HAERE WHAKAMUA, HOKI WHAKAMURI
GOING FORWARD, THINKING BACK

Tribal and Hapū Perspectives of the Past in 19th Century Taranaki

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ABSTRACT

This thesis advances a range of historical processes and frameworks through which tribes and hapū constructed their knowledge of the past. The thesis, in so doing, constructs an intellectual landscape upon which tribes and hapū assembled and managed that knowledge of the past. It focuses specifically on the nature of tribal and hapū history in Taranaki, though aspects of this study may apply to tribes and hapū in other parts of New Zealand. The thesis suggests ways in which tribes and hapū in Taranaki organised that knowledge of the past, and the reasons why.

The thesis first suggests a distinction between tribal narratives and tribal histories. Tribal narratives provided accounts of the past in largely unmediated form. From these, tribes constructed tribal histories assembled for specific purposes. Such constructions were achieved through certain customary frameworks and processes. Whakapapa and mana are advanced as the two central factors influencing the shape and focus of these histories, whakapapa as primary organising device with mana serving as primary organising principle. This is illustrated by an examination of how various tribes of Taranaki constructed such mana histories comprising whakapapa selections of celestial descent (mana wairua), mortal forebears (mana tūpuna) and occupation of the land (mana whenua). Such histories were important because they validated tribes in the past and present. The thesis examines select tribes in Taranaki establishing their mana whenua presence on the land over time. Major landmarks of Te Atiawa whānui in the north especially illustrate how the sense of mana whenua was constructed over and attached to an ancestral landscape. After 1841, changes in the perceptions of landscape are noted following large-

scale immigration. Some implications arising from such changed perceptions as they influenced new law and public policy are detailed. Thereafter, the study focuses on how the tribes sought to maintain and assert their mana whenua in the new environment based on the authority of their tribal histories as source of tribal mana. These validated continuing independence of activity commensurate with longstanding tribal precedence and practices, a source of authority that underpinned tribal activity from 1841 to at least 1900 (when this study concludes). Such frameworks of past knowledge continued to override new imperatives introduced into the Māori intellectual domain after 1841. The Māori past has normally been examined in a race-relations context. This thesis proposes an alternative theoretical basis for the examination of tribal and hapū history in the last century. An afterword considers the wider implications of this study for Māori and New Zealand historiography.

CONTENTS

MAPS AND APPENDICES

PREFACE

This thesis examines certain historical processes and frameworks through which tribes and hapū over time assembled their histories and traditions. It focuses specifically on the nature of tribal and hapū history in Taranaki, though aspects of this study may apply to tribes and hapū in other parts of New Zealand. The thesis suggests ways in which tribes and hapū in Taranaki organised their knowledge of the past, and the reasons why. It examines Māori perspectives on the past in Taranaki and explores ways in which these perspectives provided authority for continuing collective activity.

The idea for this study primarily arose out of my earlier New Zealand history University studies. These studies always seemed to consider a certain representation of a Māori past, limited by a conventional race-relations framework. Such depictions of Māori people always seemed to fall well short of how Māori people appeared to see themselves. This became evident to me over time, largely on the strength of my early years spent in Pungarehu, a predominantly Māori town in coastal Taranaki. There, though relatively young, I took part in or observed numerous local customary tribal occasions; and this has continued into the present.

These were occasions where the past was remembered, invoked and even constructed as integral to the present. This was a normal enough process of recall and representation, ingrained into and forming an important part of what might be called a traditional and longstanding Māori interpretive framework.

Opportunities to talk at length with many kaumātua came later, especially while working and travelling with the Department of Māori Affairs in

Wellington and, more recently, Taranaki. In all this, constructions of the past seemed important. They were often sought, and argued over, as precedence for various Departmental policies. This provided for an interesting dimension to Department liaison work with Māori communities, always cause for debate and reflection in the company of many committed people giving effect to a certain Departmental ethos of allowing the people to do the talking.

This Doctoral research presented an opportunity to reflect on the nature of that Māori process of historical recall and representation, especially as it functioned a century ago; to reflect also on the extent which Māori thinking of the present might inform Māori thinking of the past. This thesis proposes an interpretation that suggests how, and on what basis, and for what purposes the tribes and hapū in Taranaki utilised such a process, especially last century.

In recent years, the Waitangi Tribunal process in Taranaki has brought to light many of the histories of the tribes and hapū in Taranaki, there and elsewhere generating an enormous body of research material for iwi and academic research. Tribunal hearings were always major occasions, and important histories were heard. Most accountings of the past however were of recent origin, essentially addressing the land grievances of the last century, a matter of considerable importance to the tribes of Taranaki.

What substantially emerged from the hearings, out of necessity given its purpose, was an accounting of the nineteenth century focused on the complex land grievances. Material and historical evidence gathered by claimants served this important accounting. In presenting a paper to the Tribunal in early 1991 on behalf of my hapū, Ngāti Te Whiti, I was given an opportunity, albeit a limited one, to canvass some alternative approaches to the researching and construction of our hapū and tribal histories. The material generated by the Tribunal process was interesting if utilised differently.

This research has presented an opportunity to examine some of these issues further. Tribunal material and evidence has here been used for largely different purposes to that which informed claimant presentations. My purpose has been to

examine processes of history, of how constructions of the past provided validation for the present.

Much of the evidence that informs this thesis is oral, obtained from interviews with a number of Taranaki elders. The value of this evidence lies primarily in its reconceptualising nature, not historical content. How elders saw the processes of constructing a past was often of more interest to me than the narrative material itself. However, some of this material was obtained and is presented here because invariably it served as essential focus and conduit for observations about the nature of the Māori past in Taranaki.

The documentary evidence presented here is utilised primarily to support the examination of these processes of history. It comprises evidence which illustrates how Māori people represented themselves and their past last century as validation of their descent, occupation of land and ongoing activity.

Most issues of terminology are generally explained in the text. Unless otherwise indicated, the name "Taranaki" is used to denote the Taranaki whānui tribal district. "Taranaki" is also the name of the mid-coastal tribe of Taranaki, called here "Taranaki iwi" which is their preferred name, although Taranaki tūturu is also used locally. Most other names and phrases are intended as explained. There is a glossary of Māori words at the end of the thesis.

I wish to thank those many people who assisted me in the preparation of this thesis. First, my supervisors Professor Kerry Howe of the Department of History, and Professor Mason Durie of the Department of Māori Studies, Massey University. Also, my thanks to Dr. Hazel Riseborough of the Department of History, and to Mr. Monty Soutar of the Department of Māori Studies. I also appreciated the perceptive and constructive comments made on this thesis by Professor Alan Ward of the Department of History, University of Newcastle, and Chief Judge Eddie Durie, Māori Land Court, Wellington.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis advances a range of Māori historical processes and frameworks through which the tribes and hapū constructed their knowledge of the past. In so doing, the thesis advances a Māori intellectual landscape upon which tribes and hapū assembled and managed that knowledge.

The central focus of this thesis is the nature of tribal and hapū history in Taranaki, with perhaps aspects applying to tribes and hapū in other parts of New Zealand. The thesis examines ways in which, and suggest reasons why, tribes and hapū in Taranaki organised their knowledge of self, especially their knowledge of the past.

This study emerges out of a Māori epistemological framework which incorporates customary and longstanding constructions of Māori history, constructions suggested as predating the earliest beginnings of New Zealand historiography after c.1841 (see Appendices I and II). The purpose of this thesis is to advance an alternative theoretical framework for the representation of the Māori past, which, in mainstream New Zealand historiography, is more usually considered in a culture-contact or race-relations context. Thus, this study does not emerge directly out of the mainstream historiography, and accordingly it does not begin with a traditional historiographic literature review within which the thesis might be located. Instead, this thesis offers an afterword which draws together and examines in broad historiographic context various important points of reference between this study and New Zealand historiography.

The title of the thesis, *Haere whakamua, hoki whakamuri. Going forward, thinking back* refers to the often-expressed facet of Māori knowledge pertaining to the past as informing the present. This particular title phrase was used by

Ngāti Mutunga Kaumātua Mr Lou MacDonald during a discussion with the author on aspects of local tribal history. It is an apt title because it reflects the purpose of the thesis which is to advance particular approaches to the construction of tribal and hapū histories which emphasise the primacy of constructions of the past validating the present.

This thesis emphasises whakapapa as internal source and structure of all Māori knowledge. Whakapapa is advanced as primary organising device of all Māori knowledge, especially knowledge of the past, with mana advanced as the primary organising principle. Mana is defined in this thesis as abiding power and authority conferred by descent, a power that was strongly defended, strenuously sought after and at all times given effect to by Māori kinship groups

The thesis draws a distinction between "conventional whakapapa", seen here as extensive generational gradations of remembered ancestors, and "mana whakapapa", the alternative framework patterned on conventional whakapapa which facilitated the processes of mediating tribal histories of mana out of tribal narratives.

Mana whakapapa is thus advanced as organised along conventional whakapapa lines within certain categories of knowledge. These are initially grouped in this thesis as mana wairua (celestial and spiritual forbears), mana tūpuna (mortal ancestors) and mana whenua (attachment to the land).

This thesis proposes the mana whakapapa framework as central to mana history accountings of the tribal and hapū past. The thesis chapters are accordingly organised in keeping with this mana whakapapa framework. Each category is considered in turn to suggest how, in a Taranaki context, tribal narrative was mediated into tribal history.

The category "mana wairua" is used to denote the power and authority conferred by Māori ancestry of celestial and spiritual (wairua) origin. Such ancestry featured prominently in whakapapa, and represented a belief in deities

informing the present as well as the past. The category of "mana tūpuna" is used to denote the power of mortal ancestry (tūpuna). These were forbears who made up the largest proportion of whakapapa and who featured most directly in accountings of the Māori past. Mana tūpuna ancestors could often be located on the land through descent histories of conflict or achievement, traditions of marriage or alliance, or remembered stories and names remaining across the landscape.

Special attention is later paid to the category of "mana whenua" in Taranaki, especially in the nineteenth century, as tribes and hapū maintained and asserted that sense of attachment to land as it directly contributed to their validating of descent and identity. Mana whenua was a broad term which defied easy definition. It was normally used to denote a kinship group's claim to the power associated with possession of the land (whenua). If the land was lost, the group's claim was associated with the believed power and right to return and reoccupy. This power was conferred by the authority of celestial ancestry, mediated through appropriate self-represented whakapapa linkages. Mana whenua represented many things to tangata whenua kinship groups; the power associated with the land's capacity to produce, the procreative power of a residing group, an association between mana and afterbirth, inherited rights, and conservation. In the context of this thesis, which emphasises Māori self-representation in history, mana whenua can be seen to mean tribal and hapū assertions to believed ancestral lands as validated by their constructed mana histories and traditions.

Each of these categories comprises a part of the mana whakapapa framework, patterned on conventional whakapapa through which tribal narrative was organised into tribal and hapū mana histories.

Mana was also derived from the creation and protection of sacred sites, or wahi tapu, within the landscape. Wahi tapu could take any forms, as is evident from Māori testimony in support of claimed lands. Tribes and hapū consistently labelled as wahi tapu any number of different sites on the land retained as

sacred for specific historic purposes - burial of the dead, former cultivations, village sites or places of conflict.

The thesis, then is arranged along lines identical to conventional whakapapa, with the alternative theoretical framework of mana whakapapa providing the infrastructure of this study. The study concludes with an extended consideration of mana whenua in Taranaki, pre-contact and in the nineteenth century. Thereafter, further mana whakapapa categories might be advanced. These would incorporate the ongoing processes of knowledge mediation, governed by mana. They would extend into such areas as mana tikanga (tribal protocols) or mana he tangata o whakārotia (the people thinking)(see Appendices I and II).

Such processes which incorporated elements of whakapapa selection naturally enough impacted on self-perceptions of kinship identity and unity. Such perceptions were in Taranaki once, especially prior to 1930, many and varied, as is later discussed. They were ever-changing as the circumstances within which kinship unities sought context and relevance also changed.

This thesis does not seek physically to reconstruct such kinship changes as they occurred over time across the Taranaki landscape. Rather, this study is more concerned with considering intellectual processes which contributed to such changes.

Nineteenth century Māori kinship definition and terminology is always a speculative and problematic area. For the purposes of this thesis, reference is made to oral and written testimony of Taranaki Māori people who invariably had particular kinship groups in mind when articulating self-representation and difference. Where specific reference was not made, however, contemporary Kaumātua seem able positively to locate the kinship groups concerned within certain tribal landscapes, as Roy Komene has done in the case of Ngā Mahanga, within the Oakura Compensation Court Block.

To some extent, much of the thinking about, and definition of, kinship units is modern, a recent thinking back to particular units and names located within well-known kinship landscapes. Names and descriptives are accordingly applied. This represents a process of self-representation consistent with the mana history approaches of construction advanced by this study. The point is well made by Judge Eddie Durie, Chief Judge of the Māori Land Court, that in earlier times, the description of such diversity of kinship organisation was unnecessary. Few Māori words existed to encapsulate that diversity. All Māori knew of respective kinship units, and of their place within a unified tribal landscape, without recourse to a series of graduated "ethnographic" descriptives.[1]

As a result, in some respects, this thesis is attempting to describe, from a 1990's vantage point, such processes and frameworks of self-representation as were once in earlier times naturally conceptualised and well understood by Māori people, and barely in need of such description.

The word "tribe" is used in this thesis because it seemed a common and useful (if English) descriptive used by Kaumātua when referring to different and distinct identities. "Tribe" was often used by Taranaki speakers interchangeably with "iwi". However, it was as often used to distinguish the broader kinship group from the people at large. A recent self-description of Ngā Ruahine bears this out;

> The name Ngā Ruāhine is not that of an eponymous ancestor. Rather, according to the kuia and kaumātua, it had spiritual origins in that it came from heaven and (was) the name given to the people. It is said that certain kuia of the people were gifted with powers which allowed them to participate in sacred practices such as the lifting of tapu ceremonies which were otherwise forbidden .... These kuia had a duty to the tribe and the

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[1] Eddie Durie, personal communication, May 1994.

tohunga and were held in the highest esteem by the iwi - they were called *ngā ruāhine.*"[2]

The concept of "tribe" is not used here in any abstract or speculative sense; nor are the references to other kinship unities. Specifically, the term "tribe" in this thesis denotes one of the present eight tribes of Taranaki, or earlier variations, as identified by them as existing at any time. Such self-identity was revealed in recent testimony of Ngā Rauru, a claim to longstanding and pre-European existence as tribal unity;

> Ngaa Rauru was a vibrant political force in this area long before the Aotea arrived, and our waiata, our oral traditions, the names of many of our hapu and our whakapapa reinforce our claim to true tangata whenua status.[3]

Similar sentiments have also been expressed by Ngāti Ruanui, the Taranaki whanui tribe to the north of Ngā Rauru, across the Whenuakura River;

> Originally, Ngati Ruanui had many Hapu - namely Tangahoe, Ngati Hine, Nga Ruahine, Ngati Tipara, Ngati Tanewai, Ngati Tupaea, Ngati Manuhiaki, Ngati Tu and Pakakohi, Hamua, Hapotiki ... and Araukuku. When they began to grow in number they gradually dispersed ... Turanga-I-Mua's descendants moved south of Patea .... Tutawa's issue went to Whenuakura and Waitotara as well; Taneroa and all her descendants moved west of Patea.[4]

The term "tribe" is therefore used on that basis, with specific kinship entities in mind which so thought of themselves.

Similarly, "hapū" and "whānau" are used to denote appropriate kinship entities as self-represented at any time in Taranaki. As with "tribe", such terms, once straightforward but now problematic, are not used here in any abstract or

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[2] Marekura Horsfall, Submission by Ngā Ruahine, Waitangi Tribunal, Oeo Marae, Oeo, 15 October 1991; Wai 143, F.4, p.160.

[3] Vanessa Sturmey, Submission of Ngā Rauru, Waitangi Tribunal, Te Ihupuku Marae, Waitotara, 14 October 1991; Wai 143, F.1, p.7.

[4] Maimo Maruera, Submission of Ngāti Ruanui, Waitangi Tribunal, Union Street, Hawera, 14 October 1991; Wai 143, F.2, p.150.

speculative sense. Anthropologists Eric Schwimmer and Joan Metge have written of likely mutations and variations of such kinship units, as has historian Ann Parsonson. Schwimmer has speculated that the hapū may be seen as "not just a segment of a larger "tribe" but rather a sub-set of iwi members ... whose genealogies have been reconstructed."[5] Parsonson has represented the hapū as the

> social and economic unit of Maori society ... both large enough to gather all the resources available to it, and small enough - while retaining its mobility - to place no substantial strain on those resources .... The standing of a hapu in relation to the rest of the tribe was established by its place in a loose competitive hierarchy.[6]

Metge considered the whānau to be operating below the social level of the hapū. It was more expansive in its kinship composition, reaching across hapū boundaries and including intermarrieds.[7]

Specifically, the terms "hapu" and "whānau" in this thesis denote existing kinship variations and realities as self-represented at any time. The relationship between tribe and hapū is represented in this study as fundamentally reciprocal, consistent with understandings at any time as to how one group related to another.

Later testimony illustrated the interchangeable (and perhaps unproblematic) nature of "tribe", "iwi" and "hapū" where specific reference was being made by tribes to their various specific kinship entities, and to the complex relationships that once existed between them;

> Ngā Ruāhine felt they had the strength to defend their land and therefore did not take part in the hekes of the iwi from Taranaki to the south to avoid the musket armed northern tribes .... Ngā Ruāhine is mentioned in many

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[5] Eric Schwimmer, "The Maori hapū: a generative model", *JPS*, 99:3(1990), p.297.

[6] Ann Parsonson, "The expansion of a competitive society", *NZJH*, 14:1(1980), p.45.

[7] Joan Metge, "Te rito o te harakeke: conceptions of the whanau", *JPS*, 99:1(1990), p.55.

documents, books and articles as being a hapū of Ngāti Ruanui. It is true that while both iwi claim descent from the Aotea canoe, Ngā Ruāhine have always claimed their autonomy since time immemorial.[8]

Tribes are therefore depicted in this thesis as particular, self-represented kinship unities in Taranaki. They maintained special relationships with their perceived hapū who, in turn, related to each other through self-representation, mediated through reciprocal relationships, one group with another. This may well be a particular Taranaki assertion, founded on the particular nature of Taranaki tribal and hapū configurations, as recently represented by the tribes themselves.

This thesis then does not attempt an historical or ethnographical reconstruction of specific kinship groups evolving across the Taranaki landscape. Instead, as a study of Māori intellectual processes, it suggests reasons why such evolving processes occurred, and the basis of subsequent kinship self-representation.

Taranaki kinship units are therefore described and named as they were and are represented by themselves. The discreet, self-represented tribe and reciprocal self-represented hapū is the preferred model for Taranaki. It is similar to Kawharu's view of the "breakaway unit" retaining links with the primary tribal unit,[9] examined in more detail later. Such continuing links were important, certainly so in times of economic stress and warfare.

Historian Angela Ballara has proposed a different model for Ngāti Kahungunu. She argues that tribal identification arose over the later nineteenth century as disparate and component hapū groups consolidated, and an iwi consciousness developed with whakapapa used dynamically to serve that end.[10]

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[8] Horsfall, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, F.4, p.161.

[9] I.H.Kawharu, *Maori land tenure. Studies of a changing institution* (Oxford, 1977).

[10] Heather Angela Ballara, "The origins of Ngāti Kahungunu", Ph.D thesis in History (Victoria University, 1991).

Ballara has conducted extensive research from primarily Ngāti Kahungunu testimony before the Native Land Court last century. Her study might be distinguished from this thesis in two ways. Firstly, Ballara's study was undertaken primarily for reconstructive purposes, a meticulous piecing together and describing of evolving kinship groups. She argues that

> the descent group, Ngati Kahungunu originated in Turanganui-a-Kiwa (Poverty Bay) some seventeen generations before 1865. Splinter groups migrated to Wairoa, Te Mahia and Heretaunga (central Hawkes Bay) three to four generations later .... Ngāti Kahungunu fitted themselves into an existing fragmented society, which, both before and during the contact period, managed social relations and exploitation of the environment through a system of independent social groups.

According to Ballara, a Ngāti Kahungunu iwi consciousness evolved out of hapū clusters which moved and settled across a particular landscape, a tribal ascendancy that resulted from "a combination of centripetal forces, some of which arose out of contact with Europeans."[11]

Anthropologist Athol Anderson has reached similar conclusions in his reconstructive studies of Ngai Tahu migrations south from the Takitimu area. He has suggested that "a piecemeal migration at clan and family level (occurred) during which each new group set about consolidating its position by pursuing, in about equal measure, feuding and intermarriage."[12] New and older communities intermingled, and identities were transformed. Ngai Tahu elder and historian Tipene O'Regan has supported this view of Ngai Tahu descent as tribal unity. According to O'Regan, Ngai Tahu claimed "traditional manawhenua over the vast majority of Te Waipounamu" by courtesy of "three main streams of descent

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[11] Ballara, "Origins of Ngāti Kahungunu", p.ii.

[12] Athol Anderson, *When all the moa-ovens grew cold* (Dunedin, 1983), p.46.

which flow together in (our) histories ... these streams are Waitaha, Mamoe and Tahu."[13]

In contrast, this thesis does not seek to reconstruct such a detailed tribal-hapū mosaic in Taranaki from such descriptive sources. What this thesis does do however is advance certain historical frameworks by which such kinship groups dynamically constructed whakapapa and other sources of validation in pursuit of self-representation; and perhaps why a Ngāti Kahungunu iwi consciousness evolved.

For Taranaki, it is argued, the process of kinship change differed to that of Ngāti Kahungunu as described by Ballara. In Taranaki, the tribes assert a presence on the Taranaki landscape long pre-dating European settlement. The tribes do not allow for an "iwi consciousness" to evolve out of increasing numbers of hapū moving into and occupying the landscape; rather, the tribes see themselves as long-established, and especially long integrated into the Taranaki landscape in more than a metaphorical sense.

This thesis also advances processes by which hapū and tribes resolved issues of whakapapa selection and validation. The utility and dynamic nature of whakapapa has been discussed by some scholars in recent years. One recent example is anthropologist Anne Salmond who has written of whakapapa as comprising "basic ideas of ancestry which can be traced to ... early Maori cosmological accountings."[14] In Salmond's view, whakapapa is rendered dynamic to Māori by such considerations as male-female complementarity, senior-junior domination and the expression of mana as competitive success. Salmond suggests that such themes provided an essential dynamic to the utility of whakapapa.

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[13] Tipene O'Regan, "Ngai Tahu: ko wai te iwi?", conference paper, New Zealand Historical Association, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, 11 May 1991.

[14] Anne Salmond, "Tipuna - Ancestors: aspects of Maori cognative descent", in *Man and a half. Essays in Pacific Anthroplogy and Ethnobiology in honour of Ralph Bulmer* (ed) Andrew Pawley (Auckland, 1991), p.344.

Salmond here refers to whakapapa perceived in a conventional sense only, as generational gradation of remembered tūpuna. She does not attempt to relate her observations of whakapapa selection to any inherent infrastructure or controlling principles of organisation within Māori cosmology, from which such considerations might ultimately derive meaning and purpose, as this thesis does.

Historian Judith Binney highlights the role of mana in providing for selection in the construction of tribal histories. She also draws a clear dichotomy between oral traditions and documentary histories, and ascribes mana as providing for selection in oral accounts only. As with Salmond, however, Binney regards whakapapa narrowly, as conventional whakapapa only. She does not observe its capacity to organise and control the content and incidence of selection.

Such examinations by scholars like Salmond and Binney are acknowledged as important. However, as this study argues, such observations are in the end subordinate to the fact of a controlling mana whakapapa framework within which mana operates as controlling organising principle.

This thesis advances a different approach to whakapapa. It proposes whakapapa as infrastructure of all Māori knowledge, especially knowledge of the past. It takes conventional whakapapa and extends it to a historical framework, patterning Māori thought into mana whakapapa through the mana history process with mana dominant as organising theme.

This thesis draws a distinction between "tribal narratives" and "tribal histories". The former, it is suggested, largely constitute a seamless body of knowledge retained in the tribal memory. The latter are specifically constructed over time.

The thesis examines aspects of ancient Taranaki Māori knowledge gathered into select tribal and hapū narratives, including "conventional whakapapa", over time. Such narratives, it is suggested, were fundamentally different from the more customary tribal histories and traditions. Whereas narratives were vast and

generally unmediated, histories and traditions were constructed and cited by tribes and hapū for functional purposes.

This study argues that tribal histories and traditions were mediated over time out of such extended, seamless tribal narratives. This was achieved for the purposes of the total and integrated enhancement of tribal mana. This purpose extended into all areas of tribal being and existence. It was achieved primarily through tribes applying certain historical frameworks and processes of their own construction to the tribal narratives. The resulting histories provided, among other things, historical context and meaning.

The thesis examines these earlier suggested historical frameworks and processes in a Taranaki context. The historical framework used by the tribes was organised consistent with the longstanding and ongoing place of whakapapa as intellectual infrastructure for all Māori thought, knowledge organisation and activity. The framework was specifically arranged on the sequences of conventional whakapapa, implicit or explicit. This historical framework generally replicated that of conventional framework as a "mana whakapapa framework", comprising the sequences of "mana wairua", "mana tūpuna" and "mana whenua", as earlier suggested.

The historical means utilised by the tribes, it is advanced, was arranged around the concept of mediation and the principle of mana, a process which comprised a "mana history process". This was a process utilised for the purposes of enhancing tribal and hapū mana. The mediation of all knowledge for the purposes of enhancing tribal mana ultimately impacted on all areas of tribal knowledge. This thesis, then, argues that tribal narratives were constantly being organised and mediated through such sequences as mana wairua, mana tūpuna and mana whenua, shaped on conventional whakapapa, comprising a mana whakapapa historical framework that was as equally sequential and systematic as was conventional whakapapa.

These tribal historical frameworks and processes were ongoing. The thesis suggests that the histories of the tribes of Taranaki were constructed over time,

achieved in accordance with customary preferences and tribal precedence, having incorporated perceptions of current circumstances and customary knowledge. Not the least of these was a continuing representation of self through the mana whakapapa sequences of mana wairua, mana tūpuna and mana whenua, with mana enhanced. Also, the thesis will submit that such processes were important because tribes sought validation from such histories in two primary ways; to provide validation of their past, and to provide validation of their ongoing identity and activity.

This thesis centralises the tribes of Taranaki as the basis of its enquiry. It describes and suggests select occasions over time of tribal maintenance and assertion of self based on the suggested mana whakapapa sequences; specifically, tribal and hapū histories of descent onto, and the holding of, an ancient landscape.

This was especially so after 1841 when mana history approaches were used by the tribes as they continued to maintain and assert their mana whenua hold on their landscapes.

This thesis, then, advances an interpretation of tribal and hapū history; that the mana history process and mana whakapapa framework are important if not central to the accounting of tribal and hapū constructions of history and activity over time.

Finally, the mana whakapapa framework is itself utilised by the thesis as organising structure, as earlier described.

It is first used to suggest and describe select Taranaki tribal constructions of mana history founded on the suggested categories of mana wairua and mana tūpuna. Thereafter, the thesis focuses on varying mana whenua accountings of Taranaki tribal histories, suggesting a tribal and hapū continuing maintenance and assertion of their intricately connected mana wairua, mana tūpuna and especially after 1841, their mana whenua.

Chapter one is intended to serve as a "theoretical orientation" chapter. It discusses the suggested distinction between tribal narratives and tribal histories by focusing on the tribes of Taranaki and selections of their use over time of their ancient knowledge.

The tribal narratives provided accounts of their past in largely unmediated form. From these, the tribes drew aspects into histories constructed specifically to contextualise those narratives deemed important. As earlier suggested, this was achieved through the use of a mana whakapapa framework and a mana history process.

The chapter examines the tribes using such a process, suggested as customary and underscoring their constructions of the past over time. Such mana history constructions were important because tribes sought validation from such histories for representations of themselves and their mores, protocols and activities.

Whakapapa and mana are especially advanced as the two central factors influencing the shape and focus of these histories. Whakapapa underscored tribal and hapū histories as the primary organising device (the mana whakapapa framework). Mediation on the basis of mana is suggested as the primary organising principle, thereby producing mana histories.

Relevance and utility to the present are also suggested as overriding factors in the tribal and hapū fashioning of their histories. This was especially so as tribes and hapū in Taranaki over time were frequently required to maintain and assert their identities, presence on the land and activities as validated by their past.

The chapter also elaborates on the three tiers earlier suggested as categories of organisation, based on the mana whakapapa framework. However, it also suggests that any other number of categories can be advanced as part of the tribe's gathering and integrating of all mana whakapapa knowledge pertaining to and enhancing of its mana.

Chapter two largely focuses on how select tribes and hapū of Taranaki constructed such mana wairua and mana tūpuna histories on the basis of the processes earlier advanced. The chapter examines the use of higher echelons of knowledge within tribal narratives. It demonstrates some issues of choice and selection as such narratives were mediated into the tribe's histories and traditions.

Thereafter, in the remaining chapters, the thesis examines the tribes of Taranaki maintaining and asserting their mana whenua histories as validation of their presence on the land, and of their descent histories which anchored them to their ancient landscapes.

Specifically, chapter three will focus on this third tier of mana whenua. The chapter will seek to describe how mana whenua, in the context of mana whakapapa, was established by the tribes in Taranaki over time. The broad Taranaki landscape is described to about 1840. It is shown as the continuing source and manifestation of tribal and hapū mana histories, demonstrating a longstanding Māori physical and spiritual allegiance to the ancient landscape. Tribal and hapū use of such past knowledge is re-iterated as central to mana whakapapa linkages of tribes to their land. A detailed description of the major mana whenua landmarks of Te Atiawa whānui in the north is provided as a further case in point. This shows how the specific sense of mana whenua was constructed and attached to the ancestral landscape.

Finally, following the arrival of new settlers after 1841, changes in the perceptions of landscape are noted. Some discussion is offered here about the content and implications of some of these changed perceptions, especially as they influenced new law and public policy, and generally as settlers viewed the Taranaki hinterland as vacant, untamed and constituting a "frontier".

Chapters four and five primarily focus on how the tribes sought to maintain and assert their mana whenua over their ancestral lands after 1841. The mana whakapapa connections of descent anchored into landscape as source of tribal mana are advanced as further underpinning tribal activity from 1841 to 1900,

and beyond. Such frameworks of past knowledge continued to override factors introduced into the Māori intellectual domain after 1830.

After 1841, it is suggested, the assertion of mana whenua compelled tribes, hapū and other kinship groups to redefine their subordinate kinship bases. This was achieved for a time in order to sustain claims to mana whenua over ancestral lands in the wake of sharp contest with the Crown. This redefining and self-representing process is advanced as a customary process. It reflected a certain expedient fluidity of Māori kinship structures set in the broadest context of conventional whakapapa relationships held to be constant.

The significance of mana whenua after 1841 is specifically advanced in chapter five. This chapter points to the processes of kinship unit redefinition as and self-representation especially evident as tribes, hapū and other kinship units, operating under the mana of the tribe, sought redress for lost lands through the Compensation Courts, Commissions of Enquiry and Native Land Courts after 1865.

The purpose of the conclusion is to restate the primary themes of this study on the nature of tribal and hapū history in Taranaki over time, especially up to 1900. Mana history and mana whakapapa are proposed again as providing, in Taranaki and perhaps elsewhere, a valid representation of tribal and hapū experience in the nineteenth century, and earlier. The conclusion restates that throughout the nineteenth century, it was clear that tribes and hapū continued to assert themselves as valid, in historical and current terms. These assertions were ongoing, based on customary representations of hapū, tribe, and other kinship units shaped and represented for their own purposes. In the nineteenth century, it is argued, tribes especially sought to sustain their particularity, based on such self-assertions, as a basis of independent identity and activity in the face of comprehensive change. The basis for these tribal and hapū assertions and self-representations was the authority and validation of the mana whakapapa historical framework, and mana history process, advanced through the thesis, as relevant to the tribes and hapū of Taranaki.

Following the conclusion, a short afterword considers some historiographic implications of this study. It is suggested that most accounts of Māori people in the nineteenth century that appear in books and articles generally do so within what might be called a race-relations frame of reference. It is submitted that such a framework is a problematic theoretical and historical basis for the representing of tribal and hapū experience, presented in its own terms, in the nineteenth century, in Taranaki and perhaps elsewhere. This is especially so if a range of Māori organising devices and principles, like those canvassed in this study, are brought to bear upon the perception and use of Māori knowledge of the past. In this context, the sources of the nineteenth century grievance in Taranaki are briefly referred to but are not examined in detail.

The overall purpose of the thesis is to argue for certain definitions of tribal and hapū history which arise from older Māori constructions of knowledge and self-representation. The thesis offers an intellectual history of the tribes and hapū of Taranaki in the nineteenth century, a history "not of thought but of men thinking."[15] It looks back beyond 1800 for early indications and suggestions of customary sources of tribal knowledge of the past. It advances valid processes by which such knowledge might be said to have been constructed into histories of tribal and hapū mana in Taranaki, viewed in their widest context and application.

This thesis offers an interpretation of the tribal and hapū past in Taranaki centred on certain constructions of history advanced as inherent to Māori intellectual and interpretive processes, with possible application to tribes and hapū further afield. This interpretation makes a contribution to the growing field of Māori historiography, and to New Zealand historiography.

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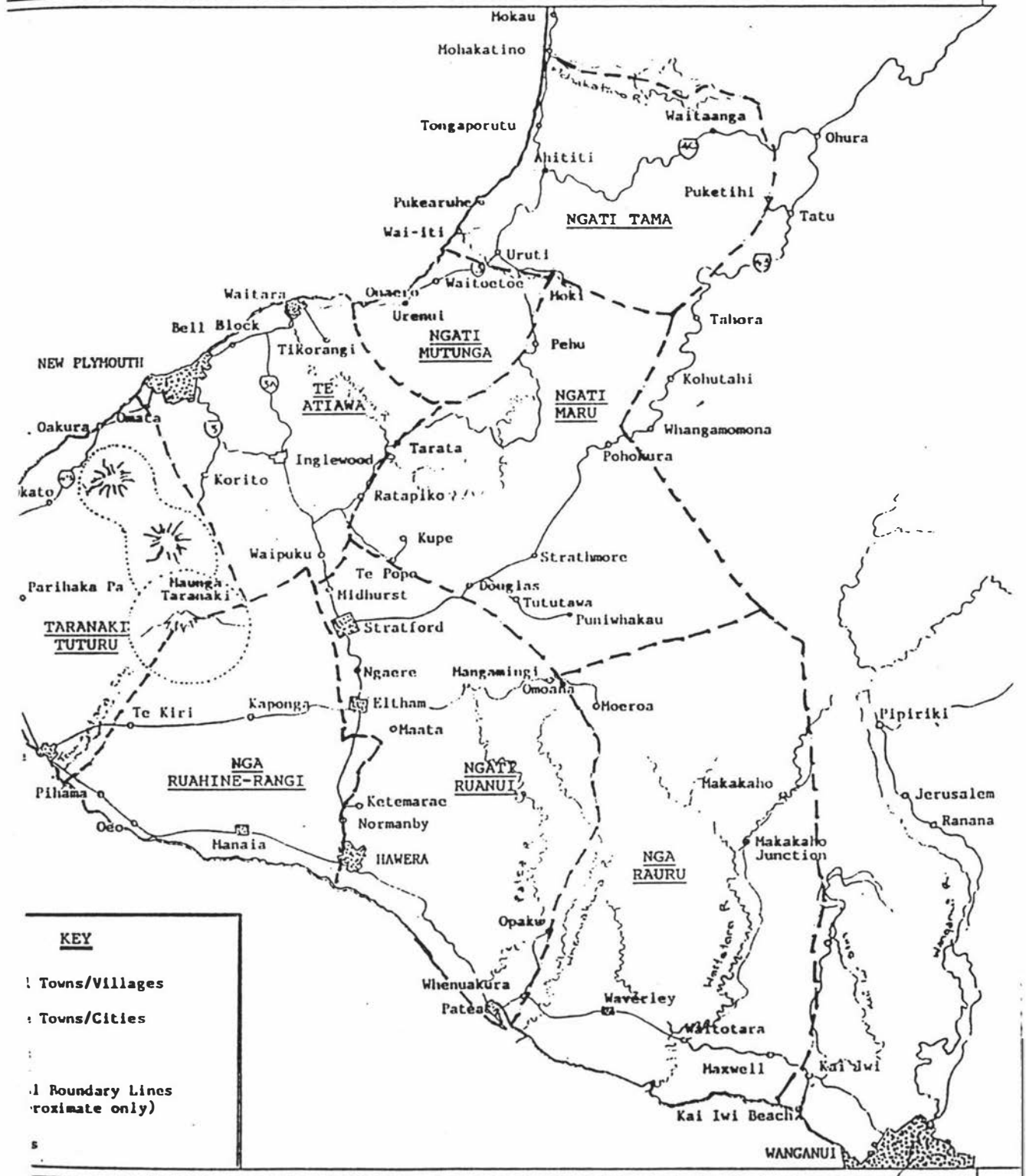
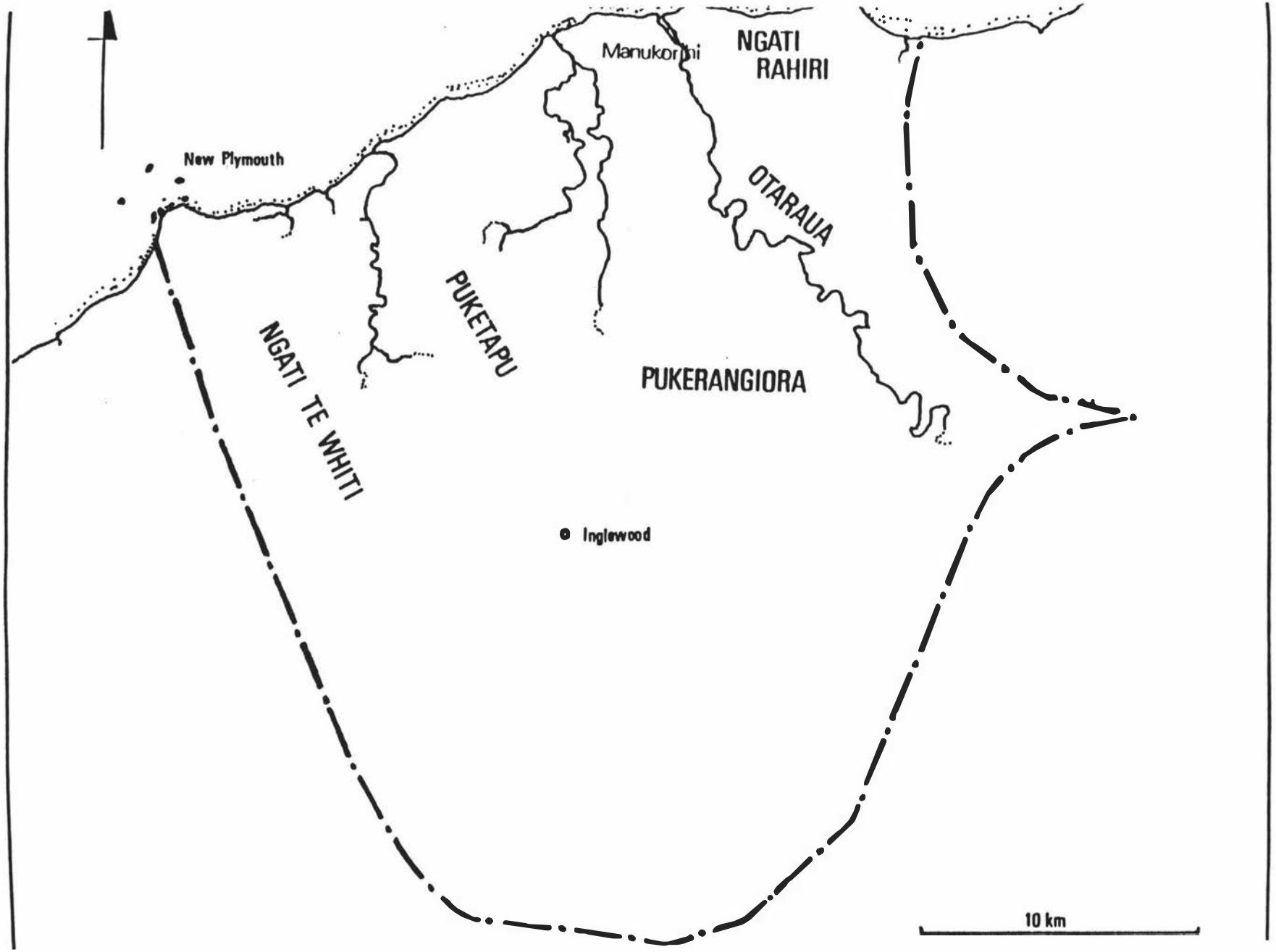
[15] Lawrence W. Levine, *Black culture and black consciousness* (New York, 1977), p.ix.



TARANAKI MAORI TRIBAL BOUNDARIES


Manukorihi
NGATI
RAHIRI
New Plymouth
OTARAUA
PUKETAPU
NGATI TE WHITI
PUKERANGIORA
Inglewood
10 km

CHAPTER ONE

MANA MĀORI HISTORY

This chapter considers the distinctions between tribal narratives and tribal histories. Certain historical frameworks and processes relating to tribal knowledge and its organisation will be advanced as central to such distinctions. This chapter examines aspects of ancient Taranaki Māori knowledge gathered into tribal and hapū narratives over time, especially in the north. It then describes instances of that ancient knowledge and narrative converted into tribal and hapū histories. This is achieved, it is argued, in accordance with usual Māori ways of organising knowledge, especially of the past.

Customary ways of organising knowledge are then advanced. These are based on certain whakapapa frameworks, and certain processes of knowledge arrangement for the purposes of mana.

The chapter argues that these frameworks and processes provide a preferred theoretical model through which tribal and hapū histories can be constructed. They can also be recognised as valid tribal representations of self founded on legitimacy of descent, occupation of the land and independence of activity. This is argued throughout the chapter with some reference to relevant historiography.

A useful starting point is to consider the origins and some implications of the common identity shared by the tribes of Taranaki. The Māori people of Taranaki generally affirm such a composite identity. This is focused for more than symbolic reasons on the most commanding geographic feature of the district, the mountain Taranaki. A traditional Te Atiawa waiata refers to the mountain as:

Whakawaiai ai	Enchanting to the eye
Te tu a Taranaki	Art thou, O Taranaki
O kahu hukarere	Clothed in thy snowy garment
I huatau ai koe	O Mountain gloriously arrayed
Huhia iho koe i te	In white and spotless cloak
O kahu taniko	With fringe of patterned taniko
I tino pai koe - e![1]	A robe of radiant beauty.[2]

Within this composite identity, however, there can be found some considerable variation and fluidity of kinship identity. The surrounding hinterland is, and always was, a complex mosaic of criss-crossing tribal and hapū boundaries. These were located over time in a myriad of ways. Today, boundaries are considered by some Māori to have been, in reality, often ill-defined and far from certain. Their placement always had as much to do with changing material fortunes as with the longstanding exercise of mana whenua by tribes and hapū. In speaking of the Pukerangiora rohe recently, Ted Tamati of Te Atiawa alluded to the uncertainties of tribal and hapū boundaries:

> the Pukerangiora estate encompassed all that land in the vicinity of the Pa, Pukerangiora ... they shared a common boundary with their northern neighbour Otaraua which altered throughout history for a number of reasons, the main one of course resulting from defeat or success in battle. Scant record remains as to the exact boundaries ... intermarriage with Otaraua adds to the confusion when attempts are made ... to link land with individuals. What is often lost sight of today is the fact that most of these individuals would have been able to whakapapa back into any hapu

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[1] Minutes of Evidence, Sim Commission (1927); MA 85/1, NA.

[2] Translation as quoted from D.R. Simmons, *Whakairo. Maori tribal art* (Auckland, 1985), pp.82-83.

of Te Atiawa ... it would be inappropriate to interpret that pedigree as being their main or only bloodline.[3]

Despite such perceived alterations over time, tribes and hapū in Taranaki guard and assert their independence carefully, as they have always done. Though independent, the tribes of Taranaki do generally value their collective geographic identity, the Taranaki whānui or Taranaki nui tonu for which the mountain is the over-riding symbol.

That Taranaki is revered was evident in 1927 when, before the Sim Commission, Wiremu Te Kupenga Kahao stated that the mountain represented "the mana or prestige of the people of the West Coast, from Taranaki right to Chatham Islands.... I therefore make this request that the mana of this mountain be returned."[4] Thus, it is not uncommon in Taranaki Māori oratory to hear references or simple asides to Taranaki as "te maunga tapu e tū hirahira mai rā."[5] Such references are made in the same spirit as the Te Atiawa waiata which further refers to the mountain in symbolic terms:

Me tipare koe	Yon cloud that wreathes thy lofty brow is as a mournful chaplet
Ki te rau kawakawa	A band of kawakawa leaves..
he tohu aroha nui	
ki te iwi e ngaro nei	
waiho ra, e Rangi	Emblem of sorrow for the dead..
Kia taria ake	Love-circlet for the parted one..
ka tere mai he karere	

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[3] Ted Tamati, Submission of Pukerangiora, Waitangi Tribunal, Owae Marae, Waitara, 12 April 1991; Wai 143, D.17, p.1.

[4] Minutes of Evidence, Sim Commission (1927); MA 85/1, NA.

[5] Lou MacDonald, Ngāti Mutunga, personal communication, October 1991.

e kore ra e hoki mai.[6] We shall ne'er meet again.[7]

Despite the tribal variations over time as discerned by some, the tribal configuration in Taranaki today is a relatively static one. Taranaki today comprises eight generally recognised tribes. These modern tribes however do not necessarily replicate the tribal and hapū identities that might have existed at any time throughout the nineteenth century, as the tribes saw themselves. Tribal and hapū configurations last century were always prone to change, configurations as declared by the tribes themselves if not as actually existing on the ground.

This was most evident whenever tribes, consistent with longstanding practices, sought to preserve the identity of their many and varying functional kinship bases - tribe, hapū, whānau, or other kinship units. However small, these were the kinship bases upon which the sources and historical categories of tribal mana, as identified in this thesis - mana wairua, mana tūpuna and mana whenua - could be seen to be intact and surviving.

Crown Officials after 1841 equally perceived a fluid tribal kinship infrastructure. After 1841, Taranaki was considered by Crown officials to comprise at least four tribes. Officials thought there were possibly more, given the common interchangeable nature of descriptives used. Ngāti Maru, for instance, was recorded by Parris as a hapū in the Census of 1874,[8] but as tribe the same year in his Civil Commissioner's report: "the Ngati Maru tribe ... like most of the other tribes, are divided in reference to public questions."[9]

Many later assertions of tribal identity equally confounded officials. This was so with Ngātipoura in 1925 who sought access to a portion of the Momahaki Block in south Taranaki for the purposes of establishing a papa

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[6] Minutes of Evidence, Sim Commission (1927); MA 85/1, NA.

[7] Simmons, *Whakairo,* p.83.

[8] Census of the Maori Population (Taranaki), *AJHR*, 1874, G-7, p.15.

[9] Civil Commissioner, New Plymouth, to the Under Secretary, Native Department, 26 May 1874, *AJHR*, 1874, G-2, p.13.

kāinga. However, the officials report on their petition questioned their status: "this petition is lodged in the name of the "Ngatipoura tribe" ... from whence have they sprung?" Tribal boundary maps drawn in 1869 by Percy Smith and Skinner were consulted, with the land in question seen to lie within the rohe of Ngā Rauru.[10] It was concluded that, for official purposes at least, Ngātipoura were a hapū of Ngā Rauru. A final report alluded to the difficulties frequently encountered in distinguishing tribe from hapū, though the difficulty was not claimed as an official one: "much confusion seems to exist amongst present day Natives on the question - tribe or hapu."[11]

It was therefore often a variable matter to officials last century whether a particular tribal group should be considered to be tribe or hapū. This was still evident in 1927 when, on the eve of the formation of the Trust Board, the tribes were still being described with no ready basis for distinction apparent, as, on one occasion, Ngāti Tama; Ngāti Mutunga and Kaitangata; Ngāti Rahiri, Otaraua and Manukorihi; Puketapu and Pukerangiora and Kairoa (to) Ngāti Maru, Taranaki tribe, Ngāti Ruanui and Ngā Rauru.[12]

The relatively static nature of tribal configurations in Taranaki today is reflected in the modern arrangement of tribes. How this was established, and on what basis, has some implications for how the tribes tend to see their past.

These eight modern tribes are, from north to south, Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāti Maru, Te Atiawa, Taranaki, Ngā Ruahine, Ngāti Ruanui and Ngā Rauru. This arrangement of tribes, once established, effectively consolidated earlier perceptions, official and Māori, of tribes and hapū existing at any time. This arrangement imposed some order upon the previous criss-crossing of tribal and hapū boundaries.

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[10] Also confirmed, for example, by the census returns of 1874, with *Ngatipoura* spelt *Ngatiporoa;* Census of the Maori Population (Taranaki), *AJHR*, 1874, G-7, p.10.

[11] Petition No. 79/1925 (1925), Le 1/1925/12, NA.

[12] Memorandum for Commissioners, Sim Commission (1927), MA 85/5, NA.

Today, each modern tribe possesses a distinct functional status as conferred by the Taranaki Māori Trust Board. The Trust Board was established in 1931[13] to administer a grant from Government in compensation for past land grievances. The grant arose from the recommendations of the *Royal Commission To Inquire Into Confiscations of Native Lands and Other Grievances by Natives,* better known as the Sim Commission.

In its 1928 report, the Commission expressed the view that the longstanding Māori land grievances in Taranaki were soundly based, and justified. The report recommended that "the wrong done by the confiscations should be compensated for by making a yearly payment of (pounds) 5000, to be applied by a Board for the benefit of Natives of the Tribes whose lands were confiscated."[14]

It was the establishment of the Trust Board which in the end provided a ready if gradual basis for distinctions to be made between hapū and tribes, culminating in the modern arrangement of eight tribes. This arrangement was conferred by the Board over time, a sense of order replacing a certain customary fluidity, not necessarily to everyone's satisfaction.

Other kinship groups have from time to time asserted themselves as deserving of local recognition as independent tribe. Tangahoe and Pakakohi are recent examples. Both have asserted independent status over the years in the special context of the return of lands. Such occurred in 1936 when Tutawa Paraeroa of Pakakohi argued before the Native Affairs Committee, Wellington, for the return of the ancestral papa kāinga of Hukatere. Hukatere was erroneously excluded from a post-confiscation Crown Grant and was thereafter surveyed for subdivision, also in error.[15]

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[13] Constituted under Sub-section (3) of Section 49 of the Native Purposes Act, 1931.

[14] Report of Royal Commission to inquire into confiscations of Native lands and other grievances by Natives, *AJHR*, 1928, G-7, p.11.

[15] Petition No. 203/1936 (1936), MA 1 5/13/89, NA.

Once deemed and believed to be a part and hapū of Ngāti Ruanui, as was Ngā Ruahine, and Ngā Rauru. Pakakohi and Tangahoe have each yet to be locally accorded identical recognition.[16]

The historical basis of the static configuration of tribes in Taranaki today can be seen in two ways. In conferring and establishing such a unity of tribes under its mantle, the Trust Board in a sense consummated an earlier, longstanding if ambivalent unity of the Taranaki hapū and tribes. However, by so doing, it perhaps provided a new and second unifying basis for modern times in the shared Taranaki Māori perception of a common nineteenth century grievance.

This perceived grievance has provided a strong basis for tribal unity in Taranaki in recent times. The sense of grievance in Taranaki amongst the tribes and hapū has long been and remains a considerable one. Riseborough has reflected a strong body of Taranaki Māori opinion in pointing to such a basis for unity amongst the tribes.

Though tracing their descent from three canoes, yet they were possessed of "a cohesion of a tribal district, a cohesion which stems from a cause, a grievance: land confiscation."[17] The lasting influence of the grievance in earlier times was described by Counsel for Taranaki claimants before the Sim Commission in 1927, when, in speaking of Waitara, he said:

> it was here that the war between pakeha and Maori had its commencement ... the sore of Waitara requires healing. The memories of the past are bitter memories still. Out of Waitara there sprang, and out of Waitara there spread what to the native mind was a war of aggression ... Such a war with its attendant confiscation of land must be expected to

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[16] How recognition should be conferred is a moot point, perhaps a prerogative of the Trust Board. Both lodged claims before the Waitangi Tribunal in 1991, seeking acknowledgement of full tribal status: " Lost tribes call on Government for recognition", *Daily News*, 26 June 1992, p.4.

[17] Hazel Riseborough, *Days of darkness. Taranaki 1878 - 1884* (Wellington, 1989), p.ix.

produce evil consequences, and it has been so.[18]

Later Counsel for claimants in 1990, Phillip Green, represented to the Waitangi Tribunal the continuing sense of grievance in Taranaki:

> In Taranaki, in 1840, Maori and the land were one ... the tangata whenua (were) on the land (for) the period stretching through to the brink of war in 1859 (when) the colonial policy of attacking rangatiratanga was born. A new cutting edge was honed ... directed at tino rangatiratanga ... in colonial land grabbing lay the seeds of a destruction for a people who would never again experience their old world security of tino rangatiratanga.[19]

Earlier, at the hearing at which Green spoke, the kaikaranga Matarena Marjori Raumati Rau Kupa had described the people of Taranaki as "the living dead left to grieve for the taking of sea, land ... food and people."[20]

Such large issues, seen as unresolved, long continued and continue to influence much of the past thinking of tribes and hapū in Taranaki, and not without good reason. Central to this are the prolonged and complex land conflicts of the later nineteenth century. These are frequently recalled as iniquitous conflicts, having "created a situation where the rights of indigenous people were trampled in the pursuit of economic gain, the grasp for resources - particularly land, and the desire to control and "civilise" the Maori."[21]

These were situations from which local tribes and hapū believed themselves to have been left victim before a voracious colonisation process. This was a process which dispossessed Māori of land and of all cultural mores and economic sustenance rooted in the land. Such an accounting of land dealings in

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[18] Opening address of Counsel, Sim Commission (1927); MA 85/1, NA.

[19] Philip Green, Submission of Ngā Iwi O Taranaki, Waitangi Tribunal, Owae Marae, Waitara, 8 April 1991; Wai 143, D1, p.3.

[20] *Daily News*, New Plymouth, 3 September 1990, p.3.

[21] Ngatata Love, Submission of Te Atiawa, Waitangi Tribunal, Owae Marae, Waitara, 10 April 1991; Wai 143, D.11, p.1.

Taranaki has moved and rightly continues to motivate many Māori to seek redress for perceived wrongs perpetrated against tribes and hapū throughout the district after 1841.

Such events of the last century in Taranaki that have so motivated local Māori have been examined in critical detail elsewhere, by Māori and Pākehā. However, such analysis of events after 1841 as appears here in later chapters is presented for purposes other than to provide such a direct accounting of those complex circumstances upon which the very real sense of grievance is suggested as a logical and expected outcome.

This thesis in fact offers an important distinction. It argues that the sense of mana whenua did not depart from the tribes and hapū of Taranaki once land had been removed from their effective collective control. The thesis argues that the reverse was the case. Mana whenua endured as the basis of Taranaki tribal and hapū mana on the land, and as extension of validating historical process providing enhancement of the mana of the people. Such a sense of mana whenua provided increased impetus to tribes and hapū as they sought the restoration of tribal lands into their collective ownership. As earlier indicated, this thesis instead seeks for historical processes, inherent to tribes and hapū, which might be said to have origins much earlier than the nineteenth century, in older accounts of the past, processes that might be examined, described and then applied as valid up to 1900.

The basis for unity in Taranaki prior to 1841 was one of common ancestry and common if at times fluid land holdings and geography. In earlier years, such aspects of common descent and histories in Taranaki substantially accounted for the sense of Taranaki unity, such as it existed. This was a unity frequently affirmed as inherently Māori in early tauparapara, whaikōrero and waiata. Some kaumātua assert that various hapū even have distinct land interests in disparate

locations throughout the region.[22] However, such a geographic unity was thought by some elders to have been later negatively affected by events attaching to colonisation in the nineteenth century, constituting an over-emphasis of the nineteenth century of basis of unity.[23]

Colonisation is commonly considered to have wrought many changes. Reuben Ashford of Ngāti Apa has suggested that in Taranaki Māori people might have tempered many of their forms and focus of tribal expression:

> I think the point is that going into colonisation, many thought it changed the attitude of Māori, he could have stopped then and not continued because the line had been cut off, there was another battle coming in ... I think they cut themselves off, the old people. The question was, you go to school, that was what they got out of colonisation, you go to school to learn and then you come out and get your bread and butter ... no more whakapapa, no waiata was taught, the generation rising was never taught about it.[24]

However, though some may have doubted so, older, customary Māori ways of constructing knowledge of the past did continue to override factors introduced into the Māori intellectual domain after 1830, new factors thought to have "changed the attitude of the Māori".

The nature of the these older and customary ways of organising knowledge of the past were complex. They were also linked to the sources of the longstanding sense of tribal unity.

The basis of this unity was itself complex. This longstanding sense of unity shared by the tribes and hapū of Taranaki arose largely from common and overlapping descent narratives. These comprised lateral and vertical connections which extended across the centuries. Special connections and associations were

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[22] Tom Ngatai, Ngā Ruahine, Manaia, personal communication, November 1992.

[23] MacDonald, personal communication, October 1992.

[24] Reuben Ashford, Ngāti Apa, Wanganui, personal communication, October 1992.

equally frequently affirmed, especially arrangements of accord, within these narratives.

Such an arrangement was that of Takarangi of Te Atiawa and Rau Mahora of Taranaki iwi whose marriage brought a pitched battle at Whakarewa, a large fortified pā on the Puniho Plains, to an end. This arrangement provided a common descent narrative and history for the peoples of Te Atiawa and Taranaki tuturu to the south. According to Hohaia, "many of Taranaki and Te Atiawa's great leaders are descended from this marriage: including Te Wharepouri, Te Puni and Te Whiti O Rongomai."[25]

Common descent and attendant tribal narratives substantially accounted for the sense of Taranaki unity, a unity further affirmed by common frameworks within which these narratives were organised and recalled. This unity of the tribes was at once instinctive yet ambivalent. It was instinctive because conventional whakapapa relationships remained in place over time, firmly within the tribal memory. However, what tribes and hapū chose to do with those memories, and how they were later mediated into tribal histories and traditions, was often a different matter.

What connections and marriages might forge, for example, adverse circumstances and warfare could equally sever, with opposing dead interred together, their shared bonds restored and remembered within a common wahi tapu and conventional whakapapa. Urupā in most hapū areas contain the deceased from all parts of Taranaki, interred together to restore customary linkages.[26] Spokesmen over time for all the tribes were always assured in their representations on behalf of Taranaki whānui, as with Pouwhareumutoi in 1925: "our lands situate between, The White Cliffs (Parininihi) and Waitotara ... we who have signed our names in connection with ... lands extending from

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[25] Milton Hohaia, Submission of Taranaki iwi, Waitangi Tribunal, Parihaka, 16 October 1991; Wai 143, F.12, p.232.

[26] Tom Ngatai, personal communication, November 1992.

Parininihi to Waitotara."[27]

Most tribes place special significance on their waka descent traditions, though this is not necessarily so in Taranaki. However, the most central and perhaps most frequently acknowledged basis upon which tribal unities are founded in tradition is that of waka, or "Great Fleet canoe". Certainly this is the case in most areas beyond Taranaki, with most tribes or confederations of tribes effectively based on a believed common waka of origin, waka generally long revered in appropriate tribal histories and traditions.

While the recorded narratives of Tainui, for example, date from the earliest occupation of Hawaiki, it is from the Tainui canoe that primary descent histories and traditions are sourced. This was indicated in Kelly's account of the Tainui confederation: "the people of Tainui, in common with other tribes, take great pride in tracing their ancestry from those who came hither in their tribal canoe; (they) trace back to the most important personage on board, Hoturoa."[28] Hoturoa also features as tupuna in conventional whakapapa of inland Patea (Upper Rangitikei) tribes, suggesting visits to the area by prominent Tainui men in earlier times.[29]

The Te Arawa tribes claim primary descent from Tamatekapua, once a "lad of spirit (who) in time was regarded as a chief of no ordinary importance." Tamatekapua is said to have sparked "the last trouble of a long and bitter series which finally caused a group of Ngati Ohomairangi to leave their homeland of Hawaiki and travel to the land discovered by Kupe - Aotearoa."[30] This was a journey made aboard the Te Arawa canoe. Interestingly, the story is told by Maihi Te Kapua Te Hinaki of the two great ancestors, Hoturoa and Tamatekapua, once coming to blows "due to the unwelcome attentions of

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[27] Petition No. 19/1925 (1925), Le 1/1925/12, NA.

[28] Leslie Kelly, *Tainui. The story of Hoturoa and his descendants* (Wellington, 1949), p.67.

[29] R.A.L. Batley, "Inland Patea genealogies", *JPS*, 59:1 (1950), p.63.

[30] D.M. Stafford, *Te Arawa. A history of the Arawa people* (Auckland, 1967), pp.1-2.

Tamatekapua to Hoturoa's senior wife, Whakaotirangi ... Tamatekapua was worsted in the contest ... then the people intervened and stopped the duel, for they were all close relatives."[31]

Primary descent histories and traditions are not always so totally claimed off Great Fleet canoes, however. The origin stories of Takitimu and Ngai Tahu illustrate this. The Takitimu people claim descent from the Takitimu canoe but take their tribal name from Kahungunu, the son of Tamatea who sailed aboard the Takitimu.[32] Other theories as to the origins of Kahungunu have been advanced. Greenwood's extensive survey of Ngāti Kahungunu conventional whakapapa argued that Kahungunu was in fact a later ancestor, separated from Tamatea by some two hundred years. The issue turned on two ancestors named Tamatea: Tamatea-Uruhaea of the Takitimu waka and Tu Tamatea Kai Ariki, supposedly Kahungunu's real father.[33]

Many other descent histories are perhaps more complex and have distinct modern implications. The descent history of Ngai Tahu is more complex than most. It incorporates later large scale migrations from the Takitimu area merging with the various peoples occupying Te Waipounamu, the South Island.[34] Some strong local debate has attached to traditions of Ngai Tahu descent, as O'Regan has recently indicated:

> Ngai Tahu are the people that claim traditional manawhenua over the vast majority of Te Waipounamu ... there are three main streams of descent which flow together in (our) histories ... these streams are Waitaha, Mamoe and Tahu. The traditional ways in which Maori have managed their history have identifiable characteristics, which are different from those normally manipulated by the academic historian ...

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[31] Geo. Graham,"Tainui", *JPS*, 60:1 (1951), p.80.

[32] J.H. Mitchell, *Takitimu* (Wellington, 1944), p.73.

[33] William Greenwood, "Kahungunu and Tamatea," *JPS*, 52:1 (1943), p.16.

[34] Tipene O'Regan, "Ngai Tahu: ko wai te iwi?", conference paper, New Zealand Historical Association, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, 11 May 1991.

> it could be said that ... Maori customary authentication and the Maori perception of post-Treaty history are savaged by ... the professional historian.

Perhaps the essential issue here is that of divisions that have appeared between the component descent groups of Ngai Tahu. One group, Waitaha, has engaged historians for the purposes of authenticating their believed descent. Others have argued that such divisions offend quintessential Ngai Tahu notions of unity and identity.

A second but no less important issue concerns the pressure that modern competing land claims exert on the use of ancient narratives. Their consequent mediation into seeming unequivocal tribal histories and traditions results in perhaps unexpected areas of contested meaning appearing between component kinship groups. This is a situation not confined of course to one tribal area. This is especially so where history and culture are seen no longer to "constitute recreational or scholarly pursuits," as O'Regan has suggested: "the evidence of the conventional historian ... and the whakapapa of the Maori are presented for one purpose, that of a substantial result, achieved or denied, in terms of money, resources or property."[35]

By comparison, the sources of Taranaki waka traditions attract less controversy. These origins are perceived as ancient; and they are utilised differently by individual tribes. The tribes of Taranaki principally draw their descent from one of three waka of the "Great Fleet". In reality, though, Taranaki narratives and histories of origin are rather more complex. The canoes Kurahaupo, Aotea and Tokomaru are all believed to have landed within Taranaki, or to have beached nearby with occupants trekking into the district. Other waka also feature in some traditions.

Descent from these waka was frequently expressed in oratory, whakatauakī

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[35] Tipene O'Regan, "Old myths and new politics. Some contemporary uses of traditional history", *NZJH*, 26:1(1992), p.5.

and waiata of often ancient origin, often with all waka accounted for.[36] More often than not, however, the waka of the Great Fleet are located in extended tribal narratives of descent which in fact originate well before the supposed arrival dates of the canoes. Such narratives are those which comprise a mass of generally unmediated knowledge of the past from which tribal histories and traditions are ultimately constructed.

Some tribes, like Ngā Rauru and Taranaki iwi, place a greater store on pre-Great Fleet narratives when constructing their tribal histories, much in the suggested manner of Ngai Tahu and Takitimu. Other tribes, like Te Atiawa and Ngāti Ruanui, tend to construct histories from about the point of the believed Great Fleet impact, placing more emphasis on the waka, in the suggested manner of Tainui and Te Arawa.

However, even within tribes, differences of approach to the formation of tribal traditions attending to the waka are certainly not uncommon, given the concerns and preferences of individual hapū.[37] Such differences of approach to the formation of tribal traditions suggested different tribes utilising waka narratives for different purposes. The uses to which extended narratives of descent were put varied considerably, as tribes over time selected and arranged knowledge of the past for distinct purposes. Such processes of selection or mediation were important to Māori people in organising knowledge of their past.

To Māori people, the on-going mediation of knowledge from extended tribal and hapū narratives was a critical and normal facet of representing aspects of tribal histories and traditions. However, to some Māori, the past was just that, the past. They were consequently likely to resist the excessive revision of conventional whakapapa, a customary form of recall with, according to O'Regan, "an order and a consistency in its internal rules."

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[36] Tom Ngatai, personal communication, November 1992.

[37] As can be seen when talking with kaumātua who in fact view Taranaki as a longstanding unity, like Tom Ngatai and Lou MacDonald.

On the question of conventional whakapapa as historical record, O'Regan has suggested that most recorded traditions should be seen as having been recorded within a particular frame for a particular purpose. "Very few things stand alone and unsullied without any direction or preceding shape ... the mode of presentation of evidence is always driven by a purpose."[38]

O'Regan here makes reference to a possible negative influence of contemporary constructs on conventional whakapapa in its customary forms. Many Māori people lay a more general emphasis on the understanding and utility of the past for its own sake, in the representing of tribal histories which might nonetheless continue to serve a functional purpose.

MacDonald has reiterated this point, emphasising the importance to Māori of the past for its own sake:

> the past is always reflected in their whaikōrero, in their mihi, because they will not relate with their future but they'll come from behind, bringing it forward, project it forward you see ... they're reaching backwards to bring it forward. Everything a Māori ever knew was memory, had to be memorised ... it did not relate with what was going to happen tomorrow, it was all coming from behind, bringing it forward, haere whakamua, hoki whakamuri - going forward, thinking back.[39]

These points are well made. Certainly, the mediating of Māori knowledge of the past, whatever its basis, did have one context within which elements of selection and interpretation could be seen to be at work. This was the broad context of providing histories of tribal and hapū mana, perhaps turning on very broad understandings of what might in fact constitute conventional whakapapa, and the uses to which such devices of knowledge organisation might be put.

In Taranaki, selections and mediations of descent narrative for different tribal purposes are readily seen. To illustrate some of these differences placed

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[38] O'Regan, "Old myths", p.24.

[39] Lou MacDonald, personal communication, October 1992.

on the Great Fleet narratives in Taranaki, one Ngā Rauru waiata - whakapapa which begins "Matua te Kore, Te Kore Nui, Te Kore Roa (the absolute void, the great void, the long void)," exceeds two hundred lines when written down. Only when concluding does it refer to Toi te Huatahi, believed to have arrived at the time of the Ngā Rauru waka, Aotea.

The reference to Toi te Huatahi is thus recorded;

Ko Toi Te Huatahi Ki	Toi Te Huatahi, who marries
Wairerekiao	Wairerekiao and begets
Ko Ruarangi Ka Moe Ki	Ruarangi and he marries
Rongoueroa	Rongoueroa, and from them
	came
Ko Rauru ...	Rauru.[40]

Rauru, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe Ngā Rauru based around Waitotara, was the son of Rongoueroa. Rongoueroa was also the mother of Te Awanui Ā Rangi, eponymous ancestor of Te Atiawa based around Waitara and New Plymouth, mentioned again later. This close relationship between Rauru and Te Awanui Ā Rangi provided an early basis to the longstanding sense of unity in Taranaki conferred by common descent narratives.

The traditions of Taranaki iwi, further north, also largely pre-date their waka, Kurahaupo. This is achieved by an extended reaching back to narratives from "I noho a io roto i te aha o te aao (the development of life and knowledge through the interplay of past and present)." These narratives in fact further pre-date the arrival of Taranaki, the mountain. They contain references to Rua Tawhito, Rua Tipua and Rua Taranaki, ancient ancestors also claimed as tūpuna by some of the Taranaki tribes further to the north. Rua Taranaki is the believed ancestor from whom Taranaki the mountain took its final name. It was formerly called Puke O Naki, according to Taranaki iwi traditions.

Much later in the Taranaki iwi descent traditions, reference is made to the

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[40] Sturmey, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal; Wai 143, F.1, pp.8 - 13.

canoe arrivals. "The Kurahaupo people arrived in the fourteenth century and lived among Kahui Maunga ... in time they defined themselves as the Taranaki tribe ... the captain of the Kurahaupo was Te Hatauira."[41] Further south, Ngāti Ruanui traditions alternatively suggest that the mountain Taranaki was named by the men aboard their founding canoe, Aotea, the mountain formerly being called Pukehaupapa. Ngāti Ruanui place a significant emphasis on Turi, captain of their founding canoe, Aotea. Extensive reference is made in Ngāti Ruanui whakapapa to earlier ancestors:

Poukiwa	=	Hinerau waka
Ruanui	=	Hine Wharaurangi
Paahiwa	=	Toto
Rongorongo	=	Turi

The long trek of Turi and his people from Kawhia where the Aotea was beached is remembered as a momentous tradition. Turi migrated south into Tū Whenua i Hongia e Turi, the land that Turi smelled. This land comprised "a rich, black sweet scented soil" which Turi signified as their new rohe: "Ka Patea Tatou".[42] Turi is generally regarded as one of the primary figures attaching to the composite waka traditions nationwide. He features prominently in Te Aue Davis' recent publication, *He korero pūrākau mo ngā taunahanahatanga a ngā tūpuna,* where a graphic account of his travels and exploits is detailed.[43]

Such descent narrative was recalled by tribes as histories of mana. Waka knowledge was accordingly especially valued, not only for its own sake but for its contribution to a total account of past and present. However, as in all tribal histories in Taranaki, frequent singular references to canoes like Kurahaupo, if cited as part of the Taranaki iwi descent tradition, elevated the importance of that tradition. This was especially so if the canoe tradition itself was cited

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[41] Hohaia, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, F.12, p.2.

[42] Maruera, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal; Wai 143, F.2, p.137.

[43] Te Aue Davis with Tipene O'Regan, *He korero pūrākau mo ngā taunahanahatanga a ngā tūpuna. Place names of the ancestors* (Wellington, 1990), pp.55 - 61.

outside of customary tribal descent narratives, though it was not commonly known that for most the tribes, descent narratives often extended much further backwards.

Much subsequent reference to the waka traditions has either misread the complexity of such descent traditions or misinterpreted their importance as source of mana to tribes. Well's popular and much-quoted *The history of Taranaki*, for example, laid great store on these traditions,[44] as did other local texts seeking to explain a Māori presence in Taranaki predating the new settler after 1841. Seffern's *Chronicles of the garden of New Zealand known as Taranaki* commenced a brief descent account by naming the first canoe to reach Taranaki as Matahoura, commanded by a chief named Kupe who took possession of the country by naming all the mountains and rivers from Wanganui to Patea. The ancestors of the local Ngāti Awa tribe were "said to have come to New Zealand in a canoe called Tokomaru (from) the vicinity of the Bay of Islands .... The district was at the time occupied by some natives called Ngatimokotorea."[45]

Most accounts such as these however commonly regarded the canoe traditions as something approaching "mytho-poetry", as they are not uncommonly regarded by scholarship today. Barber used the term when writing: "the "Fleet theory" of Maori invasion has now been lifted to its proper pedestal and is currently recognised for what it is - "mytho-poetry".... The Fleet theory, with its undertones of homogeneity, planned migration and amity is "mytho-poetry." "

Barber drew little distinction between suggested Pākehā and Māori Fleet legends, seemingly constituted and now possessed by both parties. Both, he said,

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[44] B. Wells, *The history of Taranaki* (New Plymouth, 1878, reprinted Christchurch, 1976), p.4.

[45] William H. Seffern, *Chronicles of the garden of New Zealand known as Taranaki* (New Plymouth, 1896), p.3.

were in need of "de-mythologising."[46] Sorrenson has made a similar point: "thus have the myths that the Pakehas made become Maori property."[47] Simmonds expressed a similar view in his earlier and extended examination of the origin and discovery traditions of various tribes, perhaps somewhat provocatively entitled *The great New Zealand myth.*[48]

From the outset, Simmonds declared that his intentions were straightforward. He disclosed that some challenge would be mounted against ethnographer Percy Smith's popular constructions of the waka descent traditions, "New Zealand folktales, accepted so literally by our scholars and promulgated so assiduously by our teachers and authors." Simmonds' doubts were the outcome "not of any appeal to extra-traditional evidence such as that provided by archaeology." It was simply a "re-examination of the traditional material itself."[49]

Simmonds then examined varying waka traditions in some detail, relying heavily on alternative manuscript material generated by early other ethnographers or obtained by them from particular Māori informants. Simmonds looked for inconsistencies and pointed to traditions advanced by Smith which could not, on the face of it, be substantiated. An example was that of the tupuna Manaia, of north Taranaki, with comparitive reference made as source to an alternative genealogical account of one Himina Te Wehi in GNZMMZ 50, written in 1847.[50] That Manaia still features prominently in the descent histories of Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Mutunga (see Chapter Three) bears out the

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[46] L.H. Barber, "The multi-cultural settlement of New Zealand", *The New Zealand Genealogist,* January 1990, p.810.

[47] M.P.K. Sorrenson, *Maori origins and migrations. The genesis of some Pakeha myths and legends* (Auckland, 1983), p.86.

[48] David Simmonds, *The great New Zealand myth. A study of the discovery and origin traditions of the Maori* (Wellington, 1976).

[49] Simmonds, *Myth,* pp.xi,7.

[50] Simmonds, *Myth,* p.187.

fact that Simmond's work, though exhaustive, was not informed by Māori evaluations and use of the waka traditions. His study was detached from the sense of Māori self-representation central to this thesis. As Simmonds himself declared, he was concerned with the veracity of Smith's waka constructons, not with questioning the value of Māori tradition as historical record.

The scholarship and debate on this subject is of course extensive. Sutherland once observed the importance of waka traditions to Māori, noting a persisting old and an incoming new standing often against each other in startling contrast. This was especially evident at a then recent hui held at Ngaruawahia to celebrate the believed six-hundredth anniversary of the Great Fleet migration to New Zealand:

> at the gathering, for hour after hour, night after night, kaumatuas from various tribes tried to agree on the whakapapa ... tracing descent from those who came in the traditional canoes of the migration.[51]

Peter Buck and Apirana Ngata, who assisted in arranging the anniversary, often discussed the "necessity of getting standard whakapapa for the various canoes," an interesting idea, perhaps suggesting a certain view of "standard whakapapa" as more or less fixed in time and function. In their correspondence, numerous possibilities and alternatives were mooted.[52]

Pei Te Hurinui was also involved in the hui's inception, having suggested to the late Princess Te Puea the idea of celebrating the believed sexennial of the arrival of the Fleet. As he later wrote, "in fixing the year 1950 for the celebration at Ngaruawahia, we first examined several lines of descent of King Koroki back to Hoturoa and other leaders of the Fleet Migration."

Hurinui's study of conventional whakapapa had extended, he wrote, over a period of more than forty years. Variations and mutations in tribal whakapapa

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[51] I.L.G. Sutherland, "Maori and European", *JPS*, 61:1 (1952), p.153.

[52] Apirana Ngata, letter to Peter Buck (Te Rangihiroa), 2 October 1929, in *Na to hoa aroha. From your dear friend. The correspondence between Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck 1925 - 1950.* Vol.I. 1925-29, (ed) M.P.K. Sorrenson (Auckland, 1986), p.245.

had always over that time been checked and rechecked with his elders of Tainui. "As a result of persistent questioning and careful study of our whakapapa, I (was) convinced that ... our lines from the Fleet (were) authentic."[53]

Unlike other parts of New Zealand, the Great Fleet waka traditions alone have in the end a limited capacity in Taranaki to either define the collective identity of the tribes around the mountain. Conversely, their capacity to account for a perceived disunity at any given time is also limited. Given the fact of older sources of unity, the popular traditions attaching to the three waka do not necessarily suggest a convincing basis for tribal difference or disunity in Taranaki.

Accordingly, the waka traditions in Taranaki are perceived differently by different tribes. They do not necessarily constitute a basis for unity, nor disunity. However, they are important in that they feature as authoritative tribal narratives from which individual histories may be drawn.

The foundations and character of such authoritative tribal narratives were complex. It would be easy to over-simplify the sources and nature of such narratives. Tribal descent narratives were exceedingly intricate and were, moreover, recalled in any number of ways, through such expressive forms as whaikōrero, tauparapara, whakatauakī and waiata, as well as reference to carvings, the landscape and conventional whakapapa.[54]

Such narratives remained in the tribal memory over time, and were likely to be cited as constituting a comprehensive knowledge of the tribal past. Pei Te Hurinui demonstrated this in searching Tainui whakapapa for verification of the sexennial celebrations. However, tribal histories and traditions, it is suggested in this thesis, were fundamentally different from tribal descent narratives. Whereas tribal narratives largely constituted a seamless and unmediated body of tribal

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[53] Pei Te Hurinui, "Maori genealogies", *JPS*, 67:2 (1958), p.162.

[54] Extensive accounts of such Ngā Ruahine narrative were received from Tom Ngatai, and of Ngati Mutunga from Lou MacDonald, October-November 1992.

knowledge aggregated over time, tribal histories and traditions were constructed from these and cited for largely functional purposes.

It would be easy, again, to over-simplify the processes by which tribes re-arranged tribal narrative into tribal histories, and the reasons why. Māori intellectual processes were, and are, of course formidably complex, as discussions with kaumātua soon reveal. Most kaumātua in fact do not seem impressed with such descriptions as "Māori intellectual processes". Perhaps, to some, such descriptions suggest an inappropriate detour into abstraction. This is not necessarily to suggest that an intellectual history of the tribes and hapū in Taranaki, seen through their processes of re-arranging tribal narrative into history, cannot be contemplated. Some clues can be advanced to suggest how these re-arranging processes may have worked, and for what reason.

A critical element in advancing tribal histories as mediations of tribal narrative is the definition of the process and framework, necessarily customary, through which this was achieved. The key to such processes and frameworks was the continuing value to the tribes of whakapapa as intellectual infrastructure. Such histories were achieved, it is suggested, by tribes making use of conventional whakapapa. Whakapapa is here advanced as providing the critical infrastructure for all knowledge organisation. It was especially the most customary method and pattern of arranging tribal narratives of the past.

The process of re-arranging tribal narrative into tribal histories would then have logically followed the general sequential framework of conventional whakapapa, given that conventional whakapapa was one of its primary sources.

The general purpose underscoring such re-arranging or mediation of narrative was, it has been earlier suggested, the representation of the total and integrated enhancement of tribal mana. This extended into all areas of tribal being and existence. Consequently, the historical framework was itself likely to be arranged if intuitively on suggested sequences of conventional whakapapa, implicit or explicit, replicating an historical framework of whakapapa or, as is

here suggested, a mana whakapapa framework. The historical process which re-arranged or mediated narratives was a process suggested as further organised for the purposes of enhancing mana; essentially, it is here suggested, a mana history process.

This mana history process, and the mana whakapapa framework, organised and mediated descent narratives into tribal histories and traditions which among other things provided historical context and meaning. These histories and traditions were ultimately multi-layered and consistently mixed aspects of knowledge of both ancient and recent origin.

They also, perhaps in various guises, served many purposes, reaching into all areas of tribal lore. Binney has cited the continuing use of "mythological knowledge structures"[55] by tribes to "establish authority (by providing) the imaginative source from which larger social values derived (as well as) the governing but underlying ideas of the peoples lives."[56]

The mixing of ancient and modern narrative such as waka narrative formed an essential part of the process of tribes constructing their histories and traditions out of extended descent narratives. Such a mix of narratives, histories and traditions can be seen amongst the tribes of the third canoe of Taranaki, Tokomaru.

The tribe associated with Tokomaru is Te Atiawa, or Ngāti Awa as it was generally known in earlier times in Taranaki. This is how it invariably appeared in nineteenth century official documents and publications. An example was the Māori language *Kahiti O Nui Tireni* of 14 August 1867 where the "Ngati Awa" rohe is said to then extend from Titirangi to Onatiki.[57]

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[55] This thesis does not use the term "myth" or "mythology". The phrase "ancient knowledge" is preferred, suggesting knowledge from an earlier era seen within a continuum of knowledge, from ancient to modern.

[56] Judith Binney, "Myth and explanation in the Ringatū tradition", *JPS*, 93:4 (1984), p.345.

[57] *Kahiti O Nui Tireni (New Zealand Gazette)*, 14 August 1867.

Most local traditions have closely linked Ngāti Awa of Taranaki with Ngāti Awa of Whakatane. The migration traditions of Te Atiawa are well maintained within local tribal knowledge. According to MacDonald, the name Te Atiawa in fact originated from Ngāti Awa in the Bay of Plenty - Whakatane area:

> it's through all the transitional movements at that time that Ngāti Awa went up the coast, then traversed across the isthmus. They crossed over to the West Coast ... now the ones that got to Ahipara found the country very rugged, steep, hilly, that they thought they'd try to look for better country. They came down the Isle, the West Coast, down further till they got to Waitara and there they found the country suitable, so they set up their maraes in Waitara. In those days the river Waitara was known as Te Awaroa because they did not know how far it went inland. It went up as far as Pukerangiora and they didn't know how far it went up further, till later and they found that tribes were living up there too. That was the beginning of the name Te Atiawa Nui Tonu; the name went right up north and across to the East Coast, the vast tribe of Te Atiawa.[58]

Indications of this Taranaki - Ngāti Awa connection, routed through the north, were suggested from time to time as manifest beyond conventional whakapapa and traditions. Houston suggested for example such connections as underpinning a commonality of carving styles:

> something of the North Auckland type was carried to Taranaki by elements of the Ngati Awa tribe of the northern peninsular .... (despite this) element of conservatism ... allowance (was) made for the inventiveness of the individual artist.[59]

References to Ngāti Awa in Taranaki persisted until the late nineteen-twenties, featuring prominently in the documentary record of the Sim

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[58] MacDonald, personal communication, October 1992.

[59] John Houston, "Taranaki Maori Carvings", *JPS,* 57:4 (1948), p.301.

Commission deliberations of those years. At that time, however, the name Ngāti Awa had largely come to exclude Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Mutunga and Ngāti Maru, as well as other named tribes featuring prominently locally such as Kaitangata.[60] However, soon after, the usage of Te Atiawa became more prominent. This suggested that it gained currency at that time as a preferred name, perhaps reflecting a further severing of the believed traditional and longstanding connection with Ngāti Awa of Whakatane.

However, some local traditions assert an earlier severing and appearance of Te Atiawa pre-dating European settlement. "They came across from Ngāti Awa, so they were off-shoots I suppose, no, they weren't off-shoots, they were part of them, but they changed their name, they severed that Ngāti Awa tie."[61]

Te Atiawa whānui generally occupied, then as now, the land between the Herekawe Stream, or Onukutaipari, in the south, to the Mohakatino River or Mokau River, long a disputed northern boundary between Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Maniopoto.[62] However, since the passage of legislation establishing the Trust Board, Te Atiawa has effectively divided into four functioning tribal units, each with a modern iwi status in its own right. These are Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāti Maru and a smaller Te Atiawa.

Whether the name Te Atiawa now encompasses the four tribes, or the smaller tribe still bearing that name, remains a moot point with local conflicting views occasionally heard. The larger Te Atiawa identity is probably more aptly named "Te Atiawa whānui". According to MacDonald, "when we say Te Atiawa Nui Tonu, that does not disqualify anyone, they're all involved in Te Atiawa Nui Tonu, the vast tribe. The local tribes together are small, are not vast - Te

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[60] For tribal descriptions which substantially formed the basis of projections of confiscated land, lands subsequently Crown granted, and possible compensation calculations, see; Report on Petition No. 227/1926 (1926), Le 1/1925/12, NA.

[61] MacDonald, personal communication, October 1992.

[62] Greg White, Submission of Ngāti Tama, Waitangi Tribunal, Urenui Marae, 17 October 1991; Wai 143, F.19, p.21.

Atiawa whānui, the family."[63]

Today, the smaller Te Atiawa tribe claim that name as their tribal name, and are as likely to see the remaining three as actually hapū of the original, larger Te Atiawa whānui, of which of course they were also once a part. The other three tribes however generally maintain that Te Atiawa denotes a confederation - the Te Atiawa whānui - of which they were and are a part, always as independent tribes.

This is a complex argument to sustain given the fluid nature of tribal and hapū identities apparent or asserted throughout the nineteenth century, or before, and the very fluid nature of the tribal recall and oral sources still today. It does illustrate though how histories of descent are mediated out of earlier perhaps more composite narratives. Whereas such composite narratives might imply certain levels of commonality or unity amongst tribes, the mediation of histories can be achieved to, among other things, in fact assert such independence of identity and activity, especially as validated by the past.

The lesser name "Atiawa" is often suggested by neighbouring tribes as a better description for those who claim Te Atiawa as their tribe, much to the chagrin of the Te Atiawa tribe. Te Rangi Hiroa, himself Ngāti Mutunga, shared that view, frequently asserting that Te Atiawa were in the end a "confederation". He once wrote: "in days of yore, the Atiawa confederation knocked hell out of their neighbours. In modern times, the Tokomaru people have always been a stride more receptive to European influences than their neighbours."[64]

The name Atiawa appears regularly in writings and scholarship to variously describe the tribe of Te Atiawa, or the Te Atiawa whānui or even on perhaps rare occasions the Taranaki whānui, as Elsmore, "Te Whiti was Atiawa with Taranaki connections,"[65] or Sinclair, "Wiremu Kingi ... and his Atiawa

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[63] MacDonald, personal communication, October 1992.

[64] Buck to Ngata, 30 March 1929, *Na to hoa aroha,* p.186.

[65] Bronwyn Elsmore, *Mana from heaven. A century of Maori prophets in New Zealand* (Wellington, 1989), p.238.

people."[66]

The precise geographic-tribal areas intended here are difficult to evaluate, though perhaps not hard to guess. Issues of naming such as these did not always in the final analysis appear significant. But they did link the Māori peoples concerned very closely with sustaining histories of descent, identity and independence. They provided early indications of tribal groups defining areas within which issues of identity and history were to be contested, and sources of mana within these histories established.

However, before the construction of such sustaining histories is examined, with perhaps areas of contest illustrated, it would be useful to consider some elements within these constructions which might be said to be less in contest, if at all.

These are elements which touch on a suggested Māori intellectual process, common elements within a tribal and hapū intellectual history, advanced as common to all tribes, earlier referred to as formidably complex.

The commonality of tribal processes of recall and organising knowledge were at heart extensions of a commonality of culture. The longstanding unity of the Taranaki tribes, such as it was perceived, encompassed more than aspects of a common and overlapping descent narrative, with lateral and vertical connections established across the centuries. It also incorporated how Taranaki tribal histories were in fact recalled and constructed, an intellectual and historical process alluded to earlier in the context of descent histories and waka traditions.

This was a recall primarily based around a common oral process with innumerable points of reference. One such point of reference was the ancient landscape. According to O'Regan, "the names in the landscape were like survey pegs of memory, marking the events that happened in a particular place,

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[66] Keith Sinclair, *Kinds of peace. Maori people after the wars 1870 - 85* (Auckland, 1991), p.11.

recording some aspect or feature of the traditions and history of a tribe."[67] The utility of landscape in Taranaki, and the claim to that land by tribes as sustained within tribal histories - mana whenua - is examined in the next chapter.

Other points of reference were more difficult to manifest, embedded within varying Māori cultural forms like whakapapa itself, as Ashford has suggested:

> that is why oratory is established when you arrived at the marae, you didn't know who they were but the oratory would open up with the normal greeting, saying who you are and where you peopled land, where your ancestors traversed, where they now lie in death, deceased, they all make the mana of you and your people.[68]

Such whakapapa and whaikōrero incorporated some aspects of intuitive oratory and delivery of course. This implied an underlying sense of past and present that was equally intuitive.

However, despite the essentially intuitive nature of Māori oral recall, selections of narrative were, on a different level, likely to be arranged differently, where the specific recall of history and tradition was at issue. This thesis suggests that it was at points such as these - "that is why oratory is established when you arrived at the marae" - that histories organised through sequences shaped on conventional whakapapa were likely to be heard. These were constructed over a mana whakapapa historical framework, a conceptual framework that was as equally sequential and systematic.

Ultimately, these mana whakapapa sequences rendered selections of knowledge and narrative meaningful, and relevant as tribal histories and traditions. Such common intellectual organising processes, based on the device of conventional whakapapa, were inherently Māori cultural processes.

Vansina has defined culture as "what is common in the minds of a given group of people." People in communities may share ideas, values, and images;

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[67] O'Regan, in *He korero pūrākau,* p.xiii.

[68] Ashford, personal communication, October 1992.

all are representations that are collective to them and different from others. This is not to say that the contents of the minds of all individuals are the same; differences do exist.

However, the devices and principles through which knowledge and experience are internalised, organised and intellectualised are common. So is most of what people ultimately hold to be true about reality. For Māori, the primary devices were those which attached to conventional whakapapa, and the primary principles centred around mana.

According to Vansina, such cultural devices and principles are transmitted between generations. The communication of oral traditions in particular provides a primary conduit through which such processes of establishing collective representations of experience and reality, past and present, may be continued.[69]

Such processes incorporate narrative representations of the past, and they also incorporate conceptual frameworks through which these narratives of supposed fact are to be, at the very least, contextualised, and rendered meaningful.

Thornton considered the most important characteristic of such a process was its oral nature. It was extraordinary that such a device as conventional whakapapa - comprising a "Maori literature" - was entirely oral, written down for the first time later only by those who wrote manuscripts. "From conception and learning to performance (they were) either chanted or recited. How this is possible is not easy for us to conceive."[70]

Officials like Native Land Court Judges after 1865 in Taranaki were frequently similarly confounded. Fenton transcribed numerous pages of notes from Māori depositions in 1866 at Compensation Court Hearings in New Plymouth, attempting to decipher the intricacies of testimony and conventional

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[69] Jan Vansina, *Oral tradition as history* (London, 1985), p.124.

[70] Agathe Thornton, *Maori oral literature as seen by a classicist* (Dunedin, 1987), p.10.

whakapapa.[71]

In Buck's view, Māori people learned to absorb oral material at an early age:

> the ear of the uncivilised man has to depend on memorizing ... it has thus become more difficult for civilized man to adequately realize what the human memory is capable of amassing or to credit the vast amount of information that uncivilized man has handed down to posterity unwritten.[72]

What made such tribal histories and traditions memorable was the importance of whakapapa as intellectual infrastructure. Specifically, conventional whakapapa remained to all Māori people as a primary intellectual organising device. But whakapapa and mana were more closely linked than merely as device and principle of organising past knowledge, as kaumātua are prone to point out, perhaps again showing some disregard for what might be said to be abstraction. MacDonald linked whakapapa and mana together by suggesting that "the main part of a Māori's life was his whakapapa, he had to understand it, it was like the breath of life to him, knowing his whakapapa, it was his mana and his personality."[73]

Pei Te Hurinui also emphasised often the centrality of whakapapa as an intellectual organising device: "the Maori placed great importance on his genealogies and on the genealogical method of fixing the sequence of events."[74] Equally, such whakapapa and histories, organised through largely common narratives - "an order and a consistency in its internal rules",[75] were

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[71] Proceedings of the Compensation Court, New Plymouth, 1866, p.62, File 1/3, DOSLI, New Plymouth.

[72] Te Rangihiroa (P.H.Buck), "The value of tradition in Polynesian research", *JPS*, 35:3 (1926), p.181.

[73] MacDonald, personal communication, October 1992.

[74] Pei Te Hurinui, "Maori Genealogies", p.162.

[75] O'Regan, "Old myths", p.24.

memorable for the persistence of mana as primary organising principle.

Barlow has described mana as "the enduring, indestructible power of the gods. It is the sacred fire that is without beginning and without end." Mana emanting from ancestry is in fact perceived or described variously in different parts of the country. What this thesis names as mana wairua and mana tūpuna is described as Rarangi Matua by the Atihau-Whanganui people, and as Aho Rangatira amongst the Muriwhenua tribes. These descriptives supercede earlier terms like "take tūpuna" which, dating from Native Land Court hearings, were frequently used to denote similar descent and validation from celestial and mortal forbears.

According to Barlow, such mana from ancestry might be seen as emanating from mana atua, a "sacred power ... given to those persons who conform to sacred ritual and principles." Mana tūpuna, according to Barlow, might refer to the omnipotence of the ancestors, and the authority handed down through chiefly lines, passed from one generation to another. Mana whenua is described as the power associated with the land, including inherited rights, power of control and the protection and conservation of especially sacred sites. A final category suggested by Barlow is mana tangata, the authority and vigour of the tribe, hapū and individual.[76]

Such conventional divisions of descent knowledge suggested how tribes saw and evaluated the narrative material which comprised their descent record. Important parts of such narrative material found their way into the tribe's history. The earliest histories and traditions of the tribes and hapū of Taranaki were recalled in a myriad of forms. These forms were based around narratives of common people, places and events. This constituted a meshing of supposed fact and organising framework, as we shall see for Te Atiawa in particular.

Oral depictions of the past tended to be, and are largely still, fragmentary and incomplete, not always as a consequence of the intuitive process, however.

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[76] Cleve Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro. Key concepts in Māori culture* (Auckland, 1991), pp.60 - 62.

Presentations of conventional whakapapa and history were equally likely to be selectively attuned to the occasions for which they were presented. Some occasions within Māori protocols of course provided constraints enough of their own, such as pōwhiri and poroporoakī.

Presentations were also rigidly structured by the practice of whaikōrero, as Buck has written:

> the fixed etiquette of welcoming visitors with oratorical speeches (and) discussions of affairs of tribal or family interest, and orations connected with birth, marriage and death, all led to the development of high standards of speech and oratory .... (Participants) learned to memorize the higher forms of speech which contained references to mythology, traditions, and genealogies ... enriched with figures of speech and appropriate chants and songs.[77]

Such "high standards of speech and oratory" served frequently as occasions for the presentation of "mythology, traditions and genealogy". Whilst these would have presented largely as intuitive deliveries, such were certain to have been established within clear conceptual frameworks.

Some scholars have taken a close interest in such presentations. Issues of factual veracity have particularly interested many scholars. Such issues of believed fact have been cited and argued as important measures of the scholarly value of such narratives and traditions, alongside issues attaching to the supposed reliability of tribal methods of recall, especially oral.

Roberton, for example, has attempted to distinguish between tribal traditions that are seemingly "factual", and those elements seemingly "conceptual." He has placed some store on assessing the veracity of those narrative traditions "which purport to be true records of fact."[78] He has further sought to "investigate and ... establish a rational basis for the impression of reliability held by all who have

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[77] Peter Buck (Te Rangihiroa), *The coming of the Maori* (Wellington, 1925), p.360.

[78] J.B.W. Roberton, "The evaluation of Maori tribal tradition as history", *JPS*, 71:3 (1962), p.293.

studied tribal tradition at all closely and (to) establish a framework on which to build a significant history."[79]

Roberton's view was that "comparatively little has been published in the way of critical commentary, analysis and collation. Before one can make any reasonable appraisal of its value as historical material, a very considerable amount of personal study is called for."[80]

However, Roberton's view of "significant history" largely aligning with satisfactory enquiries into what might constitute "true records of fact" did not always compare with other writers interested in oral traditions and history. African historian Joseph Miller has pointed to the value of evidence in oral tradition: "the historian must approach the oral tradition as "evidence", whatever scholars in other disciplines may chose to do with the same narratives." Evidence was more than that which "the historian takes as something that bears witness to a vanished time because it has survived unchanged, from then until the historian examines it."[81]

Assessing tribal histories and traditions as factual evidence is a useful exercise if one seeks to evaluate tribal traditions as historical knowledge in a "purist" sort of way, as Roberton has done in many of his contributions to the Journal of the Polynesian Society.[82] Roberton was ultimately concerned with extracting supposed factual evidence out of the tribal traditions, noting that "it seems certain that at some stage there is a transition from pure myth, through myth plus history, and that the mythical parts have been formalised as true historical records."[83]

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[79] J.B.W. Roberton, "The significance of New Zealand tribal tradition", *JPS*, 67:1 (1958), p.41.

[80] J.B.W. Roberton, "The role of tribal tradition in New Zealand pre-history", *JPS*, 66:3 (1957), p.249.

[81] Joseph C. Miller, *The African past speaks. Essays on oral tradition and history* (Kent, 1980), p.1.

[82] As noted earlier, see footnotes nos. 75,76,77.

[83] Roberton, "Significance", p.39.

However, Miller had considered that oral traditions could be approached as "evidence", as did Marwick ten years earlier when conceding that "history based exclusively on non-documentary sources, as, say, the history of an African community, may be a sketchier, less satisfactory history than one drawn from documents, but is history all the same."[84]

Other historians have seemed not so convinced. Perhaps Prins is speaking for many in writing that "most professional historians are generally pretty sceptical about the value of oral sources in reconstructing the past." Prins quoted A.J.P. Taylor as declaring, "in this matter, I am an almost total sceptic - old men drooling about their past? No!"

According to Prins, "many now might be slightly more generous, and admit oral history ... as pleasant and helpful, but few would accept that such materials can become pivotal in studying documented, modern societies."[85]

Binney has expressed a contrary view. In alluding to the complexity of dealing with oral narratives, Binney has argued that "myth" and history cannot be easily separated:

> myth and history were not exclusive. History, or the actions and decisions which were seen to be important in the times of the ancestors, was recorded and transmitted by oral tradition ... new myth-narratives evolved ... narratives which recorded events, but which interwove into the perceptions of these events (other) traditions like matakite, foresight.[86]

Buck was certain of the validity and integrity of oral transmission when he wrote that whakapapa was not "idle stories ... bandied about from lip to lip without supervision or restraint ... oral history was transmitted from generation to generation in proper courses of study by priests and teachers who had

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[84] Arthur Marwick, *The nature of history* (London, 1970), p.150.

[85] Gwyn Prins, "Oral History", in *New perspectives on historical writing,* (ed) Peter Burke (Cambridge, 1991), p.114.

[86] Binney, "Myth and Explanation", p.345.

themselves graduated from whare wānanga." In his own area, Ngāti Mutunga of North Taranaki, such priests had constructed a "Tokomaru school" at Mohakatino called Marae-rotuhia.[87]

In North America, most indigenous processes of reciting histories and traditions seem also to be oral. However, whether genealogies provide a means for organising this or other tribal knowledge is from evidence available difficult to tell. According to one early anthropological account of the South West Navaho, "to understand fully the Navaho "philosophy of life" one must dig deeper ... many characteristically Navaho doings and sayings make sense only if they are related to certain basic convictions about the nature of human life and experience."[88]

There is some refuge from the obstacle of oral sources, in New Zealand as overseas, in recent developments like ethnohistory. Ethnohistory largely marries the use of oral and documentary sources within the anthropological and historical disciplines. It ostensibly retains an historical interest in tribal societies, as with Munn's ethnohistory of his people, Ngāti Manu.

However, as Munn indicates, ethnohistorians perceive some problems with tribal sources. According to Munn, "elders can only give disparate parts of tribal history and customs; a deeper understanding is needed to appreciate the degree to which customs and ways of our ancestors have evolved. The preferred method of such a study involves ethnohistorical reconstruction."[89]

Such approaches as ethnohistory seem more concerned with change over time, or continuity, than with historical process and construction. The focus is more directed towards assessing cultural change and adaptation, primarily within colonial culture-contact situations. Such studies, according to Axtell, offer historians a better and broader access to a range of "historical and ethnological

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[87] Te Rangihiroa, "The value of tradition", pp.183-184.

[88] Clyde Kluckman and Dorothea Leighton, *The Navaho* (Cambridge, 1958), p.223.

[89] D.D. Munn, "Ngati Manu. An ethnohistorical account", MA thesis in Anthropology (Auckland University, 1985), abstract.

methods and material to gain knowledge of the natures and causes of change in ... culture(s) defined by ethnological concepts and categories."[90] Some analysis of tribal histories and oral traditions will be undertaken in this thesis but only to the extent that it serves the purpose of suggesting and describing a certain Māori historical process. This process is suggested here as underscoring the maintenance and mediation of Taranaki tribal histories and traditions which have existed from the earliest recall.

In suggesting the existence of such a process, one must also recognise its place - interlinked, complemented, contextualised - within the total he tangata o whakarotia, Māori thinking; or, perhaps more specifically, Kei te hoki whakamuri ngā kōrero, thinking and talking about the past.[91] Given the complex nature of tribal histories and traditions, it was probably inevitable that Roberton would conclude that "there is no doubt that factual tradition has been so overlaid with concepts and theories that it is possible only by careful study and comparative analysis to ascertain what is authentic factual tradition and what is theory."[92]

It is suggested here that the "factual tradition", essentially the tribal narrative, was one thing. It was however fundamentally different from the "concepts and theories", the conceptual framework or historical process which extracted meaning out of the narratives.

Both narrative and process are suggested here as having served different purposes. The former, the tribal narrative, provided extended narratives of the past in largely unmediated form. The latter, the historical process, contextualised the narrative.

This historical process is advanced, then, as the mana history process which, with the mana whakapapa framework, produced tribal histories and traditions

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[90] James Axtell, *The European and the Indian. Essays in the ethnohistory of colonial North America* (New York, 1981), p.5.

[91] MacDonald, personal communication, October 1992.

[92] Roberton, "Evaluation", p.308.

based on mana.

Issues of factual veracity should not necessarily cast shadows on the describing and defining of the "concepts and theories" that might underlie tribal and hapū constructions of the past. These concepts and theories, or mana history historical processes, are suggested as inherently Māori processes of rendering meaning, and generating tribal histories founded on mana, from the extensive narratives of the past reposited in the tribal memories.

Such historical processes that are inherently Māori obtain their conventional divisions from the device of whakapapa. Whakapapa was critical to all arrangement of knowledge, providing both intellectual infrastructure and device for mediation to occur. Tribal and hapū narrative, whether spoken or written, was therefore predominantly related, as earlier suggested, through the device of conventional whakapapa.

Barlow has described conventional whakapapa in terms perhaps of its primary function as conveyor of tribal genealogies. It recorded the descent of all living things "from the gods to the present time. The meaning of whakapapa is to lay one thing upon another as, for example, to lay one generation upon another ... whakapapa is the basis for the organisation of knowledge."[93] Barlow however does not advance a process by which it might be said that conventional whakapapa organised genealogical knowledge for any historical purpose other than that conferred by layers of one generation succeeding another.

The sheer scope of the purview of conventional whakapapa was and is daunting. Some orators could claim knowledge of whakapapa encompassing whole tribes. Other Māori would seek immediate lines of descent, as suggested by MacDonald:

> you have to bring it down to where you are, someone who does a whakapapa, he has to be sure of how far down he is going to

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[93] Barlow, *Tikanga whakaaro*, p.173.

> bring it. He might bring it down so far through the tribe, to a certain ancestor, then he'll relate himself to that ancestor, and then he goes back and says who he is, but they must not break. If they broke, the old people would pick them up.[94]

O'Regan has represented conventional whakapapa as "essentially a task of intellectual management," though by which process other than generational layers and means is not advanced. According to O'Regan, whakapapa could be stated as demonstrating a direct line of descent from one ancestor to another, comprising a complex network of lateral relationships.

An understanding of whakapapa could illuminate or indeed be a vehicle of history. "In Maori tradition, one requires the skeletal framework of whakapapa to authenticate the historical tradition."[95]

Whakapapa was thus particularly relevant to tribal and hapū thinking of the past. This was because it required Māori people to relate narratives of the past in a schematic and interlocked fashion. Whakapapa indeed authenticated, if not the "historical tradition", then at least knowledge of the tribal past in the form of "tribal narratives". It authenticated knowledge primarily of tūpuna presented in a compact yet largely unmediated form.

However, for whakapapa to "authenticate the historical tradition" should imply that it incorporated an inherent capacity or historical process through which tribal narratives might be organised into histories and traditions founded on mana, and held in the tribal memory as authentic and meaningful.

The mana history process as advanced in this thesis is suggested as such an inherent process. How it might be said to follow a schematic form consistent with conventional whakapapa, providing an integrated whakapapa model of distinct layers or tiers - mana wairua, mana tūpuna, mana whenua - through which the narratives are mediated, is examined later in the next chapter.

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[94] MacDonald, personal communication, October 1992.

[95] O'Regan, "Old myths", p.25

This thesis advances these three tiers as categories of organisation, based on mana whakapapa, around which mana histories were mediated and constructed, and later activity justified as validated by the past.

However, any other number of other categories of mana might have existed. This was so as part of the tribe's gathering of all conventional whakapapa and narrative knowledge pertaining to and enhancing of its mana. In the end, such accounts of tribal mana history were intended to depict more than the past. They depicted a complete and integrated representation of the tribe's mana.

In some respects, to suggest the application such an inherent process is to also perhaps suggest a change in how conventional whakapapa might be perceived. This is a change from whakapapa as conveyor of extended genealogies with implicit narrative, one generation to another (conventional whakapapa) as Barlow and O'Regan perceive it, to a perception of whakapapa as a device for organising and mediating histories of mana (mana whakapapa), out of the sources of that conventional whakapapa, if not the whakapapa itself.

The latter perception of whakapapa, when seen as a device to structure knowledge of the past, implied that whakapapa contained more knowledge than genealogies. It alluded to a suggested mana whakapapa model or paradigm through which all complex narratives and knowledge might be extracted and mediated into integrated tribal mana histories. The over-riding principle governing this mediation, as has been earlier suggested, was the maintenance and assertion of tribal mana.

Consequently, such knowledge as was embodied within conventional whakapapa, if only implied amidst the genealogies, was mediated from the extended tribal narrative and incorporated into a largely functional tribal history of mana, or mana history, as suggested by this thesis.

This thesis draws a distinction between conventional whakapapa as conveyor of tribal genealogical narrative, and mana whakapapa as framework or device for the mediation of that narrative. In reality such distinctions were not of course simply or easily discerned. The point needs to be made that though a

mana whakapapa framework as suggested here is an inherent historical process used by tribes, in reality the conventional - mana whakapapa divide was very narrow. After the 1860's, for example, much conventional whakapapa was increasingly written down. This was particularly as a consequence of Native Land Court proceedings. In reality, however, whakapapa thus submitted as evidence in land claims more often than not was brief and fragmented and, as adapted to the land issues at hand, presented as, in most cases mana whakapapa.

One such brief mana whakapapa was that of one Apimaika who in 1870 appeared before the Native Land Court in New Plymouth. Apimaika sought succession to land formerly owned by one Te Wirihana, deceased. Apimaika demonstrated his relationship to Te Wirihana by citing a simple and somewhat selective whakapapa, typical of such hearings:

Nukutamaroa	=	Hinetemurangi
Te Wirihana		
Hinetemurangi 2	=	Te Pito
Te Wirihana (decd)	=	Apimaika[96]

Narrative accounts of Māori people in Taranaki were seldom complete when either spoken or transcribed. In his analysis of tribal "traditions" as factual evidence, Roberton wrote that in his view absolute validity could not be claimed for traditional evidence, any more than for other forms of evidence found in "prehistory". In the case of very early traditions, it was inevitable that there was generally little material for substantive analysis and comparison.

According to Roberton, in such cases, "continuity with subsequent traditions which can be shown to have ... validity must be a strong point in favour of its acceptance, and, on the other hand, isolation in context calls for extreme caution."[97]

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[96] Taranaki minute book, p.77, Aotea Land Court District, MLC, Wanganui.

[97] Roberton, "Evaluation", p.293.

The point is a fair one. However, Roberton misses the significance of process over narrative. How the material is organised and recounted, whether complete or fragmented, largely accounts for its validity to Māori people, more so than the factual relevance of certain people, places and certain events.

Consequently, the "very early traditions" may well have provided little material for analysis and comparison. However, as this chapter has argued, what they did provide was the opening stanzas of an extended narrative of descent and identity. As has earlier been discussed, these constituted narratives of which selections were always organised through a schematic form consistent with conventional whakapapa. These selections provided the traditions and histories founded on mana, and held in the tribal memory as authentic and meaningful.

They also provided tribes, hapū and Māori people with sources and histories of mana, which, in the final analysis, was the purpose of maintaining tribal histories. Thus, approaches like mana history could be said to have served an essential historical function of organising knowledge of the past within certain frameworks which provided context, meaning, and ultimately an embodiment of tribal or individual mana. "It's expressed on the marae, they stood up and established who they were first and then going back, and of course your mountain was included in that, it would lock you in, whakapapa was land as well."[98]

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[98] Ashford, personal communication, October 1992.

CHAPTER TWO

MANA WAIRUA, MANA TŪPUNA.

The preceding chapter has advanced and discussed certain tribal historical frameworks and processes. These underscored tribal and hapū selections of tribal narrative, and the mediating of that narrative into tribal histories of mana.

The divisions of conventional whakapapa were suggested as forming a logical basis and framework through which such selections might be said to have occurred. These divisions were proposed as mana whakapapa categories - mana wairua, mana tūpuna, mana whenua - through which knowledge of the past, mediated out of tribal narratives, could be organised.

The purpose of this chapter is to show how in Taranaki select narratives of celestial and mortal forebears were drawn over time from conventional sources and whakapapa, and mediated into mana wairua and mana tūpuna histories.

As indicated earlier, the highest such echelon of genealogical narrative found within conventional whakapapa lay within the realm of the what Barlow has called "genealogy of the gods",[1] or "mana atua". These were ancestors deemed to have been of celestial origin largely emanating out of Māori creation narratives and other sources of ancient knowledge.

A brief examination of this first echelon of knowledge within Te Atiawa whānui narratives in particular will demonstrate issues of choice and selection as such narrative was mediated into the Te Atiawa tribal histories and traditions.

Accounts of such ancestors were often exhaustive. In Māori historical terms,

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[1] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro*, p.173

they were equally selective when bearing directly on establishing the tribe's mana. This was a sense of mana largely deriving from the celestial or, extending beyond this, the spirit world. This thesis utilises mana wairua as a category for that assembly of celestial or spiritual forebears mediated into the upper echelons of a tribe's mana history.[2]

Extended traditions of "mana wairua" whakapapa illustrated descent from selected deities, preceding later descent stories which were temporal, although in reality it was not uncommon for this distinction to be easily spanned: "my genealogy allows me to whakapapa back into our ancestral tomb."[3]

The mana wairua aspect of mana whakapapa is not as well remembered nor as often cited in Taranaki today as one might imagine. This is suggested for example with Ngā Ruahine traditions of descent as recently presented which paid limited attention to mana wairua descent. However, the occasion was a submission to the Waitangi Tribunal, constituting a presentation for a distinct purpose for which an extended mana wairua accounting was probably deemed unnecessary. As with some other Taranaki tribes, Ngā Ruahine then lay immediate emphasis on the waka and waka ancestors:

> After the arrival ... of Toi Te Huatahi ... the canoe Ariki mai tai arrived on the south Taranaki coast ... a later canoe captained by Whiro ended her voyage at Oeo ... Wakaringaringa landed at Kaupokonui and Ngateko at the mouth of the Kapuni ... her captain was Mawakeroa.[4]

Despite this, the place of mana wairua in the customary organisation of tribal traditions in Taranaki is seemingly diminishing on some fronts, though not all. Despite the negative impacts on mana wairua accountings earlier experienced within bodies like the Compensation and Native Land Courts, such

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[2] The term "mana wairua" is preferred to Barlow's "mana atua" because it can be said to encapsulate a broader spiritual dimension. Lou MacDonald and Tom Ngatai agreed with such a distinction, but, as indicated earlier, such distinctions cannot be proposed as ironcast; personal communication, October-November 1992.

[3] White, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, F.19, p.1.

[4] Horsfall, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal; Wai 143, F.4, p.159.

accountings of the past have re-emerged, especially in the more receptive climate of the Waitangi Tribunal. Kaumātua not surprisingly tend to defend mana wairua histories strenuously.[5] However, with mediating processes suggested as ongoing, latter generations may well be placing less store on celestial sources of ancient tradition, and mana.

It may well be that mana wairua accountings of the past are being supplanted with aspects recalled of the last century to which the latter generations are more closely located, in time and political moment. However, accounts of celestial origins serve no less the purpose of contributing towards a history of tribal mana, though they may appear only as celestial prologues to accounts of recent contacts after 1841 which predominate those accounts. It was always a matter suiting the occasion for which historical presentations were made, as O'Regan has suggested:

> a critical task ... in looking at a whakapapa, is to assess for what purpose it was assembled - what was it attempting to show ... this is not a peculiarly Maori problem. It is one that a huge range of historical resources suffer from.[6]

In earlier times, however, it was always common for speakers presenting histories and whakapapa to dwell at inordinate length within the realm of mana wairua.[7]

The Te Atiawa celestial narratives are intricately linked. In the mana wairua of the Te Atiawa whānui, Whatukura Tamarau te Heketanga is often cited as the most important ancestor of heavenly origin. He was important in that he was the believed father of the eponymous ancestor of Te Atiawa, Te Awanui Ā Rangi. Whatukura Tamarau te Heketanga is currently celebrated in likeness as "the

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[5] Tom Ngatai, personal communication, November 1992.

[6] O'Regan, "Old myths", p.25.

[7] Tom Ngatai and Lou MacDonald, personal communications, October-November 1992.

appellation of the figure at the bottom of the epa or gable slab immediately to the left inside the main door" of the house Te Ika A Maui at Owae Marae, Waitara."[8] He is believed by Te Atiawa to have been of celestial origin; his extended descent line was recently recounted as:

Ranginui = Papatuanuku

Kahui Ao

Ao Puri

Ao Rangi

Ao Whetu Ma

Ao Tatai

Te Kahui Tu

Pou Tina

Pou Whenua

Pou Wananga

Pou Korero

Pou tea Pou Ranga Hua Pou Wharau Mauri Rangi

Hine Takawai

Hape Ki Tua Rangi

Patiki Moe Roa

Rangi Patito

Nga Tara Puku

Nga Whete

Tama Rau te Heketanga (= m. Rongo Ue Roa)

Te Awanui A Rangi[9]

In the past, a vast number of schematic depictions of conventional whakapapa such as this have been proposed, and attempts at categorisation and evaluation of the form made. Some Māori writers have contributed, as with

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[8] Taranaki Maori Trust Board, *Souvenir of Pomare memorial meeting* (Waitara, 1936), p.61.

[9] Darcy Keenan, Submission by Ngāti Te Whiti, Waitangi Tribunal, Owae Marae, Waitara, 11 April 1991; Wai 143, D.14, p.3.

O'Regan who has suggested that "applying scholarly standards to Maori tradition and history ... is, at root, the only weapon we have to defend the integrity of the Maori memory." This would seem to be a contrary view to that which holds that whakapapa might serve as a fundamental organiser and arbiter of Māori knowledge and histories based on mana.

Barlow locates Ranginui and Papatuanuku within a category of "cosmic genealogy" which, with a further category below of "genealogy of the Gods", comprises the "mana wairua" category suggested by this study[10].

What is interesting here is the fact that the Te Atiawa whakapapa cited above commences relatively low down in the cosmic order, because preceding Ranginui and Papatuanuku, according to most conventional whakapapa, is a variation of:

Iomatua

Te Kore

Po

Aomarama

Ranginui = Papatuanuku

Walker represents Te Kore, Po (Te Po) and Aomarama (Te Aomarama) as "three states of existence ... sequentially tabulated in the manner of a genealogy, each with its own subdivisions."[11]

Te Atiawa tribal traditions begin, then, with the account of the conception of Te Awanui Ā Rangi, the ancestor from whom the tribe is believed to have descended, and from much of the wairua mana is obtained.

The tradition of his conception is one that is central to most accounts of the origins of Te Atiawa. According to one recent retelling of the story:

one day, while washing Rauru in a stream, Rongo Ueroa was noticed by

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[10] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro*, p.173.

[11] R.J. Walker, "Maori identity" in *Culture and identity in New Zealand*, (eds) David Novitz and Bill Wilmott (Wellington, 1989), p.36.

> a Whatakura ... from the tenth heaven. This Whatakura, named Tamarau te Heketanga a Rangi was struck by Rongo Ueroa's beauty, and descending to the earth embraced her. Before returning to the heavenly abode, he is said to have stated: "should the child we have conceived be a boy, name him Awanui A Rangi after the stream by which I descended from the sky." This in due course came to pass. One of Awanuiarangi's wives was Tane-kaha who belonged to Te Tini O Taitawaro of north Taranaki, and thence came the direct link with the original tangata whenua of this area.[12]

Accordingly, the following whakapapa of Te Atiawa has been recorded, extending from the realm of the celestial ancestors to that domain of descendants after Te Awanui Ā Rangi. These are ancestors deemed to have been mortal.

The mana wairua aspect of the mana whakapapa model of extended descent becomes more directly mana tūpuna, now dealing with ancestors who most prominently feature in specific tribal and hapū genealogies:

Tama Rau te Heketanga	=	m. Rongo Ueroa
Te Awanui A Rangi I	=	m. Tahu Ao Ariki
Ue Kaha	=	Hoewaka
Tatu Ahurangi	=	Awa roa
Tamahaere	=	Awa Tumaki Te Rangi
Pakiwhara	=	Awa Morehurehu
Wharaurangi	=	Ira Kewa
Kuwharao	=	Toroa
Te Awetapu	=	E Ua I Honga Tahinga
Tatarau	=	Te Awanui A Rangi I
Toka Tapu		

[12] Joe Ritai, Submission of Te Atiawa, Waitangi Tribunal, Owae Marae, Waitara, 8 April 1991; Wai 143, D.1, p.17.

Toka Haere

Apenui

Aperoa

Mangotakiroa

Taimatanui

Tamawhakatara

Uenuku = Te Kura

Tahuwharerangi = Rangierua

Te Manuiti = Rongohiri

Tanehuri = Whakangautao

Rongokau = Te Hautehore

Rakeitahanga = Hine Maringi

Whakiiri = Te Rangi Pakiina

Katene = Hotene

Ani = Kuru

Te Matewhiu

Te Ihorangi.[13]

This conventional whakapapa presents as a complex inter-relationship of people, all of whom might be recalled individually in some detail, a whakapapa from which any amount and degree of mediation might be contemplated.

The whakapapa highlights a number of areas where issues bearing on "historical knowledge" might be seen, revealing narrative preserved for purposes of mana, and narrative not preserved. What follows is a brief selection, demonstrating issues and choices likely to be made.[14]

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[13] Ritai, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, D.1, p.19.

[14] This process is continued in Chapter three. There, reference is made to ancestors found within (and drawn from) conventional whakapapa such as this as individual mana whenua estates of individual hapū are described.

According to this whakapapa, both Te Awanui Ā Rangi and his son Ue Kaha married Te Tini O Taitawaro women, believed to have been earlier occupants of the Te Atiawa estate. Narratives of the Te Tini O Taitawaro people remain in the collective Te Atiawa whānui tribal memory, but hapū of Te Atiawa are far from agreed as to their value.

As seen here, there were ultimately two tupuna with the name Te Awanui Ā Rangi. This whakapapa, however, establishes the origins and subsequent descent lines of Te Awanui Ā Rangi as contained in Te Atiawa mana history, especially emphasising his believed celestial descent. The believed celestial descent is paramount to Te Atiawa, and references to this very much constitute mana wairua of Te Atiawa.

Many such references can be located in Te Atiawa tribal narratives. One older Te Atiawa waiata makes reference to the union between Tamarau and Rongo Ueroa:

Tamarau no runga i te rangi
Heke iho ki raro ki te whakamarimari te tatari ai
Ki te hurahanga i te tapora o rongo ue roa
Taku kuia e! Taku kuia e!
Te Ara o taku tupuna o tohia ai au
Ko te Atiawa no runga i te rangi
Ko te toki te tangatanga e te ra
Taringa mango ko kete nge
Ue ha! Ue he!

Many approximate translations of this waiata currently exist, with many of the references in modern times unclear:

Tamarau from the heavens above
Came down to make love and waited
Until he could have Rongo Ueroa to wife
She is our Kuia! She is our kuia!
This therefore is the consecrated pathway of our

ancestors
Te Atiawa from the heavens above
The adze (of Tamarau) which can remove the very
sun from its axis!

One Te Atiawa repositor of this waiata, Mr Joe Ritai, has expressed some reservations where parts of this song are concerned. The song includes references to incidents no longer precisely remembered. The reference to "taringa mango" may, for instance, relate to the carved pole presently to be found just inside the main whare at Te Ika A Maui, at Owae Marae, Waitara.

The celestial origins of Te Atiawa are referred to in many expressive forms, as well as waiata, particularly in whakairo, tauparapara, and whakatauakī. An example of a traditional whakatauakī which highlights the importance of the believed celestial genesis of Te Atiawa is "Te Atiawa I Runga o te Rangi - Te Atiawa from the heavens above, we are heaven sent." It is often claimed that the original name for Te Atiawa was Nga Tini O Awanui Ā Rangi, the multitudes of Te Awanui Ā Rangi.[15]

This account of believed celestial origins is necessarily brief. A more complete representation of the Te Atiawa mana wairua would warrant a vast amount of space, to say nothing of the extended historical narratives from which the mana wairua traditions can be said to be drawn.

However, the mana wairua of Te Atiawa tribal tradition ultimately merges into a second tier of mana tūpuna. Here, the progression of people and events proceeds out of Barlow's "cosmic genealogy - genealogy of the gods" phase and into the province of ancestors believed to have actually lived.

These mortal ancestors are more specifically located in conventional

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[15] Ritai, personal communication, January 1992. Mr Ritai is probably the foremost repositor of Te Atiawa narrative and histories.

whakapapa, and are more readily located through distinctive landmarks and wahi tapu. They are also located in time, perhaps through a rudimentary chronology for which any number of points of reference might exist, an idea well canvassed by early writers like Best[16] and Fletcher[17] who were intent on "rationalizing the legends, utilizing the traditions, calculating dates by genealogies, and blending the whole into works of real historical value."[18]

The problem of chronology was recently discussed by Thornton and Curnow. Whereas Thornton considered Māori "chronologies" to be largely "experienced as inherent in events ... inherent in the season, the movements of the heavenly bodies and in the generations of the ancestors", Curnow for her part considered that "we can agree that this science (chronology) existed only in a rudimentary form in pre-contact centuries; it is another thing to maintain that it was no science and therefore no "chronology"."[19]

For practical purposes, most conventional whakapapa actually cited on a marae or at hui begins with mana tūpuna, the mortal world. This was especially so of whakapapa written down last century in support of Native Land Court hearings. The mana of the whakapapa complemented the mana of the wairua; those recounting histories would turn their attention to a selection of mortal beings of the past to continue the process of establishing a tribe's identity, authenticity and mana.

Key differences and divergences quite naturally began to appear as whakapapa reached down through layers of generations into distinct geographic, tribal and family groupings. Whereas all tribes in the north of Taranaki might

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[16] Elsdon Best, *The Maori division of time* (Wellington 1922, reprinted Wellington, 1973).

[17] H.J. Fletcher, "The use of genealogies for the purpose of dating Polynesian history", *JPS*, 39:2 (1930), pp.189-194.

[18] John F.G. Stokes, "An evaluation of early genealogies used for Polynesian history", *JPS*, 39:1 (1930), p.1.

[19] Jennifer Curnow, "Comment: on Agathe Thornton's article (Two features of oral style in Maori narrative)", *JPS*, 94:2 (1985), p.177.

agree on a common mana wairua, the differences in mana tupuna might or might not prove more difficult to find common agreement.

It would by useful to explain at this point the arrangement of tribes and hapū which comprise those tribes of the north, under examination here. The four tribes of the north, as earlier mentioned, are Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Mutunga and Te Atiawa. These four tribes are hereafter referred to, when together, at least for present purposes, as Te Atiawa whānui.

The modern smaller tribe of Te Atiawa contains six hapū. These six hapū are, generally from north to south, Ngāti Rahiri, Manukorihi, Otaraua, and Pukerangiora situated around Waitara; Puketapu near Bell Block, and Ngāti Te Whiti in New Plymouth. Each of these hapū is to some extent a consolidation of earlier hapū having in the nineteenth century settled on a collective identity which incorporated many earlier kinship groupings.

Each component unit of Te Atiawa whānui considers Te Awanui Ā Rangi to have been a common ancestor. The traditions of his birth and later movements form an essential and early part of all individual hapū and tribal traditions within Te Atiawa whānui. Te Awanui Ā Rangi is also claimed still as the eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Awa, of the Bay of Plenty area.[20]

As indicated earlier, the Te Tini O Taitawaro people posed some problems for all Taranaki tribes constructing whakapapa, more especially as Te Tini O Taitawaro were, and are, generally not survived by genealogy specific to themselves. How this came about mystified even some Māori, including Buck who wrote, "we are only getting fragments of the history of the previous people. Why are there no traditions of the moa-hunters who left their Polynesian adzes beside the scenes of their feasts?"[21]

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[20] Miria Simpson, Ngāti Awa, personal communication, October 1992.

[21] Buck to Ngata, 27 August 1927, *Na to hoa aroha,* p.54.

Some tribes in Taranaki valued and incorporated their presence into their histories and traditions, while others did not. This was a common choice for tribes elsewhere as well; whether and how to account for believed pre-Great Fleet inhabitants of estates claimed as tribal rohe.

Tainui tribal histories describe encounters with earlier peoples specifically named by Kelly as Ngāti Hikawai and Te Upokotoia. The Great Fleet "newcomers" appear initially to have experienced no opposition from these people of whom "unfortunately, we know so little". Later, however, it is believed most were killed, with the women becoming slaves to the Tainui men.[22]

Tribal histories of Takitimu also discuss the presence of earlier occupants. "Whether or not New Zealand was inhabited at the time of Kupe's discovery may be matter for conjecture ... it is certain that with the arrival of Toi-te-huatahi, about 1125 AD, the land was well-colonised by some previously unknown, and by all accounts inferior, type of people."[23]

In both tribal histories, the many and varying sources for these traditions are discussed but ultimately are set aside because these earlier occupants were not enshrined in tribal whakapapa sufficient to form an essential part of the later store of Tainui and Takitimu tradition and mana history.

The presence of such "tangata whenua" people prior to the waka and their possible colonisation by later arrivals has of course engendered a substantial scholarship. Much responsibility for documenting, interpreting, even creating, the Great Fleet traditions is laid at the door of Percy Smith, surveyor, ethnologist and prolific writer, with others like Best and Skinner. Percy Smith and Skinner were particularly interested in Taranaki, and produced a large volume between them on the tribes of the west coast, much of it in collaboration. Later scholars and writers have questioned their writings,

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[22] Kelly, *Tainui*, p.62.

[23] Mitchell, *Takitimu*, p.19.

methodologies, interpretations and conclusions; and therein lies a vast and significant scholarship. To the tribes, however, whether earlier occupants are acknowledged or not, as with accounts of the Fleet arrivals themselves, was entirely a matter, not largely of historical record, but of mana.

While Te Atiawa traditionally took its name and origins, then, from the believed eponymous ancestor Te Awanui Ā Rangi, some accounts of the earlier peoples - Te Tini O Taitawaro - remained reposited in the north Taranaki tribal memory.

Further south, tribal traditions tell of original inhabitants known as "Kāhui maunga". These were ancestors deemed by some to be common to all tribes in Taranaki, if not claimed by all. However, this was not so with Taranaki iwi, as "before Puke-O-Naki arrived the Kahui Maunga had a home high on a spur ... their house was called Kaimirumiru, the marae was Tarawainuku and the take pou of the marae was called Tapaki-marae, which was a name meaning peace."[24]

The name "Kāhui Maunga" referred to the Kāhui Maunga people of ancestor, Rua Taranaki, held by some to have been the first person to climb the mountain, Taranaki. Others, especially Taranaki iwi, contended that the first ascent was achieved by his son, Tahurangi, a descendant from Karakatonga Pā who is held to have claimed the mana of the mountain for his people, Taranaki iwi.

Rua Taranaki's descendants are believed to have lived in the lower ranges surrounding the mountain. Rua Taranaki remains as an interesting and distinct if distant figure in traditional Te Atiawa history, remembered in a small collection of expressive forms such as tukutuku, lattice-weaving as in Te Ika A Maui at Owae; and waiata, as is the following the best known because it incorporates one version of his believed whakapapa:

Rua-Tawhito ka puta Kahui Ru

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[24] Hohaia, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, F.12, p.210.

Rua te hihiri
Rua Te Pupuke
Rua Te Mahara
Rua Te Korero
Rua Te Waananga
Rua Te Manu
Rua Te Tira
Ka moe ra ia Tau Tu Rangi
Ka puta ra ko Rua Taranaki.[25]

Rua Taranaki is thought to have married Ruahoto Tapairi. Eventually the people of Kāhui Maunga were divided into smaller hapū groups, three of which are remembered as Te Kāhui Tū, Te Kāhui Rangi and Te Kāhui Tawake. These three hapū had their kāinga in the Waitara area, and the names of the five Kāhui Tū whare wānanga are still remembered: Paparoa Ramaroa, Uro weka, Puaki Taua, Maru A Rua and Poporoa Tapu.

In Te Atiawa narratives, the Kāhui Maunga people are believed to be in fact a parent group of Te Tini O Taitawaro. Some generations after the dispersal of Kāhui Maunga from the lower reaches of the mountain, Te Atiawa narratives recount how three canoes were blown by accident to Taranaki while out fishing. The canoes were named as Okoki, captained by Tai Tawaro; the Taikoria, captained by Rua Tamore; and the Kahutara, captained by Maru iwi.

These canoes made landfall on what is now Ngamotu Beach, New Plymouth, and were met by the local Kāhui Maunga of Ngamotu. The crews indicated that they were lost, and that their country, they said, was called "Horo-nuia-tau " or "Haupapa-nui-a-tau". According to this narrative, the lost visitors to Ngamotu eventually intermarried with the Kāhui Maunga people resident there, becoming known as Te Tini O Taitawaro, Te Tini O Maruiwi, Te

[25] Ritai, personal communication, January 1992.

Tini O aua Tamore and Te Ti O Pana Nehu.

Te Tini O Taitawaro established themselves between Oakura and Mokau and established a number of old north Taranaki pā like Okoki Pā near Urenui, named after their canoe, where Peter Buck (Te Rangihiroa) is now buried. Another old pā, Pohokura took its name from Tai Tawaro's younger brother. Pohokura's daughter gave her name to the Piopio area north of Mokau. The former Otaka Pā in New Plymouth was deemed to be another Tini O Taitawaro pā. Te Tini O Maruiwi are believed to have eventually settled in the Auckland area. The Tini O Rua Tamore people are thought to have spread throughout North Auckland, Tauranga, Rotorua, the East Coast and Hawkes Bay.[26]

Generally, these traditions were considered by Te Atiawa whānui to be less than significant because they did not form a part of the revered mana wairua linkage of Te Atiawa whānui to a celestial origin, through the ancestor Te Awanui Ā Rangi.[27] However, despite the general omission of the Te Tini O Taitawaro and Kāhui Maunga narratives from Te Atiawa whānui mana history, some store remains on their earlier presence: "all traditions about these people indicate that they walked to Aotearoa ... although this is unlikely, early traditions of Kāhui Maunga in particular suggest no ro te whenua, meaning we sprang or came from out of the land."[28]

According to some Te Atiawa traditions, the later arrivals aboard the Tokomaru waka intermarried with Kāhui Maunga and Te Tini O Taitawaro to produce the people of Te Atiawa. However, these traditions are not readily located within the broad, customary mana whakapapa of Te Atiawa, though some general references remain at hapū level.

It was at the time when the smaller tribes in the area were dispersing that

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[26] Ritai, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, D.1, p.18.

[27] MacDonald, personal communication, October 1992.

[28] Ritai, personal communication, January 1992.

the eponymous ancestor of Te Atiawa, Te Awanui Ā Rangi, is believed to have made his appearance. Some traditions hold that Toi To Huatahi was born and lived in Whakatane, in the Bay of Plenty area, and that he belonged to the Ngāti Ariki people.

Toi's son, Ruarangi, married Rongo Ueroa. Little is known of her, though she was thought to have come from Whakatane. The first child of Ruarangi and Rongo Ueroa was named Rauru because of the difficult birth, ka mau te rauru, from whom the Ngā Rauru people of south Taranaki claim primary descent, as earlier indicated.[29]

Te Atiawa traditions about the precise life and times of its eponymous ancestor are available in some detail. Te Awanui Ā Rangi is eventually held to have settled near Waitara. His sons are thought to have married local Taitawaro women, as had their father, migrating to Waitara due to quarrels among his sons.

Te Atiawa narratives reveal that many of Te Awanui Ā Rangi's descendants settled first at Ngā Puke Turua, inland from Mahoetahi, and from here, they dispersed along the coastal plains, becoming a "strong and populous tribe."[30]

One tradition stated that Te Awanui Ā Rangi made a voyage to Hawaiki, producing another family from which Toroa descended, later to be captain of the Matātua canoe, and thence, Te Awanui Ā Rangi II.

Other traditions, however, hold that it was one of his descendants who actually returned to Hawaiki. His later whakapapa was recently presented as:

Whiti Uaua = Hine Wai Papakura
Rangi Apiti Rua = Korotaia
Tākarangi = Rau Mahora
Rongo Ua Roa = Te Whiti

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[29] Sturmey, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, F.1, p.18.

[30] Ritai, personal communication, January 1992.

Aniwaniwa Rua Roa Ohua Te Tahuere [31]

As with most later mana whakapapa merging into the nineteenth century, many Te Atiawa would recognise this later mana whakapapa as that of one distinct hapū, Ngāti Te Whiti. This later whakapapa shows how Te Awanui Ā Rangi linked into that local hapū of Ngamotu. Each hapū of Te Atiawa was able to so show how its eponymous ancestor linked into its own specific histories.

Other names in this later whakapapa were important, for each bore a distinct and complex history. Rangi Apiti Rua was recognised for the land area at Puke Ariki he was believed to have occupied, and the hapū he was believed to have founded. Rau Mahora brought to mind the popular tradition of warfare and marriage across the Ngāti Te Whiti - Taranaki iwi boundary, as mentioned earlier. The latter three named were chiefs of Ngāti Te Whiti believed to have lived in the Ngamotu area around the year 1800. Aniwaniwa was the grandfather of Te Whiti O Rongomai III of Parihaka.[32]

The histories of Te Awanui Ā Rangi and his immediate descendants account for a considerable portion Te Atiawa tradition. These traditions are expressed in a myriad of forms, and these histories, as recounted through a fragmented tribal archive, may be pieced together, as was the brief account above from oral accounts of Te Atiawa tradition. Other points of reference keep mana whakapapa traditions such as these alive, like landmarks, and carvings; the carved house, Te Ika A Maui, at Owae Marae, Waitara contains carving and lattice work which represents a complete tribal history of Te Atiawa.

A full and detailed account of Te Atiawa tribal narratives and even mana histories would represent a considerable undertaking. This is especially of the later waka traditions. Whereas aspects of tribal narratives preceding the waka traditions were accorded varying significance within Te Atiawa traditions, the

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[31] Keenan, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, D.14, p.3.

[32] Keenan, personal communication, January 1992.

waka narratives do underscore Te Atiawa traditions and mana whakapapa which are based primarily around the Tokomaru waka.

The Tokomaru waka itself is held by most traditions to have beached at Tongaporutu, in the north of Taranaki, after an exceptionally lengthy voyage. A stone believed to be the Tokomaru's anchor was later claimed by the surveyor Skinner, and deposited in the Museum of New Plymouth.[33] The Tokomaru seems to have had at least two captains, Whata and Nganaruru. Some believe that Manaia was a third captain.

However, according to popular tradition, Tokomaru was navigated by Tama Āriki, who was also a Tohunga aboard with Rakeiora. One tradition has all these as brothers. The Tokomaru people are thought by some to have intermarried with people already living in the area. These earlier inhabitants do not feature in mana whakapapa, with Te Atiawa establishing their own claims to the land.[34].

The Ngāti Tama people of Te Atiawa whānui to the north claimed Tama Āriki as their eponymous ancestor, if ambivalently.[35] Ngāti Mutunga are usually identified with Mutunga, who traced his descent back to Nganaruru. Frequent intermarriage resulted in subsequent ancestors common to all four tribes of the north, the Te Atiawa whānui.

Another tradition of the Tokomaru contends that the canoe of that name which arrived in Taranaki was a replica of the original, sent across to the West Coast to capture slaves. MacDonald especially has expressed some reservations:

> Now, I've heard Buck in Urenui, ridicule the Tokomaru canoe ... he affirmed there that the Tokomaru was a replica of the canoe that landed in Tokomaru Bay ... it used to pick up people, it became known as Te Waka O Ngā Mokai, the canoe of slaves. The canoes we're supposed to

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[33] W.H. Skinner, *Reminiscences of a Taranaki surveyor* (New Plymouth, 1946), p.119.

[34] Ritai, personal communication, January 1992.

[35] White, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, F.19, p.21.

> have come on, was not known then. Tokomaru was the canoe that Te Atiawa claim was their waka, now it wasn't the Tokomaru because they went across at the isthmus, and went north ... when they reached Taranaki, they settled. Now, it was even a challenge to the kaumātuas in my time, and you know who their waka was? They didn't know who their waka was, but the Kurahaupo did come when Toi came out, we all descend from Toi ... and Te Awanui Ā Rangi was his son.[36]

Another waka considered to have had some connection with Te Atiawa in their post-migratory development was the Matātua, alluding to the ancient Ngāti Awa - Te Atiawa connection. The traditions connecting Tokomaru and Matātua are long and complex. A brief rendition suggests that Matātua was captained by Toroa. It landed in Whakatane and her people spread from Whangaparoa to Tauranga and Katikati.

Toroa settled at Whakatane where he erected a house named Tupapakuru Rau, while his brother Tāne Atua built a house named Orahiri. Their sister Muriwai resided in a cave at Wairere.

Sometime after the arrival of the Matātua, a canoe from Waitara named Nukutere o Taranaki travelled to Whakatane, carrying three Taranaki men, Tukai te Uru, Tamatea Matangi and Tū Mai Urenui, the son of Manaia, said to be third captain of the Tokomaru.

During the visit, Wairaka, the daughter of Toroa, became attracted to Tukai te Uru, an affection noticed by Tū Mai Urenui who later used some deception to win her over, an event immortalised in the tauparapara:

> Piki mai ra kake mai ra
> Homai te wairoa ki ahau
> E tu-tehua ana koa te moe a te kuia i te po
> Po i rarua ai a wairaka e tu-mai-urenui
> Paki tu ana te tai ki te reinga

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[36] MacDonald, personal communication, October 1992.

Ka po ka ao ka ea awatea.
Climb hither, ascend hither
Give unto me the life giving force
For the lady sleeps in yearnful anticipation
Like the night in which Wairaka was deceived by Tu-Mai-Urenui
As the tides broke at Te Reinga, in the night, then came the dawn
... The act complete, as daylight broke.

It is believed that the visitors from Waitara settled and married into the Matātua people, becoming known as "Koro Atiawa".

Wairaka's brother later had a grandson called Te Awanui Ā Rangi II who, aware of his whakapapa links with his Te Awanui Ā Rangi, later journeyed to Taranaki. During his stay, he was given a number of wives including Taturau and from here descended a number of families comprising the Otaraua hapū of Te Atiawa. Another of Te Awanui Ā Rangi's II wives was Nuiia, and, five generations later, a male descendant named Tama Rakeiora married Wai Puna Rangi, who was directly descended from Wairaka and Tū Mai Urenui. The grandson of these two was Manukorihi, who became the eponymous ancestor of the Manukorihi hapū of Te Atiawa. Thus is this genealogical linkage:

Weka Nui	=	Ira Kewa
Toroa	=	Taneatua
Wairaka	=	Tu mai urenui
Tamatea ki Huatahi	=	Tahinga O Te Ra
Uema	=	Nuia
Awanui A Rangi II	=	Taturau
Te Kato O Tawhaki	=	Rongo Tangi Awa
Rangi Aniwaniwa	=	Irapeke
Te Rangi Ki Uta	=	Hau Whawhara
Te Ohanga	=	Ruarangi (Kurarangi)
Wai Puna Rangi	=	Tama Rakeiora

Ka po ka ao ka ea awatea.
Climb hither, ascend hither
Give unto me the life giving force
For the lady sleeps in yearnful anticipation
Like the night in which Wairaka was deceived by Tu-Mai-Urenui
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Uema	=	Nuia
Awanui A Rangi II	=	Taturau
Te Kato O Tawhaki	=	Rongo Tangi Awa
Rangi Aniwaniwa	=	Irapeke
Te Rangi Ki Uta	=	Hau Whawhara
Te Ohanga	=	Ruarangi (Kurarangi)
Wai Puna Rangi	=	Tama Rakeiora

Ira Tu Moana

Manukorihi

Makere[37]

The narrative above is a brief account of the broad Te Atiawa narratives focusing on descent which were likely to be recounted often enough to remain in the popular tribal memory and, equally, to be rendered manifest in many expressive forms. Over time, broad narratives such as these were mediated into Te Atiawa histories and traditions giving effect to collective views of the past and descent which enhanced the tribal mana.

The accounts above have focused on describing portions of a mana wairua and mana tūpuna accounting of the Te Atiawa tribal past. This has been done in accordance with the suggested mana whakapapa paradigm of arranging and presenting tribal histories. Aspects of the past which did not necessarily enhance the mana of Te Atiawa generally remained a part of the larger unmediated Te Atiawa memory, manifest in many different ways, including conventional tribal narratives, or were forgotten altogether.

In both situations, the narratives concerned may well have been a product of conceptual and interpretive repetition, in the usual Māori way of sustaining inherent tribal knowledge and, ultimately, mana history - Binney's "the evolving of new myth-narratives "[38] - and less a factor of factual veracity, the issue Roberton in particular was seeking to address.[39]

Speculations as to the factual veracity of tribal histories and traditions of descent have generated a considerable scholarship, as mentioned earlier. Roberton is a good case in point. Any number of earlier writers, especially Skinner and Percy Smith in Taranaki, sought to represent Māori society prior to

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[37] Ritai, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, D.1, pp 18-20.

[38] Binney, "Myth and Explanation", p.345.

[39] Roberton, "Evaluation", p.293.

contact and in so doing focused on and interpreted a large measure of Māori oral material dealing with the past.

Access was gained to a good deal of inherent tribal knowledge which was, in turn, largely mediated through external points of reference, including external knowledge, before publication. Skinner was always assured in his ethnological interests which, primarily as surveyor, saw his taking numerous opportunities to observe and chart the Māori hinterland, producing a composite record which in 1927 he described: "I do not think it is possible to get ... more accurate." Skinner, at the time President of the Polynesian Society of New Zealand, was acknowledged as having had "an extensive acquaintance in the whole of the lands in (the) Taranaki District since 1872."[40] Largely as a result of such scholarly enquiry, issues of factual veracity became important and accordingly the focus of some scholarship with supposed facts more often than not assuming a life and context independent of their original location within the extended tribal historical narratives.

Issues of factual veracity did not in the main concern the Māori people. Tribal mana histories were a product of selection and construction of narrative material, whether factual or otherwise, over time deemed to enhance the ongoing mana of the tribe. In recent years, however, Te Atiawa researchers have themselves found cause to contribute to this debate, a debate partly of histories and traditions against factual veracity.

Some recent Te Atiawa research focused on land claims in particular has re-examined Te Atiawa tribal narratives within the context of a certain view of Taranaki, one of cultures in sharp contact in the late nineteenth-century.

The lines between what knowledge should inform mana wairua and mana tūpuna, and what should not, are not of course clearly drawn. Each generation will largely approach its sources of inherent tribal knowledge differently, in order to establish a basis for mana out of its extended tribal narratives, though

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[40] Minutes of evidence, Sim Commission (1927); MA 85/1, NA.

taking account of expressive tribal traditions already current cannot be easily discounted.

However, the issues generating modern Te Atiawa historical research are vastly different from those of earlier generations. Thus, for example, where mana wairua had once sanctified the tribe's mana, with celestial origins of key ancestors like Te Awanui Ā Rangi providing the linchpin for descent histories embodying mana, these facets of tribal tradition do not today, for some, have the same significance in contributing to tribal mana. Factual evidence is deemed to be of greater importance, for the purposes, as O'Regan has indicated, of "defending the integrity of the Maori memory."[41]

Whether modern Te Atiawa histories, as a result, can be said to constitute histories of mana is highly doubtful. One recent Te Atiawa report of Te Atiawa history suggested that it was conceivable that Tamarau te Heketanga was a real person who "may have been elevated to the status of atua over time." The eponymous ancestor Te Awanui Ā Rangi had been "elevated and deified" in the origin tradition, and the Tokomaru could be seen as a symbol for some other significant event.

It was important, said the report, to assess tribal histories as historical evidence and to "contextualise the traditions within wider frameworks of historical and other research across many academic disciplines." Oral versions of Te Atiawa history represented a blend of composite versions from many different kaumātua, trusted repositories of this oral information. The major thrust of new research, however, was said to prove that Te Atiawa were indeed the "tangata whenua" of the region claimed, despite some historical analysis which might have produced theories to the contrary; and, further, that this history was the basis of tribal mana.[42]

Te Atiawa traditions were to be "contextualised" by utilising external

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[41] O'Regan, "Old myths", p.24.

[42] Peter Adds, et al, Submission of Te Atiawa, Waitangi Tribunal, Owae Marae, 8 April 1991; Wai 143, D.3, pp.24 - 33.

knowledge and frames of reference. In the end, this constituted a lesser approach to that which looked to traditions founded on inherent processes and frameworks, traditions and histories standing on their own.

This thesis advances that the latter approach as that which is to be preferred if, at the very least, processes of Māori historical construction that are substantially different to those already found in the mainstream of New Zealand history are to be discovered. Equally, histories of mana can only really be founded on inherent tribal historical processes and constructions which incorporate narratives and knowledge constructed around whakapapa. As Ashford has pointed out,

> whakapapa is the key, to identify who you are, you could give so much but never give the lot ... when you're on the paepae for example, you heard everything, and learned everything by being present at the marae, not in a school of learning; you were given so much, it was given to the ones who showed or who was chosen by your old people, as the one who could do it. Some are chosen beyond their tuākana, it gives it that mana, not for the whole world to hear.[43]

The brief histories above of Te Atiawa have concentrated on presenting parts of a mana wairua and mana tūpuna accounting of the past. These are two categories as suggested of a mana whakapapa approach to the arranging and presenting of tribal histories, an approach founded on the centrality of conventional whakapapa as intellectual infrastructure of Māori knowledge.

Two further points earlier made should now be reiterated.

The first relates to the categories of what might be called a mana whakapapa paradigm. A further tier, beyond mana wairua and mana tūpuna, is that suggested as mana whenua. The first two can be said to feature in conventional whakapapa relatively explicitly, easily gleaned off the layers of

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[43] Ashford, personal communication, October 1992.

generational genealogy.

Mana whenua featured more implicitly. Its importance nonetheless is examined and described in the balance of this thesis.

The second point relates to the fact that mana whakapapa accountings of the past by tribes served a dual purpose. The first was a validation of their past, and the second a validation of their ongoing activity. This is especially examined in the light of tribal and hapū activities after 1841.

According to most tribal traditions in Taranaki, the development of tribes and hapū occurred shortly after the waka arrived, with a period of relative quiet following the initial expansion and settlement of the Fleet ancestors. As populations increased, tribes are thought to have expanded across the Taranaki landscape, compelled by the very basic need for suitable land on which to subsist as hapū and communities, and on which to establish mana whenua.

As the population spread, smaller kinship bases - hapū, whānau, other kinship units - became more numerous. Kawharu has described the process of kinship groups establishing themselves on the land:

> individual families moved from the main settlement to fertile fields abroad, though usually still within the tribal domain. An act of independence like this necessarily involved the forfeiture of rights in the land of the parent tribe, but the breakaway tribe continued to acknowledge the superior status of the tribe ... the whole of the lands belonged to all the tribe, and (they were) bound to join the other sections in defending all or any part of the tribal estate from encroachment by strangers.[44]

This was a time when smaller hapū units in Taranaki became increasingly important and many are recalled in traditions as having gradually come into being. These processes of hapū or whānau formation are later suggested as

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[44] I.H. Kawharu, *Maori land tenure. Studies of a changing institution* (Oxford, 1977), p.46.

having continued in some situations for a time throughout the nineteenth century, with mana and land persisting as dominant motives for change.

Ordinarily, mana wairua and mana tūpuna incorporated knowledge used to trace and authenticate tribal descent and identity, and to establish mana. Mana whakapapa was at once common knowledge, where one might hear it pronounced from the paepae, or it might equally be jealously guarded by individuals, especially if land was at issue.

It was a source of pride, as "I know my whakapapa, I can relate myself with Rangitāne, Ngāti Mamoe, and Ngāti Kuia in the south, and I can relate myself with Wairoa and Ngāti Kahungunu. I know my tie up there from my grandmother's side you see, and I know my whakapapa here, Te Atiawa, it makes me feel my life is full and I am proud of it, knowing your own whakapapa."[45]

Equally, there were dangers, as "there was the question of, don't you ask me any questions, you had to get a way around trying to ask or you'd start a war. Even in my grandparents time, they were cautious about what they said."

Mana whakapapa, then, by its nature located tribes and hapū within certain tribal landscapes most directly through direct associations between names and places within the tribal rohe. Approaches like mana whakapapa, and mana history, in the end rendered such ties to the land as historically meaningful.

Ashford has stressed the importance of the link between whakapapa and the land; "It has a land tie, whakapapa has a land tie, there's no question about it; whakapapa is not just your name alone, you can then go back to your maunga Ruapehu, and Ruapehu is land, and you get down to the bottom, it spreads from off the bottom like Taranaki."[46]

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[45] MacDonald, personal communication, October 1992.

[46] Ashford, personal communication, October 1992.

CHAPTER THREE

MANA WHENUA O TARANAKI

The primary function of approaches like mana whakapapa, it has been argued, was to establish an ongoing basis from which tribal and hapū mana, identity and activity could be seen to be validated by the past. MacDonald earlier referred to the proximity of that sense of a tribal past to the present for Māori people: "everything a Māori ever knew was memory, had to be memorised ... it did not relate with what was going to happen tomorrow, it was all coming from behind, bringing it forward, haere whakamua, hoki whakamuri - going forward, thinking back."[1]

Such mana whakapapa references to the past necessarily reflected knowledge of descent. These were suggested earlier as comprising mana wairua and mana tūpuna sequences which contributed in large measure to the validation of tribal histories.

However, they also further suggested connected references to the occupation and holding of land, or mana whenua, the mana on the landscape, as advanced as third tier within a suggested mana whakapapa framework.

This chapter will assemble detailed selections of tribal and hapū knowledge centred around mana whenua in Taranaki, especially in the north. Such accounts were important because they rendered manifest in the landscape mana whakapapa connections that were equally important. These were connections between remembered forbears and the land they once occupied. Such

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[1] MacDonald, personal communication, October 1992.

connections and histories also continued to provide validation of the tribal past and activity in the present.

Mana whenua encompassed issues of mana and the land which featured only implicitly within conventional whakapapa. It accounted for specific land holdings retained in occupation, or retained in the tribal memory if tribes were dispossessed. It incorporated such accounts as settlement, wahi tapu, urupā and resource gathering. Such accounts highlighted the importance felt by tribes of sustaining their mana whakapapa connections as dynamic and representing a forceful presence on the land.

Accounts of occupation, land use and values placed on the land by tribes and hapū were important as tribes and hapū established and asserted specific mana whenua over their lands. This was primarily achieved over time through the placement of wahi tapu. These recalled the mana of the tribe through people and past events of significance. Ancestors were remembered especially within their conventional whakapapa linkages to varying spreading and changing hapū and family patterns of settlement.

Such patterns evolved over time as individual families moved from central settlements away to points near the periphery of the tribal domain. These were primarily families or extended communities which often, for a time at least, assumed the status of distinct hapū operating within the mana of the tribe. New names were assumed, customarily ones referring to founding ancestors.

This settlement pattern continued the longstanding tribal strategy of maintaining the mana of the people, expressed through the continuing existence of viable kinship units which "continued to acknowledge the superior status of the tribe and its principle chief."[2] Also acknowledged was the tribe's mana whakapapa and its sources of mana, given that all evolving units remained bound within the conventional whakapapa infrastructure.

Such assertions of specific mana whenua were an integral element in the

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[2] Kawharu, *Maori land tenure*, p.46.

confirming of tribal or hapū mana history, with mana whenua drawn off select tūpuna and anchored into a specific locality. Land was also esteemed in its own right as a continuing source of sustenance.

These ancestors, events and breakaway functional units had often long receded into the past. According to Kawharu, "many (hapu) went through cycles of decay and rejuvenation, and for many, death came suddenly ... where a disintegrated sub-tribe re-formed and regained its strength, it frequently chose a new settlement site."[3] Former sites became wahi tapu; most were kept current in the tribe's mana history, manifest upon the customary Taranaki landscape.

When tribes were dispossessed of such lands, by conquest or captivity, the sense of mana whenua was not lost: "mana whenua was always present while you believed it to be so."[4] Dispossession of land did not detract from mana whenua, according to Ashford:

> that's how Hikurangi saw it, Hikurangi maunga, it was taken by the Crown, and Taranaki still saw (Taranaki) as theirs, and cried that's fine, we named it. No, it didn't take the mana away from the iwi, they still identified with it, you couldn't take the mana of the maunga because it was land, and it meant something to them.[5]

Kawharu reaffirmed the sense of land to Māori people removed from their mana whenua: "his feelings towards his home territory were intense, and he gave expression to them in myth, proverb, and chant. "Captives in distant lands", Buck says, "have begged for a pebble, a bunch of leaves, or a handful of earth from the home land that they might weep over a symbol of home." "[6]

Within the storehouse of tribal knowledge of the past in Taranaki, believed deities and mortals were intricately linked together by conventional whakapapa.

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[3] Kawharu, *Maori land tenure,* p.47.

[4] Wharehoka, personal communication, October 1992.

[5] Ashford, personal communication, October 1992.

[6] Kawharu, *Maori land tenure,* p.41.

Buck comprehended such knowledge as being

> as thorough and as accurate an account of the history of the past as any unwritten record can hope to be ... based on an organised and continuous system of teaching and stimulated by pride of race ... there was a very strong safeguard against wilful departure from the oral texts of the schools .... Much of the knowledge of the schools was regarded as tapu, sacred.[7]

Buck represented such tribal knowledge of the past as sacred, with dimensions constraining wilful departure from its oral texts through "a fear of punishment by supernormal agencies."[8] He considered such knowledge as fixed within its time and context. As a consequence, it accounted for knowledge of the past somewhat removed from descended generations.

Tribal histories and traditions were fundamentally different from such knowledge, it is suggested. They developed out of conventional whakapapa knowledge and linkages, through a continuing process of selection and mediation. The outcome of this mediation process embodied knowledge of the past, organised as a whakapapa continuum. It represented the particular enhancement and emphasis of tribal and hapū mana. The extent to which broad aspects of tribal knowledge of the past were regarded as sacred, with some cultural constraints applying to its use, was an issue for individual tribes, hapū and communities to consider. However, such linkages and processes of selection for the enhancement of mana were ongoing, and were developed around the important "precedent of our whakapapa", as O'Regan has written:

> it is the relationships between people and the way in which the whakapapa links them, and stores that information, which is the critical element.[9]

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[7] Te Rangihiroa, "The value of tradition", p.186.

[8] ibid.

[9] O'Regan, "Old myths", pp. 24 - 25.

As such tūpuna were linked to each other in intricate relationships, so were they equally closely linked to the landscapes on which they were believed to have once lived, and within which they were likely to be buried. A sense of mana whenua was an important if tacit aspect of conventional whakapapa, a sense of landscape which provided an ongoing and important historical linkage between tūpuna and land under occupation. Ashford has reaffirmed the importance of the land connections to descent:

> using whakapapa as their mana, as "I am who I am, and I'll tell you who I am in terms of genealogy, my children are so and so" ... that having established your whakapapa, you then established your mana to your land, the right to land because its based on that and no one can take it away from you, and the connection through whakapapa, like no one can take away from you the birth of your child because its a bloodline. It's a similar sort of connection, but to enhance your whānau, hapū and iwi, it was land that gave you your Māori mana.[10]

However, these links between Māori people and the land found within conventional whakapapa were at best implied. Where the mediation of tribal narrative was concerned, the landscape necessarily commanded a more specific commemoration.

Consequently, tribal and hapū mana histories encompassed a more precise accounting of customary linkages between select tūpuna and the land. Such a sense of mana whenua provided a clear focus for tribal mana. This was so of the tribes and hapū within Taranaki whose customary lands were vast, comprising mountain terrain, dense forests, rivers, coastal flatland, reefs and the sea.

The Taranaki region as conceived by most Māori today generally extends from the Mohakatino estuary in the north, south along the West Coast to

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[10] Ashford, personal communication, October 1992.

Mowhanau Beach and the mouth of the Kai Iwi River, following the river inland and then north-west to the Mohakatino River from about Paparangi. The eastern extremity of Taranaki actually presents something of a problem, generally weaving between and around a series of State Forests, commencing on the eastern edge of the Waitotara State Forest, flanking the Okara and Te Wera Forests before dissecting the Mokau and Waitanga State Forests, and, finally, rounding the Mohakatino State Forest to meet the estuary of the river.

Taranaki, the region, takes its name and much of its symbolic identity from the mountain, Taranaki. Taranaki is an extinct peak which rises some 2500 metres above the level of the sea which is itself seems never far from the lower reaches of the mountain's existing forest cover.

Mount Taranaki has always provided the region with a certain pictorial grandeur. According to some local traditions, the name Taranaki was an ancient name conferred by the coastal tribes, following the mountain's believed flight from Pihanga on the volcanic plateau. Various traditions ascribe first names to the mountain, as earlier discussed.[11] These traditions attach to a range of tribal accounts of their descent into, or later occupation of, the mountain's immediate hinterland. Puke O Naki is probably the most prominent earlier name.

Ancient accounts of how the mountain came to its present location were often related. These demonstrated a certain personifying of the peak within Taranaki Māori oratory which was not entirely metaphorical. The oratory alluded instead to a certain reverence for local descent traditions of ancient origin. The mountain's believed migration westward, the carving out of the Whanganui River and the final entrapment by Pouakai - Rau Tawhito within the ancient landscape are linked to the sacred carved stone, Te Toko a Rauhoto. This stone features prominently in the complex migration tradition:

Puke O Naki left (Taupo) guided by his friend, Te Toka O

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[11] Hohaia, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, F.12, p.2; Maruera, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, F.2, p.137.

> Rauhoto. He went out to sea (and) when he surfaced, Rauhoto led him up the Hangaataahua River where Rua Tawhito caught hold of him, stopping her in her folds. They became as husband and wife and their offspring are mists.
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> Te Toko O Rauhoto turned and flew back between the two ranges Rua Tawhito and Rua Tipua; the gap was known after as "Te Whiti Nga O Rauhoto Tapairu", the flight path of Rauhoto Tapairu. Rauhoto came down on the south side of the Hangaataahua River and extensive communities sprang up around her. On the south side of this gap between the Ranges and on a spur ascending Tua Tawhito is a very prominent hill .... It is the sentinel guarding Rauhoto's flight path and, as such, is now the guardian of the now, and the crossing between the past and the future. The name of the hill is Puke Te Whiti (after which) some believe that Te Whiti O Rongomai (was) named.

The ancient pā, Kaimirumiru, and a mountain of the same name, were believed buried by the arrival of Puke O Naki. Kaimirumiru was at the time home for the earlier Kāhui Maunga people. The marae was named Tarawainuku, and the urupā was called Arakari.

In due course, the tupuna Rua Taranaki resolved to "take his name upon the mountain" which he achieved by living for a time at Te Ana A Taha Titi. These were burial caves established by him in order that his name might be conferred on the mountain. The caves would also serve as ancient repository of the bones of his people. Rua Taranaki's son, Tahurangi, later climbed the peak, and lit a sacred fire on the summit, a deed remembered in the whakatauaki "Ko te ahi a Tahurangi mo te Pukeao; and so this way the old name was finished."[12]

Other traditions locate Tahurangi as a later chief who, as descendant of Te Hatauira of Taranaki iwi, ascended the peak and claimed the mountain for his Taranaki people. Tahurangi declared the mountain sacred and a place of

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[12] Hohaia, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, F.12, pp.210, 231.

religious restriction. It could only be approached after a series of religious rites had properly been performed. Slim traces of cloud resembling smoke seen at the peak in modern times recall his fire; and are often referred to as "Te Ahi a Tahurangi", or the fire of Tahurangi.[13]

The sacred stone, Te Toko O Rauhoto, later in colonial times became associated with a local chief, Kahukuramakura, known as Minarapa, of Ngā Mahanga Taire hapū. Minarapa had accompanied Dillon Bell and Wellington Carrington on the second recorded Pākehā ascent to mountain's summit in 1846. Most accounts of this climb however overlook the presence of Minarapa.[14] Minarapa became something of a popular identity amongst early settlers of the coast south of New Plymouth. He probably played a useful role in keeping current the local tribal traditions of the mountain's ancient origins, and traditions of the carved, sacred stone to which his name is closely linked. The stone lay embedded in the Kaikahi Stream, near Okato until 1948 when it was relocated to Puniho Pā, near Pukeha Pā where Minarapa is buried. Te Toko O Rauhoto can be seen there today, at Puniho, encased in concrete. On occasions of ceremony at the marae, the stone is draped with Minarapa's cloak, which also remains on display at the Pā.[15]

These traditions have ancient origins. Equally ancient is the evidence of a long geological development in Taranaki, clearly seen in the chain of volcanic activity based around the peaks of Kaitake and Pouakai which geologically are thought to have preceded the mountain, Taranaki. This provides an interesting corollary in tradition. It was the geologically older Pouakai which is held to have entrapped Taranaki. The mountain first appeared about 70,000 years ago, dated from ash deposits found in the coastal cliffs of Taranaki. It is estimated that the mountain developed its current size by about 3500 years ago, but at that

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[13] Ritai, personal communication, January 1992.

[14] Wells, *A history of Taranaki,* p.140.

[15] Ritai, personal communication, January 1992.

stage possessed two distinct peaks and craters. The western peak and crater subsequently collapsed, the whole upper part of the mountain sliding westwards as a huge lahar, volcanic mud at least fifty metres wide covering an area of about two hundred square metres. Smaller lahars followed and subsequently became, and remain, a distinctive feature in the geological building of the Taranaki iwi coastal landscape, as were the numerous ash showers that formed the present Taranaki ring plain.[16] Such a loss of a major peak in ancient geological times has provided a second corollary in the traditions of Taranaki's flight. Before fleeing, it is said that Taranaki suffered a grievous wound to his head which, ultimately, after coming to rest, saw him losing his tihi, or peak.[17] According to geological records, the present peak appears to be about 300 metres lower that the original cone, and is slightly displaced to the south west.[18]

Evidence of still older volcanic activity can be seen in the islands of Pararaki, Mikotahi, Motumahanga, Motutamatea, and Moturoa. These islands lie off the coast at Ngamotu (New Plymouth), near the rock, Paritutu, once inhabited by the Ngāti Te Whiti hapū of Te Atiawa. Called the "Sugar Loaf Islands" by Cook in 1770, these islands comprise a submerged circular crater of rock believed to be the oldest in Taranaki[19]. A circular reef off Motutamatea Island once served as an offshore urupā for slain chiefs of Ngāti Te Whiti who were first buried onshore at Ngamotu, then later with appropriate ceremony and karakia reinterred within the circular reef, one urupā of many located offshore.[20]

The youngest of this volcanic chain is the mountain itself, which continued

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[16] J. Cobb, *The story of Egmont National Park* (New Plymouth, 1988), pp.18 - 27.

[17] Hohaia, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, F.12, p.210.

[18] Gail and Ron Lambert, *An illustrated history of Taranaki* (Palmerston North, 1983), p.9.

[19] Cobb, *Egmont Park,* pp.28-39.

[20] Wharehoka, personal communication, October 1992.

to be active to about the mid-1700's, forming the present distinctive symmetrical shape. This symmetry is interrupted by Fantham's Peak, a large subsidiary cone formed on the mountain's eastern slopes. The peak is partially surrounded by the mountain's primary cone. Fantham's Peak is curiously named after the second Pākehā woman to have reached the summit, Fanny Fantham, a feat achieved in 1887.[21] The first Pākehā woman to reach the summit was Jane Maria Richmond, some years earlier in 1855. Richmond's hope of "the celebrated Mountain expedition on which my hopes of fame rest" were not entirely fulfilled.[22]

It is generally believed that Taranaki was covered with cloud when Tasman sailed past in 1642, although Seffern records him as having glimpsed a "lofty, snow clad mountain." Seffern also records Cook as later in 1770 sighting the mountain, recording in his journals that "for a few minutes (we) saw the peak towering above the clouds, and covered with snow .... It seems to have a large base, and rises with a gradual ascent. It lies near the sea and is surrounded by flat country of pleasant appearance, being clothed with verdure and wood which renders it more conspicuous, and the shore under it forms a large cape which I have named Cape Egmont." Cook renamed Taranaki after the Earl of Egmont, First Lord of the Admiralty.[23]

The first recorded European ascent of Taranaki was in 1839, achieved by Dieffenbach, a German naturalist. He was accompanied by a local whaler from Ngamotu, James Heberley. Dieffenbach left from Ngamotu and generally followed the upward course of the Waiwakaiho River. He was accompanied by two Māori guides who were not identified in his account of the ascent. The Māori men, at periodic intervals, stopped to pray, and would not accompany

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[21] J. Dove et al, *Taranaki* (Auckland, 1987), p.47.

[22] Frances Porter, *Born to New Zealand. A biography of Jane Maria Atkinson* (Wellington, 1989), p.75.

[23] Seffern, *Chronicles of the garden*, p.2.

Dieffenbach to the summit, claiming the peak to be tapu.[24]

Together, the mountain and the geological landscape largely account for the region's climate, its natural ecology, and its underlying volcanic fertility. Burnett has described the extinct volcanic cone as "the chief determinant of the physical geography. Not only does it protect the interior from the strong westerly winds, but it is also responsible for the fertile soils of the region, for the topography and thus the distinctive drainage pattern ... it also accounts for a real difference in rainfall."[25]

For the tribes which have long inhabited the region, the natural physical conditions and underlying fertility have mattered where the ease, or otherwise, of habitation in Taranaki is concerned. On present climatic indicators, Taranaki would not seem to have been the harsh or hostile environment thought to have rendered early Māori occupation in some parts of this country difficult, constraining social, communal and agricultural adaptation.

Taranaki of earlier times, as now, was probably a relatively mild region with generally temperate conditions. The surveyor Brookes observed the Taranaki climate as

> a moist one, and the land is well adapted to stand almost any quantity of rain as it soon filters through the light soil. The mountain has a great deal to do with the moist atmosphere .... It is possible the disappearance of the forest will alter the climate greatly. Heavy frosts are common in the winter time, snow only falling at intervals in the most severe seasons.[26]

Other parts of New Zealand were likely to have been more hostile. The

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[24] Ernst Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand* (London, 1843, reprinted Christchurch, 1974), p.155.

[25] Joan Burnett, "The impact of dairying on the landscape of lowland Taranaki", in *Land and society in New Zealand. Essays in historical geography,* (ed) R.F. Watters (Wellington, 1965), p.110.

[26] Edwin Stanley Brookes, *Frontier life. Taranaki, New Zealand* (Auckland, 1892), p.15.

Ngāti Tuwharetoa rohe of the central North Island, or the Ngāti Mamoe rohe of the far south would probably have produced more extreme and severe conditions with attendant, if any, impacts on their ultimate adaptation to those environments. The extent to which climate and environment might have borne on the nature of Māori communities in Taranaki is deserving of some inquiry. However, to be of real value, each area under such scrutiny would need to be closely located against the climatic factors to be reconstructed. This is because of the dissimilarity of land forms found within short distances in Taranaki. Davidson has presented some material on climate and environment in "pre-historic" New Zealand, and has suggested that a general warming of temperatures may have occurred, commencing between 900 AD and 1300 AD and lasting to around 1600 AD. A much colder spell is believed to have followed, lasting about two hundred years. If such were so, the impact on Māori communities would have been significant, though, as Davidson has suggested, little can really be known until "such questions are the subject matter of detailed regional studies."[27]

Some tribal traditions might be useful here. Many extend sufficiently backwards to suggest for example a certain scale of resource gathering. Ngātihaupoto of Rahotu have long remembered as wahi tapu local food gathering sites like Papanui, Iringakete, Koramarama, Waimahana, Wharepuku and Whatitinui. Each place was attached to a pā generally encircling Rahotu from which early generations were well remembered, as with Ueroa and Tamakaha who are situated in whakapapa nine generations back from the prominent Ngātihaupoto chief, Te Kāhui, who lived on the coast in the late seventeenth - early eighteenth century.[28]

Some writers, however, are less uncertain. According to Houghton, "life in New Zealand was good. There were no widespread diseases ... the climate was

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[27] Janet Davidson, *The prehistory of New Zealand* (Auckland, 1988), p.37.

[28] Ailsa Smith, Submission of Taranaki iwi, Waitangi Tribunal, Parihaka, 16 October 1991; Wai 143, Vol.II, p.221.

temperate throughout, and food supplies were generally adequate."[29]

That Taranaki was probably not a harsh or difficult place of residence is borne out by indications that it was over time, until about 1800, reasonably well populated. Later surveyors found frequent evidence of old Māori villages, cultivations and burial sites which suggested early Māori patterns of residence that extended far beyond what was thought to exist at the time of the surveys. These were areas of residence both occupied by families or seemingly long deserted. These impressions were recorded in numerous fieldbooks,[30] as well as the later reflective accounts of Skinner and Brookes.

Brookes once observed of the north Taranaki coastline:

> The land ... is of first-class quality ... almost continuously from Waitara the coastline is covered with pas that have been constructed at one time or another by the natives. After a gale of wind many bones lie exposed, showing that this portion of the cliffs was once densely populated by the Maoris.[31]

Most places of residence may have seemed deserted, though they may have equally been a part of broad tracts of land holdings over which any number of Māori communities ranged, perhaps on a seasonal basis, for sustenance or to avoid inter-hapū conflict.

Taranaki's abundant rainfall consequently hastened the erosion of the older volcanic landscape into its contrasting variety of landforms which were generally low-lying and accessible. Early surveyors encountered a complex myriad of Māori walking tracks that criss-crossed the entire region, seemingly evidence of Māori people frequently on the move. At the very least, most Māori communities residing around the mountain would have had a reasonable

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[29] P. Houghton, "A vigorous people. Health and well-being", in *From the beginning. The archaeology of the Maori'*, (ed) J.Wilson (Auckland, 1987), p.42.

[30] Examples are : R. Coe, Field Book U.1 (1865), p.18, (DOSLI, New Plymouth); J. Simpson, Field Book U.2 (1865), p.34 (DOSLI, New Plymouth).

[31] Brookes, *Frontier life,* p.135.

knowledge of the resources within convenient reach, as with Waitaraiti, Otuakaia and Ngā Kumi kumi, three of many pā encircling the mountain at various times remembered for their large gardens.[32] Parihaka once comprised nine papa kāinga, eight of which were food gathering places situated along the Taranaki iwi coastline, contributed to and accessed by most of the pā in the vicinity.

Access to such resources would have ensured movement and a relative economy of Māori communities, provided inter-hapū and tribal relations permitted of such transience and access. Such was seemingly not a constraint upon the hapū of Taranaki iwi. But it was always a particular concern of tribes and hapū without direct access to the sea. Such a hapū was Pukerangiora of Te Atiawa. Pukerangiora traditions speak of seaward hapū granting some access to the reefs on the southern side of the Waitara river. This was a passage confined to a narrow inland corridor according to common practice.[33] Such passages were a unique feature of the inland Pukerangiora rohe which contained many walking tracks and safe passages, many passing into south Taranaki. The whakāhurangi track was perhaps the most prominent. Originating from the Koto Marae Pā within the Puketapu rohe, the track served as the primary link between north and south. The track traversed the north-eastern mountain cover and crossed the Ngatoro and Maketawa streams before generally following the Manganui Stream to Ngaere. At this point, the forest merged into extensive, open swamplands.[34]

Movement of communities was also likely to be of a more permanent nature as individual families continued the longstanding practice of breaking away from the tribal group. This was an act of independence in defence of traditional holdings as well as in search of, or in defence of, resources.

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[32] Hohaia, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, F.12, p.235.

[33] Tamati, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, d.17, p.1.

[34] R.W. Brown, *One hundred years of Inglewood* (New Plymouth, 1974), p.16.

Climate was also a factor when considering the unique flora and fauna in Taranaki. This is especially evident within the total reaches of the mountain's forest cover which at one time, as was observed by the first settlers, extended to the sea for almost the length of the Taranaki coast. The original forests of Taranaki were dense and spawned a great variety of food resources for the local tribes: "the inland bush provided birds and berries, and timber for the construction of buildings, canoes, pa construction as well as an enormous range of wooden tools and implements for everyday use."[35] Most remaining forest now comprises a significant portion of the Egmont National Park. Formerly the Egmont Forest Reserve, established by the Taranaki Provincial Government in 1875, the Egmont National Park was established under its own Act in 1900.[36]

All of the major rivers flowed off the mountain, except the Waitara River which flowed out of papa country to the north-east. The Whanganui River flowed across a small segment of the north-eastern area of north Taranaki within the Ngāti Maru area, sufficient to find its way into Ngāti Maru traditions and resource expectations.

This account demonstrates a certain tribal reverence for the mana whenua of Taranaki whānui. The linking of mana wairua and mana tūpuna to the mana whenua of specific tribal and hapū land areas was significant. To the Māori, it legitimated the continued occupancy and possession of land areas held by the different tribes, hapū and other kinship groups. Each of the tribes and hapū possessed a substantial mana history which underscored their longstanding claims to the mana whenua of their estates.

Some tribes in Taranaki were for a time absent from their estates, or were at times in retreat following warfare. In these situations, some of the Taranaki tribes maintained ahi kā while absent by regarding the coastline as a special

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[35] James Bailey, Submission of Ngāti Rahiri, Waitangi Tribunal, Owae Marae, 11 April 1991, Wai 143, D.13, p.83.

[36] D. Rawson, *The gliding peak. More tales of old Taranaki* (New Plymouth, 1990), p.48.

confine. Many of the old people were interred offshore or along the coastline as a special means of holding the land for those who had moved away. This was so with Ngāti Te Whiti in Ngamotu and with Ngātihaupoto and Ngā Mahanga further south: "a circle of tūpāpaku maintain constant guardianship over the land .... Thus was ahi kā not so much a physical fire as a spiritual one." According to Smith, Te Kāhui of Ngātihaupoto wrote about this "spiritual fire" in a waiata tangi composed in 1897, referring to the "dying instructions of your ancestors, of your fathers who lit before they left the fire of men, the fire of God, that fire that still burns,

> Ko te ohaki a o tupuna, a o matua
> I tahuna iho ai te ahi a te tangata
> Te ahi a te Atua."[37]

Claims to customary estates substantiating mana whenua were thus remembered in imposing detail and were linked closely with elements of mana wairua and mana tūpuna.

The link between these three was important because it provided a continuum of generations linked to present tribes and hapū anchored into their localities. Such a continuum also provided tribes with substantial validation of past and present.

Many localities in Taranaki were long abandoned, and existed as wahi tapu. Some localities were more enduring and were remembered in traditions as longstanding sites of activity, many vacated since 1800. These tended to be major sites of political moment, like the Te Atiawa pā of Otaka, Puke Āriki, Rewarewa, Pukerangiora, and Manukorihi. Others had more recent histories, most long abandoned, many located by the earliest surveyors and surviving as sketches in numerous fieldbooks.

How imposing was the detail of remembered wahi tapu sites, and mana

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[37] Smith, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, Vol.II, p.229.

whenua exercised by the tribes, can be seen by a closer examination of some of the mana whenua traditions of Te Atiawa whānui.

One of the larger hapū of Te Atiawa was Otaraua, at various times believed to itself comprise numerous hapū as kinship groups continued to breakaway and re-form until recently. This was a situation common to all hapū of Te Atiawa, and all tribes within Taranaki.

By 1800, Otaraua probably contained as many as ten smaller hapū, each occupying a distinct area within the overall Otaraua boundary. These hapū, as recently recalled with principal ancestor if remembered, were - Ngāti Tuaho of Waitara and Pekapeka; Ngāti Hinerau of Pekapeka; Ngāti Uenuku, sometimes known as Ngāti Ue; Ngāti Tuiti, named after an eponymous ancestor Tuiti who linked closely with the Otaraua and Manukorihi people; and Ngāti Kura, who were widely dispersed through intermarriage, of Waitara.

Additional hapū were Pekapeka and Waipapa; Ngāti Rangi, the smallest hapū; Ngāti Hinetaha, located on the south side of the River and over time intermarried into Ngāti Rahiri; Ngāti Hinga, of Pekapeka and Mamaku; Ngāti Moeau of Matarikoriko and Titirangi; and Ngāti Tamaewa, primarily of Titirangi. All of these hapū, though once dispersed on individual mana whenua, were linked into a broad unity of identity now recalled around and under the mana of Otaraua.[38]

Otaraua were generally bounded to the south by the Ngāti Rahiri hapū, who saw themselves as the primary descendants of eponymous ancestor Rahiri Pakarara, believed to have come off the Tokomaru canoe. To the east were Manukorihi and Ngāti Mutunga and to the west, Puketapu and Ngāti Maru. Ngāti Te Whiti were the southern-most hapū of Te Atiawa, principally based at Te Kawau, Puke Āriki and Ngamotu. The boundaries between these hapū were seldom if ever delineated with any certainty, and with close alliances formed

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[38] Alex Watson and others, Submission of Otaraua, Waitangi Tribunal, Owae Marae, Waitara, 11 April 1991, Wai 143, D.12, p.57.

over time maintained in tribal memories, a practice of unity amidst the various subdivisions of Te Atiawa that remained established in Te Atiawa tradition.

The Otaraua hapū occupied the mid-reaches of the Waitara River, from Titirangi to Te Kohatu Pā, once a major pā site and a urupā. According to Otaraua traditions, there was once a large stone located at Te Kohatu which served as an ancient boundary marker. Te Kohatu pā was an ancient Otaraua pā, used sporadically until the mid-nineteenth century.[39]

From Te Kohatu, the boundary linked the Mangahewa Stream to Te Reinga o Kare, a range of hills, before dropping to the Waitara River where a kōhatu called Whakateremoana was located. Thereafter, the boundary followed the Mangaone Stream to Kohanga a Weka, on to Te Kumete a Wharuia and then to Te Iringa o Kakahu Kuri. According to local traditions, Kohanga a Weka once contained a kāinga within the hollow of a giant rata tree. Thereafter, the boundary linked Ngahuinga to Tongaporutu, once the name of a giant totara tree, and thereafter to Onatiki and Titirangi. Onatiki was once marked by a sacred rock called kohanga teitei. Wahi tapu within this estate included the pā sites of Te Rohutu and Ngarue, with the urupā Manaiti, an ancient name with believed origins to earlier peoples.

Matarikoriko was another ancient pā also used intermittently throughout the nineteenth century. The urupā Pukerito was more recently revered as the burial place of Ihaia te kuri Kumara who featured prominently in the Puketapu land disputes of the late 1850's. Pukehou was an old kāinga and burial place, as was Kaingaru, currently thought to be the burial place of Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake.[40]

Many other areas of known settlement were spread across the Otaraua rohe, each remembered as wahi tapu and continuing source of hapū mana whenua.

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[39] ibid, p.56.

[40] Hip Fenton, Waitara, personal communication, October 1991; B. MacDonald, Field Book P.60a (1865), p.4, DOSLI, New Plymouth.

The most prominent of these were Pukekohatu, Puketakauere, Aorangi, Te Kohia and Korihi.

Places of resource gathering and harvesting such as Wakaparu, fishing sites where the piharau was caught on the Waitara river, were also regarded as wahi tapu, the most prominent of these sites located at Te Wiwi, Paparoa, Ketetahi and Tomokio.[41] As was the custom, the control of sites such as these were assigned to certain rangatira who protected the mauri of each site. The names of most mauri are recalled but are seldom released beyond hapū confines.[42]

As with Otaraua, neighbouring Ngāti Rahiri had close alliances with all of its neighbouring hapū, especially Manukorihi and Kaitangata-Ngāti Mutunga. Such alliances over time underpinned senses of unity found throughout the region. Ngāti Rahiri believed these alliances to have been generally cemented by arranged marriages between the Ariki families. Similar alliances were also occasionally made by local hapū with invading tribes, as with Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Rarua and Ngāti Koata of Kawhia prior to 1810. Such alliances invariably implicated local hapū like Ngāti Rahiri in warfare not of their choosing. This occurred after 1813. According to one recent Ngāti Rahiri account,

> Te Raupahara and other chiefs with their fighting men attacked our main pa Te Taniwha, but were unsuccessful in spite of the aid of the two muskets, the first to be brought to Taranaki. However, the Ngati Rahiri chief's sister, Wharemawhai, arranged a truce then peace reigned. Te Rauparaha shrewdly married off some of his young people with ours which instantly acquired for him allies. When his people arrived at Urenui as refugees some twelve or eighteen months later, we reacted to any threat to them and to our whanau among them by sending 300 to 400 warriors to their assistance.[43]

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[41] Watson, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, D.12, pp.63-65.

[42] Fenton, personal communication, October 1992.

[43] James Bailey, Submission of Ngāti Rahiri, Waitangi Tribunal, Owae Marae, 11 April 1991, Wai 143, D.13, p.84.

According to local accounts, when Te Rauparaha and his people later travelled on to the Kapiti area and engaged in intertribal warfare, Ngāti Rahiri and other local hapū travelled south to his assistance. A good number of local Māori people, having moved so far from their ancestral homes, later moved further south. They eventually settled in the north-west of the South Island, choosing not to return at the time of the 1848 heke.

The Ngāti Rahiri estate is believed to have generally extended from the Titirangi Pā to Te Rau O Te Huia Pā, and then to the Onaero River, an area largely comprising coastal flatland.[44] Local traditions hold that Ngāti Rahiri was renown for its cultivations, especially the "Te kumara nui a tonga", the great kumara of the south. Fishing grounds adjoined the reefs at Taniwha, Waipa, Titirangi, and at Motuhara where an undersea reef protected the grounds. Most Ngāti Rahiri settlements were located along the coast with major urupā sited on the landscape symbolising Ngāti Rahiri mana whenua. These were principally located nearby at Titirangi, Waipapa, Manureira, Kounga, Te Taniwha, Te Kotu, Puketaukura, Kohangamouku, Waiau, Kaiteahi and Te Rau O Te Huia, to mention a small number. Major pā sites were located at Titirangi, Whakāngi and Pukekāwehi, with smaller kāinga located over time at Waipapa, Paipaire, Waiau and Ohanga especially.[45]

Such mana whenua accountings are necessarily brief but demonstrate how detailed were hapū accountings of their past through the landscape. All other hapū had similar mana whenua accounts of their past.

Of all the local hapū, Manukorihi was probably the largest, and perhaps one of the oldest. Manukorihi elders recently laid claim to descent preceding the Great Fleet, as other hapū have also done, working earlier descent narratives into their mana histories to an extent that was rather more than customary. This utilising of earlier descent narratives to some extent went against the usual

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[44] ibid, p.81.

[45] ibid, p.86.

Te Atiawa practice of dating descent from about the time of the waka, and the appearance of the eponymous tūpuna, Te Awanui Ā Rangi, with most hapū of Te Atiawa sourcing their identities as hapū from later forebears.

The context for this later use of earlier descent narratives was the assertion by hapū of specific mana whenua over ancestral lands believed to have been unjustly taken in the last century. Such ancestral lands were remembered in detail, as is here demonstrated.

There was a need felt amongst some Te Atiawa that it was now important to declare tribal histories which would survive external scrutiny as historical-factual evidence. It was felt important, as is earlier suggested, to "contextualise the traditions within wider frameworks of historical and other research across many academic disciplines." Such scrutiny and scholarly assessments, it was thought, would provide the basis of tribal mana. O'Regan seemingly reiterated this when writing of the importance of the "mundane business of applying scholarly standards to Maori tradition and history .... It is, at root, the only weapon we have to defend the integrity of the Maori memory."[46] O'Regan explained the "conflicts of mindset" between Māori and Pākehā by suggesting that "the historical witness and the witness of Maori tradition cannot escape the pervading presence of the potential spoils."

There is a second reason for increasing reference amongst tribes to pre-waka ancestors. Earlier, the Native Land Court stressed conquest as valid source of title. This compelled tribes and hapū to declare descent from waka ancestors only who were generally regarded as having conquered earlier inhabitants, thus legitimising claims.

On this basis, claims for land in modern times at times compel tribes and hapū to depart from older and established declarations of mana whenua, declarations to which the realities of mana wairua and mana tūpuna were integral and were more important than later assessments of scholarly veracity, as

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[46] O'Regan, "Old myths", p.24.

has been earlier argued.[47] Some kaumātua feel strongly on this point and have consequently declined to participate in the claims process, though not necessarily entirely for this reason.

The fact is that rather than safeguarding the integrity of the tribal memory, it is scholarship that, in the context of "the pervading presence of the potential spoils" arising from land claims, paradoxically threatens to compromise the integrity of the Māori memory and the mana history process. Such threatening approaches are largely a legacy of land dispossession a century ago, and the ensuing tribal defences of mana whenua in the context of later application of scholarly standards of analysis to tribal traditions. This largely led to their veracity being called into question as a basis of continuing ownership, a point with which some kaumātua take strong issue.

On this basis, Manukorihi elders asserted themselves as the " people of their area, the tangata whenua, the people of this land ... we were here before the canoes arrived."[48]

Historically, Manukorihi were believed to have always been one of the primary hapū of Te Atiawa, sharing any number of common ancestors with neighbouring hapū. One such common tupuna was Te Tuitimoeroa, with whom Otaraua were also affiliated. As with Otaraua, recent Manukorihi traditions have asserted descent from the believed ancient canoes, Kahutara, Taikoria and Okoki. The Te Tini O Taitawaro people are also cited with, much later, the Great Fleet waka of Tokomaru believed to have carried the Manukorihi ancestor Tahatuoa to Urenui.

Intermarriages followed Tahatuoa's arrival, linking descendants of Tokomaru with those of believed Aotea and Kurahaupo descent, supporting the belief in north Taranaki that important whakapapa connections do exist to suggest older unities amongst the Taranaki whānui tribes. These connections are

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[47] Tom Ngatai and Lou MacDonald, personal communications, October-November 1992.

[48] Moki White, Submission of Manukorihi, Waitangi Tribunal, Owae Marae, 11 April 1991, Wai 143, D.15, p.4.

especially strong with neighbouring hapū like Otaraua and Ngāti Rahiri.[49]

Relationships with these last two were complex and interwoven. Some traditions state that the three hapū were once the same tribe, named Te Kāhui Tū. Manukorihi however maintained its traditional autonomy over its mana whenua, the lower reaches of the Waitara River.

Prominent among Manukorihi ancestors was Ngarue, believed to have lived some ten generations earlier, celebrated in the whare of the same name at Owae Marae, Waitara. According to tradition, Ngarue married a woman from Kawhia named Uru te Kakara but soon resolved to return to Waitara, leaving his pregnant wife behind with instructions that a male child was to be named Whare Matangi. In due course, Whare Matangi sought out his father with a believed magic dart which pointed to Waitara. Traditions have survived of this journey in the form of three large boulders on the western end of the Taioma reef, near Waitara. These boulders lie in the form of a dart, visible at low tide and collectively known as Oakura O Waeroa. In commemoration of the journey of Whare Matangi, the river was later named "Whaitara nui a Ngarue".[50]

Another noted Manukorihi chief was the poet, Makere, whose grandson Taramoana was killed at Manutahi in South Taranaki by a party of Ngāti Ruanui. In grief, Makere composed a lament which alluded to many places occupied by Manukorihi at that time. The waiata is a very long one, and is still relatively well known. Part of the waiata includes references like:

hei kawe I ahau	now take me
te rae ki Okawa	to the ridge of Okawa
kia ngamia mia	to snatch
te ate o te whenua	triumph from the foe

and later:

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[49] ibid, p.5.

[50] ibid, p.29.

Te wehi o te whenua-e	You were feared throughout the land
He kawau e whakateka	Like the cormorant with outstretched neck
Ki roto o Mangaiti	Seen in the waters of Mangaiti
He takapu horo ika	like the albatross fish swallower
hakahaka roa	Whose plumes in darkness do cause delight
Hikawera e tu mai ra-e-i	In the land of Hikawera
He mea ka ngaro noa	Alas thou art lost indeed
Te rua o Kai whare	In the Chasm of kaiwhare.[51]

The mana whenua of Manukorihi traditionally commenced at Ongatiki and linked with Titirangi and Manaiti. It then extended seaward to Mamaku and Ongatiki behind the Puketakauere and Onukuka area. These latter lands are remembered as having once been occupied over time by various smaller breakaway hapū of Manukorihi called Ngāti Uenuku, Ngāti Ti Tuiti, Ngāti Tarowharau, Ngāti Kaituaroa, Ngāti Rangiroa, Ngāti Hinga and the larger Ngāti Kura, which itself had smaller breakaway subdivisions.

The primary Manukorihi canoe sites were established at Orapa and Mangawhero, adjoining the streams Poutono and Mataiaua. Manukorihi shared a general eastern boundary with Ngāti Rahiri, extending to Titirangi and Rerepapaka where a main stronghold was once situated. A smaller, satellite pā named Kaipeke sat to the southwest, a first line of defense against attack from the east. To the north-east, the fortified pā Manukorihi commanded most attention, overlooking the Waitara River.

Surrounding pā affiliated to Manukorihi included Pariroa, commanding the entrance to the canoe harbour, and Rohutu, on the coast. Kainanui was the

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[51] White, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, D.15, pp 30-34.

nearest of a complex of six defensive structures linking the sandhills to the northern clifftops with Maungaparaua, recalled as commanding a good supply of spring water. Puketapu was a smaller pā to the north which served as an observation post, given its view of Manukorihi itself.

Other controlling pā sites were Hikamutu and the smaller Hikawera. Titirangi Pā was the final defensive structure at the north end of the ridge, situated on the cliff top overlooking the sea. Ngangana was further southward, with numerous small settlements also located in the area, settlements believed occupied by breakaway communities usually abandoned in times of stress, with breakaway groups reforming around commanding sites and hapū. As a defensive position, Manukorihi Pā was considered to be impregnable. It comprised a complex of ditches, banks and palisades slightly larger that Pukerangiora Pā, located further up the river. Both pā were abandoned in the early nineteenth century in the wake of continuing Waikato incursions, thereafter remaining as prominent wahi tapu of significance for all tribes of the north.

Manukorihi Pā had contained three primary urupā wherein many important tūpuna were interred. Teremutu was situated within the stronghold of Owae with Rohutu closer to the settlement of that name in the sandhills, alongside Pukekohatu. Supporting cultivations were located at the base of the cliff below Owae, essentially a sheltered canoe harbour stretching from Kainganui to Hikawera, and to Otuhitekai on the coast. Waitara is recalled as possessing fertile soils and generally good growing conditions. Flax was extensively cultivated, with Manukorihi women famed for their fine flaxwork.[52]

The local canoe harbour was called Tangaroa, with carved prows and stern posts produced by Aniwaniwa. Rohutu, Kainganui and Hikawera served as fishing pā. Hikawera was also known for its kai moana and river delicacies, the piharau in particular. This was gathered from the Waitara river from rapids which were all named. These included Paparoa Te Rama Rama, Pokai Pango,

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[52] Moki White, personal communication, October 1992.

Te Tapuae (Koakoha) Aramahoe; and Parawai; Te Toka i Taia; Panekeneke; Moana Panekeneke; Ngangana and Aorangi.

The Puketapu hapū of Te Atiawa was probably always the largest, occupying a central geographic position in the estate of Te Atiawa. Puketapu shared many of their dominant ancestors with neighbouring hapū, especially Te Ngehe Matiriaohua, Tamati Whanganui, Taniora, Tohu Kakahi, Ranga Pu Whanui, Te Ua Taha and Te Pou.[53]

The Pukerangiora estate, inland from Manukorihi, encompassed all lands bounded by the seaward hapū and Ngāti Maru inland, a rohe dominated by the Pukerangiora Pā. This was a huge fortification second only to Manukorihi in size and significance. The people of Pukerangiora considered their boundaries to be largely common with their seaward and northern neighbours, though often subject to change.[54]

Frequent intermarriage with Otaraua and Manukorihi especially again rendered boundaries tenuous, with many Pukerangiora ancestors specifically remembered against particular pā sites now located beyond their mana whenua. Relationships with neighbours were often ambivalent. Pukerangiora relied on access to the sea through passages flanking the Waitara River, with inland corridors linked into a complex pattern of native walking tracks.[55]

A large number of the native walking tracks crossed into Ngāti Maru, a great distance inland, in the region of Tarata. These tracks compounded the settling of boundaries, though later traditions would assert wahi tapu and western boundaries primarily centred on Mangature, two days walk from the Pukerangiora wahi tapu called Te Taniwha. The eastern boundary of Pukerangiora generally lay along the Taramouku Stream. Pukerangiora traditions elevated the Pā Pukerangiora which occupied a commanding position above the

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[53] Ritai, personal communication, January 1992.

[54] Tamati, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, D.17, p.1.

[55] ibid, p.11.

upper Waitara River. Once a significant political centre, Pukerangiora was the site of many conflicts, the most recent being the invasion and destruction of the pā by Waikato in 1831. This is the occasion for which the site is generally most remembered and today preserved as wahi tapu and Historic Site. Pukerangiora was also the site of Hapurona's truce on Wiremu Kingi's behalf in 1860, which brought the first Taranaki Land war to a close.[56] Pukerangiora kāinga and urupā included Waiwai, Kaharoa, Okawa and Manganui.

Other hapū of Te Atiawa equally record traditions of wahi tapu. The land area of Ngāti Te Whiti was located at the southern end of the rohe, a landscape once densely populated with fortified pā. Predominant amongst these was Te Kawau and Puke Āriki, both overlooking the Huatoki estuary. The western portion of the pā was called Kai Ngutu, with the central portion called E Rangi. The marae which stood between the pā and the beach was called Para Huka, a name now transferred to Parihaka.[57]

The earliest tradition of occupation assigned Rangi Apiti Rua, paramount ancestor of Ngāti Te Whiti, as the principal founder of the site. Further to the south lay the Wahitapu urupū and the site of the fighting pā, Otaka, site of the 1831 seige and pitched battle between Te Atiawa and Waikato during which, according to some family traditions, Te Whiti o Rongomai III was born.[58]

To the north east of Ngāti Rahiri lay the general estate of Ngāti Mutunga. In recent times, Ngāti Mutunga have also regarded their origins primarily as pre-dating descent from the Tokomaru.[59] However, as with other iwi and hapū of Te Atiawa whānui who in modern times defer if ambivalently to such earlier descent histories, Ngāti Mutunga retain very little narrative detail about such

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[56] ibid, p.1.

[57] Wharehoka, personal communication, October 1992.

[58] Keenan, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, D.14, p.5.

[59] Diane Cameron and others, Submission of Ngāti Mutunga, Waitangi Tribunal, Urenui Marae, Urenui, 17 October 1992; Wai 143, F.10, Vol.2, p.263.

believed earlier occupants[60]. This is despite the presence locally of a number of believed ancient pā sites, like Okoki Pā where the three ancient chiefs are believed to have lived - Rangiwahia, Whakapaki and Koromiko.[61]

Later traditions confirm Tokomaru as the canoe to which Ngāti Mutunga trace the major part of their ancestry. Tokomaru is believed to have carried the ancestor Ngangaruru who was thought to have lived about thirteen generations ago before the eponymous ancestor Mutunga appeared. The name Ngāti Mutunga was not adopted in the lifetime of Mutunga. His kinship group were earlier known as Ngāti Kahukura, a kinship group to which Te Rangihiroa claimed some descent, along with other hapū divisions which included Ngāti Hinetuhi, Te Kekerewai, Kaitangata, Ngāti Tū, Ngāti Haumia, Ngāti Aurutu, Ngāti Okiokinga, Ngāti Uenuku, and Ngāti Tupawhenua.

At various times, these hapū occupied distinct subsections of the overall Ngāti Mutunga rohe. The location of some of the larger hapū was recorded, and it is believed that Te Kekerewai occupied the vicinity of the Mimi River; Ngāti Okiokinga resided at Whakarewa and Ngāti Aurutu occupied the Okoki area. Ngāti Hinetuhi lived along the lower reaches of the Urenui river, with Kaitangata near the mouth of the Onaero River, sharing a small land area with Ngāti Tu.[62]

The Ngāti Mutunga rohe over time established wahi tapu which were primarily urupā beside former settlements and battle sites, as at Te Rau o te huia, Urenui Pā and Puketapu Pā on the banks of the lower Onaero River. Nearby also was Kumara Kai Amo with two further urupā situated at the site of Okoki Pā, one now containing the ashes of Te Rangihiroa, encased beneath a large, ornate canoe prow. The other urupā was unmarked, and was associated

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[60] MacDonald, personal communication, October 1992.

[61] Cameron, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, F.10, Vol.2, pp.263-265.

[62] ibid, p.266.

with the Ngāti Aurutu hapū believed to have once lived in the vicinity of Whakarewa Pā, linking them to the Ngāti Okiokinga hapū.

Further south, on the banks of the Mimi river, was another urupā associated with the Teketeke o Terehua Pā. Ngāti Mutunga often cremated rather than buried their dead; consequently, many of the landforms projecting into the sea along the Ngāti Mutunga coastline were considered to be tapu, most having been used as the sites of funeral pyres, as the surveyor Brookes had noted.

Another prominent wahi tapu was a passage-way that crossed Motunui from Okoki to the sea, named as Te Aratahitahi a Kapuakore. According to local traditions, Kapuakore was a much-favoured young woman sought in marriage by a chief from Kawhia. Arduous negotiations and the threat of conflict preceded acceptance. Thereafter, a path was physically swept across Motunui to honour Kapuakore as she and her attendants passed along and away to her new home.

Many wahi tapu are also recalled as earlier sites of cultivation, centred around Puke Whakamaru and Urenui. Eels were harvested in the small streams of Waiau, Te Rau o Te Huia, Waiiti and Papatiki. Pakihi was the favoured fishing ground, and Maruwehi a favoured site of sea food, with Waitoitoi and Wai-iti.[63]

The northern-most tribe of the Te Atiawa whānui was Ngāti Tama who traditionally occupied a strategic coastal and bush hinterland at the northern entrance to Taranaki. Ngāti Tama was the northern most tribe within the Taranaki unity of tribes. Its boundaries generally extended from Mohakatino in the north to approximately Urenui in the south.

The Ngāti Tama line of descent began as "Tamaariki was the eponymous ancestor of the fighting Ngati Tama tribe which at one time occupied the territory north and south of the Mohakatino River", the mana whenua within which Ngāti Tama claimed status as tangata whenua. Ngāti Tama incorporated the claim to mana whenua with the delineation a specific land area:

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[63] ibid, p.271.

> Ngati Tama tribe possessed all the lands along the coast from the Mokau River to Titoki, a place two miles south of Pukearuhe Pa ... to the ancient Maori this country of Ngati Tama was an ideal one, a land to be desired and fought for. It offered numerous sites to the old warrior ... by their numerous strongholds situated along the coast, the Ngati Tama for many generations held back the power and might of the Tainui tribes and in nearly all instances were able to inflict defeat on their northern neighbours.[64]

Such a history of long occupation was a critical part of Ngāti Tama's mana history. Areas where tribes and hapū meshed with others of neighbouring tribes were equally delineated, with links to other tribes also clearly defined. There was some warring over the northern boundaries, along the Mokau River. The western boundary of Ngāti Tama was asserted as the coastline to the southern boundary at Titoko, near the Wai-iti Stream. The eastern boundary was difficult to define with precision given that the majority of names once handed down are believed lost to the oral record.

Throughout this estate, traditional canoe sites, burial grounds, pā sites and old cultivations remained well-known and played an integral part in the constructing and keeping alive of a collected history of the tribe. Recent accounts of the Ngāti Tama past stressed descent pre-dating the Great Fleet, endorsing recent Te Atiawa research "contextualising" the descent traditions and historical veracity. However, Ngāti Tama in the end focused more closely on the Great Fleet traditions which emphasised the link with one eponymous ancestor, Tama Ihu Toroa, great grandson of Tama Tekapua, captain of the Arawa canoe. Some traditions also linked Ngāti Tama with Manaia of the Tokomaru, while others connected Ngāti Tama with the descendants of the crew of Aotea who eventually settled around the Patea River. Ngāti Tama's preferred tradition was for the ancestor named as Tamāriki.

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[64] White, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, F.19, p.10.

Ngāti Tama long regarded all ancestral land as rohe takiwa te whenua o te moana - all one and the same, and all wahi tapu. Special sites spread throughout the rohe did not detract from the total estate.[65] Ngāti Tama's northern corridor was connected to the myriad of forested tracks which linked Mokau to the slopes and sheer cliffs of Pukearuhe and thereafter to the coast at Waikaramarama. Two pā sites stood at either end of the cliffs, Pukearuhe and Katikatiaka, once representing the formidable barrier to hostile incursions from the north. The coast between Te Kawau and Hukunui at the mouth of the Mohakatino was the scene of many skirmishes.

According to Ngāti Tama traditions, Ngāti Tama originally comprised several hapū, of which Ngāti Tama was in fact the most dominant. Prominent Ngāti Tama wahi tapu were sited at Titoki, Waitangi and Hawera. Local traditions held that Ngāti Tama possessed all of the land from Mokau River to Titoki, below the Pukearuhe Pā, offering numerous sites for effective fortification.

Beyond Mohakatino, to Mokau, the land was and remains disputed with Ngāti Maniopoto, a dispute remembered over time in many forms; as in the following waiata:

Iri e te hoa i runga o Tokomaru	Recline O friend on Tokomaru
Te Waka o Whata	The canoe of Whata
Na Rakeiora na Tamaariki	By Rakeiora and Tamaariki
I hoe mai ki uta	It was paddled to land
Huaina te whare ko Maraerotuhia	The house was named Maraerotuhia
I tu ki Mohakatino	It stood by the Mohakatino.[66]

[65] ibid, p.1.

[66] ibid, p.10.

It is thought that early whalers and fisherman may have called into the northern area by 1832. European visitation thereafter was sporadic until the mid-1880's. Two large epidemics are recorded as occurring in the late 1700's and the early 1800's, accounting for significant Ngāti Tama losses. For Ngāti Tama, a significant lessening of tribal bonds and loss of numbers was associated with the coming of the settler, and the large-scale confiscations of the Ngāti Tama estate that followed the Land Wars of the 1860's. However, Ngāti Tama viewed that period of colonisation as one component of a longer and older history, with its origins in ancient times.

To the south east and inland of Ngāti Tama lay the landlocked estate of Ngāti Maru Wharanui, probably the smallest tribe of all within Te Atiawa whānui. Ngāti Maru traditions asserted common descent from the Tokomaru, with recent traditions citing descent also from peoples believed to have arrived before the Fleet migration, another reference to research for historical veracity to defend inquiry into mana whenua, a recourse to scholarship over the traditional bases of mana wairua and mana whakapapa.

Some whakapapa recited within Ngāti Maru was said to begin before the arrival of Kupe: "before the great migration - the whakapapa that they (the elders) used to recite indicated that Ngāti Maru were the tangata whenua when Kupe arrived." However, despite the acknowledging of earlier descent, the Great Fleet waka Tokomaru is believed to have brought the primary ancestors of Ngāti Maru to inland north Taranaki. The quotation used to traditionally describe Ngāti Maru was: "as there are thousands of stars in the heavens, there are as many Ngati Maru on the earth."[67]

Ngāti Maru was a tribe spread throughout the North Island, once widespread and settled in diverse parts of the country, especially in Hauraki, Wanganui and on the East Coast. Ngāti Maru claimed primary descent from three brothers who

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[67] Denis Patu-Wairua, Submission of Ngāti Maru, Waitangi Tribunal, Te Ope O Te Whenua Marae, Tarata, 15 October 1992, Wai 143, F.10, Vol.2, p.198.

lived in believed ancient times. The brothers were named Maruwharanui, Koipiri and Tuahu, and are said to have travelled widely and into different areas, possibly because, it is believed, they quarrelled and agreed to part company. Koipiri is said to have journeyed up the Whanganui River, and Tuahu travelled to Hauraki, returning to where the Tokomaru first landed. The oldest of the brothers, Maruwharanui, remained in inland Taranaki, and as a consequence, Ngāti Maru kaumātua have long instructed their people not to set foot in other Ngāti Maru maraes until "the others believed we were tuākana."[68] The oldest brother, Maruwharanui, thus remained inland, and became the tuākana, older brother, of all Ngāti Maru, retaining all genealogical and occupancy rights to the rugged inland estate.

Ngāti Maru traditionally ranged from the upper Waitara River to the Whanganui River near Matemateonga. Much of this land comprised inaccessible, rugged hill country. As a consequence, Ngāti Maru settlements were located on relatively small parcels of river flat land, or secure, overlooking plateaus. The most prominent Ngāti Maru wahi tapu was the stronghold of Kerikeringa, scene of many conflicts with neighbouring tribes. Perhaps the most savage occurred in 1819-20 when a marauding taua of Waikato attacked

> the unsuspecting inhabitants ... and approached by way of the ancient Rimu-tauteka forest track, camping on the slopes of Taumaha in a position to command the pa with their muskets. The first assault against the pa was repulsed, but the defenders suffered loss including Tutahanaga, the head of the tribe .... Patu-wairua was now in charge of the defence, and he killed two of the attackers with his taiaha. Eventually the pa fell before the final assault ... some of the inmates succeeded in making their escape across the Waitara river to the east, or scattered along the Taramouku valley.[69]

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[68] ibid, p.199.

[69] Skinner, *Reminiscences*, pp.74-76.

Further inland, in the Purangi area, wahi tapu included Pukemahoe, Mangahau, Ngakaraka, Puketui and Te Nau. The centre of Ngāti Maru activity was located at Tarata which lay isolated from the rest of Taranaki, except for the many walking tracks which traversed the Ngāti Maru landscape. The Taumata Mahoe track was the most important, described by Te Ngeru as "the main route through the tribal lands (starting) from coastal branch tracks at Waitara, Urenui, Onaero and Tikorangi (which) met in the valley of the Tara-mouka stream .... The top of the ridge was generally preferred for a track and whenever they reached a crest where a view could be obtained, the bushes were broken down. These hill brows were known as Tau Matas."[70]

Such detailed mana whenua accountings as given above were important to tribes where the sustaining of a presence and a history over a specific landscape was necessary. This was especially so where the land was largely lost from the control of the tribe, and where a sense of mana whenua was accordingly sustained.

Such a sustaining presence was seen and interpreted through myriad of sites. These rendered manifest people, events and places of resource gathering that all contributed to the tribe's mana whenua. Such accounts were also connected to mana wairua and mana tūpuna histories which together represented a validation of identity from the past, and in the present.

The inland Ngāti Maru terrain, which intersected along a common boundary with Ngāti Maniopoto, later resisted European attempts at settlement. Its ruggedness presented major challenges to settlers and surveyors alike, as Skinner discovered. In the midst of a survey of the Pouakai ranges in 1879, he was directed to Mokau to "mark out a block of land, some 30,000 acres in extent, lying between the Mokau and Mohakatino Rivers, inland from the sea coast",

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[70] Edward M.Te Ngeru, "The Maori history of the Ngati Maru area", in *100 years of history in Inglewood 1875- 1975,* (ed) R.W.Brown (New Plymouth, 1974). p.33.

certainly no mean feat in those early days. The survey was for the purpose, as Skinner reported, of obtaining a lease from Māori owners for one Joshua Jones who had obtained the consent of Grey and Sheehan to deal with these "hitherto hostile tribesman." Local hapū had consistently opposed the leasing or selling of their lands which had further been made tapu against the entry of the surveyors. As this was the first survey to be permitted, the outcome was viewed with "considerable anxiety by the authorities."[71]

Incessant rain exacerbated the impact of a difficult terrain, alleviated primarily by a number of local Māori guides and assistants enlisted to assist in the marking out of the land under survey. With horses left behind at the Pukearuhe Military outpost, travel involved trudging through dense undergrowth broken only by steep ridges, with frequent recourse to canoes as flooded rivers were encountered. The survey party lived almost entirely off hard biscuits, with some locally caught wild pork and eels. "All around we could hear the noise of slipping hill-sides and crashing timber ... shortly afterwards we were forced to abandon camp and make for the coast as food had run out." Skinner later described this experience as "the most unpleasant I encountered in all my years in the bush."[72]

Many later European travellers through the rohe of local tribes in Taranaki recorded such lasting impressions of vastness and wilderness. The land areas over which local Te Atiawa tribes, hapū and communities exercised mana whenua, within a continuum of tūpuna and generations anchored into specific localities, presented instead to the European eye as uniform and untamed. This was an outer periphery of land to early European settlements awaiting exploration, purchase and intensive economic utilisation. Māori communities often remained as a physical constraint to such ambitions. Richmond noted as

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[71] Skinner, *Reminiscences,* p.35.

[72] ibid, p.39.

much in 1858; "the development of the material resources of the extensive wilderness is still in the hands of the natives (and) depends absolutely on their will. Without their consent it is impossible to survey, or even to traverse the country."[73]

However, the exploration, acquisition and economic utilisation of the Te Atiawa whānui lands did follow over the ensuing decades, consistent with new European settlement aspirations. However, as Sinclair has written, the Māori people often seemed "slow to learn the capitalist lesson(s) that the settlers wished to impress on them."[74] The process of converting the tribal landscapes from the governance of mana whenua into new European settlement and economic units, underpinned by a new basis of legal authority, was in Taranaki achieved over a relatively short space of time. The conversion process was of course exceedingly complex, operating at any number of levels, with the tribes, hapū and Māori communities in Taranaki compelled to position themselves to maintain and assert their continuing sense of mana whenua.

However, from about 1870, the transforming of the ancient landscape was well underway, with Taranaki seen to be "making unspectacular but steady progress which was to stand it in good stead."[75]

The earliest settlers to New Plymouth arrived in March, 1841, aboard the *William Bryan*, the first of six New Zealand Company migrant vessels conveying some nine hundred settlers to New Plymouth between 1841 and 1843. Carrington's surveyors and support staff had arrived months earlier, charged with the laying out of the new settlement.[76] The Wesleyan Missionary, Charles Creed, had also landed earlier that year, establishing a Mission station at

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[73] Further Papers Relative to Native Affairs, *AJHR,* 1858, E-No.1, p.5.

[74] Keith Sinclair, *The origins of the Maori wars* (Auckland, 1961), p.119.

[75] Lambert, *An illustrated history,* p.80.

[76] R.G. Wood, *From Plymouth to New Plymouth* (Wellington, 1959), p.29.

Ngamotu. His arrival released two resident Native teachers, Te Awaitaia and Hohaia, both of whom are thought to have moved to Raglan. The first service to be held in Taranaki involving a European congregation was held on Ngamotu Beach on March 21, 1841.[77]

Early European settler opinion of Taranaki was generally favourable, once the disappointments of relative isolation, and the lack of a proper landing harbour were overcome, with the "advantages of the natural wealth of the Taranaki area (exceeding) the disadvantage of the necessity of building an artificial harbour." Carrington's choice of the New Plymouth site, with no natural harbour, was much criticised. Later public meetings considered removing the site ten miles to the north, to Waitara.[78]

One of the first settlers, Charles Hursthouse wrote of Taranaki:

> recollecting that the pioneers or first settlers in a wild country have to undergo considerable hardships, it will probably be admitted that the small proportion of deaths ... must be partly owing to the excellent climate of the district. The general appearance of the settlement is very beautiful ... the country is undulating (and) beneficial to the cultivator (affording) a near supply of wood and water, shade and shelter for stock; or, when partly cleared out and opened to the right aspect, the finest spots for orchards, or for the growth of any plants requiring rich soil and close protection from the wind.[79]

Hardship for the settler, though, there certainly was, if only in the form of sandflies and rats, or in the form of "unconquerable weeds", in fact the common

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[77] Herbert D. Mullon, *These hundred acres. The story of Whitely Township. City of New Plymouth* (New Plymouth, 1969), p.9.

[78] Wood, *From Plymouth,* p.41.

[79] Charles Hursthouse, *An account of the settlement of New Plymouth* (London 1849, reprinted Christchurch, 1975), pp.11-12.

native fern.[80] Local surgeon Peter Wilson considered the countryside in 1850 to be hazardous, with the "constant danger and difficulty of fording the unbridged rivers and streams, accidental drownings (are) all too depressingly frequent." The lack of suitable bridges, he thought, represented "shamefully inhuman neglect." Wilson also considered Hursthouse's account of New Plymouth to be "a propaganda publication for the ailing New Zealand Company," the book seemingly glossing over many of the early problems attaching to settlement in New Plymouth.[81]

A major initial problem was the acute shortage of essential supplies like flour, and food, with local cropping seemingly not proving luxuriant in the short term. Another was the transience of migrants who did not obtain land, compelled to move away in search of work and capital, moving Hursthouse to write: "this is particularly the poor man's country ... there are not twenty men who work for hire, six days a week; almost every man is a "freeholder", possessing a house, some stock and a few acres of land."[82]

Despite these and other early problems affecting the settlement of New Plymouth, "most of the new arrivals were content, for the life they had chosen to leave behind in England had been extremely harsh and certainly had not presented the opportunities which the new settlement offered ... the chance to (obtain) their own plot of land." With most of the land surrounding the new settlement quickly allocated, settlers soon "coveted the rich land to the north of the settlement."[83]

In the early years of settlement, much of the land obtained for settlement was cleared of bush and forest cover. New land-owners were kept occupied clearing and planting, with few in fact able to afford the hired help that was

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[80] H. Weekes, "Journals", in *The establishment of the New Plymouth settlement in New Zealand 1841-1843,* (eds) J.R. Rutherford and W.H. Skinner (New Plymouth, 1940), p.75.

[81] Gail Lambert, *Peter Wilson. Colonial surgeon* (Palmerston North, 1981), p.114.

[82] Hursthouse, *An account of the settlement,* p.149.

[83] Lambert, *An illustrated history,* p.25.

available. In the first decade of settlement, some two thousand acres of forests were felled. Much of the surrounding forest was burnt out, a method of blanket clearance to be repeated many times on a huge scale across Taranaki in the following decades. This was especially so in 1886, when the great fires of central Taranaki were allowed to burn largely out of control, devastating the inland Ngāti Maru estate.[84]

Crops planted in the wake of forest clearance failed to thrive beyond an initial encouraging harvest. To the south, clearing was evident prior to 1850 as far as Omata where about two hundred and fifty acres were under long term cultivation, mainly in wheat, maize and potatoes. Although these crops were successful, Taranaki's long term potential was seen as a grassland district, readily apparent as cultivations in grass began to exceed that in crops from about 1850.[85]

This gradual conversion of the old landscape for the purposes of economic utilisation was a particular feature of the new settlement, a fact partly born of necessity given that the new settlers had to eat. However, also at work was a view of land that largely equated value with productive capacity. Most of the "coveted" lands lay to the north and south of the New Plymouth settlement, comprising coastal plain and flatland from about Waitara to Tataraimaka. Most of this land however was in settler possession by 1864, through purchases made around New Plymouth and the later confiscations enacted in the wake of the land wars, confiscations which also encompassed the inland and densely forested rohe of Ngāti Maru. Once available for settler allocation and settlement, the intensive exploration and wholesale clearance of the Taranaki tribal landscapes occurred.

For the European, the conversion process, according to McKay:

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[84] Owen Mander, *The great bush fire of 1886* (Stratford, 1991).

[85] Lambert, *An illustrated history*, p.29.

> began as a treasure hunt - a hunt without a proper map .... Waves of Europeans sailed to New Zealand to harvest the virgin crops of raw materials. Many came to settle ... they established a multitude of communities, towns, industries .... This is the history of the European extractive frontier in New Zealand.

However, McKay acknowledges that the Europeans

> were latecomers ... for Maori tribes already knew every feature of the land and coast, and had named each one of them. What was a new country for Europeans was an utterly familiar, all-encompassing world for Maori. The only things unfathomed in it were the Europeans.[86]

The pioneering experience in Taranaki, the experience of new European settlement and opportunities for material progress, long remained as the pivotal experience in the shaping of the Taranaki region as it was (and largely is) most commonly conceived. The outer periphery of this experience at any given time constituted a "frontier" over which Māori communities and their largely unknown "ethnographic" realities lay.

Some Māori people moved within the confines of the new settlements of course, but seldom in significant numbers, always physically resident on the periphery, as those living at Ngamotu were some miles distant from the New Plymouth settlement. Those Māori able to negotiate their way through settler communities were rare; most in the vicinity were regarded with benign interest as "those immediately connected with our settlements (over which) we should, I think, first establish our supremacy." Those Māori people over the frontier, the "more distant tribes", were perceived as oppositional and potentially disruptive to the migrant experience, tribes which, Hursthouse thought, should be left "entirely to their own ways and means, to the insecurity and physical suffering incident to savage life."[87]

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[86] Duncan McKay, *Frontier New Zealand. The search for Eldorado 1800 - 1920* (Auckland, 1992), p.9.

[87] Hursthouse, *An account of the settlement,* p.34.

Some of the problems inherent in a somewhat pristine pioneering image have been addressed by Jeanine Graham:

> life for colonial children was dominated neither by the formality nor the footwear depicted in the family portraits .... The majority of married women were constantly producing children yet pregnancy is invariably hidden ... death was a common and inevitable occurrence.[88]

The image of the pioneer in Taranaki has also been questioned: "it is all too easy to build romantic visions of those early pioneers: living frugally but happily in quaint cottages, growing their own food, and fulfilling a dream to possess their own land."[89] The continued validity of the pioneering experience in the comprehending of Taranaki's complex history is certainly limited, as frequent representations of the migrant experience in Taranaki continue to affirm the new settler against a hostile landscape: "those pioneers who came and toiled ... on the land which they helped bring into production."[90]

Few early migrants to New Plymouth appeared to know anything of local Māori perceptions of land holdings, boundaries, tribal, hapū or community distribution, and ownership. According to Hursthouse, land considerations "awakened old quarrels among the natives, by recalling the bloody feuds of which land had been the ostensible cause ... the natives imbibed such monstrous ideas of their rights, as rendered all fair dealings with them impracticable."[91]

Those who did know a little were the first Europeans to reside amongst the Māori, especially the whalers who settled for a time after 1827 at Ngamotu. One of these whalers, Barrett, later became an intermediary between local tribes and the New Zealand Company in the negotiations for the purchase of land in New

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[88] Jeanine Graham, "The pioneers (1840-1870)" in *The Oxford illustrated history of New Zealand*, (ed) Keith Sinclair (Auckland, 1990), p.49.

[89] Lambert, *An illustrated history*, p.29.

[90] N.S. Smillie, *Matau 1889-1971* (New Plymouth, 1971), p.1.

[91] Hursthouse, *An account of the settlement*, p.36.

Plymouth.[92] Barrett was generally well regarded by Māori people but was judged less favourably by the Pākehā community. According to Wood, Barrett was seen as "tough, ignorant and unscrupulous. Some would say it was to the Wakefieldians credit that they made use of him: others would say that it was to their discredit."[93] The whalers, with the later Missionaries like Creed and Whiteley who specifically sought to work with local Māori, had little immediate impact on the Māori sense of land ownership, boundaries and delineations of community. The whalers in particular are remembered for the changes they introduced; local people were taught how to grow corn, and to create food surpluses for later use or sale.

In retrospect, the coming of the whalers is seen as the single most important event where Māori communities were concerned. However, they did not seek to change the essential nature of Māori land holdings. At the time, their presence was welcomed but not deemed especially threatening. And, at the time, such innovations as small cropping certainly benefitted the local Māori people. Later European settlers were expected to be few in number. Some have suggested that such was part of the Māori reasoning attaching to their willingness to sell land.[94]

The effective boundaries of Māori control and governance however remained intact, and were expected to remain so, most effectively operating at the level of the hapū and family, on relatively small parcels of land. Whalers and missionaries, at least at this early stage, for their part did not seek to impose any new systems or orders, except perhaps spiritual ones where the missionaries were concerned. If they had wanted to impose any alternative system of temporal order onto the local Māori communities, they would have found it difficult to achieve given their dependence on the local tribal economies, the

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[92] Patricia Burns, *Fatal success. A history of the New Zealand Company* (Auckland, 1980), p.136.

[93] Wood, *From Plymouth*, p.40.

[94] MacDonald, personal communication, October 1992.

granting of land on which to live, and the superior strength in number and coercive power of the local Ngāti Te Whiti people.

New settlers to New Plymouth after 1841 were most concerned on arrival with establishing agreeable living conditions for themselves, having to overcome, among other things, "fleas, sandflies and other pests, which did little to add to the quality of life. Earthquakes were also a frequent and frightening new phenomenon to be endured."[95]

However, settlers were equally concerned, if only indirectly at first, with ensuring that some coherent system of order be devised to provide for the proper purchase of land, and clarification of title. This was especially so after local Māori people began returning to the area in numbers, disputing new settler occupation of certain lands. Much of the ensuing "annoyance and inconvenience to which both the settlers and aborigines (were) exposed" was attributed to the flawed manner in which original negotiations for purchase were arranged, giving rise to "deep-rooted prejudice and suspicion of each others motives."

The "annoyance and inconvenience" felt amongst the new settler community in New Plymouth was widespread:

> in several instances settlers have been located upon spots cultivated by the Natives ... the Natives have commenced clearing and cutting down timber upon other sections claimed by Europeans .... a strong feeling of dislike is growing up between the two races.[96]

Such "strong feelings of dislike" stimulated increased settler awareness of distinct community based less on locality, and more on the shared, migrant experience. The seeds of such awareness of difference were always present, seen in the rhetoric of colonisation, as with

> should he (Grey) rule New Zealand for a few years and be left unfettered

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[95] Lambert, *An illustrated history,* p.23.

[96] Extract from Sub-Protector Clarke's Report to Government, *AJHR,* 1844, E-No.2, pp.10-11.

> by the Colonial Office, he will do much to change 120,000 semi-savages into civilised and loyal subjects of the Queen, and thus render them of immense service in developing the resources of these splendid islands which now hold her sway.[97]

However, the perceived adversities after 1841 fortified the settler sense of a distinct community of interest and experience, of which they all felt a part, a community now largely conceived independent of the Māori. Farms, small settlements and the larger New Plymouth became in a sense distinct settler communities. Opportunities to negotiate accommodations with local Māori people were soon overtaken by increasingly severe land disputes and ultimately open warfare in which settler outposts and communities were stoutly defended. Most early accounting of the first Taranaki Land war contained numerous heroic references to the defence of such outposts which, in fact, proved difficult and costly to defend.

In this context, Māori people were increasingly seen as oppositional and disruptive to the colonisation and conversion of the Taranaki landscape. They were seen as a vaguely tribal people of indistinct form whose histories, traditions, interests and realities lay, or perhaps belonged, across a distant "frontier". This was a "frontier" perceived primarily in terms of a "simple dualism", a settler community and Māori people. According to Meinig, "pairs of terms such as homeland and colonies, metropolis and frontier, centre and periphery, and variations thereof (were) loaded with meaning, carrying as they (did) implications of old and new, dominance and subordination and innovation and diffusion." In reality, the "frontier" was an ambiguous concept consisting of points and places which delineated, at any given time, those parts of the landscape where, or those time-periods when, new exploration and land use were superseding the ancient landscape by certain processes;[98] and where in

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[97] Hursthouse, *An account of the settlement,* p.37.

[98] D.W. Meinig, "A geographic transect of the Atlantic world, ca 1750", in *Geographic perspectives in history,* (eds) Eugene D. Genovese and Leonard Hochberg (New York, 1989), p.186.

Taranaki the settler was superseding, at least in his own perception, the Māori.

Such a "frontier" was best represented, for the earliest settlers at least, in physical terms by the seemingly impenetrable inland forest that still flanked most of the coastline. Here, the Māori were seen to be living "entirely to their own ways and means."[99] This was primarily an extractive "frontier" which ultimately moved quite rapidly across the ancient landscape. This was so especially after the Land wars as most of the bush was felled and burnt off, and pasture planted. Later surveyors in Taranaki encountered long established Māori villages of people who may well have been quite unaware of the rapidly changing nature of the land ownership, a situation not unique to New Zealand. In the United States, for example, the imposition of a vast rectangular survey after 1800 once saw surveyors working in the Mississippi - St.Croix River junction area, establishing a survey over a vast network of Sioux trails and tracks which they were "permitted to pass, repass, hunt and make other uses" while the surveys, and the reordering of the land, was proceeding.[100]

In this context of a diminishing extractive frontier, the "frontier" in Taranaki increasingly came to represent not a physical line, but an abstract one over which Māori histories, traditions, realities and interests were perceived by settlers to be existing and properly residing.

The notion of "frontier" has exerted some influence over histories of colonial expansion, a concept seemingly most utilised when colonialists themselves were under scrutiny. For their part, tribes and hapū continued to regard themselves as inextricably bound into their complex and sequential system of whakapapa knowledge which, among other things, adjudged and evaluated land as source of mana.

The Fredrick J. Turner thesis sought to account for the distinctive nature of

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[99] Hursthouse, *An account of the settlement,* p.34.

[100] H.B. Johnson, *Order upon the land* (New York, 1976), p.83.

American frontier communities which were perceived as inherently different from those of the East, and the old world. The difference, argued Turner, lay in the expectations of successive waves of pioneers feeding into frontier communities. As summarised by Billington:

> on the frontiers, men from different backgrounds met and mingled, each contributing traits and habits which slightly altered the emerging civilisation ... in their new homes more of the habits of civilisation were discarded ... (a) mature social order eventually evolved from each pioneer community (resulting) from a variety of forces peculiar to the frontier environment.[101]

The Turner thesis was much disputed, and defended, primarily within the context of colonial expansion and the societies and institutions thereby created, which, for America, was no small focus of debate. However, the concept of "frontier" from the possible vantage point of indigenous peoples, those already inhabiting the lands being colonised, seemed to receive little attention.

In 1928, however, one historian, W.C. MacLeod, produced a volume on the American Indian frontier, somewhat ambitiously suggesting that his work was the first analysis of American frontier history made from the Indian side of frontier development. Macleod's principal interest was in assessing the degree of socio-historical and institutional evolution evident on the Indian side, thus providing a measure for "why one side advances (and) why the other side retreats."[102] It was in Taranaki equally and frequently observed that Māori were in retreat before believed settler advances.

According to MacLeod, "every frontier has two sides," an observation which further suggested that his framework was perhaps essentially what would later be called ethnohistory, described recently by Axtell as essentially the use of historical and ethnological methods to gain knowledge of changing cultures in

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[101] Ray Allen Billington, *The frontier thesis. Valid interpretation of American history?* (New York, 1966), p.2.

[102] W.C. MacLeod, *The American Indian frontier* (London, 1928, reprinted 1968), p.vii.

encounter situations: "the history of early America is preeminently the history of the multiple and shifting frontiers between different cultures."[103]

Axtell has written widely of the contest of cultures, especially the English, French and Indian in Canada.[104] He is a leading advocate for the ethnohistorical method in the study of cultures in contact which, according to Francis Jennings, "finds not the triumph of civilisation over savagery, but an acculturation of Europeans and Indians ... marked by the interchange or diffusion of cultural traits and the emergence of cultural dominance by the Europeans in a large society marked by the submerged Indian subculture."[105]

Historian O. Lattimore's approach was similar, stressing the concept of two communities meeting in a common territory, and one taking the other over, normally by conquest.[106] In Australia, Henry Reynolds saw the contact between European and Aborigine as essentially a clash across a moving frontier, and a very violent clash it was.[107] The title of his book, *The other side of the frontier,* suggests at once a perception and a paradox. It suggests a perception of an aboriginal view of the contact situation, which undoubtedly exists, as Reynolds has further acknowledged:

> the legend of the explorer/pioneer is still celebrated in popular history though the intellectual foundations have been seriously weakened ... the emergence of Aboriginal history has been one of the main agents of erosion .... That violence vied with wool as a product of the frontier, the

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[103] James Axtell, *The European and the Indian. Essays in the ethnohistory of colonial North America* (New York, 1981), p.5.

[104] James Axtell, *The invasion within. The contest of cultures in colonial North America* (New York, 1985).

[105] Francis Jennings, *The invasion of America. Indians, colonialism, and the cant of conquest* (Chicago, 1976), p.13.

[106] O. Lattimore, *Studies in frontier history. Collected papers 1928-1958* (London, 1962), p. 469.

[107] Henry Reynolds, *The other side of the frontier. Aboriginal resistance to the European invasion of Australia* (Melbourne, 1982).

rifle bolts clicked in concert with the shears.[108]

Aboriginal writer Jackie Huggins has affirmed this view, writing of "the history of frontier contact between white settlers and Aboriginals (and the) violent and destructive nature of that contact."[109]

Yet, there is also a paradox if to the Aborigine, looking beyond the culture contact frameworks, no concept of frontier ever really existed.

Indigenous views of frontier studies would be interesting. MacLeod's extensive study was not informed by what American Indian people might have thought of the notion of frontier. This is not uncommon with histories of culture contact situations, itself an enormous field of scholarship and debate. However, most encounter or contact histories, unlike MacLeod's, do not claim to represent an indigenous perception.

Some scholars regarded such indigenous views as beyond the focus of study, given that "underlying the idea of colonial discourse ... is the presumption that during the colonial period, large parts of the non-European world were produced for Europe through a discourse that imbricated sets of questions and assumptions ... kinds of writing and imagery."[110]

According to J.M. Powell, colonisation was largely compelled by producing images of "attractive and bountiful rural landscapes inhabited already or in some future time by an independent, virtuous patriotic and industrious population ... a powerful romanticization of the New World as a veritable Arcady."[111] Indigenous people were the "most tragic victim(s)" of such images, according to Billington, once changing attitudes no longer saw "the wilderness as a purifying

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[108] Henry Reynolds, "The land, the explorers and the Aborigines", in *Beyond white eyes* (ed) D.J. Mulvaney (Sydney, 1989), p.121.

[109] Jackie Huggins, "Response", in Mulvaney, *Beyond white eyes,* p.168.

[110] Peter Hulme, *Colonial encounters. Europe and the native Carribean 1492-1797* (London, 1986), p.2.

[111] J.M. Powell, *Mirrors of the new world. Images and image-makers in the settlement process* (Kent, 1977), p.49.

Eden where men were cleansed of their sins by nearness to their creator."[112]

In New Zealand, motives beyond a simple romanticisation of the Māori are suggested by Bell: "representations of the Maori were never unproblematic ... why were there so many images romanticising the Maori at a time when government policy and the dominant ideology looked forward to the end of a distinctive Maori culture and the incorporation of the Maori into European structures?"[113]

Others scholars saw such indigenous perceptions as problematic. According to American historian Calvin Martin:

> the problem of history for North American Indians is that the historical consciousness has been irrelevant to them ... writing about Indians and whites in concert, scholars are perforce trying to mesh two very different structures and systems of reality and knowledge, two fundamentally different cosmologies ... which in fact do not really fit together.

Has Western history, Martin asked, the philosophical power and imagination to enable scholars to write about the life and world of societies "that were not conceived in history, who did not willing launch themselves out onto an historic trajectory, and who perform in the western vision of history only through coercion?"[114]

Writing about "two sides of a frontier", as MacLeod has done, suggests that there were, in fact, two sides. And so there were, but usually only to one side, the colonising European. The European side of the frontier has long been the primary scholarly preoccupation, as the Turner thesis and ensuing debate revealed with its focus on the "steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines, and the men who

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[112] Ray Allen Billington, *Land of savagery. Land of promise. The European image of the American frontier in the nineteenth century* (Toronto, 1981), p.105.

[113] Leonard Bell, *Colonial constructs. European images of Maori 1840-1914* (Auckland,1992), p.3.

[114] Calvin Martin (ed), *The American Indian and the problem of history* (New York, 1987), p.20.

grew up under these conditions, and the political, economic and social results."[115]

This has also proven to be so in New Zealand historiography in situations, not altogether frequent, where the concept of a New Zealand frontier has been invoked, as with *Frontier New Zealand* where Mackay has suggested that the frontier process in New Zealand was a "cohesive process." According to MacKay, although various communities and settlements were separated by considerable distances, they shared common features and collectively helped to shape the course and character of European settlement:

> The whalers and sealers, under Maori patronage, formed the early European settlements ... after 1861, Europeans penetrated the interior ... gold was the driving force, with sawmilling, kauri gum digging and the clearing of bush for farming.[116]

Kauri bushmen especially were a part of an "orderly frontier", integrated into a "cohesive protective group that provided ... a set of values and a sense of place."[117] These latter observations, however, stressing the bonded nature of Kauri bush gangs, were made largely as a contribution to the debate that arose following the publication of Fairburn's *The ideal society and its enemies.* Such debates more than likely utilised frontier as unity to emphasise bonding between males seen to be occupying that peripheral area.[118]

Shaffer saw the frontier concept as meaningful in terms of place, process and time-frame. His view of the "place" of the frontier was similar to Mackay's, seen as "the geographical region (the extreme limit of colonial civilisation) adjacent to unsettled areas in which a low man-land ratio and relatively

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[115] Frederick Jackson Turner, quoted in Billington, *The frontier thesis,* p.11.

[116] MacKay, *Frontier New Zealand,* p.10.

[117] Duncan MacKay, "An orderly frontier. The world of the kauri bushmen 1860-1925", *NZJH,* 25:2(1991), p.156.

[118] Miles Fairburn, *The ideal society and its enemies. The foundations of modern New Zealand society 1850-1900* (Auckland, 1989).

abundant natural resources provide(d) an opportunity for social and economic betterment."[119]

However, the allusion to further dimensions of meaning in "process" and "time-frame" reflect the fact that "frontier" was and is an equivocal concept consisting, as defined earlier, of points and places which delineated, at any given time, those parts of the landscape where, or those time-periods when, new exploration and land use were superseding the ancient landscape by certain variable processes.

Thus, to Peter Adams, the frontier could represent the extreme limit of British government influence,[120] to Alan Ward it could depict the extreme limit of "coercive state power in New Zealand",[121] and to Richard Hill it could suggest the outer limits of expanding state "strategic policing."[122]

To most indigenous people, and the Māori in New Zealand, there was no cognizance of "frontier" that could override the sense of mana whenua exercised as a continuum of ancestors and generations which anchored tribes into specific localities, as described earlier in this chapter.

The effects of encroachment were considerable, of course. However, it is highly unlikely that indigenous views of land possession, wherever in the world they were held, would have changed in the face of colonisation and encroachment. The reverse was more likely, that the holding fast to those views of land which anchored tribes into specific locations enabled indigenous peoples to position themselves in defence of, at the very least, these longstanding perceptions, if not the land itself.

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[119] Raymond Joseph Shaffer, "Woodville: genesis of a bush frontier community 1874-1887", MA thesis in History (Massey University, 1973), p.2.

[120] Peter Adams, *Fatal necessity. British intervention in New Zealand 1830-1847* (Auckland, 1977), pp.19-50.

[121] Alan Ward, "Law and law-enforcement on the New Zealand frontier 1840-1893", *NZJH*, 5:2 (1971), p.128.

[122] Richard S. Hill, *The history of policing in New Zealand, Volume two. The colonial frontier tamed. New Zealand policing in transition 1867-1886* (Wellington, 1989), p.xi.

As the new settlers in Taranaki continued to convert the old landscape, becoming more familiar with the lie of the land, the transforming of its cover and productive utility was accompanied by a gradual imposition of new territories which marked out new patterns of governance being established from further afield, in Auckland and later Wellington.

One of the earliest attempts at the effective imposition of a new system of boundaries in Taranaki occurred in 1846 when New Zealand was divided into two provinces. Legislation in 1853 introduced a system of six (later ten) provincial councils which functioned as the main regional administrative bodies of the new colony, until they were abolished in 1876.[123] The founding dates of these provinces are still commemorated by public holidays, and early provincial boundaries still largely persist as the widely acknowledged reference points from which the conception of provinces are recognised. Such boundaries were an integral part and offshoot of the wider colonisation process. Their impact in Taranaki was to impose over the old landscape new boundaries rendering the earlier system of Māori boundaries victim of an intensive settler capacity to enforce and record those new delineations.

Geographer R.D. Sack has examined the imposition of a complex set of new boundaries over the Chippewa people of Wisconsin, and has confirmed the point that competing concepts of territoriality between the Chippewa and settlers lay at the heart of a "long and troubled relationship", serving also to show how the establishment and uses of territory are, in the end, intermeshed with social-historical contexts:

> the accurate lines on political maps, and land surveys of the white man were possible to construct because his society was literate and capable of printing, surveying and determining longitude and latitude ... these territories were also created ... to support his complex hierarchical society which was based on private property and which used territory to

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[123] W. Fox, *The six colonies of New Zealand* (London, 1851, reprinted Dunedin, 1971), p. 36; W.P. Morrell, *The Provincial system in New Zealand 1852 - 1876* (Wellington, 1964), p.73.

> define and organise its membership. In contrast to a Chippewa, who was born into a Chippewa community and accepted culturally and socially as Chippewa, a Wisconsonite was simply someone who resided within the boundaries of Wisconsin.[124]

Sack concluded that "western culture" conferred on migrant societies a certain detachment from landscape; simply living within a territory often enabled one to be a member of that community.

Such boundaries, to the settler communities whether in Wisconsin or Taranaki, are inevitably less expressions of geography; they would in time assume an identity of their own, the product of a common history.

After the abolition of the Provincial Governments, mechanisms of central and local Government became more complex. Further local boundaries of governance were established and enacted across Taranaki, a myriad of county and borough boundaries devised for the purpose of providing a basic geographic infrastructure for national and local governance in the throes of being established.

In time, the whole of settler Taranaki, once previously a collection of relatively isolated and individual communities, was bound into a common network of governance which gave some expression to a growing, broader Pākehā sense of locality. However, to the settler communities, Taranaki remained primarily a province of local communities united by a shared migrant origin settler experience.

Whether Pākehā communities of Taranaki were able to develop such a sense of history and identity anchored in locality - to the extent that the Māori people were - is a moot point. According to McNaughton:

> Maori writing draws heavily on a sense of place, season and interaction with the environment. The spirit of the land may permeate Maori writing, but its presence is often implicit .... To Pakeha explorers and scientists

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[124] R.D. Sack, *Human territoriality. Its theory and history* (Cambridge, 1986), p.15.

> the landscape was harsh and unknown ... writing often for a distant readership contributed to the writer's sense of detachment from the country.[125]

This was perhaps a sense of detachment felt by some that arose from a shared newness of the settler experience, with some individuals within the group unable to associate occupation and a people with such a rugged, alien and seemingly wild landscape that defied appropriation.

In the end, much of the history and traditions of the Taranaki settler settlements is less about where they are located, and more about the forging of communities in the context of that shared newness of the immigrant experience within a difficult and unfamiliar landscape.

After 1841, tribes, hapū and communities were increasingly excluded from these founding processes of governance, community and identity.

For their part, the tribes, hapū and kinship units continued to exercise mana whenua within the continuum of generations anchored into specific localities. Remembered wahi tapu were largely obliterated in the wake of the settler conversion of the tribal landscapes but did not entirely disappear. They continued in most tribal rohe to render manifest extended histories of tribal, hapu and community occupation. How the tribes, hapū and Māori communities in Taranaki positioned themselves to assert continuing mana whenua over their estates, in the face the confrontations inherent in this conversion of their landscapes, is examined in the following two chapters.

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[125] Trudie McNaughton (ed), *Countless signs. The New Zealand landscape in literature* (Auckland, 1986), p.6.

CHAPTER FOUR

MANA WHENUA MAINTAINED

The purpose of this chapter is to describe how tribes and hapū in Taranaki sought to maintain and assert mana whenua over their ancestral lands after 1841. Such assertions were activated through the authority of tribal mana whakapapa connections with such associations of descent anchored into landscape as a source of tribal mana. These connections underpinned tribal and hapū activity after 1841 as pressures on land increased and new concepts of land tenure were enacted.

After 1841 the assertion of mana whenua compelled tribes, hapū and other kinship units at times to redefine their functional kinship bases. This was achieved for a time in order to sustain tribal claims to land in the wake of intense contest with the Crown. To a large extent, such changes reflected the passing of the land from one party to another. This redefining process was a customary and deliberate process, an activity validated over time by the tribe's mana history. It also reflected a certain expedient fluidity of Māori kinship structures fixed nonetheless within the broadest context of conventional whakapapa relationships always held to be constant.

As this chapter discusses, pressures on land induced such customary repositioning of kinship bases as a strategy to maintain and assert mana whenua, a factor discussed here with varying units appearing as claims and hearings were commenced. In north Taranaki especially, the hapū carried the fight to retain land in collective control. Compensation Court proceedings were introduced and

are shown to have to some extent recognised the sustaining relevance of hapū or mana whenua to claimants.

Other strategies of collective response to land issues such as warfare were utilised by Māori people. However, these did not always constitute concerted kinship activity in Taranaki. The chapter concludes with a re-emphasising of whakapapa as argued by claimants. Whakapapa remained central to tribal and hapū accountings of past and present, as seen throughout this period.

A major feature of Taranaki history after 1830 was the intense competition for land. Issues of land possession outweighed all others as the focus for fervent attention and activity in Taranaki at this time.

Competing concepts of attachment to land, and its use, emerged especially after 1830 following the influx and influence of colonising European settlers. Thereafter, increasing pressures were exerted on the Crown, in Taranaki as elsewhere, to acquire or render available sufficient land to meet the development aspirations of the new settlers, especially those who sought to farm land.

Settlers in Taranaki were observed to be "dissatisfied with the Government and ill pleased with the Maories, who ... possess large tracts of land which they cannot occupy." Settlers complained that they did not have sufficient pasturage for their flocks. "Immigrants and capitalists are driven to seek in other Provinces the accommodation which Taranaki, under the present circumstances, cannot afford."[1]

Throughout this, the basis of the tribal hold on land remained constant. Tribes, hapū and communities continued to maintain and assert their mana whenua over customary lands. This constituted a sense of attachment described recently by Durie as inherent in the "vastly complex spiritual world (through) which the Maori sought to maintain balance and harmony in his modification of

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[1] Despatch from his Excellency Governor Gore Browne, C.B., to the Right Hon. Sir E.B. Lytton, 29 March 1859; *AJHR*, 1860, E-No.2, p.2.

the environment."[2] Speaking of the tribes of north Taranaki, Love has recently reaffirmed such importance of land to the tribes: "land was everything. It was the foundation of life, the permanency and stability which provided the basis of economic and social survival." Every aspect of life for tribes involved land; the culture, the politics and the history.[3] Senses of attachment to land such as these were exercised within a longstanding continuum of generations which, together, anchored specific tribes, hapū and other kinship units into specific localities.

The exercise of such mana whenua was ongoing, particularly in situations of duress and conflict. This was especially so after 1841 when sporadic hostilities between settler and tribes commenced. According to Wiremu Te Kupenga Kaha, "the tribes joined because of the obvious injustice of the Government. Wherefore they said these words, "Let the land be first and land afterwards." "[4] At this time, in accordance with customary practices, the tribes, hapū and other kinship units throughout Taranaki moved to maintain and continued to assert their mana whenua, and all that this implied, in the face of changes introduced by the colonisation process, as these became apparent.

The circumstances of substantive change faced by the tribes after 1841 were given increased context in the wake of decades of warfare inflicted upon Taranaki by hostile tribes from the north. These tribes were essentially Ngā Puhi, Ngāti Toa and especially Waikato who "came down and attacked the remnant of that portion of the Ngatiawa who remained at Waitara in their pah at Pukerangiora, they besieged and took the pah ... and dispersed the remnant of the tribe."[5]

In this period, some changes were seen in the kinship focus for claiming the

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[2] Eddie Durie, "The law and the land", in *Te whenua me te iwi,* (ed) Jock Phillips (Wellington, 1990), p.78.

[3] Love, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, D.11, p.11.

[4] Petition No. 19/1925 (1925), Le 1/1925/12, NA.

[5] Evidence relating to the origin of the Native insurrection, House in Committee, 14 August 1860; *AJHR,* 1861, E-No.4, p.1.

land. As the frequency of conflict for land increased after 1830, the tribes continued to maintain and assert their mana whenua. These assertions however were once effectively tribal assertions. After 1830, such defences were increasingly and most effectively mounted through the agency of various subordinate groups within the tribe recognised as operating within the overarching tribe. Such groups were seen to possess a specific mana whenua hold onto specific localities within the broad tribal domain.[6]

In the normal course of events, at any given time, these recognised subordinate kinship groups within a tribe might be numerous. These primarily existed as hapū or whānau. Each possessed a mana whakapapa of its own, attaching to a specific and recognised identity, as seen in chapter two. Each group also possessed a clear mana whenua area into which its identity was anchored, constituting a well-known portion of the landscape. Such areas were also well sustained within the tribal histories and traditions.

The existence of such identities - hapū and whānau - incorporated in Taranaki their recognising of the tribe's superior mana whakapapa and rights. Such recognition by them in turn implied a certain reciprocal agency from the tribe, empowering the hapū and whānau to act in defence of tribal mana in certain circumstances.

Such reciprocal exchange of mana recognition for agency operated more strongly in the north of Taranaki than the south[7]. In the north, as described in chapter one, a clearer basis for concerted activity functioned amongst the Te Atiawa whānui tribes.[8]

All tribes in Taranaki however recognised subordinate kinship groups, which, in the end "acknowledged themselves bound to join the other sections in

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[6] This was especially so in north Taranaki. MacDonald, personal communication, October 1992.

[7] Ngā Ruahine, for example, itself comprised hapū and did not therefore necessarily operate under the mana of Ngāti Ruanui, the tribe to which it was long thought affiliated as hapū; Tom Ngatai, personal communication, November 1992.

[8] Lou MacDonald, personal communication, October 1992.

defending all or any part of the tribal estate from encroachment by strangers."[9] Kinship groups within the tribe continued to develop in Taranaki after 1830 as certain social realignments were considered necessary.

Changes in kinship realignments however were not confined to such recognised divisions as hapū and whanau. Also found within the tribal kinship infrastructures were the smaller "kinship units", which from time to time existed. These units came together to serve certain functional purposes and were especially a seamless feature of the post 1830 kinship landscape in Taranaki. Such units constituted narrow kinship associations, or disparate communities of interest. They were seemingly not immediately recognised and did not have, nor did they necessarily assert, a distinctive mana whakapapa or other customary form, identity or agency.

The existence of such kinship units was almost entirely functional. Though instituted largely consistent with long established "breakaway" practices, they did not necessarily carry the burden of defending the mana whenua, and all that that implied, of the larger hapū or tribes. However, though they did not deny their hapū and tribal affiliations, they did not cite such as a basis for their activity.

Such functional kinship units in Taranaki were a feature especially of Native Land Court hearings, where the titles of often small parcels of land within hapū boundaries were in most frequent contest, primarily between members of the same hapū or whānau. Most kaumātua can recall many instances of such units operating.[10]

The hapū, however, emerged as the important basis of activity. Larger issues of maintenance and assertion of mana whenua were mounted by hapū at different locations. The hapū carried the burden of its own mana history, and

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[9] Kawharu, *Maori land tenure,* p.47.

[10] Many are recalled and seem easily named and located within existing kinship structures today. Lou MacDonald, personal communication, October 1992.

that of the tribe. In Taranaki, hapū are held by the tribes to have evolved out of the larger tribal kinship base, a kinship base which expanded over time, giving rise to small groups breaking away to form smaller kinship entities. Ballara has proposed a different model for Ngāti Kahungunu, that of small and disparate hapū groups ultimately coming together, propelled by a growing iwi consciousness.[11] Her detailed research of Native Land Court testimony essentially adopts an stance external to those processes and frameworks through which such changes might be explained, especially by Ngāti Kahungunu themselves.

In Taranaki, it was largely such hapū, and the whānau, which carried the burden of the defence of that mana whenua. This was a defence mounted from within the continuum of descent anchoring that unit to the landscape. As the tribes and hapū so continued to defend mana whenua across the Waikato wars, so they continued to defend mana whenua across the period of colonisation.

Contests for land with the Crown tended to involve tribes and hapū that as a result were readily identified, with assertions of identity that were distinct. Declarations of tribe such as that made by Tunga Paekawa in 1925 were clearly stated. The occasion was a petition which sought from the Crown consideration of the "injustice inflicted upon us by the confiscations of the lands of our fathers, ancestors of the tribes of Ngati-Uenuku and Kai-tangata, by the Governments of the past."[12] Other contests however involved the smaller "kinship units", more often than not products of stress visited upon established hapū and whānau structures.

The existence of such kinship units after 1830, with varying and primarily individualist motivations, therefore reflected certain realities faced by the tribes. These included the debilitating conflicts with new settlers and legislation in the

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[11] Ballara, "Origins of Ngāti Kahungunu."

[12] Petition No. 87/1925 (1925), MA 85/5, NA.

context of diminishing amounts of land remaining in collective possession.[13]

After 1830 then the defence of mana whenua in Taranaki compelled some changes to some kinship group arrangements within tribes. Such changes were necessary for a time in order to sustain claims to mana whenua, large or small, made over ancestral lands in the wake of continuing contests with the Crown. In all, it reflected a certain expedient and continuing fluidity of Māori kinship structures. Such structures were an integral part of the vertical and lateral relationships always held to be constant within conventional whakapapa.

All such subordinate and functional units, however, whether recognised or not, had their origins, according to Kawharu, in the long established and pivotal strategy of the "breakaway of individual families".[14] These constituted "families" or other units which acted independently to defend small holdings, while continuing to acknowledge the superior status of the tribe. This strategy was longstanding and remained central to ongoing demonstrations of tribal mana whenua.

After 1870, as the incidence of actual land dispossession in Taranaki was seen to increase - dispossession from effective hapū control though not necessarily from individual Māori control - hapū identities tended to consolidate as the ongoing assertions of mana whenua moved across the century from assertions of actual occupation, to the assertions of customary yet dispossessed occupation.

Assertions of mana whenua in Taranaki by the tribes after 1830 were mounted on a substantial scale in increasingly competitive circumstances. This precipitated a high level of relatively focused activity amongst tribes, hapū and communities. Assertions of mana whenua from this quarter were frequently mounted at any number of locations. One principal arena of mana whenua

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[13] MacDonald and Ngatai, personal communications, October-November 1992.

[14] Kawharu, *Maori land tenure,* p.46.

assertion was the Compensation Court after 1865 and later Commissions of Enquiry. There, the contest was primarily fought against the Crown. Another arena was the Native Land Court. However, given that there the tribes and hapū essentially contested with each other, with Māori pitted against Māori often at the expense of collective identity, direct assertions of mana whenua were less common after early investigation of title hearings were complete.

In the Compensation Courts especially, tribes generally asserted hapū as the primary basis underpinning assertions of tribal mana whenua, as they later also did in correspondence, petitions and before subsequent Land Commissions. In the Native Land Court, claimants primarily asserted the smaller "kinship unit" as their source of claim. These claims tended to be supported by more individuated whakapapa, with few ready connections to a wider collective identity or mana history in support.

The Aotea District Native Land Court hearings in Taranaki between 1865 and 1900 largely comprised an extended series of very complex Succession hearings, one layer upon another. These hearings generally reflected the progressive enactment of laws affecting the nature of Māori land title. It was at times a rather less magisterial process than that suggested by Binney as "the different oral narratives and genealogies were brought directly into competition with each other, as the continuing struggle for mana and pre-eminence amongst the hapu and their leaders was rekindled."[15] Native Land Court hearings in Taranaki were primarily concerned with small holdings carved out of confiscated blocks over which hapū found they could exert little direct collective influence. Claimants generally comprised the smaller kinships units of the same or neighbouring hapū.

What the Native Land Court did represent however, in Taranaki as elsewhere, was an incremental diminishing of Māori customary title to which collective tribal assertions of mana whenua were or could be most intimately

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[15] Judith Binney,"The Native Land Court and Māori communities 1865-1890", in *The people and the land. Te tangata me te whenua*, Judith Binney et al (Wellington, 1990), p.143.

attached. This paring of customary title in Taranaki gained its greatest impetus from the confiscations. The Native Land Court in Taranaki substantially presided over the allocation and reallocation of small parcels of land, and the transfer of Crown Grants to successors issued in the wake of confiscations and Compensation Court allocations.

As this process continued, the Compensation Court and subsequent Commissions increasingly became the forums enabling tribes and hapū to continue to assert their mana whenua, in rhetoric as well as reality. This was a mana whenua that was, as earlier suggested, founded on collective tribe or hapū anchored within mana whakapapa to specific land holdings. Assertions were especially made by tribes faced with the substantial loss of those customary lands.

While the dispossession increased, the customary lands asserted by tribes as constituting the essence of their mana whenua did not diminish. Nor did the assertion of mana whenua diminish or cease once the mana whenua lands were in reality acquired by the Crown.[16]

The realigning or consolidating of kinship bases then continued alongside the new and changing realities about the nature of land holdings and title. In all this, the agency of hapū emerged as the pivotal focus of activity.

In the context of such broad assertions of mana whenua, other strategies were also utilised by the tribes, tactics of active contest used as tribes continued to position themselves to assert mana whenua over the ancient tribal landscapes.

A primary strategy after 1859 was of course warfare, largely considered to be a defensive response leading to prolonged and debilitating armed conflict. Not all conflict was tribal or hapū based, however. Much of the conflict involved disparate groups defending an imprecise mana whenua. Many accounts

[16] MacDonald, personal communication, October 1992.

of armed Māori activity in the war period often miss the point of tribes utilising this strategy only where it could advance the assertion of their own individual mana whenua. This was primarily achieved, as earlier suggested, through the agency of hapū.

Later claims for land reinforced this centrality of hapū and hapū mana whenua, as "we, the members of the Puketapu tribe, humbly pray for earnest consideration of the matters hereunder written, in connection with the confiscated lands .... These were the lands of the Puketapu tribe which were confiscated after the fight at Mahoetahi, which was fought on account of Waitara claims and the fight at Mōrere (Sentry Hill) ... when the survivors escaped to the Mountain, after which Major Parris took possession."[17]

Throughout the nineteenth century, certain common narratives of the past, and a common geography, continued to provide the basis for an ambivalent sense of unity shared by the tribes of Taranaki. The unity remained ambivalent in the sense that "Taranaki whānui" was not necessarily subscribed to by, nor useful to, all the tribes, hapū and communities located across the expansive Taranaki domain. These descent narratives however later found frequent expression before Commissions of Enquiry within the mana histories of some tribes. Such ancient knowledge often remained central to a tribe's sense of its own history.

This was seen for the Taranaki tribe in 1880 when Erueti Rangikopinga laid claim to lands "all the way from the Tukeho Stream to Taitairamaka, and includes Mount Egmont." This claim seemed excessive to Natives Affairs Committee Chairman Trimble who asked, "do they claim all that land?"

Eureti replied, "these are the fixed boundaries of the Taranaki people. It includes Mount Egmont. These are the original boundaries and we claim within these ... our ancestor was called Rua Taranaki and the tribe is called Taranaki."

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[17] Petition No. 93/1925 (1925), MA 85/5, NA.

Erueti indicated that she did not claim all the land as described because it in fact constituted the total domain over which her tribe, Taranaki, exercised its mana whenua.

Having acknowledged the greater status of her tribe, she then simply claimed that land over which her hapū, Ngāti Tū, Te Kaingati and Ngāti Haumea, possessed agency to assert mana whenua. This constituted a block of about one hundred acres. The total land as described in the petition was "merely to show that we claim within these boundaries; (specifically) I claim the land of my grandmother who lived here and cultivated this land." In answer to the question, then why are you claiming land if your mother is still living, Erueti replied, "my mother and my uncle live at Parihaka. They are working land to which they have no title."[18]

The citing of Rua Taranaki constituted an ancient mana whakapapa reference recalled to authenticate the mana whenua of Ngāti Tū, Te Kaingati and Ngāti Haumea over lands within the coastal Taranaki rohe. This claim represented a specific claim to specific title, lands over which individual families had long settled. Such families were common and were central to tribal kinship arrangements, as described by Kawharu: "the extended bi-lateral family was everywhere a fundamental social unit. This unit would have been of the order of three to four generations in depth .... It was a food producing, residential and ... landholding unit."[19] Such units established mana histories of their own, attended by "a never-ending list of names (which) remain(ed) a record of the passage of generations of men and women, identifying and preserving scenes of wars, stratagems, turmoil, peace achievement and failure."[20] They also served as a primary means for the establishment and assertion of tribal mana whenua, kinship groups which in time took on the form

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[18] Petition No. 291/1880 (1880), Le 1/1880/6, NA.

[19] Kawharu, *Maori land tenure,* p.37.

[20] Douglas Sinclair, "Land. Maori view and European response", in *Te ao hurihuri. The world moves on,* (ed) Michael King (Auckland, 1975), p.87.

of hapū or whānau, acknowledging and residing within the superior position of the tribe.

Such concepts, grounded in the land, were severely tested after 1830. This was evident in 1865 when it was deemed "expedient to amend and consolidate the laws relating to lands in the Colony which are still subject to Maori proprietary customs and to provide for ... the extinction of such proprietary customs."[21]

Such later legislative measures inevitably impacted heavily on tribal mana whenua in Taranaki. These were measures which, it has been argued by many, were predicated on policies of colonisation built on foundations devoid of substance, as Love has written. Specific to Taranaki and Te Atiawa, Love represented the view of many Māori in describing successive administrations as "ridden with conflict (acting) in a manner designed to appease pressure groups - mainly settlers, and those wanting to acquire land." When viewed from the Te Atiawa perspective, "dispensing with the political myths and political mythology, a sorry tale emerges ... of greed, dishonesty, coercion ... of imprisonment without trial."[22]

Certainly, the impacts of colonisation upon Māori land and material well-being were unrelenting, as Love has stated. However, the primary tribal response, it is argued in this thesis, was to draw upon mana whakapapa connections and authority to assert, in the first instance, continuing tribal and hapū mana whenua, and all that such implied. Such assertions drew on ancient authorities, connections and histories. It necessarily follows from this that tribal and hapū processes and frameworks of self representation continued to prevail over later influences introduced into the Māori intellectual domain after 1830.

Moana Jackson, however, has suggested that such later influences contributed to a definite "colonisation of Māori philosophy". According to

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[21] Preamble, Native Lands Act, 1865.

[22] Love, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, D.11, pp.1-2.

Jackson, such influences and foreign philosophies were firmly grounded in an individualist sense of manifest destiny. Attendant legal measures directly challenged distinctive Māori concepts and constructions like mana whenua. The end result was their colonisation in the particular, and the colonisation of Māori philosophy in general.

Jackson's view of colonisation, and its impact, largely equated with Love's. Colonisation presented a history of "dismissal, redefinition, and incorporation. It is the story of the imposition of a philosophical construct as much as it is a tale of economic and military oppression ... the coercive reality of colonization flows directly from its philosophical ideals."[23]

Certainly, on the face of it, colonisation collided heavily with elemental basic Māori concepts and constructions. It failed in many quarters to recognise the continuing validity of such perceptions as mana whenua which underpinned Māori cognitive thinking and activity. Land was instead seen, on occasions, in such simplistic and extreme terms as "a new and powerful instrument for the civilisation of the natives."[24]

However, central to this thesis is the assertion that new colonial influences and philosophies, such as they were, did not override nor nullify the cardinal Māori intellectual processes and frameworks through which tribal knowledge was organised, especially knowledge of the past.

The primary concern of tribes and hapū in Taranaki after 1841 was the maintenance of mana whenua. This was especially so as the complex effects of new European settlement were felt.

Many tribes and hapū thereafter repositioned themselves to meet the demands of colonisation in its many guises. Where the holding of the land was concerned, the process was not a new one. The mode of repositioning was as

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[23] Moana Jackson, "The Treaty and the word: the colonisation of Māori philosophy", in *Justice, ethics and New Zealand society*, (eds) Graham Oddie and Roy Perrett (Auckland, 1992), pp.1-2.

[24] Further papers relative to Native Affairs, 29 September 1858; *AJHR*, 1860, E-No.1, p.7.

long established and uncomplicated as was colonisation current and exceedingly complex.

Less complex but equally current in the tribal recall were the earlier catastrophic wars visited upon Taranaki from the hostile north. Incursions of Ngā Puhi, Ngāti Toa and especially Waikato wrecked havoc throughout the Taranaki domain for a least a generation, bearing heavily on the land and the people. These impacts were grave and perilous. However, though they constituted grievous collisions with Taranaki tribal and hapū material well-being, they did not effectively influence the essential Taranaki Māori apparatus of cognitive thinking and activity.

The repercussions of Waikato on Taranaki were severe. Ferocious battles would end with the complete destruction of villages, people and property, as occurred at Pukerangiora. Warring parties took few prisoners. Survivors usually fled to widely dispersed friendly settlements. According to Kawharu, even when a disintegrated sub-tribe re-formed and regained its strength, it invariably chose a new settlement site, the "blood of kinsmen spilled on the battleground" rendering old settlements tapu.[25]

The late eighteenth - early nineteenth century was, in Taranaki as elsewhere, a time when, as Ballara has written, "warfare was endemic in Maori society."[26] Immediately prior to European settlement in most parts of New Zealand, large and aggressive warring taua roamed much of the countryside. They were emboldened by new strategies and devices of war, not the least of which was the much-feared musket. Exacting destruction on real or imagined enemies of the past through conquest seems to have been the primary motivation for the conducting of these arduous and ferocious campaigns, often for negligible reward.

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[25] Kawharu, *Maori land tenure*, p.47.

[26] Angela Ballara, "The role of warfare in Maori society in the early contact period", *JPS*, 85:4(1976), p.487.

The taking of new land did not necessarily feature as motive for the waging of war. This would appear to have been the case with the later Ngāti Toa raids into the South Island. These ranged as far south as Akaroa, constituting invasions of terrible fury launched by Te Rauparaha "seeking revenge for the fern-root pounder insult ... a tohunga, perhaps Nohorua, would have been responsible for choosing the exact time."[27]

Such was also the case with the earlier Waikato raids into Taranaki. Waikato did not remain to occupy its conquered lands long enough to constitute new title, nor to extinguish the Taranaki whānui mana whenua. Hadfield thought as much, declaring that Waikato had not held possession of Waitara. As a consequence, they had not acquired rights to it. "A few members of the Ngatiawa remained on the land and cultivated. There was only one Waikato (Pekitahi) who ever cultivated, he married into the Ngatiawa and cultivated by virtue of that marriage."[28]

The Waikato paramount chief Te Wherowhero, later first Maori King Potatau, thought otherwise. He later threatened to dislodge the new settlers after 1841 because "they did not buy the land from them who claim it in right of conquest." Te Wherowhero claimed Taranaki as his by right of conquest. In reality, he was claiming a recognition of and compensation for the apparent relinguishment of a now-fading Waikato political right in Taranaki. Given the variety of interests in land claimed by Māori at the time, Te Wherowhero was not necessarily denying local tribes their specific interests. Both sides would have known that the spiritual fires on the land established through mana wairua could not be extinguished; and it might be conjectured further that mana wairua translated as a legal order common the all Maori outlawing conquest as a source of title.[29]

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[27] Patricia Burns, *Te Rauparaha. A new perspective* (Auckland, 1983), p.139.

[28] Evidence relating to the origin of the Native insurrection, 1860; *AJHR*, 1861, E-No.4, p.1.

[29] Durie, personal communication, May 1994.

Accordingly, Potatau later insisted that "the remnants of the Ngatiawas are slaves; that they only live at Taranaki by (his) sufferance," yet, later, consented to accept "compensation to the value of (pounds) 250 for the claims of his tribe on the lands of Taranaki."[30]

Incursions from the north into Taranaki impacted on coastal and inland papa kāinga almost as heavily in the long term as would the later European conversion of the ancient tribal landscape. At the time of the earliest Ngā Puhi and Ngāti Toa raids, some local tribes also waged war on each other, continuing to fight out their own longstanding internecine conflicts.

Such engagements were often limited. However, they were no less ferocious, as earlier conflicts had been. One such conflict was that earlier fought at Karaka Tonga, a massive village high on the mountain. The village was considered to be an important strategic site for food gathering and quarrying. Te Atiawa had attacked Karaka Tonga, with the ensuing battle known as "Kurukuru Mahe because the people ... pounded Te Atiawa with fishing sinkers."

Tribes or neighbouring hapū always continued to conduct essentially strategic conflicts to assert mana whenua over land in dispute. This was so with the Te Atiawa raids into Koru Pa, Oakura, an extensive site on the lower slopes of the Kaitake (Rua Tipua) Range. Occupied from about 1805, the site was captured by Te Atiawa in 1826, an engagement with Taranaki partly fought over areas of contested coastline centred at Onukutaipari.[31]

The first musket is said to have been used in Taranaki around 1818 when Tū Whare of Ngā Puhi, and Te Rauparaha of Ngāti Toa, combined forces to attack the northern reaches of Te Atiawa, near Urenui. This combined expedition attacked the pā Te Taniwha but could not defeat Te Atiawa. Both parties thereafter sued for peace and alliances. A truce was in due course arranged. A period of peace followed with both sides uniting around a series of

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[30] Despatch from Governor Hobson to the Secretary of State, 13 November 1841; *AJHR*, 1860, E-No.2, p.5.

[31] Hohaia, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, F,12, pp.4-6.

arranged marriages.[32]

The support of Te Atiawa was later enlisted to attack Taranaki once again, further south. A combined force of formidable size was involved. The force assaulted a number of major Taranaki pā including Tapui Nikau and Tataraimaka. According to Pricket, Tataraimaka was taken by the northern war party shortly before 1820. "It is said that two muskets among the northern party were the first seen in Taranaki. The attackers used the guns to pick off defending chiefs before the pa was stormed."[33]

Muskets did not always confer a decisive advantage, however. According to local traditions, the pā site Ngā Weka, south of Oakura, is remembered as "the prestigious Ngaa Weka, where, under the leadership of Te Matakatea, Taranaki united and using hand weapons defeated the musket armies around 1818-1820. This began to turn the tide against the musket raids into Taranaki."[34] Conflict between the Taranaki tribes and Waikato - Ngati Maniopoto continued thereafter, with two renowned battles fought out at Pararewa, a defeat for Taranaki, and the earlier battle at Pukerangiora, where the forces of Te Atiawa and Ngāti Toa prevailed.[35]

Waikato remained a threat to Te Rauparaha. However, he always seemed intent on expanding further south, beyond Taranaki. Consequently, he later initiated a major migration, the second after Te Heke Tahuahi, to the Kapiti area in 1823. This heke became known as Te Heke Tataramoa. It involved large numbers of Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāti Tama, and Te Atiawa, comprising a "very large migration to the Wellington area .... Ngati Mutunga and Ngati Tama then migrated from the Wellington area to the Chatham Islands." This migration appears to have involved hundreds of people, a scale of depopulation that later

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[32] Bailey, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, D.13, p.84.

[33] Nigel Prickett, *Maori fortifications of the Tataraimaka district, Taranaki* (Auckland, 1982), p.35.

[34] Hohaia, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, F.12, p.5.

[35] Love, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, D.11, p.13.

led to speculation that these traditional lands had been abandoned. According to local traditions, however, there was a "strong body of opinion" that proved that such was not the case; that many had remained behind.[36] It was at this time that large pā of the north like Manukorihi were probably abandoned. The northern Te Atiawa joined the heke in large numbers, taking them backwards and forwards "in an expansion phase and strategic withdrawal phase" over the next years as Waikato sought to avenge losses.[37] After 1868, most of the north Taranaki hapu that had migrated away are thought to have returned to their "traditional rohe of Ngati Mutunga .... Some three hundred and fifty people returned to live at Maru-wehi and elsewhere."[38]

Before embarking southward, however, Te Rauparaha and local allies encountered and defeated a large Waikato taua at Okoki, near Urenui. This Waikato taua suffered grievous and unexpected losses. The defeat represented a particularly distressing loss for Waikato. It was a reversal that fuelled Te Wherowhero's desire for massive retaliation, and, according to Love, for "utu (revenge) on account of their losses at Urenui while the Kawhia tribes were there."

The largest and most terrible invasion of Taranaki soon followed. Signal fires were lit along the coast to warn locals of the Waikato invasion, with most people left behind fleeing inland. However, those who remained in their pā "grossly underestimated the strength of the approaching army, and their pas fell." [39] This desire for revenge, not unlike Te Raupahara's in the South Island, led to subsequent raids that accounted for the catastrophic losses of villages, property and populations remaining resident throughout Taranaki.

Little effective opposition stood in the way of the Waikato raiders into

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[36] Cameron, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, F.10, Vol.2, p.266.

[37] Love, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, D.11, p.14.

[38] Cameron, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, F.10, Vol.2, p.266.

[39] White, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, D.15, p.2.

Taranaki after 1831. Most Te Atiawa and Taranaki, long tired of earlier Waikato and Ngā Puhi raids, had moved south. The north Taranaki area was largely left without a substantial defence capacity. This rendered pā like Pukerangiora and surrounding papa kāinga vulnerable.

The Waikato advance was seen as far south as Ngamotu and caused great alarm. According to one observer," "the Waikato is coming" was loudly hallooed out from the crest of Paratutu ... simultaneously piped on conches from the ocean tors of Moturoa and Motumahanga (and) bellowed out from a flying foot-messenger who had taken up relay of running at Waiwakaiho." It was said that hundreds of eyes at sundown scanned the northern horizons from hill tops and vantage points like Mangaroa and Moturoa. Smoke from fires was clearly seen as the "advancing host" was observed from Waihi to Mokau.[40]

After a series of "desultory skirmishes, wherein each side was about equally successful" near Onaero, their Waikato commander, Tukaraihu, ordered a full assault against Pukerangiora. After a siege of twelve days, the pā fell in horrendous circumstances. Well's 1878 description of the sacking of Pukerangiora is an especially grisly account of wanton destruction and cannibalism.

Thereafter, having "finished the work to their satisfaction", the bulk of the Waikato taua travelled down the coast to Ngamotu. The Ngamotu settlement comprised a village, cultivations, a whaling station and Otaka Pā. It consisted of about eleven Europeans, including whalers Barrett, Love and Keenan, and three hundred and fifty Māori.[41]

The ensuing seige and assault on Otaka proved unsuccessful, with Waikato repulsed and forced to retreat. A second Waikato warring party which attacked Te Nāmu Waimate and Te Ngā Teko, further south, was similarly repulsed by Wiremu Kingi Matakatea.

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[40] A. Hood, *Dickey Barrett with his ancient mariners and much more ancient cannon* (New Plymouth, 1890), p.66.

[41] Wells, *A history of Taranaki,* p.8.

Following the retreat of Waikato at Ngamotu, a second major migration south of local people was initiated in 1832. This was a local heke primarily led by Te Wharepouri and Te Puni, two young Ngāti Te Whiti chiefs who had led the defence of Otaka. They had also wearied of the constant Waikato threat. The heke was arranged by Te Wharepouri, his elder cousin Te Puni, his junior cousin Wi Tako Ngatata, and a surviving elder named Raua Ki Tua.

Most of those Te Atiawa hapū which had defended Ngamotu now prepared to move south in a migration "including about 400 males and totalling perhaps more than 2000 people altogether ... the migration was known as Tama-te-uaua."[42] Included in the migration party, which ultimately settled in Petone and Wellington, were the whalers of the Ngamotu station, most of whom had taken local Ngamotu wives, moving to establish a new station at Te Awa-iti in the Marlborough Sounds.

Such movements of local tribes and hapū away from Taranaki have generally been interpreted as necessary defensive measures, given the continuing Waikato propensity to warfare against Taranaki. Love, however, has suggested that such heke might equally have involved local tribes moving further afield to extend their mana whenua interests, an important expansion phase of Te Atiawa and other Taranaki tribes. It indicated a willingness to expand territories in search of other locations and resources.

Such an interpretation is interesting and certainly probable. However, perhaps of more importance was the sense of tribes retaining mana whenua within the ancient landscape after their departure. Love has agreed that such a sense of mana whenua was maintained. "At all times, traditional areas were fully occupied and Te Ahika applied. The movement south and the continued occupation of whenua raupatu was also recognised by Te Atiawa as a necessity

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[42] Angela Ballara, "Te Whanganui-a-Tara: phases of Maori occupation of Wellington harbour c.1800-1840" in *The making of Wellington 1800 -1914*, (eds) David Hamer and Roberta Nicholls (Wellington, 1990), p.22.

to hold the lands in the future."[43]

The forces of Waikato returned to Taranaki in 1835 and attacked the remnants of Ngāti Te Whiti living in caves on Mikotahi, an island off Ngamotu used as a retreat. Another Waikato taua followed the forested Whakāhurangi track, inland of the mountain, and besieged Te Rei Hanataua's Tangahoe tribe at Te Ruaki Pā, near Hawera. The inhabitants were starved into submission, with the pā eventually sacked with grievous losses. Those taken into captivity included the wife of the Ngāti Ruanui poet-priest, Turaukawa. Tangahoe people thereafter coined the whakataukī: "Tangahoe tangata a haere; tangata ia, e kore e haere - men of Tangahoe depart, but the current of Tangahoe remains."[44] Ohangai Pā near Hawera was also sacked as the Waikato forces pushed onto Patea and to the Whenuakura river where they harassed the Pakakohi people and captured their paramount chief, Te Rei Hanataua.

These conquests were hard fought but were made possible largely because of the significant absence of local tribes people. Most had settled in the Otaki - Waikanae area, establishing residence there built on a new alliance of Taranaki tribes - Te Atiawa, Taranaki and Ngāti Ruanui. This new alliance of key Taranaki tribes perhaps represented a first move towards the ending of older tribal animosities.

The tribes of Taranaki occupied the Pakakutu Pā on the Otaki river. This was an eventual settlement of some three thousand people. Thereafter, pitched battles were fought with Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toa, Taranaki's erstwhile allies. Later attempts at conciliation initiated by Taranaki led to the death of the Ngāti Ruanui tohunga, Turaukawa, a victim of deceit at the hands of Te Rauparaha. However, strategic alliances were eventually formed with a restive peace ensuing, interrupted by later attacks from Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

In Taranaki, the Waikato raids continued with Haupokia, Pehekorehu and

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[43] Love, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, D.11, p.15.

[44] Tom Ngatai, personal communication, October 1992.

other Waikato chiefs leading sporadic yet ferocious forays into south Taranaki. By the end of 1836, however, pitched defences were won by south Taranaki, as those at Waimate and Orangituapeka, where some two thousand Waikato warriors were repulsed and compelled to retreat. This led to the eventual withdrawal of the last Waikato taua from Taranaki.

The impact of these sustained Waikato raids lies heavily on the tribal memory in Taranaki. MacDonald has described the wars as complicated, leaving a Waikato presence within Taranaki that long outlasted the last withdrawal of taua. "The term for those wars is Ngā Pakanga Whenua O Mua, that was the term that was used. Ngā Pakanga O Waikato ki Ngāti Ruanui or Ngā Pakanga O Waikato ki Taranaki, these were the wars against everyone."

Local tribal wars were not regarded as critically as the Waikato raids from the north:

> when they fought around here amongst themselves, it wasn't to the same extent, just ihi pakanga ... But the historical ones, against Ngā Puhi and Waikato, these were the periods of upset, the upsurges that happened. There are in fact many Ruapuke (Ngā Puhi) buried at Owae. There are many maraes up there but they are not recognised. The Ngā Puhi lived there for a few years, then decided to go back to the north. Ngāti Rahiri then occupied Motunui, but their chief returned to the north with them, to Te Rawara.[45]

Sinclair has written of the "chaos in Taranaki" after 1860.[46] This was certainly a view held by many officials resident there at the time. It is a view that probably equally belongs to the years immediately prior to the first settlement in 1841, especially following the Pukerangiora massacre and the later seige at Otaka, Ngamotu. The ensuing migration south of so many local Māori

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[45] MacDonald, personal communication, October 1991.

[46] Keith Sinclair, *Kinds of peace*, p.61.

people seemingly left behind a deserted and disfigured landscape.

Throughout this period of "endemic warfare", Māori people in Taranaki are recalled as having moved away from customary estates. This was seen as an impact of Waikato, and a certain desolation of the landscape, with mana whenua bonds under some strain. MacDonald has suggested that the tribes and hapū

> became nomads, we had the problem of Pukerangiora and Waikato, that's a pakanga, then the turuturu mōkai wars, they were invasions of Waikato again, then the invasions of Ngāti Toa ... when Te Raupahara came, they lived all around the foothills. Marae O Tuhia was the main pā of Ngāti Mutunga then, right on the coast; now it is all taken away by the sea, then they all shifted to Maruwehi. Te Rauparaha did not fight here as he did further south, he settled all around Urenui and married into Ngāti Mutunga. When news came through that Waikato was coming down, he moved further south to Otaki ... our people moved down there with him also, they became nomads, some of our people went further south like Wiremu Kingi's father ... those are the pakangas that really happened in the very early days, these were the pakangas I heard the old people talking about.[47]

The material havoc wrought on Taranaki communities by Waikato left, according to Gore Browne, "a conquered, broken and scattered tribe ... the fairest and most fertile country in New Zealand, their ancient inheritance, was a deserted wilderness at the time of the European colonisation."[48]

Waikato remained a dire and feared threat to Taranaki throughout the early European settlement years as evidence of the impacts of Ngā Puhi, Ngāti Toa and Waikato on Taranaki were everywhere, at once widespread and catastrophic. Settlements and villages were devastated, sacred places desecrated, and populations largely annihilated or forced to move away.

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[47] MacDonald, personal communication, October 1991.

[48] Thomas Gore Browne, The Governor's Despatch, *AJHR*, 1861, E-No.1, p.8.

These impacts constituted grievous attacks on the material presence and vitality of the Taranaki tribes. This almost constituted a total impact; local tribes, hapū and communities were destroyed or took flight. Tribal peoples long established within specific and distinct mana whenua, founded upon a continuum of generations, were almost annihilated or migrated away, most never to return.

The long established structures in Taranaki of mana whenua, and mana history itself, were severely destabilised, but not entirely. Though the people of Taranaki were distressed, Waikato did not and could not transfigure the essential Taranaki Māori apparatus of cognitive thinking and activity, the Taranaki "Māori philosophy", to use Jackson's term, only its material and external manifestations. Many artifacts were preserved by tribes in flight, especially carvings which were frequently buried in swamps to preserve them from "violation at the hands of invading war-parties." Many carvings were thus "confined to the custody of Hine-i-te-huhi, the Maiden of the Swamps," for subsequent rediscovery and restoration.[49]

The land and its occupants, especially in the north, were attacked and devastated. However, the underlying processes of establishing and asserting mana whenua, linked to longstanding mana whakapapa linkages which anchored tribes into localities, were not transfigured. The local Taranaki tribal processes of mana history remained intact, though the land over which these processes acquired their essence and significance might be stripped of occupation.

To some extent, much of the history of the Taranaki tribes, hapū and communities after 1835 was an accounting of the tribes seeking to reimpose their mana whenua, and their mana histories, upon the landscape where "the blood of kinsmen" lay in profusion. Such a process of reimposition was necessary as tribes sought to re-establish their mana whenua on ancestral lands upon which their certainties of descent and identity were manifest. The advent

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[49] Houston, "Taranaki Maori carvings", p.301.

of colonisation rendered this process of reimposition increasingly complex.

Partly as a result of these new complexities, the tribal recall today of the colonisation era in Taranaki is often an ambivalent one. It is not uncommon for elders to express some difficulties in remembering and interpreting events across the colonial era. MacDonald indicated as much in expressing some uncertainty: "this is where I get confused in trying to bring what happened in the Maoridom days, when Maoridom first started here ... when I get into the Pākehā era ... this is where the Māori get confused."[50] The "Maoridom days" referred to here constitute the years prior to colonisation. Then, for most Māori, the intellectual management of knowledge was considered to be sequential, and more straightforward.

Accounting for the situation of Māori in Taranaki after 1830 by way of the tribal narratives, traditions and histories is for some then an uncertain accounting, of process as well as narrative detail. MacDonald has suggested that many changes occurred after 1830 in the way tribes recalled their past:

> It was during the confiscations of the lands that everything changed, they zoned them off and said, well, our land was taken and we claim it, Ngāti Ruanui, our land was taken, we're Ngā Rauru, different ones setting themselves off, then they became different ... and they start saying, because we're different, we're an iwi, not a hapū. In the true whakapapa's, true structuring of tribal differences in those days, it was just Ngāti Awa came over here, conquered; Waikato came down, conquered; Ngā Puhi came down, conquered, they lived at Manukorihi. Ngā Puhi lived on that marae, they've got urupā there where they buried their dead, still there, but they went back north again. Waikato, they owned part of New Plymouth here, sold it for money and then they went

[50] MacDonald, personal communication, October 1991.

back.[51]

The expression "true whakapapa's, true structuring of tribal differences in those days" alludes to ongoing difficulties for some in projecting the longstanding knowledge patterns predating 1830 into the colonial period. At that point, the processes of tribal selection and history formation are felt to have become indistinct.

This was a time when many became careful of believed mana whakapapa structures that underpinned mana histories. Ashford has suggested that after 1830, many became protective of conventional whakapapa because of uncertainties relating to its use and continuing importance:

> many were chosen not to let it go, to look after it. It is my thought that is why it was withheld, because it could be heard and didn't want it to be known, you see. They could establish who the ownership of land belonged to ... so my guess is that it halted there, it's an assumption, of why it stopped, if they want to withhold it they will, even if you didn't want to let it out you could frustrate it, you see.[52]

The years afterwards were largely spent at once reasserting mana whenua yet protecting its believed conventional sources. On this basis, tribes sought to reimpose their mana whenua, and that of their hapū and communities, especially given that such was increasing under challenge.

In this context, many claims were made for land, with later reclaiming and cross-claiming occurring as tribes sought to define and impose their anchoring sense of mana whenua over the lands once believed to have represented that continuum to their ancestry. Small groups continuing to break away as new units, whether legitimate or otherwise, were a part of this process.

Colonisation introduced new issues, especially that of land sales, which rendered more complex the assertions of tribes. Sales like those transacted by

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[51] MacDonald, personal communication, October 1992.

[52] Ashford, personal communication, October 1992.

the Ngamotu Deed in New Plymouth were seriously flawed. Later attempts by Spain in 1844 to remedy conflict between the New Zealand Company and local tribes appeased neither party. Māori people especially objected to a perceived ignorance of customary imperatives of tribal land tenure. According to Love, Spain rejected the legitimate claims presented by Te Atiawa, then in transit between Wellington and Taranaki. "He could not comprehend the long-established and accepted system of land tenure, accepted by Maori for centuries."[53]

The name Ngāti Awa continued to attach as readily to the northern tribes of after 1830. This was a continuing reference to the Ngāti Awa ki Whakatane connection founded in the earlier waka traditions. The "historicity" of these traditions was seldom questioned by those to whom the traditions belonged.

However, the waka traditions have remained the focus of some scholarship, though perhaps less so now than a generation or two ago. According to Orbell, "as archaeologists, anthropologists, linguists and others begin to put forward the outlines of a very different history, belief in the historicity of the migration traditions has been eroded." This may well refer to an erosion of belief in scholarly fields; it is certainly less so amongst Māori people.[54]

The name Ngāti Awa featured especially prominently in Taranaki official documents. The believed common descent line with Ngāti Awa of Whakatane was utilised to form the basis of frequent and convenient Taranaki categorisation with the Bay of Plenty tribes. This occurred, for example, in the census returns of 1874, where Ngāti Awa-East Coast were numbered alongside Ngāti Awa-West Coast.[55]

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[53] Love, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, D.11, p.23.

[54] Margaret Orbell, "The religious significance of Maori migration traditions," *JPS*, 84:3(1975), p.341.

[55] Registrar General, Census Tables, Maori Population in the North and South Island, *AJHR*, 1874, Appendix A, p.276.

The Ngāti Awa of Whakatane were enumerated on that occasion as resident at Tauranga and Maketu. They were shown to number some four hundred people. Though small in number, Ngāti Awa were as complex in their hapū structures as were their believed relations on the West Coast. The Schedule of Lands Awarded to Ngāti Awa Tribe at Bay of Plenty indicated this in 1880, with numerous hapū identified. Included were Ngāpotiki, Ngāterangihokiri, Ngātihikakino, Ngātirangiinakiri, Pahipoto, Te Patuwai, Ngāti Pukeko, Te Patutahora, Ngatirangitaua and Ngātimaumoana.[56]

Later Ngāti Awa claims and petitions were particularly notable for their extensive lists of whakapapa and hapū, as the Rarangi Ingoa O Te Karapapa (Piri Pono) me ona uri papers in 1927 reveal, where Ngāti Awa are described as being "landless or practically landless."[57]

Such hapū structures were invariably traditional and diverse in name, location and mana whakapapa, in Whakatane as in Taranaki. In both areas, the context for such schedules was the post-confiscation Crown granting of land to hapū or other seeming disparate groups within an asserted rohe of customary ownership.

In Taranaki, the Waikato incursions had destroyed settlements, at a vast human cost. They had not however impacted on Taranaki to the extent of extinguishing longstanding tribal validation off the land. Nor had the mana whenua recall of the tribes diminished, remaining manifest in the ancient landscape. But the incursions did impact on whakapapa to the extent that tribes thereafter reconstituted whakapapa based to a large extent on new realities. Some mana whenua attachments as a result, according to some, became indistinct and weakened.[58]

Yet the overall "Maori philosophy" of the tribes of Taranaki remained

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[56] Schedule Of Lands Awarded To Ngati Awa Tribe At Bay Of Plenty, Schedule A, 1880, Maori Petitions, MA 85/4, NA.

[57] Exhibits and Miscellaneous papers, Sim Commission (1927); MA 85/6, NA.

[58] MacDonald, personal communication, October 1992.

intact. This was an ethos essentially founded on "an approach to Maori things (that was) largely subjective," as subjective as it was seen to be existing and tangible. Marsden has suggested that in considering Māori knowledge, a "passionate, subjective approach" provided the best route to absorbing the "values and attitudes of the Maori."[59]

Throughout the nineteenth century, Māori people in Taranaki preserved whakapapa as their primary means of demonstrating lines of descent from important ancestors through "complex lateral relationships". Whakapapa remained a key device of "intellectual management" with increased utility where appropriate as vehicle of a tribe's history.[60]

It was these devices of intellectual and knowledge management that attracted intensive if misdirected attention. Scholars long regarded whakapapa as signposting ancient chronologies and people. Some like Fletcher looked to the "sifting of Maori genealogies, and the comparisons of the different lists (with) enquiry into discrepancies ... before it is possible to settle with any degree of accuracy the question of the time of, say, Toi."[61] Yet notions of the past as reflected in whakapapa and the more expressive whaikōrero continued to "reach back to bring (them) forward ... everything a Māori ever knew was memory ... it was all coming from behind, bringing it forward."[62]

Such realities of the "past in the present" were evident to Sutherland. Following a visit to Māori settlements in Taranaki in the late 1940s, he observed; "the past is still very real (here) the past is always nearer to Maoris than it is to Europeans." As an observation in passing, he was not impressed with Parihaka, its then state and what it seemed to symbolise:

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[59] Maori Marsden, "God, man and universe, a Maori view", in *Te ao hurihuri. The world moves on*, (ed) Michael King, (Auckland), p.143.

[60] O'Regan, "Old myths", p.25.

[61] Fletcher, "The use of genealogies" p.189.

[62] MacDonald, personal communication, October 1992.

> Parihaka is now a pathetic ruin of a place ... the representatives of the few families remaining there ... decline to accept the provisions of the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act, which could do much for them ... it represented te ture, the law, and that must not come in ... many Taranaki speakers described their people as backward, and they certainly seemed suspicious still.

According to Sutherland, districts where there was "no heritage of war" were making great progress and were, in comparison to Taranaki, "almost a half century ahead."[63]

As the contest for land increased after 1830, the focus of whakapapa tended to narrow or flatten out. This was because specific lands were the inevitable purpose for which much whakapapa was produced, and towards which it was organised. This was especially so where the retention of customary land not yet properly reoccupied was concerned. There was also a rapid profusion of situations where contest for small parcels of land occurred, primarily before the Native Land Court.

As a consequence, the celestial or mana wairua elements of whakapapa featured less in the records. A typical example was that of whakapapa cited by Robert Woodgate in 1905 in support of a family claim originating some fifty years earlier. The whakapapa cited extended back across five generations to Manukonga, "husbands name forgotten, killed himself at Taranaki, came from Waikato." This was a whakapapa showing a line of direct descent only no further back than about 1800 to authenticate this family claim to land, a whakapapa back only to the point where whakapapa was probably the most widely incorporated.[64]

The contest for Crown grants amidst hapū and families invoked frequent

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[63] Sutherland, "Maori and European", p.139.

[64] Correspondence re Claims and Grants (1905); MA 68/5a, NA.

declarations of "individuated" whakapapa from a seeming fragmenting of hapū identities. Many Māori then became protective of their whakapapa. According to MacDonald, whakapapa was considered "a dangerous thing, especially in Māori company, there was always someone, you might not think so, there was always someone who would pick you out ... whakapapa oratory became a dying thing, it became a dying art. When I was young, most of the people who spoke, who got up to speak, instead of doing a tauparapara, did a whakapapa."[65]

A later narrow whakapapa was that of Te Haupapa Pihopa, filed in the Native Land Court, Hawera, in 1929. This extended back similarly to the turn of the nineteenth century, with Taihamua and Rangino thereafter cited within an extensive lateral network of descendants.[66] Wi Parata and Hemi Matenga claimed equal descent with a more extended whakapapa. It reached from "our ancestors for seven generations from the time of Te Whakapoki to the days of our maternal parent Te Waipunahau, from whom we inherited .... The land was conquered by our early ancestor, Te Whakapoki, from the Ngatitupawhenua tribe, the remnants of whom were afterwards allowed to occupy the inland portion with their conquerors."[67] These were later references to late eighteenth-century warfare in Taranaki.

Other factors may have affected the composition and presentation of whakapapa. Ultimately, however, mana wairua connections were seldom invoked or deemed necessary. This was so at least in the short term and in forums for which whakapapa records remain. Mana wairua descent largely gave way for practical purposes to the utility of recent mana tūpuna. Reasons for this decline can be speculated as due to missionary monotheistic influence and the advent of colonal ethnographical research with such factors as Native Land Court disregard of celestial lineage. The Court placed greater emphasis on recent

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[65] MacDonald, personal communication, October 1992.

[66] Taranaki Minute Book, No.42, (1929), Native Land Court, pp.12-13; also quoted by G. Marriner and others, Petition No.75/1940 (1940), Le 1/1940/8, NA.

[67] Wi Parata and Hemi Matenga, Correspondence (1881); MA 68/5b, NA.

occupation as the basis for land claims. The preferred mana tūpuna descent comprised recently distinguished ancestors who were specifically recalled as " you bring a whakapapa down so far, to an ancestor, then he'll say, he'll relate himself to that ancestor."[68]

Recent ancestors thus tended to be carefully recalled, linking individuals directly to lines of descent and attendant lands, with linkages to whānau and hapū identities where appropriate. Such individuating of whakapapa did not necessarily bear directly on the recognised subordinate kinship bases of hapū and whānau. Such bases were described by Schwimmer as "not just a segment of a larger "tribe" but rather a subset of iwi members, domiciled in the same place or places, whose genealogies have been restructured so that all descend from a more recent, localised eponymous ancestor."[69]

For their part, whānau groups operated at a different social level of the hapū and were often quite different and broad in composition. The hapū was generally a descent group with historical origins, a product of "restructured genealogies" localised around an eponymous ancestor of particular mana. The whānau more often than not equally took account of its intermarrieds and other domiciled relations in the sensing of its own identity, at times spanning across many hapu, though always operating within a rohe and mana of the local customary hapū and tribe.[70]

Schwimmer's purpose in studying such structures as hapū and whānau was "to show the operation of deep structures in Maori history." Deep structures there were, always underscoring the formation of tribal histories and traditions predicated on mana, as suggested here, through the categories of mana wairua, mana tūpuna and mana whenua. Such structures remained after 1830 and, in the face of the vigorous contests for land between tribes and the Crown became,

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[68] MacDonald, personal communication, October 1992.

[69] Schwimmer, "The Maori hapū", p.297.

[70] Metge, "Te rito o te harakeke", p.55.

remained as important categories around which tribes were able to organise their knowledge of the past.

With the ascendance of individuated whakapapa in the context of Native Land Court claims for land, the perpetual renewing basis for hapū identity - Schwimmer's "genealogies restructured" - was countered by the emergence of increasing numbers of other seeming functional kinship groups within a given rohe of customary ownership.

The seeming profusion of hapū and whānau was evident to officials soon after the tribes began to reoccupy ancestral estates in large numbers, estates over which mana whenua was believed intact. One of the earliest attempts at accounting for the number and names of hapū in North Taranaki was made by Donald McLean. In 1847 he compiled a census of Te Atiawa, counting some eight hundred Māori resident from Ngamotu to Waitara. McLean recorded the tribe of each person alongside their name, and further summarised names of tribes by locality. At all stages of the exercise, however, he seemed uncertain as to how to draw a ready basis for distinction.

This census however provided an early accounting of how widespread "tribes" - in fact tribes, hapū or communities - might have been at that stage. Under "Waitara River" for example, McLean noted two tribes, the hapū Otaraua and Manukorihi. Attached to Puketapu Pā, McLean listed eleven different tribal groups, including hapū Ngāti Huetu, Ngāti Hine Rauhuia, Ngāti Tanewai and Ngāti Rangi.

Thereafter, extensive lists record hapū down the coastline until Ngamotu where a further nineteen hapū - probably families - are listed[71]. This represented a highly fluid arrangement amongst local Māori involved, to some extent, in reconstituting themselves onto the land after the final defeat of Waikato ten years earlier, also allowing for some further development and

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[71] Donald McLean, Diary and Notebooks, Box.1., Notes for 1847, Maori Census/Maori Reserves, WTU.

change commensurate with new realities.

Further extensive lists of projected hapū were prepared attending to later allocation of compensation awards and Crown Grants. Such investigations to ascertain entitlement and hapū, though extensive, were inevitably indefinite, as Māori people continued to define and redefine their whakapapa and hapū - whānau identities in ways which were not generally recognised by officials.

Parris noted such in 1883, commenting that allocating awards was difficult. It required frequent visits to areas of supposed hapū concentration. Parris was referring to awards allocated between Omata and Waitotara that year. Extensive hapū lists recorded, from Ngā Mahanga in the north to Ngātimoehu in the south[72].

Investigations and survey often provoked hapū rivalry founded on identity and land, as attempts to survey a northern block in dispute amongst northern hapū in 1867 demonstrated. One claimant group, the hapū of Ihaia, claimed that a second claimant, Wi Piti te Kaponga, possessed no tapu over a burial ground that lay within the area in dispute. Wi Piti te Kaponga responded: "we have no desire to sell any part of our land, that is, that which remains, which you have given back to us - You listen, the division is finished by Mr Parris for Ngati Rahiri, Otaraua, Pukerangiora and Puketapu."[73]

A later dispute saw members of the Kaitangata hapū at Onaero expressing "in very bitter terms at the land of their ancestors putting into the hands of hapu other than their own, particularly so of the Ngati Rahiri, Puketapu and Otaraua. It appears that this is an old grievance existing between the two hapus."[74]

The matter was not then resolved because in 1925 a further claim was lodged by Tunga Paekawa and others seeking resolution to outstanding injustices

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[72] Compensation Awards, Omata to Waitotara (1883): MA 68/5b, NA.

[73] Wi Piti te Kaponga, letter to Government (translation) (1867), Le 1/1867/105, NA.

[74] J. Brown to W. Fox, Correspondence, 12 June 1883; MA 68/5b, NA.

felt by Ngāti Uenuku and Kaitangata.[75] Throughout the nineteenth century, official attempts to clarify the names and placement of hapū were frequently frustrated. The Native Affairs Committee discovered as much in 1880 when enquiring after a hapū located on a short stretch of coastline south of Taranaki. According to the claimant, "I should like the Committee to be clear on one point, the names of the people is the Taranaki tribe but in that tribe there are many sub-sections, hapus, each representing a distinct family."[76]

Mana whakapapa remained important as a basis of organising mortal descent traditions and histories across the nineteenth century, histories which were "anchored in locality", at the hapū and tribal level, and there is some evidence to suggest that these were ongoing. The post-confiscation land claims in particular provided a context for the process of assertion to continue.

Some claims involved hapū, as that of Tapa Te Waero who in 1876 declared "you have got the land, I and my hapu will merely wander about the earth ... the land is mine because it descended to me from my ancestors."[77] Most however seemed to involve smaller kinship groupings most able to locate themselves with specific lands under investigation, given that most land blocks lay within the customary hapū estate, a product of some earlier formal or informal breakaway. The mana whakapapa of hapū descent in these situations of Crown Grant claims was frequently qualified by individuated family whakapapa with commensurate impacts often felt on some hapū structures in Taranaki, showing the breakaway process.

The post-1800 period saw many changes made to the nature of land holdings held in customary ownership by the tribes in Taranaki. These changes exerted considerable pressures on the customary bases of relationships between

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[75] Petition No.87/1925 (1925), MA 85/5, NA.

[76] Petition No. 291/1880 (1880), Le 1/1880/6, NA.

[77] Tapa Te Waero to Native Affairs Committee (1867); Le 1/1876/7, NA.

tribes, hapū and communities, pressures which would have quickened the longstanding breakaway processes.

The reverence for land did not diminish, as Wiremu Kingi's later waiata illustrated:

> Grieved am I for my seaward land
> Pekapeka looms in the distance
> My beloved home
> Kaiwaka appears vividly, my seaward land
> Kohia stands prominent, my seaward land
> O tribe, cease from war
> I have finished.[78]

The reverence equally for wahi tapu, burial and historic sites was also maintained. Vigorous collective defences of wahi tapu were mounted by hapū and families in the wake of confiscations, as defences to the Native Land Confiscation Commission of 1927 illustrate. The evidence of Rangihuna Pire, Rangi Taura and Te Rangi Watataru Watene were all claims for former resource sites.[79]

Customary land remained in its breakaway state the critical point of reference for identity, defining hapū, whānau and community. There was undoubted pressure as the land basis of descent fragmented in the wake of sales and confiscations. The basis of mana whenua - the mana of a hapū based on land - also fragmented. The issue of precise hapū boundaries within Taranaki, was never a clear issue. It was exacerbated by legislation which required tribes and hapū to establish boundaries. The Native Territorial Rights Act of 1858, was an example. Section III stated that "no such Certificate shall be issued until a Survey of the lands ... shall have been made ... and the boundaries thereof distinctly marked out." Another was the Native Lands Act 1865, in which

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[78] Minutes of Evidence, Sim Commission (1927); MA 85/1, NA.

[79] ibid.

section (3), Definition of Intertribal Boundaries, Clause XXXVIII, stated; "no such final order shall be made until the boundary line shall have been surveyed."

Precise tribal, hapū and community boundaries were commonly contested, with a hapū itself subject to change if affected by the Crown Grant and legislating over land process. As Tamati has earlier stated, not all such boundaries or precise kinship affiliations were specifically known; nor was any customary purpose served by such knowledge, especially when it represented a delineation of rights opposed to the collective interest. "Intermarriage ... add(ed) to the confusion when attempts (were) made to link land with individuals ... recorded as either having been born at, or at some stage having defended a particular pa ... all have added to the present day identification problems."[80]

Crown Grant allocations compounded the problem because grants were often seen to be conferred seemingly indiscriminately. Claimant groups in north Taranaki in particular between 1865 and 1900, as seen on the basis of their claimed identity as hapū or within hapū that might have existed at the time, seemed often to rely on whakapapa which had become largely confined to few individuals, with family or whānau groups largely superseding the hapū group for a time as agents for the basic unit of mana whenua identity. This was certainly so for the purpose of pursuing compensation and grants, and actually claiming the tribal lands.

Later hapū groupings can be seen to have consolidated as the need arose to do so. These hapū were to a large extent reconstituted hapū having in recent times adopted a collective identity superseding a possible multitude of previous, earlier hapū and family divisions. In 1927, when extensive lists were presented of the Taranaki District with the tribes or hapū as then known, with the approximate areas of land occupied by them, it was clear that earlier and complex tribal-hapū configurations had become smaller and more consolidated

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[80] Tamati, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, D.17, p.1.

in nature.[81]

After 1841, then, tribes, hapū and communities continued to construct and reconstitute their mana wairua, mana tupūna and mana whenua to reflect the new realities out of their collective narratives of the past. Thereafter, such mana histories and traditions became the important collective focus as tribes and hapū faced the processes of Crown enquiry.

On 23 March 1866, the Stafford government advised that Compensation Court Hearings would be held at New Plymouth on Friday 1 June and the following days "for the purposes of hearing and determining the Claims of persons to Compensation on account of the taking, under the authority of "The New Zealand Settlements Act, 1863", of the blocks of land in the Province of Taranaki hereunder described."[82] The notice then described boundaries of two blocks to be investigated. Waitara South and Oakura. A third block encompassing north Taranaki tribal lands was Ngatiawa Coast. Further sittings of the Court to hear Ngatiawa Coast claims were arranged for 20 September, later that year.[83]

The fourth block of interest to the Compensation Court was described as Ngati Ruanui Coast in South Taranaki, hearings being set down for 27 September in New Plymouth[84] and from 12 October in Wanganui.[85] These Ngati Ruanui Coast hearings were eventually extended to 3 December 1866, 14 January 1867 and much later to 18 February, 1873.[86] The Court later produced a sketch map showing these blocks under investigation in relation to earlier

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[81] Report for Commissioners, Sim Commission (1927); MA 85/5, NA.

[82] *New Zealand Gazette*, 1866, p.142.

[83] *Gazette*, 1866, p.293.

[84] *Gazette*, 1866, p.294

[85] *Gazette*, 1866, p.330.

[86] *Gazette*, 1866, pp.449; 1866, 474; 1873, 703.

Crown purchases.[87]

The origins of the Compensation Court process in Taranaki lay in the impacts on tribal lands of the New Zealand Settlements Act, 1863, the primary instrument of land confiscations which authorised the Governor to place tribal districts under the Act, forcibly setting apart sites for colonisation and settlement. Monies raised from sales of land under the Act were to be used to defray the "expenses of suppressing insurrection", and to meet the costs of surveying new settlements, primarily for military settlers.

The first reference to confiscations in Taranaki appeared in a proclamation of 17 December 1864, which primarily focused on impending confiscations in the Waikato. However, the proclamation also advised that the Governor would take possession of and retain in the country between Wanganui and New Plymouth such land as belonging to the rebels "as he may think fit", the precise areas subsequently defined in various later gazette notices.

The point was also made that those Māori deemed to have "adhered to the Queen" would retain their land, as would those previously in rebellion "who shall submit to the Queen's authority." Those tribes deemed to have been guilty of violence would be "punished as had the Waikato tribes been punished." Later that year, the Governor was empowered to award compensation for continuing losses of land,[88] with a later stipulation that confiscations were to cease by 3 December 1867.[89] On 16 June 1866, regulations were gazetted establishing Compensation Courts for the purposes of awarding or increasing compensation as stipulated under the various Settlements Acts.

The Compensation Courts were essentially extensions of the Native Land Court. These Courts were themselves established in 1865 under the provisions of the Native Land Act. Their declared purpose was that of defining customary

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[87] Papers Relative to the Sitting of the Compensation Court, IA 66/1819, NA.

[88] New Zealand Settlements Amendment Act, 1864.

[89] New Zealand Settlements and Continuance Act, 1865.

Māori land rights and translating those rights or customary titles to land titles consistent with British law.

The key personnel of the Courts came from the Native Land Court. Native Land Court precedence and experience were drawn upon in Compensation Court judgments, though in Taranaki much of the judicial conversion of Maori custom dates from Spains Claims Court after 1841. Thus, as Fenton remarked in New Plymouth in 1866, "the conclusion at which we have arrived at, after our experience in the Compensation Court, and as members also of the Native Land Court is, that, before the establishment of the British Government in 1840, the great rule which governed Maori rights to land, was force."[90]

Prior to the convening of the Compensation Court hearings in New Plymouth, some pressure had been building in Taranaki for early government intervention in consequence of the 1863 enactment. Earlier in 1866, Richmond had indicated to Stafford that the sitting of the Compensation Court in Taranaki should no longer be delayed.[91] He added that the Provincial Government of Taranaki, of which he was Superintendent, would be "very willing" to take over the confiscated lands of the province.

Perhaps with this thought in mind, that he might be granted to right to manage the confiscated lands, Richmond suggested that an estimate of lands likely to be claimed by the "loyal" tribes was a necessary first step. The assessing of the total liabilities of the confiscation policy was a logical beginning. Consequently, steps would soon be taken to collect such information of likely claims. "Whenever I can obtain sufficient information as to the extent of the claims on the land ... I will come to Wellington and discuss the terms of the arrangement."

A month later, on 8 February, Richmond wrote again to Stafford. He asked for the "immediate attention of His Excellency's Government to this subject," a

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[90] Papers Relating to The Sitting of the Compensation Court at New Plymouth, *AJHR*, 1866, A-No. 13, p.3.

[91] Richmond to Stafford, *AJHR*, 1866, A-No.2, p.4.

matter of pressing importance to the interests of both races in the province. Richmond expressed his fear that "anything but evil can result from further delays in this matter." The natives, said Richmond, were perplexed and exceedingly discontented with the irregular and unsatisfactory measures taken thus far to adjust their claims. This had led to a recurrence of disturbances. Richmond advised Stafford that a definite notice fixing the time for a sitting of the Court, and a calling in of claims not yet preferred, should be circulated amongst the natives without delay. "Their distrust of the intentions of the Government is ... so profound, that I fear nothing but the actual opening of the Court will have the effect of fully restoring confidence."[92]

As a related issue, Richmond expressed some concern at the apparent role of Civil Commissioner Parris. Parris was an officer of central government travelling about collecting from the "loyal" tribes details of specific compensation claims. Richmond's hope for his Provincial Government, to manage the confiscations in Taranaki, had seemingly come to nothing. His intention to collect appropriate compensation details was being undertaken by Parris on behalf of the Crown.

Richmond feared that, rather than merely collecting information for the eventual consideration of the Compensation Court, Parris was actually "adjusting or endeavouring to adjust the claims in such a manner that their final adjudication by the Compensation Court may be a matter of form only." If this were the case, said Richmond, then this constituted the exercising of "very large powers ... not subject to the control of public opinion or bound by any rules of evidence of defined principles of procedure", a situation open to "very grave objections."[93] Richmond was especially concerned at the confiscation initiatives being undertaken by central government without necessarily the knowledge or agreement of the Provincial government.

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[92] Richmond to Stafford, *AJHR*, 1866. A-2a, p.8.

[93] ibid, p.7.

Parris later advised Richmond that as Commissioner he was not exercising such "very large" powers in respective of compensation claims. He was merely collecting appropriate details from Māori claimants. So far as he was aware, nothing further was being done with the information. This fact accounted for the "dissatisfaction and actual resistance of the natives."

Richmond acknowledged that he had misunderstood the extent of Parris's powers to intervene in the process of ameliorating impacts of confiscations on the tribes. However, such a misunderstanding was "proof of the want of any sufficient connection between the Provincial Government and the Native Department in this province." Because of this want of public information as to the dealings of the Native Department in Taranaki, a "very general feeling of distrust" was apparent, wrote Richmond.[94]

One unfortunate impact of this "want of any sufficient connection", said Richmond, was that it placed Parris in the greatest danger of unconsciously allowing his judgment to be influenced by partialities or dislikes "which from his manifold dealings with the natives he may have formed towards different individuals amongst them."[95]

On 6 March, 1866, Stafford indicated to Richmond that the government had agreed that an early investigation of claims by the Compensation Court was desirable. Accordingly, the senior Judge of that Court had been requested to take steps to bring it into action in Taranaki. Richmond was asked to recommend local people who might observe proceedings, watching the claims "for the purpose of objecting to such as may appear unfounded or exaggerated."

The Compensation Court subsequently convened in New Plymouth from 1 June, 1866. In consideration of claims to the blocks Oakura, Waitara South and Ngatiawa Coast, the court continued to meet intermittently until late September of that year. The hearings were presided over by Francis Fenton as Senior

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[94] Richmond to Stafford, *AJHR*, 1866, A-No.2A (No.10), p.8

[95] ibid, (No.9), p.8

Judge, with Judges John Rogan and Henry Monro, all Judges of the Native Land Court. This convening of the Compensation Court in New Plymouth was the first sitting of any judicial body of its type seen in Taranaki, the Native Land Court's first sitting in Taranaki following in February, 1870, presided over by Judge Monro. Monro and Fenton went on to regularly preside over Native Land Court Hearings in Taranaki, with Rogan appearing only infrequently; most of his judicial time was spent attending Court sittings on the East Coast.[96]

Prior to the hearings being convened, then, Parris had sought to record and clarify compensation claims by collecting details from Māori of claims to land within the blocks under investigation.

Details were sought from Māori who had "adhered to the Queen" by not participating in the "insurrection", as well as those who had participated but were repentant of having done so, "those who have rebelled but who shall submit to the Queen's authority."[97] Rebels were deemed to have forfeited their land. In reality, claimants were so numerous as to render such distinctions difficult to achieve prior to the hearings being convened, at which point some considerable effort was devoted to identifying rebel individuals, those hapū members which were thought to have joined the fighting, or done some act which brought them within the fifth clause of the Act of 1863: "for brevity's sake, I hereafter call this class of persons "rebels"."[98]

Thereafter, separating "loyalist" from "rebel" was never a straightforward process. At any time during the period of hostilities, individuals or disparate groups of Māori throughout Taranaki were as likely as hapū and tribes to have been involved, or not involved, in conflict with or in support of the Crown, or

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[96] Index, Maori Land Court Minute Books, Aotea District - Taranaki, p.77; Maori Land Court, Wanganui.

[97] Report on Confiscated Lands, *AJHR*, 1873, C-4B, p.1.

[98] Papers Relating to the Sitting of Compensation Court at New Plymouth, *AJHR*, 1866, A-No.13, p.3.

in conflict against each other. This situation in Taranaki was rather more complex than that suggested by Keith Sinclair, who wrote that about half of the Maori people were neutral, or kūpapa, a name which was assumed to mean they fought for the Queen. "Many of the best-known Maori leaders were kupapa ... they have been almost written out of our history."[99]

The term "kūpapa" has limited value in Taranaki. It first referred to those Maori who were not involved in conflict, who "remained seated on the ground when others rose to the debate or departed for war."[100] Such neutrals were later described by colonists as friendly to the Crown, somewhat subverting its original meaning. It was later found to be generally not practicable to ascribe such status to specific hapū or tribes, however well later officials may have thought such had been achieved. This was because of the somewhat episodic nature of Māori involvement in the extended hostilities, to some extent reflecting the relative fluidity of the basic functional unit of Māori society in Taranaki at this time. Some tribes argued often that they were loyal, while others had specifically demonstrated loyalty, as with Ngāti Mutunga after 1868 who were largely absent during the earlier hostilities.

According to Skinner in 1927, a delegation of those remaining had travelled to the Chatham Islands to exhort migrants from home resident there to return, and to join the hostilities. "That deputation was rebuffed, the (historical) spear was taken and returned here to Taranaki, and placed in the hands of Mr. Parris, as the representative of the Crown. That shows they were loyal."[101]

However, substantiating loyalty to the Crown remained an important factor bearing on Māori prospects of successfully prosecuting claims for lost lands, claims which themselves were equally likely to be initiated by individuals or disparate groups of Māori as they were by hapū or tribes. In 1877, Ruhia Teira

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[99] Keith Sinclair, *Kinds of peace*, p.7.

[100] Durie, personal communication, May 1994.

[101] Minutes of evidence, Sim Commission (1927); MA 85/1, NA.

sought the return of a portion of the southern Oakura Block. Following the lodging of his petition, Teira was cross-examined on the question of loyalty. He was asked, "I will ask you whether your hapu generally was in rebellion." Teira responded: "about an equal number fought against the Government to those who supported them." Were the principal men of the hapū under arms against the Government, Teira was asked. He replied, "some of the principal men who remained quiet have died since the fighting. Some of them fought against the natives."[102]

Hemi Matenga's right to petition in 1878 for the return of Waitara South lands was also similarly examined. To the question, "were any members of (your) tribe in rebellion against her Majesty," Matenga replied, " No, none of the Ngatihinetutu. The only one of them who remained behind was killed by the hau haus." And later, "was any portion of this tribe of which this hapu formed a part engaged in rebellion against the Queen?" to which he replied, " Some of the Ngati Awa were." A large number? "I cannot say: I was not in the north at the time."[103] In 1914, the issue of loyalty to the Crown remained a critical factor in realising claims. Paora Hopere petitioned that year for redress over Ngāti Rahiri lands situated with the Ngatiawa Coast Block. Ngāti Rahiri, said Hopere, had remained loyal:

> Our fathers served as soldiers under the sovereignty of the Queen, to hold and preserve our lands from the enemy. Two of the hau hau men came as scouts on to this very land and were shot .... many times we left our villages under orders from the Government, that the soldiers of our hapu accompany the soldiers of the Queen to fight the enemy.[104]

Later professions of loyalty, as a pre-requisite to petitions for redress, were complicated by the fact that hostilities in Taranaki had ranged over a very broad

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[102] Petition No. 283/1876 (1876), Le 1/1877/5, NA.

[103] Petition No. 284/1878 (1878), Le 1/1878/6, NA.

[104] Petition No. 597/1914 (1914), Le 1/1914/9, NA.

front for the best part of a decade, with tribes not always participating all of the time. This point was made by Skinner in 1927: "the whole of the Atiawa was embroiled in the first war. But the war of 1865 was confined practically to the Taranaki and Ngati Ruanui districts, and as a tribe the Atiawas were not mixed up in that fighting at all. There may have been individuals here and there who took part, but I am speaking as a tribe."[105]

Issues of loyalty were rendered more complex by later claims that lands returned as Crown Grants went to Māori people without rightful claim to the land in question. This was evident in 1927 when Kaho Heremia was asked, "do you say that the land where these weirs are situated ... was not returned to the natives after the war?"

Kaho Heremia replied that the land had been returned to the loyalists. At any rate, it was suggested to him, it was returned. To this he replied, "it was returned to the loyalists ... that land was confiscated, and that was part of the land which caused the fight. It was afterwards that some of the loyalists were put onto the list of title."[106] The somewhat haphazard process of land reallocation after the hostilities also contributed to the land claim difficulties, as with Taurua and his Pakakohi people, placed on reserves "somewhat promiscuously ... the boundaries of which had never been definitely fixed or surveyed ... (it) should be apportioned among the several chiefs and hapus interested."[107] Subsequently, the later grievance of Ngāti Maru was one experienced by many of the tribes in Taranaki, that

> some of those persons were not genuine Ngatimaru people at all but that some belonged to Ngapuhi, some to Te Atiawa and some to Whanganui. On the other hand many genuine Ngatimaru, who were and are landless,

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[105] Minutes of evidence, Sim Commission (1927), MA, 85/1, NA.

[106] ibid.

[107] Hon. Sir W. Fox to Hon. Native Minister, 25 February, 1882; *AJHR,* 1882, G-5, p.16.

were left out of the said grants of land altogether.[108]

As was here evident, as late as 1940, Māori petitioners addressing "claims and grievances remaining outstanding of the Aboriginal Natives of New Zealand" were compelled to include references to past loyalty to the Crown, as "that your Petitioners and their ancestors ... always have been since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, loyal British subjects, and have not in any way been concerned in hostility against the Crown."[109]

Of the three blocks in question, two had especially witnessed hostilities. The first Land War in Taranaki had started within the Waitara South block. According to Wiremu Te Kupenga Kahao, the war had commenced at Waitara "in consequence of a quarrel between Wiremu Kingi Rangitake and Te Teira ... over a young lady (resulting) in the sale by Te Teira of Wiremu Kingi's land."

When the surveyors came to survey the land, Wiremu Kingi resisted and ordered them to return, indicating that "if they persisted, someone would be killed ... the Europeans were inflexible ... hostilities commenced at this juncture." [110]

The attempted surveying of disputed land was later described by Hadfield as constituting a provocative act in terms of customary lore:

> Such an attempt to survey the land in dispute was a taking possession of the land according to the native view, it being quite analogous to a custom of their own, when they want to take possession of disputed land, they go and set up a post on it; this is often done when they want to force a collision between tribes.[111]

Thereafter, hostilities followed an attack on Wiremu Kingi's "L Pā". The pā

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[108] Petition No. 75/1940 (1940), Le 1/1940/8, NA.

[109] ibid.

[110] Petition No.19/1925 (1925), Le 1/1925/12, NA.

[111] Hadfield to the House in Committee, Evidence Relative to the Native Insurrection, 14 August 1860; *AJHR*, 1860, E-No.4, p.4

was erected during the night of March 15, 1860 in defiance of Gore Browne's earlier provocative warnings: "You have presumed to block up the Queen's road, to build on the Queen's land, and to stop the free passage of persons coming and going. This is levying war against the Queen; destroy the places you have built (or) the blood of your people be on your own head."[112]

The traditional hapū of the Waitara South area were seen as being particularly belligerent. Puketapu were later described as one of the most warlike and turbulent sub-tribes of Ngātiawa. "They joined with the people of Kairoa and Pukerangiora and became the leaders in the Taranaki Wars of 1860 - 61, and were always treated as hostile or rebels. Being familiar with the interior behind Huirangi to Ngatimaru, they caused considerable trouble."[113]

Puketapu had earlier based their claims for redress on "the great grief which had been inflicted upon the Maoris by the action of the government, in forcing these engagements."[114] These engagements which had ranged across the Waitara south area for twelve months before Hapurona's surrender at Pukerangiora Pā in 1861.

Further to the south, hostilities had largely commenced at Waireka in 1860. There, members of the local hapū, Ngā Mahanga, led by Kingi Parenga and Paratene Kopara, had engaged a Colonial contingent of about a hundred men seeking the perpetrators of the murder of two schoolboys. These hostilities within the Oakura Block were largely concluded after the skirmish at Kaitake and the defeat at Ahuahu in 1861.[115]

The tribal lands to the north of the Waitara River, the Ngatiawa Coast, had not generally witnessed hostilities, but were deemed nonetheless to be the tribal

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[112] Wells, *A history of Taranaki,* p.191.

[113] Officials report on petition No. 93/1925, Sim Commission (1927); MA 85/1, NA.

[114] Petition No. 93/1925 (1925), Le 1/1925/12, NA.

[115] Wells, *A history of Taranaki,* pp.195, 241-2.

lands of many Māori who had participated in the Taranaki Land wars. These sustained conflicts represented a sharp edge of Māori assertion of rights to land in Taranaki after 1865.

However, they did not necessarily represent a definitive tribal or hapū assertion, given their wide-ranging nature and the sporadic nature of tribal and hapū involvement, as was evident at the Sim Commission hearings in 1927.

CHAPTER FIVE

MANA WHENUA ASSERTED.

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the continuing significance of mana whenua to the tribes of Taranaki after 1841.

This chapter locates the process of kinship unit redefinition as especially important for a time as tribes, hapū and other kinship units, operating under the mana of the tribe, maintained and asserted their mana whenua in various forums.

Longstanding sources of tribal mana are described as continuing to provide validity for tribes to assert such claims to the land. These assertions remained constant as ownership of the land itself effectively moved from tribal control to the Crown, first, and to settlers thereafter.

Mana whenua assertions thereafter were founded on the sense of the ancestral land that remained sustained within the mana histories of affected hapū and tribes. Hapū emerged in this period as playing a particularly important role in asserting mana whenua, always so doing with agency, under the mana of the tribes to which they held fast.

Even before the Land wars in Taranaki were over, substantial Māori land alienation had occurred, primarily through confiscations. These were later vindicated as a "justified penalty for unjustified actions", and a deterrent against future rebellions. They were seen as providing for the needs of settlers and the Government, supplying the means of "introducing numbers of white settlers ... and for recouping the Government in part for the huge financial burden on the

Colony by the rebellion."[1]

The exercise of mana whenua by the tribes had once turned on their occupying and owning the land. However, once the tribes had been effectively dispossessed, the later exercise of mana whenua changed. It increasingly derived from a certain knowledge of that land sustained within the tribe's mana history. It had similarly so endured in Taranaki while earlier in flight from Waikato.[2]

Thereafter, customary concepts of tribal title as basis of occupancy were effectively superseded. This was a legacy of the changes to the nature of land tenure wrought by large-scale settlement after 1841. At that time, new concepts of ownership were introduced and were "encouraged by the Government until at length (they) received the sanction of written law."[3]

The legislative intention seemed always to recast customary tenure in the interests of ready settler access to land and title. Such was certainly the intention of legislation like the Native Lands Act of 1865. There, it was declared expedient to amend and consolidate all laws relating to land holdings remaining under tribal proprietary customs. The Act was also intended to provide for the ascertainment of:

> persons who according to such customs are the owners ... to encourage the extinction of such proprietary customs and to provide for the conversion of such modes of ownership into titles derived from the Crown.[4]

Te Atiawa have recently viewed these measures extremely negatively, as well they might. Love has particularly focused on the colonial supplanting of customary tenure by a different tenure system structured to deny continued tribal retention of their mana whenua.

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[1] Minutes of Evidence, Sim Commission (1927); MA 85/2, NA.

[2] Wharehoka, personal communication, November 1992.

[3] Papers Relating to the Sitting of Compensation Court at New Plymouth, *AJHR*, 1866, A-No.13, p.3.

[4] Native Lands Act, 1865, Preamble.

According to Love, the British Colonial Office utilised an "array of methods and laws in colonising new pastures. Colonisation involved gaining control ... it denied the colonised equality before the law, retention of indigenous culture, laws and values." Love represented these methods and laws at more than effectively establishing political control of Māori people. They were also aimed at securing the land; "while the beliefs, values and tribal law relating to land were understood by many colonists ... it was convenient and expedient to ignore this as it complicated the desire to acquire land."[5]

For all this, the tribes, hapū and Māori communities in Taranaki continued after 1860 to maintain and assert mana whenua. Mana whenua remained as the essence of their collective identity, based on a complex continuum of descent. Descent provided the critical link to the landscape over which that identity obtained its mana. These assertions were focused primarily through the agency of hapū, in whatever domain that presented itself as appropriate.

The primary domain of contest for land that presented in Taranaki after 1863 was the Compensation Courts. Many Commission of Enquiry proceedings also followed to 1900. These were domains of a judicial nature involving conflicts of giving effect to new law, as against giving effect to customary lore.

This represented a difference of perception prosecuted for a half century which occurred in the context of actual title for that land substantially changing from one party to the other. As this title substantially moved out of customary hapū control, it is suggested that the nature of the kinship groups as asserted also changed. Hapū had once existed, and had been declared, in profusion as the holders of specific lands. These were later concentrated once it became evident that the title to those customary lands underscoring identity had been lost from customary hapū control.

The north and coastal areas of Taranaki were particular sites for land contest and assertion. Here, the tribes continued to declare such profusions of kinship

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[5] Love, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, D.11, pp.3,13.

infrastructures in order to hold the land. However, these specific configurations of tribe, hapū and community, as described by local Māori, changed significantly over a fifty year period. Over this period, the recognised descent histories of these kinship groups continued to serve as the primary basis for the execution of the defence of their mana whenua.

Such changes to tribal and hapū configurations in the north and on the coast were seen when later land claims were heard before the Native Land Court after 1870. In that forum, kinship groups initially presented themselves as points of reference for the broad asserting of mana whenua. This was necessary in order to hold land as first titles were being established.

However, the legal imperative of ascertaining "persons" persisted. The Court sought for persons who might retain ownership such that "the extinction of such proprietary customs" might continue. As a consequence, customary land lore was converted to such modes of ownership and titles as derived from the Crown, and the law. The later Māori groups and individuals which appeared seemed most concerned with the individual acquisition of land title.

As the process of land alienation from effective hapū control continued through the Courts, occasions to assert the principle of mana whenua through the agency of hapū became increasingly important. This generally fell to hapū most involved in recovering lost lands. This primarily involved lands acquired by the Crown after the Land Wars, in circumstances perceived by tribes as iniquitous. It also, however, involved tribal lands lost to the individualising processes sponsored by the Native Land Court. Thereafter, the earlier profusion of recognised hapū were followed by a later seeming decline in their number. This represented a mediating and consolidating of local identities for late-nineteenth century purposes.

Earlier and older tribal narratives of the tribal past remained and were maintained within the tribal memories. However, later hapū descent histories and identities were mediated into tribal mana histories especially elevating knowledge of the lands to which they were once and remained anchored.

Compensation Court Hearings commenced in New Plymouth in 1866 to consider the claims for lands to be returned to the collective control of tribes and hapū. This was the result of the Settlements Act, enacted three years earlier. The Court's interest lay in the blocks as named in the "Province of Taranaki hereunder described."[6] A Gazette notice described the boundaries of three blocks to be investigated, named as Waitara South, Oakura, and Ngatiawa Coast. A fourth block of interest to the Compensation Court was that of Ngati Ruanui Coast in South Taranaki. A Court sketch map roughly showed the general location of these blocks under investigation, a map which set the blocks against earlier Crown purchases.[7]

All blocks were broadly sketched across the Taranaki landscape. They bore little resemblance to the customary boundaries or mana whenua over which they were drawn, and over which they were expected to impact. This effectively constituted an early move taken towards the later conversion of the ancient landscape. This represented a changed geographic basis from which local tribes would have to consider consequent negotiations of interest in those lands with the Crown.

The Ngati Awa Coast block, the largest, was bounded on the west and north west by a line drawn from "the summit of Mount Egmont to the source of the River Waiongana." Thereafter, the line extended from Waiongana to Tarurutangi, to the junction of the Rivers Manganui and Waitara. The boundary then ran to the sea, and north effectively to Parininihi. To the south east ran "a straight line drawn from the eastern extremity of the said northern boundary in a direction south, 39 degrees west." The boundary intersected a line from the mountain to the sea, encompassing the Rivers Parikino and Whanganui.

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[6] *Gazette*, 1866, p.142.

[7] Papers relative to the sitting of the Compensation Court, IA 66/1819, NA.

Waitara South was described as lands bounded by the sea on the north, and the Waitara River from its mouth to the junction of the Manganui River on the east. To the south, a straight line from that junction to Tururutangi on the Waiongana River constituted one boundary. A straight line drawn thereafter to the sea from Waitaha comprised a western boundary.

Oakura was the smallest block. It was bounded on the north by the sea with the earlier-purchased Omata Block to the east. The line then traversed from the sea to where the Omata Block was "cut by the Native path running between the Patua and Ponaki Ranges". Thereafter, this straight line met the Hangatahua River before continuing on to the sea.[8]

In seeking to collect and record details of the substance and basis of Māori claims for tribal lands within these confiscated blocks, Parris relied primarily on a printed form entitled *He Pukapuka Tono Ki Te Kooti Whakawa Whenua Māori, Kia Whakawakia Etahi Take Whenua.*[9] This was a "form of claim" made available through Native Land Courts and Native Assessors.[10]

However, in seeking certain land and kinship details, the form and process were problematic. They compelled claimants to declare interests in land to a degree of specificity to which tribes and hapū were probably unaccustomed. These were lands long regarded collectively owned and source of collective mana. Such lands were the sacred trust and asset of all the people. Here, complex laws of tapu were established over time, frequently invoked to protect a profusion of well-defined areas of land and waterways from human exploitation or defilement. Tapu was applied equally to wahi tapu like burial grounds with other declarations of permanent interest to everyone, as seen in Chapter Three. Consequently, it was common for every natural feature to bear

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[8] *Gazette*, 1866, pp.142, 293.

[9] *Pukapuka Rarangi Ingoa* form, Applications to Compensation Court, Taranaki Confiscated Lands, Box 2A, DOSLI, New Plymouth.

[10] *Gazette*, 1865, p.74.

names that spanned centuries of occupation.[11]

On the form, Māori people were asked to declare Te whakaaturanga o nga rohe, the general lands to which they believed they might possess an interest. This largely constituted some of the lands over which their tribe or hapū would have exercised mana whenua, however much this posed difficulties to describe.

The need to provide specific details presented particular problems. Tribal and hapu mana whenua did not necessarily contain an infrastructure of individual allotments that might be easily identified and assigned. Māori customary title was effectively possessed by all kinship members living on the land, commensurate with common understandings concerning group title in that land. It was also, in some circumstances, held by kinship members living away from the land. To emphasis an interest in that land, however, the land needed to be occupied or worked by hunting, fishing or cultivating. All other claimants from other kinship entities had to be resisted. This especially related to those, according to Sinclair, that had moved away without intention to return:

> those that let their fires become cold lost their rights permanently after ... one or two generations. This strengthened the ownership bonds among tribes and hapū who formed an integrated community ready to defend their lands. All members of the community were ready to join in communal activities necessary for the common good.[12]

As a consequence, the land bases of claims invariably overlapped.

The attendant descriptions of o nga rohe were also general ones. These were customary lands for which there could be no real limit to claimants, given the encompassing and secure nature of mana whenua, especially as asserted by local kinship groups through their mana whakapapa perceptions of descent and connected land interests. This was constituted as certain, in the final analysis, by the reality of occupation and the enduring knowledge of the whole land,

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[11] Douglas Sinclair, "Land", p.87.

[12] ibid, p.92.

substantiated by whakapapa, sustained within the tribal memory.

With no documentation of any kind to certify title to land, tribes and hapu relied heavily on such enduring knowledge. Kawharu placed a special responsibility on those who retained such knowledge: "the administering body of elders, at least, knew every prominent natural feature, and the way each was linked to the other in the boundary area between tribes."[13]

Kapua Keepa was one who later demonstrated such retention of knowledge of landmarks and wahi tapu, in his case, of Ngāti Ika and Ngāti Maru. Such knowledge sustained the important hapū claim to a sense of mana whenua, and further sustained the hapū identity as validated by that land and its history.

Keepa recalled sites like the burial grounds of Heao and Te Pohohitoa, both on the seaward side of Purangi, the latter through which, he contended, a road had been cut "and the skeletons ... taken up for exhibition." He also recalled pā sites like Te Puke Māhoe. This was one of the largest and oldest pā sites in the vicinity of the cemetery of that name. From there, about twelve acres had been cut out for a church and a flagstaff. "The flagstaff was called Tuhawha, and the name of the church house (was) Te Wharetuteararo. The bell of that church house is now in our present church house at Purangi." All of these places, he said, had been confiscated.

Land was also recalled for its resource use. Wiremu Te Kapenga Kahao remembered the pā called Ikaroa a Maui, near Pungarehu. This was a site and wahi tapu which kept alive the efficacy of mana whenua. The pā was an old and permanent residence. It was also an original cultivating place of the elders. There, elders planted kumara and other vegetables, and, as he recalled, "the old people had to bring sand on to the place for the purpose of improving the kumara plants. They had to carry sand in baskets on their backs." Kahao also detailed fishing sites, as "our lamprey weirs are there. Taurangu Mata - another eel weir: Te Iwi Tuaroa, another one. Another - Kohi Iwi. A kumara patch

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[13] Kawharu, *Maori land tenure*, p.60.

belonged to my elder, was called Te Wahakairakau." [14]

The responsibility borne by elders of retaining an intimate knowledge of the limits to title was particularly important when outside groups held title to pieces of land or resources within the tribal domain. Kawharu pointed to dangers in such rights being recognised. They could in time become "the thin end of a wedge of some alien encroachment."[15]

This was especially evident later when grant allocations were made. Many hapū disputed the right of neighbours to receive by way of compensation certain land allotments over which they themselves claimed a customary title. This was evident with the later protest of elements of the Otaraua hapū, over their believed exclusion from the allocation of "Kiripoaka monies". These were payments made to their neighbours Ngāti Rahiri in part-compensation for the taking of lands for the Tikorangi Military Settlement. These were lands to which Otaraua claimed a definite title.[16]

The nearby Kaitangata hapū had earlier mounted similar protests against perceived encroachment. They had remonstrated against land of their ancestors being granted to neighbouring hapū, a protest made as the Crown attempted to allocate lands in the Onaero area, ancestral kainga of Kaitangata.[17]

Important omissions also caused dissension. The later petition of Wiremu Tupito Maruera and others of Ngāti Tukaihinu, Ngāti Manaia, Ngāti Tuatahi and Ngāti Kotuku indicated as much. All were resident near Patea and were common users of the local Ruatuna fishing grounds, grounds long established as mana whenua and shared resource for all local hapū.

This complaint was one of an earlier omission. The Fox Commission of 1880 had, they contended, failed to include the name of one Tuatoki alongside

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[14] Minutes of evidence, Sim Commission (1927); MA 85/1, NA.

[15] Kawharu, *Maori land tenure*, p.61.

[16] Petition No. 597/14 (1914), Le 1/1914/9, NA.

[17] J. Brown to Hon. Sir W. Fox, MA 68/56, NA.

the Pakakohi Chief Taurua on a key grant. The grant had assigned ongoing rights to the shared fishing grounds. Once Taurua had died, Tuatoki's people were excluded from the fishing resource.[18]

Hapū or family boundaries generally needed to be more clearly demarcated. Claimants to the Compensation Court listed in some detail wahi tapu sites which, in their view, distinguished the lands over which they believed they exercised mana whenua. Such boundaries were generally well known. However, this did not prevent the "constant eruption of disputes over boundaries (where) antagonists could delineate accurately the areas they were claiming."[19]

Officials often had opportunities to observe the demonstrations of such boundary demarcations. In 1884, several officials were shown how certain hapū marked out boundary lines during negotiations at Mawhitiwhiti, near Waitara. Here, the surveyor Skinner was pointed out the boundaries on the ground by Mangu, Wirihana and Tu Ihu. Skinner was taken on an extensive trek along the outer perimeter of the three-hundred and fifty seven acre customary block in question.[20]

Claimants were also asked to indicate the basis of their claims by specifically nominating te ingoa o te Iwi, Hapū ranei. This sought for the name of their tribe and hapū or particular kinship group around which their interest in the land as specified was based. Individual names of claimants were also sought. This served ostensibly as a check against those who were believed to have participated in hostilities against the Crown.

Claims under this process seemed to recognise the hapū as the primary unit of mana whenua, since detailed hapū and kinship details were sought, though this recognition was, on the part of the Crown, at best ambivalent. The pre-eminence of individual title was foreshadowed in the Gazette notice to

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[18] Petition No. 203/1930 (1930), Le 1/1930/9, NA.

[19] Kawharu, *Maori land tenure*, p.60.

[20] T.W. Lewis to E.D. Bell, 3 March 1884, MA 68/5A, NA.

prospective Māori claimants. The notice did not acknowledge the collective unit as qualifying for compensation. The individual person instead featured, as "compensation shall be granted to all persons" and "compensation shall be granted according to the nature of the title, interest or claim of the person requiring compensation."[21] The necessity for individuating Māori title to Māori land would have appealed to McLean especially who, after 1846, was operating in New Plymouth under the auspices of the Land Purchase Department. This agency was compelled largely to acknowledge in its dealings the traditional Māori customs of communal rights to land which effectively prevented the sale of individual pieces as well as the piecemeal sale of whole blocks.

Nonetheless, McLean made some gains. In 1846, he recorded that the people of Huirangi, Mamaku and Mahio (all pā on the Waitara River) and those of the Kuikui "did not come for shame (at having opposed the sale). Hohaia Piriku Hanu and Matangi are (meanwhile) endeavouring to find out who their ancestors were, that strengthens their claims in the district."[22]

Later grants made following the Compensation Court hearings comprised allotments substantially made to individuals. Such individualising of titles greatly facilitated the sale of granted and returned lands, with fewer legal owners generally more easily accessed. This was a situation well established since the passing of the Native Land Act, 1862 which provided for the direct purchase of lands from individual Māori interests. Sorrenson has described the later Native Land Act of 1865 as having put this policy onto a "practical footing" with the Native Land Court required to "individualise Maori land tenure before individuals sold land." Sorrenson went on to link measures such as these to other negative social impacts. He suggested that there was no doubt that individual dealings, legalised by the Native Land Acts, provided for the "breakdown of Maori society." Certainly, the material impacts of such policies

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[21] *Gazette*, 1865, p.74.

[22] McLean's Notebook, Series I, Maori Land Purchase Department, New Plymouth (1846-50); MA-MLP-NP, NA.

were severe and should not be understated. However, Sorrenson overdraws the impact of such policies within the Māori intellectual domain, within which vigorous responses and activity were always strongly based.[23]

Sales also increased following the allocation of returned lands to Māori claimants who were not the holders of customary title over that land. This caused the original and proper owners, more often than not former "rebels" excluded from the reallocation process, great stress. This was the case with the allocation of reserves in the south Waitara area, like Ngapuketurua, Matataiore, Papawai, Waiongora, Kaipakopako and Puketapu, all original kaingas of the "warlike and turbulent" Puketapu people. In response to a 1927 petition on the matter of the sale of the reserves, an officials report indicated that "unfortunately, it has proved a mistake not to have placed restrictions on the areas Crown granted as the Native owners of the individualised areas took advantage to sell these at first opportunity to Europeans."[24] The Puketapu people had argued that the recipients of grants had not been substantially customary owners.

Some later attempts were made to bring allotments under tribal control again, as with that of Wi Piti te Kaponga who asserted "the division is finished by Mr Parris for Ngati Rahiri, Otaraua, Pukerangiora and Puketapu ... the land awarded to the Natives has been divided for the four tribes mentioned."[25]

However, Parris and other officials seemed to have recognised that by providing tribal and hapū details, individual Māori claimants would be providing sufficient notice of collective identity or kinship basis, attaching to land, to sustain their claims. Perhaps more importantly, receipt of such details allowed the Court to proceed. The claimant forms could be construed to suggest primacy of hapū and tribes, as well as individual claimant, the latter ultimately favoured

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[23] M.P.K. Sorrenson, "Land purchase methods and their effect upon Maori population 1865-1901", *JPS*, 65:3(1956), p.185.

[24] Petition 93/1925 (1925), Le 1/1925/93, NA.

[25] Wi Piti te Kaponga to Hon. Sir W. Fox, Le 1/1867/105, NA.

by the Courts.

This was initially the case, with most claimants nominating their tribal, hapū or kinship identities. The described boundaries of the vast blocks under scrutiny encompassed a myriad of these tribal and hapū identities, as local Māori people indicated when they came forward to lodge claims within the broad Ngati Awa Coast, Waitara South and the Oakura areas.

Throughout the subsequent hearings, extensive evidence was presented to suggest the existence of a multiplicity of kinship and collective groups. This was so even as it became apparent that individual title was preeminent with individual claimants increasingly acknowledged over collective units.

Each claimant was able to claim rights to any number and definitions of land holdings. For each group, intimate knowledge of the limits to title was particularly important. This included the claims of outside groups with title to pieces of land or resources within a hapū or tribal domain. In all, it constituted an exceedingly complex land holding system.

Fenton recognised as much in his later judgment. In his view, "our language supplies no words which fitly express the ideas of a Maori holding. From what I have seen during a series of Courts now extending over a period of eighteen months[26]... I am impressed with the belief that previously to the arrival of the English among them, the Maoris had no idea (as between each other) of proprietary rights to land."

Each individual had a right as against the rest of his tribe to a defined piece of land, part of the tribal estate, which he could hold and cultivate against any member of the tribe. However, said Fenton, his power extended no further. He could not alienate it out of the tribe, and if he abandoned it another member could take possession.[27]

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[26] A reference to Fenton's previous and contiguous service as Judge of the Native Land Court. Prior to this hearing, Fenton had not been to Taranaki in a judicial capacity.

[27] Statement relative to the measures adopted for the settlement out of Court of Claims of Friendly Natives to land at Taranaki and Waitara, *AJHR*, 1866, A-No.13, p.3.

Kawharu has reiterated that such rights were ultimately the preserve of the tribe,[28] others, like Watson, in consideration of Te Atiawa, the hapū[29]. Such property rights in Taranaki between 1830 and 1900 were ultimately balanced and exercised between tribe and hapū. At times of great expansion, the whānau, the family or other recognised breakaway kinship group were also important.

Commensurate with these rights exercised at the various kinship levels were equivalent concepts of identity founded on land, descent and related whakapapa.

Few property rights were vested in the individual, as Fenton later conceded, with all Judges of the Compensation Courts and Native Land Courts "after our experience ... firmly convinced that such a thing ... as a sole proprietary title ... does not exist and that the idea of such a thing is contrary to the truth of Maori ownership ... a sole proprietary right could only exist when a tribe had become reduced to one man."[30]

Immediately prior to the Court hearings, details of claims collected for all Blocks were copiously transferred by Court officials onto extensive schedules. Names were listed against lands claimed, in preparation for hearings.[31] Judges and Court officials then used these schedules to arrange, call and cross-examine claimants. Whole days during the proceedings were devoted to preparing and updating the schedules.

One major problem faced by the Court lay in the diminishing reserves of land actually available for compensation. This was apparent once military and other settlement needs were accounted for. In Oakura, the acreage of land

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[28] Kawharu, *Maori land tenure,* p.46.

[29] Watson, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, D.12, pp.24 - 33.

[30] Statement relative to measures adopted, *AJHR*, 1866, A-No.13, p.9.

[31] Lists of Claimants, Owners of Oakura Confiscated Block, Proceedings of the Compensation Court (1866) 1/11, Taranaki Confiscated Lands, DOSLI, New Plymouth.

available for redistribution fell well short of that being sought by claimants. Fenton stated the Court's predicament; "having thus arrived at the (to us) unavoidable conclusion that the claimants before us were entitled to 7,400 acres of good land in this block, (yet) the whole of the available land except 2,500 acres had been appropriated to Military Settlers."[32]

Fenton considered this situation to have arisen partly because "the Government were not aware of the large majority of owners of this land who had remained loyal." This was because the acreage of land set aside to settle claims had been partly calculated by withdrawing the considered entitlements of "rebels". In the end, there were less rebels than had previously been anticipated, the distinction between the two continuing to defy straightforward application.

Claimants were nonetheless examined and assessed as "rebel" or "loyal". Acres represented by rebel claimants were excluded from the total acreage available for the settlement of claims[33]. This problem was largely avoided following the later Waitara South hearings. There, the specifics of land allotments were determined out of Court, after some negotiation with local hapū. Though most of the local hapū were accounted for, contests for customary lands within somewhat crudely drawn Court allotments were far from over. This was evident in 1866 with settlements near Waitara couched in inconclusive terms, as:

> about 6000 acres of this was awarded to the Puketapu tribe ... between Mangoraka and Mangaranoa. The remaining 2000 acres was awarded to the Pukerangiora and Ngati Rahiri claimants, subject to a claim preferred by some Otaraua Natives, which it was agreed to refer to the Land Court for settlement.[34]

Fenton also declined to contemplate the idea that tribes might be allocated lands outside of their traditional mana whenua areas. While the discretion as to

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[32] Statement relative to measures adopted, *AJHR*, 1866, A-No.13, p.11.

[33] ibid, p.5.

[34] ibid, p.19.

allocation and locality rested with the Courts, Fenton considered that "if the Natives demand their own land, or so much of their tribal estate as will represent their proportion of the tribe, they are entitled ... to have it." Such reasoning was advanced by Fenton as a measure to be taken such that the Court might "fulfil the promises of the Crown and preserve its honour, that is to say, wherever we think that a discretion is left to the Crown by the Legislature."[35]

Claimants were also expected to appear at the sittings of the Compensation Court. Many did not appear, however. Common entries appeared on cross-examination notes as "called - did not appear" and "Not present." However, Fenton later remarked, in reference to the Waitara South hearings, that "the conduct of the Natives during the sitting of the Court was decorous in the extreme ... the number attending I estimate at 400."[36]

At the hearings, Māori claimants from the blocks under investigation needed to first prove that they had not entered into hostilities with the Government.

This was always a debilitating position from which to negotiate mana whenua as a basis for compensation. This was because of the Court's individualist rationale for adjudicating over land, added to its equally unequivocal view on hostilities. The Court in this regard reflected the Government view on hostilities. This was later variously expressed as "the Maoris had surrendered their independent sovereignty by the Treaty of Waitangi ... the acts of the supporters of the King movement in 1863 amounted to a repudiation of the Treaty ... and to rebellion against the authority of the Crown."[37]

Thereafter, claimants sought to substantiate their believed right to specific

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[35] ibid, p.11.

[36] ibid, p.16

[37] Minutes of Evidence, Sim Commission (1927); MA 85/2, NA.

title and mana whenua by providing details of historic or resource sites from which the sense of attachment to those lands was drawn. Sites delineating boundaries were especially cited. All such sites comprised knowledge that had largely remained current within hapū. This was so within Ngā Mahanga with sites like Komene, Whakarewa, Te Puna i Orangi and Pikitahi. The latter was recalled as a prominent pā with large gardens near the Waiweranui River, all sites still recalled within the earlier Oakura block area.[38]

This was however at times a problematic declaration. Many sites were of hapū or tribal interest, given that the specific lands over which claims were filed were, in the end, the rightful domain of all, over which there could be no real limit of claimants. Consequently, there were numerous overlaps. Much depended, in the end, on the tribal recall of both recent circumstances and ancient knowledge.

The Oakura Block hearings attracted approximately two hundred and seventy individual claimants.[39] This block was not a large one. In modern times, it constitutes part of the rohe of Ngā Mahanga Onukutaipari ki Hauranga hapū. This rohe today extends from and includes the wahi tapu of Te Ngahoro, Keke O Rangi and Oakura further south to the fortification, Whakamoeariki; and inland to the Koru Pā fortifications.[40]

Claimants within this area in 1865 listed general lands to which possession was claimed. Claims were supported with specific sites named as important and as key points of reference. Also, hapū to which claimants felt affiliated or on whose behalf claims were lodged were listed. These lists are significant; more than likely, they were not exhaustive but they were at least representative of the profusion of hapū that were declared as existing and occupying the Oakura

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[38] Hohaia, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, F.12, p.233.

[39] Two hundred and seventy names were listed on the lists of claimants prepared for the Court; Lists of Claimants, Owners of the Oakura Confiscated Block, Proceedings of the Compensation Court, 1/11. DOSLI, New Plymouth.

[40] Hohaia, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, F.12, pp.214, 230-231; Roy Komene, personal communication, November 1992.

block. That the area is today considered to be a part of the estate of a single hapu, Ngā Mahanga, reflects the many hapū declared in 1865 ultimately consolidating into one.

The use of sites in particular as boundary markers varied widely. Some claims made vast reference to such markers, as with the claim of Te Huia Tamaitehurua and eleven others who sought the return of lands between Kaitikara and Managatihi. This was a vast claim comprising some seventy-five named boundary sites claimed as delineating a boundary around the hapū of Ngāmahanga and at least twelve named others.[41] Many of these hapū were local hapū and their names continued to be recalled until recent times.[42]

Other hapū references also equated with hapū further afield and may be additional references to additional affiliations. This was so with Ngāti Rahiri, a major hapū north of the Waitara River. Nonetheless, this claim alone made reference to many hapū said to have occupied and held customary and mana whenua over a portion of the Oakura Block between Kaitikara and Mangatihi.

The claim of Hoera Nikorima and eleven others was another claim which included an imposing number of sites situated between Wahawae and Oraukawha to Pioke. Forty-two named sites were generally located in the north end of the Oakura south block. These were claimed as wahi tapu for only two hapū, Ngāti Haeroa and Ngāti Maru.[43] It is possible that other hapū may have had interests across this area of course, given the competitive or overlapping element of claiming between hapū. At the very least, hapū may have had land interests in lands shared or constituting pockets within other rohe.

The claimant Tipene and fifteen others claimed lands situated between Kotemihituroa and Kohutoroa. This was a claim comprising some twenty named

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[41] Claim of Te Huia Tamaitehuru and others, Applications to Compensation Court, 1865, Taranaki Confiscated Lands Box 2A, DOSLI, New Plymouth.

[42] Roy Komene, personal communication, November 1992.

[43] Claim of Hoera Nikorima and others, Compensation Court, 1865, Box 2A, DOSLI, New Plymouth.

sites. The sites were claimed on behalf of Ngā Mahanga, Ngāti Kahi, Ngāti Kura, Ngāti Tū, Ngāti Rangi, Ngātitipo, Ngāti pare, Ngātitonga and Ngātitautu.[44] This claim again demonstrated the profusion of believed hapū customarily occupying the land over which the Oakura Block was drawn. A further claim was lodged by Teiti and sixteen others, claiming lands between Puketehe and Haurapari to Kaitikara. This claim comprised some twelve sites located near Tataraimaka. These sites were claimed on behalf of two hapū, Ngātiahu and Ngāmahia.[45] Paora and some twenty-two others claimed over forty named sites between Ohaerare and Matenga to Waikupu, situated at the south end of the block. Nine different hapū again were cited as the basis for this claim.[46]

A smaller claim was that of Karena Wiremu and two others for lands located between Arakuikui and Kouamaeata. This claim comprised nonetheless some nineteen named sites. The three claimants nominated five hapū on whose behalf the claim was lodged, or to which the claimants were affiliated. These were Ngātitupo, Ngātipare, Ngātirangi, Ngātitonga and Ngātitautu.[47]

Such a claim demonstrated that interests in lands were widespread. They were not always neatly bounded, with hapū possessing interests like resource access, within the supposed land area or mana whenua of neighbouring hapū.[48]

Further to the north, claimants within the Waitara South and Ngāti Awa blocks also needed to show that they had not entered into hostilities with the Government. As the tribes were all too aware, this was an involvement viewed

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[44] Claim of Kotemihituroa and others, Compensation Court, 1865, Box 2A, DOSLI, New Plymouth.

[45] Claim of Teiti and others, Compensation Court, 1865, Box 2A, DOSLI, New Plymouth.

[46] Claim of Paora and others, Compensation Court, 1865, Box 2A, DOSLI, New Plymouth.

[47] Claim of Karena Wiremu and others, Compensation Court, 1865, Box 2A, DOSLI, New Plymouth.

[48] Roy Komene, personal communication, November 1992.

with some gravity by the Court. Here, in the north, the circumstances of conflict had substantially arisen from the Waitara purchase of 1859. However, lingering grievances remained following the circumstances of earlier land sales within and surrounding New Plymouth itself. The fate of "native pas, cultivations, burial places and reserves upon the sale of Fitzroy, Grey and Omata Blocks to New Zealand Company and Crown, 1844 - 1847" went unresolved. They were consequently submerged beneath concerted activity directed at Waitara.[49]

Long after the conflicts of 1859-60 had abated, the view persisted that local tribes had not been warranted in resisting the first surveys of the disputed Waitara block, a resistance that escalated into warfare; "no subject of the Crown is justified in resisting the authority of the Crown ... any act of resistance is an act of rebellion ... the real cause of the Taranaki war was the determination of Wiremu Kingi and the Natives assisting him to veto all land sales."[50]

Thereafter, northern claimants sought to equally prove their believed right to specific title by providing details of continued occupation. Details were furnished to argue for the continued exercise of mana whenua, especially after 1830 when the land was largely observed by new settlers to be uninhabited. As a consequence, lingering suggestions of good title were not well regarded. Spain indicated as much in 1844 when observing that the local tribes had left the district after warring with the Waikato, seeking and obtaining other locations where they might live and cultivate the soil. "From fear of their enemies (they) did not return, (they) cannot now show any equitable claim to the land they thus abandoned."[51]

Such observations were acknowledged by the Compensation Court which ruled, with reference to the earlier Waikato raids, that "we exclude from Compensation persons who, having been expelled by force ... have never

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[49] Pukeariki Pa NP file, 20/19/15, DOSLI, New Plymouth.

[50] Minutes of Evidence, Sim Commission (1927); MA 85/2, NA.

[51] Despatch from Commissioner Spain to Governor FitzRoy, 12 June 1844, *AJHR*, 1860, E-No.2, p.6.

reoccupied."[52]

Subsequently, claimants at these and later hearings were compelled to represent unbroken occupation, as that of Momiri Ihaka Poki:

> there were people living there prior to 1840. They lived there after the migration of the Ngatimutunga and Ngatitama to (the) Chatham Islands ... the descendants of those people left behind were still living in the district .... the fire of Ngatitama and Ngatimutunga was kept alight ... their fire was kept alight, from the time of the ancestors down to their own time.[53]

Numerous wahi tapu and other sacred sites of significance located across the land were also cited, especially those marking out boundaries of interest between hapū. Because so many sites incorporated hapū or multiple hapū interests, there were, as with Oakura, numerous overlaps. Much depended on memory, the tribal recall of both ancient knowledge and recent circumstances.

This was later shown by Potikiroa Kerenene of Ngātihaupoto in asserting the wrongful location of wahi tapu and resource sites by surveyors directed to partition such sites off from settlement areas. "The witness shows an illustration, showing Manihi Road and the Main Road: in cutting out the area for the canoe landing place, it was wrongly surveyed .... It was not confiscated, but the landing place was wrongly surveyed."[54]

The Waitara South block was observed by the Court to comprise two distinct portions, the Puketapu and the Waitara. The Puketapu portion was the larger portion, originally encompassing lands recently purchased, like Bell Block, as far west as the Waiwakaiho River. These lands were, it was

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[52] Statement relative to measures adopted, *AJHR*, 1866, A-No.13, p.16.

[53] Minutes of Evidence, Sim Commission (1927); MA 85/2, NA.

[54] ibid.

acknowledged, "owned by a clearly defined set of people called the Puketapu."[55] The hapū of Pukerangiora and Kairoa were also, as later described, deemed a part of this larger portion of the Waitara south area. The Waitara portion of the Waitara South block encompassed, at first glance to the Court, the interests of the hapū Manukorihi, and Otaraua.

Further to the north, the Ngati Awa Coast encompassed the then known land interests of tribes and hapū which were variously identified, primarily Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Mutunga, Kaitangata and Ngāti Rahiri.[56]

The Ngāti Tama mana whenua traditionally extended south from the Mokau River, representing a corridor between the sea and nearby ranges much fought over with Ngāti Maniopoto to the north. Ngāti Tama were ultimately deprived of most of their tribal territory by the confiscations. This added to the losses conferred by the Courts, with portions of their coastal mana whenua granted, according to Parris, "by the decision of the Native Land Court in favour of Ngāti Maniopoto by the right of conquest."

Subsequent Ngāti Tama claims to their remaining land areas at coastal Pukearuhe, once allocation of lands to military settlers was arranged, were objected to by Messenger who "represented that it would be inconvenient ... town sections and the town belt are anything but convenient or desirable locations for settling natives." After considering the matter, Parris proposed that Ngāti Tama be granted a block of land on the ranges beyond Pukearuhe instead.[57]

Later descriptions of the northern area encompassed the interests of the inland tribe, Ngāti Maru, as "lying at the foot is the portion of the land of the Ngāti Maru tribe, which was a separate tribe, and portion of their land is

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[55] Papers relative to measures adopted, *AJHR,* 1866, A-No.13, p.16.

[56] Memorandum for Commissioners, Sim Commission (1927); MA 85/2, NA.

[57] Memorandum for The Hon. Sir W. Fox, Correspondence File 1V/14 - 47, MA 68/5b, NA.

included in the confiscated area."[58]

Ngāti Maru were often overlooked in much of the dealings with tribes and hapū after 1865. This was because of their relative smallness and isolation. The point is not lost on modern descendants: "when we lost our land and when it was given to others we were forgotten about."[59]

However, their claims to their mana whenua over the years were not diminished. A schedule of Ngāti Maru wahi tapu prepared in 1884, for the purposes of reserve allocation, depicted over fifty sites. These were all located near the upper reaches of the Waitara River. A note appearing beside nine of the sites read, "old villages with no one living there now, and in all probability by the time the district is surveyed it will not be necessary to reserve them; but the fact of being old village sites makes it necessary that they be recorded."[60]

Such extensive accounting of Ngāti Maru historic sites underscored their continuing use of wahi tapu to represent mana whenua. Continuing to represent subordinate hapū was also important. Subordinate hapū operating under the mana of Ngāti Maru were still deemed current as late as 1937. This was suggested by a petition filed by Te Hekenui Whakarake and others where the interests of two such hapū, Ngāti Te Ika and Ngai Tamahehu, were represented as important.[61]

Another one of the northern hapū, Kaitangata, was clearly once considered to be a primary hapū grouping located near the mouth of the Onaero River. As late as 1925, Kaitangata were petitioning the Crown for the return of lands in their own right, alongside another hapū, Ngāti Uenuku, a near neighbour.[62]

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[58] Minutes of Evidence, Sim Commission (1927); MA 85/2, NA.

[59] Patu-Wairua, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, F.10, Vol.2, p.198.

[60] Schedule A, Schedule of Reserves to be allocated on the Waitara River in the Ngātimaru district. 1884, Correspondence File 1V/14 - 47, MA 85/5b, NA.

[61] Petition No. 174/1937 (1937), Le 1937/15, NA.

[62] Petition No. 87/1925 (1925), Le 1/1925/12, NA.

Both have since been effectively absorbed as secondary hapū into the tribe, Ngāti Mutunga, with that tribe in modern times indicating that "as the population of Ngati Mutunga grew, the tribe subdivided itself into various named hapu. These hapu included ... Kaitangata (and) Ngāti Uenuku ... these hapu seem to have occupied subsections of the overall Ngāti Mutunga rohe."[63]

Kaitangata and Ngāti Uenuku are here represented as having always been subordinate to the tribe, Ngāti Mutunga. Once thought of as "breakaway" hapū with independence and agency, operating under the mana of the tribe, they are latterly represented as absorbed back into the larger Ngāti Mutunga identity.

As with Oakura, claimants within the Waitara south area in 1865 listed general lands to which possession was claimed. These were claims substantiated by specific reference to sites of historic importance. Hapū to which claimants felt affiliated or on whose behalf claims were lodged were also accounted for. These lists were not inclusive but nonetheless represented segments of the number of hapū, primary and secondary, that would have exercised mana whenua across the two blocks, hapū now largely considered to have been incorporated into the rohe of fewer hapū or local tribes.

The use of sites in particular as boundary markers varied widely, with claims continuing to make vast reference to such markers. An example was the claim of Te Rira Porutu and least thirty others who claimed, on behalf of Te Atiawa Ngāti Tawake, mana whenua over a rohe detailed in Māori as:

> Timata i Onatiki ki uta whiti ki Mangonaia haere tonu haere tonu tae noa ki Ngawaepai. Ko te rohe atu tera ki Ngatimaru. Te rohe ki te taha o te hauauru timata i Waitaha haere tonu i te rohe o Tarurutangi tae atu ki Te Whakangerengere ka mutu.[64]

This was a detailed mana whenua accounting of the Ngāti Tawake hapū

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[63] Cameron, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, F.10, Vol.2, p.272.

[64] Te Rira Porutu and others, Applications to Compensation Court 1865-86, Box 1A, Taranaki Confiscated Lands, DOSLI, New Plymouth.

which utilised wahi tapu to assert occupancy rights over the lands extensively described, later simply referred to as "Waiongona", a block attaching to the lower reaches of that river. This was an old accounting; Ngāti Tawake were named by McLean 1847 as one of the seemingly primary hapū of the area in his census of hapū and tribes residing between the Waiwakaiho and Waiongona Rivers, and beyond. At the time, some two hundred Maori were living in the area, those in Waitara primarily constituting Otaraua and Ngāti Maru in Mamaku Pā, Manukorihi, and some Otaraua in Titirangi Pā, Kainganui Pa and Mangaparua Pā and its satellite Hikawera.[65]

Ngāti Tawake would seem to have been a large hapū and was certainly one with a perceived distinct land area, as described by its members before the Compensation Court in 1865. However, Ngāti Tawake were not identified as one of the major Puketapu hapū in the Census of 1874,[66] nor does it appear in those conducted later in 1878 and 1881, at which point hapū and tribes ceased to be recorded in any detail. By 1927, when tribes and hapū in the north were extensively described, Ngāti Tawake had disappeared, absorbed into Puketapu in consequence of its traditional mana whenua passing from its effective control. While the lands had been occupied, the hapū Ngāti Tawake had existed as an entity in its own right. Once the hapū was dispossessed, the hapū ceased to be asserted as possessing a mana whenua of its own, effectively absorbing into the larger Puketapu under whose mana it had always operated.

Another such hapū was Ngāti Potaka, described as "e hapū no Puketapu", a secondary hapū of Puketapu perceived nonetheless as having a larger identity within the traditional Puketapu area. In identifying some eleven hapū in the broad Puketapu area in 1847, McLean named Ngāti Potakatanea, almost certainly Ngāti Potaka. McLean also listed Ngāti Potaka amongst the Ngāti Te Whiti hapu, which may suggest it possessed some interest that far south,

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[65] McLean, Diary and Notebooks (1847), WTU.

[66] Maori Census (Taranaki), *AJHR,* 1874, G-7, p.15.

probably a resource interest.[67]

A Ngāti Potaka claim to the Court was lodged by Rawiri Kingi and three others. It too included an extensive accounting of a land area represented as mana whenua of the hapū. This land area was also extensively named and it is clear from these names that the memories and landmarks of such smaller hapū were relatively easily recalled:

Kopapawai Te Waniwani Te Puata Te Uretu Matamou Omaru Mataniho Whakarauhika Hauroro Awataha Te Uhi Umuwheke Te Mangarahu Tatare Patakupu Waiongana Mangoraka Te Takutai Tapahiau Te Ngarutahi Marangairoa Puketapu Ngatokorua Ngahino O Kaitangata Te Ahoroa Te Miro Rereharuru Te Waionehunga Takapuhia Te Kawherapanui Kairo Paparata Whareroa Te Pakarara.[68]

Such accountings as these were extensive and often incorporated sites within the ostensible boundaries set by other hapū. These were overlaps suggesting shared or contested sites. Asserting such contested rights of mana whenua were often a tenuous matter and always provided a natural and expected tension within tribal and hapū inter-relationships.

However, hapū and family boundaries were generally clearly defined, where, for example, "flat stones were laid edge to edge around a family plot in the plantation (or) a path cut between holdings." Carved posts and tracts of bush also served as markers with natural features used especially to demarcate resources areas. Most youths from senior families were given a thorough instruction in boundary lore, according to Kawharu, as a major part of their education, beginning with the details of the interests held by their immediate family and hapū, and progressing to a general knowledge of the tribal interests. "Instruction included tours of the land and, as with all lessons, it had to be

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[67] McLean, Diary and Notebooks (1847), WTU.

[68] Rawiri Kingi, Compensation Court, 1865-86, Box 1A, DOSLI, New Plymouth.

perfectly memorised."[69]

Ngāti Tawake and Ngāti Potaka were two examples of numerous hapū cited as exercising mana whenua over portions of the Waitara south block. All together, some fifty other hapū of varying status and size were also described in documents filed before the Compensation Court, all named by Māori claimants and clearly perceived as having lands of their own within the Waitara South area.

Some of these hapū attaching to small claims obtained only brief mention, as with Ngāti Kaituaroa, cited as hapū by Wikitoria te Awhau and Poharama Te Witi in their claim for lands within the Otaraua area. Ngātiue was a another smaller claim, appearing on the claim of Ani and four others, lands described as being situated near Takapuiti and Otuhiakai.

The larger claims and larger hapū however featured prominently, as secondary or primary hapū. A claim lodged by Haua Ueroa cited Ngāti Uenuku as hapū, with extended lists of boundary markers and named land areas attached.[70] Similarly, the claim lodged by Hemi Pataka and others named Ngātihinga as hapū, exercising mana whenua over extensive boundaries and named land areas.[71]

The Compensation Court process of receiving claims from local hapū within Waitara south was a complex one. Numerous claims were filed into the Court with papers nominating details of claimant group with lands in question being described.

The circumstances attaching to these and subsequent claims were complex and centred largely on the confiscations, as well as wrongful purchase and flawed negotiations for exchange. The Court claims and papers constitute an

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[69] Kawharu, *Maori land tenure,* p.60.

[70] Wikitoria te Amohau; Ani, Kaaro and others; and Haua Ueroa, Compensation Court, 1865-86 Box 1A, DOSLI, New Plymouth.

[71] Hemi Pataka, Compensation Court, 1865-86, Box 1A, DOSLI, New Plymouth.

important documentary record of Māori people representing their own hapū configurations in the mid-1860s. The customary land areas attaching to those configurations were also provided, often in extensive detail.

Within a fifty year period, to the turn of the century, most of these hapū configurations were represented differently, alongside changes to the nature of ownership and occupancy of the land and the mana whenua which remained attached to any of those hapū configurations. Such a seeming reduction arose from the practice of tribes whereby constituent kinship groups were represented as expanded or reduced in concert with certain realities attending to occupation and ownership of lands.

In the mid-1860s, at least fifty hapū spread across the Waitara South area which existed within the primary hapū areas of Otaraua, Manukorihi, Pukerangiora, and Puketapu. Waitara south is recalled as especially important because of its food sources. Much of the land around Waitara was swampy, and frequent rainfall rendered large areas seasonal in productivity. However, on flatland nearby, kumara, taro and later corn and potatoes were grown.

The Ngāti Te Whiti hapū was effectively outside of the Waitara south confiscated block, though sufficient claims were lodged by Māori south of the Waiwakaiho River to suggest that elements of Ngāti Te Whiti believed it had interests in land as far north as the Waitara south area, probably along the foreshore and reefs. The secondary hapū within Ngāti Te Whiti as represented in 1865 by claims to the Court were Ngāti Te Whiti Katua, Ngāti Te Whiti Kuao, Ngāti Tawhirikura, Ngāti Tuparikino and Ngāti Te Waipango, all residing between the Herekawe Stream and the Waiwakaiho River.

This also applied to Ngāti Rahiri to the north, a primary hapū whose boundaries generally lay over the other side of the Waitara River. Several claimants claiming Ngāti Rahiri descent lodged claims within Waitara south. The secondary hapū as identified in 1865 by Ngāti Rahiri members were Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Perepuku, Ngāti Te Kuratawhiti, Ngāti Tamarongo, Ngāti Tai O Warau, Ngāti Aroa and Ngāti Waiparea. These were hapū which then occupied

specified pockets of ancestral land within the rohe of the primary hapu, Ngāti Rahiri.

However, by 1914, these divisions of Ngāti Rahiri had effectively disappeared as a point of reference for claiming mana whenua. In that year, Ngāti Rahiri represented itself as a single primary hapū, jointly sponsoring a petition with neighbouring Otaraua for loss of lands at Tikorangi over which they shared an ancestral claim. Both hapū also recalled and claimed the mana of the chiefs Ihaia Kirikumara and Herewini Paraone, both of whom were remembered as having stood strongly against "the enemy", the hau hau. These chiefs were recalled alongside the earlier men who had led the return of the local tribes in 1848, such as Te Kahinga, Tū Tawa and Te Nirihanga.[72]

The bulk of the Waitara south claimants, however, were from the primary hapū of the area, but nonetheless a profusion of kinship groups within those hapū was still represented, suggesting in reality a multiplicity of kinship identities and associations sustaining occupancy to land.

The largest hapū of the area was Puketapu, whose secondary hapū groups as obtained from the Court claims included some fifty references including Ngāti Rangi, Ngāti Tongo, Ngāti Tū, Ngāti Hinerauhuia, with the earlier mentioned Ngāti Tawake and Ngāti Potaka as the most prominent. McLean had earlier recognised only a small representation of this broader accounting, with local tribes and hapū thereafter utilising opportunities to defend mana whenua by asserting hapū in greater profusion.

Also featuring as a secondary Puketapu hapū was Ngāti Uenuku, which clearly had interests as far north as Kaitangata. Ngāti Uenuku was cited as an important hapū in many of the Waitara south claims, as with the claims of Hemi Tamati and one other, and Tekau mohi and nine others. Similarly was Ngāti Hinga, another seeming dominant hapū within the Waitara south area, cited on numerous claims as the main hapū to which claimants deferred, as with the

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[72] Petition No. 597/14 (1914), Le 1/1914/9, NA.

claims of Hemi Pataka and fourteen others, and Paraiuhi and eleven others, all declaring themselves as Ngāti Hinga claimants.[73]

In fact, it was not uncommon for claims to be lodged spanning kinship and hapū boundaries, as with a further Ngāti Potaka claim lodged by Mere Ngahina Paoro who cited as her hapū Ngāti Potaka and Ngāti Komako, both of Puketapu, with Ngāti Rahiri to the north. The land areas nominated in support of the claim generally attached to the Puketapu estate, although reference was also made to Ngamotu, far to the south, within the rohe of Ngāti Te Whiti. References such as these, in the end, constituted references more to additional tribal affiliations.

By 1925, however, Puketapu were lodging claims for redress as a single entity, as "we, the members of the Puketapu tribes .... these were the lands of the Puketapu tribe which were confiscated after the fight at Mahoetahi ... when the survivors took to the mountain." [74]

Manukorihi and Otaraua were often considered to be of common descent, with a believed common ancestor, Te Tuitmoeroa, as seen in Chapter three. The primary descent groups represented within these hapu were Ngāti Moeau, Ngātihi, Ngāti Rangi, Ngāti Rauru and Ngāti Kura.

Pukerangiora hapu occupied lands on the eastern extremity of the Waitara Block, an estate that since 1831 had largely been sparsely occupied. After 1840, the Pukerangiora lands were held to have been purchased by the New Zealand Company, though FitzRoy's decision to override Spain prevented the transfer of the customary title back to the hapū at that stage. However, the later wars after 1859 totally enveloped the area, with a series of major conflicts occurring along the southern bank of the Waitara River, up to the site of the Pukerangiora Pā.

When Crown Grants were later allocated, part of the land of Pukerangiora was occupied by elements of Ngāti Maru who refused to occupy an alternative reserve set aside further inland, claiming rights to remain through proper

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[73] He pukapuka tono, Hemi Tamati; Te Kau mohi; Hemi Pataka; and Paraiuhi, Compensation Court, 1865-86, Box 1A, DOSLI, New Plymouth.

[74] Petition No. 93/1925 (1925), Le 1/1925/12, NA.

descent, a claim later upheld with resulting exchanges of land that further clouded traditional claims to customary mana whenua in the area.[75]

The primary kinship groups represented within Pukerangiora in the 1860s were Ngāti Tutenihotako, Ngāti Tumate, Ngāti Taipari and Ngāti Rangiauru, a profusion of believed secondary hapū with customary rights to occupy certain lands over which the Waitara South and Ngati Awa Coast Blocks were drawn. The Pukerangiora situation also demonstrated a certain complexity in that hapū interests in lands were widespread and were not always neatly bounded, with hapu often representing interests, like resource access, within the supposed land area or mana whenua of neighbouring hapū.

Attaching to the claimed sense of the land were the particulars provided of hapu and family as cited in detail within the construct of conventional whakapapa. Such whakapapa was frequently produced to further establish the mana whenua ties to the land in question, though such kinship and collective bases of actual title did not necessarily outlast the court process.

What was noticeable was the fact that whakapapa was produced to demonstrate more than generational layers of descent and ancestors. In its own right, such accountings possessed little value. What was important was to link those ancestors as named to specific land holdings. Such connections were implicit with conventional whakapapa. Their recounting depended on persons so knowledgable, or at least able to so argue. However, such implicit details as land and mana whenua were important, and were thus an integral part of that sense of mana whakapapa which drew explicit reference to mana wairua, mana tūpuna and mana whenua connections. For the Oakura hearings, Haro Te Rapu appeared after filing three claims for lands from Kaihihi to Puketehi, with interests also claimed at Oakura. This claim appeared as a small family claim, with no hapū names quoted. The claim was filed on behalf of the interests of

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[75] Tamati, Submission, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 143, D.17, p.3.

parents, and encompassed other family members including a brother, Himioura.[76] A larger claim was that of Nera Tamaroa Tumahararo who described her hapū affiliations as Ngāti Hakura Ariki, said to be a hapū of the Taranaki iwi. This was a claim based on ancestors named as Haumanga and Hutu. Thereafter, an extensive whakapapa was written in evidence as :

> Haumanga's wife - Turangata, daughter of Kaata O Tirangi, Pangahia of Waiau, Tu Pohotu (man) - Turangataha, wife of Matarihori - Kapakuru (man) child, lived with Tarapuni O Kapahuru (man) - Te Hekiwa - Tuwahararo ... to, eventually, Taramoana (man) - M King (self).

This constituted a whakapapa extending from ancestors some generations previous to the person presenting the evidence. The people were all said to have lived on the land at Hauranga, encompassed by the claim, for which the whakapapa was addressed in the person of Tumahararo, who also claimed descent also from a local hapū, Ngātikoupura. An extensive network of lateral relationships was thereafter also claimed, stating that Tumahararo "is related to Hine Warikawa, Pumipi ... 32 names given ... here claim this land."[77]

Whakapapa also featured prominently in a more complex claim, with multiple hapū stated, of Ropata Ngarangomatu who lived at Potuhia, claiming affiliation to the Ngā Mahanga tribe. The lands here claimed commenced at Ohuruhuru, and extend to Timaru where the Ngāmahanga tribe was said to own land. Ngā Mahanga was a tribe "divided into small hapū and they are the only ones mixed up with him - He, Purihopa and Pomare are the prime people in line between Timaru and Ohuruhuru."

Nine hapū were named in support of this claim. Thereafter, an extensive whakapapa account was given of key members of these hapū, including those involved in the wars. This was an expansive claim encompassing multiple hapū

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[76] Statement of Proceedings, Compensation Court, New Plymouth, 1866; File 1/3, DOSLI, New Plymouth, p.3. Roy Komene, personal communication, November, 1992. Mr Komene, of Ngā Mahanga, Oakura, assisted in the reading and deciphering of these Oakura claims.

[77] Claim of Nera Tamaroa Tumahararo, Compensation Court, 1865, Box 2A, DOSLI, New Plymouth.

and large numbers of people[78].

Multiple hapū or smaller collective identities also featured in the claim of Pori Hapa who lived at Te Henui, claiming affiliation to the tribe Ngāmahaua. In presenting evidence, Hapa agreed with Ropata that the land south of Timaru belonged to Ngāmahanga; he had "heard a list of names (presented), what Ropata said was correct, does not recall any omitted names." For his own part, "the land inland of Tataraimaka was his, he alone remains, the others have gone over to the rebels." Ngā Mahanga traditionally owned land inland of Tataraimaka; this was a different part, owned by the hapu's Amua, Apotihi and Ngatiairoa.[79]

In many respects, the use of whakapapa to claim title to lands, latterly via numerous and complex succession hearings, highlighted the fact that hapū and mana whenua had receded as a source from which defences of land holdings could be mounted. This was especially so of Native Land Court hearings.

One such Native Land Court case in the Ngāti Rahiri area, in which no effective mention of hapū was made, assessed one action as:

> an individual case between John Damon and Totara Puke, for succession essentially which turned on who should succeed, though all agreed interest was common. There was no dispute as the to the source from which the interests derived. It was admitted by both sides that the land came through an ancestor, Turanga, some generations back.[80]

The utility of whakapapa before the Court was still evident long after hapū and mana whenua had ceased, at least in that forum, to count as a meaningful point of reference for the representing of the interests of local hapū and tribes. In a later succession hearing of this particular action, debates continued, not

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[78] The hapu here listed are as cited by claimants. Mr Komene was able to decipher most of these.

[79] Claim of Pori Hapa, Compensation Court, 1865, Box 2A, DOSLI, New Plymouth.

[80] Ngati Rahiri 1 & 10 CG 5251, Volume 1, Application Files (1902), Aotea District, Native Land Court, NA.

over the longstanding sources of whakapapa and its relevance as mana whakapapa to tribe and hapū, but on its recent constructions and individual utility, as:

> it was noted that on 2 December 1902 Totara Puke gave the same whakapapa as that (later) given in 1915 ... the persons he claimed as entitled were appointed without opposition .... the Court of 1915 had Kauwiarei's whakapapa before it and (noted) that it had given effect to a gift by Kauwiarei to Koromiko ... in spite of these facts, it accepted Totara Puke's as being the correct one."[81]

The size and complexity of the task facing the Compensation Court can be seen in the fact that, for the Oakura hearings alone, the Court heard a total of two-hundred and seventy claimants to portions of the Oakura Block. These claims encompassed some two hundred sites to be claimed, and provided the basis for reference to at least thirty hapū.

Prior to the hearings of the Courts, officials were faced with Māori people professing a profusion of hapū, whānau or other collective identities, as a basis for lodging claims. Claims were lodged by individuals or groups on behalf of nominated hapū. These were cited to support claims to an equal profusion of named sites spanning the length and breadth of the Blocks under investigation.

Substantiating these claims - individual and claimant groups rightfully matched against claimed lands - became the initial focus of the Compensation Court, although, in the final analysis, allocations of land ostensibly returned to believed loyalists took little account of these first claims to mana whenua, nor to the hapū who were always the specific basis of those claims.

At the end of the Oakura hearings, seventy-six claims were "admitted by the Court", encompassing an estimated land area of 27,000 acres of which, reported Parris, "18930 acres had been taken for Military Settlers settlements and

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[81] Ngati Rahiri 1 & 10 CG 5251, Volume 1, Application Files (1915), Aotea District, Native Land Court, NA.

Government Reserves, and in consequence of only very inadequate provision having been made for the friendly natives, the whole of the remaining portion of the block of land not (already) allotted was offered as full compensation ... which offer was accepted."

Full compensation it might have been considered; yet the Compensation Court applications and hearings records suggest that, for the bulk of Māori within the Oakura area, as with Waitara South and Ngatiawa Coast, little real relief from dispossession had been offered.

As a consequence, a considerable volume of correspondence and numerous petitions followed from the alienated hapū for whom these areas constituted ancestral rohe, a disaffection not confined to those areas. The exclusion of some two hundred applicants from redress, to say nothing of those who did not for various reasons participate in the Compensation Court process, established a situation where grievances attaching to loss of lands were always likely to follow. The situation was exacerbated by the conditions placed by the Compensation Court on the return of lands to admitted claimants, where the leaving of "the sub-division and apportionment of the land returned to them ... to myself."[82]

This rendered further complexity to a complex situation. Land would not be returned with tenets of customary mana whenua and title intact; it was to be surveyed and granted in portions to essentially Māori individuals, a process that did not satisfy the seventy-six admitted claimants, nor those other individual and collective groups who defended ancestral attachments to the various parcels in land being apportioned, especially to those believed to possess, at best, a shared claim, and at worst a fraudulent one.

As a consequence, the Crown was petitioned often, after 1866. At least ten commissions of inquiry followed, from the West Coast Royal Commission in 1880, to the Native Lands Commission, 1920, before the Royal Commission to

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[82] Statement relative to measures adopted, *AJHR*, 1866, A-No.13, p.19.

Inquire into Confiscation of Native Lands and other Grievances Alleged by Natives in 1927. Thereafter, two further Commission of Inquiry were convened, before the most recent inquiry, the convening of the Waitangi Tribunal at Waitara in 1990. This was a process seemingly presaged by the Chiefs who met with Grey at Waitara in June, 1878, where it was stated by one chief that " I have only one word to explain. I wish ... Grey to give back Waitara. That is the only matter of importance ... This is the principal of all the subjects we have to discuss."[83]

Throughout the Compensation Court inquiries, it was possible to discover hapū or other collective groups claiming descent and title to specific lands, and arguing for these specific claims, based on descent, hapū or other collective unit, with concepts of descent, whakapapa and mana being stressed and mediated to conform with a new and complex political situation within which the tribes of Taranaki found themselves after 1830.

As listed by claimants in 1865, across the three blocks under investigation, the hapū cited would have constituted the primary hapū recognised at the time by claimants as the key and properly functioning kinship units in the north.

The nature and purpose of hapū in a sense emerged from this process, hapū largely constituting earlier breakaway or realigned units exercising mana whenua, providing a focal point for identity and occupation of land. As the nature of that occupation changed, so did the nature of the hapū as later represented by Māori people addressing the realities of those changes to occupancy, and concerned that customary kinship structures remain as the basis for ownership.

In the end, most activity arising from the assertion or defence of mana whenua occurred at the hapū level, primary or secondary, under the mana of the tribe. Such endeavour drew its purpose for the hapū as concerted action within

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[83] Minutes of Evidence, Sim Commission (1927), MA 85/2, NA.

the continuum of its mana history.

In later agreeing in 1930 to unite under a single corporate identity, the tribes of Taranaki acclaimed a longstanding if ambivalent feeling of unity shared by hapū and tribes throughout Taranaki. Equally, the tribes acknowledged the particular circumstances of the nineteenth century, and the land grievances which had provided and continued to provide a resolute basis for concerted activity.

As has been indicated earlier, these chapters have addressed the history of the tribes and hapū in Taranaki in the nineteenth century for purposes other than to provide a direct accounting of those complex circumstances upon which the very real sense of grievance is suggested as a logical and expected outcome. Such issues do remain very much to the fore amongst the Māori people in Taranaki today, and well they might.

In the end, throughout the inquiries mounted by the Government in Taranaki after 1865, addressing issues of land dispossession, tribes, hapū and other kinship groups continued to point to their mana whenua as the basis of their customary title to clearly specified lands.

Those hapū as listed by claimants in 1865 would have constituted important groups recognised by tribes as properly functioning and land holding kinship units. Other kinship groups also claiming may or may not have presented as legitimate. Some would have constituted whānau or other loose communities of interest with a customary descent basis perhaps not always readily apparent.

However, this claimed sense of mana whenua conferred a certain authority over those lands. These were lands to which the tribes felt anchored through complex descent narratives from which celestial and mortal forebears were mediated, with accounts of longstanding occupation, into tribal and hapū histories of mana.

In the end, such histories were advanced by the tribes as the basis of customary title, histories which incorporated valid representations of themselves

and their past, cast in their own terms. The tribes, hapū and communities after 1865 mounted such specific claims within a new and complex political milieu. The later force of land legislation which especially individualised titles rendered these assertions of customary title increasingly ineffective as a basis for holding the land in tribal hands.

Thereafter, as the nature of possession changed, the nature of a significant number of these hapū changed. This was later indicated by local Māori who sought to address the realities of those changes to occupancy.

Yet, they were also concerned to ensure that descent narratives, mana whenua and connecting kinship structures remained as the basis for, at the very least, assertions of customary title, if not as the continuing source of their histories and identities.

The utility of hapū emerging from this process of change largely turned on older, breakaway or realigned units continuing to provide a necessary and important focal point of identity attaching to land from which mana whenua might be asserted, irrespective of who possessed that land. However, this did not mean that the struggles to retain possession, through whatever means deemed appropriate, would abate.

In the end, most activity arising from the assertion of mana whenua occurred at the hapū level, enacted under the mana of the tribe. Such endeavour drew its purpose as concerted action from the continuum of mana wairua and mana tūpuna which anchored those tribes into their ancient landscapes, mana histories of tribe and hapu which provided for the essence of their identities, validated their sustained presence on the land and gave some definition to their actions over time.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has concentrated on select tribes and hapū of Taranaki as the basis of its examination. However, as has been suggested throughout, its themes and conclusions may have application amongst tribes and hapū elsewhere in New Zealand. The thesis has advanced certain historical frameworks and processes as together providing for valid tribal and hapū constructions of the past. These constructions, or tribal histories and traditions, are suggested as mediations of longstanding tribal narratives.

It is argued that such histories and traditions were ongoing, and were shaped by the tribes in order to provide for the essence of their identities, to validate their sustained presence on the land, and to give some definition to their actions over time.

One important factor to emerge from and after the Compensation Court hearings in Taranaki after 1865 was the continuing tribal and hapū assertion of self as valid, historically and existing in the present. The central focus of this thesis has been directed towards the historical basis and purpose of such assertions.

The thesis has examined the nature of select tribal and hapū histories and traditions in Taranaki, especially Te Atiawa whānui and Taranaki iwi. These were histories constructed over time in order provide for a certain validity of identity and presence on the land, a validity anchored in the past.

Independence of identity and activity were especially validated by such tribal histories. These were shaped over time out of extended tribal narratives, narratives which were themselves seamless aggregations of ancient knowledge.

This thesis has advanced a distinction between such tribal narratives and tribal histories. Tribal narratives are seen as fundamentally different in scope and purpose from customary tribal histories and traditions.

The study has advanced the suggested distinction between such narratives and tribal histories by focusing on the tribes of Taranaki and selections of their use over time of their ancient knowledge. Such narratives are advanced as having constituted an indeterminate body of ancient knowledge retained over time in the collective tribal memory. Tribal narratives were vast and generally unmediated.

Tribal histories and traditions, on the other hand, were specifically constructed and mediated over time out of these extended narratives. Histories and traditions were compiled and cited for distinctly functional purposes. The tribes are shown to have drawn aspects of narrative into specific histories constructed to contextualise those narratives deemed most important for tribal purposes. Relevance to the present was a dominant factor in the fashioning of such histories, more so as tribes and hapū in Taranaki over time were frequently required to defend their presence on the land.

This thesis has further argued that such continuing assertions of self as valid were achieved primarily through tribes utilising certain historical frameworks and processes of their own making. These provided, among other things, appropriate historical authority.

The suggested historical frameworks were organised upon the sequences of conventional whakapapa. They generally reproduced and expanded on these sequences, both distinct and implied. The thesis has advanced three tiers - mana wairua, mana tūpuna and mana whenua - as sequences based on conventional whakapapa. However, as was discussed earlier, the processes of arranging knowledge for the purposes of mana extended into all facets of tribal experience and existence.

The early sections of this thesis are largely based around showing how the tribes constructed their mana wairua and mana tūpuna histories. Whakapapa and

mana are especially advanced as the two central factors influencing the shape and focus of those histories. Whakapapa is presented as the primary organising device with mediation on the basis of mana suggested as the primary organising theme. Such histories were achieved for the purpose of the total and integrated enhancement of tribal mana, a purpose which extended into all areas of tribal being and existence. Thereafter, the thesis has examined the tribes of Taranaki maintaining and asserting their mana whenua histories as validation of their presence on the land, and of their descent histories which located them on their ancient landscapes. This especially occurred after 1841 when mana history constructions provided authority to the tribes as they continued to maintain and assert their longstanding mana whenua hold onto their landscapes.

The purpose of the whakapapa-based framework was, in the end, to provide for a tribe's mana. Consequently, the historical framework comprised categories which recalled celestial descent, the names and histories of ancestors and their marks on the land. The historical process was founded on the utility of mediation and the principle of mana. Because its purpose was equally to provide for the tribe's mana, the historical process comprised a mana history process.

This thesis has described select occasions of tribes and hapū in Taranaki over time maintaining and asserting themselves and their past based on such mana whakapapa and mana history concepts. All activity to preserve hapū and tribal identity was based on concepts such as these. Tribal histories in the end validated identities and independence as a source of mana. In this way, the tribes of Taranaki in the nineteenth century asserted and sustained their independence of identity and activity, as they had always done.

This thesis has focused especially on the third suggested tier, mana whenua, in some detail, especially describing how mana whenua, in the context of mana whakapapa, was established by the tribes over time. The broad Taranaki landscape is represented as continuing source and manifestation of tribal and hapū mana histories, especially mana whenua, demonstrating an enduring tribal

physical and spiritual allegiance to the ancient landscape. Tribal and hapū use of past knowledge is re-iterated as central to mana whakapapa linkages of tribes to their land.

Some descriptions of major mana whenua landmarks of Te Atiawa whānui in the north are also provided to demonstrate how the specific sense of mana whenua was constructed and retained over time. Such constructions are then contrasted to those of new settlers seen to arrive after 1841, featuring the changed perceptions of landscape.

Throughout the nineteenth century, it was clear that tribes and hapū continued to assert themselves as valid, in historical and current terms. These assertions were ongoing and were based on customary representations of hapū, tribe, and other kinship groups shaped for their own purposes.

In the nineteenth century, tribes especially sought to sustain their independence, based on such self-assertions, as a basis of independent identity and activity in the face of such comprehensive change. The basis for these tribal and hapū assertions was the mana whakapapa historical framework and mana history process advanced through the thesis. The mana whakapapa connections of descent anchored into landscape as source of tribal mana are advanced as underpinning tribal activity in this period. Such frameworks of past knowledge continued to override new concepts of land and tenure said to have negatively influenced Māori interpretive processes after 1830.

The longstanding assertion of mana whenua involved varying strategies. A major strategy saw tribes, hapū and other kinship groups redefining their functional kinship bases for a time such that claims to mana whenua over ancestral lands might be sustained in the face of unequal contest with the Crown.

Such redefining processes reflected a certain expedient fluidity of Māori kinship structures. However, though fluid, these structures were always set in the broadest context of conventional whakapapa relationships. Such relationships were always held to be constant.

The significance of mana whenua after 1841 was always evident as tribes, hapū and other kinship groups, operating under the mana of the tribe, sought redress for lost lands through the Compensation Courts, Commissions of Enquiry and Native Land Courts after 1865. The purpose of such activity was to seek the return of land into collective tribal and hapū control. This was sought on the basis of mana whenua constructions serving a twofold purpose: as the validation of claims to the land, anchored in the past, and as validation for continuing collective title and presence on the land.

Such strategies as were customary and appropriate to the continued exercise of tribal mana were utilised, through the tribe and the agency of hapū or other kinship group, independent but acting under the mana of the tribe.

This thesis, then, has advanced the mana history process as important to the accounting of tribes and hapū over time. The mana whakapapa framework is utilised to describe tribal and hapū continuing maintenance and assertion over time of their intricately connected mana wairua, mana tūpuna and especially after 1841, their mana whenua.

The thesis has suggested that the histories of the tribes of Taranaki were always constructed in accordance with customary preferences and tribal precedence. These implied perceptions of past and present circumstances, alongside a continuing representation of self through the mana whakapapa sequences of mana wairua, mana tūpuna and mana whenua.

Accordingly, tribal narratives were constantly being so organised, shaped on conventional whakapapa, comprising a mana whakapapa historical framework that was as equally well organised and authoritative. The mediation of knowledge for the purposes of enhancing tribal mana ultimately extended into all areas of tribal knowledge and existence.

In examining and drawing attention to such frameworks of historical construction, inherent to tribes and hapū, this thesis has offered an interpretation of how Māori people arrived at constructions of their past, by what processes

and for what reasons. The thesis has advanced the mana whakapapa framework and mana history process as an important and valid means by which tribes and hapū in Taranaki, and possibly further afield, sought to sustain their independence of identity, their presence on the land and their activity, as validated by that past, which is a distinctly Māori imperative.

The search for validation and authority permeated all Māori intellectual and interpretive processes. So did the quest for mana, represented in this thesis as primarily derived from certain inherent processes within the tribal interpretive apparatus. As a consequence, accounts of the past were constructed in certain ways to achieve these purposes, as has been suggested.

This thesis then offers a different perspective on tribal and hapū activity and thinking in the nineteenth century, a point canvassed in the following afterword. It suggests a new basis for understanding why tribes were motivated to achieve certain ends, based on very definite constructions of activity and rationality of their own making.

This thesis then offers an approach towards an intellectual history of the tribes in the nineteenth century, a history, as earlier suggested, "not of thought but of men thinking."[1] In the brief afterword that follows, elements of this approach are further suggested in the context of a broader historiography.

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[1] Levine, *Black culture and black consciousness*, p.ix.

AFTERWORD

This thesis has argued that the tribes and hapū of Taranaki sought in the nineteenth century to sustain their independence of identity and activity, as they had always done, based on customary historical frameworks and processes. This was especially so in the face of substantial change after 1841.

Such situations of change and ensuing conflict later accounted for the most common historical representations of Māori people to emerge from the nineteenth century. These depictions arose out of Māori involvement in contact situations with new settlers and the State. Though many local officials in Taranaki were reasonably aware of tribal distinctions, the tribes and hapū were often seen as inherently uniform with common traditions and sources of motivation, diminishing the significance of particular tribal or hapū distinctions. Ultimately, the context within which such popular depictions of Māori people attained relevance was that of colonisation.

Colonisation has of course generated a monumental official and private record, attended by a substantial scholarship. Not all of it deals with direct contact issues and situations. As Thomas has indicated, the colonial framework cannot be "transcended in a straightforward and unproblematic manner," given the complex "power asymmetries of the colonial encounter."[1]

Nevertheless, whilst not necessarily constituting a unified discourse, this monumental record and scholarship has largely reflected the views of new settler and State participants. Issues of power were frequently advanced as central to the establishing of those new legal and political relationships. These were often

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[1] Nicholas Thomas, "Partial texts. Representation, colonialism and agency in Pacific history", *JPH*, 25:2(1990), pp.140, 141.

framed in ethnographic terms, as "though not blind to the indications of physical decay which the Race exhibits ... the British Government would still in honour and conscience be bound ... to take all possible measures for bringing the Aborigines as speedily as may be under British Institutions."[2]

Such issues significantly obscured the nature of mana whenua as an essential validation of tribal and hapū identity and activity, a central argument of this thesis.

Histories of Māori people have also diminished the centrality of such concepts, with tribe and hapū seldom recognised as protector of mana whenua as source of hapū and tribal authority and power. What tribes may well have sought to achieve, and achieved, within their own kaupapa, was frequently diminished beneath any number of culture contact paradigms and broad historiographic frames of reference. These frequently served largely to lessen the significance of mana whenua as the figurative (when land was lost) if not real source of tribal and hapū assertions of authority.

In the end, most accounts of Māori people in the last century and well into this century were essentially conceived of within the framework of culture - contact, or "race relations", as it tends to be called, though the term itself does not meet with universal approval. According to Spoonley, the continued use of "race" in New Zealand suggests a committment to certain constructions of social relationships which are "influenced by and mediated through some conception of race (which was) ideological (and) derives from a history of colonialism."[3] The point is well made, emphasising a tendency, though not necessarily universal, to aggregate Māori people as depicted from within race relations frameworks. Race relations depictions of Māori are also often negatively framed because Māori people were substantially reported, and are subsequently believed, to have fared badly throughout the nineteenth century.

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[2] C.W. Richmond, Further papers relative to Native affairs, *AJHR*, 1858, E-No.1, p.5.

[3] Paul Spoonley, *Racism and ethnicity* (Auckland, 1993), p.5.

Histories so conceived have accounted for a considerable weight of Māori nineteenth century historical representation. Substantive variations within the model are difficult to discern. Phillips has written of the "immense gaps" in the study of "Maori history", suggesting that "we need to know far more about the evolution of Maori society during the nineteenth century to tell us how, and to what extent, European culture and economic practices were adopted, and how Maori culture transformed itself."[4] However, as Olssen has suggested, "most of the work done on Maori and race relations could be portrayed as a study in the acculturation of the Maori ... such models tend to be linear, schematic and diadatic."[5] Equally, distinctions between race relations histories and "Maori history" have not in recent years been easily drawn, as with Boyd's recent review of two New Zealand books where she alluded if obliquely to such difficulties of definition in asking "what kind of Maori and race-relations history (are) New Zealand historians ... producing," given, in this context, some of the responses from Māori people to the books under review.[6] Race-relations accounts have also often represented tribes and hapū as oppositional to the founding processes of the new state.[7] In Taranaki, such tribal and hapū exclusion from the founding processes of provincial and settler community are suggested in Chapter one.

The "immense gaps" refered to by Phillips are not necessarily answered by providing further intensive studies of Māori acculturation, nor through Māori

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[4] Jock Phillips, "Of verandahs and fish and chips and footie on Saturday afternoon. Reflections on 100 years of New Zealand historiography", *NZJH*, 24:2 (1990), p.132.

[5] Erik Olssen, "Where to from here? Reflections on the twentieth-century historiography of nineteenth-century New Zealand", *NZJH*, 26:1(1992), p.65.

[6] Mary Boyd, review of James Belich, *"I shall not die": Titokowaru's war, New Zealand 1868-69* (Wellington, 1989); and Hazel Riseborough, *Days of darkness. Taranaki 1878-1884* (Wellington, 1988); *People's history*, Newsletter of the Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, July 1989, p.6.

[7] See for example; Martin John Blythe, "From Maoriland to Aotearoa. Images of the Maori in New Zealand film and television," Ph.D thesis in Film theatre (University of California, 1988), p.36.

people continuing to focus on issues of contact located within the same frameworks.

This is because tribes and hapū, it is suggested, are still effectively denied a place in real historic time in terms of their own choosing. Māori writers might usefully seek to define or reconceptualise the place of tribe and hapū within such real historic time, away from oppositional or ethnographic modes of definition prevalent in race relations histories. Olssen has credited Sorrenson with problematising the "complex issues inherent in the civilisation / savagery paradigm, helping to clear the ground for scholarly enquiry into the Maori on their own terms."[8]

Some historians however have sought to present scholarly enquiry into the Māori "on their own terms". Parsonson has speculated as to the competitive nature of tribal relations last century and has especially suggested that the sale of land might be seen as source and strategy of mana.[9] For a host of reasons, other historians took issue with this proposition, notably Ballara.[10] In a later article, Parsonson has broadened her inquiry by especially focusing on Māori political movements as response to a "challenge to mana Māori."[11] Binney is another who has shown scholarly interest in the Māori past, notably Māori women of the Whakatohea area.[12]

As earlier discussed, Ballara has also conducted extensive reconstructive research, enquiring into the processes of kinship formation in the Ngāti

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[8] Olssen, "Where to from here?," p.65.

[9] Ann Parsonson, "The pursuit of mana" in *The Oxford history of New Zealand,* (ed) W.H. Oliver with B.R. Williams (Wellington, 1981), pp.140-167.

[10] Angela Ballara, "The pursuit of mana? A re-evaluation of the process of land alienation by Maoris, 1840-1890", *JPS,* 91:4 (1982), pp.519-541.

[11] Ann Parsonson, "The challenge to mana Māori", in *The Oxford history of New Zealand,* second edition (ed) Geoffrey W. Rice (Auckland, 1992), pp.167-198.

[12] Judith Binney, "Some observations on the status of Maori women", *NZJH,* 23:1(1989), p.23.

Kahungunu area.[13] Such research is important and instructive as "external" enquiry; what it does not do is seek to construct the intellectual bases from which existing and later Ngāti Kahungunu accountings of those changes might be explained. Similarly, Salmond[14] and Binney[15] have also discussed the dynamic qualities of whakapapa, without speculating on structures of unity within such structures.

Māori writers also have their own framework preferences. Most published tribal historians have generally assumed a different vantage point in compiling accounts of their tribal and hapū past. Such tribal historians have continued to work closely with their tribes and hapū, recording with great diligence people, places and events of significance to those hapū and tribes.

Much of the record and presentation of tribal history is specifically narrative and highly detailed, comprising primarily connections of people, but also places and events which over time have aggregated into the tribes' essentially narrative record.

Tribal histories of this kind are gathered because tribes and hapū, and families, deem them a valuable and important record, and, as an intellectual exercise, they are realised because of their own intrinsic value to tribes and hapū.

It is a common view amongst some Māori, and the focus of no small debate, that such tribal histories represent the best or only form of tribal and Māori recall of the past; essentially that there is no such thing as "Maori history", only "tribal history". According to Royal, "one should always be mindful that Māori history is tribal history. Prior to the arrival of the Pākehā ...

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[13] Ballara, "Origins of Ngati Kahungunu".

[14] Salmond, "Tupuna".

[15] Binney, "Maori oral narrative".

there was no such person as a "Māori". People were identified by their tribal and sub-tribal affiliations and traditions."[16]

Joe Pere has supported this view, arguing that nineteenth century Pākehā writers of New Zealand history failed to identify and recognise the importance of the tribal group, and the eponymous ancestor. These writers "chose to ignore such a phenomenon and concentrated on so-called Maori history which does not ... give me or my own any mana or identity."[17]

There is much to be said for these views, given that such tribal historians centralise the tribe as the basis of study, locating their research and published work within a vast field of primarily oral historical presentation. Tribal historians operate within traditional boundaries and frameworks set by tribal imperatives, the sheer extent of which cannot be easily appreciated by outsiders, though, as Soutar has pointed out, most published work by tribal historians until relatively recently was in fact produced by non-Māori writers.

However, Māori writers conducting research and presenting material of this kind require a constant respect of customary evaluations and connections, as well as the cultural conventions which constrain all Māori writers "perceptively aware of tribal readership."[18] A great deal of tribal research can also be said to be deeply personal, as Royal has suggested, a fact which further provides clear distinctions and justifications.

This thesis has suggested that a number of distinctions might be drawn between tribal history and mana history. Tribal histories, as intellectual exercises, do not of themselves engage in nor incorporate debates with mainstream scholarship and history, as does, as is here argued, mana Māori history. However, whilst tribal histories might not engage in historical argument,

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[16] Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal, *Te Hāurapa. An introduction to researching tribal histories and traditions* (Wellington, 1992), p.13.

[17] Joe Pere, "Hitori Maori", in *The future of the past* (eds) Colin Davis and Peter Lineham (Palmerston North, 1991), p.30.

[18] Monty Soutar, "Towards an acceptable record. An analysis of tribal history", BA Honours research essay in History (Massey University, 1991), p.1.

that is not to suggest that argument is not to be found in tribal histories; there is of course argument aplenty for those who can negotiate the complex byways of hapū - tribal relationships.

Mana history seeks for valid representations of tribes and hapū, shaped for their own purposes out of customary processes of tribal knowledge retention and recall, not the least of which is whakapapa. But it suggests a further step as characterising tribal recall, that of mediation.

Thus, tribes recall and mediate knowledge of the past to accommodate, at any given time, present purposes. Such a critical resolve in the nineteenth century was the assertion and maintenance of mana whenua as the basis of customary title to clearly specified lands, in the face of intense contest with settlers and the State.

These were the lands to which tribes felt anchored through complex mediated histories, here called mana histories. These histories comprised celestial and mortal forebears mediated into longstanding accounts of tribal and hapū occupation. These tribal accounts, in the end, constituted valid representations of themselves and their past.

Published tribal histories are seen here generally to comprise extended narratives within which little distinct or structured selection occurred. They serve distinct purposes as chronicles of record. The difficulty with this approach was one of a shortcoming: that the focus of such narratives was the literal past. Such narratives effectively suspended their people out of "real historic time"; that is, tribes and hapu were presented as existing in isolation from history, without connection to the contemporaneous issues and events in their own terms.

As a consequence, tribes and hapū existing within "real historic time" are only to be found represented largely as composite "Māori" through the discursive framework of race relations, earlier suggested as a problematic framework.

Some Māori writers like Roger Maaka have reflected on the shortcomings of the race relations model of history. Solutions offered can often raise important issues or arguments on the nature of history itself. According to Maaka, "a comment on terminology, the transliteration "hitori" is an ugly word. Surely we have a perfectly good Māori word in "kōrero", as in story or discussion, what is wrong with Ngā Kōrero a Iwi for Māori History?"

Maaka considered the concept of "history" as too removed from contemporary concepts like iwi development:

> the concept of "history" is not Māori if we accept the precedent of our whakapapa in which present generations are a continuum of the previous generations. Thinking about our tribal stories as "history" stops a relationship between us and our past, introducing a "them" and "us" mentality. It is a product of a colonised mind which forces us to think about ourselves in the past tense .... I believe it would be counterproductive to us as a people if we limited the scope of our intellectual thought to this mentality and locked our tūpuna away in some tidy period of time which ceases with the nineteenth century.[19]

Maaka resists being "locked away from (my) tūpuna in some tidy period of time", and isolates "history" as a method which calcifies knowledge of the past, keeping it distant from descending generations, an intellectual discipline which prevents their locating themselves within its broad sweep, or continuum.

However, Maaka's view does not take account of an important function of "history", which, it is argued in this thesis, is in fact the mediation of the past as relevant by and to those in the present. In this context, as this thesis argues, tribal histories and traditions grow out of traditional whakapapa knowledge and linkages, through a continuing process of selection and mediation

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[19] Roger Maaka, personal communication, 10 September 1992.

However, a significant number of Māori are equally inclined to view a Māori past closely attaching to the dominant nineteenth century representation of their people as combative and oppositional.

Thus said the Māori authors of the influential report *Puao-te-ata-tu*, "the Maori perspective of our history since 1840, the dominating theme, is the interaction of our two cultures. In the early stages ... Maori society transformed itself with enthusiasm (followed by) recurring cycles of conflict and tension, against a backdrop of ... deprivation."[20]

Whilst it is difficult to generalise, other Māori writers like Awatere[21] and Walker[22] also substantially write in this category, as does Mikaere who recently suggested that "we cannot exist in a splendid pre-1769 isolation because the material, traditional or otherwise, is not there in sufficient quantity to permit it. Our history has therefore become a history of contact and will increasingly become so."[23]

This thesis suggests that such frameworks are problematic as historical and theoretical bases for the continuing portrayal of the tribal, hapū and Māori past. It is not entirely productive however totally to challenge these depictions because aspects of such histories do need to be researched and understood. Certainly, many Māori think so.

Thus, this study has not examined in detail the many situations in Taranaki last century in which tribes and hapū believed themselves to have been exposed to an indiscriminate colonisation process. Select events after 1841 are presented

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[20] Department of Social Welfare, *Puao-te-ata-tu - Daybreak. Report of the Ministerial advisory committee on a Maori perspective for Department of Social Welfare* (Wellington, 1986); Appendix, p.5.

[21] Donna Awatere, *Maori sovereignty* (Auckland, 1984).

[22] Ranginui Walker, *Ka whawhai tonu matou. Struggle without end* (Auckland, 1990).

[23] Buddy Mikaere, "The role of the Māori History Association of Aotearoa", paper presented to Māori historians hui, Rongopai Marae, Gisborne, 27 November 1992; p.10.

for purposes other than to provide such a direct history from which the very real sense of grievance is seen as a legitimate outcome.

The thesis has instead focused on different processes, inherent to tribes and hapū, from which older accounts of the past might be constructed and applied as valid up to 1900, the end point of focus for this study. This study offers a contribution to how the Māori past might be conceived, and to Māori history. This thesis constitutes an interpretation of tribal and hapū constructions of the past which might be considered parallel to other interpretations contributing specifically towards a growing Māori historiography, or, more generally, to New Zealand historiography.

APPENDIX I

MANA MĀORI HISTORY

Throughout this thesis, the terms "mana Māori history" and "mana whakapapa framework" are used frequently.

Mana Maori history is earlier defined as tribal and hapū accountings of the past constructed over time, out of unmediated tribal and hapu narratives. Within such constructions, whakapapa served as central organising device with mana functioning as central organising principle (see Chapter one).

The purpose of the following "Mana Māori history" diagram is to locate Mana history as an alternative theoretical framework, for the representing of the Māori past, to the culture-contact frameworks located within mainstream New Zealand historiography. The "Mana Whakapapa framework" diagram later explains further and extrapolates this representation of Mana history as structured by whakapapa and mana.

The diagram commences (above the dotted line) with the pre-contact Māori past. This past comprised a vast corpus of ancient knowledge or tribal narrative, of Māori people residing within and relating to a Māori universe. Over time, much of this knowledge was mediated into tribal and hapū mana histories, consistent with ongoing Māori interpretive processes (see Chapter two).

The right hand column of the diagram emphasises that tribal and hapū mana histories continued as source of validation after 1841. They continued as authoritative and valid self-representations of an assured past, consistent with customary and longstanding Māori knowledge structures, across the colonial era. These mana Māori histories comprised tribal and hapū accountings of the past constructed with whakapapa continuing to function as primary organising device

and mana as central organising theme (see Chapters three - five).

The right hand column depicts the continuing validity of the mana history process, representing an alternative theoretical framework to that of mainstream historiography, as depicted by the left hand column.

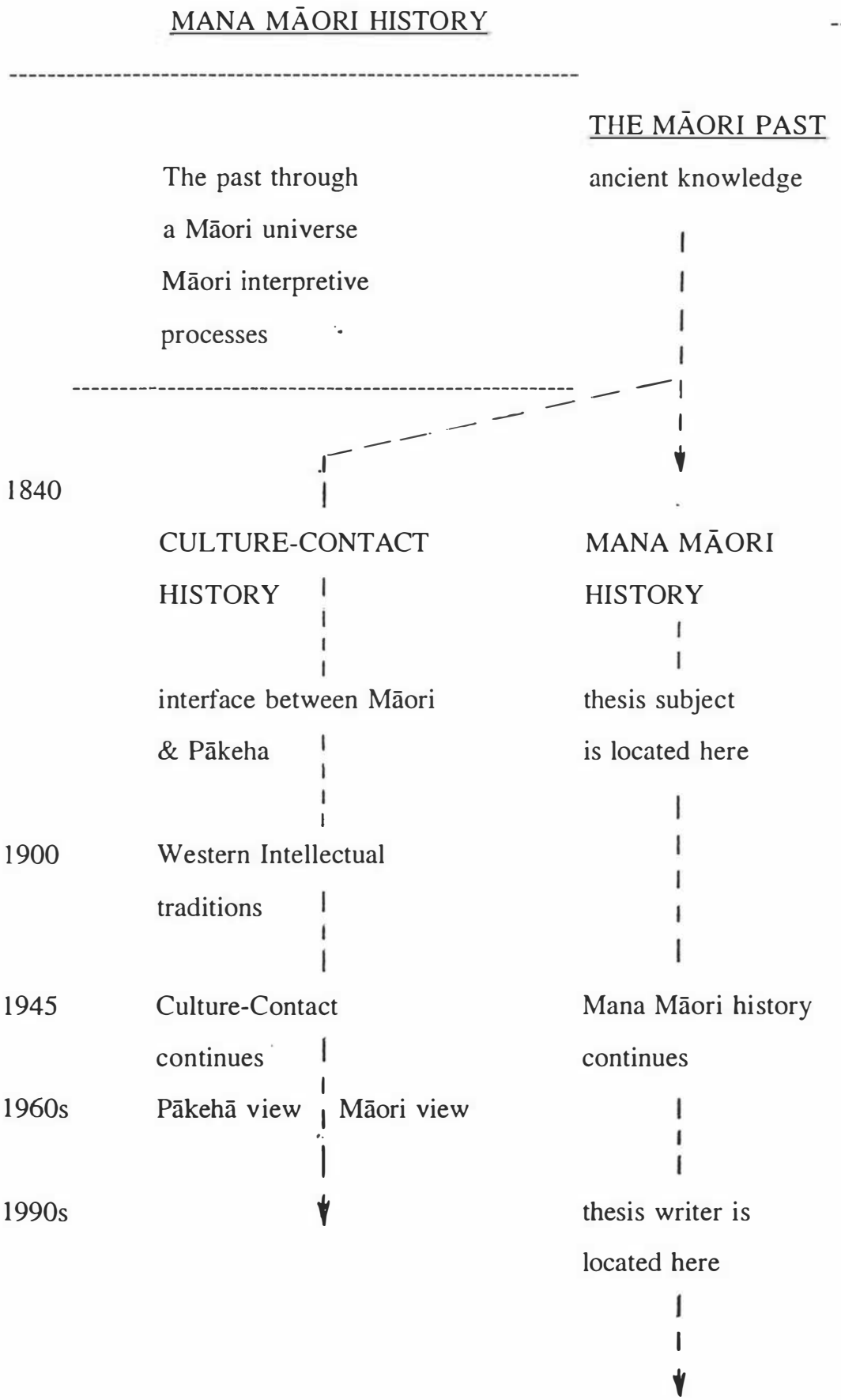
Here, after 1841 when the first Plymouth Company migrants settled in New Plymouth, the record of the Māori past in Taranaki was dominated by issues of Māori interaction with settlers and the State. As a result, a culture-contact paradigm of history evolved within which Māori people were represented by Pākehā essentially in terms of their supposed responses to colonisation in its broadest sense.

Such representations informed the culture-contact paradigm and histories located within a developing New Zealand historiography. This historiography drew its intellectual foundations from Europe.

Culture-contact representations of Māori people have continued into the present as histories of Māori people interacting with Pākehā, last century or this, continue to be written. These days, "race-relations history" seems a more favoured, if sometimes over-heated, term.

The left column of the diagram concludes by suggesting that, in recent years, a distinctly Māori historiography has been evolving, focusing on Māori self-representations within race-relations histories (see Afterword).

The right hand column, then, depicts the continuing centrality of the mana history process as alternative theoretical approach based on whakapapa as infrastructure and mana as mediating principle. The "Mana Whakapapa framework" diagram further elaborates on and extends the representation of Mana history as structured by whakapapa and mana.


MANA MĀORI HISTORY
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APPENDIX II

MANA WHAKAPAPA FRAMEWORK

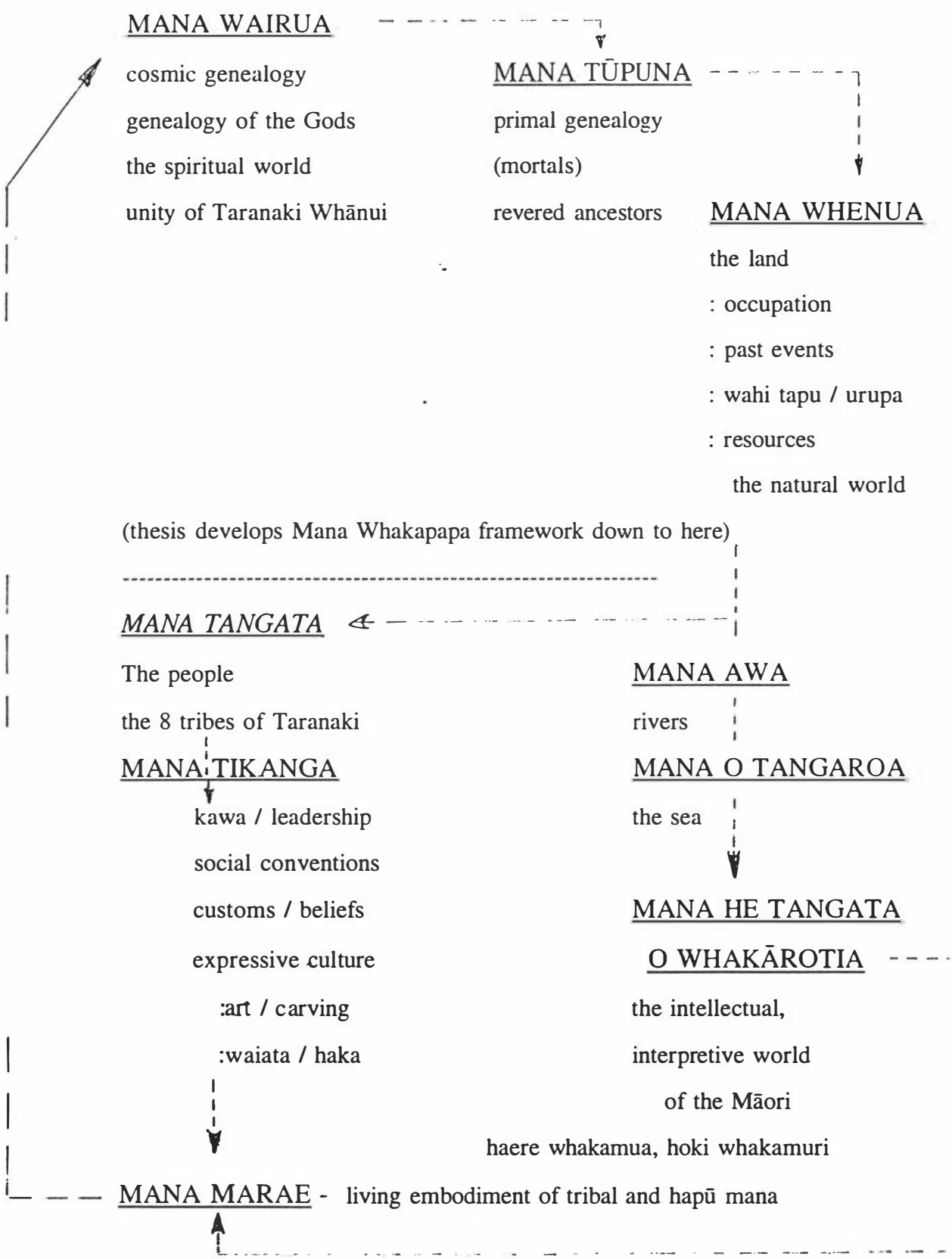
In this thesis, a distinction is drawn between conventional whakapapa and mana whakapapa. Conventional whakapapa is described as generational gradation of important, remembered ancestors. Mana whakapapa is defined as the historical framework, patterned on conventional whakapapa, through which tribal narrative is organised and mediated into tribal and hapū mana histories; where much that is implicit in conventional whakapapa is rendered specific as source of validation (see Chapter one).

The mana whakapapa framework is developed in this thesis through three successive stages presented as intricately linked - mana wairua, mana tūpuna (Chapter two) and mana whenua (Chapters three - five).

The thesis does not develop the framework beyond mana whenua. However, it does make reference to further areas (below the dotted line) into which the framework extends. Mana tikanga, for example would represent knowledge, including knowledge of the past, mediated over time into a range of tribal and hapū preferences, practices and strategies constructed in the cultural, social and political areas. These would all be intricately linked with the mediations and mana histories of mana wairua, mana tūpuna and mana whenua.

Such categories in the end all provide for a continuation of the unifying mana whakapapa structure, with mediation of knowledge continuing for the purposes of enhancing mana, into any number of critical and important areas of the tribal and hapu past and present.

MANA WHAKAPAPA FRAMEWORK



GLOSSARY OF MĀORI WORDS

Unless otherwise indicated in the text, Māori words used in this thesis have the following meanings:

ahi kā	kinship members remaining on ancestral lands
atua	celestial beings, gods
hapū	political kinship unit, genealogically constructed, in varying relationship to tribe (iwi)
heke	massed migration away from ancestral lands
iwi	a kinship group (tribe), or Māori people at large
kaikaranga	women who perform calls of welcome (karanga) as manuhiri move onto a Marae
kāinga	a marae or village located within a home base
kaumātua	male elder
kaupapa	a reason or purpose
kūpapa	a person not involved in conflict, later denoting tribal members deemed loyal to the Crown
mana	status and authority, the basis of kinship cohesion
mana tangata	the authority of the people
mauri	a spiritual life force
Pākehā	New Zealand person of European descent
papa kāinga	home village
poroporoakī	a ceremony of farewell
pōwhiri	a ceremony of welcome
rohe	ancestral estate, a land area
tangata whenua	people belonging to a tribal area

tapu	sacred
Taranaki whānui / Taranaki nui tonu	"Taranaki far and wide", used to denote the unity of the Taranaki tribes
taua	war party
tauparapara	chant recalling incidents of the past
tino rangitiratanga	sovereignty of the tribes, alternatively called Mana Motuhake
tohunga	a spiritual elder
tuakana	older brother, a senior person
tūpuna	mortal forbears, ancestors
tūturu	true
urupā	burial ground
wahi tapu	site deemed sacred or historic by the people
waiata	song
wairua	a spirit, denotes celestial / spiritual world
waka	Great Fleet canoe
whaikōrero	formal, structured speech-making
whakapapa	genealogy, descent
whānau	close kinship unit, often spanning hapū divisions and including inter-marrieds
whare wānanga	house of learning
whenua	land
whenua raupatu	land confiscated

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used throughout the text:

AJHR	*Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*
DOSLI	Department of Survey and Land Information
JPH	*Journal of Pacific History*
JPS	*Journal of the Polynesian Society*
Le	Legislative Department
MA	Maori Affairs
MLC / NLC	Māori Land Court / Native Land Court
MLP	Maori Land Purchase Department
NA	National Archives
NZJH	*New Zealand Journal of History*
Sim Commission	Royal Commission to Enquire into Confiscations, 1927.
Wai 143	Waitangi Tribunal, Taranaki claim, 1990-1994
WTU	Alexander Turnbull Library

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