CHAPTER 2

EARLY CONTACT BETWEEN MAORI AND PAKEHA IN TE UREWERA

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the earliest accounts of Maori–European contact in this region, primarily through the written records compiled by Europeans who visited Te Urewera and recorded their travels. There are regrettably few accounts that record this contact and none that are in any way comprehensive. This lack of written history is indicative of the relative isolation of the Tuhoe people from interaction with Europeans in the early and mid-nineteenth century.

In spite of limited available information, some missionary records and diaries of military personnel and surveyors do survive which chronicle journeys through the harsh Urewera landscape. From these accounts, it is possible to draw some of the ëavour of the meeting between Europeans and Tuhoe. From these accounts, too, it is hoped to be able to extract an approximate estimation of the Tuhoe population in Te Urewera.

2.2 Contact via Trade

It would be impossible to guess when Tuhoe årst encountered, or even heard of, Europeans, but it seems likely that Maori-generated stories would have abounded of Cook's landing at Turanga in 1769 and of his subsequent voyage through the Bay of Plenty. It might be assumed that the telling and retelling of this momentous event would have permeated even the interior Urewera, where some communities had regular contact with their coastal neighbours, though Tuhoe were to wait many years before a European penetrated the heartland of their rohe.

There was little further direct contact with Europeans in the Bay of Plenty for approximately 50 years, when the traders, whalers, and missionaries, already settled in other regions of Aotearoa, began to make their presence felt in the district. The årst Europeans that Tuhoe would have had the opportunity of meeting would have been the whalers who frequented the Bay of Plenty coastline from the early nineteenth century. Best suggests that these whalers began to arrive at Whakatane, which had harbour access, in the early 1820s.[1] As far as Tuhoe are concerned, this

1. Elsdon Best, *Tuhoe: The Children of the Mist*, 2nd ed, 2 vols, Wellington, AH and AW Reed Ltd, 1972, vol 1, p 553

very early contact is only conjectured. It is possible, though, that Tuhoe, visiting or bartering with coastal relations, may have witnessed early European visits to these parts.[2]

Hamiora Pio of Ngati Awa told Best that, as a boy, he had watched a vessel anchor oä the Whakatane River, while a small contingent of Europeans rowed ashore. Such was the novelty of the occasion, notwithstanding Cook and others' previous visits, that Hamiora recalled that 'the beach was covered with the Maori people, one could not see the earth, so numerous were they'.[3] Were any Tuhoe present on this occasion? Certainly, any Tuhoe contact with Europeans would have been mediated through their relationship with those iwi occupying the coastline and as we have seen, the early nineteenth century was a very unsettled time as far as Bay of Plenty inter-iwi relations were concerned. Even so, while Tuhoe may or may not have had any *direct* contact with Europeans in the 1820s, they and others none the less felt the inexorable inëuence of the Europeans when Nga Puhi brought muskets with them on their raiding expeditions to the region. Tuhoe had, at the least, been notiåed that great changes were afoot.

Following the whalers, traders, and missionaries began to install themselves on the eastern Bay of Plenty coast. In 1830, Hans Tapsell established a trading post at Maketu with the patronage of Te Arawa, but he also had agents stationed elsewhere – George White at Matata from 1836 and Nicholas (or Nikorehe as local Maori called him) at Ohiwa, for example. Other traders such as George Simpkins, Bennett White, James Melbourne and, after 1836, Hans Tapsell were established at Whakatane, often marrying into local hapu and becoming permanent residents.[4] They lived, however, under Maori law and at the suäerance of local rangatira, on whom they relied for protection. For his part, it was a matter of enhanced prestige for a chief to sponsor a trader in his locality. Some of these early settlers would later bring old land claims before the Land Claims Commissioner and the Bay of Plenty Compensation Court.

The appearance of these traders in the Bay of Plenty had a great impact on both the economy and the occupation patterns of local hapu. Before contact with Europeans, the main crops grown in the Bay of Plenty were taro, kumara, and gourds. By 1829, when the brig *Haweis* visited the district, wheat, potatoes, and other European fruit and vegetables were being grown. The potato and the pig were

2. According to Best, the Tuhoe people say that the årst kora seed (which Best tentatively identiåed as 'cabbage') came from the seed that a white man named 'Te Paea' or 'Paia' originally introduced, and that this man had come on a ship. Best related two stories that attempted to establish the identity of this person. The årst is the story of Captain Cook's visit to Poverty Bay, where he was given the name 'Te Paia', meaning 'åre', on account of his shout of 'åre' when ordering a volley of ammunition to be loosed at local Maori. The second explanation is that, according to Ngati Awa, the pohata or wild turnip was called 'paea' because the seed was given by a white man of that name, which Best notes was a very similar name to that of Tupaea, the Tahitian aboard Cook's ship. It seems likely that Te Paea or Paia was one of these two men, although Best comes to no deånite conclusion about which one it was: Best, p 555.
3. Best, pp 553–554
4. H Mead and J Gardiner, 'Te Kaupapa o te Raupatu i te Rohe o Ngati Awa: Ethnography of the Ngati Awa Experience of Raupatu', Te Runanga o Ngati Awa Research Report 4, April 1994 (Wai 46 rod, doc a18), p 20

among the årst items acquired by Tuhoe from Europeans, along with maize. According to Best, Tuhoe are said to have obtained maize (a crop which can only be grown in certain favoured areas of the Urewera) from the Bay of Islands in around 1820. In the late 1830s, Tuhoe began developing the lands at Ruatoki and Opouriao: clearing the land, and planting potatoes, corn, and wheat.[5] Te Ahuru is said to have planted the årst peach tree at Waikirikiri (Ruatoki), having obtained the stone from the CMS missionary S M Spencer, stationed at Rotorua. Te Ahuru was the son of Te Purewa, who is himself attributed with introducing the potato to Ruatoki.[6] Despite having a limited area suitable for growing crops, by the 1860s the cultivation of wheat and maize had become generally widespread in the Urewera.[7]

Bay of Plenty iwi established barter relationships with the traders, dealing mainly in pigs, potatoes, and scraped ëax, motivated by a desire for European goods as well as for muskets, deemed a necessity after the Nga Puhi raids. This relationship often resulted in the (temporary) relocation of whole hapu to areas close to the traders and sources of ëax, which the entire community would scrape and dress. In the early years of trade with Europeans, iron spikes, nails, and gridirons were much sought after by Maori, who transformed these articles into chisels, knives, bird spears, and other implements, including weapons. The trade system was one of barter, and tools such as axes, hatchets, spades, and hoes were among the items most sought after.[8] None of the sources consulted for this chapter disclosed when cash began to make inroads into the local economy.

According to Best, because Tuhoe were largely situated inland, they lacked direct access to trading vessels and stations. Instead, Tuhoe traded with Ngati Awa for European goods and also ventured to Poverty Bay for this purpose.[9] This was merely an extension of the trade relationships between iwi that had existed prior to European contact, where Tuhoe traded their prized timber and potted birds for seafood and other resources available to more coastal hapu.

Tuhoe were relatively disadvantaged in trade with coastal tribes and the European traders simply because they initially held few trade goods that were in demand. Throughout most of the Urewera there was little quality ëax suitable for trade, and at årst, there were few pigs. However, Te Urewera did contain the type of timber suitable for building waka, which were then ëoated down the Whakatane River to the coast where they could be exchanged. Best records an instance when a waka, one of the årst used in barter for European goods and the product of several months' labour, was taken to Te Teko and traded for an iron cooking pot and an axe.[10] On another occasion, a number of waka were sold to Ngati Awa in exchange for European goods: spades, sea-chests, blankets, iron cooking pots and so forth, as

5. P Temara, 'Te Whenuanui', in *1870–1900*, vol 2 of *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, C Orange (ed), Wellington, Bridget Williams Books Ltd and Department of Internal Aäairs, 1993, p 529
6. S Melbourne, 'Te Purewa', in *1769–1869*, vol 1 of *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, W H Oliver (ed), Wellington, Allen and Unwin NZ Ltd and Department of Internal Aäairs, 1990, p 486
7. Best, pp 556, 561
8. Ibid, pp 556, 559
9. Ibid, p 555
10. Ibid, p 556

well as some maomao, a type of åsh.[11] This was a situation that would prevail for some time; Hunter Brown, who journeyed through the Urewera in 1862 on an oïcial visit, commented on Tuhoe endeavours to obtain European goods:

> A little pig trading with Whakatane and Opotiki is almost the only way they have found to get European goods . . . But in the month of June the Maoris kill immense numbers of birds . . . pot them down in their own fat, and sometimes sell these huahuas for perfectly astounding quantities of blankets, axes, pots &c, to Natives whose open country debars them from such luxury.[12]

It seems, though, that some Tuhoe did seek to circumvent the middlemen of other iwi. Best notes, for example, that once Tuhoe had established a pig population, they would drive herds of pigs to Auckland on trading missions when Auckland was still a young town.[13] Also, from the early 1840s onwards, after peace was secured with Ngati Awa, certain Tuhoe communities moved into the Waimana valley from Ruatoki to prepare ëax for the traders Scott and McLeod on the coast at Ohiwa.[14] On the subject of the ëax trade, Best has noted some comments by Tamarau Waiari, also known as Te Makarini, born in 1831, who said:

> When I was a child, a European named Nikorehe [Nicholas] came in a vessel to O-hiwa and lived there. His employer was another European named Kaketuku [?]. Hence many of Te Ure-wera went and settled at Te Wai-mana to prepare ëax-åbre to sell to that trader.[15]

Instances have also been recorded where Tuhoe were cheated by traders in early days when, for example, dock seed was sold to them in place of tobacco seed (which implies a direct point of contact).[16] Trade grievances would later surface in connection with these practices and because of inëated prices due to high cartage costs.[17] Tuhoe also apparently cooperated in enterprises with other iwi. In late November 1840, for example, the Reverend William Williams visited Ruatahuna and found most of the people were away planting corn in Whakatane, presumably with some Ngati Awa hapu, to sell to Europeans.[18]

Most Tuhoe interaction with Europeans would have taken place outside of their rohe but in later times, a European trader named Jack Fox settled at Puketi and married the daughter of the rangatira Te Ahoaho, eventually leaving when war broke out with the Crown.[19]

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11. Ibid, p 393
12. 'Report from C Hunter Brown, Esq, of an Oïcial Visit to the Urewera Tribes', June 1862, AJHR, 1862, e-9, p 27
13. Best, p 556
14. Judge Monro, notes 14–16 (cited by J Sissons in *Te Waimana: The Spring of Mana*, Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1996, p 2)
15. Best, p 560. Best notes that this occurred soon after the introduction of Christianity around 1839.
16. Ibid, p 559
17. 'Report from C Hunter Brown', p 30
18. F Porter (ed), *The Turanga Journals, 1840–1850: Letters and Journals of William and Jane Williams, Missionaries to Poverty Bay*, Wellington, Price Milburn for Victoria University Press, 1974, p 139. During the same visit, Williams noted that the tribe numbered about 600 men.

The introduction of European animals to the Urewera must have been a truly significant event for the whole tribe, so much so that Best's informants could still remember that the first horse obtained in Te Urewera was called Tuhoe. It was bought in Turanga and brought over the Huiarau ranges to Maungapohatu. In early days, 40 pigs were traded for a horse and people used to give a number of pigs each so that they would have a share in the horse and its future offspring.[20] The first cattle were also obtained at Poverty Bay and driven to Ruatoki.[21]

These examples indicate some traffic between the Urewera and the East Coast, Turanga in particular, where traders such as J W Harris had begun to settle from the early 1830s.[22] In 1831, Barnet Burns founded the first trading station at Te Mahia, where he dealt in flax from local Maori, and by 1840, several other traders had established themselves at coastal Wairoa which was also intermittently visited by Harris from Turanga.[23] None of these European traders appear to have travelled inland, however, and O'Malley notes that Ngati Ruapani of Waikaremoana district had little opportunity to barter with Pakeha traders and few items with which to trade.[24]

In 1841, during Colenso's visit to Ruatahuna and Te Whaiti (discussed below), he stopped at Manatepa and observed what he described as:

> the most monstrous goat that I ever beheld! in bulk it was more like a young steer with prodigious flat horns, and was very mischievous . . . The Maoris, some years before had obtained it from a ship on the East Coast.[25]

Best has commented that some of his informants said the goat had been brought there by a Catholic priest (possibly a priest named Reine or Rapara) but that others said that three Europeans had visited Manatepa before Colenso but were not thought to have been missionaries.[26] Best also cites Hemi Kopu as saying that in 1839 or 1840 the only foreign animal possessed by Tuhoe was a kid that had been brought to them by a Catholic priest. This was probably the same animal seen by Colenso a few years later.[27]

The first purchase of guns and ammunition was made by Tuhoe in 1829 or 1830 from Ngati Maru in the Thames district. These guns were paid for in slaves, invariably prisoners of war. Slaves were the trade commodity in this instance because they were easy to transport and there was little else in the way of tradable resources with which to purchase guns. The exchange was 10 slaves for the first

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19. Te Wharehuia Milroy and H Melbourne, 'Te Roi o te Whenua', 1995 (Wai 36 rod, doc a4), p 38
20. Best, p 557
21. Ibid, p 560
22. S Daly, *Poverty Bay*, Waitangi Tribunal Rangahaua Whanui Series (working paper: first release), February 1997, p 21
23. V O'Malley, 'The Crown and Ngati Ruapani: Confiscation and Land Purchase in the Wairoa–Waikaremoana Area, 1865–1875', unpublished research report (Wai 144 rod, doc a3), p 9
24. Ibid, p 8
25. W Colenso, 'On the Moa', *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, Wellington, Lyon and Blair, 1879 (issued May 1880), vol 12, p 92
26. Best, p 396
27. Ibid, p 560

musket (called Te Riaki) but thereafter åve slaves bought a musket and, eventually, Best says, one slave purchased a musket. The Tuhoe party acquired 20 muskets on this initial journey.[28]

The introduction of the pig and the potato to Tuhoe had a large impact, especially the potato which thrived in the cool climate of the Urewera. Colenso even noted that the potato was being cultivated at Waikaremoana in late 1841.[29] In conjunction with the introduction of steel tools, Tuhoe clearings became considerably enlarged to support cultivations. This led Best to comment that: 'It was the potato that opened up Rua-tahuna.'[30] Webster suggests that the success of the potato might have precipitated an increase in the Tuhoe population, although there is no documented evidence to prove this:

> What is clear is that the Tuhoe suddenly had a dependable crop which could with some conådence be relied upon to provide an adequate supply of food. This undoubtedly made the Tuhoe feel more independent in their mountain fastness, for a vital section of their economy had been changed for the better. In a sense, the advent of the potato into the Urewera and its signiåcance to the Tuhoe was as important to them as the introduction of the kumara to the warmer parts of the North Island.[31]

Belich has suggested that the widespread cultivation of the potato in the North Island was important because it created a surplus of food in Maori agriculture. It took less labour to cultivate and was hardier than the kumara which meant that less people were tied up with tending cultivations, there was a reliable supply of food to take on long-range expeditions, and excess potatoes could be traded for other goods.[32]

From about 1840, the number of Europeans increased in the eastern Bay of Plenty as sawyers, boatbuilders, shipwrights, millers, and storekeepers began to settle. This resulted in increased economic activity and it was from this time that commercial crops were grown in the district – we have already noted the limited Tuhoe participation in this activity. Tuhoe, however, did not own a ëour mill or a ship, which many iwi in the Bay of Plenty had acquired by the 1840s and 1850s.[33] Tuhoe tried to build a ëour mill at Oromairoa in 1863 or thereabouts but, because of arguments over the proposed site, the mill was never built.[34]

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28. Ibid, p 520
29. This is qualiåed because Colenso also reports that, upon reaching Onepoto on the southern side of the lake in 1841, the people there had barely enough food to feed themselves. Nevertheless, they endeavoured 'to the utmost' to be good hosts to Colenso's party: see 'William Colenso (1811–1899): Excursion in the Northern Island of New Zealand, in the Summer of 1841–2', together with part of 'Early Crossings of Lake Waikaremoana', in *Early Travellers in New Zealand*, N Taylor (ed), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1959, p 23.
30. Best, p 531
31. P Webster, *Rua and the Maori Millennium*, Wellington, Price Milburn for Victoria University Press, 1979, p 89
32. J Belich, *Making Peoples*, Auckland, Penguin Books, 1996, p 159
33. See A van der Wouden, 'Maori Shipowners and Pakeha Shipbuilders in the Bay of Plenty, 1840–1860', *Historical Review*, vol 33, no 2, November 1985
34. Temara, p 529

2.3 Early Missionary Activity in the Urewera

It is unclear exactly when Tuhoe and surrounding iwi årst heard of Christianity but in evidence presented to the Native Land Court in 1890, Hapimana Parakiri stated that a Maori called Hakaraia brought the årst Christian tidings to the people of the Whirinaki valley at Otukopeka, and that this had occurred just before Hone Heke and Nga Puhi had raided the Bay of Plenty.[35] Another of Best's informants stated that prisoners of war, taken to the Bay of Islands by Nga Puhi, had returned to the Bay of Plenty and introduced the new religion.[36] The Urewera people, then, were acquainted with Christianity by visitors and travellers who had already received missionaries in other parts of the country, but it would be a while before Tuhoe would attract missionary visits within their own rohe.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, there were no resident missionaries stationed in the Urewera but there were several stationed between Tauranga and Opotiki. It was here, then, that Tuhoe people, who visited the coast in order to participate in barter with coastal hapu, would have regularly come into contact with Christian teachings and inëuence.[37] Elsdon Best states that Christianity had a timely introduction to the Bay of Plenty district after peace was made between Ngati Awa and Tuhoe in 1834, which would have followed the visit of Henry Williams, head of the CMS in New Zealand, to the Bay of Plenty aboard the *Herald* in 1826 and again in 1828, where he called at Whakatane and Ohiwa amongst other places.[38]

One of the earliest recorded contacts between Urewera Maori and missionaries occurred in 1839, shortly after Williams' visit, when J A Wilson, a CMS missionary, was stationed in Opotiki.[39] Wilson travelled to Te Kaha, Matata, and into the Ruatoki valley, instigating discussion among several Tuhoe hapu as to whether they would accept missionaries in their midst and abandon Maori gods:

> A meeting of the tribe was held at Te Wai-mana, where a hakari, or feast, was held. It is known as Taua's Feast, the chief Taua being the principal organiser thereof. Maunga-haruru was another important chief thereat. The clans then living at Te Wai-mana were Nga-Maihi, Te Whakatane, Ngai-Tama, Ngati-Kuri and Ngati-Koura; their pa was Puke-atua. Kereru Te Pukenui [later to become an important Tuhoe leader; see pp] was present at that meeting as a boy of about ten years of age. The årst clans of Tuhoe to embrace Christianity were Ngai-Te Riu, Ngati Hoko and a part of Ngati-Rongo.
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> It was arranged that the Tuhoe people should assist in building a church at O-potiki, and most of those living at Te Wai-mana and Rua-toki went there for that purpose. A meeting was held by the Rev Mr Wilson at O-potiki at which Piki, son of Te Ngahuru, and others of Tuhoe, were baptised and took new names.[40]

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35. Whakatane minute book 3, fol 49 (Wai 212 rod, doc b4(e), p 25)
36. Best, p 563
37. J H Starnes, 'Mr James Preece – CMS Missionary', *Historical Review*, vol 15, no 1, April 1967, p 34
38. Best, p 561
39. Ibid

As a result of this meeting, a chapel was built at Ruatoki in about 1842 or 1843, principally by workers from the Urewera and Mahurehure hapu.[41]

While Wilson had visited the relatively accessible Waimana and Ruatoki valleys on his missionary circuit, it was not until Reverend William Williams travelled overland from the CMS mission station in Turanga to Rotorua in 1840 that a European penetrated the interior of the Urewera. He took a route through the Urewera a year before the visits made by the Catholic Father Baty and the CMS missionary, Colenso.[42] On his first trip into the Urewera, Williams observed that Christianity had already made inroads into this very isolated district – even at Waikaremoana some people professed Christianity and had a supply of books from Rotorua.[43] His comments underscored the competition that existed between Anglican and Catholics for the many unconverted in the Urewera:

> [Ruatahuna] is the principal district occupied by the Uriwera, who have three pas, but there are many parties scattered through the woods . . . One visit has been paid here by a christian native from Rotorua and there are many who profess to embrace Christianity, but I hear that at one of the pas nearer Whakatane the people profess popery. This only shows the necessity of using increased diligence in carrying to them the truth.[44]

Williams took the opportunity of his short journey to introduce some basic Christian theology and subsequently sent books to the people living at Waikaremoana in March 1841 and July 1843.[45]

The next known visitors to the Urewera were Claude Baty, a Roman Catholic Marist priest, and William Colenso, who both ventured into the Urewera in late 1841. Baty was apparently the first Catholic presence in the Urewera, and a very unwelcome one to Colenso, who partnered Baty in a theological debate at Lake Waikaremoana; undoubtedly both entertaining and bewildering to their audience.[46] According to Brosnahan and Gibbons, Bay of Plenty Maori first had contact with Catholicism through laymen around Tauranga from 1837.[47] In April 1840, Pompallier arrived in Whakatane to celebrate mass, and in June 1842, he gave instructions to Fathers Comte and Reignier to make Whakatane their parish headquarters and service the whole inland area to Taupo and eastward as well. From February 1844, Father Jean Lampila, known as pa Rapira by Maori, was stationed in Whakatane as resident priest. From there he made several journeys through Urewera and eastward to Poverty Bay, baptising and teaching. Some record exists of the number of baptisms he conducted at Ruatahuna and, particularly, Waikaremoana in 1845 to 1848.[48]

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40. Ibid, p 562
41. Ibid
42. Porter, pp 137–139. Williams made two further visits to the Urewera in March 1845 and March 1850.
43. O'Malley, p 8
44. Porter, pp 138–139
45. Ibid, pp 160, 256
46. A G Bagnall and G C Peterson, *William Colenso*, Wellington, 1948, p 116
47. W Gibbons, 'Jean Lampila sm at Whakatane', *Historical Review*, vol 38, no 1, May 1990, p 1

Though they were unused to European visitors, Colenso reported that Tuhoe received him hospitably. He recounted that at Ruatoki, for example:

> In the course of the Evening [at Ruatoki] Tamarehe, Ikapoto, Te Purewa, and Kopu from Ngamahanga, principal chiefs of the Urewera Tribe arrived . . . The Chief Tamarehe was so delighted at my consenting to remain to talk with him and others, that he gave me a åne hog, which was very acceptable.

Colenso was particularly impressed with the intellect and appearance of the chief Tuiringa, who entertained him at Mokau, Waikaremoana, while several other chiefs exclaimed that they would be glad to accept a Christian teacher amongst them.[49]

Upon reaching Te Whaiti in 1841, which had never been visited by a missionary before, Colenso found the inhabitants had several Bibles which he had printed, and gave some indication of having closely studied the scriptures, though it is not clear from where Ngati Whare acquired these Bibles.[50] On his subsequent trip through the Urewera in 1843, Colenso reported that he found several people at Maungapohatu and Ruatahuna who had learned to read since his last visit and that a chapel had been built at Ruatahuna.[51] According to Best, a Catholic priest, called Reine by Maori, visited Ruatahuna soon after Colenso's årst visit to that place. This priest is said to have taught the people of one village to read and write which would explain how several Tuhoe had acquired this skill by Colenso's next visit in 1843. Best also reports that, at this time, Mahungawhero of Te Ngaue Pa near Maungapohatu owned a Bible, which he had obtained from Wiremu Tamihana at Waikato.

The observations of these early missionaries seem to indicate that Tuhoe, like other Maori, were quite motivated to become literate. Best made an interesting observation on the power of literacy in persuading Urewera Maori to convert to Christianity, while noting that the Tamakaimoana of Maungapohatu were the last hapu of Tuhoe to accept Christianity.[52] He recorded Tutakangahau as saying that Tuhoe were not much inclined to favour Christianity until the missionaries showed them reading and writing, which had a powerful eäect on them because Tuhoe attributed the power of writing to a superior god.[53] Of course, it might be suggested that some Tuhoe recognised the utility and value of reading and favourably regarded missionaries as a means of acquiring this knowledge.

For several years after Colenso's visits to the Urewera, the CMS considered the possibility of opening a mission station in the Urewera. Eventually, James C Preece was appointed to open a station at Te Ahikereru, Te Whaiti district, in 1847. Starnes

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48. See B C Brosnahan, 'The Catholic Parish of Whakatane, 1840–1990: Some Features of its History', *Historical Review*, vol 41, no 1, May 1993, p 2. The CMS missionary Brown would later make numerous references to the Roman Catholic missionaries, bitterly complaining of the liberality with which they dispensed blankets to Tuhoe.
49. Best, p 379
50. W Colenso, 'Excursion', in Taylor, p 29
51. Reine is possibly the Father Reignier mentioned earlier, although Webster states that it was almost certainly Father Baty: Best, pp 562–563; Webster, p 90.
52. Best, p 1030
53. Ibid, p 563

has noted that Preece, who had a ëuent command of the Maori language, spent much of his time teaching both adults and children to read and write and also noted that Preece quickly became a man of inëuence amongst the people of this area. He cited an occasion when Preece acted as peacemaker between Ngati Manawa and Tuhoe, and Ngati Maru of Thames in an incident when a party of Ngati Manawa visiting Hauraki in 1850 violated a tapu and Ngati Maru retaliated. According to Starnes, as a result of Preece's peace making eäorts, the conëict was limited to verbal warfare.[54]

Preece wrote to Bishop Selwyn in 1852 stating that he made six circuits of the Urewera pa each year and once annually went as far as Waikaremoana.[55] Alfred Nesbit Brown, a fellow CMS missionary stationed in Tauranga, who also made annual missionary circuits of the Urewera, commented on the attitude of Maori to the local missions:

> Mr Preece is placed in a very interesting åeld of missionary labour in this isolated station, an interest enhanced by the distance they are removed from any European settlers. The Natives seem very desirous of the instruction, and are very tractable & docile. Their pa was at an inconvenient distance from the Mission Station, but they have lately removed it and are now clustering round their teacher.[56]

Preece spent seven years in Te Urewera until, because of ill health, he was transferred to Whakatane in 1854.[57]

A N Brown travelled through the Urewera between 1844 and 1849. Unfortunately, Brown's journals contain scanty detail of demographic information or the conditions in which the Tuhoe people were living, but do indicate the main kainga which Tuhoe occupied in these years (see fig 6).[58] However, when Brown arrived at the mission station at Ahikereru in mid-November 1848, he commented that many Maori in the area, having heard of the high rate of wages paid at Auckland for Maori labour, had left to work on the public roads.[59] Brown also mentions that in late 1849, inëuenza was very prevalent among the Tuhoe at

54. Starnes, pp 34–35. Best refers to a Reverend G Preece, and it is assumed that this is the same James Preece referred to by Starnes: see Best, pp 475–478. Best says that Preece left Te Whaiti for Whakatane in 1852, while Starnes asserts that this occurred in 1854.
55. Preece was the only catechist in charge of a station, and he wished to be ordained so that he could carry out the duties that only an ordained priest could perform. His request was denied because he did not have all the qualiåcations required for ordination in England, and Selwyn seems not to have placed much importance on the fact that Preece was a ëuent speaker of Maori and that all his ministrations were conducted in Maori: see Starnes, p 36.
56. The Reverend A N Brown's journal, 1 January 1847–10 April 1850, Tauranga, v.2, transcript, ATL Wellington, 3, 4 December 1847, p 12
57. Preece did not stay in Whakatane, instead establishing a mission station on the left bank of the Waiohau Stream, about three miles inland from Pupuaruhe: see Starnes, p 36.
58. The Reverend A N Brown recorded the kainga he visited and the number of Maori who attended his services but does not account for 'heathen' or Roman Catholic Maori, hence the information he supplies will not be reproduced here.
59. The Reverend A N Brown's journal, 18 November 1848, p 27. Best mentions that in around 1879 a good number of Tuhoe were living at Whitianga and employed as gum diggers: see Best, p 390.

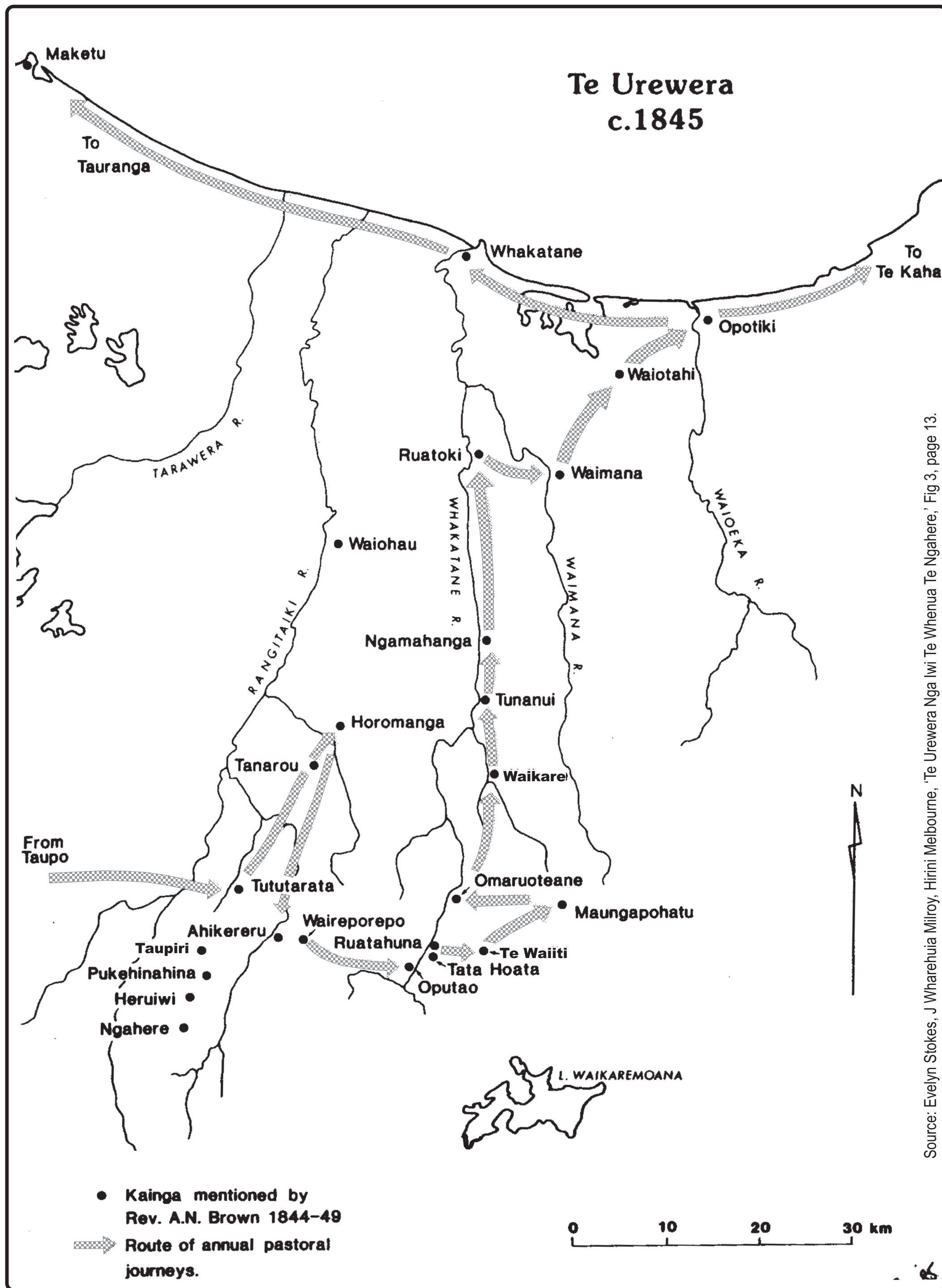

Figure 6: Route of the missionary A N Brown's journeys through Te Urewera, 1844–49

Maungapohatu.[60] Both these instances would have aäected population estimates of the time.

60. The Reverend A N Brown's journal, 29 November 1849, p 44

While Brown despaired that the Tuhoe were 'ignorant of the simplest truths of religion', his tone brightened considerably when observing the gradual inëuence of European civilisation in the Urewera. However, upon reaching Tututarata in late 1847 to ånd the inhabitants in possession of a sheep and a horse, Brown wrote:

> Small patches of wheat too, are now to be seen at almost every residence in this wild district. Civilisation is certainly making progress amongst the Natives . . . [but] instead of acting as a handmaid to Christianity, it seems only to remove them farther from that simplicity of the Gospel which they displayed when in a more barbarous state.[61]

From the records left by Brown it is clear that there were also a large number of Maori converts who worked among the people of the eastern Bay of Plenty, reaching as far inland as Ruatahuna. Some of these 'native catechists' were also Tuhoe; Milroy has noted that the Tuhoe rangatira Te Makarini (also known as Tamarau Waiari), was sent by Te Ahoaho to a mission school at Opotiki and, once literate, was sent back to serve as a preacher at Ruatahuna.[62]

According to Webster, after Preece's mission station at Ahikereru was abandoned, there were no other European missions in Te Urewera for nearly 70 years until Sister Annie Henry established a small branch of the Presbyterian mission at Ruatahuna in 1917.[63]

It would be very diïcult to accurately assess the nature of Tuhoe's conversion to Christianity in the 1840s and 1850s, if indeed this can be said to have occurred to a signiåcant degree, on the basis of the very limited research undertaken for this chapter. It does seem, however, that there was initial Tuhoe support for Christianity, fostered by Maori teachers from Rotorua and elsewhere, before the coming of European missionaries. When these missionaries did arrive, Tuhoe appear to have been curious to learn about, if not adopt, the European customs espoused by them. For Tuhoe, isolated from regular contact with Pakeha, the sporadic visits by these missionaries must have been particularly interesting and functioned in some way to mediate initial cultural contact with the broader, largely unfamiliar, European population. For Tuhoe, missionaries were the means to literacy and access to European goods such as books and blankets. Belich, amongst others, has suggested that Christianity and literacy became 'currencies of rivalry' between iwi in much the same way that muskets had been previously.[64] Too much emphasis on the temporal beneåts that engagement with Christianity brought Tuhoe does, however, underplay the spiritual aspect of the encounter, yet this is precisely the most diïcult question to address. There is very little information on how many Tuhoe were 'converted' as such; the records kept by A N Brown, for example, tell us the number of Tuhoe attending his sermons, or the number of Tuhoe that Brown baptised on any particular day, but do not indicate what proportion of the

61. Ibid, 30 November 1847, p 11
62. J W Milroy, 'Tamarau Waiari', in *1870–1900*, p 500
63. Webster, p 91
64. Belich, p 217

community these individuals represented, or their relative backgrounds and attitudes, vis-à-vis Tuhoe non-Christians.

There is some evidence, though, that Tuhoe, like other Maori, transformed Christian teachings at the same time as those teachings changed the Tuhoe world view. Best, for example, noted that Jesus Christ was employed as a åghting atua by a Tuhoe hapu in a battle at Toka-a-kuku.[65] Given that Preece was the sole resident missionary in the Urewera, and only for a short time, and that other missionary visits were sporadic, Christian beliefs gained a foothold among Tuhoe rather than becoming deeply entrenched; it seems that Tuhoe evolved a Maori form of Christianity, while not completely abandoning their own beliefs. When the magistrate Hunter Brown visited Tuhoe in 1862, he noted that church services were still being held amongst Tuhoe by their 'Native Teachers' but called them a 'mere farce; so at least it appears to an Englishman'.[66]

Hunter Brown also noted that the Catholic missionaries had been particularly successful in the lower Whakatane valley and at Te Waimana and considered them to be a negative political inëuence, in so far as he received more taunts and criticisms from Catholic converts than other Maori. Belich has noted that Catholicism and Methodism sometimes functioned as 'denominations of dissent' among Maori relative to the prevailing political landscape, in the 1840s especially.[67] Whether these Tuhoe, however, adopted Catholicism in a conscious eäort to distinguish themselves from an Anglican political establishment is by no means clear.

2.4 The Treaty of Waitangi and Kawanatanga in the Bay of Plenty and Urewera, 1840–66

After the signing of the Treaty at Waitangi on 6 February 1840, copies of it were circulated around the country for signing by Maori chiefs. The task of obtaining signatures of rangatira of outlying districts often fell to missionaries; in the case of the eastern Bay of Plenty, James Fedarb, a former CMS missionary and trader employed by Gilbert Mair, was charged with this responsibility. He left Tauranga in late May, travelling in the *Mercury* to Ohiwa on 25 May, then continued overland to Opotiki. From there, Fedarb travelled on another schooner to Whakatane on 31 May and distributed what he termed 'tracts', notices about (and copies of), the Treaty.[68] Fedarb returned to Ohiwa, stayed at Waiotahi, and then went east to Te Kaha and Torere before returning to Whakatane on 16 June. He departed from Whakatane the following day and gave his copy of the Treaty with the signatures he had obtained to Colenso at Paihia on 30 June 1840.[69]

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65. Best, p 563
66. 'Report from C Hunter Brown', p 28
67. Belich, p 219
68. 'Te Kaupapa o te Raupatu' (Wai 46 rod, doc a18), p 29
69. Ibid

According to Ngati Awa researchers, Fedarb's movements are important because there were potentially many Ngati Awa, Whakatohea, and Tuhoe hapu that he may have visited in the åve weeks that he was in this district.[70] Orange says that Fedarb, however, only managed to get 26 signatures for his eäorts.[71] Of the 17 signatures obtained at Whakatane, all but one were from Ngati Pukeko and were taken at Pupuaruhe Pa. Possibly this number of signatories was a reëection of the fact there was less missionary inëuence in the eastern Bay of Plenty than in other areas of the country at the time; then again, there is a suggestion that the recent visit of Bishop Pompallier to the Bay of Plenty inëuenced Maori to be badly disposed to the Treaty. Orange notes that the Anglican signatories at Opotiki insisted that Fedarb identify whether signatories were Anglican or Catholic.[72] Ngati Awa researchers have also suggested that hapu politics and rivalries between Catholic converts at Whakatane and the Anglican converts at Rangitaiki may have prevented Fedarb from gaining more adherents.[73]

Belich has noted that there is a strong correlation between the distribution of European settlement and Treaty signatories, suggesting that the motivation for signing the Treaty, at least in part for some of the chiefs, was to get British help in 'policing the Pakeha–Maori interface'.[74] If this is the case, it hardly needs to be stated that the small numbers of Europeans on the Bay of Plenty coast, and their total absence from the Urewera, would not have provided much impetus for Bay of Plenty Maori to sign the Treaty.

Tuhoe, then, did not sign the Treaty of Waitangi and it is not at all clear whether they even had the opportunity to do so, though as stated, Fedarb's movements in the region over a period of some weeks might well have been known to Tuhoe at the time. One of the most frustrating gaps in the research record as far as Tuhoe are concerned is any indication of their attitude towards the Treaty of Waitangi, and the imposition of British law and state machinery in the Bay of Plenty. It is worth noting in this context, however, that the missionary J A Wilson, mentioned above, was not only the årst missionary that Tuhoe really had any contact with but also one of the few CMS missionaries to oppose the Treaty. Speaking of the Treaty in a letter to the Reverend A N Brown, Wilson stated that 'theory and practice (when they do begin to work) are two diäerent things'.[75] We can only speculate if this is in any way connected to Tuhoe not signing the Treaty. They may not have signed the document in 1840, but they would almost certainly have been aware of its existence shortly thereafter. The CMS missionary A N Brown had had the responsibility of gaining signatures from Tauranga chiefs in 1840 and only a few years later, from 1844, he was making annual circuits of Urewera kainga. It seems unlikely that Brown, having played a prominent part in promoting the Treaty in the Bay of Plenty, would

70. Ibid
71. C Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Wellington, Bridget Williams Books Ltd and Department of Internal Aäairs, 1995, p 62
72. Ibid, p 76
73. 'Te Kaupapa o te Raupatu', p 31
74. Belich, p 200
75. 'Te Kaupapa o te Raupatu', p 31

not have been engaged in a discussion of the matter and associated issues of sovereignty.

Yet, to all intents and purposes, life in the Urewera must have continued as if the Treaty had never been signed. Hobson and Williams had urged Maori to consider the protections aäorded them, their lands and property by signing the Treaty but Tuhoe would not have felt the need for British ‘protection’. They did not immediately face the pressures concomitant with increased settler presence and the view that they retained ultimate authority over the ownership and control of their lands would have been unquestioned.

The expectation that they retained tino rangatiratanga over their lands would also have been reinforced by the fact of very little oïcial contact with Tuhoe prior to the New Zealand Wars and of very little land sold in the district immediately surrounding the Urewera. In the Bay of Plenty, and especially the Urewera, Maori law and custom prevailed, albeit punctuated by infrequent visits by Government oïcials stationed outside of the eastern Bay of Plenty. Edward Shortland, sub-protector of Aborigines, was stationed at Maketu from 1842 to April 1843, being replaced by T H Smith until the post was abolished in 1846. Subsequently, Governor Grey established resident magistrates under the Resident Magistrates’ Courts Ordinance 1846 but this system was not extended to the Bay of Plenty until 1852, when T H Smith was sent to Rotorua as resident magistrate for Rotorua and the Bay of Plenty. He remained in this post until 1856 but was not immediately replaced, although some appointed Maori assessors continued to operate from Maketu at this time. Eventually, H T Clarke was appointed resident magistrate for the Bay of Plenty in 1859. He was stationed at Tauranga and made occasional visits to coastal Ngati Awa territory but the Urewera was apparently not included in his circuit. On the other side of the Urewera, C Hunter Brown was appointed resident magistrate for the Wairoa district in 1862 and was succeeded by Samuel Deighton in 1865.

The resident magistrates were an important component of a general assimilation policy which was promoted by the Native Districts Regulation Act 1858 and Native Circuit Courts Act 1858. The preamble to the former Act states that it was passed ‘in order to promote the civilisation of the Native race’ and, in providing for the limited introduction of British law into what were termed ‘native districts’, the Act implicitly acknowledged that these districts operated under their own, customary, laws. The resident magistrates were to operate in conjunction with locally established Maori runanga, on whom they would rely for this system to operate eäectively. These Maori runanga, modelled on traditional runanga, were largely involved in dispute resolution and maintenance of civil order. There is some evidence of limited Tuhoe participation in these runanga; Himiona of Waikare, a young chief whom Tuhoe held, according to Hunter Brown, to be ‘the cleverest and most inëuential man of Whakatane’, ‘spoke with great weariness of his work in the purely Native Runanga’.[76]

76. ‘Report from C Hunter Brown’, p 30

In 1861, Grey, acknowledging the fact that these runanga already made and enforced their own laws, tried to bring Maori further within the pale of Government authority by appointing Civil Commissioners in addition to the resident magistrates. The commissioners were instructed to establish a system of local administration based on the runanga, and which would comprise the resident magistrates, chiefs, police, assessors, and messengers (karere), under the direction of the commissioner. T H Smith was appointed Civil Commissioner for the Bay of Plenty in early 1862, and it is clear from comments directed to him from Sewell, the Attorney-General, that the mooted runanga system had a political motive:

> The Natives of the district of the Bay of Plenty appear from recent accounts to be in an unsettled temper of mind, hanging between submission to the Queen's authority and adherence to the King movement. It is of importance that no time should be lost in tranquillizing their minds, and securing their allegiance to the Government.[77]

Governor Grey, then, sought to do this by the introduction of the 'new institutions' scheme, which would pay salaries to Maori assessors, wardens, and messengers. Grey hoped that these salaries and the provision of schools, hospitals, and other infrastructure would encourage leading tribal men, who might themselves benefit under the system, to persuade their hapu to accept Grey's offer and, implicitly, the rule of British law.[78]

The resident magistrate at Wairoa, C Hunter Brown, was dispatched to persuade the iwi of the eastern Bay of Plenty to accept the Governor's new institutions. He travelled through the Tuhoe rohe in 1862 and his visit was important because it was the first official visit that Tuhoe had received. While remaining the most isolated of Maori tribes from centres of European influence, it is evident from the reproaches levelled at Hunter Brown by Tuhoe that they had keenly observed Maori–Pakeha interaction in neighbouring rohe from the late 1850s with growing disquiet. Physical isolation afforded Tuhoe the privilege of learning from other tribes' experiences and the majority of Tuhoe opinion shifted to oppose the intrusion of Pakeha and their acquisition of Maori land. If Hunter Brown's impressions can be relied upon, Tuhoe resented the inhospitality shown by Pakeha to Maori, and cited Grey's prohibition on gunpowder, the prices paid by Pakeha in the old days for Maori land and the recent war in Taranaki as reasons for their displeasure.[79]

Consideration of Grey's policies seemed to strike deep fears in Tuhoe about losing control of their land; to Tuhoe, recognition of the authority of the Crown was implicit in acceptance of the runanga system and carried with it the dangers that had afflicted other tribes:

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77. 'Attorney-General to T H Smith', 14 December 1861, AJHR, 1862, e-9, sec 4, p 3
78. Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice: Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1974 (reprinted Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1983), pp 125–146
79. 'Report from C Hunter Brown', p 28

> You urge these things on us that we may come under the Queen! Then away goes our land, and we become slaves to the Queen! The Queen comes coaxing (whakapatipati) us with money that she may get the 'mana' of the land.[80]

Hunter Brown surmised:

> Herein are seen the strength of the [Tuhoe] opposition to us, and of their adherence to the [Maori] King; fear for their land, fear for their nationality, fear 'lest they should be made slaves to the Queen'.[81]

Tuhoe were but one of many major iwi in the North Island to succumb to feelings of a growing nationalism in this period, which cut across the traditional ties of kinship alliances and parochial concerns. In the years 1855–1858, which saw the emergence of the Maori King movement, it appears that a signiåcant number of Tuhoe were early and staunch supporters of Maori autonomy. Tuhoe rangatira attended the hui at Pukawa on the shores of Lake Taupo in 1857 at which they were one of 37 tribes to give their allegiance to the Maori King.[82] The following year, Maungapohatu was pledged as a symbol of the allegiance of Tuhoe to King Potatau Te Wherowhero.[83]

In 1862, though, Hunter Brown reported Tuhoe 'hesitation and doubt' as to the Maori King, but 'in the minds of some a decided hankering to support him'.[84] There was not, he suggested, unilateral Tuhoe support for the Kingitanga. Brown named Paerau of Oputao, Te Manihera of Tatahoata, Himiona of Waikarewhenua, Mohi of Maungapohatu, and Anania (Rakuraku?) of Waimana as giving a cautious but qualiåed assent to Grey's runanga proposals (and Brown clearly thought support for the King and support for the new policy to be practically incompatible).[85] Even so, those who agreed to consider the runanga system reserved their right to withdraw support at any point. Himiona of Waikare, one of the most enthusiastic of Hunter Brown's Tuhoe supporters, stated that he would have the seat as well as the legs of the chair upon which it was proposed to place him, lest he be capsized by Pakeha.[86] Hunter Brown, on the other hand, knew that this would not guarantee the control Tuhoe sought:

> I have thought since that if the Maoris are to have the seat and its legs, we Pakehas shall have the very ëoor on which the seat rests – money. Take away that and I fear that he and his chair too would very soon drop out of sight.[87]

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80. Ibid, p 30
81. Ibid, p 28
82. James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period*, 2 vols, Wellington, Government Printer, 1922 (reprinted Wellington, Government Printer, 1983), vol 1, p 151
83. S Melbourne, 'Te Manemanerau a te Kawanatanga: A History of Conåscation of Tuhoe Lands in the Bay of Plenty', MA thesis, University of Waikato, 1987, p 44
84. 'Report from C Hunter Brown', p 28
85. They would not commit their hapu to the new policy until it had been discussed at a hui a iwi.
86. 'Report from C Hunter Brown', p 30
87. Ibid

Whatever reservations Tuhoe may have had about the Kingitanga, however, appear to have been outweighed by their qualms at having Government law and institutions established within their rohe. Those Tuhoe addressed by Brown appeared to think that they had to choose not only between the Maori King and the 'Queen's law' but also between the Christianity introduced by the missionaries and Government authority. One man expressed his difficulty reconciling the two ritenga when he stated:

> 'Whom do you come from?' said he, 'from the Governor? Ah! that is enough! Had you come from the Bishop, it would have been all right! Why did the missionaries tell us nothing of all this? Why did not they tell us of another law to follow? Why was not Mr Spencer (missionary at Tarawera) sent to preach this law to us? He is not far off!'[88]

This comment invites the question as to how Tuhoe viewed the Treaty of Waitangi and whether they felt under any obligation because of it to acknowledge the Queen's sovereignty as vested in her Government.

Hunter Brown considered the Catholic priests, who had been particularly successful in the lower Whakatane Valley and Te Waimana, to be a negative political influence and reported the following comment as typical of the remonstrations he received from Catholic Tuhoe:

> In the beginning you brought me the faith (Whakapono). I received it blindly. I have since seen the wrong (he) of it; now you bring me another law, I am going to be more cautious. Yours is a land-taking man-destroying Church. The French are nice people; they don't take land! You have deserted the faith, and set up the Queen as your God![89]

When the chief Te Whenuanui expressed regret at his hasty endorsement of the runanga system (having pledged his allegiance to the Vicar-General), James Fulloon, who travelled as Hunter Brown's interpreter on this occasion, went some way to reassure Tuhoe that Protestant and Catholic enjoyed 'thorough equality' before the law and that cooperation with the new system would not compromise Te Whenuanui's Catholicism. This reassured Te Whenuanui for the time being and he gave a somewhat cautious assent, reported a satisfied Brown.[90]

Neither Hunter Brown nor Fulloon, however, was able to assuage Tuhoe feelings over trading issues on the Bay of Plenty coast: 'Let the Governor send us a trader to buy dear and sell cheap; then indeed for the first time will we believe in his love for us!' Trade grievances, according to Hunter Brown, were *the* bone of contention that coastal iwi, including those Tuhoe with close links to the coast, had with the Crown: 'Poor fellows – they can't for the life of them understand how the Governor can stop[gun] powder and grog, and not cheapen trade!'. In spite of the fact that this issue was vigorously debated at Ruatoki and Waimana, it did not stop what was

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88. Ibid, pp 28–29
89. Ibid, p 28
90. Ibid, p 30

apparently an enthusiastic endorsement of the runanga policy by those communities.[91]

What follows is Hunter Brown's summary of the political temperament of the Tuhoe communities he visited in 1862:

Taoroa: Hesitation; avowed neutrality, accompanied by avowed expectation that their neutrality and watching will end in coming over to the Queen.

Ahikereru: Same; more professed adhesion to King. Hamiora, chief and teacher, thinks well of the 'tikangas' and evidently expected them to be carried out.

Oputao: Consent and co-operation of Pairau [Paerau], the chief. Indiäerence of rest.

Tatahoata: Consent, but with reserve and distrust. Consent and cooperation of Te Manihera, chief and teacher.

Tahora: Same; approval of the chief Te Whenuanui, accompanied, I think, by some lingering distrust.

Tuapuku: Chief, Kawana. Intention to receive the new things, but with exceeding caution; ready to drop them at the årst sign of treachery.

Waikare-whenua: Assent; co-operation of Himiona, chief and R Catholic teacher.

Ruatoki: Assent; Te Matenga, chief, decidedly.

Waimana: Assent; chief Anania cordially so.[92]

In 1862, then, Tuhoe held many concerns about the Maori relationship with the Government and closely followed events in Taranaki and on the Bay of Plenty coast with apprehension. Fears about losing land, or control over it, coupled with more general anxieties about the expansion of Pakeha inëuence had led a considerable number of Tuhoe to support the King movement. As Hunter Brown noted in 1862, however, some Tuhoe seemed unready to wholly commit to the King movement, possibly as a result of events at Taranaki which showed just how far the Government was prepared to go to enforce its authority.

While Tuhoe condemned Government actions at Taranaki, and some rejected the runanga policy because of it, there were apparently a number of Urewera chiefs who were willing to consider the alleged beneåts of representation on Grey's runanga. This tentative support however, was conditional on Maori retaining a real authority in the process, a point Himiona had made quite clear.

2.5 Descriptions of Te Urewera and Tuhoe by Early European Visitors

2.5.1 Introduction

This brief section of chapter 2 will broadly canvass European impressions of Tuhoe and the Urewera in the årst years of contact between these peoples. As this chapter has noted, there was very little contact between Tuhoe and Europeans prior to the

91. This, at least, was the impression Hunter Brown conveyed to the Native Department, but it has to be questioned if the 30 men addressed at Ruatoki really represented what was supposed to be a large kainga.
92. 'Report from C Hunter Brown', p 34

New Zealand wars – it is a contention of this report that this lack of contact and familiarity produced partial and, often, negative European images of Tuhoe which in turn influenced the official treatment of the iwi. There are several repetitious themes in the writings of Pakeha who ventured into the Tuhoe heartland; to these outsiders, Tuhoe were the last vestiges of the stoic and warlike old-time Maori, who were rapidly disappearing at the onslaught of European civilisation and culture. Tuhoe resided in an area of the country which had remained apart – a mysterious and remote landscape which delighted the tourist, but disappointed those expecting or hoping for quality land and mineral wealth. Many descriptive passages linger on the physical impression Tuhoe made on their Pakeha observers; their raw 'savagery' apparently striking, as was their facility for traversing the inhospitable, almost impenetrable Urewera mountains that proved such a barrier for Pakeha. The image of the independent Tuhoe 'bushman', perfectly at home where Europeans would struggle to survive, was commonplace.

While some of these writings betray an admiration for a hardy people, steadfast in observing the traditions of their ancestors, they also did a disservice to the Tuhoe of their day. Tuhoe were, on the one hand, resented for their isolationism, or at least, for their regulation of interaction with Pakeha; on the other hand, they were valued and almost treated as curiosities and museum-pieces for exactly the same reasons. Tuhoe, it was claimed, were seen in their 'virgin' state.

This was patently not the case. It is instructive to remember that most of the observations quoted below date from the wars, by which time Tuhoe were well in the throes of considering just what colonisation meant. To European military commanders in the Urewera, Tuhoe may have *looked* untouched, as it were, but Tuhoe had long had to adjust to the fact of Pakeha presence and some of the opportunities it afforded. The rate of change in the Urewera may not have been as rapid as it had been in other parts of the country but, as we have seen, there *was* change. There was a move to engage with Europeans economically and, to some limited degree, culturally. Tuhoe attitudes in the New Zealand wars also demonstrated an increased awareness of being Maori, of greater concerns than those of the tribe, on the part of some Tuhoe. While Tuhoe pretensions to autonomy, in spite of being forced to 'come in' in 1871, were intolerable to Pakeha, the officials of the day grudgingly had to admit that they were not in a position to assert the direct rule of British law in Te Urewera.

The remainder of this section relies heavily on direct quotes from official reports, diaries, letters, and memoranda that record the experiences of early European travellers in Te Urewera in the nineteenth century. These extracts need to be read with a view to their historical context. They are provided for the insight they give us into European attitudes of the day, as much as for the information they provide about Tuhoe at this time.

2.5.2 Te Urewera Haere Po and a 'terra incognita'

During the nineteenth century, the physical isolation of the Urewera from main centres of European occupation did much to foster a European image of Tuhoe as intimidating and fierce warriors. There was some truth in this impression: Best mentions that to other iwi, Tuhoe were known as Te Urewera Haere Po (the night-travelling Urewera) because of their night-time guerilla raids, and as Tuhoe moumou kai, moumou taonga, moumou tangata kite po (Tuhoe wasters of food and property, consigners of men to the spirit world).[93] Belich notes that the Urewera generally had a reputation as a graveyard for invading forces.[94] Edward Shortland, sub-protector of Aborigines who lived at Maketu in the early 1840s, wrote that:

> Some tribes are supposed to have more skill than others in the mystery of makutu [witchcraft]. The Uriwera, [sic] . . . have the worst reputation in this respect of any in New Zealand.[95]

It seems likely that Shortland's impression of Tuhoe was coloured by the coastal tribes amongst whom he lived.[96] For a long time, officials like Shortland were to glean a meagre knowledge of the Tuhoe tribe from second-hand reports from other iwi, and from encounters with Tuhoe individuals outside of their rohe.

In 1862, however, Tuhoe hosted their first official visit from C Hunter Brown (discussed above), who also ventured to the upper Rangitaiki valley and to the Kaingaroa plains. His report described the geography of this little known area as he travelled up the Rangitaiki valley, thence via Oputao into the Whakatane valley and, according to Hunter Brown, Tuhoe country proper. Brown explicitly assessed the landscape in terms of possible European settlement, noting gradient, soil types, lumber, and possibilities for transport and communications:

> This little valley [the Waimana valley] and the valley of the Whakatane up to Ruatoki, would be valuable acquisitions for English settlers; farther up the valley would be almost useless, except to lumberers.[97]

Hunter Brown noted that the Kaingaroa plains were claimed partly by 'the Taupo Natives' and partly by 'the Urewera' – in this instance, it is most likely that he was referring to the Ngati Manawa whom Brown considered to be a Tuhoe hapu – but he did not visit Kaingaroa because, he said, it was uninhabited. Noting that the Whirinaki River ran chiefly through forest, Brown spied a large patch of open country above Ahikereru, in Te Whaiti district, where he thought it possible to feed

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93. E Best, *The Maori*, 2nd ed, Wellington, Board of Ethnological Research for the Polynesian Society, vol 2, p 35
94. J Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1986, p 277
95. E Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, London, Longmans, 1856 (reprinted Christchurch, Capper Press, 1980), p 116
96. E Stokes, J Milroy, and H Melbourne, *Te Urewera nga iwi te Whenua te Ngahere: People, Land and Forests of Te Urewera*, Hamilton, University of Waikato, 1986, p 30
97. 'Report from C Hunter Brown', p 24

a few thousand sheep. On the whole though, he estimated that, ‘except for the sake of two or three runs of decidedly inferior character, the Upper Rangitaiki is not adapted for the occupation of English settlers’.[98]

Hunter Brown noted that little expense would be required to put a dray track in from Whakatane up to Ruatoki and Tunanui, but:

> above that point, the great height, steepness, and jumbled-up character of the hills, and the continuous forest, would make it very diïcult to get even a good bridle-track. The Maoris do drag horses along the present track, but it is impossible to ride; indeed, the tract is villanously bad, even for the North Island of New Zealand. . . . The indolent endurance of such atrocious tracks by the Natives of the district is a continual source of astonishment to the traveller.[99]

According to Brown, ‘the Urewera’ claimed possession of the upper Rangitaiki valley, nearly the whole of the Whakatane valley, the Waikaremoana basin and a part of the Kaingaroa plains. He gave their boundaries as follows:

> Starting from the conëuence of the Waimana and Whakatane, their boundary runs along the wooded range bounding the Waimana valley to its junction with a high range at the back of Poverty Bay over the Tauhou mountain, includes Papune and Waikare lakes, and joins the boundary of the Taupo Natives on the Kaingaroa plain. Starting again from the Whakatane river westerly, it strikes oä to Waiohau on the Rangitaiki, up that river to Taoroa and out on to Kaingaroa. Speaking of the boundary on this side, Mokonui-a-rangi of Tapahoro, Tarawera lake, Chief of the Ngatirangitihi, observed that there would be some diïculty in åxing the boundary between Ngatirangitihi and the Ngatimanawa hapu of the Urewera, because the two tribes were so closely connected; illustrating his remark by dovetailing together the ångers of his two hands.[100]

In a revealing comment, Brown apologised for the ‘vague’ description of Tuhoe boundaries but explained that because Tuhoe were so suspicious, it was all he thought well to ask for.

Brown noted that absences from Tuhoe kaingas were common, with people away in Hawke’s Bay working for cash, at the coast to trade or to visit friends; in the bush bird snaring, or at distant cultivations.[101] Clearly to Hunter Brown, the wilder (less civilised) the Urewera countryside, the wilder its inhabitants:

> In social condition the Urewera are somewhat backward, as might be expected from their local position with no port, no roads, and no resident Pakeha except a respectable trader at Ruatoki. There is a perceptible diäerence between those who live in the open country of Waimana, Ruatoki and Rangitaiki, and those who live in the wooded mountains of Ruatahuna. The former plough their land, have sledges and drays and grow a little wheat, and have generally a steel mill at the kainga, and are

98. Ibid
99. Ibid, p 25
100. Ibid, p 26
101. Ibid, p 27

dressed nearly up to the average Maori style. The latter have a few horses and a very few head of cattle, but no ploughs or wheat. At the wildest kainga you see the unfailing iron pot, and almost always an iron kettle; but camp ovens, pails, pannikins, knives, forks, spoons, and plates, of which a few specimens are generally to be found in a coast kainga, are well nigh unknown in Ruatahuna. Soap appears to be quite unknown, judging by their appearance. The children generally run about naked; and blankets and roundabouts, shirts and trowsers are much scarcer than amongst the coast tribes; here you may still see both men and women clad solely in one or two kokas (shaggy ëax mats). Saddles are almost unknown, and I have seen a young hero come galloping up to the kainga in a very showy style with a slip of ëax knotted round his horse' lower jaw for sole caparison of his steed, and a dirty sheet knotted on the left shoulder for himself.[102]

In order to make Grey's runanga system work in the Urewera, Hunter Brown clearly envisaged European magistrates and oïcials deåning the framework in which European and Tuhoe were to interact, though he also appeared to concede that Tuhoe participation would be both necessary and important:

the Maoris will be the principal workers of it; that 'the Europeans' share in working it will be to point out the way, and to save the Maoris from making mistakes and from losing time in trying plans which have been tried by us already and found to be bad.[103]

This was an urgent task, according to Brown, who already detected a serious deterioration in Pakeha–Maori relationships inland and along the eastern Bay of Plenty coast. He thought this could, in part, be attributed to the 'long course of comparative neglect' that these Maori had experienced. They had, in fact, had more contact with undesirable elements such as traders, whalers, and their associates, leaving an impression that Hunter Brown considered was:

not calculated to give them the best possible data on which to form a fair opinion of that strange people into whose hands they see, with deep misgivings, that the wealth and mana of the land are rapidly passing.[104]

Hunter Brown's misgivings were realised, of course, as Tuhoe decided to support Waikato when it was invaded by Imperial troops and colonial forces in 1863. Later, when Te Kooti found refuge in the Urewera, Tuhoe, and neighbouring iwi attracted colonial and kupapa expeditions into their heartland.

During one of these military sojourns to the Urewera country, Lieutenant-Colonel J H H St John was instructed to provide a description of the land he termed a 'terra incognita' – the Whakatane and Urewera districts. So interesting was his dispatch as, at the time, no one knew anything about the country or its resources, that St John's report was forwarded by Governor Bowen to the Colonial Oïce. St John's report was possibly the genesis of the persistent myth that the Urewera held gold-bearing country; 'It is, however, my årm opinion that these mountains contain

102. Ibid
103. Ibid, p 32
104. Ibid, p 34

within their bosom, mines which some day will add to the wealth of New Zealand'.[105] He commented that while the Urewera might have contained mineral resources, and although the Tuhoe appeared to cultivate quality potatoes in quantity in fertile river ëats in the valleys, the land of the 'rebel' Whakatohea and Urewera was otherwise 'worthless':

> I have ascended all these rivers, and can only describe the upper country through which they ëow as utterly impracticable. The only possible roads lie up the beds of the streams; often these have to be left to avoid deep pools or rapids, and steep hills ascended merely to go down again. From these summits, far and wide, nothing can be seen but a vast jumble of mountains tossed into all manner of fantastic shapes. There is hardly a mile of these tracks where spots cannot be found in which åfty men could with ease stop one thousand. The sides of the hills are, with few exceptions, clothed with thick bush, but rarely carry timber which would repay the cost of ëoating it down in freshes . . . the best timber grows generally on the hills away from the river . . . The scenery of the Urewera is grand and wild, and a tourist or a geologist would have been delighted with the excursion I took under circumstances not favourable to a search after the picturesque.[106]

The symbolic victory of penetrating the fastnesses of the Urewera was not lost on the military leadership; aside from showing Tuhoe that they were not beyond the reach of the law, the invasion had in some way perforated Tuhoe's cultural autonomy – it was thenceforth considered a matter of time before Tuhoe succumbed to civilisation. In the following extract, Captain Gilbert Mair echoed Hunter Brown in attributing the Tuhoe antipathy toward Pakeha to the fact of their seclusion:

> The fact of a small force having passed through the whole of the Urewera country, in so short a time, and during the worst months of the year, ought to teach them that their wild country will not save them from punishment, should they continue in rebellion; while their being brought into contact with Europeans cannot fail to have a beneåcial eäect, and do away with the dread and mistrust with which long seclusion has taught them to look upon us.
>
> Many of the Urewera have never seen the sea, and hardly ever a white man.
>
> The Maungapowhatu [sic] Natives are a wild, restless set, with large shaggy heads of hair, and clad in mats made from coarse åbres of the *toi (cordyline indivisa)* – they bore but small resemblance to civilised beings.[107]

Captain Porter and Major Ropata met Tuhoe at Tawhana in the same year. Porter observed that they were:

> one of the åercest tribes in appearance I have ever met; they are true savages, and decorated with white feathers tied in their hair and forming a sort of scalp lock similar to that of the North American Indians. Most of them were nude with the exception of

105. 'Colonel J H H St John's Description of the Urewera and Taupo Country', 8 October 1869, AJHR, 1870, a-1b, p 51
106. Ibid, pp 50–51
107. 'Captain Mair to the Oïcer Commanding Tauranga District', 11 July 1871, AJHR, 1871, f-1, p 44

> a fancy worked mat round the waist. When all had met they rose and danced as a token of welcome, the eäect of which was very striking, with the brandishing of weapons and the accompaniment of yells and a sort of chant. A notorious character, known as the brave of Tamaikowha [sic], was pointed out to me by the name of Te Patu Toro (scout killer), who is famed among the Urewera tribes for the number of men killed by him; he is also remarkable for the number of weapons carried about his person. . . . At Tamaikowha's request I shook hands with the whole of his people, many of whom had never before seen a European; in reply to my salutations they greeted me as their brave enemy.[108]

The following year, in 1872, Lieutenant-Colonel St John visited the Armed Constabulary redoubt at Onepoto on Lake Waikaremoana. His observations anticipated the ethnological suppositions of Elsdon Best and the Polynesian society, who surmised that the physiological variations of the Tuhoe people reëected their ancient 'tangata whenua' heritage overlaid with that of the Mataatua immigrants:

> A few young men of the Uriwera [sic] were at the post on our arrival . . . and once more I remarked the diäerence of features which exists, not only between them and the coast natives, but even among each other. The majority are much darker than the usual type of Maori, and are distinguished by ëat noses and blubber lips, in many cases as marked as those of the negro. Others, on the contrary, have a perfect Jewish type of countenance, so remarkably developed as to attract immediate attention, and are very handsome species of manhood. Mountain and bush bred, they are as active as cats, and it is marvellous to see an Uriwera, [sic] laden with his swag and riëe, literally run up and down hills covered with dense undergrowth through which Europeans have to move at a snail's pace. Their legs would make splendid models, and their feet, as a rule, are very large.[109]

In late 1874, Donald McLean sent Locke to Ruatahuna to settle a boundary dispute between Tuhoe and the Wairoa tribes.[110] According to Locke, no European had visited the Urewera since the war.[111] Upon commencing this journey, Locke made the following comments to Price:

> The native customs are fast dying out, and it is only amongst the Uriweras [sic] where they are to be seen in their virgin impurity. No one has been in there since the war; very few of the tribe have been out of their district, and none of the young people have ever seen a white man.[112]

The party årst travelled through Waikaremoana on their way to Te Mimi, and then Ruatahuna. Price noticed that there were many Maori settlements on the hills

108. 'Captain Porter's Diary', 13 February 1871, AJHR, 1871, f-1, pp 31–32
109. 'Lieutenant St John (1836–76)', *Early Travellers in New Zealand*, N Taylor (ed), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1959, p 575
110. R Price, 'Through the Uriwera Country', Napier, *Daily Telegraph*, 1891 (bound in *New Zealand Pamphlets*, vol 1a), preface, p 15
111. Ibid, p 10
112. Ibid, preface

bordering Waikaremoana, 'the bright green cultivations forming striking contrasts to the more sombre tints of the virgin forest'.[113]

Upon reaching Te Mimi Pa, to which Locke had been summoned by letter by Paerau, one of Tuhoe's principal chiefs, Price observed:

> There are cultivated clearings of considerable extent in every direction through the bush, and immense quantities of excellent potatoes and maize are grown. This is the årst Uriwera [sic] pa on the northern side of the Waikaremoana Lake, and is placed on a commanding site at the head of the Whakatane valley.[114]

The next day Price and his party started for Ruatahuna and when they drew near Price noted that:

> the track was lined in many places with wild raspberry plants, sweetbriar, and strawberries; all sorts of English fruit trees were growing luxuriantly, and wherever the ground was unoccupied by grass and biribiri, large patches of wild pansies threw up their prettily painted ëowers and attracted notice.[115]

Travelling from Te Mimi to Ruatahuna, a distance estimated by Price to be approximately 12 miles, Price noticed several destroyed pa and settlements, which had been burned by Colonel Whitmore's forces.[116] Arriving at Ruatahuna, however, he noted that Te Kooti's standard still ëew in front of the 'Runanga house'.[117] Describing the Tuhoe he encountered at Ruatahuna, Price recalled:

> The men were of large stature and extremely muscular; the tattoo markings on their faces were cut deeper than is noticeable in the Hawke's Bay natives, and the dye used was blue. Some of the faces of the old chiefs looked a short distance oä as if they had received a coat of purple colored paint. Very few of them had any European clothing; native manufactured mats being quite as common as the blanket, and they were handsomely designed and beautifully made.[118]

Price recorded that he observed 260 to 300 men perform a haka with many other people at the rear of the haka party.[119] The visiting party were presented with a hakari. Price described the exhibition of potatoes as a wall measuring 63 feet long, four feet high and three kits, placed long ways, deep. In addition, Tuhoe presented a large waka ålled with some type of food preserved in its own fat and several scores of calabashes full of preserved pigeon. Price wrote:

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113. Ibid, p 15
114. Ibid, pp 21, 23
115. Ibid, pp 24–25. Peter Webster has suggested that the New Zealand wars may have checked the steady and centralised growth of cultivated areas in the highlands because Tuhoe would have been aware that it was strategically better to have food supplies widely scattered. He compares Price's description of Ruatahuna with Whitmore's (Whitmore was in Ruatahuna åve years earlier). Whitmore notes that abandoned potato patches were small and overgrown with scrub. Those at Ruatahuna were described as limited and insuïcient to support a large number of inhabitants: see Webster, p 89.
116. Price, p 24
117. Ibid, p 29
118. Ibid, p 37
119. Ibid, p 31

> It was easy to see that the Uriwera[sic] tribe were wealthy in food, and industrious in obtaining it, but in every other respect they were in poverty. They had no money, nor did they know its value, and one could hardly help contrasting their position, and their grade in the scale of civilisation with that occupied by the Hawke's Bay natives, who could, if they pleased, surround themselves with every luxury, without extravagantly expending the enormous sums they annually receive from their leased lands.[120]

It is interesting to note that Price was warned by Locke and Ferris not to be seen fossicking for gold as it could mean the banning of further European entry to the Urewera except for Government officials. Price found Tuhoe 'to be extremely suspicious' and recorded that he was unable to move beyond the settlement without being closely followed.[121]

After peace had been negotiated with Tuhoe, St John wrote in 1873, that:

> The whole of this district, from Whakatane southwards, was for a long time vexed and plagued with uncomfortable neighbours. The mountains of the interior were inhabited by the fierce Uriweras . . . a tribe thoroughly hostile to Europeans, and whose boast it was that its fastnesses were a secure refuge against any foe; it was their common practice to descend to the coast down one of the gorges, shoot or burn, and then disappear as rapidly as they had come.[122]

St John implied that Tuhoe had been taught a valuable lesson when colonial and kupapa forces invaded the Urewera mountains in the late 1860s in a hunt for Te Kooti. Although the Urewera's security had been violated, the peace was more in the nature of a truce; Tuhoe remained resistant to European settlement and influence. To the European outsiders, Tuhoe were proud, aloof, and uncooperative and remained so long after McLean's pacification.

2.6 Estimates of the Urewera Population

It has been impossible to reliably calculate the population of the Urewera district in the early and mid-nineteenth century. The sources referred to in this section were taken from limited official and military reports, and in an atmosphere of mistrust and hostility. The unfamiliarity of the census enumerators with many of the Tuhoe hapu also meant that these hapu were misidentified and allocated to the wrong iwi groupings.

This chapter has not attempted to guess the size of the Tuhoe pre-contact population but given the constraints provided by the harsh Urewera landscape, we might safely assume that this population would have been relatively small. As Best put it, a 'people who gain a livelihood by means of hunting, with a supplementary

120. Ibid, pp 37–38
121. Ibid, p 40
122. J H H St John, *Pakeha Rambles through Maori Lands*, Wellington, Robert Burrett, 1873 (reprinted Christchurch, Capper Press, 1984), p 156

supply of berries and roots, are not in a position to densely populate their country'.[123] He also noted that in the 1820s, Tuhoe were at a 'great' numeric disadvantage compared with coastal tribes.[124]

Peter Webster has postulated, though, that the introduction of the potato could quite conceivably have led to an increase in the Tuhoe population from the 1830s.[125] In about the same period, after the intertribal conflict of the 1820s and 1830s, Tuhoe had managed to secure control over fertile and warm areas of the Bay of Plenty where the kumara grew. These supposed boons to the Tuhoe population would presumably have been balanced by the dislocation and deaths, due to warfare, that Tuhoe suffered at the same time.

When J A Wilson was stationed at Opotiki, he made various journeys and estimations of the Maori population of the eastern Bay of Plenty. In correspondence to the CMS dating from July 1841, he guessed that 'the Urewera' comprised about 800 fighting men, with a total population of about 2100 people.[126] This is less than Colenso's contemporaneous census of 3000 people but roughly commensurate with C Hunter Brown's estimate of 20 years later, though Wilson does not appear to have broken this estimate down into district or kainga figures where main Tuhoe populations were settled. However, a thorough examination of the missionary A N Brown's journals might yield some indication of the size of Tuhoe kainga that he visited on his circuits in 1844–49. On one visit to Ruatoki in 1846, Brown reported finding more than 200 people present, and he subsequently ministered to a congregation of about 600 people assembled there.[127] This assembly, however, appears not to have been solely Tuhoe. Ruatoki was one of Tuhoe's main settlements and its size was not matched by many villages in the Urewera. Best, for example, habitually refers to Tuhoe kainga as 'hamlets', small clusters of whare scattered far and wide from the main flats and valleys.

The impact of introduced diseases on Tuhoe communities remains unclear, most particularly for the nineteenth century. This research has not uncovered any substantial information on the subject, although A N Brown's journals mention that Tuhoe at Maungapohatu had died as a result of an influenza epidemic, and Paerau of Oputao later reported in 1862 that there had been a recent great mortality among Tuhoe children. There are also a number of letters from Tuhoe chiefs dating from the New Zealand wars which indicate that there were ongoing attacks of 'sickness' (probably influenza); in one instance, for example, it was reported in October 1870 that 200 Tuhoe had died 'lately'.[128] Further investigation of the consequences of introduced diseases upon the Tuhoe population would be needed before any reliable analysis could be undertaken to show how severely disease affected population figures.

123. Best, *Tuhoe*, p 9
124. Ibid, p 519
125. Webster, p 89
126. Cited in the Reverend J Irwin, 'John Alexander Wilson: First Resident Missionary in Opotiki–Whakatane, 1840–1851', *Journal of the Whakatane and District Historical Society*, vol 15, no 3, 1967, p 164
127. The Reverend A N Brown's journal, 30 July 1846, p 59; see also Irwin, p 164
128. 'Sub-Inspector Gascoigne to Lieut-Colonel Moule', 17 October 1870, AJHR, 1871, f-1, p 6

After Colenso's second visit to Te Urewera, he presented a detailed report of that journey to Henry Williams. In the report, Colenso estimated that the population of the Urewera in 1842 would number around 3000, with 'fighting men' numbering about 1000.[129] Bishop Selwyn apparently compiled a detailed census of the Urewera district in 1851, but the source of this information is obscure.[130] Possibly, A N Brown and Preece supplied the data. Selwyn's census cites 126 as the total population of the Urewera district and 132 people for the Ahikereru district. We do not know how these districts were geographically defined and, in any case, these seem questionably low figures.

Hunter Brown collected some census data on his brief journey through the Urewera, which he said was given by local chiefs. This is reproduced below:

Te Whaiti (head of Rangitaiki)	100 men
Waikaremoana	80 men
Ruatahuna	400 men
Ruatoki (90 men and women)	50 men
Waimana	90 men
Total	720 men.[131]

Note that this total represents fighting men only – not youths or elders. It would have to be multiplied by three to give a very rough estimate for a total population, though Hunter Brown says that he observed a higher proportion of children in the Urewera than he did on the coast.

However, these figures are qualified by Hunter Brown's own impressions that the estimates are too high, and by advice from an (unnamed) missionary who commented that Maori habitually over-estimated their population. In this vein, Brown commented that Tuhoe were 'always jealous of inquiries into their numerical strength'.[132] But then Hunter Brown did comment on the fact that it was very difficult to get an accurate idea of the size of Tuhoe communities when people were often away trading, visiting, birding, and so on. In addition, perhaps the nature of Tuhoe occupation patterns – permanent kainga and temporary residences – helped complicate the picture. Brown noted that counting whare to determine population numbers was an unreliable method of estimation when one person could have more than one kainga, and he also noted that Urewera kainga were very small, often of no more than seven or eight whare.[133]

In mid-1871, Gilbert Mair forwarded an estimate of the Tuhoe population to his commanding officer. He also noted that Tuhoe had many healthy children. He observed the prevalence of 'goitre' – a swelling of the throat and neck – which he said was common to mountain populations.[134] His estimates are reproduced in the

129. Starnes, p 34
130. I have only uncovered Hunter Brown's reference to it in the 'Report from C Hunter Brown', p 26.
131. 'Report from C Hunter Brown,' p 26. By 'men', Brown said he meant men who could be mustered to fight.
132. Ibid, p 27
133. Ibid. Brown also noted the extreme smallness of the Urewera kainga, which seldom exceeded seven or eight whare.
134. 'Gilbert Mair to Officer Commanding Tauranga District', 11 July 1871, AJHR, 1871, f-1, p 44

table below but need to be treated with caution, because they are partial at best – Ngati Whare, for example, do not appear at all in relation to Ahikereru or Te Whaiti, perhaps because they were then resident, as surrendered 'rebels', at a Government reserve known as Te Putere, near Matata.

Kainga	Hapu	Chief(s)	Men	Women	Children	Total
Ahikereru	Warahoe		10	6	8	24
Ruatahuna	Ngatihoraaruhe Ngatirongo Ngaiteriu	Te Haunui Paerau Te Whenuanui Te Ahikaiata	50	48	34	132
Waikaremoana	Ngatiruapani Ngatimatewai	Te Makarini Te Harau Mokonuiarangi	30	40	26	96
Te Kakari	Ngatihuri	Te Puehu	15	17	11	43
Maungapohatu	Ngatirongo	Te Purewa	20	19	3	42
Tauaki and Opokere	Mahurehure	Kereru	8	8	5	21
Tawhana Tauwharemanuka Te Waimana	Ngaitama Ngatikuri	Tamaikoha	40	35	27	102
			173	173	114	460

Robert Price, who journeyed through the Urewera in 1874, estimated that Tuhoe could muster between 300 and 400 fighting men, which is considerably more than Mair's estimates of several years earlier.[135] Price was also surprised at the 'immense number of children' in Ruatahuna.[136] Ian Pool, who has calculated tribal child–woman ratios from 19th century census data, takes up Stokes, Milroy, and Melbourne's suggestion that the high proportion of Tuhoe children reflected the 'scorched earth' military campaign inflicted on the Urewera during the latter stages of the New Zealand wars, presumably suggesting higher adult mortality.[137] The problem with this interpretation is that Hunter Brown commented on the high numbers of Tuhoe children in 1862, before the wars came to the eastern Bay of Plenty and Urewera.

However, in rudimentary census data published in 1874 in the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, 'Te Urewera' tribe were estimated to total 599 persons. That these returns were based on incomplete information is made clear by the fact that the census noted that there were about 20 hapu of Te Urewera, but their names were not known.

In the same year, though, Sub-Inspector Ferris, stationed at Onepoto south of Lake Waikaremoana, was able to give a more detailed breakdown of the Urewera

135. Price, p 41
136. Ibid, p 37
137. I Pool, *Te Iwi Maori: A New Zealand Population Past, Present and Projected*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1991, p 97; Stokes, Milroy, and Melbourne, p 50

population. The following table incorporates his return with additional information given by oïcials in other census returns, to give a total for the Urewera district. Note, however, that this table excludes Ngati Manawa of Tauaroa and Galatea.[138]

Tribe	Hapu	Residence	Males	Females	Totals
Uriwera (Rakuraku's hapu)		Ohiwa	18	16	34
Patuheuheu/Ngati Haka		Rangitaiki–Horomanga	58	48	106
Ngati Whare		Rangitaiki–Ahikereru	119	91	210
Urewera	Ngatimanunui	Mimi	14	17	31
(Ruatahuna)	Ngatihoroaruhe	Tatahoata	27	19	46
	Urewera	Ngarewa	81	79	160
	Ngaitawhaki	Tahuaroa	18	20	38
	Ngatirongo	Ohau-a-te-rangi	24	24	48
	Ngatipaenga	Ohora	9	10	19
Urewera	Ngatikaimoana	Maungapohatu	17	16	33
	Ngatihuri	Maungapohatu	22	24	46
	Ngatirongo	Maungapohatu	9	12	21
	Ngaitama	Maungapohatu	30	28	58
Urewera	Ngaiterapaaroa	Waikaremoana	15	19	34
	Ngatihinekura	Waikaremoana	15	17	32
	Ngatihika	Waikaremoana	15	7	22
	Urewera	Waikaremoana	19	19	38
Urewera	Ngatiwhare/Arahoi	Ahikereru	31	27	58
			541	493	1034

Resident Magistrate George C Preece noted in the 1878 census returns that some of the Maori communities of the Eastern Bay of Plenty had suäered from typhoid outbreaks which had severely impacted on their numbers, but he does not list the Urewera tribes as among them. While he noted that the Urewera showed an increase of 94 persons from the 1874 census two years earlier, he accounts for this by suggesting that one of the Tuhoe hapu had been left out of the previous accounting, and although 'there have been a number of deaths [in the Urewera] during the last four years, I do not think there is any actual decrease in numbers; the births having outnumbered the deaths'.[139]

138. Ngati Manawa were said to number 123 people (61 males, 62 females): see AJHR, 1874, g-7, p 8.

The 1878 census data on Urewera hapu is summarised below. This table, however, includes Ngati Manawa under the given category 'Arawa–Urewera':

Tribe	Hapu	Residence	Males > 15	Males < 15	Females > 15	Females < 15	Total
Ngati Awa–Urewera	Warahoe	Te Teko–Ahikereru	19	14	14	11	58
Arawa–Urewera	Ngati Manawa	Galatea	18	19	9	15	61
Urewera	Patuheuheu	Waiohau–Horomanga	32	41	38	21	132
	NgatiWhare	Ahikereru–Galatea	18	22	20	10	70
	Ngaitu–Warahoe	Tahuoroa	12	9	7	6	34
	Ngaiteao	Te Tahora	20	17	10	11	58
	Warahoe	Ruatahuna	20	16	9	8	53
	Ngati-Rongo	Omaruteonga	22	13	10	9	54
	Ngatihuri	Maungapohatu	35	26	14	11	86
	Ngai-Turanga–Te Whakatane Tamakaimoana	Waimana	40	36	16	16	108
	Ngaiteao–Ngatimura	Ruatoki–Ngamahanga	35	29	14	11	89
			286	257	176	144	803

That the census enumerators found it difficult to locate and define Urewera hapu was made clear by Resident Magistrate Bush of Opotiki, in the 1881 census. He noted the huge jump in population totals for the Urewera from the 1878 census compared to the 1881 figures, and put this down to the omission of 726 Tuhoe in 1878:

> In 1878 their total was put down as 745, but I find upon a careful compilation of their numbers by name that they total up 1,471. This number does not include those members of the tribe living at Waikaremoana, Runanga, and Te Putere.[140]

He went on to note that:

> It will be observed, on reference to the return, that the Urewera are the only tribe where the children are as numerous as the adults; in most of the other tribes the adults exceed the children. So far as my experience goes, the same is the lamentable fact

139. Captain Preece rm, Opotiki, to under-secretary, Native Department, 10 April 1878, AJHR, 1878, g-2, p 5
140. Mr R S Bush rm, Opotiki, to under-secretary, Native Department, 23 April 1881, AJHR, 1881, g-3, p 4. Bush's total for the 1878 census, 745 Tuhoe, is smaller than the total given in the above compiled table for the 1878 census because the table includes Tuhoe included in other officers' returns.

amongst tribes in other parts of the island. The Urewera appear to be the exception, and, for the want of a better reason, I can only attribute it to their keeping more aloof from civilization and its temptations than most other tribes. This probably may not be so much from choice as from compulsion, through the diïculties of perambulation in their country, and to and from it. Many of these people are never seen in our settlements, consequently they are not exposed to the same temptations for wasting their substances as those that are more frequent visitors to our townships.[141]

Tribe	Hapu	Usual Residence	Males < 15	Males > 15	Female < 15	Female > 15	Total
Urewera	Tamakaimoana	Maungapohatu	37	34	31	27	129
	Warahoe	Ahikereru	17	21	14	15	67
	Muriwai	Ruatoki	19	44	10	43	116
	Ngatirongokarae	Ruatoki		10		6	16
	Ngati Koro	Ruatoki		8		6	14
	Patuheuheu	Waiohau	12	19	13	15	59

141. R S Bush rm, Opotiki, to under-secretary, Native Department, p 4

Tribe	Hapu	Usual Residence	Males < 15	Males > 15	Female < 15	Female > 15	Total
Ngatimanawa	Ngatimanawa	Karatia	11	21	8	25	65
Urewera	Ngamorihi	Waimana	33	40	29	37	139
	Ngatitamariwai	Matatua	44	38	43	38	163
	Ngatikiriwaewae	Oputau	32	33	35	32	132
	Ngatiumuiti	Tatahoata	29	46	31	38	144
	Ahimate	Tahuaroa	32	33	33	30	128
	Ngatikoura	Aotearoa	45	45	44	47	181
	Ngatimuru	Ohaoa–Aropaki	35	40	34	32	141
	Ngaitekahu	Maungapohatu	25	33	22	22	102
Urewera	Ngatihinekara	Waikaremoana	18	26	15	18	77
	Ngatira	Waikaremoana	13	22	11	15	61
	Manunui	Waikaremoana	17	28	23	25	93
	Ngatihika	Waikaremoana	5	11	5	7	28
Urewera	Warahoe	Visiting Waiohiki		25		2	27
	Ngatiwhare	Visiting Waiohiki		1			1
Urewera	Ngatihineuru	Opureke (Taupo district)				1	1
	Ngatihineuru	Tarawera (Taupo district)				1	1
	Ngatihineuru	Kukewahine (Taupo district)		1			1
	Matawai	Dole Crossing (Taupo district)	3		2	2	7
							1893

The Waikaremoana and Te Putere people appeared in Captain Preece's Wairoa district return and those Tuhoe at Runanga appeared in Major Scannell's Taupo return. Interestingly, Scannell also counted the Ngati Manawa at Galatea as numbering 22 persons but by Bush's estimate, there were 65 Ngati Manawa there. The facing table excludes Scannell's estimate. Scannell also noted that:

> portions of the Urewera and King Country are included in the Taupo Resident Magistrate's District, but in the former it would be impossible to get the numbers of the inhabitants, as they would not allow any person to enter their country for that purpose. Those who are shown were travelling through Taupo, and, although their numbers were ascertained, they would not give their names.[142]

142. Major Scannell rm, Taupo, to under-secretary, Native Department, 14 April 1881, AJHR, 1881, g-3, p 5

As late as 1886, it was found to be diïcult to extract information from Tuhoe about their numbers, even with the help of chiefs like Hemi Kakitu:

> Neither the names nor exact numbers of the Urewera children could be ascertained, therefore they are given approximately, but names are given in all cases where obtainable. The majority of the Urewera Tribe having changed their names since the last census, it was impossible to compare the old lists with those compiled on the present occasion by Captain Rushton, who undertook to collect the census of this tribe with the chief Hemi Kakitu, none but the few well-known chiefs being shown by their former names.[143]

Bush also commented that the Urewera crops were small compared with the numbers of that tribe and said that there were only four bedridden people in the whole of the Urewera.[144]

The published Maori census data of 1886 does not give a breakdown of tribal numbers by hapu, and in the case of Tuhoe, there was insuïcient data to give an accurate breakdown of the population statistics in terms of age. The total Urewera population was given as 1901, comprised of 998 males and 903 females. Most Tuhoe, naturally, were to be found in the Whakatane district, but the census also tells us that there were 17 Urewera living at Coromandel and 81 in Thames County (possibly, they were the Tuhoe Best mentions as residing at Whitianga employed as gumdiggers from 1879). There were also 144 Urewera in Wairoa county and seven in Patangata county.[145] In the following census year of 1891, though, Resident Magistrate Bush admitted that there had been an error in the statistics for the Urewera tribe in 1886 of some 250 persons too many.[146]

In 1891, there were held to be 1211 Urewera in total, made up of 622 males and 589 females.

It is interesting to note that Tuhoe, or the 'Urewera tribe' to census enumerators, recorded population increases in the 1870s and 1880s at a time when other iwi numbers were declining. M P K Sorrenson has argued that there was a correlation between the decline of these iwi populations with the increased activity of the Native Land Court and land purchasing agents in these iwi districts after the wars.[147] The fact that Tuhoe had excluded Crown agents and the court from their district, and recorded population increases till the 1890s, is used by Sorrenson to support this general thesis. Moreover, the Tuhoe population began to stabilise and then decline (in the 1901 count) at the same time as Tuhoe began to have increased

143. R S Bush rm, Opotiki, to under-secretary, Native Department, 4 May 1886, AJHR, 1886, g-12, p 8. Judith Binney cites Bush as 'surmising' that the name changes were prompted by Te Kooti's pardon, and signiåed the beginning of a new life and era: Binney, *Redemption Songs: A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*, Auckland, Auckland University Press and Bridget Williams Books Ltd, 1995, p 357.
144. R S Bush rm, Opotiki, to under-secretary, Native Department, 4 May 1886, p 8
145. It is not clear whether the fact that Tuhoe were reported as being in other counties (besides Whakatane, that is) meant that Tuhoe people had moved out of their traditional rohe or that it was just a result of where county boundaries were drawn.
146. R S Bush rm, Tauranga, to under-secretary, Native Department, 20 May 1891, AJHR, 1891, g-2, p 3
147. M P K Sorrenson, 'Land Purchase Methods and their Eäect on Maori Population, 1865–1901', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol 65, no 3, September 1956; see also Pool, p 101

contact with Pakeha and the process of determining the Urewera land title began. In the 1901 census, there was decline from 1421 persons recorded in the 1896 census (the very year that the Urewera District Native Reserve Act, which set up the Urewera commissions, was passed) to 1094 persons in 1901. There may, of course, be other explanations for these trends. Caution needs to be taken in drawing too much from a correlation of population decline and the activities of the Urewera commissions, however, and careful research into causes of population decline among Tuhoe would be desirable. Binney, for example, points out that at the following census of 1906, enumerators reported widespread failure of basic food crops such as kumara, potatoes, and maize, while in the same period, Elsdon Best despaired of contaminated water supplies and inadequate latrines in many Tuhoe kainga.[148] These factors seem more likely to have had an immediate impact on mortality and morbidity rates among the Tuhoe populace.

As stated previously, the 19th century population estimates and census returns for the Tuhoe tribe appear to be highly unreliable, taken from a people widely spread over difficult country, who did not welcome scrutiny of their numbers. Population estimates from the early 1840s range from 2000 to 3000 Tuhoe, with Hunter Brown calculating in 1862 that there were about 2160 Tuhoe people (this is derived from his estimate of 720 fighting men, multiplied by three for a total population). From this point, population figures collated about Tuhoe date from the end of the New Zealand wars. They are considerably less than the appraisals made in 1841–42 and in 1862, ranging from about 1200 in 1874 (again, Price's estimate of 300–400 men multiplied by three for a total figure) to about 1400 in 1881. This is about half the numbers estimated for the Tuhoe population in the early 1840s. It seems unlikely that this decrease could be solely attributed to loss of life during the New Zealand wars – Tuhoe told Locke that they had lost 160 men in various engagements, but it would be interesting to know the numbers of women, children, and elderly who died as a result of Whitmore's scorched earth campaign (both those whose deaths were directly attributable to the campaign and those who died from the resulting starvation).[149] Again, the dramatic difference in estimates from the 1840s to the 1870s is likely due to a combination of factors including the wars, disease, and unsatisfactory census technique.

The 'Urewera' tribe's population as recorded in the *Appendices* for the 1880s reached a high of 1650 in the 1886 census returns, dipping to about 1200 again in 1891, rising several hundred to 1400 people in 1896 and then falling again to just under 1100 persons in 1901. Without labouring the point as to the validity of these figures, a possible avenue for a more accurate investigation of Tuhoe numbers of the early twentieth century might be found in the owners' lists for the Urewera blocks as determined by the Urewera commissions between 1899 and 1907.[150] Steven Webster has commented that the Urewera titles suggest that there were

148. Judith Binney, Gillian Chaplin, and Craig Wallace, *Mihaia: The Prophet Rua Kenana and His Community at Maungapohatu*, Auckland, Auckland University Press and Bridget Williams Books Ltd, 1990, p 21
149. See AJHR, 1874, g-2, p 20
150. These owners' lists are published in AJHR, 1903, g-6.

'many more' Tuhoe than the census ågures indicated, citing as an instance the fact that in 1901, Best recorded over 900 owners for the Maungapohatu block alone. Other blocks had even more owners.[151] Individual Tuhoe owners had shares in more than one block, however, so to determine the total number of individual owners would require the cross-referencing of names on the block lists, which would be a fairly laborious task.

2.7 Conclusion

The cultural and economic impact of the small Pakeha presence in the Bay of Plenty and Wairoa district was obviously more keenly felt by those Tuhoe hapu in occupation of adjacent areas and in contact with coastal iwi. Most Tuhoe living in the interior would have had no direct contact with the few traders and settlers who had come to what was, very much, a 'native district'; Tuhoe and Pakeha årst met each other outside of the Tuhoe rohe. Even in the central Urewera, though, there were faint ripples of European inëuence, transmitted mainly by Christian missionaries, who brought faith, literacy, and strange new habits to the small, scattered kainga. The introduction of potatoes, maize, wheat, and pigs also made inroads into some of the most remote Tuhoe communities, but they seem to have supplemented rather than replaced traditional resources. Both pigs and traditional potted birds were, however, traded with neighbouring tribes for other European goods, and Tuhoe seemed keen to engage in emerging economic opportunities, not withstanding that they lacked the accessibility and resources of some coastal iwi.

But trading with Pakeha did not include the selling of land; the Bay of Plenty was remote enough from centres of European settlement, let alone the mountainous Urewera. There were a few old (pre-Treaty) land claims lodged about Whakatane and Ohiwa by early European settlers but no Pakeha wanted to settle in the Urewera, with the possible exception of a single trader stationed about Ruatoki. He, however, married into a local rangatira family and this research has uncovered no information regarding his occupation arrangements with local Maori.

It can be seen, then, that for much of the nineteenth century, Europeans and Tuhoe hardly knew one another. Tuhoe were a small iwi of roughly two to three thousand people, and fewer at the end of the century, who were relatively poor. They were at a remove from Pakeha settlement and its concomitant problems. Tuhoe isolation meant that they did not develop a relationship of direct economic inter-dependence with Europeans to the degree that, perhaps, other iwi attained through trading land, resources, and labour. As a consequence, the cultural exchange between Europeans and Tuhoe also seems to have been limited. Europeans judged Maori on their willingness to adopt western culture and to abandon the 'superstitions' and custom law of their tupuna (at the same time, marvelling at the 'authentic' Tuhoe Maori). To them, Tuhoe appeared conservative, backward, and probably intimidating. For their part, Tuhoe gradually abandoned

151. Steven Webster, 'Urewera Land, 1895–1921', unpublished paper for the Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland, 1985, p 51, fn 13