

In the Waitangi Tribunal

Wai 207

Wai 785

Under **The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975**

In the Matter of **The Te Tau Ihu Inquiry (Wai 785)**

And

In the Matter of **The claim to the Waitangi Tribunal by Akuhata Wineera, Pirihira Hammond, Ariana Rene, Ruta Rene, Matuaiwi Solomon, Ramari Wineera, Hautonga te Hiko Love, Wikitoria Whatu, Ringi Horomona, Harata Solomon, Rangi Wereta, Tiratu Williams, Ruihi Horomona and Manu Katene for and on behalf of themselves and all descendants of the iwi and hapu of Ngati Toa Rangatira**

BRIEF OF EVIDENCE OF RICHARD PETER BOAST

Part Five: Social Impacts and Social History

Dated 11 June 2003

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1 Introduction

1.1 **The nature of the Ngati Toa polity in Cook Strait:** An important, and unresolved, question about Ngati Toa and Te Rauparaha is the political and economic nature of the polity established in the Cook Strait region under Te Rauparaha's leadership. How 'traditional' was Te Rauparaha – was he simply an especially successful old-style chief, or, alternatively, was he trying to establish something new? One of the most important themes in Pacific history in the nineteenth century is the emergence of Polynesian kingdoms in Tahiti, Tonga and Hawai'i – and, of course, in New Zealand with the establishment of the Kingitanga in 1858. Could Ngati Toa's domain have evolved into some kind of Polynesian kingdom or state similar to that established by the Kamehameha dynasty in Hawai'i or the Pomares in Tahiti? This may sound far-fetched, but no less a scholar than James Belich has seen the conflict in the Cook Strait region in the 1840s as a clash between two 'empires', that is to say the British and Ngati Toa empires. Belich writes that Te Rauparaha's "most remarkable achievement was that he held together Maoridom's first pan-tribal polity".¹ Belich writes of the "the loose Ngati Toa empire" and claims that "[i]n a sense, British power on the shores of Cook Strait was inherited from Ngati Toa through the conquest of the conqueror".² Other scholars, however, have seen Te Rauparaha more as a dyed-in-the-wool Maori traditionalist rather than as an innovative politician.³

1.2 **Tribute and economic organisation:** There is not much information on the extent to which Te Rauparaha's polity functioned as an economic unit. The period between Waiorua and Haowhenua was described by Nopera Te Ngiha as a time of prosperity. Ngati Toa, Ngati Awa, Ngati Raukawa lived "like bees" at Otaki and Waikanae and Porirua. All "lived peaceably".⁴ After they had been allocated land at Otaki by Te Rauparaha, Ngati Raukawa dug potatoes, made clearings, scraped flax and harvested eels in the lakes. "We

¹ James Belich, *Making Peoples*, 205.

² Ibid, 206.

³ Burns, *Te Rauparaha*, 296-299; Howe, *As the Waves Fall*, 220.

⁴ Nopera Te Ngiha, Himatangi case, (1868) 1 C Otaki MB 394.

gave the eels to Ngati Toa, the owners of the land”.⁵ This looks like some kind of tributary system, but the details are sketchy. According to the Te Kanae MS the people of Poutini, following their subjection by Ngati Rarua, “were kept as slaves to grow food for Ngati Toa”. Kapiti, controlled by Ngati Toa directly, was at the centre of a complex network of commerce and trade. Dieffenbach believed that the real reason for Ngati Raukawa’s jealousy of Ngati Awa was that the latter were much closer to Kapiti and the commercial opportunities that it provided:

“Several years ago the Nga-te-raukaua came from the interior, and formed a settlement on the sea-shore. The whole coast from Taranaki to Port Nicholson is a weather-beaten lee shore, and the only place where large ships can with safety anchor is the roadstead of Kapiti. Not satisfied with a settlement which they formed at Otaki, they wanted to come nearer this place of anchorage, for the advantage of trading.”⁶

1.3 **Land and population and Ngati Toa:** Years later, noting the reluctance of Ngati Toa and the other tribes to part with the prized lands in the Cook Strait region, McLean wrote:⁷

“To this part of the Country from its past associations, the Natives attach great importance, as the scene of so many hard-fought battles and of final conquest, the great resort moreover in former years of whale ships from different parts of the world, with which they carried on a lucrative trade; they could also at seasons of the year resort to its well-sheltered bays and harbours for supplies of fish.”

But perhaps the most eloquent comments on land and population come from George Clarke jr., the sub-Protector of Aborigines at Port Nicholson. He greatly admired Ngati Toa and understood their attachment to their lands, but could not help but notice their declining numbers. He put this down to disease and also the sheer loss of life caused by years of campaigning. His comments are made in the context of explaining his concerns to his father about the growing tension between Maori and settlers in 1843.⁸

⁵ Parakaia Te Pouepa, Maungatautari case, (1868) 2 Waikato MB 48-53.

⁶ Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*

⁷ McLean to Gore Browne, 7 April 1856, CO 209/135, DB 1557-85, 1576.

⁸ George Clarke jr. (sub-Protector, Wellington) to George Clarke sr. (Chief Protector, Auckland), 24 May 1843, qMS 0469 WATL (original in DHL).

“The natives will not let the Europeans go upon Land which they declare they have never sold and how can we expect it. Is it likely that they would sacrifice what has cost them the blood of their old nobility and for which thousands have already sacrificed their lives? Look at the Ngati Toa tribe. Where are the thousands that migrated here more than twenty years ago with Rauparaha – they are gone – all gone with the exception of about two hundred 50 fighting men. It is true that disease has carried off some but the many have died in conquering and retaining possession of their lands.”

- 1.4 **Fortifications and labour:** There is also evidence of Ngati Toa building fortifications. J W Barnicoat inspected the large fortified pa which, though abandoned, was still standing at the mouth of the Wairau at the time of the New Zealand Company surveys in 1843. He inspected the fortifications closely and drew a sketch plan of it in his journal. The fortress, he wrote, “was built by Rauparo [sic] at the time of his conquering the Wairoo a few years ago”.⁹ The posts of the stockade were 6 or 8 feet apart and from 15 to 20 feet high: “these are very stout and must have required great labour on the part of the Maoris to put up”.¹⁰ Imperialism, it has to be stressed, can be as much about control of labour as it is of land. Land in Te Tau Ihu after the conquests was abundant enough. Perhaps what really mattered was labour and tribute, a matter which requires further study by an anthropologist or economic historian.
- 1.5 **The Missions:** As Dieffenbach noted, Christianity arrived in the Cook Strait area well before the formal establishment of the missions: the spread of the Christian faith and of literacy in Maori were to a large extent Maori initiatives; there are of course parallels elsewhere in the Pacific. There was no CMS (Anglican) mission in existence anywhere in the South Island until August 1842, when the Reverend Charles Reay arrived at Nelson. The nearest CMS mission base until that time was the Reverend Octavius Hadfield’s mission at Otaki and Waikanae. The arrival of the CMS in Te Tau Ihu was preceded by the establishment of the Wesleyan mission at Port Underwood (Reverend Samuel Ironside’s). This mission ministered to the large Ngati Toa community at Port Underwood which was led by Rawiri Puaha.

⁹ Barnicoat journal, entry for 24 April 1843.

¹⁰ Ibid.

1.6 **Slavery:** There is certainly plenty of evidence that as a consequence of the conquests by the coalition many of the Ngati Kuia, Ngati Apa and Rangitane people were enslaved. According to Dieffenbach the Rangitane, who according to him were mostly living in Pelorus Sound with Ngati Toa, were “slaves of the Nga-te-toa, and are the remnant of the former possessors of a great part of Cook’s Straits”¹¹. This is a sensitive issue and need not be dwelt on unnecessarily. Wirihihana Maihi of Rangitane, Ngati Kuia and Apa, who gave evidence in the Tai Tapu case in 1881, said that at the time of the conquest he was taken as a slave to Wairau and never returned. “Some of our people lived as slaves at Whanganui and Motueka”.¹² Slavery was a harsh reality of the time. Slavery was not abolished in the British Empire until 1833 (it is said in the Tribunal’s Rekohu Report that “slavery had been outlawed by an Imperial Act of 1807, but this incorrect”¹³) or in the United States until Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation of 1863. There never was a formal emancipation process in New Zealand. On the whole the institution seems to have simply disintegrated, largely as a consequence of Christian teaching. New Zealand missionaries belonged on the whole to the Evangelical wing of the Anglican church which had played an important role in the great anti-slavery campaigns in England. As seen, holding slaves was associated in the minds of some chiefs with the government of Satan, an idea which can only have been planted as an outcome of missionary influence.

2 **Population**

2.1 **Population 1800-1840:** Maori population declined steeply everywhere during the nineteenth century. In his well-known study of Maori health, *Whaiora: Maori Health Development*¹⁴ Professor M H Durie carefully considers the evidence relating to Maori population decline, which may have begun as early as 1805. It is impossible to give precise figures for the extent of the decline, but the overall trend, he believes, is only too clear: “exaggerated or not, the situation for Maori was grim”.¹⁵ Durie notes the

¹¹ Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*.

¹² (1883) 1 Nelson MB, 7.

¹³ Rekohu Report, 2001, 63. What was abolished in 1807 was the slave *trade*. But this did not abolish the status of slavery in the British West Indies: it meant that the slave population thereafter came from children born into slavery. In the West Indies and in the American South the law was that all children born of a slave mother were the property of the owner of the mother.

¹⁴ Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1994.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 32.

effects of epidemic diseases, especially measles, influenza (rewharewha), whooping cough, typhoid, scarlet fever and mumps. There was also tuberculosis, which was of course persistent and chronic, rather than epidemic, and which remained a terrible scourge until quite recently. One problem which exacerbated Maori health problems, Durie believes, was the fact that Maori tended to move from hilltop kainga to coastal locations which may have provided enhanced opportunities for commercial relationships with the Pakeha world, but which “lacked orderliness” and which had “fewer public health amenities such as clean water, sanitation and drainage”.¹⁶

2.2 **Dieffenbach’s census:** Dieffenbach calculated in 1840 that the Maori population of the Northern South Island was about 1410.¹⁷ This was made up of 400 people in Massacre Bay and Blind Bay, 60 people on Rangitoto (D’Urville), 250 people at Te Hoiere, 390 in Queen Charlotte Sound, and 400 at Cloudy Bay. These are coastal settlements, and Dieffenbach did not venture inland, but whether there were many people inland is very hard to know. Dieffenbach attempts to record the various iwi/hapu affiliations, but does not distinguish between Ngati Toa, Ngati Koata and Ngati Rarua: they are all Ngati Toa. They amounted to 500 people in all, in fact the largest grouping in Te Tau Ihu at that time. There were at least 400 ‘Ngati Toa’ people at Cloudy Bay, more, in fact, than at Porirua, Kapiti and Mana (320). Dieffenbach’s census is as follows:

Maori Population, Northern South Island c. 1840
[source: Dieffenbach, I, 195]

NAME OF PLACE NUMBER	NAME OF THE TRIBES	FAMILY
Massacre Bay Wanganui 400	Ngati Toa Puketapu	Ngati Awa
Blind Bay	Ngati Tama	
Rangitoto 60	Ngati Toa	Ngati Awa
Admiralty Is. 250	Ngati Toa Manakuri	Ngati Awa
Heoiri River	Rangitane	Rangitane
Queen Charl. Sound		

¹⁶ Ibid, 35; see also P. Buch (Te Rangihiroa), *The Coming of the Maori*, 1949, 130.
¹⁷ Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, vol 1, 195.

Anaho	Puketapu	
60		
Moioio	Ngati Toa	Ngati Awa
150		
Te Awa-iti	Nga-motu	
60		
Hokukuri	Ngati Tama	
120		
Cloudy Bay	Ngati Toa	Ngati Awa
400		

- 2.3 **Population in 1860:** The Maori population of Te Tau Ihu seems to have remained relatively static over the next twenty years. By 1860, according to a report sent to London by Governor Gore Browne, the Maori population of the whole South Island was “between two and three thousand, of whom one half dwell in the Province of Nelson”.¹⁸ The other half would be Ngai Tahu, presumably. Gore Browne’s guess may indicate that the well-documented movement of people from Te Tau Ihu following the Wairau in 1843 did not have any permanent irreversible effect, showing that most may have gone back, or it may indicate that Dieffenbach’s figure was something of an underestimate. Given the notorious unreliability, however, of virtually all 19th century Maori census data, all generalisations here are very risky.
- 2.4 **Population 1874-1881:** In 1874 Alexander Mackay reported that the total Maori population of Nelson and Marlborough was less than one thousand, including half castes (Marlborough 452; Nelson 440).¹⁹ Groups were still moving north: Mackay mentions the departure of a Ngati Rahiri group living in Queen Charlotte Sound who had recently left for Taranaki. By 1875 virtually the entirety of the South Island had passed out of Maori hands. In that year Mackay calculated that there were only four areas in customary title left, these being Ruapuke, Rangitoto, Whakapuaka and West Whanganui.²⁰ In his 1876 report he notes continued departures to Taranaki and the Waikato, and the continued impact of epidemics. The birth rate had fallen well behind the death rate. An epidemic of “low fever” (whatever that may have been) swept through the Maori communities of the Pelorus and the Wairau in December 1875. By 1875 the population had fallen again, with

¹⁸ Gore Browne to Newcastle, 22 February 1860, CO 209/153, DB 1604-1623, at 1605.

¹⁹ *Further Reports from Officers in Native Districts*, 1874 AJHR 2C.

²⁰ 1875 AJHR G-3, 3.

the total Maori population for Nelson Marlborough and Westland now at 692. Ngati Toa were still living at the Wairau and Pelorus Sound.

3 **Social Impacts of Colonisation**

3.1 **Effects of the New Zealand Company settlements:** The New Zealand Company towns were major agencies of change to the economy and social geography of the Cook Strait region. Maori settlement of the Cook Strait area in pre-European times was overwhelmingly coastal. One historical geographer who has studied the changing historical geography of the Tawa-Porirua basin has noted that in the Wellington area – and, presumably, in the Te Tau Ihu area as well – “there was not a pa, village or hamlet which was more than half a mile from the coast”. The inland forests “seems to have been used only as a food preserve and as a place of refuge in time of invasion”.²¹ With the establishment of Wellington this changed. Maori moved from the ‘outer’ to the ‘inner’ coast, in the case of Ngati Toa establishing themselves at Takapuwahia. This allowed them to be near the main route to the north from Port Nicholson to Wanganui, allowing them “to supply traders with provisions, and to furnish guides for what was a fairly hazardous journey”. Secondly they were better placed to supply “the infant settlement of Wellington with provisions and livestock, particularly during the difficult early days of the settlement”.

3.2 **Population movements: Abandonment of Te Tau Ihu:** It has already been mentioned how after the Wairau the once-thriving Ngati Toa community at Cloudy Bay broke up and the people returned to the North Island. Phillipson has noted that many of those who left at this point did not return, and that the “population of Marlborough was permanently reduced”.²² On 16 June 1843 George Clarke reported that “the Ngati Toa tribe have left for a time their possessions in New Munster” [i.e. in the South Island]. They “intend to remain at Porirua until they are satisfied it will be safe for them to return to the district in the vicinity of Nelson, Queen Charlotte’s Sound, Cloudy Bay”.²³ One source which clearly documents this are the journals of the

²¹ B.A.G. Murray, *The historical geography of the Tawa-Porirua basin*, M.A. Thesis, (Geography), Canterbury University, 1965, 16.

²² Phillipson, *Northern South Island*, 65,

²³ Official report of George Clarke jr., 16 August 1843, *Appendix to the 1844 House of Commons Select Committee Report on New Zealand*, BPP(NZ), Irish University Press edition, vol 2, 337.

Reverend Ironside, the Wesleyan (i.e. Methodist) missionary at Cloudy Bay. By June 24 June 1843 “the natives have gone away from here afraid of the Europeans, taking with them ammunition and all their property”.²⁴ Ironside tried to persuade the people to stay, but without success. With the loss of his parishioners Ironside could see no point in remaining at Port Underwood and on 29 July he and his wife Sarah moved to Port Nicholson where the couple remained for the next six years. Ironside was able however to remain in contact with the Ngati Toa chief Rawiri Puaha, who had brought his people from Port Underwood and Cloudy Bay to Plimmerton.

4 **The move to pastoralism in Nelson and Marlborough:** It was in the later 1840s and 1850s that the economy of Nelson and Marlborough began to develop in a direction which was quite different from the close agricultural settlement envisaged by E G Wakefield and the other New Zealand Company propagandists. The economy became ‘Australian’ rather than ‘English’. Nelson and Marlborough came to be centred around pastoralism – on depasturing sheep to browse on the native grasses, and on large sheep stations. Sheep farming gave rapid returns and required little expenditure on land development. Run holders were already moving into the Wairau by as early as 1846. Some leased land directly from Ngati Toa. Charles Clifford and Frederick Weld leased 200,000 acres in the area between Blind River and Kekerengu from Rawiri Puaha of Ngati Toa, paying him £12 a year for the lease of this vast area. The Wairau slowly became dominated by run-holders, who also formed the close oligarchy which controlled Nelson – and, subsequently, Marlborough – provincial politics. Constantine Dillon, a run holder at the Wairau, became Commissioner of Crown Lands at Nelson in 1851.²⁵

4.1 **Ngati Toa in the later Nineteenth Century:** In 1840 Ngati Toa were a trans-Cook Strait iwi, and it is possible that the larger section of the iwi actually lived in Te Tau Ihu. By the 1880s this had changed. Mostly Ngati Toa were concentrated at Porirua, at the new community of Takapuwhia. The investigation into who was entitled to receive the money on behalf of the original Ngati Toa 26 grantees as a part of the Te Waipounamu deed set up in October 1880 seems to indicate this. As noted the five still left alive

²⁴ Ironside Journal, MS 3817/2, Alexander Turnbull Library, entry for 24 June 1843.
²⁵ McIntosh, *Marlborough*, 108.

(Nopera Te Ngiha, Wi te Kanae, Tungia, and Matene Te Whiwhi) were all living at Porirua at this time, as were the descendants of most of others. But a Te Tau Ihu connection was maintained, in that some of those entitled lived at Wakapuaka, Croixelles, and D'Urville. Of course people living at Porirua may well have frequently moved back and forth between the two islands, as is the case with many Ngati Toa families of the present day.