of the wharepuni, Uawhiti, who was a Raukawa ancestor and descends from Motai, an ancestor of a hapu of Ngati Raukawa (Appendix 4). Ngati Motai hapu was recorded by T.H. Smith in 1864 as residing at Purakautahi, below Pukekonui and across the river from the Ngati Kahu kainga of Papaowharia. The location of Ngati Motai on the Wairoa River in the 1860s signifies these kin relationships. The northern extent of their territory was the Wairoa River in the Kaimai and Ngati Kahu also descends from the ancestor Motai. It is this tension

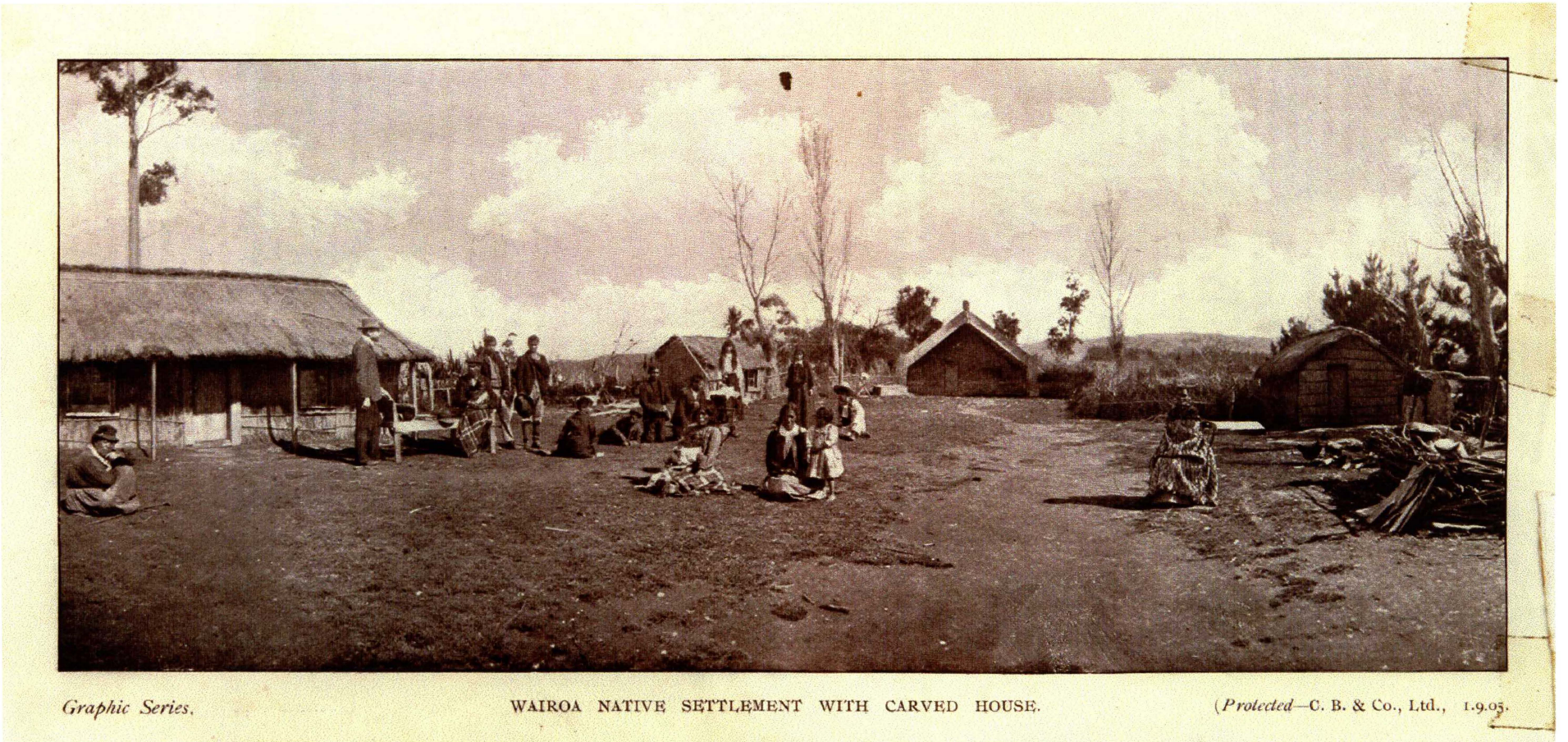


Figure ix. Wairoa wharepuni and whare 1905

Photographic Pictures Tauranga & Vicinity B.O.P. N.Z. 1905. T.S. Duncanson Tauranga

Figure x. Wharepuni ca 1905, original building with the tekoteko Uawhiti and *kowhaiwhai* painted designs in the *roro* (porch). Photograph Mary Humphries Tauranga City Libraries Collection 03-520

Figure xi. Wharepuni 1970s showing part of the tekoteko Uawhiti and no name on the wharepuni. Photo Hinemoa Reweti.

Figure xii. Wharepuni 1980s – the second wharepuni showing the loss of the tekoteko Uawhiti. Kahu written above door. The wharepuni was reclad in the 1980s. Photo Hinemoa Rewiti.

Figure xiii. Wharepuni now named Kahutapu and replacement tekoteko Uawhiti - the fourth building. Photo taken 2005.

over the name of the wharepuni which I examine, and explore in the social history of the Wairoa hapu (see Ngawharau whakapapa Append.3,4 i–v).

Noting the dispute in the hapu over the name of the wharepuni, when Albert and I were researching whakapapa and history for our Raupatu claim we quickly came to the conclusion that the name of the wharepuni was Kahu o Ngamarama, namely that Kahu was the main tupuna for Ngati Kahu (Appendix 3). Support for this view came from *powhiri* (welcome invitations) to functions on the marae and the naming of the new wharekai in the 1940s. On the invitation to his son's 21st birthday, Hoana, Albert's mother, had put on the invitation the name of the wharekai as 'Te Hoata o Ngamarama', which meant the celebratory function was being held in the wharekai, and the welcome to the birthday was directed from the ancestor, Te Hoata (Appendix 3,4(i)). For wharepuni with a named male ancestor, the wharekai is usually called after the wives, or a particular wife; a modernity feature of marae of the twentieth century. For wharepuni named after a female ancestor, the name of the wharekai is usually a non-ancestor name such as Te Ohaki (Ngati Hangarau marae), and Te Haka a Tapere (Ngaitauwhao marae). The powhiri to Te Hoata o Ngamarama may be the view of a faction of the hapu but the naming of the wharekai, Te Hoata o Ngamarama, was confirmed to me after Albert had died when I examined papers of an elder, Tame Whaiapu. In the 1960s he had copied from Te Kapene Rahiri, notes describing the naming process of the then new wharekai Te Hoata, in the 1940s in which a reference is made to Te Hoata o Ngamarama. As stated earlier Kapene was married to Hinetu.

Another reference to Te Hoata was that when Wairua Wharepapa and Hatana Ngawharau were acting for Ngati Kahu in the 1880's for the confiscated land. They put forward Te Hoata as the tupuna for the mana of the Purakautahi block in the lower Kaimai which was awarded to Ngati Kahu. In 2003 the Kingitanga Poukai was held at the Ngati Kahu marae because of the renovations being done to the wharepuni of Ngaitamarawaho where the Poukai are usually held. The issue of the name of the wharepuni was discussed at hui and I went along and presented my perspective regarding the name and also the important relationships of Ngati Kahu with the Tainui waka and Ngati Raukawa through the Kahu whakapapa.

Kainga

A significant feature of the hapu in the past noted by the nineteenth century colonisers has been the scattered households of the kainga and the defended settlement of the pa. In Tauranga, the Christian Missionary Society mission station was established at Te Papa in 1834, five kilometres from the Wairoa River and the missionary recorded visits to pa and kainga of the Wairoa hapu who became Christian converts. Rev. A.N. Brown provided glimpses and insights into hapu location and recorded the following visits to the settlements:

> April 1st 1838
> Morning visited the Wairoa River where there is a party of enquiring natives living. About 40 assembled for service the rest had been absent several days in the woods taking up potatoes for the "believers" of Waikato who it is reported will accompany the fight to the number of 200 in order to sit at the papa for our protection while the invading army pass through.

Rev. Brown regularly travelled to the Waikato Region, mainly to Matamata and Rangiaowhia, taking different tracks with different links to kainga and hapu. Going through the Kaimai on the Arapohatu Track, Brown would call into Hanga, the Ngati Kirihika kainga on the edge of the bush on the western slopes of the Kaimai Range. Or he may take the Whakamarama route to either Okauia or Matamata. The missionaries arrived in Tauranga just before the eruption of a ten year regional war between Tauranga and Waikato iwi and the iwi of Rotorua. The effects of the inter-regional war on Tauranga were to concentrate populations of people into pa with good defences on the south-east sector of the harbour edge. People inland in the hills were vulnerable and targeted by *taua* (fighting force), specifically traversing the inland area looking for people to kill, away from the defended pa settlements. Muskets clearly made the harbour edge pa more formidable defensive positions as none were taken during the 1830s and 1840s war with Te Arawa when the attacks were more intensive. In 1828 missionaries had been witness to the sighting of Otamataha at Te Papa before and after its fall to Ngati Maru and their allies. When pa were attacked and held under siege, food crops were raided to support the siege force or destroyed. Crops were then grown inland. Brown visited people tending these inland gardens which were hidden to those not familiar with an area. These were the first references to the inland kainga of Pawhakahoro and Purakautahi in the 1840s:

> 1842 February 23rd
> Left home for Maungatautari & Matamata. Slept in the woods at the back of Tauranga at a place called Pawakahorohoro, but only found 9 Natives. There is a larger party in the woods who have outwardly joined the R.C. Church, and another small tribe belonging to us at Purakautahi, but as they are dispersed I regret that I shall not be able to see them (Browns ms).

Purakautahi was the Ngati Kahu kainga. The Treaty of Waitangi was signed in Tauranga in April 1840 with Bunbury, the representative of the British Crown, and promoted by the missionaries. The change of sovereignty did nothing at first. The occupation of territory by settler colonists and the introduction of legal regulations proceeded slowly. Internal disputes were settled by traditional customary law (Patton 2000: 124). Tensions between Te Arawa and Tauranga iwi erupted with the murder of Te Whanake of Ngaiterangi at Ongari, which forced the colonial administration in 1842 to send a small contingent to quieten this regional conflict. Ensign Best a member of the force recorded the following visit to Pukewhanake:

> The chief of this place Hamiora was an old friend of mine a most intelligent and go ahead young man was not at home but his people treated us with every hospitality taking pride in showing me all they had worthy of attention. The principal objects were a well built and roomy church and a small field of fine wheat. Puke whanaki is prettily situated on the face of a steep cliff it is a place of considerable strength and the regularity and cleanliness pervading the settlement bespeaks the presence of a Master mind (Ensign Best 1842).

Pukewhanake was a pa. When visiting kainga and pa the missionary, Rev. A.N. Brown, did not identify the hapu and he only made a reference to the settlement and the hapu, who were locating themselves between their harbour edge settlements on the Wairoa River and the bush edge.

By the 1860s the hapu were identified by name and location of kainga for the census of the colonial government recording their political orientation and numbers and participation in the land wars. Here officials were becoming more precise in the recording of hapu and leaders compared to the missionaries. Ngati Pango, Ngati Rangi and Ngati Kahu were recorded by T.H. Smith in 1864 as "tribes" located at Poteriwhi, Pukekonui and Papaoharia settlements (kainga) on the Wairoa River. Ngati Motai was also identified in the report at Purakautahi across the river from Ngati Kahu kainga and former pa at Papa o wharia. This was a

Kainga 1830 - 90

Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi, Ngati Pango, Ngati Motai

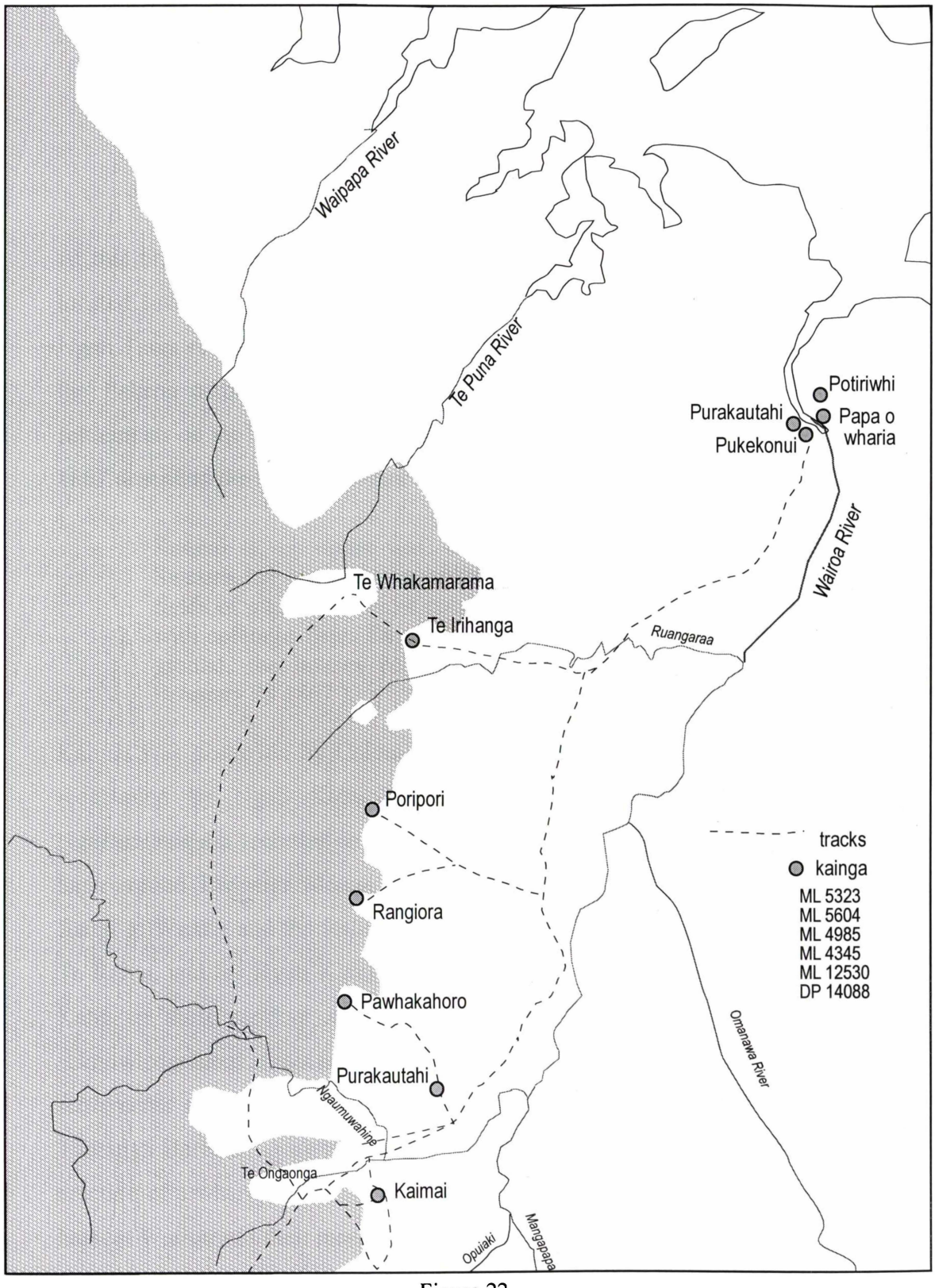


Figure 22

report to identify those who joined the fight against British troops in the Waikato in 1863 and those who did not (AJHR 1985).

In 1872, Putman a military official produced a report on the Tauranga District describing settlements, hapu and leading men. For the Wairoa hapu he recorded the following:

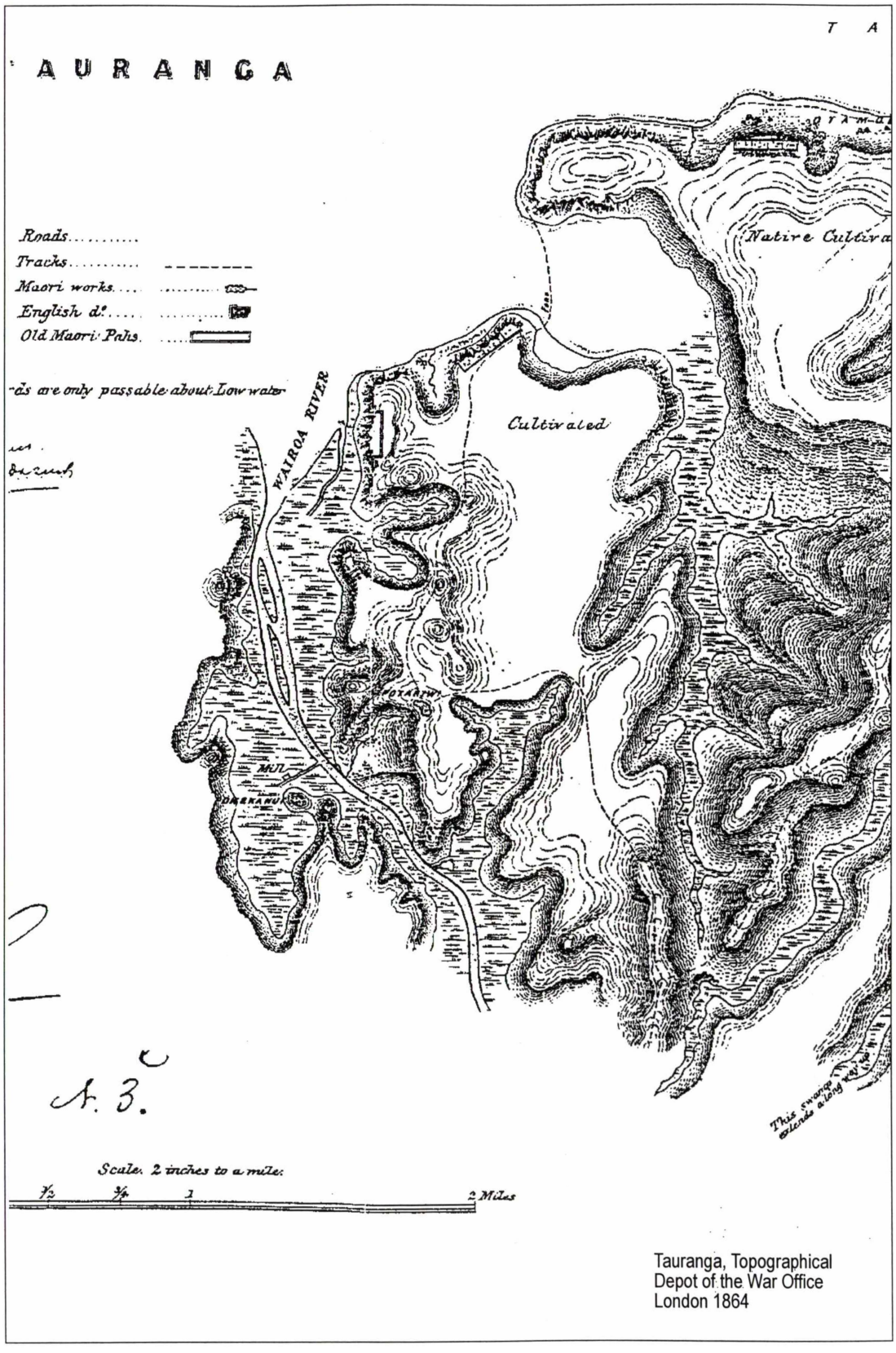
(hapu)	(kainga)	(chief)
Ngatirangi	Irihanga	Raumati
Ngatitama	Kaimai	Herewini
Ngati Pango	Rangiora	Tuiwi

At this time the hapu were both Pai Marire and Kingitanga supporters and were located inland at their bush edge settlements. Ngati Kahu were also known as Ngati Tama or Tamahapai. The Pai Marire hapu were separating themselves from the Pakeha settlers and militia now resident in Tauranga and located their settlements on the bush edge. A reporter following the Colonial troops in 1866 and 1867 described the Kaimai kainga:

> Kaimai is, or rather was, a lovely bountiful place. Clear Streams run in the forest gullies, while in the clearings were fields of gigantic acres of potatoes, and groves of peach-tree, with splendid fruit. The settlement extends a large space of ground, the houses being scattered (The Southern Cross February 28 1867).

Kaimai was destroyed by Colonial troops and Te Arawa in 1867 and soon after reoccupied by Ngati Kahu (Ngati Tamahapai). In 1905 George Hall of Ngaitamarawaho recorded in a private manuscript, hapu, leaders and location of hapu around Tauranga Moana. He recorded Ngati Kahu, Ngati Pango and Ngati Rangi at Wairoa and the leaders of Ngati Pango was Maihi, and for Ngati Rangi, Te Raroa, and for Ngati Kahu, Te Teira and Rahiri. Both Ngati Rangi and Ngati Kahu, or those resident at Wairoa, were identified as Ngati Rangi. This is an acknowledgement at this time of the Ngati Rangi hapu. By 1905, the focus for settlements at the Wairoa hapu was on the Wairoa River, on the edge of the Tauranga Harbour, away from their Ngati Raukawa kin inland at the Kaimai. The erection of a wharepuni in 1897 at Te Pura, Wairoa, indicates the residency of the hapu at Wairoa and their mana as a hapu.

Wairoa 1864
Showing Potiriwhi, Pukekonui



Tauranga, Topographical
Depot of the War Office
London 1864

Figure 23

By the 1910s those resident at Kaimai were mainly Ngati Motai and Ngati Kirihika. The Kaimai school records show from the 1910s to the 1950s a predominance of Ngati Kirihika and Ngati Motai whanau from the Patetere area resident in the Kaimai, the Smiths (Te Mete) of Ngati Kirihika are one example. The only exception was Te Keeti, my tupuna from Ngati Kahu. In 1966 while scrub cutting above the Opuiaki River, I was shown by a Pakeha farmer the place on the river where Te Keeti would camp in the 1920s. The Kaimai school records show that up to the 1940s Te Keeti was the only Ngati Kahu name on the school roll. Te Keeti lived at Wairoa as well and some of his grandchildren were adopted by Ngati Kirihika kin and raised in the Kaimai. My father's sister Matire was one; Te Utamate Whakahoki adopted her.

A survey plan of 1919 shows the number of households on the Parish of Te Papa lands (fig.25). The whanau are recorded in the map as the resident households of the Parish of Te Papa blocks 91 and 8, and all the current households today relate to this 1910 plan. In 1919 the resident households were Te Keeti, Rahiri and Merewaki Ngawharau, Rauhea and Riripeti Paraone, Taupe Tokona, Te Wheoro and Whaiapu. These tupuna named on the map form the nucleus of the whanau that create the Ngati Kahu hapu today. Making comparisons with the hapu lists (Appendix 5,6) and the households that have been identified in the 1920s, attention is drawn to the small area of remaining confiscated land contributing to the dispersal of the hapu. Another factor was that many on the original hapu lists of the 1880s were childless, and this is noted through the Native Court by the succession of close kin to the shares of those who had died in these blocks at Wairoa. The families living on the land supported and provided the social functioning of the hapu on the marae. Where households were established on the land, succeeding generations view these areas as belonging to them, an ahi kaa principle, or rights by intergenerational occupation, and this is closely maintained to the present time.

Narrative History

To follow the shift in kin relations and the associated politics a montage of narrative histories is explored. The presentation of hapu and iwi histories is common today for land claims under the Treaty of Waitangi Act and participation in the Resource Management Act processes, and is necessary for verifying or establishing identity

and to satisfy terms such as *mana whenua* and *tangata whenua*. However producing hapu or iwi history is problematic, depending on the accessibility or availability of narratives to draw from; these vary from region to region and take different forms - whether private manuscripts, land court records, published documents, books. It has been Pakeha such as Percy Smith and Elsdon Best who first produced or constructed tribal and regional histories in the western historical tradition for their colonial anthropology. This format since has been closely followed by Maori authors of tribal histories such as Leslie G. Kelly (*Tainui*) and John H. Grace (*Tuwharetoa*).

The sources I draw on for the creation of historical narratives for Ngamarama and Ngati Raukawa have come from evidence presented and recorded in the Native Land Court Minute Books for the Tauranga, Patetere, Hauraki and Maketu regions. The presentation of historical narratives by ancestors to the Native Land Court was used by Native Land Court judges, J.W. Wilson (1906) and T.W. Gudgeon, (1973), to produce diachronic and lineal tribal histories of the Tauranga region which then became the published sources of Tauranga Maori history. There also have been many fragments to draw from, archival sources such as Grey's informant Te Rangikaheke and notes from early colonial observers of Maori, such as Shortland who recorded some Te Arawa history in the 1840s with references to Tauranga (fig.24).

The historian Peter Munz in 1971 questioned whether indigenous forms of recounting the past and recollection are 'history', where there is an absence of the association of chronological system compared to the western tradition (Tau 2001:62). The legal framework of the Native Land Court accepted orally presented histories which were in many cases supported by *whakapapa* which is a chronological system of ordered ancestors. The many decisions of judges in awarding title on this basis treats the presented histories of the successful claimants as what Sharp calls 'juridical history', history told to a court of law (2001:31). When the Native Land Court adjudicated on Maori custom, its decisions were based on English jurisprudence where the 'feudal' concepts of land tenure of occupation and conquest were the main form of determining land ownership. However the judges were directed by their interpretation of 'tikanga' more so than English concepts of customary tenure. The Native Land Court investigated title to all the blocks outside the Tauranga Raupatu boundary from 1866 starting at Maketu. The

presentation of historical narrative as oral evidence in the Native Land Court was generally transcribed into what have become the private texts of whanau.

Ngati Kahu or Ngati Rangi do not have a narrative history of their Ngamarama ancestry, only whakapapa, and other sources have to be accessed. Material presented for the Native Land Court as evidence in Ohinemuri (Ohinemuri 17, Owharoa, Waihi Blocks), Patetere (Okauia, Hinuera Blocks) and Tauranga (Taumata Block) in the 1870s and 1880s reveal that Ngamarama were the tangata whenua for the Tauranga, Katikati, Waihi and Whangamata districts and the upper Waihou prior to the occupation of these areas by waka descent groups of Takitimu (Ngati Ranginui), Waitaha (Te Arawa), and Tainui (Ngati Raukawa, Marutuahu). Some sources refer to the Ngamarama origins as Marama, the second wife of Hoturoa of the Tainui, getting off the Tainui at Wharekawa as it voyaged around the Hauraki Gulf or Tikapa Moana and joining the tangata whenua (Kelly 1949). Kelly says that prior to the coming of Marutuahu, the Coromandel peninsula and a great part of the Gulf had been, to a large extent, the undisputed territory of a group of tribes known as Ngati Huarere, Ngati Hako, Nga Marama, Kahui ariki and Uri o Pou. The Ngamarama are described as descendants of Marama kiko hura, the second wife of Hoturoa. Te Rangikaheke, a key informant to Governor George Grey, describes the burning of Te Arawa waka by Raumati of Ngamarama from Tauranga. He says that according to Te Arawa, Raumati was of Tainui origin, and that the cause of his actions in burning the Te Arawa canoe was when the dog of Houmaitawhiti (a Te Arawa tupuna) licked the sores of Uenuku (a Tainui ancestor) in Hawaiki causing the wars and friction between the two groups. He acknowledges that Mataatua people say that Raumati's origin are Mataatua (Te Rangikaheke p.38 Waiata, Legends GNZ MMSS 51). A Tainui origin for Ngamarama is acknowledged in the whakapapa from Te Teira Ormsby, and the notes of Tame Whaiapu on the establishment of the wharekai on the marae in the 1940s, information that Te Teira and Tame had sourced from Kapene Rahiri whose whakapapa and narrative refer to Ngamarama, the ancestor of Ngati Kahu, as having a Tainui origin. Shortland, in 1842, got an account of the Te Arawa waka referring to Raumati the Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi ancestor, which he published in 1854 in *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders.*

> At Katikati they found some of the men of Tainui, with their chief Raumati. This is the reason we acknowledge that Tauranga first belonged to the men of Tainui.
> So leaving Raumati and his party at Tauranga, the Arawa sailed from Te Ranga to Maunganui, which was taken possession of by Tutauroa, who remained there. The next day the crew rested at Wairakei (quoted in Simmons 1976: 159).

Raumati is acknowledged in the Ngawharau whakapapa as a founding ancestor of both Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi (Appendix 1), and Putman in 1872 refers to the leader or chief of Ngati Rangi as Raumati. Emere Ngaheu, whose mother was Ngati Rangi, informed me in the early 1990s that she was familiar with the use of the ancestor name Raumati being bestowed on elder relatives. What we can take from this information is the confirmation that Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi are hapu of Ngamarama origins and descend from the Raumati of the Te Arawa narratives (Append. 3).

All narratives in the Tauranga, Waikato and Ohinemuri Native Land Court Minute Books presented as tribal historical narrative relate to the acquisition of Ngamarama lands, the common theme of conquest and domination of Ngamarama by ancestors is generally instigated by some incident by Ngamarama. The Ngati Ranginui narrative begins with the incident with the drowning of Ranginui children at the Wairoa River by Ngamarama. They were attacked by Ngati Ranginui ancestors, to be either totally annihilated, or forced out of the area, and their land and pa taken and settled by Ngati Ranginui. Ranginui Te Kaponga of Ngaitamarawaho for the Taumata 3 case stated that:

> Ngamarama were the first known occupants of this district - and it was we who drove them out. Almost all the pas in the Tauranga district originally belonged to them... (TMB 2:115 1884).

This is an acknowledgement of Ngamarama by Ngati Ranginui in the 19th century:

> The Ngamarama were the earliest occupants of this district, when the Waitaha came, they drove the Ngamarama across the Waimapu and occupied Hairini, Maungatapu and other places on that side of the Harbour. He Ngamarama retained possession of the Te Papa side of the Harbour.... They were still at war when the Ranginui appeared; and also attacked the Ngamarama. It was not till after some time that they fought in concert. At first each was waging an independent war on the Ngamarama.
> These Ngamarama were an aboriginal tribe, and were found in occupation when Tia and his companions arrived from Hawaiki (Whakatana Eru Ngaiteahi Tauranga Minute Book TMB 2:122 1884).

Ranginui Te Kaponga of Ngai Tamarawaho in hearings for the Taumata 3 and Mangorewa-Kaharoa Blocks said that:

> Ranginui came with all his people and some of his young men crossed the Wairoa to the "Peterehema side". They quarrelled over a child that had been drowned in the river by the Ngamarama and Ranginui (the iwi) took the pa at Te Haehaenga-(now known as Bethlehem); and Matuaiwi. The chiefs who fell were Te Poka, Oruanui and Kaiarero and places have been named after them. The Ngamarama were driven out of the district back to the inland settlements but Ranginui did not cross the harbour to Maungatapu.
> Subsequently he went on, fighting his way inland to Te Taumata... After this battle, the Ranginui returned to Tauranga having driven the Ngamarama absolutely out of the district (Ranginui Te Kaponga 1884 TMB 2:96-7).

The general impression from Ngati Ranginui in the 1880s is that Ngamarama was either driven out or had disappeared; they do not remain or exist in the Tauranga region. Underlying the sentiment expressed here is the assertion of the mana of Ngati Ranginui, where Ngamarama is presented as not important to the history of Tauranga and that there is no ongoing political, social or descent association with Ngamarama.

There is an important link between Waitaha of Te Arawa waka, who were then resident in the area west of the Waimapu River and eastern harbour. The Takitimu ancestor Tamatea pokaiwhenua took two Waitaha sisters as wives and this was the origin of all tribes throughout Aotearoa who claim their mana and key ancestral descent emanating from Tamatea pokaiwhenua and the Takitimu waka. Ngati Ranginui emphasised their conquest of Ngamarama, a theme government officials promoted through narratives that supported the conquest of Ngati Ranginui by Ngaiterangi. But these conquest narratives do not explain why Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi remain today on the Wairoa River as a hapu of Ngamarama origins.

Ngati Tane was a hapu that claimed land along the Wairoa River. In 1891, Rapata Karawe appeared before the Native Land Court asking for a partition from the Waimanu Block and described the petitioners as Ngati Tane, a hapu of Ngamarama, and pointed out at that time that he was living on the Wairoa River (Karawe Ms see Append. X ca 1880s). According to the Calloway manuscript a whakapapa is listed showing that Taharangi of Te Ngare married Paetao of Ngati

Tane a Nagmarama hapu. Te Ngare families, or Ngati Tane were included in Te Irihanga Block with Ngati Rangi. Ngati Tane appeared to be formed from a whanau from a Ngaiterangi hapu, Te Ngare of Rangiwaea Island, which included my mother's maternal grandmother, Paehuka of Te Ngare. Taharangi was her grandfather.

> Painui was the second son of Pakaru the head chief of Ngatitaane - Painui succeeded Pakaru as head chief - Pakaru before he died divided all his lands amongst his children - Waimanu and adjoining lands fell to Painui - Painui's sea side residence was Pukewhanake and his bush at Waimanu up the Wairoa River. He died at Waimanu and was buried at Ruakaka (Karawe ms ca 1880s).

Karawe produced a historical narrative for Ngati Tane, aligning a kin relationship with Tamapahore of Ngaiterangi, stating that his mother, Tuwairua, was Ngamarama from Tauranga, and Ngamarama had their own waka of Hawaiki origin, Te Arauta. His explanation for the migration of Ngaiterangi into Tauranga was their desire to return home to Tauranga. From Karawe we have the only family document written in the late 1890s with a narrative relating to the history of Ngamarama. But he produces a relationship between the Ngamarama ancestors and those of Te Rangihouhiri, the eponymous ancestor of Ngaiterangi, whereas Ngaiterangi sources do not acknowledge these links given the absence of any reference to a kin relationship with Ngamarama in their whakapapa. Tuwairua has Ngati Pukenga origins, and I view the link that Karawe is making between these Ngaiterangi and Ngamarama ancestors as conforming to the orthodoxy of Ngaiterangi mana that was supported by government officials or the Crown at the time. A relationship between Ngamarama and Ngaiterangi highlights the fact that the theme of conquest would not apply to Ngati Taane where Ngaiterangi are direct kin as Te Ngare.

My link to Ngati Tane is through my mother where her grandmother, Paehuka, descended from Taharangi and was one of the Ngati Taane placed in the Waimanu and Te Irihanga Blocks. The importance of the Karawe manuscript is that it is a historic narrative regarding the hapu along the Wairoa River and its whakapapa showing common kin links with Ngati Rangi and Ngati Kahu.

Ngamarama

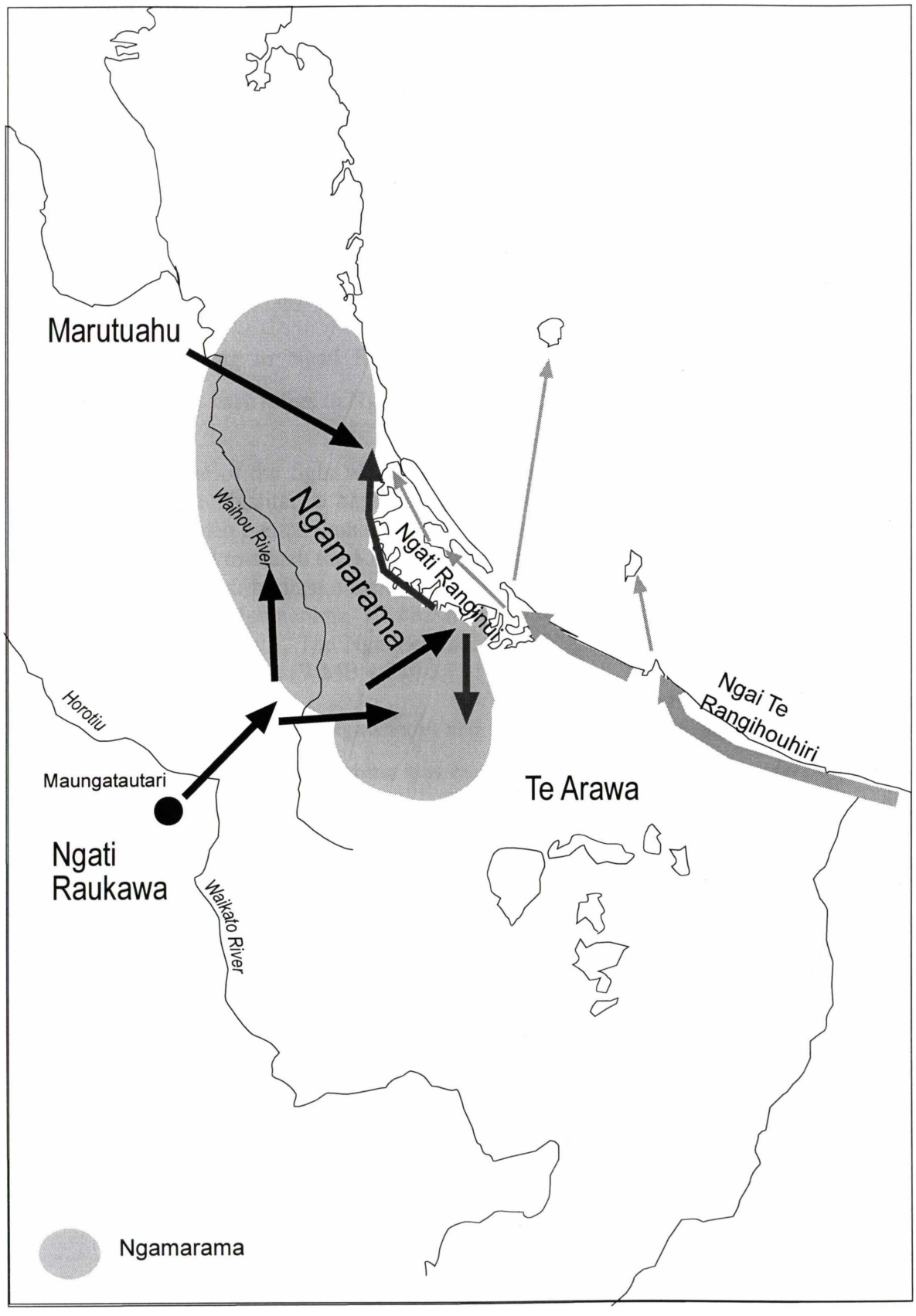


Figure 24

Other references to Ngamarama in Tauranga come from Te Kani (1970:14) and Wilson who refer to the antiquity of Ngamarama in Tauranga where they are the first residents. Wilson's description of Ngamarama was:

> They lived originally at Matamata and other places in the upper Thames Valley, whence they moved to Tauranga, and occupied the central and western portions of that district. They were a numerous people at the time the canoes came from Hawaiki; too numerous, and uninviting, probably, for the immigrants by Takitimu to remain when they visited Te Awanui, the name Tauranga Harbour was known then, on their way to the South.... There is a remnant of Ngamarama still living at Te Irihanga at Tauranga known by the name of Ngatirangi (Wilson 1906:137-8).

Wilson is referring to Ngati Rangi. Timoti Whakataua of Ngati Raukawa in the Paikamangoatua case refers to Ngati Kahu and Ngati Tira:

> At the time of the fight with Ngati Tuwharetoa Turora was living at Tirau. The Ngatitai, a hapu of Ngamarama, killed one of Turora's people, a man named Ikahae. The man who killed him was Tukarawa. Turora went to attack the Kakaho, and he attacked the Upokotoki, and defeated them: he then attacked the Ngati Kahu, Ngati Tira and other hapus of the Ngamarama. He chased them as far as Tauranga, killing them on the way... The Ngatihere section of Ngamarama were never moested by Turora (WMB 4:280-281 1879).

Ngati Tira was claimed by Ngawharau and Wairua as having mana to the Waimanu Blocks. A reference to Ngamarama was made by Hori Ngaitai in the Maori Appellate Court held in 1906 where Ngati Pango disputed the rights of Ngati Kuku to the Poripori Block. Hori Ngatai referred to Ngati Pango as his vassals, noting their Ngati Ranginui and Ngamarama origins and that Ngati Ranginui had conquered Ngamarama and Ngaiterangi in turn had conquered Ngati Ranginui, which gave him mana over Ngati Pango.

> Ngamarama first occupied this land. Then Ranginui conquered Ngamarama. Then Rangihouhiri Ranginui and took all this country, and obtained the mana which they continue to hold. The tupuna mentioned were chased away to Waikato, and Ngaiterangi alone held this country. The tupuna named by the Appellants belonged to Ngamarama and ranginui. This land is our...We protected some of the refugees and took them in forest country under the mana of Ngaiterangi. Some of our hapu went to him in the back country at Whakamarama, te Waimanu, Te Pawhakahouhoro (sic Pa whakahoro) Purakautahi Te Taumata Te Ahiroa and Ngatikuku to Poripori They planted at these places. We lived with 'Pango in this land We Ngatikuku had mana over the people and the land from ancient times until now. The trees for canoes were

> brought out to Otumoetai. Each hapu of Ngaiterangi went back there to its serfs who prepared food for us, and not for any one else (TMB 6:95).

Hori Ngatai in 1906 was using the mana theme that originated with the Crown's patronage of 'friendly' Ngaiterangi chiefs from the 1860s to emphasise that the Ngati Kuku rights to Poripori were based on their conquest of Ngati Ranginui.

A major source of references to Ngamarama as being the original occupiers of this region, preceding Ngati Raukawa, are the Native Land Court hearings for the Okauia Block in 1879 and other blocks along the Waihou. Paratene Hihitaua of Ngati Hinerangi, claimants to the Okauia Block explained the origins of their ancestral occupation:

> The ancestors who owned the land in former times were Tokotoko, Tangata and Te Riha. I know they obtained these lands. It was they who completed the conquest of these lands. The land originally belonged to Ngatiamaru, Te Kurapoto, Te Rarauheturuhunga - the great name was Ngamarama. Koperu and Kauamo first fought them. The first fighting began at Tirau, Parewhero, Paeroa were all taken. The first fight was Taie. Koperu made nine attacks. Koperu did not exterminate the Ngamarama but he took land from them namely Tirau, Parewhero and Paeroa (near Okoroire, Waikato East). Koperu and Kauamo his elder brother ceased to fight the Ngamarama and divided the conquered land. Koperu got Tirau. Kauamo got from Ahirau to Turangamoana, including Mangawhero (Okauia case WMB4:8 1879).

Te Kawau of Ngati Hinerangi spoke similarly :

> It was Koperu who first began the fighting on these lands from Patetere to the Aroha. He conquered the Ngamarama, to whom all the land originally belonged. After that he went to Tauranga to attack the rest of Ngamarama who were there. He went in pursuit of Parure, a chief of Ngamarama, who had fled there. Koperu attacked and took a pa at Tauranga named Hauamatewaha. Parure escaped and fled to the Ngaiterangi tribe for protection. Koperu came back. He came back to his pa at Te Ratapiko, and after a time went to Hauraki to Wharewera (Okauia case WMB 3:418 1879).

There are references to intermarriage between Ngamarama and Ngati Raukawa by Wiremu Haumu:

> The Ngamarama were conquered and the land taken by Koperu, Kauamo, Tahua, Te Rama and others, but they intermarried with the conquerors and their descendants became rangatira (WMB 4:279 1879).

and Timoti Whakataua:

> The Ngatihere sprang from Te Whauwhauharakeke. At this time Here our ancestor lived on these lands, he had not been disturbed by war.... Here lived on these lands, in his time. Whai lived on them in his time, and their descendants have lived on them since. They have intermarried with Ngati Raukawa and have become one people. The N. Raukawa were descended from the same ancestor Te Whauwhauharakeke... The Ngati Here as a tribe are nearly extinct (Waikato Minute Book 4:280-281 1879).

Ngati Here and Ngati Whai are Ngamarama hapu. We can then take the view of the Wairoa hapu as having Ngamarama origins. Hori Ngatai refers to Ngati Pango as Ngamarama. These narratives do not refer or make any associations or relationships to events happening in other regions, but relationships were being formed between Ngati Ranginui, Ngati Raukawa and Ngaiterangi through intermarriage, and for political and military alliances. These intermarriages between tupuna in these different regions, and comparisons of whakapapa, provide an interregional time scale. During the period when the migrating allied forces of Te Rangihouhiri were at Maketu, there is conflict between Te Rangihouhiri and Waitaha and Ngati Ranginui of Tauranga. Waitaha and Ngati Ranginui looked to Tainui iwi for military support to contain the forces of Te Rangihouhiri and women were given to cement an alliance. Moarikura of Ngati Ranginui (daughter of Kinonui) was given to Kauwhata, and her sister Peurangi to Ngati Maru, and Tamangarangi to Haua the eponymous ancestor of Ngati Haua. At the same time, Koperu, is advancing to the western foothills of the Kaimai Range against Ngamarama (Appendix 4,5).

The Ngaiterangi association to Ngati Raukawa is through Paretaihinu, the daughter of Tamapahore, who married Tukorehe the brother of Kauwhata. Tuwera, the sister of Kotorerua, grandson of Te Rangihouhiri, married Putangimaru who provided Kotorerua with the strategy to overcome Kinonui of Ranginui at his pa on the slopes of Maunganui, which was the source of the conquest that is used to signify the acquisition of mana by Ngaiterangi to Tauranga.

It was the children of Putangimaru's brother, Tuwaewae, who took over the lands of Ngamarama through battle. This occurred when Te Rangihouhiri was establishing an occupation in Maketu and the next generation was making foray's into Tauranga. According to chronology based on these intermarriages, it can be

stated that when Ngaiterangi were establishing themselves in Tauranga, Whatihua's descendants (Tangata, Tokotoko and Te Riha) were at the same time, pushing into Ngamarama territory, which extended into Tauranga to the western side of the Wairoa River. By co-relating these whakapapa with events portrayed in historic narratives, we can see that Ngaiterangi were at Maketu and Ngamarama were located along the upper Waihou, and western Tauranga, west of Wairoa River. This was during the era of Tangata, Tokotoko and Te Riha, who according to Ngati Hinerangi conquered the lands from Ngamarama.

The location of Tainui iwi and hapu on the eastern and northern boundary of Tauranga (Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Haua, Ngati Tamatera) can be seen as an eastward expansion of Tainui descent groups from Maungatautari. On the western side of the Kaimai Range this expansion was the source of the many links between Ngati Raukawa and the western Ngati Ranginui hapu of Ngati Hangarau, Ngati Kahu, Te Pirirakau. Tainui descent groups came over the Kaimai and Whakamarama into Tauranga to the western side of the lower Wairoa River and Te Puna. According to the Ngati Hinerangi narratives, descendents of Kotare pushed their way to the upper catchments of the Waihou, while those of Tamapango, his son, push into the northern section of the Waihou, the territory of Ngamarama. These Ngati Raukawa ancestors are important to Ngati Kahu for it is from them that kin relationships stem with Ngati Kirihika and Ngati Motai, Ngati Apunga, Ngati Tawharangi, and also for Ngati Pango.

Whatihua was a brother to Raukawa and the descent groups that descend from either Whatihua or Raukawa were differentiated by their geographical location. The direct descending hapu of the ancestor Raukawa himself are located further south in the upper catchment of the Waihou at Waotu. The Ngati Raukawa ancestors of Ngati Kahu established themselves in the Kaimai the same time as Ngaiterangi were consolidating their occupation of Tauranga with the resident Ngati Ranginui. The Kahutapu whakapapa has a Tainui origin, but this Tainui whakapapa is aligned to Ngati Toa, originally from Kawhia harbour, not to Ngati Raukawa.

Whakapapa

The main sources of whakapapa for the Wairoa hapu has come from the Ngawharau manuscript, Native Land Court 'title' investigations and 'successions', and for Ngati

Pango archival and Native Land Court. The Ngawharau whakapapa had come about because of the role he and his wife, Wairua, as agent for Ngati Kahu for their confiscated land claims. Te Rangihiroa refers to whakapapa as the act of reciting genealogy and that family whakapapa books written towards 'the end of the eight decade of last century will reveal the following peculiarities:

> 1. It will give single names in each generation from the first ancestor recorded to the person then living, whose pedigree is the subject of the record.
>
> 2. If that person is also descended from a brother or sister of any ancestor after the first, the record will begin at the beginning and trace down to where the line will also descend.
>
> 3 When it happens that there is an intermarriage between ancestors on the divergent lines the reader is left to deduce the fact by noting that two ancestors traced on different pedigrees produce a child bearing the same name and having the same line descended from him
>
> (Te Rangihiroa Ms –undated but ca. 1930s)

This process of recording or reciting whakapapa in a single line was known as *taotahi* and Te Rangihiroa refers to this form as being favoured by the 'multitude, most easily cultivated and acquired'. Descent was traced in a direct line from an eponymous ancestor without reference whether individuals were male or female, or what the intermarriages were or the number of children. The *whakamoe* was the assigning wives or husbands, *whakapiri* the reciting of parallel lines from a selected common ancestor, *tahuhu* the setting out of the main sources of the lines of descent, those sources being connected with one another and *hikohiko* the deliberate skipping of names to indicate relationship of a descendant with the ancestor of various lines of descent.

Many whanau keep and maintain whakapapa that are generations three or four deep. Many individuals take their personal interest further by compiling whakapapa to add to any that may have been passed down from previous generations. Capable individuals learn whakapapa for ceremonial occasions such as tangihanga, to place ancestry or relationships between groups assembled on the marae. Whakapapa is important for the identity of individuals, groups of kin, relationships to kin and for hapu and iwi at the political level iwi.

Te Pura, Wairoa

Over the period of the 1980s and 1990s when I was doing the research for the Wairoa hapu claim, there was constant reference by the elder generation to the ancestors Herewini (or Kaiamo which was his other name) and Perahia, and claims that the land of Ngati Kahu at Wairoa came from women. The sentiment for these ancestors appears to be that they, rather than the founding ancestors of Kahu and Ngamarama, are the source of the current kin relations between the various whanau of the hapu. When examining the residence and intermarriage patterns between the hapu since the 1880s this becomes obvious. Ngaitamarawaho had a similar ancestor focus with the two ancestors Matatu and Koikoi Paraone.

Appendix 1 (i, ii) are the hapu lists of owners from both Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi for the Parish of Te Papa Blocks 91 and 453 on the Wairoa River. Appendix 1 (v) is the list of owners for the Te Ongaonga no 1 block in the Kaimai, and in this list are members of Ngati Kahu, Ngati Motai and Ngati Kirihika, the latter two being Ngati Raukawa hapu. Ngawharau in his 1901 manuscript refers to both Ngati Tamahapai (Ngati Kahu) and Ngati Rangi as "*nga hapu e rua*" (the two hapu) in a list that was drawn up to be presented on behalf of 'Landless Natives'. Herewini was recorded by Putman as being the chief of Ngati Tamahapai of the Kaimai kainga in 1872. We find these hapu in Te Ongaonga 1 & 2 and Whaiti Kuranui 6A along with people with the Raukawa hapu of Ngati Tawharangi, Ngati Wehiwehi and Ngati Kirihika. The Commissioner for Tauranga District Lands in his judgment for the Kaimai block in 1881 said that Ngati Tawharangi, Ngati Kirihika and Ngati Kahu were one and the same people.

Examining the lists of owners for Parish of Te Papa 91 and 453, the names can be divided into Ngati Rangi and Ngati Kahu but the name Hune Peehi suggests the inclusion of a third hapu, Ngati Tamahapai from Ngati Raukawa and the Kaimai. Hune is brother to Herewini. The Land Court records of succession point out the intermarriage between Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi individuals names and also the number of ancestors on the original lists did not had any issue (15).

In 1919 the Parish of Te Papa 91 was partitioned into family blocks which separated Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi, but intermarriage and Land Court succession created a mixture over time (fig.s 26,27). The survey plan of the

Parish of Te Papa Lots 8, 8A, 91,453

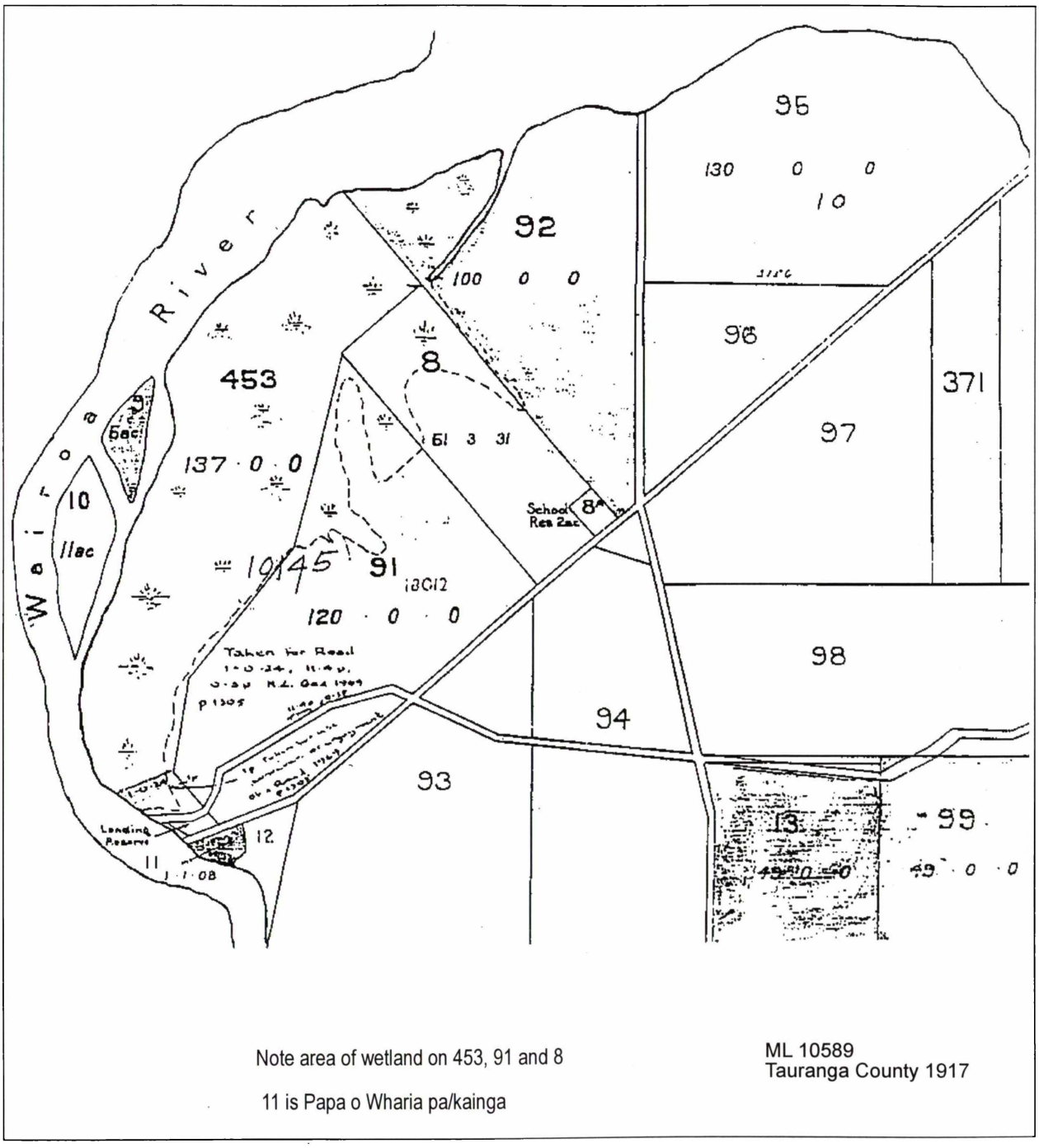


Figure 25

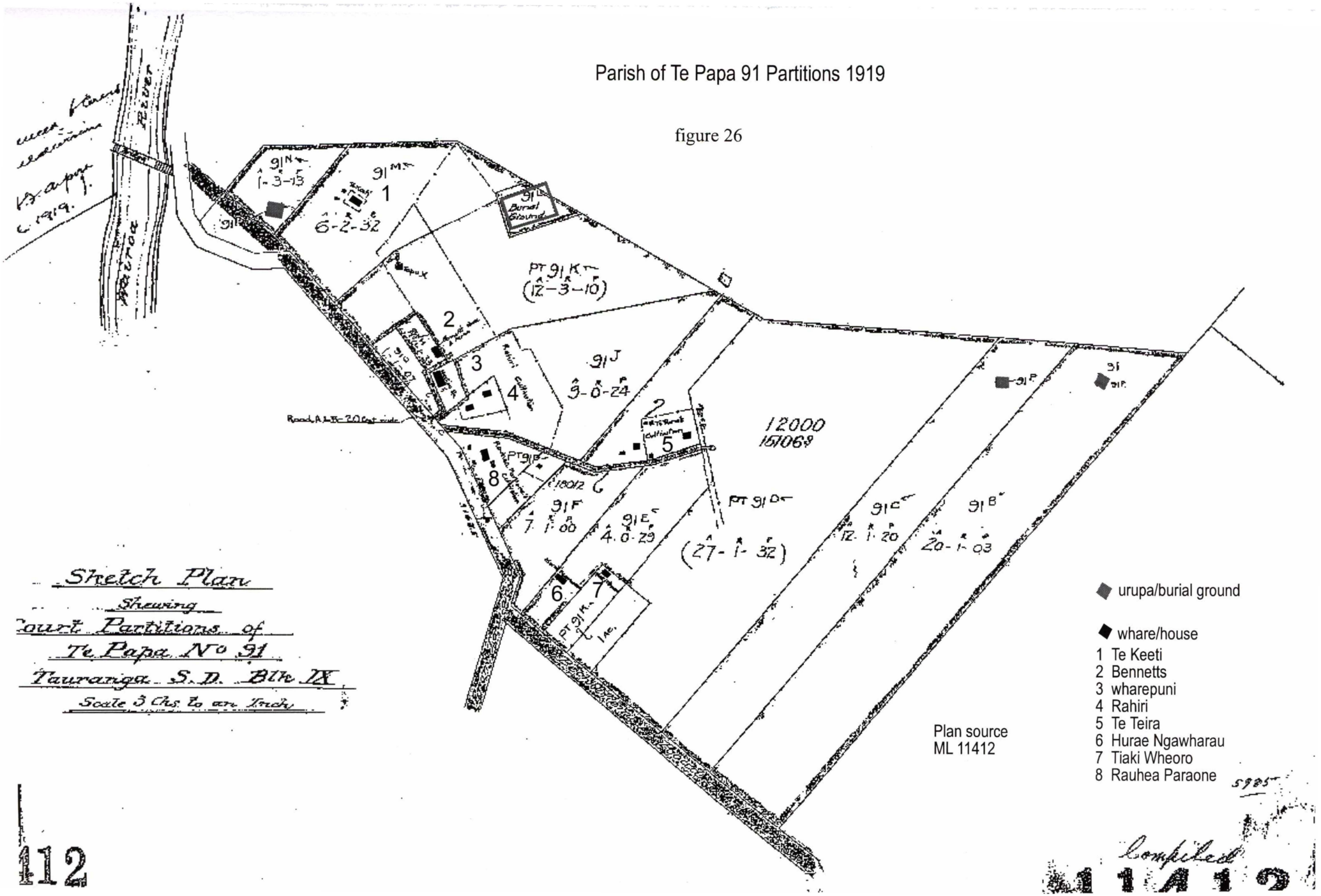
partition also identifies the occupants of the lands by their households, and by checking these names with the original lists of owners a picture emerges regarding what constitutes a hapu (figures 26, 27).

The issue of Perahia, Herewini, Hatana, Te Keeti, Ngakoere and Harata, intermarried with other lines of Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi, and their descendents form the nucleus of the hapu today (Append.). Migration outside the hapu often followed marriage partners from other hapu and the Land court successions of the early 1900s point to a high number of ancestors who had no issue. The distinction between Ngati Rangi and Ngati Kahu became blurred at some point because of intermarriage, but remains today as the tension that exists between resident families. It is likely that this tension goes back to the 1870s when all of the Ngati Rangi were Pai Marire and many of Ngati Kahu became loyal to the colonial government. Ngati Kahu then became the dominant identity of these two hapu. Hatana Ngawharau, son of Herewini and Perahia, and who himself married Wairua, played a leadership role in the late 19th century for Ngati Kahu and his line now see themselves as the tuakana line for Ngati Kahu (Append. 7 (ii)). Rahiri Ngawharau, his sons and Kapene and Tureiti took leadership roles during their era as kaumatua. Henare the son of Tureiti has tried to maintain this male tradition until his passing away in 2002.

The relationships of kin of this generation provided the social bonding for successive generations as Ngati Kahu. Combined with the kin relationships of this generation at Te Pura Wairoa, has been residence on the confiscation reserves of Parish of Te Papa 8, 92 and 453, a factor that has maintained Ngati Kahu throughout the twentieth century and now the new millennium. The resident older generation of Ngati Kahu relate to each other through their specific links to Perahia and Herewini, with the focus for groups of kin on the individual issue of Perahia and Herewini, such as Ngawharau and Te Keeti, for those who descend from these individuals. The whanau groups are Rahiri, Te Keeti, Whaiapu, Bennett, Tokona, Te Wheoro, Apaapa and Brown. It is these resident whanau groups who act out the social and cultural roles of Ngati Kahu through the marae and reciprocity of social and kin relations with other hapu. These people are essential to the operation and identity of the hapu. Many who descend from the original list of owners have identities and kin allegiances outside the hapu of

Parish of Te Papa 91 Partitions 1919

figure 26



Parish of Te Papa Lots 91B - 9P(1920)

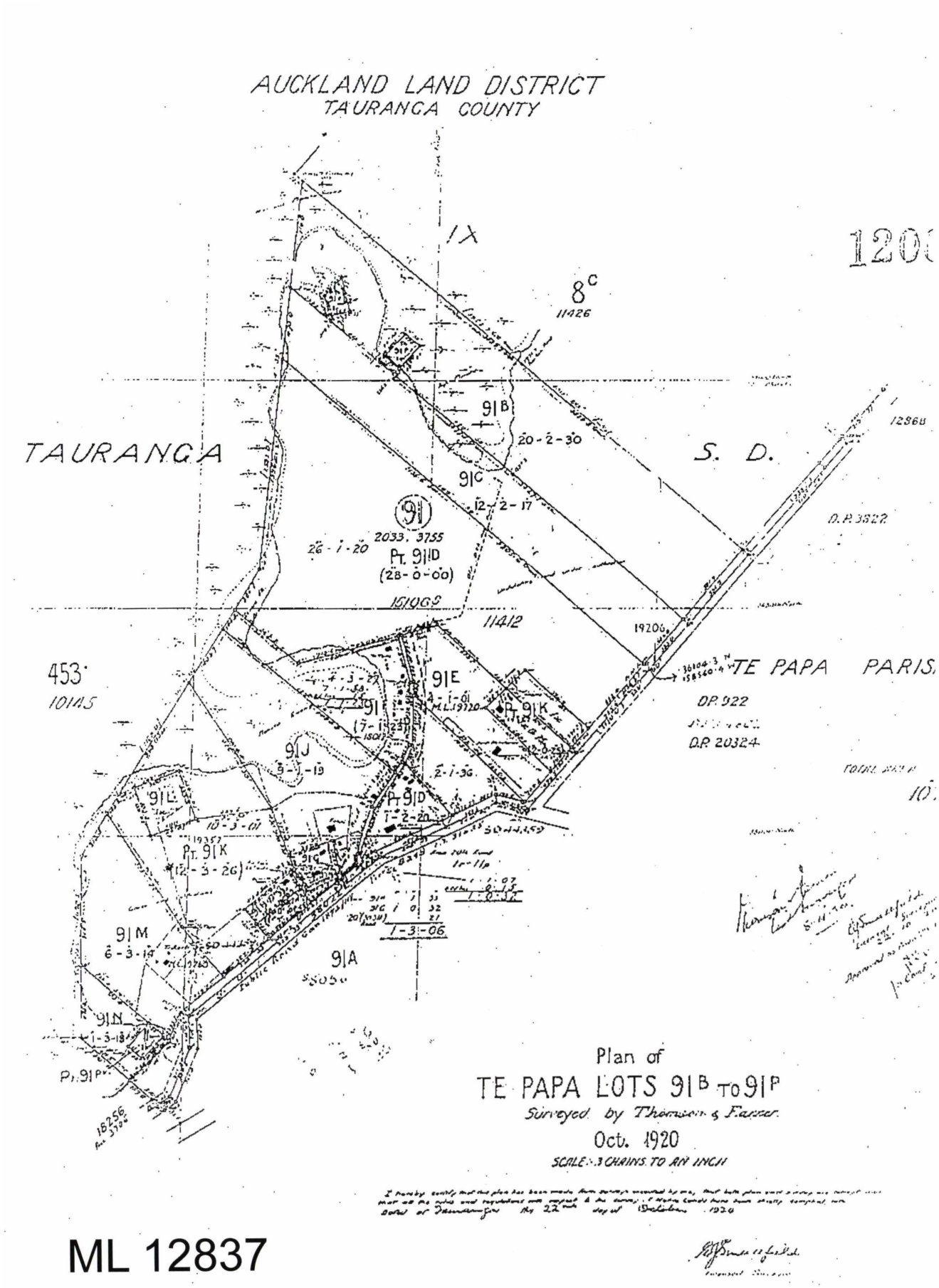


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Figure 27

Wairoa, but they are acknowledged for their whanaungatanga links, or the thread of common descent from ancestors of the Wairoa reserves of 1886.

Herewini (also known as Kaiamo) and Whero is the key link to Ngati Raukawa for Ngati Kahu. The relationship between Ngati Kahu, Ngati Kirihika and Ngati Motai whanau has been further reinforced by intermarriage. Some nineteenth century marriages were Te Keeti Herewini and Ngaki Parehaehae (Append. 3 xiii), Paraiki Ngawharau and Parekaroro Parehaehae (Append. 3 xiv). In the early twentieth century Gerald Bennett from Whero married Hera Te Wheoro from Kaiamo (Append. 3 xv), Hoana Paraiki (Append. xiv) married Tame Paraone from Ngarama of Ngati Rangi, and her sister Rangi (Append.xiv) married Tamati Poumako of Ngati Kirihika of the Kaimai. The marriages between issue of Ngarama and Ngawharau were Merewaki and Rahiri, Tio and Keehi. The whanau that have come from these connections all reside on Te Pura land and have formed the core of the hapu.

This examination of the Ngawharau and Land Court succession whakapapa and block and parish ownership lists reveals the direct kin links to Ngati Raukawa hapu for Ngati Kahu and the location of these kin links in the Kaimai. The Whaiapu whanau of Ngati Kahu are the only whanau who maintain this link to Ngati Kirihika and the Ukaipo marae on the western slopes of the Kaimai, because the ancestor Whaiapu was Ngati Kirihika (Appendix 9). Other whanau links to the Kaimai exist as shareholdings, tenants in common of the Te Ongaonga Blocks of land. The descendents of Kaiamo still retain shares in the Whaiti Kuranui 6A Blocks and acknowledge their Ngati Kirihika links and descent but do not identify with this hapu for ancestry. For most Ngati Kahu today, the links with Kaimai are sentimental, while the generation whose direct links to the area was their upbringing in the area have mostly died.

Hune Peehi is in the lists of owners for the Parish of Te Papa blocks, and he is a brother to Herewini or Kaiamo and his inclusion on the Te Parish lists signifies the importance of these tupuna with a Raukawa orientation to the Tauranga harbour (Appendix 6,9). They were also allocated land in the 1919 partitions the block Parish of Te Papa 91 M which is near the Wairoa River indicating a distinction from Ngati Kahu. As has been pointed out earlier this Ngati

Tamahapai, Ngati Raukawa relationship is emphasised through the ancestor Uawhiti who is the tekoteko of the wharepuni.

This puts an interesting question to the Kahutapu whakapapa in terms of the role of this whakapapa. This whakapapa does not appear to relate to land, where Hatana (Ngawharau) and Hera Te Wheoro use the Ngamarama whakapapa of Kahu for the Purakatahi Block (Ngati Kahu) and Tira for the Waimanu Block (Ngati Rangi). Nor does it relate to the Wairoa hapu as it excludes Ngati Rangi and Ngati Tamahapai.

Ngati Kahu

Neither Ngati Pango nor Ngati Rangi have the kind of identity or forms of social relationships present for Ngati Kahu. The social and political factors or processes can be identified which created this situation; people without history are people who have been prevented from identifying themselves for others (Friedman 1994:117). Ngati Pango lack a coherent whakapapa, a taotahi. Although Ngawharau and Wairua have produced a whakapapa for Ngati Rangi, the whakapapa leans towards Wairua's lines to the exclusion of others. The Ngaiterangi hapu and many Ngati Ranginui hapu I am familiar with all have whakapapa where they clearly are able to define their identity as direct descent from a specific founding ancestor or ancestors. For the Ngati Ranginui hapu Te Pirirakau has Tutereinga, Ngaitamarawaho has Te Kaponga which was the name of the wharenui prior to the currently named wharenui, Tamatea pokaiwhenua, Hangarau who was an ancestor from Te Arawa and their Ranginui ancestry comes from Kokiri. Ngapotiki of Ngaiterangi has whakapapa from Tamapahore, who was a younger brother of Te Rangihouhiri, and Ngati He has whakapapa both from Tamapahore relating to their common origins with Ngapotiki, that is descent from Tamapahore and Kumaramaoa of Waitaha. For Ngaiterangi hapu there is Tuwhiwhia, Tauaiti and Tamawhariua, sons and grandsons of Te Rangihouhiri. And for Ngati Kahu there is Raumati and Kahu in the Ngawharau whakapapa.

A Tauranga hapu that has a dual whakapapa status similar to Ngati Kahu is Ngati He, whose mana stems from both Tamapahore and their Waitaha ancestors, the original occupants of Rangataua. Their primary identity is with Tamapahore, who had leadership of Ngaiterangi when they were in Maketu and who led the establishment of the Ngaiterangi mana in Tauranga. But the mana of the land

remained with Waitaha through such ancestors such as Hikapa who could not be defeated in battle. The narrative history of the Ngapotiki and Ngati Pukenga ancestors speaks of winning battles against Waitaha in the Papamoa hills, Mangatawa and Oruamatua but not Maungatapu. The Ngati He's Tamapahore origins were the same as Ngapotiki and the narrative traditions emphasise that, whereas once Ngati He and Ngapotiki have the same hapu origin with Ngapotiki ancestors, they then split to form separate hapu based on land. The Papamoa area is the eastern tribal boundary for Tauranga and Ngapotiki and Waitaha. Hapu on the boundary do not share blocks of land the same as Ngati Kahu with their Raukawa kin at the Kaimai for the Te Ongaonga Blocks, although they share a common Waitaha ancestor, Kumaramaoa. But the division between Waitaha and Ngapotiki is based on the division of land between Kumaramaoa and his brother Iwikoroke that occurred before the invasion by Ngaiterangi:

> Kumaramaoa and Te Iwikoroke were (brothers) of the Waitaha tribe, they divided both the Estate and the allegiance of the tribe between them, the boundary commencing at Otanewainuku and running to Otara and the sea, Te Iwikoroke claimed the S.E. side and Kumaramaoa the N.W.
> In the time of Taikeao and Ruarangi there was a further subdivision and Kumaramaoa's branch ceased to claim anything eastward of Otanewainuku (Eru Whakatana TMB1:122).

In claiming the mana for the land blocks of Ngati He, it was the Waitaha ancestors who descend from Kumaramaoa such as Hikapa that were identified, not the ancestors who descend from Tamapahore. I prepared a report for the Ngati He Waitangi Tribunal hearing in 2000 and this gave me an opportunity to examine Ngati He whanau whakapapa books where I noticed that their whakapapa had a dual ancestor focus and origin, Tamapahore and Kumaramaoa. The whanau whakapapa acknowledged their descent from these two ancestors. I also noticed that a previous generation of Ngati He acknowledged their Kumaramaoa whakapapa but by the 1980s and 1990s, the current generation acceded to pressure from other Ngaiterangi hapu to acknowledge their Tamapahore whakapapa as the primary whakapapa. A process similar to this transpired for Ngati Kahu over the ancestor Kahutapu.

The question is asked what ancestral origins do Ngati Kahu align themselves to, Ngamarama, Ngati Raukawa or Ngati Ranginui. I begin with the 1970s and what I remember of the hapu when the Ngati Kahu whakapapa was not readily accessible.

I was familiar with particular attributes which were the source of identity for Ngati Kahu, kin and the marae. What was important for the resident Ngati Kahu whanau at Wairoa was that their relationship to each other overrides any external identity pressure. The relationship to each other stems from their common tupuna, Herewini and Perahia. It is these tupuna, not Kahutapu, who provides the kin links with each other at Wairoa. Kahutapu is for outsiders, not those resident on the hapu land. Ngati Kahu use Kahutapu in this context, and this whakapapa is important to acknowledge common descent with external whanau. For the Ngati Rangi whanau, the ancestors that provide their kin links are Tokona and Ngarama. Ngarama and Tokona lived with the Pirirakau because of Tokona's role as a Hauhau, and Pirirakau included Tokona in land returned by the government where he and Ngarama lived until they died. It was their offspring who came back to Wairoa: Merewaki who married Rahiri Ngawharau, Riripeti my tupuna who married Te Rauhea Paraone of Ngaitamarawaho and lived at Wairoa, Taupe Tokona and Ngahiraka who married Te Whana Maihi of Ngati Pango. Most of this century many of Ngati Rangi have migrated from the hapu lands. For Ngati Kahu a fundamental issue for their cohesion as a hapu is that they have land, urupa and marae and a strong sense of place. They are close kin because of Herewini and Perahia and the intermarriage of the first generation with other Ngati Kahu lines, The co-residence of the succeeding generations provides the kin bonding for the operation of Ngati Kahu as a socially functioning hapu, rather than descent from Kahu or Kahutapu.

9.

NGATI PANGO, THE SUBALTERN HAPU

> Postcolonial critique is therefore a form of activist writing that looks back to the political commitment of the anti-colonial liberation movements and draws its inspiration from them, while recognising that they often operated under conditions very different from those that exist in the present (Robert Young 2001:10).

> We recognize of course that subordination cannot be understood except as one of the constitutive terms in a binary relationships of which the other is dominance, 'as an objective assessment of the role of the elite and as a critique of elitist interpretations of that role". For "subaltern groups are always subject to the activity of the ruling groups, even when they rebel and rise up (Ranajit Guha 1988:35).

After the battle at Pukehinahina in 1864, the Kingitanga Pai Marire supporters in Tauranga, namely the hapu of Wairoa (Ngati Rangi, Ngati Pango) and Te Puna (Te Pirirakau), as constitutional subjects of the new nation, and in relation to other citizens , both Maori and Pakeha, were forced into a position of subalternity (after Spivak 1999:141). The resistance of these hapu has been emphasised in sections of this thesis to make clear their subaltern position and subaltern consciousness. The identifying characteristic of subalternity is active resistance against settler colonial or some equivalent domination (Masellos 2002:191). The settler colonial government programme to contain this resistance in turn created the two levels of political power – elite and subaltern - amongst Maori (Sarkar 2002:405). The elite were the collaborators, the 'friendly' or 'loyalist' Ngaiterangi chiefs who achieved some level of citizenship, with individual land grants from the pool of confiscated land, government pensions and other incentives from the Crown to maintain their sense of loyalty. Guha identifies the subaltern groups by what they are not; they are not dominant, they are in opposition to the colonial power and elites (who act for the colonial power) (Guha 1986:8). When domination was formally established in Tauranga in the 1890s, neither both the Crown nor local Pakeha any longer had need for the 'loyalist'. With the role of the collaborator effectively terminated, the elite turned to nationalist Maori politics but maintained their elitist status in relationship to the subalterns - Ngati Ranginui hapu and members of their own hapu who did not have chiefly status. The role of the elite (Ngaiterangi

chiefs) in transforming a subaltern hapu (Ngati Pango) is the subject of this chapter.

Researchers will not find Ngati Pango in any list identifying hapu and marae of Tauranga Moana or Ngati Ranginui today. Most socially active and acknowledged hapu have a marae. Ngati Pango does not have a marae, hapu whakapapa, or known history as other Ngati Ranginui hapu do. This legacy for Ngati Pango can be traced to the colonial government's policies during the nineteenth century, directed towards undermining the Pai Marire Kingitanga in Tauranga. These policies involved coercion, surveillance and violence directed towards the 'unsurrendered rebels' and 'Pai Marire,' who were also neither admitted nor encouraged to participate in the processes of allocation of the confiscated land by the Commissioners' Court.

Te Pirirakau, Ngati Kahu, Ngati Hangarau, Ngaitamarawaho, Ngati Ruahine and Ngaiteahi are all Ngati Ranginui hapu which have a marae, whakapapa and hapu history acknowledging their internal and external kin relations and common ancestry. For some hapu this ancestry is represented in traditional art on their wharepuni. Ancestors are represented in carved tekoteko, amo and maihi, as constant reminders to the hapu of their origins. This combination of marae and hapu whakapapa produces a context for hapu history to be projected as representation of the identity and mana of the hapu. This history is sourced in a number of family records.

How is it that these Ranginui hapu have historic narratives and whakapapa when Ngati Pango does not? The answer is that their hapu at least had some leaders or chiefs who were acceptable to the colonial officials as either 'surrendered rebels' who therefore acted as agents for the hapu in the Commissioner's hearings for the 'returned lands' during the 1870s and 1880s. Ngati Pango also had several 'loyalist' or 'friendly' chiefs - namely Maihi Ngaruwhati, who was Ngati Pango 'tuturu'(authentic), Maihi Haki and Hamuera Paki who were also Ngaiterangi. But the role of hapu agent to the Commissioner's Court that the 'loyalist' or 'surrendered rebel' Ngati Ranginui chiefs had assumed for their hapu were, in the case of Ngati Pango, taken over by Hori Ngatai, a 'surrendered rebel' Ngaiterangi chief. Ngatai had found great favour with the local government officials for his support and role in opposing Pai Marire resistance to colonisation.

Although the commissioner's hearings were conducted under the Tauranga District Lands Act 1867 and 1868, which did not have a prescribed procedure, the legislated procedure of the Native Land Court was soon adopted by Commissioner Brabant to facilitate the return of the confiscated land (Waitangi Tribunal 2004). Claimants produced evidence to validate their claims. The drawing up of lists of owners was a process that developed knowledge of the hapu whakapapa and knitted the various landowners together as a hapu, with recognised common descent from one or more key ancestors.

This may appear as a paradox, in that the hearings for the Commissioners for Tauranga lands and the Native Land Court, a fundamentally colonising process, was the source and conduit for consolidating historical narratives and hapu whakapapa. The hapu drew up lists of hapu landowners and defined their relationships to each other by whakapapa that emphasised consanguinial kinship within a generation rather than ancestral descent. The intention and, ultimately, the objective of contesting land created 'traditional' narratives. This was not a process of 'wananga' or traditional knowledge production, but rather a response to the demands of the colonisers who required people to contest the ownership of their land so that the Crown could give it back to them in the form of a title.

Why might we consider today that Ngati Pango is a hapu when there has been little acknowledgement from other Ngati Ranginui hapu, except for Ngati Kahu and Te Pirirakau, their immediate neighbours? Ngati Pango do not participate in the social sphere of the hapu kin relations centred on the marae where ceremony and reciprocity give formal acknowledgment and recognition to hapu relationships. The ceremonial formality of the marae is based on the binary of the 'tangata whenua'(local) and 'manuhiri' (visitor); hapu representation is paramount at the local level. However, family households that live on the Parish of Te Puna Block 182 have always viewed themselves as Ngati Pango. This identity is what has been passed to them orally. They have a marae at Okauia, with a wharenui called Tamapango, but it is in a Ngati Raukawa tribal area on the western side of the Kaimai Ranges rather than in Tauranga. At Wairoa there is land and a urupa, which are still known to belong to Ngati Pango. Some Ngati Pango whanau had whakapapa, but it is only personal or family, showing their descent from particular ancestors rather than their relationships to each other as hapu kin.

The lack of what I refer to as the hapu history and whakapapa for Ngati Pango first became apparent when I was conducting research for the Wairoa hapu land claims. I interviewed elders in 1992 and Meka Apaapa was a key informant, having lived on the land at Wairoa all his life. He was a kaumatua for Ngati Kahu, his mother being Hinehui Aorangi of Ngati Pango, and his father Ngawharau Apaapa of Ngati Rangi and Ngati Kahu. He always voiced his desire was to see Ngati Pango build a marae on their land at Wairoa. He expressed sentiment for his mother Hinehui which was associated with a sense of loss for Ngati Pango. Meka was in his late 70s when I interviewed him. I had known him for many years as he ran the wharekai at the Ngati Kahu marae and later took his role on its paepae (speakers threshold) as kaumatua when his older brother died. He knew that their own marae would give Ngati Pango mana as well as bringing the households together as a socially functioning hapu.

For the claims research, Meka could not offer any whakapapa, and he had no traditional oral narratives about Ngati Pango. But Meka had other knowledge which was significant since he had spent all his life at Te Wairoa. I vividly remember a time on the marae when Meka recalled how a young man, for any tangihanga it was his job to go past peoples' homes where there would be food on the roadway which he would collect for the marae. I had looked at other whanau documents from the wider district but none had a specific Ngati Pango whakapapa; usually they were either Ngati Kahu or wider Tainui whakapapa. In Tauranga, it was only on the Wairoa River that Ngati Pango were acknowledged. Ngati Kahu referred to the west side of the river as 'Ngati Pango', while elsewhere around Tauranga Moana their existence was not known or spoken about. In contrast to Ngati Pango, Ngati Kahu, on the east of the river, had a an active marae, hapu whakapapa, and stories of their ancestors. Until recently I had no explanation for the lack of such within Ngati Pango, and knew that it would require detailed research to find this.

The families of Ngati Pango at Te Wairoa did not have a whakapapa showing the lines of Pango or the origins of the ancestor Pango. However the Okauia branch of Maihi, or Marsh, refers to the tupuna 'Tamapango', which is the name of their tupuna whare. This whakapapa is cited by kaumatua from Kaokaoroa ki Te Patetere as the whakapapa for Ngati Pango. But Tamapango lived at Tirau and Maungatautari, and it was following generations that came to Okauia at the

Tauranga Confiscation - Wairoa Hapu

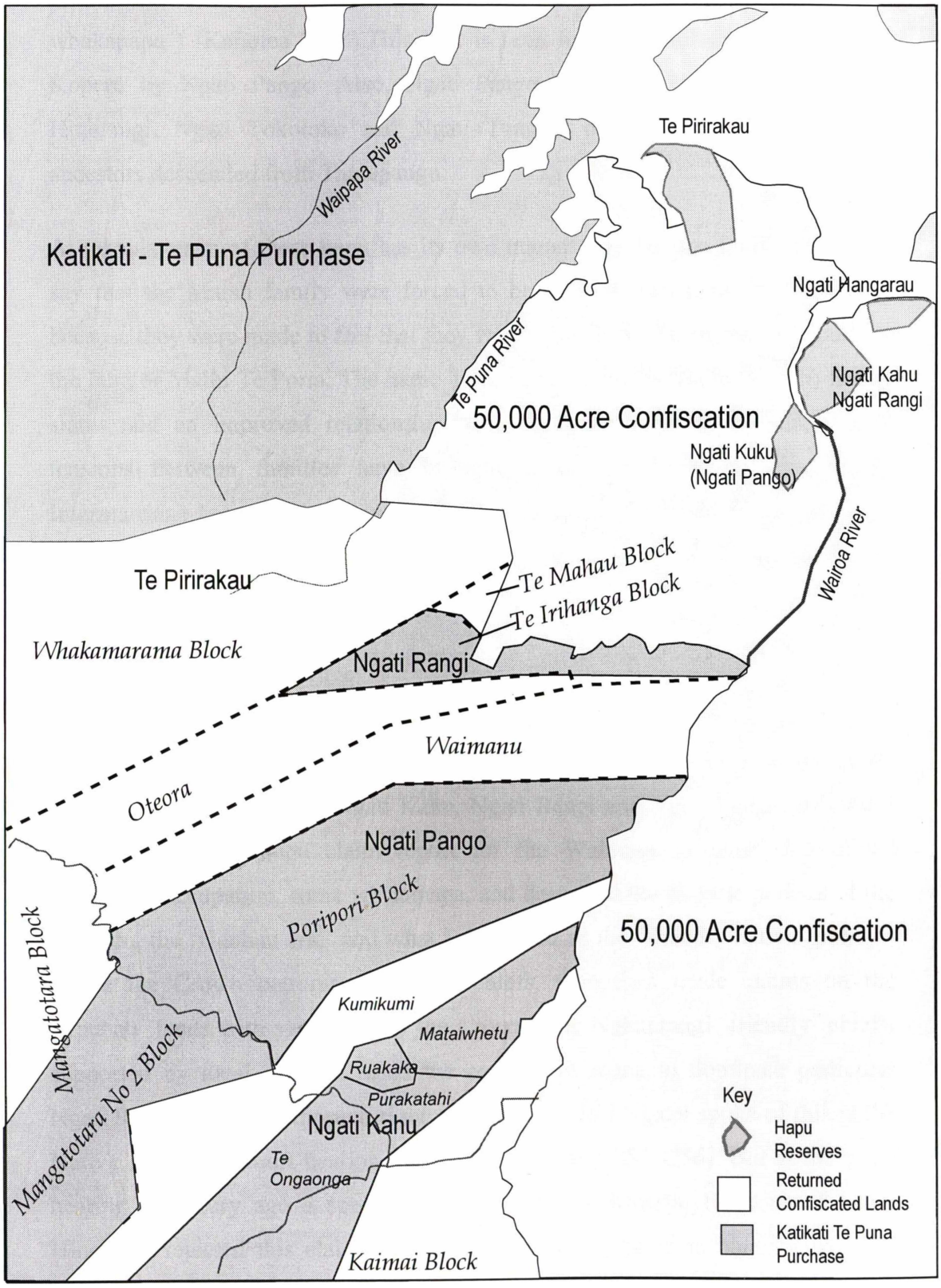


figure 28

western foot of the Kaimai Range. Tamapango is appropriate for Okauia, but probably not Te Wairoa. It was the ancestor Koperu, who was Maungatautari-based, who began the campaign against Ngamarama who occupied lands to the west of the Kaimai Ranges. The conquest of Ngamarama was achieved by the generation of Tangata and Tokotoko, who were the second generation (see whakapapa) (Kahotea 2000).This link is seen in the use of that tupuna name Koperu by Ngati Pango. Also, Ngati Pango has close kin links with Ngati Hinerangi, Ngati Tokotoko and Ngati Tangata of Okauia through common ancestors descended from Tamapango.

At Okauia, each of these hapu has its own marae. The Tokona family at Okauia say that the Marsh family were forced to build their own marae in the 1930s because they were made to feel that they were 'outsiders'. The marae was built on the land of Maihi Te Poria. The name Tamapango gave the Maihi (Marsh) family status and an improved relationship with the other hapu at Okauia, though tensions between families have brought about the demise of the marae. Intermarriage between the Marsh and other families of Okauia has reduced the earlier tension, and Ngati Pango origins or connections are acknowledged by those who have them.

Ngati Pango and Resistance

In 1995 I included Ngati Pango in the revised Ngati Kahu statement of claim to the Waitangi Tribunal regarding the land confiscation, presenting the claim in the name of the Wairoa hapu, Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi and Ngati Pango. In 1996 I wrote the Wairoa hapu claim report for the Waitangi Tribunal. It outlined traditional occupation, some whakapapa, and described the historic periods of the Raupatu, the 'Hauhau era,' and what I described as the 'friendly native' policy - where the Crown patronised friendly chiefs, who then made claims on the 'Hauhau' lands with support from the Crown. The Ngaiterangi 'friendly' chiefs, supported by local officials, used the concept of mana to dominate particular Ngati Ranginui people through right of conquest. Hori Ngatai spoke of this at the Native Appellate Court hearing in 1906 (see quote p.255 -256). But at the same hearing a century ago a speaker for Ngati Pango, Morehu Himiona of Ngati Hinerangi rejected this claim of servitude by Ngati Pango to Ngati Kuku. His statement was: "I deny that Ngatipango were serfs of Ngaiterangi. They did not

present Hori presents of food nor did they provide him with canoes" (TMB 6 1905:112-113).

When I was writing the Tribunal report I had no direct information or evidence that Ngati Pango were 'Hauhau'. There were many references to Ngati Rangi and Te Pirirakau as 'Hauhau' but nothing specific for Ngati Pango. There were only indirect references to the attack by colonial forces on the inland Hauhau kainga, which included Poripori, the kainga of Ngati Pango. A statement was made by Hori Ngatai saying that Ngati Pango was Hauhau and that he had given them land at Wairoa, meaning the Parish of Te Papa 182. "All Pango elders were dead, the people were Hauhau then like the Pirirakau, that was the reason why Taiaho took the lead" (TMB 6 1905:112).

In 1998 I produced two reports relating to the Raupatu history of Ngati Pango, raising two themes for the Wairoa hapu Waitangi Tribunal hearings. The first was that the Parish of Te Papa 182 Block, Pukekonui, which was the kainga of Ngati Pango on the Wairoa River, was included in the 50,000 acre confiscation. Stokes refers to Clark's notes of awards, 'Return C', which state that Pukekonui was granted to Hori Ngatai and Ngati Pango (Stokes 1990:250). There is a document in the Maori Land Court Block files for Lot 182 which states the list of owners as "Hori Ngatai, Renata Toriri, and Te Aria in trust for the Ngati Kuku Tribe". Two Ngati Pango people, Pukehou Rangihau and her son Maihi Te Poria, succeeded to Te Aria in Lot 182 in 1889 (Parish of Te Puna Lot 182 Block Files Waikato Maniapoto Maori Land Court). This was heard before the Native Land Court which issued a title to the land at that time. By 1916, eighty-six persons were listed on the title.

In my 1996 report I identified Ngati Pango as Hauhau but there was no specific documented reference to show that they were closely allied with 'Prirrakau' as the Hauhau of Te Puna and Wairoa were called by colonial officials. Negotiations in 1866 with Hauhau were conducted at Whakamarama, Waiwhatawhata (Te Pirirakau) and Te Irihanga (Ngati Rangi). The Hauhau leadership was based at these kainga and official scrutiny and information gathering was as to the leadership rather than the composition of Pirirakau.

There are many references identifying Ngati Rangi as Hauhau alongside Pirirakau. Penetaka, the Hauhau leader of Ngati Rangi, was in fact a Ngaiterangi chief who was married to two sisters from Ngati Rangi. Koning, a historian commissioned by Pirirakau to write on the survey disputes and bush campaign talks of the Hauhau west of the Wairoa River as Pirirakau and Ngati Rangi. He makes no reference to Ngati Pango as an associated Hauhau hapu (Koning 1998). Ngati Pango pa and kainga were on the west side of the Wairoa River (Pukekonui and Poripori) along with Ngati Rangi (Te Irihanga) and Pirirakau (Te Puna and Whakamarama).

Not long after the Waitangi Tribunal hearing for the Wairoa hapu in 1999, I was given access to a Pirirakau whanau document, notably the minutes of a meeting held in 1886 recorded by a tupuna. Ngati Rangi, Te Pirirakau, and Ngati Pango people at this meeting pledged their support for the proclamations of Tawhiao in opposing the surveying of land, the selling of land, and the Native Land Court. Along with other historical fragments, this document gave confirmation that the hapu of Ngati Pango was Hauhau, and part of the 'Pirirakau' resistance which also included the better known Te Pirirakau and Ngati Rangi. This was not surprising as these three hapu lived on the west side of the Wairoa River and further inland at their kainga of Poripori, Te Irihanga and Whakamarama. They were immediate neighbours.

There was no representatives from Ngati Kahu at this meeting because as a group Ngati Kahu was not part of the 'Pirirakau resistance,' and hence was not drawn into the survey disputes of the west Wairoa. This information went some way to explaining the depleted cultural state of Ngati Pango. Being Hauhau and aligned with Te Pirirakau and Ngati Rangi, Ngati Pango would have been subjected to the same anti-Hauhau government policies and actions, both military and administrative, including the allocation of remaining land, and the manipulation of leadership through Crown patronage, which would have disadvantaged them both materially and in relation to cultural knowledge. The names of those who attended this meeting held at Raropua, Te Puna on October 6th 1886 were:

Pirirakau
Hahunga Rangitoko, Potaua Tangitu, Pohoi Te Tahatika, Peter, Haare and Hone Bidios, Werahiko and George Borell, Te Au Ropi, Nuinui Waaraiti, Metera Puru, Hohepa Faulkner, Winiata Harawira, Tuwairua Hikamate, Eruiti Waata, Taukotahi Kirimanauea.

Ngati Rangi
Mihinui, Mataitaua Rapata, Paramawhira Rapata, Ngakuru Parera, Te Apaapa, Tokona Taiwhakaea, Ngamanu,

Ngati Pango
Maihi Poria, Aorangi Poria, Te Heke Hotu

I have separated the names into their respective hapu. The Ngati Rangi names, except for Tokona, were all placed in the ownership lists of the Parish of Te Papa 91 and 453. All the Ngati Rangi names in these lists had been Pai Marire. A document presented to the Sim Commission in 1926 includes whakapapa. This refers to the father of Maihi and Aorangi, Te Poria as having fought at Whakamarama, and his brother Hautapu having been killed at Te Ranga (Whakamarama) in the battle between 'Pirirakau' and colonial troops. Hautapu and Te Poria were Hauhau along with many other Ngati Pango (RDB Vol.50 p 19515). One further confirmation of Ngati Pango involvement is a letter to Mackay dated November 1866 from chiefs at Te Whakamarama which was signed "Te Pirirakau, Ngatiran*gi and Te Mate Haere" (RDB Vol.* :47603). Te Mate Haere, or Ngati Te Matehaere was a hapu identification for a list of names that were Ngati Pango in the "Return of Arms" Tauranga District (AJHR 1864 E6: 18 – 24). Arama Karaka (Te Poria), Maihi, Heremaia, Ngarewhati (sic Ngaruwhati), Ngawaka, Te Hira, Keriti, Whakamuhu, Hamiora and Teu were the list of Te Matehaere names.

In the Pirirakau Raupatu Report, it states that when the battles began the women, children and old people were removed to the safety of Okauia and only the fighting men remained in Tauranga. But improvised conditions in Okauia forced the Pirirakau to return to Te Puna. Soon after their return, the leaders became locked in acrimonious disputes with the government arising out of the disposal of confiscated lands. For the Whakamarama Block, inquiries went on for 13 years. By the end of the process, Pirirakau shareholders were in the minority (Te Raupatu o Te Pirirakau 1997). In 1866, MacKay's response to the 'Pirirakau'

resistance to the survey was to confiscate all their lands, with just 2500 acres reserved for their use.

> Their lands are principally between Te Puna and the Wairoa, and I would suggest that a portion of these should be given to those friendly Natives who have lost land in the block of 50,000 acres before mentioned (Mackay to Rolleston 25 Sept, 1866 AJHR 1866 A20: 22).

This antagonism towards Pirirakau also would have applied to Ngati Pango as fellow Hauhau whose lands were also west of the Wairoa River. Further confirmation of the Ngati Pango Pai Marire alliance with Pirirakau and Ngati Rangi came from my cousin Grace Gates. She is Ngati Pango, through her mother, who was a Maihi, and Grace lives at Pukekonui. I told her that I wanted to produce and present a report for Ngati Pango to the Waitangi Tribunal in 2001. I believed there was sufficient evidence that Ngati Pango as well as Ngati Rangi should have made a Wairoa hapu claim in 1995. Grace contacted other Ngati Pango for support, which they gave, although apprehension was expressed by an elder aunt who was concerned that Ngati Pango was projecting themselves in a manner that may upset other people, especially in challenging the ownership of land at Poripori thought to be owned by Ngaiterangi. My concern was for Ngati Pango as a 'Pai Marire' hapu, and an object of punishment by the Crown. I believed they needed to present their case as a distinct claimant.

In continuing the research for Ngati Pango, further confirmation was found that Ngati Pango were with Pirirakau and Ngati Rangi at Okauia when they vacated their bush kainga under attack by the colonial and Te Arawa forces. In 1994 Grace Gates was shown by George Harrison of Ngati Hinerangi the location of the pa at Okauia where Pirirakau sheltered. This was during the period of the dispersal of Ngati Pango, when there was no land for them to come back to. George had also pointed this pa out to Pirirakau when they went to Okauia as part of their Raupatu research. They did not have a grant for land at the Parish of Te Puna 182 block, their kainga of Pukekonui. They did not return to Te Poripori because it was an economically marginal area compared to the Wairoa but there did seem to be a pattern that when the Pai Marire withdrew from the inland kainga in the 1870s and 1880s they did not return. There was no one living on the Poripori block in the 1880s (TMB 3 Poripori 1888 p 105). Many families

dispersed to other places with kin in other hapu such as Ngati Hinerangi. In the early nineteenth century Maihi Te Poria went to live at Okauia while his brother Aorangi remained on the land at Wairoa (pers. comm., George Douglas of Okauia 2001). In 1886 the Te Poria family were the only Ngati Pango living at Wairoa, which explains the appearance of Maihi and Aorangi at the Te Puna meeting. They were the only family of Ngati Pango to be included in the Parish of Te Puna 182 by Ngati Kuku. Ngati Rangi lived at Huharua at Te Puna before they came back to Te Pura Wairoa ca 1900.

Research has revealed that the source of land for the Ngati Pango marae at Okauia was through Pukehou Rangikau the mother of Maihi and Aorangi Te Poria, who was admitted as an owner in the original parent block of Okauia that was partitioned into Okauia 3 and 4. She was Ngati Hinerangi as well as being Ngati Pango. The Ngati Pango who were admitted into the ownership lists of Ngati Hinerangi in the Okauia Block, and the basis of each allocation were:

Te Heke Hotu	permanent occupation
Rangikau Miriama	a permanent occupation
Tanupo Hikipene	
Koperu Tanupo	ancestral right parents occupied, he did not.
Maihi Rangikau	a permanent resident
Te Hirihiri Hikipene	
Maihi te Ngaru	a permanent resident
Te Aorangi Rangikau	
Maihi Haki	aroha
(Okauia WMB 4:176 1879)	(Okauia HMB 52 p341-349)

The 1900 Native Land Court hearing for the Okauia Block revealed the nature of inclusion in the ownership list. These Ngati Pango had rights in Okauia as 'Ngati Hinerangi' the reference to a permanent occupation would stem from their Ngati Hinerangi ancestry rather than from Ngati Pango. Aorangi, Maihi and Hineau Poria were to succeed to the shares of Hirihiri Hikipene and Rangikau Miriama in the Okauia Block (Succession Order Schedule Te Hirihiri Hikipene 5/4/1934 to Maihi, Aorangi, Hineau).

Ngati Pango and Ngati Kuku

In chapter 6 I pointed out the claims made by Ngati Kuku to the lands of Ngati Pango at Mangatotara, Poripori and the Parish of Te Puna 182. For the next two

sections I will show that Ngati Kuku had no rights to these lands of Ngati Pango as ancestral claim or on the basis of mana, but that the Ngati Kuku leaders as 'friendly chiefs' and 'surrendered rebel' used their status and the colonial government policy towards the Hauhau to make their claims on the lands of Ngati Pango.

Ngati Kuku were also known as Te Matewaitai and were based at the Otumoetai area from the 1830s to mid 1860s, later moving to establish the kainga of Whareroa. H. Smith, the civil commissioner, recorded 'Matewaitai' at Otuatara (Otumoetai) in 1866, and Putman in 1872, recorded 'Ngati Kuku' at Whareroa (AJHR 1864 E2, Putman Report 1872). Hori Ngatai, as a 'surrendered rebel', rose rapidly as a Ngaiterangi leader with the patronage of the Crown, and he took advantage of Ngati Pango, acting on their behalf to lobby for reserves for them and Ngati Kuku. Land blocks awarded to Ngati Kuku were:

Parish of Te Puna 182	204 acres
Parish of Te Papa 21 (Ngati Matewaitai)	32
Parish of Te Papa 107 (Ngati Matewaitai)	53
Te Maire No 3	181
Hopukiore No 1A	48
Whareroa	1262
Poripori No 1	3000
Mangatotara No 2	2830

Hori Ngatai was one of the 'Ngaiterangi chiefs' who was armed by the colonial militia and fought against the Hauhau at Te Irihanga and Whakamarama (MacKay to Native Minister 22 November 1866 RDB 47585). Raids were made on Kaimai and Poripori kainga. He also acted as agent for Ngati Pango in relation to the Poripori Blocks, including Ngati Kuku as owners, creating a perception that he had mana over Ngati Pango.

During discussions to allow the opening up of Kaimai for gold prospecting and to allow a road to Cambridge from Tauranga, Hori Ngatai assumed a leadership role in negotiations with Pakeha, and asserted his mana over other chiefs. He called meetings at Whareroa to discuss the Kaimai issue when prospectors strayed into the Poripori area. Poripori was outside the area that Hori Tupaea had agreed to allow prospectors access to. He had received payment from Brabant. Hori Ngatai was supported by Ngaiterangi chiefs who were also Ngati Pango namely Maihi Te

Lot 182 Parish of Te Puna 1916 - 1998

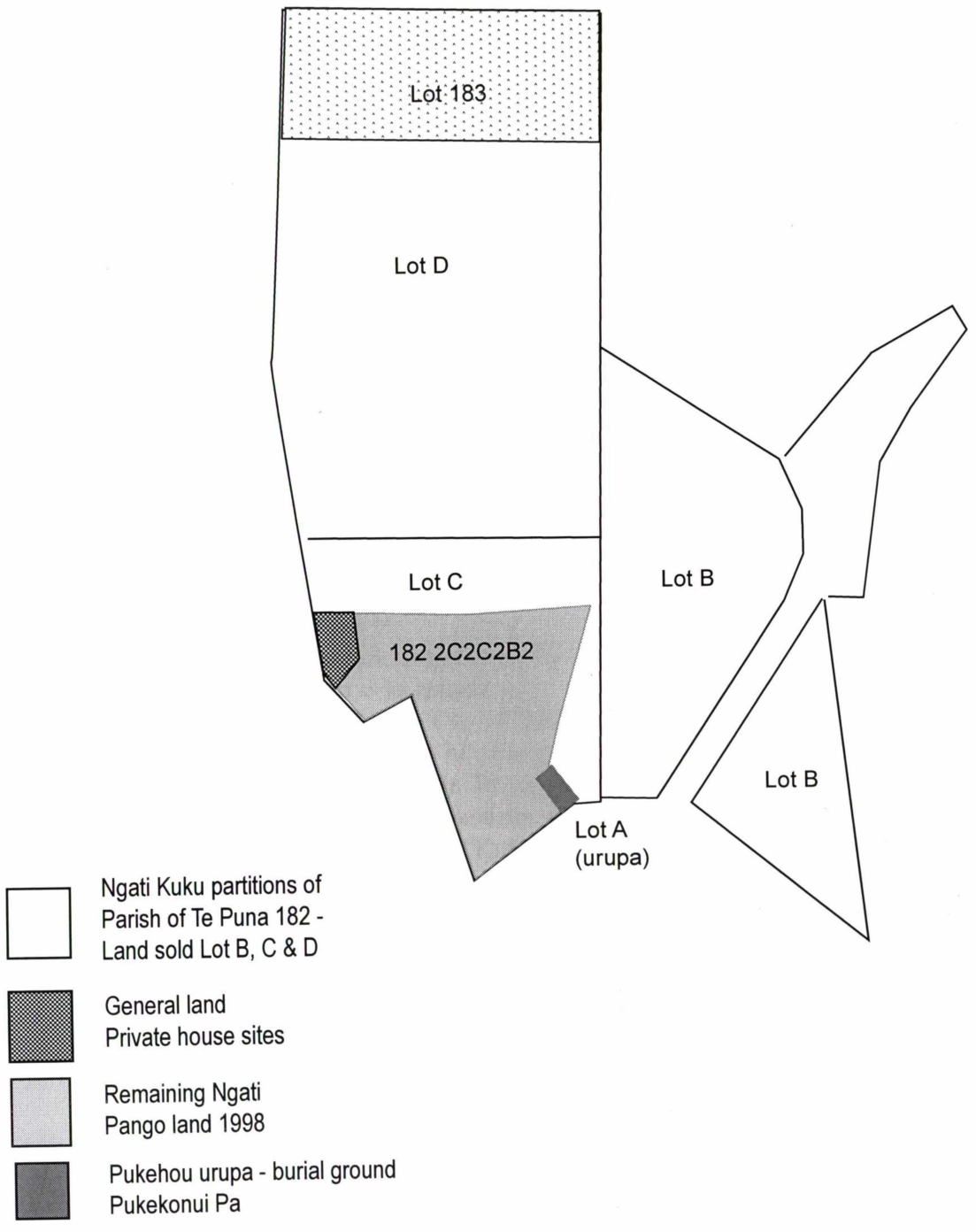


Figure 29

Haki and Hamuera Paki. Hori Ngatai and Maihi Haki (as "friendly chiefs") and Renata Toriri, Hamuera Te Paki, and Rerekaipuke of Ngati Kuku and partly Ngati Pango, were went to talk to Pirirakau about entering into the arrangements

Ngaiterangi had made with the Crown for the western boundary of the 50,000 acre Confiscation Block. Renata Toriri and Rerekaipuke were Ngati Kuku.

There is no direct ancestral relationship or kin link between Ngati Kuku and Ngati Pango. Ngati Kuku is a Ngaiterangi hapu who descend from the Ngaiterangi eponymous ancestor, Te Rangihouhiri, while Ngati Pango have Ngamarama and Ngati Raukawa ancestor origins.

Poripori Block Take Kore

In 1904 Ngati Pango, represented by Te Aorangi Poria, filed an appeal against the determination of the Native Lands Court as to the interests in the Poripori Blocks. The basis of the appeal was the inclusion of those Ngati Kuku who were *take kore* (no rights) to the land. In the letter asking for the appeal it was stated that:

> Ko nga take o taua whenua i whakahaerea i raro i te take tupuna A whakahaerea ana kia Wahanui (te rua ana ingoa ko Hinewaha), kia Rotu me Pukaki me N. Kuku i noho tahi ki nga uri o Wahanui o Rotu me Pukaki. A tonoa ana taua Poripori kia kootitia kia kimihia te nui o te paanga o ia tangata o ia tangata ki taua whenua a kahititia ana kia hiki Tauranga i te 18 Hanuere 1904. Whakahaerea ana taua Keehi kitea ana - kaore he paanga o N Kuku ki aua Tupuna no ratou nei taua whenua ara kia Rotu, Wahanui, me Pukaki i runga e to matou hiahia i whakatakototia atu ai ki te aroaro o te kooti kia whakaititia te paanga o N'Kuku ki taua whenua. A e whakaae ana a N'Kuku me Hori Ngatai kai whakahaere me te tangata tuturu o taua hapu ki ana kaore o ratou panga ki nga tupuna no ratou nei taua whenua (ACS A622/203c (file T589).
>
> *The rights to the land are made under an ancestor claim. It is through Wahanui (whose other name is Hinewaha), Rota and Pukaki and those Ngati Kuku who live as one with the descendants of Wahanui of Rotu and Pukaki. A plea is made to investigate the size of the shares of each person in Poripori which was advertised for Tauranga on the 18 January 1904. During the conduct of the case it was seen that Ngati Kuku had no rights to the ancestors claimed for this block, Rotu, Wahanui and Pukai and we desire to place before the Court to make smaller the shares of Ngati Kuku to this land. Ngati Kuku and Hori Ngatai their case conductor and the people who had rights (to Poripori) agree that they (Ngati Kuku) had no claim to the ancestors to whom the land belongs* (own translation).

Ngati Pango were challenging the right of Ngati Kuku to the entire Poripori lands. They wanted the relative share interest to reflect the fact that Ngati Kuku had no rights to the lands through *take tupuna* (ancestor claim). Ngati Kuku did not descend from the tupuna recognised as the mana for the land. The following lists were submitted by Te Morehu Himiona of Ngati Hinerangi, representing who was Ngati Pango and Ngati Kuku to the Appellate Court and the relative interests they had in Poripori according to custom. But they were not accepted because they distinguished between Ngati Pango and Ngati Kuku, and hence, the shares they each should receive as either 'tuturu' or 'take kore' (National Archives ACS A622/203c file T589):

> Ngati Pango tuturu mo Poripori No.1 *(ancestral claim to the land)*
> Whakamuhu
> Te Heke Hoturoa
> Maihi Te Poria
> Koperu Hamuera
> Ngarepo Wiremu Karaka
> Maihi Haki
> Tanupo Hamuera
> Te Hirihiri Hikipene
> Pukehou Rangihau
> Ngaikiha Hinehui
> Ngahaka Pouaka
> Hineau Te Poria
> Te Kahuwairangi Te Poria
> Mere Maihi Haki
> Te Rehunga Te Ngaru
> Te Aorangi te Poria
> Maihi Te Ngaru
> Hekehoturoa
>
> Rarangi Ingoa o N. Pango me N. Kuku i maremarena kia raua me te noho tahi mo Poripori No.1. (*List of names of Ngati Pango and Ngati Kuku who have intermarried and live as one for Poripori No 1).*

Te Aria	Tuari	Hirini Enoka	Tomo te Aria
Rangihau	Potaua	Keni	Rapata Tukere
Renata Tukere	Hiria Enoka	Hiria Toru	Merepeka
Paama	Te Wharepouri	Te Aohau	Renata Toriri

Rarangi ingoa N. Kuku take kore mo Poripori No.1
List of names of Ngati Kuku who have no rights

Enoka te Whanake	Hori Ngatai	Heta Tarera
Te Kahamatao	Te Tiepa	Matiu Torera
Rerekaipuke	Hori Hamuera	Reweti Ngatai
Wetini Taiaho	Enoka Ngatai	Te Ruatahapari
Renata Tarera	Herewini	Hamuera Te Paki
Hohepa Tutaepaea	Hone Tanuku	Hikipine
Peta Te Kaha	Kiriwai Ngaikiha	Taukotahi
Ngahoro Ngatai	Tupara	Huhana Poia
Taruke	Hiria Hori	Ani Patene
Heni Tamati	Ka Te Aria	Kararaina
Mata haaka	Te Karamate Maihi	Te Mate Ki Tawhiti
Heke	Te Mamae Hoturoa	Te Parawhau Te Kohe

Rarangi Ingoa mo Ngati Pango tuturu mo Poripori No. 2
Lists of names of Ngati Pango

Heni te Poka	Tumanako Te Parawhau	Hoturoa
Heke Hotu	Maihi te Poria	Koperu Haki
Tanupo Hamuera	Hirihiri Hikipene	
Pukehou Rangikau	Ngaikiha Hinehui	Ngapaki Pouaka
Mere Maihi Hai	Kahuwairangi Te Poria	Hineau te Poria
Maihi Haki		

Rarangi ingoa o N. Pango me o N. Kuku mo Poripori No.2
Lists of names of Ngati Pango and Ngati Kuku

Renata Tarera	Te Aria	Tuari Aria	Haaka
Rangihau Renata	Keni Haaka		
Hirini Haaka	Rauhuhu Renata	Tamahou Paama	
Raepao Paama	Tonihi Paama	Rapata Tukere	
Ranapia Tukere	Merepeka Paama	Toru Te Rii	
Waitanaha Haaka	Harete Tuari	Whakaangi Haaka	
Waikouko	Katerina Haaka		

Rarangi Ingoa o N. Kuku i a whatia mo Poripori No.2 *(List of names of Ngati Kuku who separate into Poripori No 2)*

Hamuera Paki	Te Kahamatao Heta	Tarera
Matiu Tarera	Te Ruatahapari	Reweti Ngatai
Wetini Taiaho	Hori Ngatai	Hori Hamuera
Hohepa Ngaheke	Te Tatau Kapenui	Parawhau Te Kohe
Rangi Taipua		

Ngati Pango were presenting a case that Ngati Kuku had no ownership rights to Poripori, but the Court did not accept Morehu Himiona's list because the issue, for the Court was not the rights to the land but list of names accepted by the Commissioner of Tauranga Lands (1881). Commissioner Brabant had accepted

that any person could be put onto lists of owners if they were not challenged, and the land was subject to the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 where customary tenure was extinguished and the Tauranga District Acts 1867 and 1868, which gave him discretion as to which landowners should be in a block. If 'friendly chiefs' had land in the 50,000 confiscated block they were to make claims elsewhere in the confiscated area, which was accepted by the Commissioner because it had become a stated policy by the colonial government and Governor in Tauranga so that the 'friendly chiefs' were not penalised with the confiscation of their lands. This sympathy seems to be also directed to the 'surrendered rebel' especially those leaders such as Hori Ngatai of Ngati Kuku who actively supported the post-raupatu colonisation of Tauranga.

Parish of Te Puna 182

Although a grant for the Parish of Te Puna 182 was made to Hori Ngatai, Renata Toriri, and Te Aria in trust for the Ngati Kuku Tribe in 1873, a title to the grant was only issued by the Native Land Court only in 1916. The Native Land Court had to investigate the extent of the Ngati Kuku interests in Lot 182. A notice was placed in the N.Z. Gazette (10 September 1914) referring to the jurisdiction of the Native Land Court for the block, and an Order in Council (8 March 1915) authorised the Court to exercise jurisdiction under Part V of the Native Land Act 1909. Clarke's notes of awards (Return C) state that Pukekonui (Ngati Pango kainga land) was granted to Hori Ngatai and Ngati Pango (Stokes 1990:250). But there is a reference in the Maori Land Court Block files for Lot 182, stating the list of owners as Hori Ngatai, Renata Toriri, and Te Aria in Trust for the Ngati Kuku Tribe which specifies 'Ngati Kuku', not Ngati Pango.

When Matiu Tarera of Ngati Kuku administered the succession of Te Aria's title in Parish of Te Puna in 1886, he asked the Native Land Court to make an Order in favour of Pukehou Rangikau of Ngati Pango and her son Maihi Te Poria. Matiu had stated that arrangements had been made amongst themselves to divide the land and that Pukehou was a sister to Te Aria. He stipulated that only Maihi should go into the land In relation to the Whareroa Block, Matiu asked the Court for Aorangi to succeed to the interests of Te Aria (TMB 3:57-59). In 1897 Maihi Te Poria conducted the case for succession of Mere Peka of Ngati Kuku to succeed to the shares of Te Aria in Poripori. He stated that she was a niece of Te

Aria [see marenarena list p.]. It appears that different people, from Ngati Kuku and Ngati Pango were succeeding to the different blocks of land of which Te Aria had been an owner. In 1910, Pukehou was succeeded by Aorangi Te Poria, Hineau Te Poria and the following children of Te Maihi Te Poria: Te Whana Maihi, Te Pira Maihi, Tanupo Maihi, Te Hakinga Maihi, Te Parewaero Maihi, Atarangi Maihi, Rangipahu Maihi, Eruera Maihi, and Hautapu Maihi. This succession allowed Te Aorangi and Hineau, brother and sister of Maihi, to get access to the Pukekonui land, whereas for the original succession to Te Aria there was only Maihi and Pukehou. In the drawing up of the lists of names, undertaken by Maihi Te Poria, other Ngati Pango names also were included: Te Hirihiri Hikipene, Ngaruwhati and Pouaka. The latter two were succeeded by their children (Parish of Te Papa Lot 182 Title orders Waikato Maniapoto Maori Land Court).

The Parish of Te Puna 182, a block of 204 acres, was partitioned into four blocks in 1916 - Te Puna 182 Lots A, B, C and D. Notes in the Block File in the Maori Land Court indicate that Ngati Kuku and Ngati Pango were separated into respective blocks. Ngati Kuku were issued larger shares than the Ngati Pango owners. The partition of the Block Lots A, B, and D were all to Ngati Kuku owners, and Lot C was to Ngati Pango. The Ngati Pango list also included the Ngati Kuku names of Te Poka Hamuera, Ruatahapari Rewiti, and Enoka Ngatai. Further partition of Te Puna 182 was into: 182C No.1, 182C No.2A, and 182C No. 2B, which were the partitions for Te Poka Hamuera, Ruatahapari and Enoka Ngatai of Ngati Kuku.

Lot 182 A urupa, Pukekonui
Lot 182 B 66ac. 0r. 13p Ngati Kuku
Te Puna Lot 182C
44ac. 2r. 15p. Ngati Pango including Te Poka Hamuera, Rerekaipuke and Ruatahapari Reweti (Ngati Kuku)
Te Puna Lot 182 D
Partitioned 4/5/1916 85ac. 1r. 30p. - Ngati Kuku
Te Puna Lot 182C No.2C partitioned 1918
28 ac. 2r. 37p. 35 owners 8 26/33 shares Ngati Pango

Out of the original 204 acres by 1918, Ngati Pango was to end up with the Parish of Te Puna 182 C No.2C. This was a block of 28 acres, a third of which was steep slope and gully. The Ngati Kuku shareholders who received one or more shares

Parish of Te Puna Lot 182

Native Reserves between Wairoa and Te Puna Rivers 1867 ML 9760

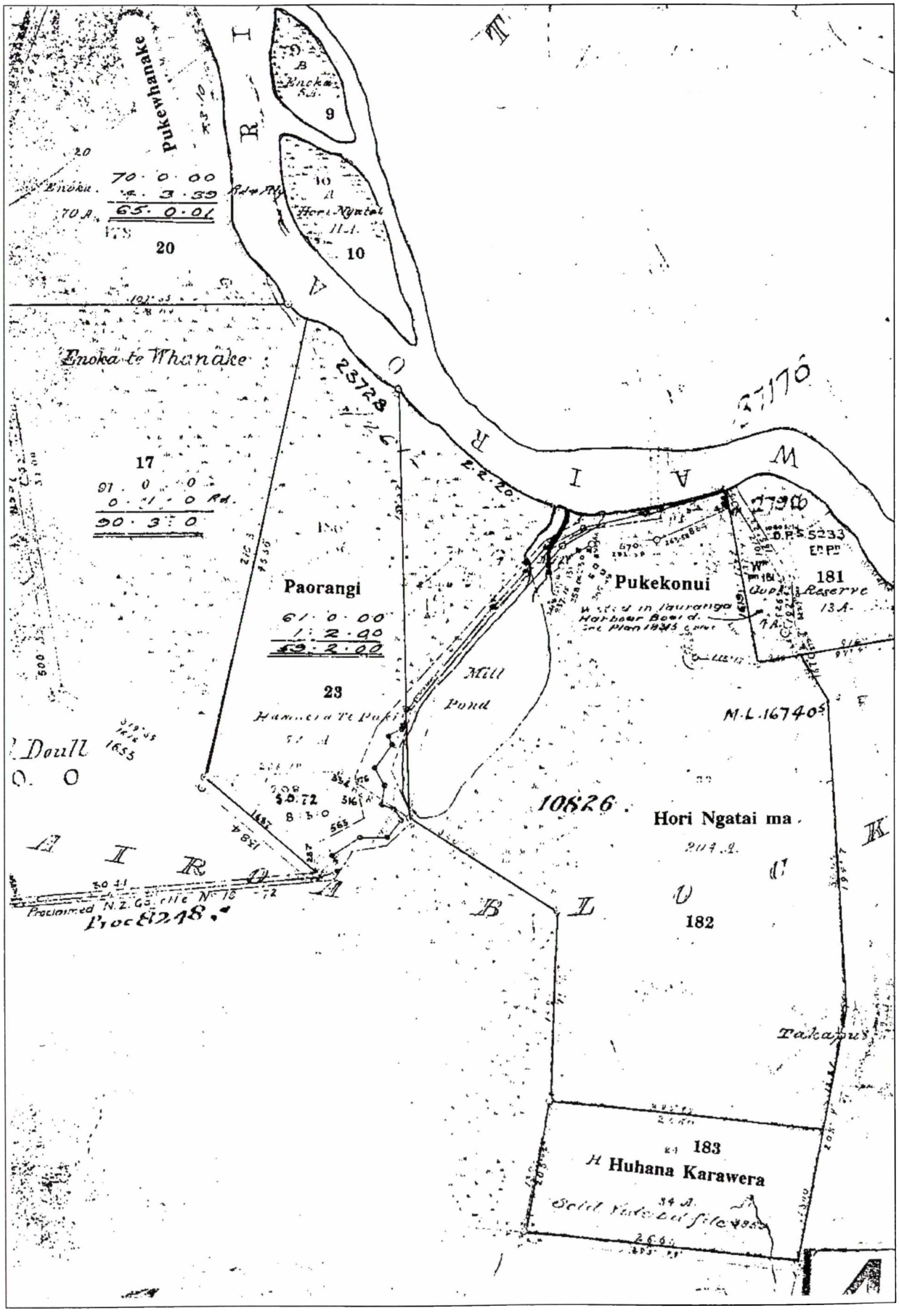


Figure 30

were Enoka Ngatai, Te Poka Hamuera, Rerekaipuke, and Ruatahapari Reweti. Each had 13 and 9/14 shares. This allowed them to partition blocks for themselves and their families. The Ngati Pango however kept their shares under one title. The relationship of Ngati Kuku to Pukekonui land is affected by the fact that today all the Ngati Kuku partitions have been sold and only the Ngati Pango block remains.

Take whenua (issues of land)

I have discussed the theme of intermarriage between Ngati Ranginui and Ngaiterangi and rights to land in Chapter 6. The themes are repeated here in relation to Ngati Pango. Evelyn Stokes in a report to the Waitangi Tribunal for the "Wairoa Valley" (1997) writes that for the Poripori area these blocks were on "the margins of several tribal areas, and had acted as refuge areas after disputes over land in earlier generations". She describes the kin networks of these hapu as particularly intricate. Evelyn Stokes is a geographer who had written several reports for the Waitangi Tribunal on the Tauranga Raupatu, but she did not analyse any of the claims made by Ngaiterangi to lands in Poripori. In the absence of detailed traditional narrative evidence from the Commissioner's hearings, her description was a simple explication of complex claims by Ngaiterangi, Ngati Ranginui and Ngati Raukawa hapu to the lands of this area. But this complexity had come about by the withdrawal of Hauhau hapu from the allocation of returned confiscated lands, thus creating opportunities for claims by Ngaiterangi individuals and their hapu. There was also the government policy of accepting any claim from Ngaiterangi chiefs, both 'friendly' and 'surrendered rebel', to land in the confiscated block and returned lands of the Hauhau hapu. There was no examination by Stokes as to whether the claims were based on traditional occupation or ancestral descent.

The challenge by Ngati Pango to 'take kore' in relation to the Poripori block in the Maori Appellate Court in 1906 draws attention to the injustice of these ownership issues. Ngati Pango was led by Morehu Himiona of Ngati Hinerangi, who stated that Ngati Pango was the only traditional hapu on the Poripori block with pa, settlements and urupa, establishing their mana over the land. Hori Ngatai responded that Ngati Pango were conquered people and subservient to Ngaiterangi, and that Ngati Kuku had, in turn, taken them in out of compassion. The Kaimai, Poripori, Oteora, Waimanu, Te Irihanga and Whakamarama blocks were all claimed by Ngati Ranginui hapu leaders who were acceptable and

'friendly' to the Crown to act as agents for their respective hapu, in that they provided the evidence necessary to demonstrate to the Commissioner that their claimant hapu had the mana in the land. These Ngati Ranginui 'friendly' leaders were Te Mete Raukawa of Ngati Hangarau, Kerekau Maungapohatu of Te Pirirakau, and Hatana Ngawharau of Ngati Kahu and who claimed land for their respective hapu and the Ngaiterangi 'chief' Hori Ngatai for Ngati Kuku.

The lists Ngati Pango drew up in 1906 identified two groups of people as lists who had rights to the Ngati Pango. The first list was Ngati Pango 'tuturu' (permanent) and the second were people who had intermarried with Ngati Pango - "I maremarena kia raua me te noho tahi" (the intermarriage and living as one). Those that did not have rights to the Poripori Block was listed as 'take kore' meaning having no rights. Ngati Pango was stating that the rights should come exclusively from their ancestors in claiming the land. The Ngati Kuku who had rights or access to the Poripori lands had those rights only through intermarriage with Ngati Pango.

I have openly questioned the claim and rights of Ngati Kuku to the Ngati Pango lands at Parish of Te Puna 182, i.e. the Poripori and Mangatotara Blocks. Yet Ngati Kuku had compassionately or politically placed Ngati Pango on their blocks at Whareroa and around Maunganui. In the 1998 report I had suggested that the placing of Ngati Pango names into the blocks allocated to Ngati Kuku at Whareroa allowed some Ngati Pango into the blocks allocated to Ngati Kuku around the harbour. But on these blocks the Ngati Pango shares were part shares, compared to Ngati Kuku who received one share each. In consideration for Ngati Kuku having access to Ngati Pango lands, some members of Ngati Pango were included in the blocks of Ngati Kuku, the Whareroa and Te Maire Blocks. In a list of Ngati Kuku owners presented for the Whareroa Block and passed in court by H.W. Brabant in 1881 were Maihi Te Poria, Hirihiri Hikipene and Koperu Hamuera of Ngati Pango. Miriama Rangikau of Ngati Pango (sister to Pukehou Rangihau[Rangikau]) (T.M.B.12 p167-68). Miriama Rangikau's name was added in Court during the presentation of lists of names (RDB 126:48383-84; DOSLI Hamilton Tauranga Confiscation 3/20).

In the determination of relative interests in the Whareroa No. 2 Block by the Maori Land Court in June 1913, Aorangi Poria and Maihi Poria of Ngati Pango

received 5/6th of a share each, and Te Whana Maihi (son of Maihi) received 1/3 of a share, while all Ngati Kuku received 1 full share or more. Other Ngati Pango put into the Ngati Kuku land at Whareroa, namely Koperu Paki, Hori Paki and Koperu Hamuera received 1 and ¼ shares each, which was larger than the other Ngati Pango but these names were also Ngaiterangi chiefs who were also Ngati Pango. In the determination of relative interests in the urupa, Whareroa No.2K in 1916, the Ngati Pango names received the same amount of shares as in the No. 2 block, with the exception of Maihi Te Poria who received 1 share. Ngati Pango shares in these blocks were lesser, both individually and in total, than Ngati Kuku shares. What this indicates is the status of the Ngati Pango names in the Ngati Kuku block of Whareroa. That is the land shares were gifts rather than rights as Ngati Kuku. In the Te Puna Lot 182, which was Ngati Pango land, Ngati Kuku individuals received larger shares than Ngati Pango.

In Chapter 6 I outlined that the following five Ngati Ranginui hapu had received land in the confiscated block. The total of the reserves for each hapu were: Pirirakau 979 acres; Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi 295 acres; Ngati Hangarau 130 acres; and Ngaitamarawaho 307 acres. The Ngati Pango whanau, out of the 204 acres allocated to Ngati Kuku as Parish of Te Puna 182, were allocated 28 acres. The 130 acres for Ngati Hangarau was not substantial either, but the 28 acres for the Ngati Pango whanau particularly highlights their subalternity, where as a small Hauhau hapu they had been especially deprived by the Crown in claiming the title or ownership of their lands.

The Pirirakau and Ngati Rangi Hauhau individuals where positioned as minority owners in comparison with other kin in various blocks of land, by leaders of their hapu who were either 'friendly' or acceptable to the Crown. These leaders were generally the agents for hapu claims on the 'returned lands" and organised lists of owners. In this process, hapu whakapapa was drawn up to validate the rights of hapu members to ownership in various blocks of land, especially the papakainga or papatipu land on the harbour's edge. Hapu membership lists were drawn up, whakapapa written to connect the hapu members to each other and to show relationships to the tupuna named as mana for the land. Because Ngati Kuku conducted the allocation of the confiscated land on behalf of Ngati Pango, Ngati Pango did not participate directly in this process. This accounts for the absence of hapu whakapapa and written traditions mentioned earlier. Ngati Ranginui hapu

now draw on the documentation of whakapapa and korero that was written and produced for these hearings. In contrast Ngati Pango has nothing, perpetuating their disadvantage as a relatively landless, culturally poor and unrecognised hapu. However the work that I have undertaken for the subaltern hapu has led to acknowledgement by the Waitangi Tribunal and Ngati Ranginui of their position as a claimant hapu.

SECTION FOUR: PAI MARIRE CONSCIOUNESS

10.

PAI MARIRE

Figure xiv. Ko Kawana Kerei I haere mai ki konei ki te maminga I nga tangata Maori. A riro ana ia te peke
Governor Grey has come here to deceive Maori people. He is carrying them off in his bag (Te Rota Kotuku ms 1867 [Ngati Rangi] qMS-0083-0084)[1]

Pai Marire emerged in Taranaki in 1864 in the midst of the Land Wars. Much has been written about Pai Marire as it was seen as a major threat and thus became the object of colonial surveillance, coercion and violence. Pai Marire spread to a large part of the central North Island and continued to disturb the settler colony after the land wars into the 1870s. The popular description of Pai Marire by the settler colonists was that it was a state of fanaticism and a reversion to savagery: soldiers heads were preserved for ritual use; the eyes of the missionary Volkner had been

consumed and his blood was drunk in Opotiki; followers believed that they were invulnerable to bullets in battle; ceremonies were conducted around a niu pole with chants involving some Christian references and glossaria but largely an unintelligible mix of words; and the expulsion of the Pakeha colonisers.

The settler colonist's construction of Pai Marire allowed a dominant group, represented by government officials and missionaries, to organise and legitimate their repression of the movement. Pai Marire appropriations of Christianity, the growth of the movement and its resistance to the coloniser's hegemony, were defined as outbursts of hysteria and insanity (Latta 1992:1). There was a concerted programme of coercion, surveillance and violence conducted by the colonial settlers, government, missionaries, and friendly Maori (kupapa) against the adherents of Pai Marire, or 'Hauhau', as they were often called. A nineteenth century image of fanaticism was created of Pai Marire which has persisted to the present and has never been critically contested.

The first official report of the emergence of Pai Marire as a religion was from John White, Resident Magistrate based in Whanganui. He conveyed how Te Ua, its founder, and his two assistants, achieved high office through the medium of the head of Captain Lloyd:

> The followers should be called "Pai Marire". The Angel Gabriel with his legions, will protect them from their enemies. The Virgin Mary is constantly present with them. The religion of England, as taught by the scriptures is false. The Scriptures must all be burnt. All days are alike sacred, and no notice must be taken of the Christian Sabbath. Men and women must live together promiscuously, so that their children may be as the sand of the sea shore for multitude. The priests have superhuman power, and can obtain for their followers complete victories, by uttering the word "Hau." The people who adopt this religion will shortly drive the whole European population out of New Zealand; this is only prevented now by the head not having completed the circuit of New Zealand (J White to Colonial Secretary April 29 1864 AJHR 1864 E8:9.

This observation and interpretation of the millenarian expressions and religious practise of Pai Marire was to become commonplace in the settler colonial community. With the spread of Pai Marire through the central North Island, early recorded observations and reports all referred to the religion as 'Pai Marire'. But White, informing the Colonial Secretary of the Native Department in June 1864

on aspects of Pai Marire, refers to the new religion as 'Hau Hau', because of the use of the word 'Hau' by Pai Marire adherents (White to Colonial Secretary April 29th 1864 AJHR 1864 E8:9-10). His perception of Pai Marire was that the word Hau had magical qualities. This term 'Hauhau' was to become for Pakeha the popular term for Pai Marire, conveying the negative image of savagery and fanaticism. Pai Marire followers in turn were also to use the term themselves. 'Hauhau' eventually became associated, for Pakeha, with resistance and fanaticism – suggesting that the rebels were inspired by some kinds of revivalist or puritanical doctrines. The popular prejudice towards Pai Marire can be seen in this construct by Cowan in his extensive account on Pai Marire rebellion, published in 1923:

> The Pai-marire or Hauhau religious cult, which welded so many tribes in a bond of passionate hate against the *pakeha*, was partly a reaction from the teachings of the Christian missionaries, and partly a recrudescence of the long-discredited but unextinguished influence of the Maori *Tohunga* or priest. It was a blend of the ancient faith in spells and incantations and magic ceremonies with a smattering of English knowledge and English phrases and reverted fragments of church services……
>
> That this revival was in the nature of a return to barbarism and superstition did not lessen its irresistible call to the Maori; it was all the more welcome because it enabled him to throw off the last restraints of the now unpopular churches……
>
> These priests became so many mad Mullahs advocating the doctrine of fire and tomahawk so strangely at variance with the title of the religion.
> The Pai-marire faith had its origin in the half-crazed brain of a Maori of the Taranaki Tribe named Te Ua Haumene (Cowan 1983;1923: 3 - 4).

Hugh Kawharu a Maori anthropologist from Ngati Whatua, saw Pai Marire origins as being due to the:

> stress of combat, the defeat and deprivation, [which] impelled some of the more beleaguered tribes to turn to religion for a way out of their predicament. The King Movement itself had a firm base in religious belief and ritual; later a Hauhau or Pai Marire cult arose in Taranaki and lent a fanatical vigour to Maori resistance, there and everywhere (Kawharu 1977:13).

The Ringatu religion of Te Kooti also was "a faith developed out of the extremist Pai Marire cult" (ibid.). Kawharu's perspective to some extent was consistent with the coloniser's construct of Pai Marire. Te Rangihiroa considered aspects of the

priesthood of Pai Marire as examples of possession by the mediums of minor gods:

> Possession as practiced by the fanatical followers of the late post-European sect known as *hauhau*, when dancing around poles termed the *niu.* The medium who could work himself up into a frenzy was termed a *porewarewa,* and the gibberish which poured from his lips was regarded as the speech of their god. The non-success of the movement against well-armed Government troops may have been partly attributed to mistakes in interpreting the language used by the crazy mediums (Buck 1950:473-74).

Recently there has been published comments from Maori who are 'insiders' to Pai Marire - notably Carmen Kirkwood, of Waikato, in her book on Tawhiao; the second Maori King, and Te Miringa Hohaia of Taranaki. Nevertheless Kirkwood's view reflects the orthodox views of Pai Marire as fanatics, and confuses between the terms Pai Marire and Hauhau.

> Later, Titokowaru and his followers adopted the revised Pai Marire known as Hauhauism. There were little signs of Christian elements within the belief of Hauhau; he revived the calling to the *Atua Muru, Uenuku* and *Tu.*
>
> The Hauhau cult consisted of traditional chants and parts of Pai Marire (Kirkwood 2000:104).

Te Miringa Hohaia from Parihaka, which was part of the centre for Pai Marire in Taranaki, as reported by a Pakeha writer, continues the persistent image of Pai Marire warding off bullets with a raised hand and *karakia*:

> Some historians believe that Te Whiti was a follower of the Pai Marire (Hauhau) religion and a protégé of its leader, Te Ua Haumene.
>
> Te Miringa says it's not as simple as that and, from his own studies, has learnt the two leaders were at odds. "Te Whiti's challenge to him was to put an end to violence".
>
> But this never happened and at the Battle of Sentry Hill on 30 April 1864, many of Te Ua's followers were killed because they headed into the fray with their right hands raised in the belief God would protect them from bullets. They were gunned down (Winder 2003).

These recent observations from Maori replicate the popular notions of Pai Marire that rather than comment on the religious consciousness of Pai Marire although

Kirkwood refers to some religious aspects of Pai Marire, the return to *atua* Maori (Maori gods). In reality, Pai Marire beliefs were forms of knowledge, constructed by a subjugated people; it was the product of the Maori experience of colonisation. Ranajit Guha of the Subaltern School of Indian Historians, says that it is "possible to read the presence of a rebel consciousness" reports hostile to anti-colonial insurgencies in the form of "dispatches, minutes, judgments, laws, letters, etc"; that while colonial official's commentaries to be "a representation of their [own] will", in fact their will is "predicated on another will - that of the insurgent" (Guha 1999:15).

> There are two ways in which this presence makes itself felt. In the first place, it comes as a direct reporting of such rebel utterances as are intercepted by the authorities from time to time and used for pacification campaigns, legal enactments, judicial proceedings and other interventions of the regime against its adversaries. Witness to a sort of official eavesdropping, this discourse enters into the records of counterinsurgency variously as messages and rumours circulating within a rural community, snatches of conversation overheard by spies, statements made by captives under police interrogation or before courts, and so on. Meant to assist the Raj in suppressing rebellion and incriminating rebels, its usefulness in that particular respect was a measure of its authenticity as a documentation of the insurgent's will. In other words, intercepted discourse of this type testifies no less to the consciousness and may quite legitimately serve as evidence for a historiography not compromised by the latter's point of view (Guha 1999:15-16).

Guha says that "the presence of this consciousness is also affirmed by a set of indices within the coloniser's discourse". In India these have the function of expressing the hostility of the British authorities and their native protégés towards the unruly troublemakers in the countryside. The words, phrases, and, indeed, whole chunks of prose addressed to this purpose, are designed primarily to indicate the immorality, illegality, undesirability, barbarity, etc. of insurgent practice, and to announce by contrast the superiority of the elite on each count (ibid.:16)

Conversion

White reported in November 1864 to the Native Minister that "Hauhau fanaticism" was spreading very rapidly in his province of central Whanganui, and had become the mainstay of the Kingitanga (White to Native Minister November 24 1864 AJHR 1865 E4:4). The king Matutaera (Tawhiao), with Rewi Maniapoto

and others, had been to Taiporohenui which then, was the centre of Ngati Ruanui anti-land selling activity. They traveled from Taupo and appeared to have been urged on by Rewi's on account of a dream of 'the great Tohunga of Gabriel' (Te Ua). The king and his party remained with Te Ua until early December (Clark 1975:18).

Rev. A.N. Brown, the CMS missionary in Tauranga after the war in August 1864 looked to restore his 'scattered flock' but found that the recent conflict in Tauranga had done:

> its fearful work, not only sadly diminishing the numbers of the natives, but in thoroughly demoralizing those who survived battles. In this fearful state of mind they were of course an easy prey to Satan, and many were led to embrace the new fanaticism that has sprung up at Taranaki. On Sunday I was convinced that the natives were under the influence of some superstitious dread, and on the following morning information was brought that the Tauranga natives had departed during the night to join (as is supposed) the Pai Marire party. The secrecy of their movements leads to the suspicion that there is some widely-organised system at work; and if the natives are indeed resting upon the assurance of the false prophet that he will drive all the Europeans into the sea within a few weeks, it is impossible to say what mad course a spirit of fanaticism may urge them on (Brown to Secretaries, CMS Report for 1864-65 quoted in Edwards 1950:206).

Pai Marire was notable for the rapidity of conversion of followers. This was witnessed by the C.M.S. missionary William Williams in Poverty Bay. Having established an alliance with Tawhiao and the Kingitanga, Te Ua despatched a message to Tairawhiti (East Coast), to Hirini Te Kani a Takirau, the dominant traditional chief of Turanganui in Poverty Bay or the Gisborne region. The messengers were Patara Raukatauri of Taranaki and Kereopa Te Rau of Te Arawa (Clarke 1975:19). On 14 March Kereopa's party arrived at Taureka. The Ngati Rongowhakaata who met them, whom Williams had thought were going to turn the visitors away, instead invited them to Whakato. A few days later a large party of Pai Marire, led by Patara arrived from Taranaki. By early June one half of the people of Turanga had been converted to Pai Marire (Sanderson 1983:176 quoting Williams). "The conversion of the Turanga Maori to Pai Marire had been rapid and widespread as their conversion to Christianity twenty-five years earlier" (ibid.:177). Levy, a storekeeper at Patutahi, near Gisborne, describes how within two days the arrival of the emissary, Patara to the area in April 1865, "everybody,

men, woman and children in the village converted to the new faith" (Williams 1932:92).

Where Pai Marire was taken to other tribal areas, especially to Kingitanga supporters, conversion was rapid. 'Queen' followers (friendlies) also joined Pai Marire. The development of Kingitanga political consciousness was a lengthy process, which was well observed, monitored and commented upon by colonists. Based on surveillance by the colonisers, it was publicised through government reports and newspaper accounts, and related especially to the various meetings that were held for the establishment of Kingitanga. The political aspects of this movement required a lot of dialogue through *hui* for the general acceptance, promotion and development of policies. The Kingitanga had clear lines of organisation and leadership, the King and his council of advisors. By contrast, Pai Marire had Te Ua, the first prophet with the apocalyptic vision, the messenger from God through Gabriel the angel, the source of Pai Marire; and the Tiu, or emissaries, who took the message to other regions. Te Ua, himself himself was also surrounded by other 'prophets'. The attitude of H. T. Clark the Civil Commissioner in Tauranga to the Pai Marire conversion was:

> Many of the Natives who have returned to their homes have brought with them their Pai Marire worship, and they practise it in spite of all remonstrance. This may be considered at first sight a matter for ridicule rather than serious remark, but when it is remembered that this Pai Marire is a system set up in direct antagonism to the Queen's government (at least it is so viewed by the Natives who know most about it)... (HT Clarke to Native Minister Feb 4 1865 AJHR 1865 E4:14).

While many Ngaiterangi and some Ngati Ranginui had severed their Kingitanga connections with the pledge of allegiance to the Queen when they surrendered, Pai Marire offered an alternative consciousness and a means for continued opposition to further domination by the settler colonists.

There is not much known about Pai Marire because most of the information was written by contemporary Pakeha observers intent on discrediting Pai Marire as barbarism and fanaticism, and also because of the isolation and *aukati* (restricted zones) that Maori adherents created to maintain their autonomy. The Kingitanga withdrew further inland to Ngati Maniapoto and established this region as the Rohe Potae exclusively for Kingitanga. The Pai Marire of Tauranga moved to

their inland bush-edge kainga. Yet Pai Marire holds a particular position in New Zealand colonial history, relevant to Guha's description of insurgency of the 'religious and rebel consciousness'.

The appearance of Pai Marire came unexpected in Taranaki, with military actions against British troops and military settlers in April 1864, and the destruction of food crops at abandoned Maori settlements near Ahuahu. This was followed by an attack on Sentry Hill, or Te Morere, in Taranaki, and the battle of Moutoa at Whanganui township. These three violent clashes established the contemporary Pakeha views of fanaticism and reversion to barbarism (Clark 1975:12). At Te Morere, a charge on the redoubt, which proved fatal many warriors was due to the belief in the protective powers of Pai Marire karakia specifically that the chant "Hapa, Pai Marire" would counteract bullets. This became a popular explanation for Hauhau 'fanaticism' although Clark suggests that, according to contemporary accounts, the occupants of the redoubt were familiar with Maori fighting tactics of charging redoubts to draw out the occupants, and so they remained concealed inside rather than coming out of the redoubt to fight (op.cit.:14), preferring to shoot the Pai Marire attackers in the open. Moreover, the same tactics did not occur in other engagements with Pai Marire; in Tauranga, when their kainga were attacked, they retreated into the bush. The third battle is described as a ritual battle between the Pai Marire of Ngati hau of the upper Whanganui River and Ngarauru of the Lower Whanganui, at Moutua on the Whanganui River in May 1864. Matene, a Pai Marire prophet, had proposed to take Pai Marire to Whanganui but was opposed by 'friendly natives' or 'loyalists' and challenged to battle at Moutua. This engagement was between Pai Marire and 'friendly' natives.

Pai Marire was introduced to Tauranga in the aftermath of the battles of Pukehinahina (April 1864) and Te Ranga (June 1864), and the surrender to the Crown (August 1864). It was brought by the emissary Te Tiu Tamihana, from Taranaki, and Waikato adherents who were also Kingitanga supporters. Pakeha around Tauranga noticed villages becoming largely deserted, and that large numbers of people had gone inland, taking advantage of the absence of the 'friendly' Ngaiterangi chiefs both 'friendly' and 'surrendered rebels,' who were in

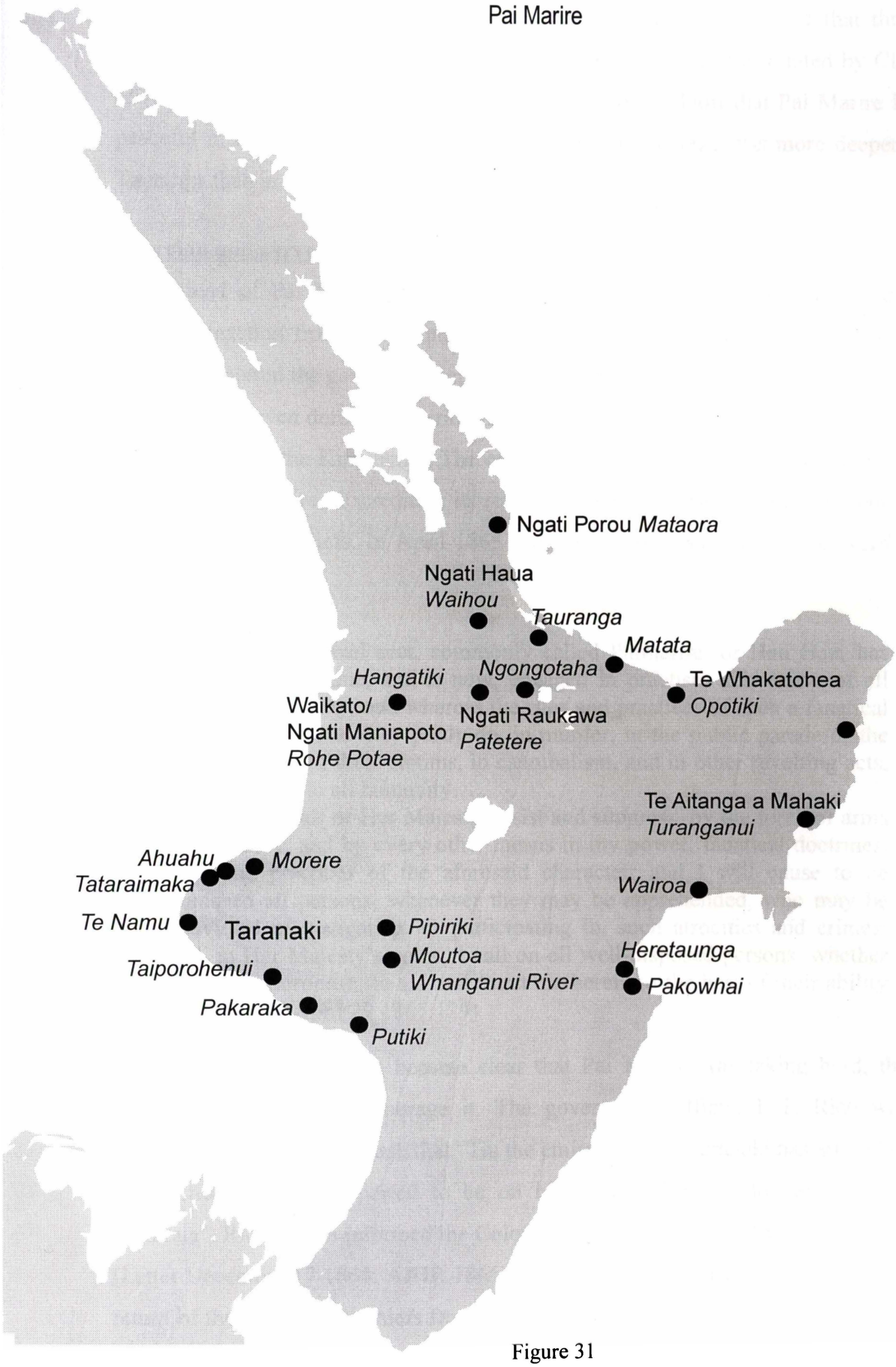

Pai Marire
Ngati Porou *Mataora*
Ngati Haua
Waihou
Tauranga
Matata
Hangatiki
Ngongotaha
Te Whakatohea
Opotiki
Waikato/
Ngati Maniapoto
Rohe Potae
Ngati Raukawa
Patetere
Te Aitanga a Mahaki
Turanganui
Ahuahu
Morere
Tataraimaka
Wairoa
Te Namu
Taranaki
Pipiriki
Moutoa
Whanganui River
Heretaunga
Taiporohenui
Pakowhai
Pakaraka
Putiki

Figure 31

Auckland, taking part in discussions regarding sale of the Katikati part of the confiscation. In March 1866 the newspaper *New Zealander* reported that three-quarters of the people at Tauranga were adherents of Pai Marire (quoted by Clark 1975:31). Pakeha in Tauranga were reassured by local Maori that Pai Marire had peaceful intent and the millenarian emphasis of the message was more deeper in Tauranga than in other regions (Clarke 1975:30).

Coercion and surveillance

The spread of Pai Marire through the North Island produced an intense and coercive reaction from the colonial government. Some missionaries and 'loyal' natives supported the government approach, which was without precedent and had not been seen even during the period leading up to and during the Land Wars and in opposition to the Kingitanga. The coercive programme aimed at stopping the spread of Pai Marire, discrediting its religious consciousness, and getting people to abandon their beliefs. In April 1865 a proclamation was issued by Governor Grey:

> Whereas a fanatical sect, commonly called Paimarire, or Hau Hau, has been for some time, and is now, engaged in practises subversive of all order and morality; and whereas the rites and practices of such a fanatical sect, consisting, as they partly do, in murder, in the public parade of the cooked heads of their victims, in cannibalism, and in other revolting acts, are repugnant to all humanity.....
> I will, on behalf of Her Majesty, resist and suppress, by the force of arms if necessary, and by every other means in my power, fanatical doctrines, rites and practices of the aforesaid character; and I will cause to be punished all persons, whenever they may be apprehended, who may be convicted of instigating, or participating in, such atrocities and crimes; and, in Her Majesty's name, I call on all well-disposed persons, whether Native or European, to aid and assist me herein to the best of their ability (NZ Gazette April 29 1865:129)

In Tauranga, as soon as it became clear that Pai Marire was taking hold, the authorities set out to discourage it. The government official H.T. Rice was informed by letter from Marsh that "Tiu the emissary from Taranaki has arrived in this district. He was reported to be on his way to Rotorua to consult with Hakaraia". Rice in turn informed the Colonial Secretary of the Native Department (Letter December 17 1864. AJHR 1865 E4 p 9). Clarke and Rice decided, on the return of the Ngaiterangi chiefs from Auckland where they had arranged the sale of land between Kaitikati and Te Puna, that Rice several chiefs should visit the

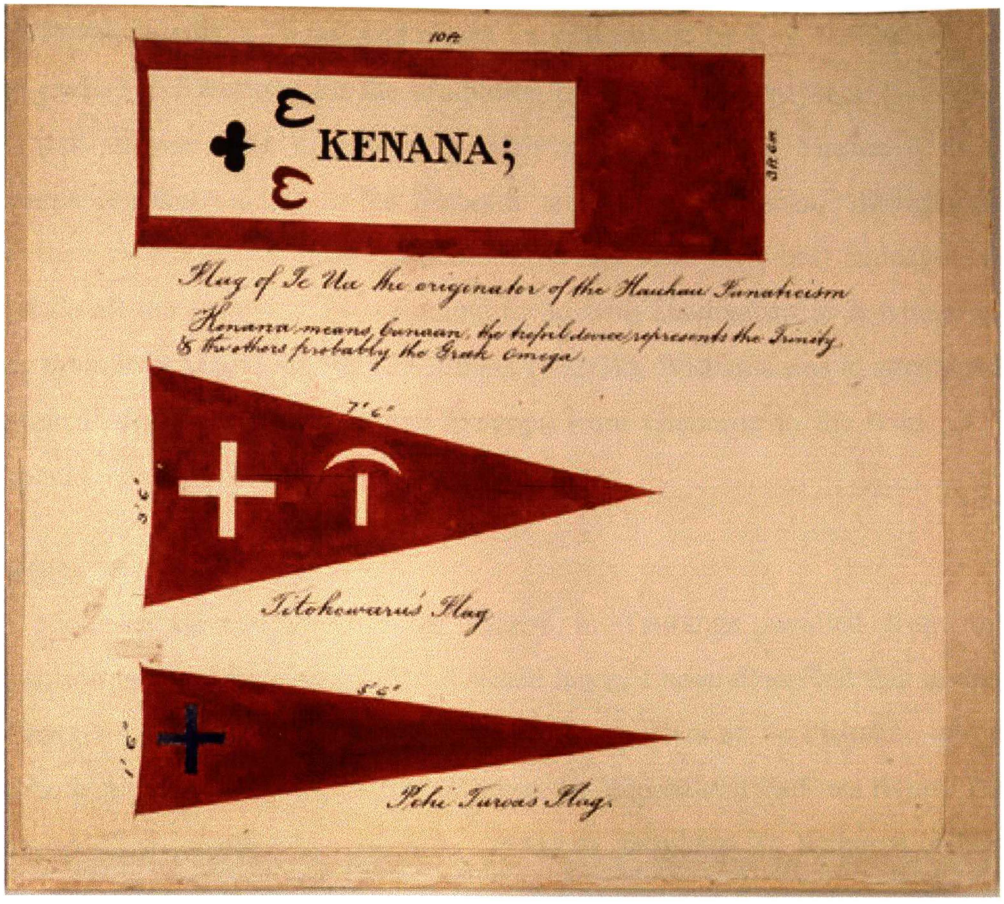


Figure xv. Te Ua, Titokowaru, Pehi Turoa flags - Pai Marire flags (W.F.Gordon Te Papa Tongarewa F7056/41).

settlements in the ranges near 'Te Wairoa.' Wiremu Patene, Renata and Hohepa subsequently went with Clarke to unnamed locations where worship around flag staffs was known to occur, and the people there were told to return to their kainga on the harbour.

> We came across a large party of Natives in the evening and found men, women, and children, standing around a Flagstaff, upon which was flying a small white Flag, engaged in some of their senseless worship... The worshippers and the symbol of the Angel Rura received very unceremonious treatment from the chiefs who accompanied me" (Lett H.T. Clarke to Native Minister Jan 10 1865 AJHR 1865 E4 p11).

In the Gisborne area it was the missionary and the neighbouring loyalist Ngati Porou who were opposed to the introduction of Pai Marire. Williams went to Patutahi with a letter from Bishop Selwyn to Hirini Te Kani "urging him to order off the Hauhaus without delay, and after speaking as strongly as I could to the same effect to Hirini and to Anaru Matene, I left them" (Williams 1932:37). Ngati Toa and Ngati Raukawa chiefs from the southern North Island - Wi Tako, Matene

Te Whiwhi, Wirihana Toatoa and others - accompanied by Rev. S Williams, had been invited to Tauranga for the promotion of peace between Maori factions in the 'seat of war' and they were strongly opposed to Pai Marire. Williams accompanied these chiefs in the Gisborne area for three weeks, "during which time they visited all the principal settlements and used their best endeavours to persuade all the people to have nothing to do with Hauhauism as it would only bring them into serious trouble" (Williams 1932:39). Williams was to attribute the 'hastened' departure of Patara and Kereopa from Gisborne to the work of Wi Tako and the other chiefs (ibid.).

Violence

The violence surrounding the Pai Marire in Tauranga resulted from their opposition to the survey of their confiscated lands. I have described this in detail in Chapter 4. The Pai Marire and Kingitanga supporters of Te Pirirakau and the Wairoa hapu objected to the survey between the Wairoa and Te Puna rivers. They conveyed their intention to oppose the survey to Tamihana Te Waharoa of Ngati Haua, the political leader of the Tauranga Pai Marire and Kingitanga supporters. Tamihana in turn conveyed his apprehension to the colonial officials in Tauranga. Clark hearing this, warned the surveyors away from the Pai Marire kainga.

> Many of the Natives of this District especially those closely connected with the Patetere and William people have left for their inland Kaingas, so that (it is reported) they can practice their Pai Marire worship unmolested. Under these circumstances I have thought it advisable to caution the surveyors against carrying on surveys in that neighbourhood.
> (Clarke AJHR 1865 E4)

The survey of the confiscated block was halted by Pai Marire interference and their confiscation of the surveyors' equipment, and a warrant was made for the arrest of the perpetrators by the local government official, the Civil Commissioner H.T. Clarke. The entry into the Pai Marire kainga of Ngati Rangi at Te Irihanga by a detachment of troops ended in a violent engagement.

There was then a three month period of engagement involving attacks on kainga and the destruction of cultivations. Colonial troops supported by Te Arawa were recruited alongside the 'friendly' and 'surrendered rebel' Ngaiterangi chiefs to attack the kainga The force of 800 comprised a British Regiment, the Waikato Militia, and Te Arawa, described by officials as natives who professed to be

Queen's Natives and to fight for Her Majesty. Sergeant James Bodell described the conflict: "On several occasions sharp engagements took place and several militia men were killed. All native villages that we came across were burnt and their crops destroyed. The Natives never made a stand but took to the Bush and were never seen above 20 at a time" (Sinclair 1982:165-66). Following the scorched earth policy of the Crown towards the Pai Marire kainga, Civil Commissioner Clarke's comments in a report of 24 April 1867 were:

> It is hardly necessary for me to again repeat that I have never looked upon Hauhauism in the light of a religion at all. I have now been, as it were, face to face with the Hauhau fanaticism ever since it was introduced into these districts, and my belief is confirmed, that it is a cleverly contrived political institution in support of the Maori King. Stronger by far than the old combination, from the circumstance that its inventors have brought to their aid the blind and superstitious belief of their followers. In fact some of their leaders are looked upon with as much reverence and fear as the old Maori priesthood, and their beliefs implicitly obeyed (Clarke to J.C. Richmond, Native Minister AJHR 1867, A20:57).

A fire the Maori King Governor Grev

Figure xvi. Grey's intention of destroying the Maori King.
Rota Kotuku 1867 ms [Ngati Rangi] qMS-0083-0084

Pai Marire religion

The Christian background of key prophets of Pai Marire, and the presence of themes and words that have a Christian origin in the 'pooti ceremony', have been interpreted by more recent commentators as evidence that Pai Marire was syncretic. Insights into its origins can be gleaned from the background of its founder Te Ua Haumene Tuwhakararo. Te Ua had Biblical training in Kawhia and served under Wesleyan missionaries in Taranaki prior to the outbreak of Land Wars (Clarke 1975:64). He was from Taranaki and by 1861 was a supporter of the Kingitanga. The wreck of the *Lord Worsley* along the Taranaki coast in 1862 was a source of divine revelation for Te Ua, involving a series of visions from the Archangel Gabriel. The message the angel brought concerned the special relationship between God and the Maori people, proclaiming this land 'is Israel' (Binney 1990:159). Te Ua equated Maori people with the Israelites in their Babylonian exile. The Atua Marire (the God of Peace) promised that they will be restored to their land, and Te Ua invoked the promises given to Abraham that Canaan would be returned (ibid.). The mediating archangels Gabriel and Anahera Ariki Mikaera (Angel Lord Michael) were central to the teachings of Te Ua. Michael was the angel of war predicted to defend the "children of thy people". Te Ua set up a theology of defence and deliverance, and an evangelising mission which was to reach out to the four corners of Canaan (ibid 162). Gabriel first instructed Te Ua to build a niu - a tall flag pole resembling a ships' mast from which hung flags - and services were conducted around it.

In the Gisborne area, Williams along with other CMS missionaries and Maori clergy witnessed the arrival of a Pai Marire party at Patutahi. They came via Waikaremoana and were met by the party of Patara, who was already in the district. From a distance Williams observed:

> After a number of formal speeches from both parties they all started up and rushed together in a state of wild confusion with uplifted hands, giving loud utterance at the same time in unintelligible gibberish, and then, still jabbering, made for the "niu" or sacred pole which they had erected in one corner of the pa. Arrived there they marched several times round the pole, and then standing in a compact body commenced their karakia ... The karakia was the same as what we had already heard, and consisted of a number of transliterated English words as might have been chalked on a blackboard by someone who was teaching Maori children English. The usual practise was that the leader would call out "Porini hoia"

(Fall in soldiers). Then, when the people had come together, he would say "Teihana"(Attention.) All would then begin to chant such words as these viz., "Mauteni; piki mauteni, rongo mauteni, teihana (Mountain, big mountain; long mountain); with much more of the same character (Williams 1932:37).

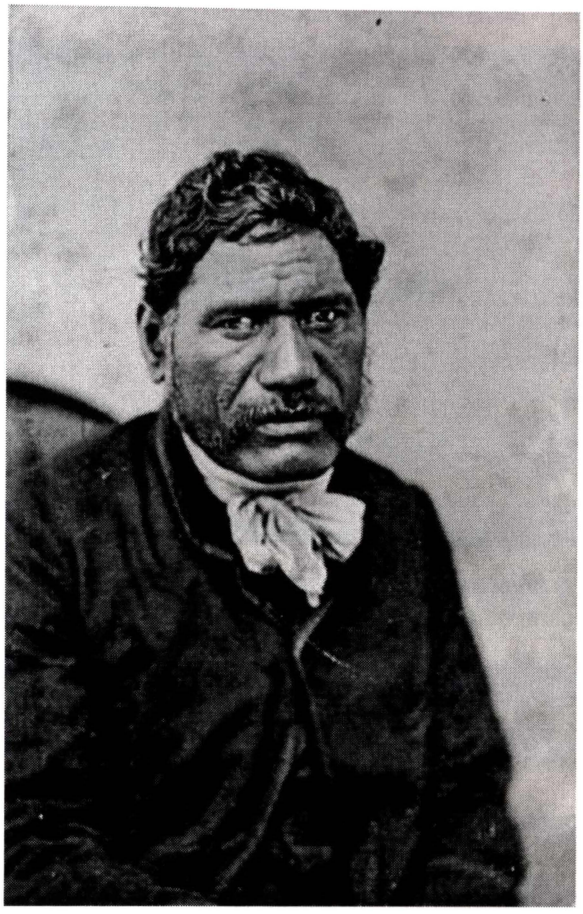


Figure xvii. Te Ua Haumene gave himself up and was paraded around the country by Grey. Te Ua Haumene ca 1866 PA2-2533 National Library.

This became the popular image of Pai Marire, the niu and the ritual that was conducted around it, and the important presence of flags. The Tauranga Pai Marire differentiated between their Pai Marire and war flags. The ritual has been described as a form of 'Pentecostalism' where ritual phrases were derived from both Protestant and Catholic services and from Judaism and the Old Testament, English military jargon and conducted in glossalalia, a mixture of tongues (Binney 1996:160). Williams describing the Pai Marire ritual as an emotive experience:

> At the same time the form is repeated with an intensity of earnestness, which is calculated to work powerfully on the feelings. When the worship of these fanatics was practiced at Poverty Bay it was followed by a most bitter lamentation, unlike anything ever witnessed before. It was a mourning on account of those who had been slain in the war with the English, and for the

> land which had been taken from them in Waikato. It was commenced by the Taranaki natives, but the effect was overpowering upon the bystanders, who joined by degrees until there were very few who did not unite in the chorus. There was a chord which vibrated in the native breast. It was "arohi ki te iwi", *amor patriae*, and they could not resist it (Williams 1867:369).

Figure xviii. [Meade, Herbert (Lieutenant)], 1842-1868 :Pai Marire karakia, held by the Te Hau fanatics at Tataroa, New Zealand, to determine the fate of their prisoners. Jan[uar]y 27th, 1865. ATL Reference No. B-139-014

Sir William Martin expressed a more sympathetic view of the Kingitanga:

> In the beginning of the war the Kingites had prayed for their King after the form in our prayer book, and that sometimes with fasting and great earnestness. Now a new form of prayer was put together, and the new worship was accepted as the bond of union amongst all who still adhered to the cause of the Maori King (Sir W. Martin to Native Minister 22 December 1865 AJHR 1866 A No. 1:69).

In 1868 H.T. Clarke the Civil Commissioner for Tauranga noted changes to Pai Marire:

> Hauhauism has taken several different forms since it was first introduced. At one time they erected a pole, danced around it with extended hands, and gabbled the "unknown tongue", like human beings demented. Soon after, the pole was given up and a more rational mode of worship was adopted, a mixture of Judaism, Christianity, and Maori superstition; this was called "Ohaoha."…. (Clarke to Native Minister 7th March 1868 AJHR 1868 A4 p 11).

By this time Pai Marire was firmly fixed as the religion of the Kingitanga.

> Hauhauism has been adopted as the Maori national religion, of which Tawhiao, "the Maori King", is the acknowledged head. Its object and tendencies are inimical to the Queen's Government. Its first introduction was in blood, and its subsequent progress has been the same. The principal men teach their followers that they must obey implicitly the voice of their god, without fear or favour...(Clarke to Native Minister 7th March 1868 AJHR 1868 A4 p 11).

On 23 April 1869 William Searanke, the Resident Magistrate for Waikato and Raglan Districts, accompanied the visit of Waikato kupapa to their Kingitanga kin in the Rohe Potae, at Orahiri where the Aukati boundary was maintained. It was the first such contact since the Waikato land war. Searanke described the welcome ceremony, which incorporated Pai Marire karakia:

> The "Tangi" having taken place, the usual welcome speeches were made and responded to by the friendlies. The Hauhau prayers were then chanted, and large supplies of food being given for the use of the Kupapas....

Two days later they went on to Hangatiki, where the ceremony took the same form:

> The "Tangi" was then commenced by the women , about 800 strong, and after continuing for a short time was stopped by the Hauhaus going to prayers.

Searancke also made the observation of changes in Pai Marire ritual:

> also at the present modification and improvement in the Hauhau prayers, now quietly conducted within a house, and not, as formerly, by Natives in a half-crazy state, screaming and howling unintelligible gibberish.(W. N. Searancke to J.C. Richmond Native Minister 27 April 1869 AJHR 1869 A10:10)

Pai Marire was now formalised as a prayer session rather than the previous form centred on the 'pooti'. Ten years later, during August 1877, Rev. Grace attended a meeting at Te Waotu in the Patetere, where he met the King's great teacher of his new form of Pai Marire, a man named Hanauru. He described the 'worship' of the Pai Marire:

> Friday.- I was present at the worship of the Hauhaus. I had slept in the big house, and they all came early. The worship consisted of the chanting of two or three prayers, followed by several Maoris offering short prayers, each of which they concluded with a chant. Their prayers consisted in giving glory to God, praying for their King and asking God to bless him, so that he might save

> them in the time of their trouble. The whole three persons of the trinity were mentioned, but it was evident they expected more from their King, than from Christ. These prayers were offered by different parties - first a man, then a woman; even boys and girls took part!

And one evening:

> The Hauhau worship was going on, and I had a good opportunity of listening to it. On this occasion I found it more objectionable than before! They clearly put the King in the place of Christ. Hanauru, in his address, spoke of taking up the cross of Tawhiao! On this occasion they did not know I was present, which may have made some difference (Grace 1928 :271).

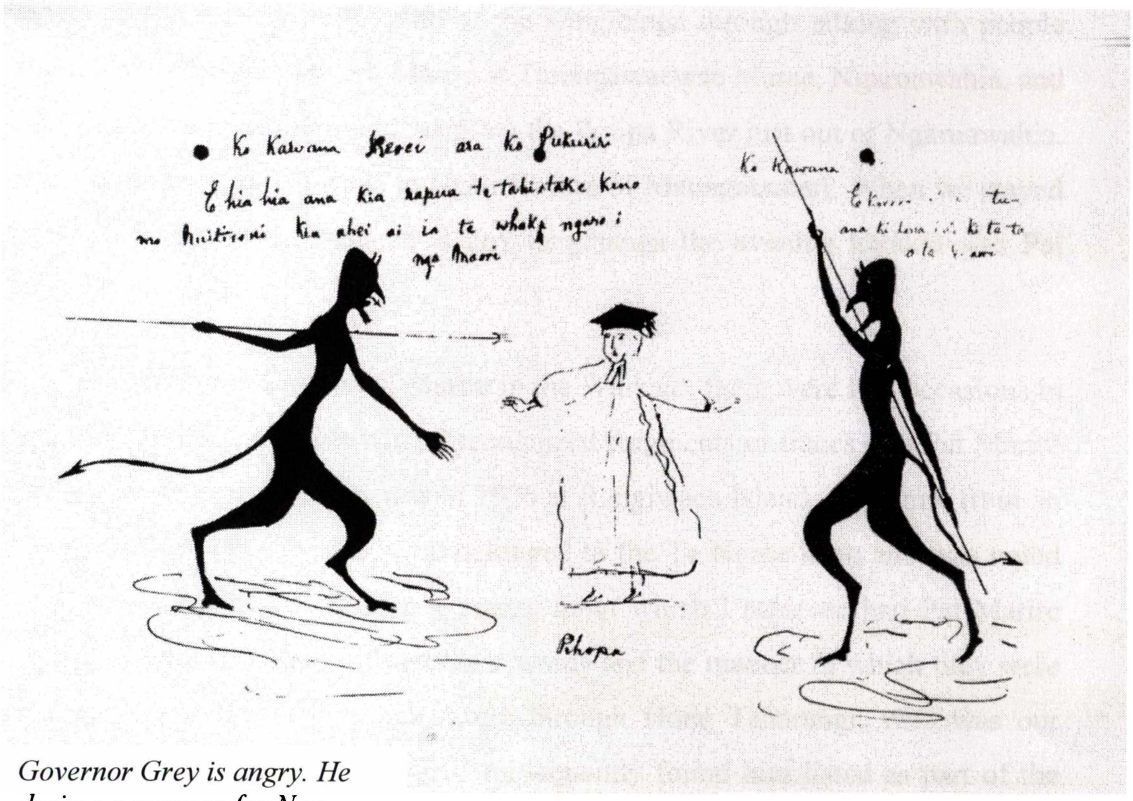
The 'ohaoha' is the form of Pai Marire I saw and participated in the Waikato during the early 1970s. The niu ritual performance, the millennialism, glossaria and syncretism, however remain as the coloniser's construct of Pai Marire even though these aspects quickly faded among the Pai Marire believers. During the formation of the Kingitanga in the 1850s, Christianity and traditional religion rituals were conducted together on ceremonial occasions. Buddle refers to the first King Potatau making constant reference to the principles the Kingitanga had adopted: "Te Whakapono, Te Aroha, Te Ture". 'Whakapono' was a reference to Christianity and he noted that he did not see any intention on the part of Kingitanga to "abandon Christianity and return to former customs" (1860:23).

It is clear that the active rejection of Christianity by the Kingitanga movement and Pai Marire happened during the Land Wars. It was helped especially by Bishop Selwyn's support for the British troops in the invasion of Waikato, and by the British troops burning of a church at Rangiaowhia with people inside. The Kingitanga now had a religion, Pai Marire!

Colenso quoted a petition from Tamihana in April and July 1865:

> When the women were killed at the pa at Rangiriri, then, for the first time, the General advised, that the women should be sent to live at places where there was no fighting. Then the pa at Paterangi was set aside as a place for fighting, and Rangiaowhia was left for women and children. As soon as we had arranged this, the war party of Bishop Selwyn and the General started to fight with women and children. The children and women fell there!...it was the affair at Rangiaowhia which completely hardened the hearts of the Maori people. (Colenso 1871:5).

This was the common theme for the abandonment of Christianity by Pai Marire and the Kingitanga.



Governor Grey is angry. He desires a purpose for New Zealand for him to make Maori disappear

Bishop [Selwyn]

The Governor. He is telling his people the bravery of Maori

Figure xix. 'Kawana Kerei' - Te Rota Kotuku ms 1867 [Ngati Rangi] qMS-0083-0084

Religious consciousness

In trying to contextualise the resistance of my Pai Marire ancestors in Tauranga, there is not much clarity to be gained in understanding Pai Marire as a religion through the constructs of the 19th century colonisers. Engaging with the history of my Pai Marire tupuna in Tauranga, I asked two simple questions: (a) How did Pai Marire fade away as a religion in Tauranga? and (b) Was there a defining essence of the religion that has not been projected by the coloniser's construct? Other questions concerned the historical effect these constructions had on people, and the role those constructions play in the articulation of the coloniser's power.

The questions I asked about Pai Marire were derived and answered from my 'insiders' position. I was brought up in the Kaimai, and I became involved with and experienced the Pai Marire of the Kingitanga and Ngati Koroki during the 1970s. As a child I overheard references to a niu, in the bush, now a reserve. I also

heard that two people who were killed in the 'wars' were buried in the bush behind the house I was brought up in. Through my carving work during the 1970s in the Waikato, I was exposed to and became familiar with the practice, ritual and beliefs of the Pai Marire religion of the Kingitanga through talking with people who had been raised with Pai Marire at Turangawaewae Marae, Ngaruawahia, and Tangirau, a Ngati Mahuta settlement on the Waipa River just out of Ngaruawahia. There also were my kin links to Ngati Koroki of Maungatautari. When we stayed there overnight on their marae at any tangihanga the evening karakia was Pai Marire.

Following this exposure to Pai Marire in the Waikato, there were two occasions in Tauranga during the 1970s when I recognized fragments or traces of a Pai Marire past in that district. The first was in 1976 at Rangiwaea Island, and came from an aunt, a cousin to my mother, who belonged to the Te Ngare hapu and was noted for her waiata. I heard her sing a *waiata tangi* which I believed had Pai Marire origins because of the use of particular words and the manner in which they were expressed. The Pai Marire links were through Hone Taharangi, who was our common ancestor from Te Ngare. I subsequently found him listed as part of the group of Pai Marire captured with Tupaea and Te Tiu Tamihana in 1866 (Clarke to Native Minister Jan. 10 1865 AJHR 11E No 4).

The second occasion at which I recognised a Pai Marire trace was in 1982 when interviewing one of my kuia, Hoana Paraone, regarding her upbringing at Te Ongaonga. Hoana was raised by a tupuna Te Kahui and in her expressions and beliefs it was obvious to me that she had been raised and exposed to tupuna who were Pai Marire. This came through her description of ancestors as spirit beings. In 1976 I viewed the 1866 notebook of Te Aporo, containing sketches of dreams and political cartoons. Gilbert Mair claimed to have been shot Te Aporo and to have taken the notebook from the body (see p). This event occurred close to Te Irihanga, the Ngati Rangi kainga on the bush edge. As part of my field work for my MA thesis in archaeology in 1982, I identified the Pai Marire kainga of Kaimai, Oropi, Taumata, Paengaroa, and Te Kaki. The niu was not at Te Ongaonga but at Kaimai, and from the historical research for my thesis I became aware that some of my tupuna of Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi were 'Hauhau' or Pai Marire, though I did not know which tupuna specifically or any of the history.

During the 1970s, a great-aunt, Emere, had told me that our tupuna, Tokona, had his own taniwha, Te Tahi. This was reiterated by Hoana in 1988 when I interviewed her for our raupatu claim. Hera Tutahi, the kuia and aunty who lived next door to my family at Te Ongaonga, had been raised by Tokona who was her grandfather. Hera told me and others that Tokona gave her two shadows as her personal *kaitiaki* (guardians). Tokona's other names were Maaka and Taewhakaea and it was these last names that were used when Tokona was named as a 'Hauhau' warning Pakeha away from the Kaimai in the 1870s with his gun. A second reference listed Tokona as attending a meeting of Kingitanga supporters in 1886 (see page). Hera was silent on the Pai Marire of Tokona. This revelation about Tokona says more to me about the religion of Pai Marire than the Hauhau 'niu' ritual construct of the colonizers. The *taniwha* and *aria* (shadows) are indications of a spirit world and religious belief that was non-Christian, emphasising protection and healing. Pai Marire as a religion from my tupuna remains, perhaps, in personal beliefs and values and as a cultural trace in families.

Te Puea revived the Pai Marire in the Waikato in the 1910s, and Michael King interviewed kaumatua who were close to her who remained adherents themselves. King described Pai Marire as acknowledging *mauri* and *matakite* (ability to predict the future), and expressing a "belief in atua, benevolent guardian spirits who took an interest in individuals and looked after their spiritual and physical well-being" [King 1977:167].

> The worship of ancestors – the belief that there was no impenetrable barrier between life and death - was the most dominant principle of Pai marire as practiced in Waikato. It taught that death did not close a relationship, it merely transferred a person's spirit from one plane to another; it transformed that person from a living relative or friend into a "living" tupuna or ancestor. Pai marire prayers and chants invoked the dead as companions of the living" (King 1977:P168).

Piri Poutapu described to King what was important about Pai Marire:

> Those prayers incorporated Maori things that the Pakeha churches had no place for, appeals to spirits and forces they didn't know about, ways to make sick people well again. Every time we said them we knew our ancestors were right there with us and we were all right (King 1977:93).

Traditional Maori beliefs and spiritual practise were, then, an essence of Pai Marire. With my experience of Pai Marire in the Waikato, and having participated

in many ceremonial occasions conducted by Pai Marire, I consider a defining element or essence of Pai Marire is tapu as portrayed in the following 19th century accounts. Tamihana Te Waharoa remained a Christian after Ngati Haua became Pai Marire, but answered all his letters with "Pai Marire". A letter fell into the hands of H.T. Clarke the Civil Commissioner at Tauranga. These concluding words led government officials to suspect that he had become Pai Marire, to the consternation of the Government and Governor. Te Oriori, a 'friendly' Waikato chief, was sent with Puckey to challenge him on whether he had joined the Pai Marire. When asked by Te Oriori whether he had become Pai Marire, Tamihana replied:

> that the "Pai Marire superstition had completely infatuated all the people; that the teachers of the tribe had not even advised them to wait and see what it was like; that the whole of the Waikato women and children and three hundred Ngati Maniapoto women and children at Mokau had all joined the new faith; and that when people got within the charmed circle (poti) they all at once became 'porangi'.

Tamihana had not been in the circle but:

> one of the rules to be observed that he most cordially agreed with;... all weapons was to be laid aside; he also cited two or three instances in which miracles were made and he had no faith in them but one thing stood out for him which was remarkable "Pai Marires must not carry food with them when they are on a journey, and when our party (which consisted almost wholly of Pai Marires) were on their way to this place, we had but one meal, which consisted of flour and boiled wheat, during three days; myself and others who had not joined the new religion suffered severely for want of food, and could not scarcely hold our head up, whilst on the other hand, the Pai Marires went on in strength with cheerfulness and vigour (E.W. Puckey to H. Halse Native Secretary 14 December 1864 AJHR 1865 E4 p 7-8).

Tamihana was here revealing that Pai Marire was based on the observance of tapu, a key component of the Pai Marire ritual, the restriction on food when undertaking a ritual state when travelling, and the tapu of the pooti. In states of tapu, there were prohibitions, such as on the presence and eating of food, the breaking of which would result in ritual contamination. More important was a comment from Atkinson of the Forest Rangers in Taranaki, that takes us back to Te Ua, the spiritual founder.

> The horse of Harry's which we brought back has a history, as I learned from te Uerangi this morning. His name was Aipeeti, i.e. Ace of Spades, which was given him by Te Ua who took him for

> his own & made him very tapu. If any one rode him with any cooked food about him he would certainly be thrown & have bones broken if not killed – this indeed had occurred in one or more cases. On one occasion some soldiers surrounded him at Waitotara & tried to catch him when he killed one & of course the others did not succeed. Te Uerangi assured me that in the days of his tapu I might have tried to shoot him, I might have expended all my ammunition on him when close by but it would have been in vain (Atkinson Journal March 1867 Scholefild 1960:232).

Ranagit Guha, in his examination of the historiographical texts of the Sonthal Indian insurrection, points out the failure of colonialist writers to 'grasp religiosity as the central modality of peasant consciousness in colonial India. He cites the notion of power an attribute of religious consciousness and sees the act of insurgency as an assertion of religious consciousness (2000:1397,1399). The religiosity of Pai Marire was not in the Christian and colonialist observations 'pooti' rituals and chants and millennial messages. But it existed in the traditional world views, beliefs, and spirituality of ancestors and in their commitment to spirit guardians and tapu. The religious and rebel consciousness of my Pai Marire ancestors of Ngati Rangi, as I described in Chapter 4, was best represented in their opposition to the survey of their confiscated lands, and then the establishment of the aukati, restricting Pakeha from entering the Wairoa River catchment area. Clarke talked to Penetaka about a land dispute at Omokoroa over the lease of the Ngati Haua Reserve;

> He, as is his usual manner, indulged in a great deal of extravagant language, which meant really nothing; but he finished up by saying that Tawhiao had issued a "panui" desiring all those people who acknowledged his authority to keep their hands behind them, and that all fighting now-a-days was to be with the mouth… he added, the Pirirakau were bound by their principles to protest vigorously against the occupation of land, whether confiscated or purchased, to which they believed that they had a claim (Clarke to Native Minister 15th May 1877 AJHR 1877 G1:24-25).

They continued protesting until the request came from Tawhiao to withdraw from any direct confrontation. But these Pai Marire Kingitanga supporters still maintained their political opposition to colonialism. At a meeting held at Raropua, Te Puna, on October 6th 1886, a committee under Kingi Tawhiao was formed comprising representatives of Pirirakau, Ngati Te Rangi and Ngati Pango. The

Chairman was Tangi Ngamanu (Ngati Rangi) and the Judge was Kerekau Maungapohatu (Pirirakau), and the meeting's decision concerned:

> ko nga whenua o taua takiwa i raro i te Mana o te iwi Maori i tukua nei ki a Kingi Tawhiao. Ko aua whenua ka riro ki raro i te komiti hei tiaki mo nga kupu kua oti te whakaari e te Motu katoa puta noa. kati te ruri, kati te hoko, kati Kooti whenua...
>
> the land of that area under the mana of the iwi Maori who gift the land to King Tawhiao. This land is placed with the committee for them to look after under the directions of what has been said through the land (Aotearoa). Stop the survey, stop the sales and stop the land court.

These political statements reflect the persistence and continuation of their Ngati Ranginui rebel consciousness. Meanwhile, the actual demise of the question I asked about Pai Marire as a religion of my Pai Marire ancestors in Tauranga, has been answered from information gathered in the Waikato by Pei Jones (Jones Papers 1885 - 1976). He records that Mahuta, the third King, had told Kingitanga supporters to go back to the 'mihinare'. Te Puea her people were abandoned at a hui by Maori church ministers during a large hui to discuss resisting the recruitment of Waikato men for military deployment in the First World War. In the absence of ministers, she asked the hui whether anyone could conduct a church service and one elderly man said he knew only the karakia of her grandfather, Mahuta, which were Pai Marire karakia. She asked him to conduct the karakia. In the isolation that followed their political stand against recruitment, Te Puea and supporters spent three years relearning Pai Marire and hence it was reintroduced to the Kingitanga. Tumokai Katipa, who was the husband of Te Puea described to Michael King what took place at this hui and the earlier demise of Pai Marire:

> And then this old kaumatua from Manukorihi in Taranaki stood up. He was there with some of his people who also didn't want to fight because their land had been taken. And he reminded Te Puea of the saying of Tawhiao: "I have taken my faith from the base of the mountain, and I have laid it back there. In time of difficulty you will find it there." Now Tawhiao had said that before he died. He was referring to his bringing Pai marire from Taranaki, from Te Ua Haumene. He did it because Pakeha churches had fought with the soldiers in the war. But once he said he'd laid it back there, that was it. The people stopped doing that karakia. They hadn't done it since. And Mahuta had allowed the Christian churches to come back in (King 1977:93).

Colonisation involved the transformation of the 'native' into the 'colonial native'. A common and popular view of colonisation's impact on Maori is that it was a cultural disaster. But such a view disregards the extraordinary ways in which colonised people engaged and utilised colonial culture for their own purposes and displayed a remarkable capacity for change and adaptation (Ashcroft 2002: 2). The transformation to the 'colonial native' was mediated through creativity and innovation in art, religion, social organisation, economy, military technology, and new forms of political organisation and consciousness. The Kingitanga and Pai Marire was such an innovative political and religious consciousness.

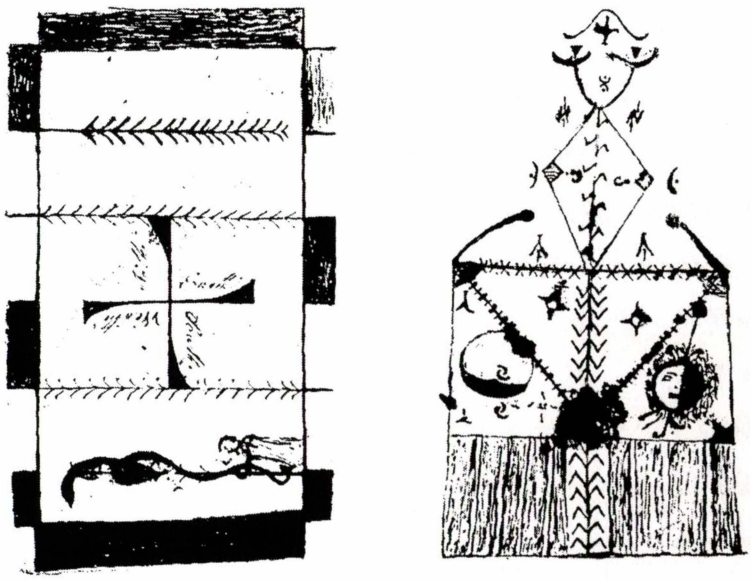


Figure xx. Rota Kotuku 1867 ms [Ngati Rangi] qMS-0083-0084

[1] qMS-0083-0084 Aporo, d 1867 Sketches illustrating dreams. Ms note by Gilbert Mair on title page "Maori sketches illustrating dreams, by Aporo. Shot by me at Poripori, Jany 23, 1867, under a waterfall. I took the sketches, wet with his blood from his body".
[2] Ibid.

> The five volumes of Subaltern Studies represent a formidable achievement in historical scholarship. They are an invitation to think anew the relation between history and anthropology from a point of view that displaces the central position of the European anthropologist or historian as the subject of discourse and Indian society as its object. This does not mean a rejection of Western categories but signals the beginning of a new and autonomous relation to them. As Gayatri Spivak has often pointed out, to deny that we write as people whose consciousness has been formed as colonial subjects is itself modified by our own experience and by the relation we establish to our intellectual traditions.
>
> *Veena Das 1989:310*

CONCLUSION

What was influential in shaping this thesis were Pai Marire sketch images from 1866 that appeared in a report on the raupatu of Tauranga Moana by Evelyn Stokes (1990). I earlier viewed these images by Rota Kotuku (or Te Aporo) in 1976 at the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington. Rota Kotuku was a Kingitanga supporter and Pai Marire adherent from Ngati Rangi, who had drawn these powerful political images of 'kawana kerei' (Governor Grey), depicting him as Hatana or the 'devil' (see Chapter 10). This was a view of Grey common to many Kingitanga and Pai Marire – a rebel view – the view of those who had become the object and victims of his colonial policies and rule. One of the images (p. 292) depicts the *maminga* (deception) of the Maori people by Grey; another (p. 304) depicts Grey's attempt at destroying the Maori King – Grey with the King in his hand heading towards a fire *(kapura).* A third is a scene depicting the admiration Grey had for the Maori people as objects of his anthropological interest, and at the same time depicts his plan to make Maori disappear (*whakangaro*), as objects of colonial domination. This image includes the figure of Bishop Selwyn *(Pihopa)* standing between the two images of Grey (p. 310). Grey and Selwyn, stand, for the rebels, as symbols of colonialism, the Governor and the head of the missionaries. The inclusion of Bishop Selwyn is a reference to the collusion of missionaries in colonial government policies towards Maori resistance, especially because the Bishop had given his support to the imperial military during the land wars in the Waikato. The complicity of Bishop Selwyn in the British invasion of the Waikato was noted in Wiremu Te Waharoa by his

description of 'the war party of Bishop Selwyn and the General [Cameron]' (July 1865 quoted in Colenso 1871:5).

This depiction by the Ngati Rangi ancestor Rota Kotuku of Grey as the central figure of colonialism and Maori resistance in the 1860s, led me to examine closely Grey's role as Governor and how he went about achieving his anti-insurgency policies and ideas. Anthropology was central to Grey's ideas and plans for incorporating the indigenous Maori into this British settler colony by replacing 'native custom' with British law and the 'deliberate destruction of chiefly authority' (Dalton 1967:47). He was an enthusiastic observer and practitioner of the newly emerging fields of anthropology and ethnology. Grey collected and collated traditions and demonstrated and used his knowledge by targeting and befriending chiefs. He also implemented a system of patronage, of 'cultivating loyalty' with salaries and paid posts, and established a Native administration, a body of government agents or officials who worked for the Governor and later the colonial settler government.

The historical research I undertook for the Wairoa hapu claims in Tauranga, from 1990 to 1998, indicated that this system of Crown or settler colonial government patronage, and the land confiscation policies of the 1860s continued throughout the nineteenth century, during which 'loyalist' or 'friendly' chiefs and 'surrendered rebels' were rewarded for their 'fidelity' to the Crown with land, paid posts and other forms of patronage. Maori land ownership relating to the confiscated land in the Tauranga region has, then, been based on colonial government administration and allocation policies, rather than on traditional or customary rights, particularly with regard to the lands of Ngati Ranginui and other Pai Marire hapu.

Governor Grey was at the 'pacification hui' in August 1864 in Tauranga, and as the representative of the British Government he was instrumental in determining the outcome, by setting the directions as to how the confiscation of land was to take place as punishment for rebelling, and also in rewarding those who remained loyal throughout the period of the land war insurgency or subsequently bowed to British sovereignty. An instruction from the British Government to "exercise considerable control over any confiscations," and that "no confiscations were to

take place without Grey's personal concurrence" (Waitangi Tribunal 2004: 127), supported Grey's authority in the Tauranga confiscation over and above colonial settler government Ministers. As a strategy for negotiating peace in 1864, Grey had emphasized "working with loyal Ngaiterangi chiefs, who were assured that they will be amply rewarded for their loyalty" (Waitangi Tribunal 2004:125).

The reward for 'friendly chiefs ' and 'surrendered rebels' and their hapu came as the grant to individual Ngaiterangi chiefs of confiscated lands on the harbour edge, and favour over the Wairoa hapu in claims to the inland areas such as the Kumikumi and Poripori Blocks. This system of Crown patronage and the creation of 'friendly chiefs' began in Tauranga with the appointment of Ngaiterangi chiefs to office under the 'Native Districts Act 1858', and later through recruitment to the native and colonial military force. Comparisons can be made with other tribal regions with a mix of 'loyalists', Kingitanga, and Pai Marire, such as Taranaki, Whanganui, Waikato and the East Coast. Monty Soutar (2000:237) states that the tension between the Ngati Porou kupapa forces and those aligned with Pai Marire and Te Kooti was a conflict regarding religious differences, and an argument of 'traditional' conflict was earlier posed by the historian Alan Ward (1973:168). But, in my view this 'tension' was not traditional in origin, nor about religion, but was a product of colonialism, of the system of Crown cultivation of loyalty, or patronage. My explanation is that the motivation of the 'loyalist' chiefs was money, land and status. The rewards that came from this system of loyalty were more important than an opportunity to settle scores with traditional enemies. The latter may have been the case in the 1840s, but not in the 1860s and 70s. There had never been any traditional tribal animosity between Te Arawa, the native forces who attacked the Pai Marire kainga and the Ngati Ranginui who inhabited them. At an earlier period Ngati Ranginui and Te Arawa iwi were allies against the Ngaiterangi migration into their region, similarly, the involvement of Ngaiterangi loyalists (or Kuini Maori) in Tauranga, joined by the 'surrendered rebels', in the violent attacks against the Ngati Ranginui kainga, can only be explained by this 'loyalty' to colonial patronage.

In Tauranga, the 'cultivation of loyalty', or the colonial 'system of patronage', created a new dominant ideological discourse. In shaping this discourse the Crown in the 19th century in Tauranga made use of tradition to validate its support

for the 'friendly' and 'loyal' chiefs in the allocation of land and other forms of patronage against Ngati Ranginui Kingitanga and Pai Marire supporters. This use of tradition, or 'neo-traditionalism', has been continued up to the present period – which is why I call this 'tradition' a 'colonial construct'. What I have unravelled in Tauranga would be common to other regions where the same system of patronage was used against resistance to achieve outcomes the colonial settler state desired. Another theme of the colonial discourse is the persistence of the construct of 'Hauhau', with their acts of 'savagery' and mix of Christian syncretism, an image that has changed little from its nineteenth century origin. The possibility of Pai Marire as genuine religious consciousness has been overlooked by scholars and commentators. The focus in the past has been on the first form of ritual performance, the 'poti' and niu, or 'flag pole' rather than other aspects of the religion, such as the role of tapu.

The theme of 'cultivation of loyalty' that I have emphasized in this thesis, would also be applicable in the colonisation of Maori territory by the Native Land Court. Military inroads into Maori territory were followed by the Native Land Court. Following the Land Wars, the Native Land Court initiated a 'land tenure' revolution (Williams 1999), employing an adversarial procedure for investigating title to land and incorporating concepts of 'custom' into Maori land law. Many of the Native Land Court judges had been officials of the Native administration and officers of colonial military forces, and the Native Land Court became attached to the system of colonial government patronage. This patronage of hapu and iwi, chiefs and elders would extend to those who were sympathetic to settler colonial policies of extinguishing customary tenure and Pakeha settlement of Maori territory. The elite would get consideration over the subaltern, those who did not support colonisation in their midst, as displayed earlier through their history of political and insurgent resistance, or any general resistance to land sales or colonising objectives based on Maori land alienation.

In the 1970s there was a major debate in anthropology concerning the relationship between anthropology and colonialism in the twentieth century, and the role of the colonial administrator and individual anthropologist In Aotearoa/New Zealand, from 1867 anthropology was sanctioned and used by the 'state', with the patronage of the first learned society in Aotearoa/New Zealand by Governor Grey

and the establishment of learned societies by legislation and financial support by the state. This was the origins of colonial anthropology in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Grey was brought in by the British Colonial Office specifically to confront Maori resistance because of his views on bringing indigenous populations under colonial rule. In the words of Ballantyne, "Grey stressed the value of ethnography as the foundation stone of colonial state building" (2002:120). My argument is that anthropology was used by the colonial state in the 19th century to achieve its domination and incorporation of an indigenous population into a settler colony. This contrasts with the 20th century debate centred on the complicity of individual anthropologist with colonialism.

The examination of the Wairoa hapu in detail has shown the underlying dynamics of hapu as social grouping, and demonstrated that hapu are a complex and evolving process, rather than a static social unit. There are two categories that stand out as the object of debate among Aotearoa/New Zealand anthropologists: 'descent' and 'membership'. In my study on the Wairoa hapu, there is a distinction between descent and membership. The Native Land Court introduced a system of a list of land owners where they become a hapu membership list for the confiscated hapu reserves in Tauranga, in the case of Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi, Parish of Te Papa Blocks 91 and 453, hapu membership appears to have some degree of flexibility and is based on kin relationships that extend from a relatively recent generation of ancestors rather than an earlier period of ancestors. A generation of ancestors who were cognates in the mid-nineteenth century thus became the centre of relationships between hapu members in the twentieth century and into the twenty first century. An important element of such hapu membership is the land tenure principle of 'ahi kaa' or occupation. Descent is a category that is most important for external kin relationships of the hapu. There are two categories of hapu descendants. One is those who descend from the original list of owners of the Parish of Te Papa 91 and 453, Blocks, which includes 'land owners' who have never occupied the lands, who never identify as Ngati Kahu, and have been absent for a number of generations. This category is what I call the 'hapu kin'. The other category I call 'tupuna kin', those who are not hapu members but descend from key ancestors of the hapu such as Kahutapu (Append. 3). It is through this latter descent principle that kin relationships are formed with kin in other hapu.

The detailed study I have done of the Wairoa hapu could also be related to other regions of significant insurgent resistance, such as Gisborne, Taranaki, Whanganui, and Waikato, in a comparative anthropological sense. But this could be extended also to include other areas where resistance did not occur, where colonial governmental political influence was not overt, but where iwi and hapu nevertheless were still subject to other forms of colonial 'authority' and land expropriation.

GLOSSARY

amo – upright support of the lower ends of the *maihi* on the front gable of a house

atua – supernatural being

aukati – line which one may not pass

haka - dance

hakari – celebratory feast

hapu- sub tribe

heke – migrate

hikohiko – flash repeatedly

hui – meeting

iwi – tribe

Hauhau – colonial term given to Pai Marire religious movement

kaioraora – threatening, cursing

Kaitiaki – spiritual guardian

kainga – settlement and place of residence

kapa haka - row of *haka*

karauna atea – free from obstruction the Crown

karakia – incantation

kaumatua – elder, old man or woman

kaupapa – plan

koruru – figure placed on the gable of a house

mahinga kai – food gathering or producing area

maihi – facing boards on a gable of house

makutu - bewitch

mana – authority and power

mana tupuna – in land tenure, rights from ancestor

manuhiri - visitor

marae – ceremonial area in front of meeting house

matakite – one who foretells an event

maunga - mountain

mauri – life principle, material symbol of the hidden principle protecting vitality

mihingare - anglican

morehu – survivor

motu - island

motuhake – separate

ngeri – rhythmic chant with actions

niu – pole for Pai Marire ceremony

ohaoha – utter incantations

oriori – chant

papakainga – site of a house, houses

papatipu – land where one is raised, Maori land not having European title

paepae - threshold

pakeke - adult

pataka – storehouse raised on poles

patere – abusive song

peruperu – war dance with long spears

Pupuri whenua – Kingitanga concept to hold the land

poi – a light ball with string attached to accompany song

poti – circle around niu (Pai Marire)

powhiri – welcome ceremony

rangatahi – young generation

Raupatu – taking land by force

ritenga - custom

Rohe Potae – Kingitanga region

rongoa rahui – area reserved for remedial plants

taha Maori – Maori

tahuhu – ridge-pole of house

take kore – no rights (land)

tamariki - children

tangata whenua – host, inhabitant, resident

taniwha – a spirit being that resides in water

taonga – valued resources

taotahi – single line of descent

tangihanga – death ceremony

tapu – religious restriction

tino rangatiratanga – full authority

tekoteko – carved figure on the gable of a house

tupuna – ancestor

tuturu - fixed

tukutuku – decorative lattice wall panel

waahi turehu – place of *turehu* (spirit who are active at night).

wairua - spirit

waiata ringa – song with actions

waiata tangi - dirge

waiata whaiapo – love song

waituhi – painted designs

whanau – famaly group

wharepuni – meeting house

whakapapa – genealogy

whaikorero – formal speech

whakamoe - marry

whakapiri – bring together

whanaungatanga – blood relationships

whariki whakairo – floor mat with design

urukehu – light haired

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Parish of Te Papa Lot 182 Block Order Files
ii Title orders 1916 -1941
iii succession orders
iv miscellaneous
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A99 1870, Tauranga District , General, National Archives AAFV. 997
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APPENDIX 1 Lists of Owners of Various Land Blocks

(i). Parish of Te Papa 453 (Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi) –143 acres.

Hamiora Ngakuru
Hana Herewini
Hanuere Wiremu
Harata Herewini
Hera Ngawharau
Hera Wharepapa
Hipirini Apaapa
Hohepa Ngarama
Hune Peehi
Kui Wharepapa
Mangu Apaapa
Mere Rahiri
Meriana Rangihau
Mita Rapata
Ngahere Te Teira
Ngahoro Mihinui
Ngarama Rapata
Ngakuru Parera
Ngatete Kotuku
Ngati Tuara
Ngawharau Herewini
Penetaka
Penetaka Tuaia (Ngaiterangi)
Pihiopa Whaiapu
Pine Apaapa
Ngaruru Parera
Rahiri Ngawharau
Puti Ngarama
Ririrpeti Whaiapu
Raumati Ngamanu
Rauriki Whaiapu
Riripeti Ngarama
Te Raiti Ngawharau
Tiapo
Te Apaapa Ngamanu
Tarakiteawa Tuaia
Te Keeti Herewini
Te Kehi Ngawharau
Te Kirikiri Wiremu
Te Kiri Te Pura
Te Raroa Herewini
Te Pere Wharepapa
Te Taupe Ngarama
Te Taukotahi Hohaia
Te Tu Ngakuru
Te Teira Taumataherea
Te Amomanuka Mihinui
Torei Teira
Tuaia Te Wharepapa
Tuangahuru Ngawharau
Tutanumia Ngawharau
Wahawaha Ihiata
Whaipu Wiremu
Whira Rapata
Wharepapa Tihe

(ii). Parish Of Te Papa 91 (Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi) - 120 acres

Hamiora Ngakuru
Haua Herewini
Hanuere Wiremu
Harata Herewini
Hera Ngawharau
Hera Wharepapa
Hipirini Apaapa
Hohepa Ngarama
Hune Peehi
Kui Wharepapa
Mangu Apaapa
Ririrpeti Whaiapu
Raumati Ngamanu
Rauriki Whaiapu
Riripeti Ngarama
Te Raiti Ngawharau
Taiapo
Te Apaapa Ngamanu
Tarakiteawa Tuaia
Te Keeti Herewini
Te Keehi Ngawharau
Te Kirikiri Wiremu

Mere Rahiri
Meriana Rangihau
Mita Rapata
Ngakoere Te Teira
Ngahoro Mihinui
Ngarama Rapata
Ngakuru Parera
Ngatiti Kotuku
Ngati Tuara
Ngawharau Herewini
Penetaka
Penetaka Tuaia
Pihiopa Whaiapu
Pine Apaapa
Ngakuru Parera
Rahiri Ngawharau
Puti Ngarama
Te Kiri Te Pura
Te Raroa Herewini
Te Tere Wharepapa
Te Taupe Ngarama
Te Taukotahi Hohaia
Te Tie Ngakuru
Te Teira Taumataherea
Te Aomanuka Mihinui (Te Urukaraka)
Torei Teira
Tuaia Te Wharepapa
Tuangahuru Ngawharau
Tutanumia Ngawharau
Wahawaha Ihiata
Whaiapu Wiremu
Whira Rapata
Wharepapa Tihe
Taraiti Ngawharau

(iii). Parish of Te Papa 8 (Ngati Kahu) –52 acres

Hana Herewini
Harata Appapa
Heneri Whaiapu
Hera Ngawharau
Hera Wharepapa
Hipirini Apaapa
Hune Pehi
Keehi Ngawharau
Keeti Herewini
Kui Wharepapa
Kumeroa Te Kotuku
Mere Rahiri
Mereana Herewini
Peni Apaapa
Paora herewini
Rahiri Ngawharau
Puangahuru Ngawharau
Ripoi Te Pura
Rauriki Whaiapu
Te Apaapa Ngamanu
Taraiti Ngawharau
Te Whara Wharepapa
Te Hunuku Apaapa
Tiaki Wharepapa
Te Pura Taumatahina
Wahineiti Whaiapu
Te Wharepapa
Whaiapu Wiremu
Waikawa te Wharepapa
Winaka Ngawharau
Whawhai Wharepapa

(iv). Te Irihanga No 1 Ngati Rangi (Ngati Rangi names in bold) – 685 acres

Amopia Kania
Hera Ngawharau
Maria Nepe
Ngakuru Manopape
Ngawharau Herewini
Te Teira Taumataherea
Te Wharepapa Kanai
Waitai Ngati
Apaapa Ngamanu
Hohapa Tautaepaea
Mataitaua Rapata
Ngarama Rapata
Te Raroa Herewini
Te Uara Taharangi
Wahawaha Ihiata
Wiremu Pepeka

(v). Te Irihanga No. 2, 2A Ngati Rangi (Ngati Rangi names in bold) – 344 acres

Amiria Tuihana
Emire Pepeka
Hanuere Wiremu
Hera Te Wheoro
Hohepa Rau
Ngahoari Te Tapuke
Nga Wanihi Ngahoro
Ngawharau Te Teira
Parariko Ngawharau
Peti Te Kotuku
Rahiri Ngawharau
Riri Mereana
Tangi Ngamanu
Te Aomanukla Te Mihinui
Te Kehi Ngawharau
Te Mameroa Rau
Te Rauhea Matatu
Te Rie Ngakuru
Te Taupe Raumati
Te Uara Taharangi
Te Whaewhae Te Wheoro
Tuangahuru Ngawharau
Tumanako Hirihiri
Wahawaha Ihiata
Apaapa Ngamanu
Hamiora Ngakuru
Hera Ngawharau
Hipirini Te Appapa
Kii Ngati
Ngakuru Parera
Ngawharau Herewini
Paehuka
Pene Te Apaapa
Pihopa Whaitapu
Raiha Heni
Riripeti Rau
Tarakiteawa Tuaia
Te Hirihiri Hikipene
Te Kumeroa Te Kotuku
Te Matetu Mataitaua
Te Rawhi Amopia
Te Ripoi Te Teira
Te Tere Te Wheoro
Te Wari Pepeka
Tiakai Te Wheoro
Tukua Taiawhio
Tutanamia Ngawharau
Whira Rapata

(vi). Te Ongaonga No 1 List of Owners - Ngati Kahu (italics), Ngati Kirhika –1317 acres

Ngawharau Herewini
Kipa Pouheke
TeWharepapa Te Kauwai
Ngaruhe Tuhirae
Pita Pouheke
Penetana Te Kauri
Terei Te Hora
Hune Pehi
Wahawaha Ihiata
Te Raroa Herewini
Te Teira Taumataherea
*Te Heti Herewini**
Menehira Turere
Akuhata Tapaea
*Hipirini Apaapa**
Menehira Turere
*Ranhiri Ngawharau**
Taukotahi te Manu
Te Miritana Tamati
Paerauta Te Mene
Ngakata Mauha
Whaiapu Wiremu
Te Awanui Kiritapu
Te Kaea Tamati
Hohaia Te Kauri
Te Kotuku Te Aukaha
Rota Hohaia
Te Tiepa
Te Whakahoki Te Ohu
Kotai Te Huawai
Hone Tanuku
Maremare Tupaea
Wiremu Pepeka (Johnson)
Te Ipu Tauterangi
Hera Ngawharau
Te Rauriki Whaiapu
Te Waikawa Pihi
Te Kumeroa Wharepapa
Hana Perahia
Ngakoere Te Teira
Harata Apaapa
Ngaroria Tamaohu
Taiapo Toko
Tiori Wahawaha
Maria Te Patu
Riripeti Te Aukaha
Maro Metua
Ngarori Te Kauri
Ngakohau Whakahoki
Te Rau Tunoho
Ngatangi Te Kauri
Te Hirihiri Hikipene
Te Rarangi Te Kauri
Tu Aanumia Pita
Ngapeti Hori Waka
Riata Eruera
Rangiwhetu Awanui
Te Rina Henare
Ngainu Miritana
Mereana Riripete
Te Ratahi Awanui
Ngaroimata Te Aukoha
Hana Huarau
Rangi Hune
Ranga Te Maro
Ngawharau Te Teira
Paraiki Haua
*Pene Apaapa**
Tuangahuru Ngawharau
Tawhaitu Kairiha
Taikato Te Patu
Hanuere Kairiha
Wiremu Henare
Waata Wiremu
Te Rewa Te Kaea
Raiha Heni
Paraki Tiori
Peretini Tautika
Porikapa Eruera
Hori Tatare
Henare Tawharangi
Hohepa NgaNgaheke
Tupaoa Pehitahi
Waikuia Hohepa
Te Mamae Hotu
Atareta Menehira
Orau Kipa
Te Reweti Henare
Tutanumia Hera
Hera Wharepapa
Tiki Pita
Ripoi te Teira
Matire Waikawa

(vii). Te Ongaonga No 2 – 3057 acres

Hamiora Ngakuru
Haua Perahia
Heni Riripeti
Hipirini Apaapa
Maihi Te Poria
Matire Ngakete
Miratana Tamati
Ngatangi te Kauri
Paraiki Peneti
Pita Pouheke
Tanupo Hamuera
Harata Appapa
Henare Tawharangi
Hera Ngawharau
Hohaia Tamaohu
Maremare Tupaea
Menehira Turere
Ngarope Awanui
Ngawharau Herewini
Penetana Te Kauri
Rahiri Ngawharau
Te Amo Hohaia

Te Awanui Kiritapu
Te Kumeroa Te Wharepapa
Te Raroa Herewini
Te Rei Te Hora
Te Wharepapa Te Kauwai
Tupaoa Pehitahi
Whaiapu Wiremu
Te Keeti Herewini
Te Oti Te Kauri
Te Rauriki Whaiapu
Te Teira Taumataherea
Toketaua Huarau
Tutanamia Pita
Wiremu Peeka

(viii). Whareroa Ngati Kuku (Ngati Pango names in bold) – 1262 acres.

Hori Ngatai
Renatatoriri
Hamuera Paki
Heata Tarera
Te Aria
Matiu Tarera
Wetini Ngatai
Reweti Ngatai
Te Tiepa
Haka
Te Kaha
Tuari
Kaipuke
Te Ruatahapari
Tukere
Renata Tarera
Te Wiremu Tarahine
Maihi Te Poria
Hori Hamuera
Hirini Enoka
Rangihau Renata
Ranapia Enoka
Herewini Peta
Te Arihi
Tomo Te Aria
Enoka Ngatai
Heni Tamati
Ngahuaia Ngatai
Ani Patene
Poia
Ngawiki Heta
Mutu Renata
Te Aohau Renata
Wharepouri Renata
Miriama Rangikau
Tanupo Hamuera
Mata Haaka
Kararaina Tuari
Huhana Matiu
Riria Purewha
Kaa Te Maupu
Mere Peka
Hirihiri Hikipene
Koperu Hamuera
Potaua Renata
Keni Haaka
Te Tatau Ngatai
Tamahau Papama
Hori Te Poka
Rangi Ngatai
Whakangi Haaka
Katerina Haaka
Harete Kararaina

(ix). Kumikumi No. 1 2617 Acres (Ngaituwhiwhia names in bold) – 2617 acres.

Hiria Enoka
Metera Te Puru
Purangataua Te Puru
Taimana Parata
Te Puru Te Mea
Tupaoa Pehitahi
Hone Paama
Nutana Iwikau
Renata Toriri
Te Kuka Te Mea
Te Rohe Te Hira
Tutera Marupo

(x). Kumikumi No 2 623 Acres (Ngaituwhiwhia names in bold) - 623 acres.

Ahiwera Tupara
Aohau Renata
Eru Haaka
Hamu Parata
Hariata
Hiria Enoka
Hirini Enoka
Hohepa Paama
Hone Ngaika'
Hunia
Katerina Haaka
Kerara Parata
Kirimaene Te Hira
Maata Kerekau
Mere Toke
Metera Te Puru
Mutu Renata
Ngarere Hohepa Mare
None Wahawaha
Paratapoai
Pateriki Kapewhiti
Peterataiawhio
Peti Toperu
Potaua Renata
Purangataua Te Puru
Ranghau Renata
Rauhuhu Renata
Rere Tupaora
Ripine Paora
Riripeti Hotene
Rohe Te Metera
Taimana Parata
Tami
Te Hatepe Hiria
Tekuka Te Mea
Te Mete Raukawa
Te Puru Te Mea
Te Rupe Ngakotuku
Topehuia Metera
Turuhira Te Kupenga
Waikoukou Hohepa
Warerangi Parata
Whakatete Parata

Ani Te Kuka
Enoka Te Whanake
Eru Roepaoa
Harawira Kotai
Herewini Petarika
Hiria Te Hlra
Hohepa Mare
Hohepa Tauhou
Horopapera Ropi
Huriana Te Hira
Kent Haaka
Kirikau Hemopo
Maata Haaka
Maihi Tinipoaka
Merepekaenoka I^
Mohorangi Pateriki
Ngakotuku Tereiti
Ngatupara Panerua
Paetutu Te Puru
Pare Kerara
Pene Haaka
Petera Te Ninihi
Pirihirapuhitunoa
Pura Paora
Rakapangaika
Rangikeno Te Kuka
Renata Toriri
Rikihana Hohepa
Riria Toru
Rohe Te Hira
Romana Te Kotu
Tamahau Hohepa
Tarei
Tehirahaaka
Te Makaka Te Puru
Tenutanaiwikau
Te Rere Ngakotuku
Tonihi Hohepa
Tupaoa Pehttahl
Tuteramarupo
Waitanaha Tutera
Whakaangi Haaka
Wharepouri Renata

(xi). Kaimai No 2 – 2578 acres

Akapita Te Tewe
Aniemeria
Ami Rangitetaia
Arawhena Whakana
Atareti Kerett
Emeria
Enoka Te Whanake
Erinate Hiakai
Haereoteria
Hakerekere Pupuha
'Hamiora Takaha
Haumihi Te Whanake
Henaretikmni
Hera Ngawai
Herawineti
Herina Oteria
Hineikakea Te Hiakai
Hiria Enoka
Hohajate Kauri
Hohepa Ruia
Hone Emeria
Hori Hamuera
Hune peehi
Irena Pareraukawakawa
Kataraina Te Tahuti
Kerewaru Mihinui
Koperu Hamuera
Kotaitehuawai
Makarita
Maremare Tupaea
Mariki Wineti
Merehira
Mereana Moananui
Nekewhare Korouaputa
Ngahu Te Kuta
Ngakaawa Kaiapa
Ngakaiemaha Te Uata
Ngakohau
Ngaoko Takeka
Ngapiri Marata
Ngatapu Rangimataruku
Ngawhakahoro Himiona
Ohuimata
Paikea
Pape Mauha
Pareariki Wineti
Parewhakapunga
Akuhata Tupaea
Ani Herina
Apima Wetera T •-
Atareti Akuhata,
Auta Te Kuta
Emire Oteria
Erina Ngawai
Haaka
Haere Wineti
Hakopa Te Maroro
Hare Whakana
Hemi Pouheke
Hera Nganeko
Hera Te Rape
Herina
Hikapuhi Ngakohau
Hira Herina
Hoani Tumoana
Hohepa Rangitetaia
Hohepa Te Kahuaute
Honewarana
Hori Te Waka
Huriruarahia
Irihapeti ?
Kataraina Tikitini
Kipa Pouheke
Korouaputa
Maiffiteuata
Manahi Te Hiakai
Maria
Mere Herina
Mere Peka
Naera Te Houkotuku
Ngaaruhe Tuhirae
Ngakaata Mauha
Ngakaiemaha
Ngakirikiri Wetera
Ngaoho Himiona
Ngapeti
Ngatangi Te Kauri
Ngawai Ngahei
Ngawharau Herewini
Otiria
Pakira Wineti
Paraone Te Wariffl
Paretoroa Ani
Penetana Te Kauri

Pepeka Oteria
Pirihima
Porokoru Te Kiwi
Pupuha Hireme
Peruperu Mutu
Pita Pouheke
Puatohimaru
Raimona

APPENDIX 2 Personal Whakapapa relationships

(i). Albert Brown

• Ngarama = Δ Tokona

ΔTe Rauhea (Ngaitamarawaho) – O Riripeti (Ngati Rangi) O Merewaki
O **Hera Tutahi**

ΔTame
Arapeta

ΔTe Pura
O Te Urukaihine
Des

ΔTe Whakahoki (Ngati Hangarau) – O Ngakohau (Ngati Raukawa)

O Parekairoro
O **Hoana**
Arapeta

O Ngaki - Te Keeti (Ngati Kahu)
O Matire
Δ Te Reimana
Des

O Perahia (Ngati Kahu) = Δ Herewini (Ngati Raukawa) -

Δ Hatana
Δ Paraiki
O Hoana
Arapeta

Δ Te Keeti
O Matire
Δ Te Reimana
Des

(ii). Anton Coffin

O Ngakohau = ΔTe Whakahoki

Δ Herewini
Δ Hatana
Δ Paraiki – O Parekairoro =

Δ Herewini
O Ngaki = Δ Te Keeti (Ngati Kahu)

O Rangi
O Nessie
O mother
Anton

O Matire
ΔTe Reimana
Des

APPENDIX 3 **Ngamarama whakapapa** – Ngawharau manuscript

(i).

Raumati		
Karewa		
Ngarara whakawae		
Ngamarama	Ngamarama	Ngamarama
Tane	Kahu	Tira
Waimuhu	Putaputa	Tamaue
Toroa	Te Ikaatereni	Tamawaha
Matuaiwi	**Te Hoata***	Te Manukikaitara
Te Arawhata	Toko	Kaimahoe
Pakaruwakanui	Kahoe	Te Maioro
Roropakaru	Rahiri	Te Awaroa
Te Huri*	Ata	Mikaere
Te Ore	Auru	Ngataierua
Tereapu	Tapui	Toi
Rapata	Pitakataka	Te Weku
Ngarama	Perahia	Rowha
|	|	Werohia
Ngati Rangi	**Ngati Kahu**	**Ngati Tira**

* Te Hoata – ancestral name of the wharekai

(ii).

Raumati
Karewa
Ngarara whakawae
Ngamarama
Taane
Waimuhu
Toroa
Matuaiwi
Te Arawhata
Pakaru
Raropakaru
Te Huri*
|

| |
Te Ore Te Taenui

*Te Huri

Te Ore	Te Taenui
Te Hongi	Tahuri
Perahia	Te Kumeroa

APPENDIX 4 Ngati Raukawa whakapapa

Ngawharau manuscript

(i). Motai *(epynomous ancestor of Ngati Motai)*
Whawha
Te Huia
Uawhiti *(tekoteko on Ngati Kahu wharenui)*
Te Apunga----------Naiti----------Tatatu----------Tairanga------Koukou
Tauterangi | |
| | Ngati Taha
| Ngati Raukawa
Herewini = Perahia
Ngati Kahu

(ii). Ngati Kahu/Tamahapai

Uawhiti
Te Apunga *(epynous ancestor of Ngati Apunga)*
Potonga
Kahupuhikura
Matenoa
|_____
| | | |
Whero Kopiha Kaiamo Hune

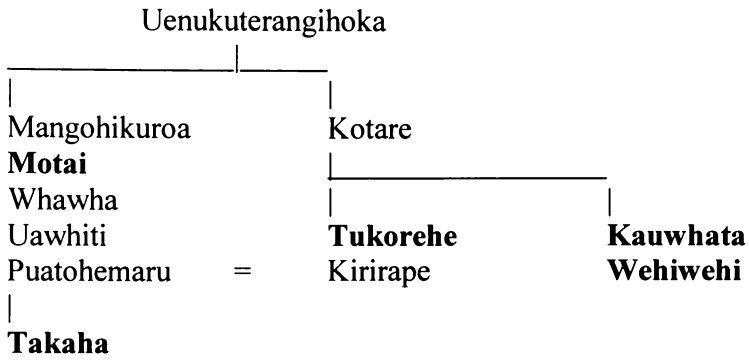
(iii). Ngawharau Ms

Motai
Whawha
Te Huia
Uawhiti
Te Apunga----------Naiti----------Tatatu----------Tairanga------Koukou

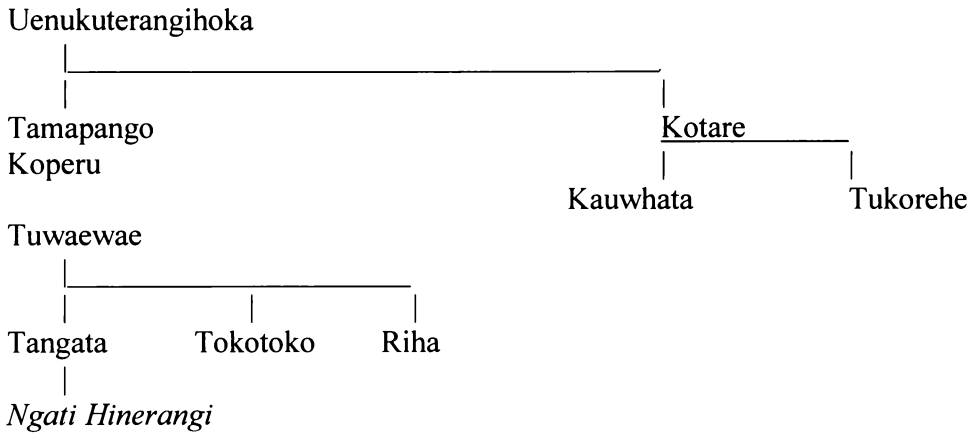
(iv). Billy Henry Ms Ngati Kirihika

Tatatu	Tairanga	Koukou
Puatohimaru	Te Kahukoera	Iamarau
Temanawa	Te Rua	Kaitangata
Te uruheuheu	Tuhirara	Koharere
Te Huahoa	Ngaruhe	Ngangana
Waikoura	Ngatangi	Panetoka
Te Mete Raukawa	Ngati	Panini
Joe	Wiremu	Tereoiti
Nikora	Te Oti	Te Pakaru
		Motai
Ngati Wehiwehi	**Ngati Kirihika**	**Ngati Motai**

(v). Steedman 1996:319 Ngati Raukawa



(vi). Steedman 1984



APPENDIX 5 Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Ranginui Ngaiterangi links

(i). Ngati Ranginui

Tamateapokaiwhenua
Kinonui
Kinomoerua

Moarikura = Kauwhata | Peurangi = Te Ruinga | Tamangarangi = Haua

(ii). Ngaiterang

Te Rangihouhiri		Tamapango	(Steedman 1985:225)
Tuwhiwhia		Koperu	
Tuwera	=	Putangimaru	

(iii). Ngati Raukawa

Uenukuterangihoka — Steedman 1984

Tamapango
Koperu
Tuwaewae — *Moarikura* = Kauwhata — Kotare

Tukorehe=*Paretaihinu** **(1)**
Turora

Tangata | Tokotoko Tuhanga Wharaurangi = Hineri | Riha — **(2)**

(1) Ngaiterangi at Maketu

(2) Ngaiterangi in Tauranga

* daughter of Tamapahore

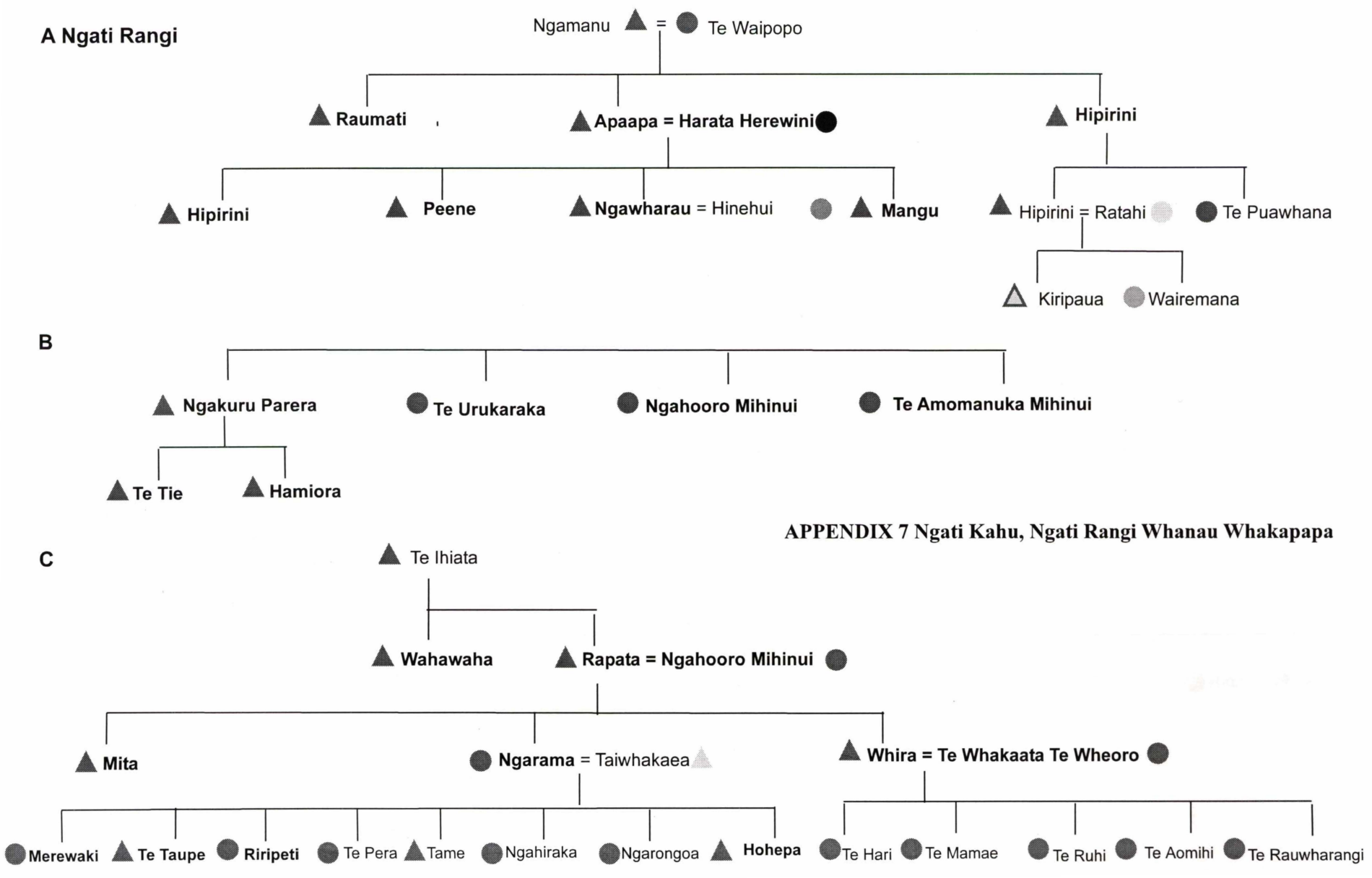
APPENDIX 6 **Parish of Te Papa Partitions 1919**

91B 20-2-30	Ngati Kahu	**91C 12-2-17** Ngati Rangi	**91 D 28-0-0** Ngati Rangi	
Te Arai Perahia	**Tuangahuru**	**Hipirini Apaapa**	**Whira Rapata**	Tio Tokona
Hinekura Whaiapu	**Ngawharau**	**Harata Herewini**	Wiremu Paraone	Tame Tokona
Hera Ngawharau	Tiori Keehi	**Mangu Apaapa**	Te Aomihi Tangi	Urukaraka
Te Hei Rahiri	Tuma Keehi	**Ngawharau Apaapa**	Emere Paraone	
Hoana Paraiki	Tarewa Whaiapu	**Peene Apaapa**	Te Hona Paraone	
Te Keepa Perahia	Tureiti Rahiri	Te Puawhana Hipirini	Te Hare Tangi	
Kaati Perahia	Te Teira Whaiapu		**Mita Rapata**	
Kapene Rahiri	Whaiapu Wiremu		**Mere Tokona**	
Mereana Rahiri			Te Mamae Tangi	
Mita Hamiora			Ngati Tuaia	
Te Nene Perahia			**Ngarama Rapata**	
Te Oti Ngawharau			Ngahiraka Tokona	
Peata Perahia			Puti Ngarama	
Te Pani Perahia			Te Paki Paraone	
Poihipi Whaiapu			Pura Paraone	
Te Rauriki Ngawharau			Riripeti Ngarama	
Rahiri Ngawharau			Riki Paraone	
Rangi Paraiki			Rina Paraone	
Rauriki Whaiapu			Te Ruhi Tangi	
Riripeti Whaiapu			Te Rauwharangi Tangi	
Te Keehi Ngawharau			Rihi Paraone	
Remana Whaiapu			Te Taupe Ngarama	
Te Rikihana			Tokona Taiwhakaea	
Ripeka Rahiri			Tame Paraone	

Names in bold are in the original list of owners 1886 (Appendix 1)

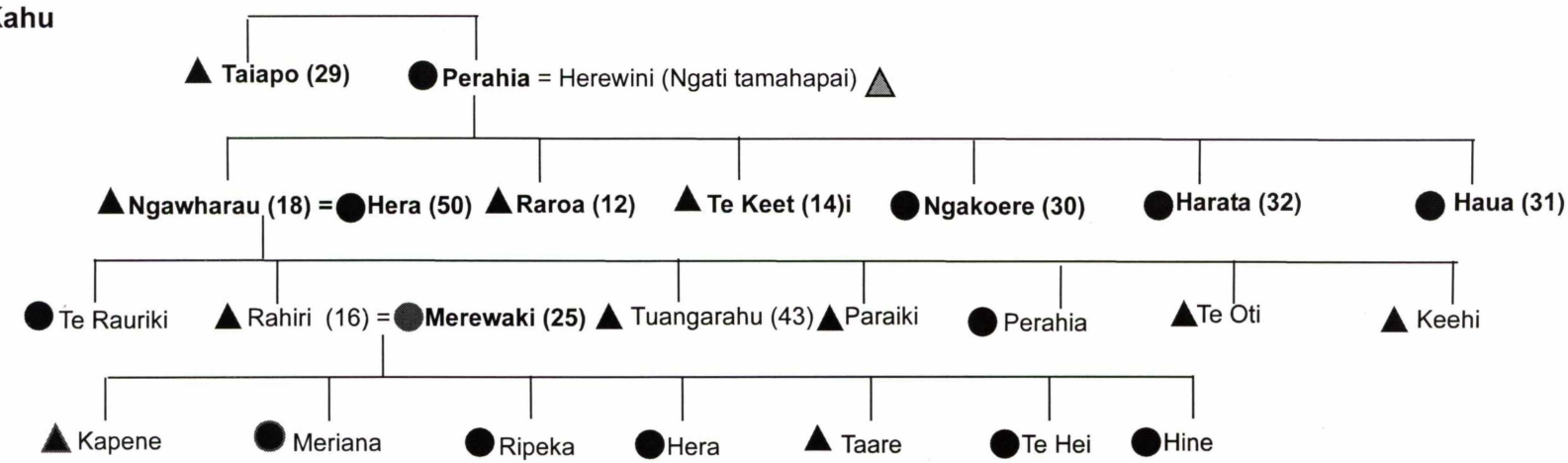
91 E Ngati Kahu	**91 F 7-1-23** Ngati Kahu	**91G 1919**	**Lot 91 H 12-3-26** Ngati Tamahapai	**Lot 91 J 9-1-19**
Hoana Paraiki Rangi Paraiki Tuangahuru Ngawharau	Henare Eruini Omipi Ngakoere Omipi Ngakoere Herewini Te Ripoi Te Teira Te Rauriki Eruini Omipi **Te Teira Taumataherea**	marae - hapu whanui	Celia Bennett Arthur Bennett Emily Bennett Horace Bennett Charles Bennett Frank Bennett Henry Bennett Marian Bennett	**Hera Ngawharau** Te Kirikiri Wiremu **Mere Rahiri** Hanuere WiremuTaiawhio Whangamata Petere Whangamata Tuhua Whanagamata Hanuere Kairiha
Lot 91 k Ngati Kahu	**Lot 91 M 6-3-14** Ngati Tamahapai	**91 N 1-3-18**	**Lot 91 L** Ngati Kahu	**91 P**
Hera Te Wharepapa Rui Te Wharepapa Puku Te Wharepapa Tuia Te Wharepapa Tiaki Te Wharepapa Whaewhae Te Wharepapa Te Waikawa Te Wharepapa Te Whakaata Te Wharepapa Waikawa Pikauri	**Hune Peehi** **Te Keeti Herewini** Kemu Patu Parehaehae Hune Rihi Keeti Ratuhi Keeti Rangi Hune Ruruanga Patu Toru patu Tuma Keeti	Te Iwi Ngaronoa Te Rei Hiria Te Rei William Bevan David Bevan Charles Bevan Thomas Bevan Mary Bevan Sarah Bevan Maggie Bevan Cecelia Bevan	**Hera Te Wharepapa** Rui Te Wharepapa Puku Te Wharepapa Tuia Te Wharepapa Tiaki Te Wharepapa Whaewhae Te Wharepapa Te Waikawa Te Wharepapa Te Whakaata Te Wharepapa Waikawa Pikauri	urupa

APPENDIX 7 Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi Whanau Whakapapa

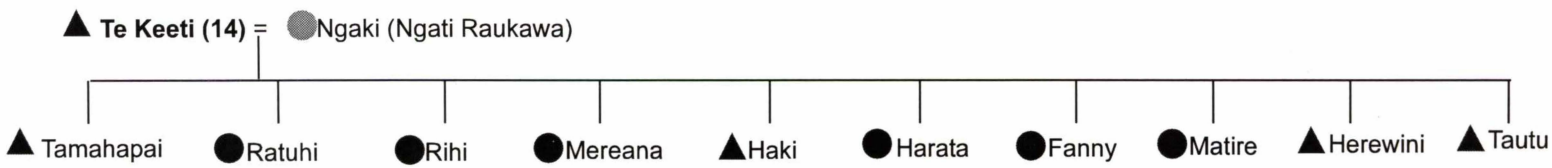


Ngati Kahu

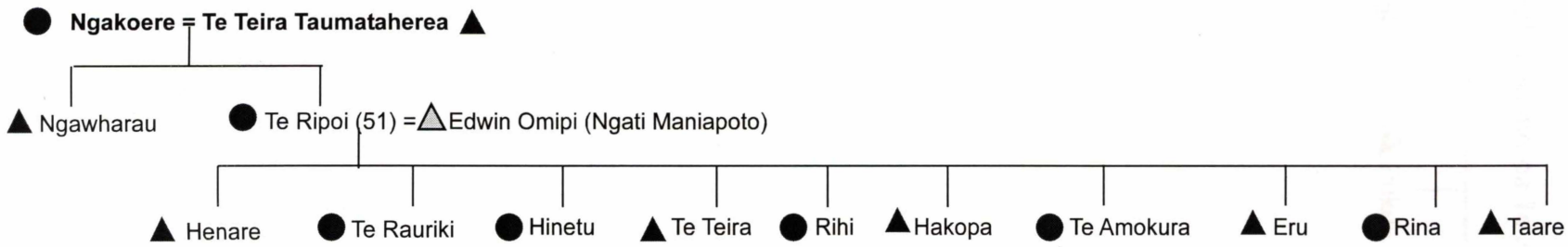
E



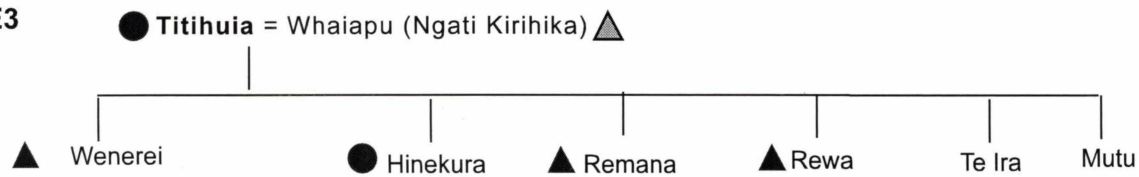
E1

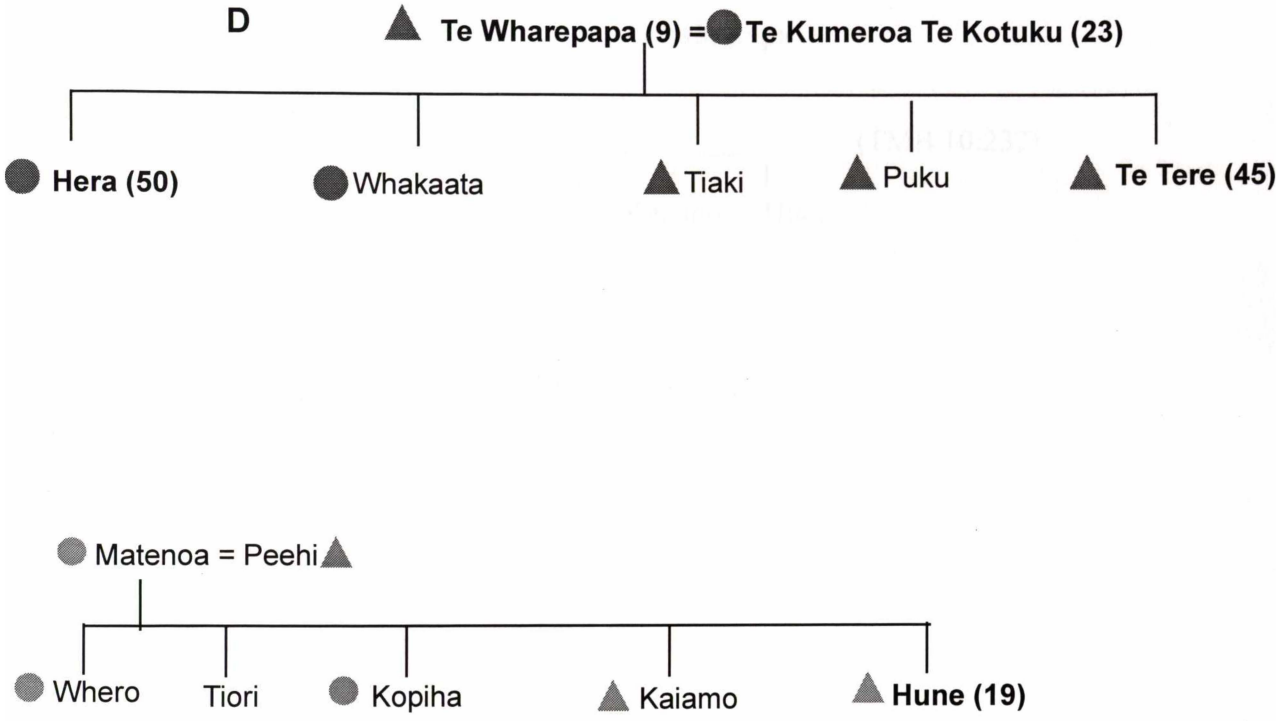


E2



E3




D
Te Wharepapa (9) =
Te Kumeroa Te Kotuku (23)
Hera (50)
Whakaata
Tiaki
Puku
Te Tere (45)
Matenoa = Peehi
Whero
Tiori
Kopiha
Kaiamo
Hune (19)

APPENDIX 8 **Ngati Kahu hapu -whakapapa**

(i).

Matenoa = Peehi (TMB 10:232)

Whero	Tiori	Te Kopiha	Kaiamo	Hune

(ii).

Hune

Parehaehae = Te Ohu Whakahoki (Ngati Hangarau)

Mora	Ngaki	Ngarorikaro	Parekaroro	Te Utamate

(iii).

Te Kaiamo = Perahia

Ngawharau	Ngakohere	Te Keeti	Harata	Raroa

(iv).

Te Kaiamo

Ngawharau = Wairua

Matire	Amokura	Titihuia	Rahiri	Pihaka	Perahia	Hurae	Te Oti	Paraiki

(v).

Kaiamo = Parehaehae

Te Keeti = Ngaki (see 5c)

Tamahapai	Ratuhi	Rihi	Mereana	Haki	Harata	Pera	Fanny	Matire	Herewini Tautu

(vi).

Paraiki = Parekaroro = Hurae (see 5e)

Rangi	Hoana	Ani	Herena

(vii)

Whero Kaiamo
Matire Te Keeti
Charles Ratuhi
Gerald = Hera

APPENDIX 9 **Kahutapu whakapapa**

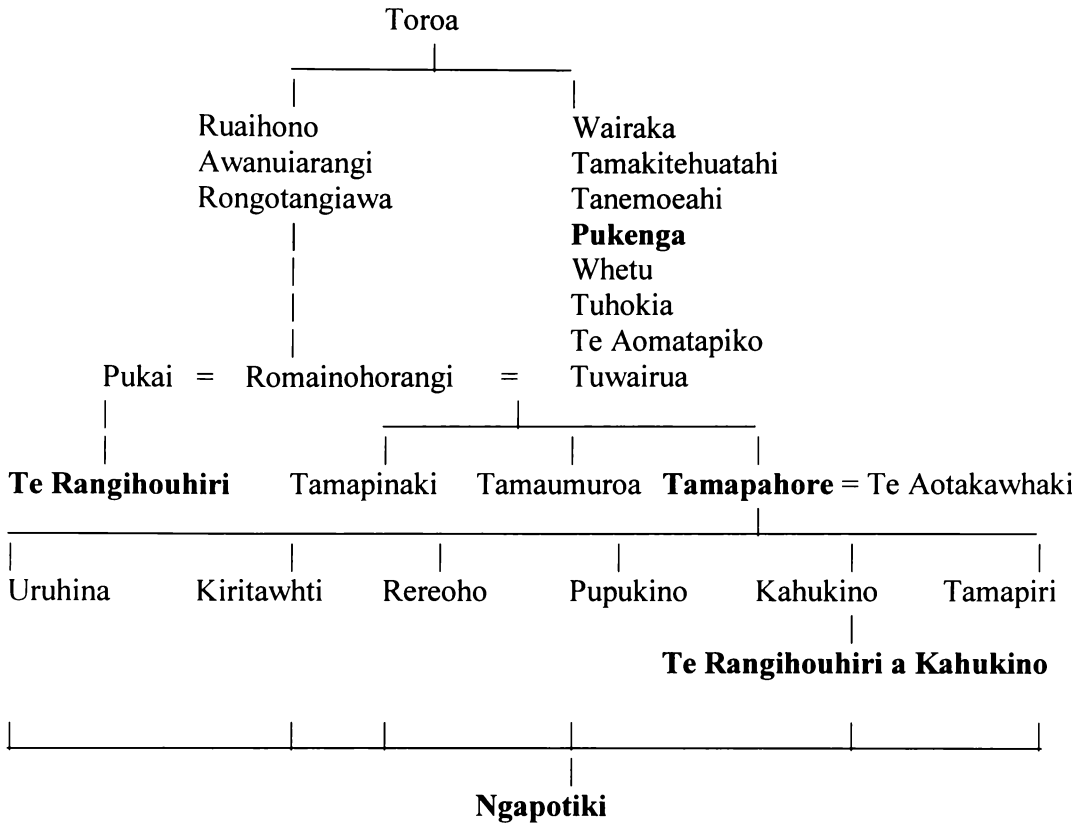
(i). Steedman 1984

Tainui waka				**Takitimu waka**
Kakati				
Tuhinga				Ranginui
Poutama				Tutereinga
Mango				Rangiwhakakaha
Kaihamu				Taka
Urutira			Wehi =	Korotehapu
Tupahau				Kuramataki
Karewarewa				Mahangawhiti
Potete				Atutahi
Tuwhakahautaua				Ranapia
Konewa	=			Huapiri
	|			
	Tikiorereata			
	Te Koruoterangi			
	Kahutapu			
	|			

Wehenui	Te Wai	Rangihiarere	Whenui	Waitutu	Tokihi
Monotahuna	Haua	Tahuriripo			
Matatu	Perahia	Kumeroa			
|	*Ngati Kahu*	Wairua =	Hatana Ngawharau		
|					
Ngaitamarawaho kin					

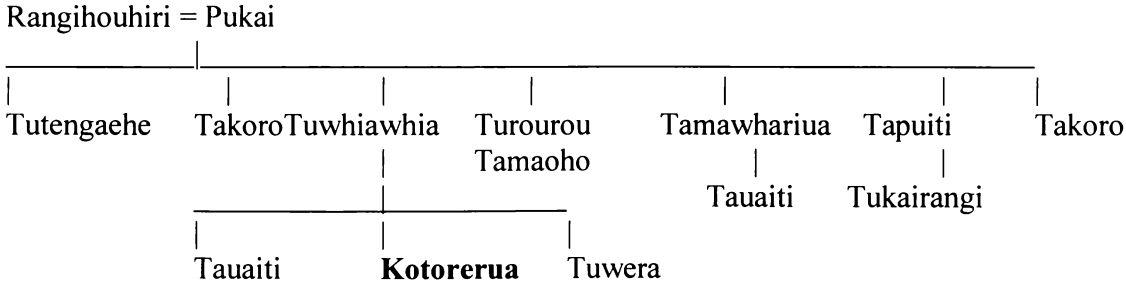
APPENDIX 10 Ngaiterangi Whakapapa

(i). Mataatua Waka



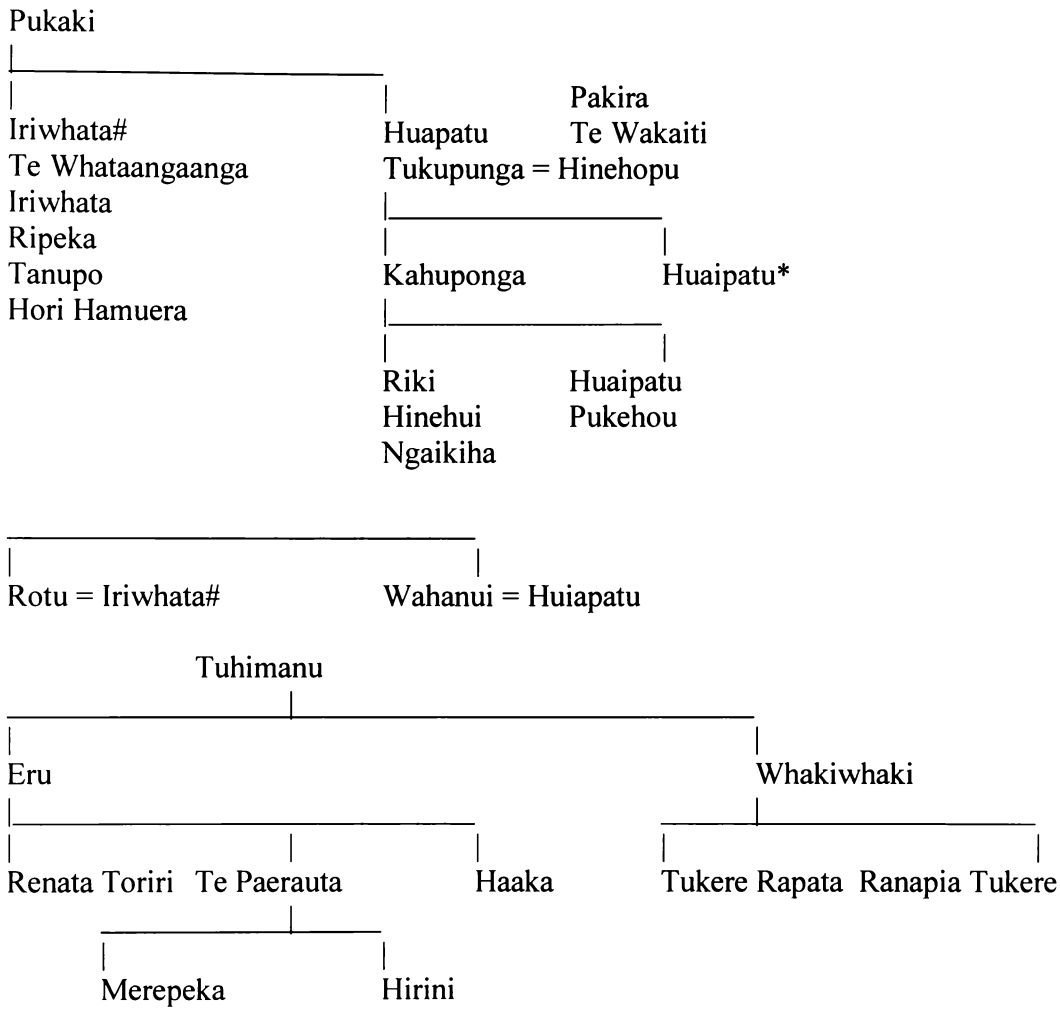
Steedman 1996

(ii). Ngaiterangi



APPENDIX 11 Ngati Pango whakapapa

(i). The following is whakapapa was submitted to the Appellate Court (Bacs A622 T589(2) Poripori):



(ii). Land Court Minute Books:

Taherewe (TMB 5 1904)

Tupae — Totara

Te Pare — Maihi Haki

Arama Karaka (Te Poria)

Maihi te Poria — Aorangi — Te Kahu

Kahupango (TMB 5 1904)

Huia petu — Meu

Pukehou Rangikau

Maihi — Aorangi — Kahu (Te Kahuwairangi)

(iii). Raupatu Document Bank (pp. 19511-19515)

Pareturanga — Whaithoro

Iriwhata — Reremoana

Ripeka = Heremaia — Pukehou

Tuhirangi = Hamuera Te Poka — Maihi

Maihi = Kararaina

Te Whana, Henare, Waimatao, Te Haku, Te Pare, Te Ata, Pahu, Piri, Hautapu

Aorangi = Rangiherea

Rawinia, Tohu, Kiri, Hori, Taku, Rangikau, Ngaronoa, Te Ngaru, Wi

APPENDIX 12 Ngawharau Manuscript-Hapu Lists

Te Wairoa Tauranga Oketopa 1883
Ko nga ingoa tenei o Ngati Rangi o Ngati Kahu mo to raua whenua i te pura Wairoa Tauranga
Ngati Kahu 50acres [Parish of Te Papa 8]

This is the names of Ngati Rangi and Ngati Kahu for their land at Te Pura Wairoa, Tauranga.

Ngatiti Kotuku
Raumati
NgamanuNgakuru
Parera
Te Apaapa Ngamanu
Mita Rapata
Wahawaha Ihiata
Whina Rapata
Hamiora Ngakuru
Ngati tuaia
Nga hoori Mihinui
Mereana Rangihaere
Ngarama Rapata
Mere Rahiri
Te Tie Ngakuru
Tarukiteawa Tuaia
Hamuere Wiremu

Pene Apaapa
Penetaka tuaia
Wharepapa tihe
Terei te hora
Te Teira Taumataherea
Te Raroa Herewini
Taukotahi Heteria
Te Keeti Herewini
Hipirini Apaapa
Rahiri Ngawharau
Whaiapu Wiremu
Hera Ngawharau
Tiori Wahawaha
Taiapo
Te Aomanuka Mihinui
Hohepa Ngarama
Riripeti Ngarama
Te Taupe Ngarama
Puti Ngarama

Ngakoere Te Teira
Haua Herewini
Harata herewini
Rauriki Ngawharau
Te Waikawa te Wharepapa
Tutamia Ngawharau
Paraiki Ngawharau
Hera Wharepapa
Te Ripoi Te Teira
Tuangahuru Ngawharau
Whaewhae Wharepapa
Te Keehi Ngawharau
Pihopa Whaiapu
Tetere Wharepapa
Tuaia te Wharepapa
Mangu Apaapa
Kui Wharepapa
Riripeti Whaiapu (wahine iti)
Ngawharau Herewini

I runga ano i kupu kia homai he whenua me te tangata e noho kore whenua ana i raro i te raupatu
Aperina 14 1900

Rarangi ingoa o nga hapu e rua
Ngati Tamahapai
Ngati Rangi
taua tono whenua ki te kawana

In these words land to be given to people who have no land because of confiscation.
April 14 1900
List of names of the two hapu, Ngati Tamahapai [Ngati Kahu], Ngati Rangi submission to the government.

Te Hou Ripoi
Ngaronoa Tokona
Keepa Rakauhemo
Haki Te Keeti
Tama Te Keeti
Te Hari Tangi
Ngawarone Mihinui
Wahineiti Whaiapu
Perahia Te Hemo
Mere Rahiri
Tiaki Wharepapa
Ngakuru Parera
Rakauhemo Toka
Keeti Herewini
Tawi Ngawharau
Kapene Rahiri

Ngahiraka Tokona
Puku Kione
Kaati Rakauhemo
Ratuhi Te Keeti
Riripeti Ngarama
Te Whakaata Tangi
Haua Herewini
Wenerei Whaiapu
Ripoi Te Teira
Taupe Tokona
Rawhiti Wharepapa
Matetu Rapata
Taukotahi
Raroa Herewini
Paraiki Ngawharau
Rahiri Ngawharau

Hipirini Apaapa
Harata Keeti
Te Rewa Whaiapu
Ngaki Te Keeti
Ngarama Tokona
Te Urukaraka Tangi
Amokura Herewini
Wairua Ngawharau
Ruira Te Teira
Peene Apaapa
Tio Tokona
Tangi Rapata
Te Teira Taumataherea
Tama Ngawharau
Wini Rahiri

APPENDIX 13 Poripori Lists of Owners

(i). Poripori No 1 – 3000 acres

Enoka Te Whanake
Te Teipa
Rewiti Ngatai
Te Ruatahapari
Hamuera Te Paki
Hone Tanuku
Potaua
Te Heke Hoturoa*
Maihi Te Ngaru*
Koperu Hamuera*
Taukotahi Te Manu*
Poia
Heni Tamati
Hiria Enoka
Mutu Te Taau
Te Wharepouri
Ngapaki Pouaka*
Meri Maihi Haki
Te Matekitawhiti Heke*

Hori Ngatai
Renata Toriri
Hori Hamuera
Renata Tarera
Tuari
Rangihau
Keni
Maihi Te Poria*
Rapata Tukere
Te Kiriwai Ngaaikiha
Ngahoro Ngatai
Taruke
Tanupo Hamuera*
Riria Toru
Kararaina
Pukehou Rangikau
Hineau Te Poria*
Te Rehunga Te Ngaru*
Te Mamae Hoturoa*

Heta Tarera
Matiu Tarera
Wetini Taiaho
Herewini
Hohepa Tutaepaea
Hikipene
Peta Te Kaha
Te Parawhau
Ranapia Tukere
Huhana
Hiria Hori
Mere Peka
Maata Haaka
Ngaaikiha Hinehui*
Te Kahuwairangi Te Poria*
Te Karamate Maihi*
Te Aorangi Te Poria*

Te Kahamatao
Rere Kaipuke
Enoka Ngatai
Te Aria
Whakamuhu
Hirini Enoka
Ngarepo*
Te Kohe
Tupara
Maihi Haki
Ngahuia
Ani Patene
Te Hirhiri Hikipene*
Kaa Te Aria
Te Aohau

* Ngati Pango

(ii). Poripori No 2 – 2700 acres

Haete Tauri
Hineau Poria
Maihi Haki
Parenagro Te Heke

Hamuera Paki
Hoturoa
Mere Maihi Haki
Raepo Paama

Hemi Erueti
Keni Haaka
Parawhau Te Kohe
Rauhuhu Renata

Renata	Tomo Aria	Te Kahamateo
Te Aria	Toru Rii	Tuari Te Awa
Tumanako Te Parawhau	Waihuia	Whana Tauhe
records incomplete		

APPENDIX 14 Poripori Partitions

(i) The following is the sequence of partitions that were made of the Poripori blocks:

Poripori No.1	14 November 1883	2915 acres	
Poripori No. 1a	14 November 1883	84 acres	Matiu Tarera Haaka
Poripori 1C	13 February 1904		Ngati Kuku
Poripori No.1C No.1	4 May 1910		Crown
Poripori No.1C No.2	4 May 1910	1123 acres	Ngati Kuku
Poripori No.1C No.3	4 May 1910	1409 acres	Ngati Pango
Poripori No.1C No.3B	3 May 1917	945 acres	Ngati Pango
Poripori No.1C No.3A	4 May 1917	463 acres	Ngati Kuku
Poripori No.2A	13 February 1904		Ngati Pango
Poripori No.2A No.1	4 May 1910	585 acres	Ngati Kuku
Poripori No.2A No.2	4 May 1910		Ngati Pango
Poripori No.2A No.2A	3 May 1917	681acres	Ngati Kuku
Poripori No.2A No.2B	3 May 1917	1107 acres	Ngati Pango

(ii). Lists of Owners - Poripori 1C3B - Ngati Pango

Partition 1917 Area 945acres

Te Aorangi Te Poria	Hineau Te Poria	Hori Te Poka
Atarangi Maihi	Te Heke Hoturoa	Te Hirini Hikipene
Te Aoreki Hori	Te Hakunga Maihi	Hautapu Maihi
Eruera Maihi	Koperu Hamuera	Koperu Paki
Te Kiriwai Ngakiha	Kahuwairangi Te Poria	Maihi Te Poria
Te Matekitawhiti Heke	Ngarepo Wiremu Karaka	Ngaikiha Hinehui
Pareatamira Pouaka	Te Poria Maihi	Te Parewaero Maihi
Te Rehunga te Ngaru	Rangipahu Maihi	Taukotahi Te Manu
Tanupo Hanuera	Taikato Te Patu	Taraiti Te Rangihau
Te Whana Maihi		

APPENDIX 15 Mangatotara Block

(i). Mangatotara No.1A – 250 acres

Erueti Pita
Harearawhena
Herangahuia
Maria Heeni
Mere Te Haehae
Motupuka Ihapera
Ngarua Te Morehu
Paetutu Te Kawehi
Pani Te Aopare Ngahuia
Patoa Haimona
Pepi Topehua
Raweamaihi
Tameraumati Te Morehu
Te Araroa Te Peina
Te Morehu Himiona
Te Pohoi Tahatika
Te Ratu Irihapeti
Te Rohe Metera
Te Tarewa Pita
Te Winka Te Rikihana
Tukaimaoa Taharangi
Whakaraka Te Rikihana.
Haareheni
Hariata Ngahuia
Kirimara
Maria Henare
Morore Aihipepene
Nganuhanga Paikea
Ngatupara Kapuinga
Pango Te Kerekau
Papa Haimona
Pepi Te Kerekau
Pikiparaena
Rehatekahukoti
Tawhiao Wikiriwhi
Te Mamaeroa Ngamako
Te Pewa Waraki
Te Rattma Wahawaha
Te Rere Ihakara
Te Roretana Kereti
Te Tauawhi Ngatiti
Trnpa Te Morehu
Wahawaha Te Rikihana

(ii). Mangatotara No. 2 (Ngati Pango – in bold) – 2830 acres

Hiria Enoka
Hori Ngatai
Maihi Te Poria
Pukehou
Reweti Ngatai
Te Aria
Tuari
Hirihiri
Maihi Tengaru
Parawhau
Renata toriri
Tanupo Hamuera
Te Heke

(iii). Mangatotara No.3 Ngati Tira – 1000 acres

Henare Tawharangi
Penetana Te Kauri
Tupaoa Pehitahi
Hera Ngawharau
Te Awanui Kiritapu
Whaiapu Wiremu