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**NEW ZEALAND ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION MONOGRAPH 3:  
*A.G. Buist, Archaeology in North Taranaki, New Zealand***

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# Archaeology in North Taranaki New Zealand



A. G. BUIST

Monograph number three of the New Zealand Archaeological Association

**ARCHAEOLOGY IN NORTH TARANAKI, NEW ZEALAND.**

**A Study of Field Monuments in the Pukearuru-Mimi-Urenui Area.**

**A.G.BUIST.**

**Monograph number three of the New Zealand Archaeological Association**

**Wellington 1964**

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PREFACE.

This monograph is the result of three years intermittent fieldwork in the area, and includes, as far as I am aware, all the visible field monuments. Their location was determined by a study of survey maps, recorded history, aerial survey photographs and information supplied by local farmers.

I wish to thank the following, without whose assistance this work could not have been completed :-

Mr.D.W.Robinson for permission to quote from his files and to reproduce the plans he prepared in the initial recording of the Urenui area.

Mr.Tom Martin, Pukearuhe, for his willingness to pass on the knowledge of a great number of sites. Also for his enthusiasm in driving up rough farm tracks to ridge-top pas.

Mr.Dick Jonas and Gerald Pigott for their permission and assistance during the excavations of Kumara-kaiamo Pa.

The farmers of the area who willingly, and mostly wittingly, allowed access to pas, and who were also kind enough to provide transport.

The Dominion Museum for permission to reproduce some plans from Elsdon Best's "Pa Maori".

Mr. B.C.Harding for preparing plans and figures.

Mr.R.C.Green for suggestions given in the early stages of preparation of the text.

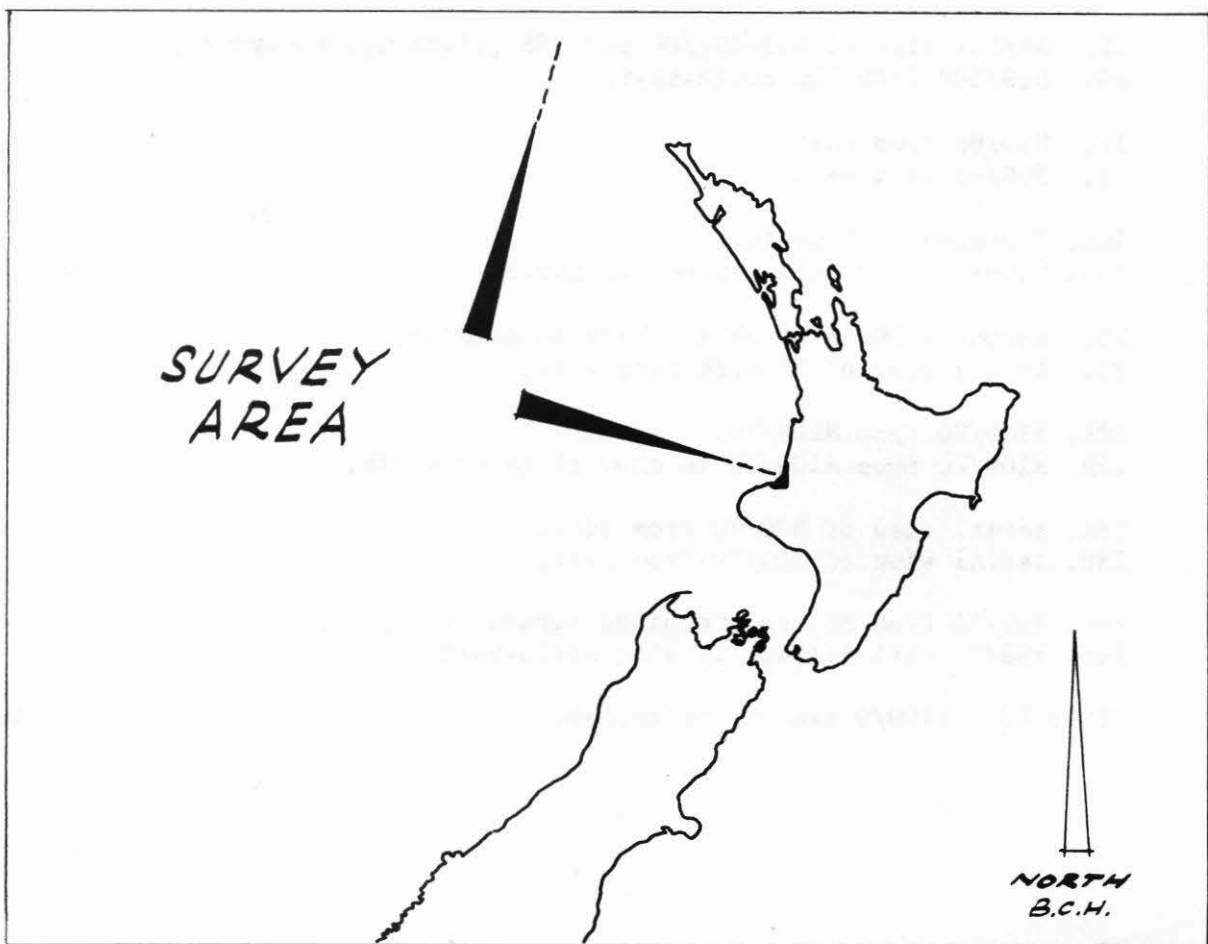
Finally my thanks to Mr. T.L.Grant-Taylor for invaluable advice and assistance in organizing the data for the final presentation.

The New Zealand Historic Places Trust provided a grant to assist the excavation of Kumara-kaiamo Pa.

All the photographs in this monograph were taken with an Asahi-Pentax 35mm. camera on ADOX film.



Aerial view of Survey Area from the North



SURVEY  
AREA

NORTH  
B.C.H.

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## INTRODUCTION.

Sir Peter Buck, whose ashes lie in the Memorial at Okoki Pa near Urenui, wrote (3 :page 137) "When Captain Cook visited New Zealand in 1769, the Maori were living in fortified villages which they termed pa. The few villages built on flat land were defended by high stockades, but the majority were built on hills, spurs, cliff-girt promontories, and islands in lakes or swamps, where natural features assisted the defensive works... The Maori system of fortification was evolved and developed in New Zealand owing to some local cause that arose during the long period of occupation... The first settlers had the whole of the North Island to roam over in search of food. They selected districts in which to live and, as they had no individual ownership of cultivated fruit trees to divide them, they probably grouped their dwellings together in villages. They may have had their quarrels, but it was easier to flee temporarily to the hills and forests than to erect permanent fortifications for last ditch stands. The (succeeding) settlers intermarried with the earlier settlers and the traditions of early conquests of annihilation have probably been greatly exaggerated. However, with the increase of population and the division of the country into canoe areas and tribal districts, frequent wars broke out between neighbouring tribes. The definite boundaries were established and maintained as a result of bitter conflicts...The villages on the flats near the cultivations were moved up onto the neighbouring hills or out onto the jutting promontories of a cliff-girt coast. The unfortified kainga were abandoned for the fortified pa, and each had its name."

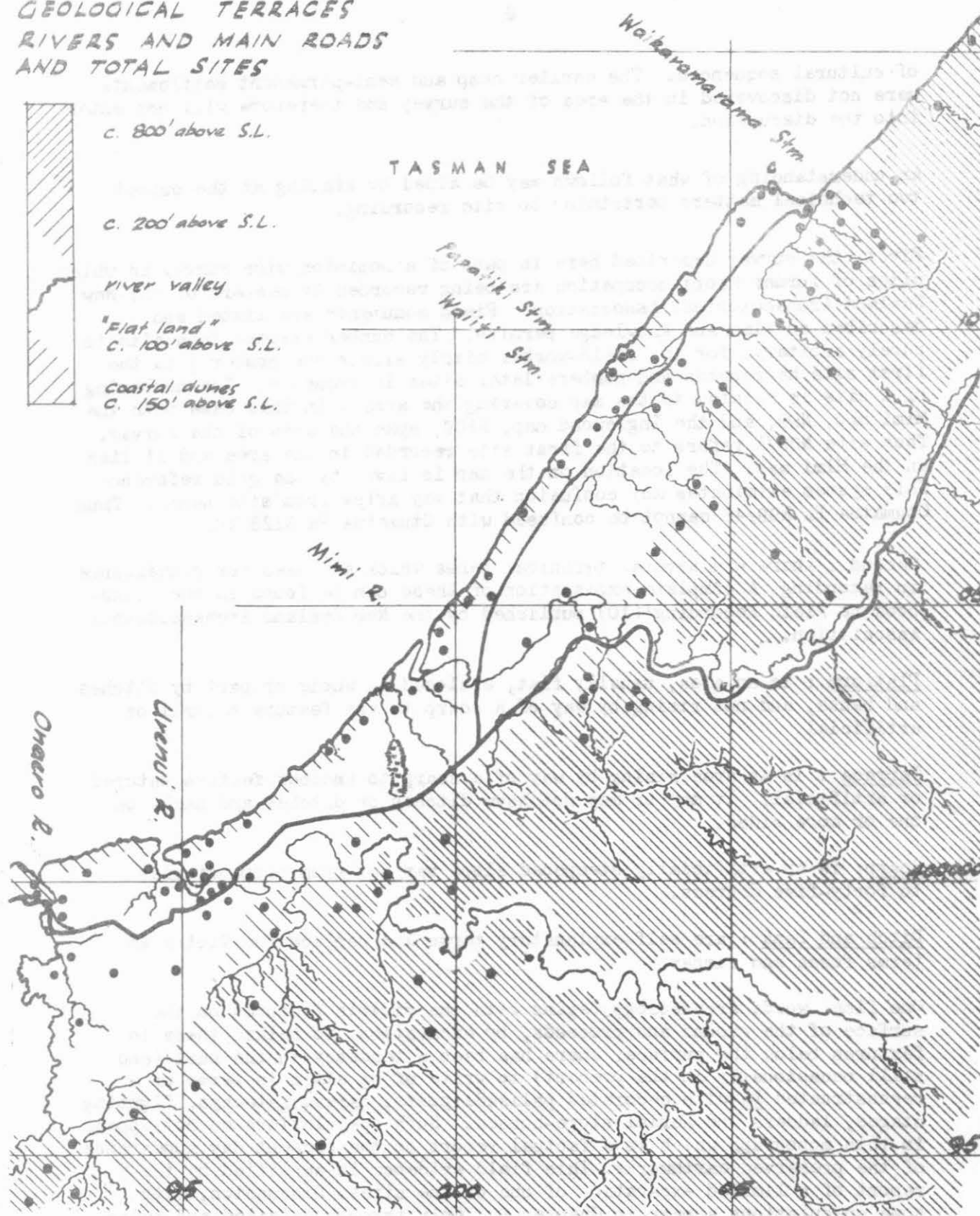
Green (12:page 216) has summarized the cultural sequence of Maori occupation in the Auckland Province by elaborating Sir Peter Buck's brief statement. Green has postulated six phases of occupation beginning about 900 A.D. with a Settlement Phase during which the camp type of settlement dominated. About 1100 A.D. the Developmental Phase began, during which semi-permanent settlements were established. This was followed about 1350 A.D. by the Experimental Phase, with a further development of the semi-permanent settlement. The Village Maori Phase beginning about 1450 A.D. has been defined by Green as that phase during which pa were established, to be later elaborated in the Classic Maori Phase (circa 1650 - 1800 A.D.). The final phase was the Early European Maori Phase during which new pa types were introduced based on gun warfare.

Buck ( 3 : 137) has clarified certain terms in common use: "Any number of huts is termed kainga, but if these were protected by defensive works, they received the specific name of pa, derived from pa to keep out by means of walls or fortifications. Thus kainga denoted an unfortified village and pa a fortified village. In modern times, the term pa has been loosely applied to any village."

The monograph which follows is a study of one hundred and fourteen archaeological sites of prehistoric significance, in a selected area in the northern part of Taranaki, New Zealand. One hundred and four of these are pa sites. From the statements of Buck and Green quoted above, it will be obvious that I am dealing with only one component within later phases



AREA SHOWING DIAGRAMMATIC  
GEOLOGICAL TERRACES  
RIVERS AND MAIN ROADS  
AND TOTAL SITES



c. 800' above S.L.

c. 200' above S.L.

river valley

"Flat land"  
c. 100' above S.L.

coastal dunes  
c. 150' above S.L.

TASMAN SEA

Waikaramarama Strm.

Papatiki Strm.

Waititi Strm.

Mimi R.

Ohangero R.

Urenui R.

N 99 · MIMI    N 109 · INGLEWOOD

FIGURE 1

0 1 2  
Scale of Miles

of cultural sequences. The earlier camp and semi-permanent settlements were not discovered in the area of the survey and therefore will not enter into the discussion.

An understanding of what follows may be aided by stating at the outset two technical matters pertaining to site recording.

**First :** the survey described here is part of a Dominion wide survey in which sites of former Maori occupation are being recorded by members of the New Zealand Archaeological Association. Field monuments are listed and described as time and knowledge permits. The number allotted to a site is purely arbitrary, for the field-worker simply allots the number 1 to the first site he records and numbers later sites in sequence. The numbering of a site is related to the map covering the area - in this case both the Mimi map, N99, and the Inglewood map, N109, span the area of the survey. Thus site N99/1 refers to the first site recorded in the area and it lies in the Mimi map. The location on the map is given by the grid reference. This system eliminates any confusion that may arise from site names. Thus Otumatua Pa N99/46 cannot be confused with Otumatua Pa N128/10.

**Second :** there are several technical terms which are used for convenience in recording. A complete explanation of these can be found in the 'Handbook to Field Recording'(10) published by the New Zealand Archaeological Association.

**Platform :** is an area, usually flat, enclosed in whole or part by ditches and banks, and not rising by way of a scarp to any feature natural or artificial.

**Terrace :** is an area rising by way of a scarp to another feature natural or artificial. It may or may not have ditches or ditches and banks on one or more sides.

**Scarp:** is an artificially steepened slope varying from perpendicular to forty-five degrees.

**Ditch and Bank :** are self-explanatory terms and replace the Victorian terms fosse and rampart.

One final word. Archaeology begins with the visible features on the surface of the ground and proceeds, by excavation, to relate these to features below the surface. There has been a tendency in the past (and still occasionally in the present) to write of pa sites in terms of a reconstructed Pa with decorated palisade posts, carved gateways, fighting stages, ladders and aerial store-houses. Such speculations do not appear in this monograph which is a factual report on the present day appearance of the preserved earthworks. This field evidence is amplified by the report of a limited excavation of one of the sites. Discussion, with some speculations appear in Chapter 6. Only through detailed and painstaking excavation can inferences as to the possible reconstruction of the site be made.

Chapter 1.GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

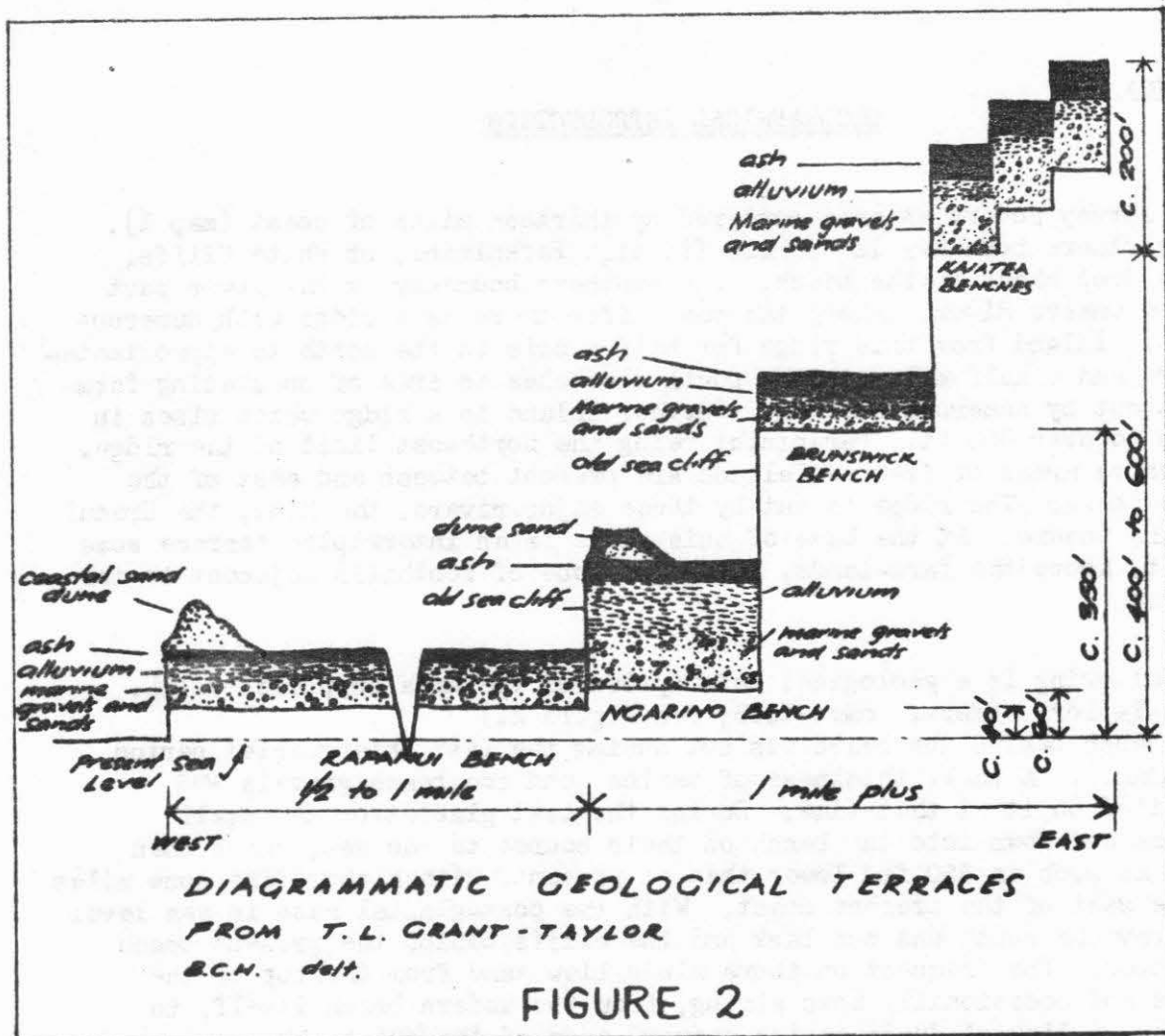
This survey covers an area bordered by thirteen miles of coast (map 1). The northern boundary is the 810 ft. high Paraninihi, or White Cliffs, which drop sheer to the beach. The southern boundary is the lower part of the Onaero River. Along the sea cliffs there is a ridge with numerous peaks. Inland from this ridge for half a mile in the north to approximately two and a half miles in the south stretches an area of undulating farm-lands cut by numerous streams. Further inland is a ridge which rises in peaks to over 800 ft., Paraninihi being the northmost limit of the ridge. Extensive areas of flat tablelands are present between and east of the ridge peaks. The ridge is cut by three major rivers, the Mimi, the Urenui and the Onaero. At the base of this ridge is an interrupted terrace some 100 ft. above the farm-lands, forming a zone of foothills adjacent to the ridge.

The following is a geological description of the area supplied by T.L. Grant-Taylor. (Pers. comm. 1963, See Figure 2.)

"The bench behind the beach was cut during the last interglacial period (RAPANUI). A small thickness of marine sand and beach gravels was deposited on it at that time. During the last glaciation the small streams cut down into the bench on their course to the sea, which then stood as much as 350 ft. lower than at present, with a shoreline some miles to the west of the present coast. With the post-glacial rise in sea level the previous bench was cut back and the cliffs behind the present beach developed. The frequent on-shore winds blew sand from the top of the cliffs and occasionally when strong, from the modern beach itself, to develop a line of dunes on the seaward edge of the cut bench.

"Inland of the Rapanui bench a low cliff fronts a narrow bench, 100 ft. high, of similar nature which was formed in the previous (Ngarino) high sea level. This again is backed by a cliff stepping up to the remnants of the Brunswick Interglacial bench (400 ft.) and the Kaiatea benches (up to 800 ft.) The country rock in this area is muddy sandstone or sandy mudstone of Tongaporutuan (upper Miocene) age. It contains a few lenses of fine conglomerate composed of quartzite and greywacke pebbles with occasional granite and schist pebbles.

"The present drainage pattern on the Rapanui bench has developed since the formation of the dunes along the present beach cliff top, causing the secondary drainage to develop parallel to the dunes on their inland side and occasionally breaking through when the volume of the intergrated drainage became great enough to maintain a course through the growing dunes. Although these dunes are very young, they have become fixed with the rapid development of vegetation in the moist climate. The drainage pattern in the high country behind the coastal bench, shows youthful V-shaped valleys and knife-edged ridges with occasional flat portions on some interfluves where parts of the older Brunswick and Kaiatea high terraces are preserved. The whole area is mantled in volcanic soil from the Pouakai-Egmont eruptions. This is a friable soil with clays high in alumina."



### Vegetation:

At the present time much of the high ridge country is covered in heavy rain forest. Clearings were made in this in European times and great quantities of timber were felled, milled and burned. It is also certain that some clearings were made in the high table-lands by earlier Maori occupation. Much of the cleared country has reverted to manuka scrub and gorse as well as to second growth native forest.

It is by no means certain whether the present grassy farmlands were always free from heavy rain forest. The recorded descriptions of the vegetation do not help a great deal. Captain James Cook ( 4 : 233 ) wrote on January 13th 1770 of his view of the countryside from the sea. " I have named it Mount Egmont in honour of the Earl of Egmont. This mountain seems to have a pretty large base and to rise with a gradual ascent to the peak and what makes it more conspicuous is, its being

situated near the Sea, and a flat Country in its neighbourhood which afforded a very good aspect, being clothed with Wood and Verdure." In a note in the appendix to Cook's Volume 1 quoted above, on page 541, he ends the description : "...near the Sea and in a low flat Country which appeared to us to be rich and fertile."

Joseph Banks, travelling with Cook, wrote (1 : 452) "At night a small fire which burned about half an hour made us sure that there were inhabitants of whom we had seen no signs since the 10th."

Charles Abraham travelling with Bishop Selwyn in 1855 (19:109) wrote " The natives have so neglected their inland paths, that two of the Waititi men who undertook to escort us towards Watera (Waitara) by the path inland instead of the beach, altogether lost their way, and dragged us through high fern bush for an hour or two, till at length we reached Onacri (Onaero)."

S.Percy Smith in 1858 (19:353) travelling north from Urenui wrote " .... our clever guide lost his way; but, after scrambling over fern and bushes, to the imminent peril of our eyes and trousers, we again came into the track, which led along the top of the cliffs." Later, after stopping at Waititi he " proceeded through some very pretty karaka trees growing on an old pa."

Today, patches of forest lie in pockets in gullies and beside rivers, but these may represent only persisting fingers of forest from the higher country. (See plates 1 to 4). The area once may have been covered with a now vanished rain forest, but on the other hand it may have been in scrub-heath and bog-swamp for a long period. The two members of the scrub-heath associations, manuka (leptospermum) and bracken fern (pteridium) are still abundant in neglected portions of the farmlands. The bog-swamp associations are represented here by flax (phormium) and raupo. (Turi is said to have named Pukearuhe (Fernroot Hill), but since he also allegedly named Mimi-o-Turi and Urenui it perhaps may not be wise to take this too literally.)

#### Economy :

The area of this survey lies in the 'Iwitini' of Cumberland (6:418), the northernmost part of New Zealand which is most hospitable to occupation. The vegetable foods which grow or are cultivated elsewhere in 'Iwitini' flourish here also. The most important food for the prehistoric Maori was the aruhe - the rhizome of the bracken fern - which grows in abundance on any neglected piece of land throughout the area and is now kept in check only by heavy grazing. The other vegetable foods, ti whanake (cabbage tree), mamaku (tree fern), raupo (bullrush), and the berries of the karaka, hinau and tawa are still plentiful. The present

farm-lands and some of the tablelands provide excellent and fertile cultivations for the introduced foods kumara and taro. The forests besides providing berries and edible ferns, supply birds. European predators have reduced the numbers of birds dramatically, but it is safe to assume that the principal forest birds of the Maoris were once abundant. The pigeon lives in the heavy forest where there is ample food for them in the groves of miro and puriri. Kaka (parrot), tui, bell-bird, weka (wood hen), and kiwi were no doubt hunted by the Maori in the forest of the ridges and foothills. Apart from one small fragment of moa-bone found during the excavation of site N109/9, there does not appear to be any record of moa in the area. No examination of midden was undertaken during the survey, so that there is no unequivocal record of diet or dietary changes either in time or locality.

The coast is renowned for its fishing to this day. Besides shellfish, the sea provides kahawai, schnapper, hapuka, shark and, as the Japanese have recently demonstrated, bonito and tuna. It is possible to fish directly from the cliffs along a great length of the coast, and the river-mouths provide suitable harbours for canoes. The numerous streams and the rivers abound in eels, the tuna of the Maori.

Climate :

(From Descriptive Atlas of N.Z.)

|   |   |                   |
|---|---|-------------------|
| Average duration of bright sunlight per annum | : | 2500hrs.          |
| Frost season                                  | : | minor frosts only |
| Mean annual rainfall                          | : | 60 - 80 inches    |
| Average number of raindays per annum          | : | 150               |
| Highest rainfall for one day                  | : | 4 inches          |
| Mean temperature                              | : | 56 F.             |

Altogether this stretch of land and sea would have provided not only an hospitable and fruitful landfall for migrants from the Pacific, but also an area suited to the development of a population under conditions favourable to the full development of their culture.



Plate 1. Aerial view from Urenui Beach to east

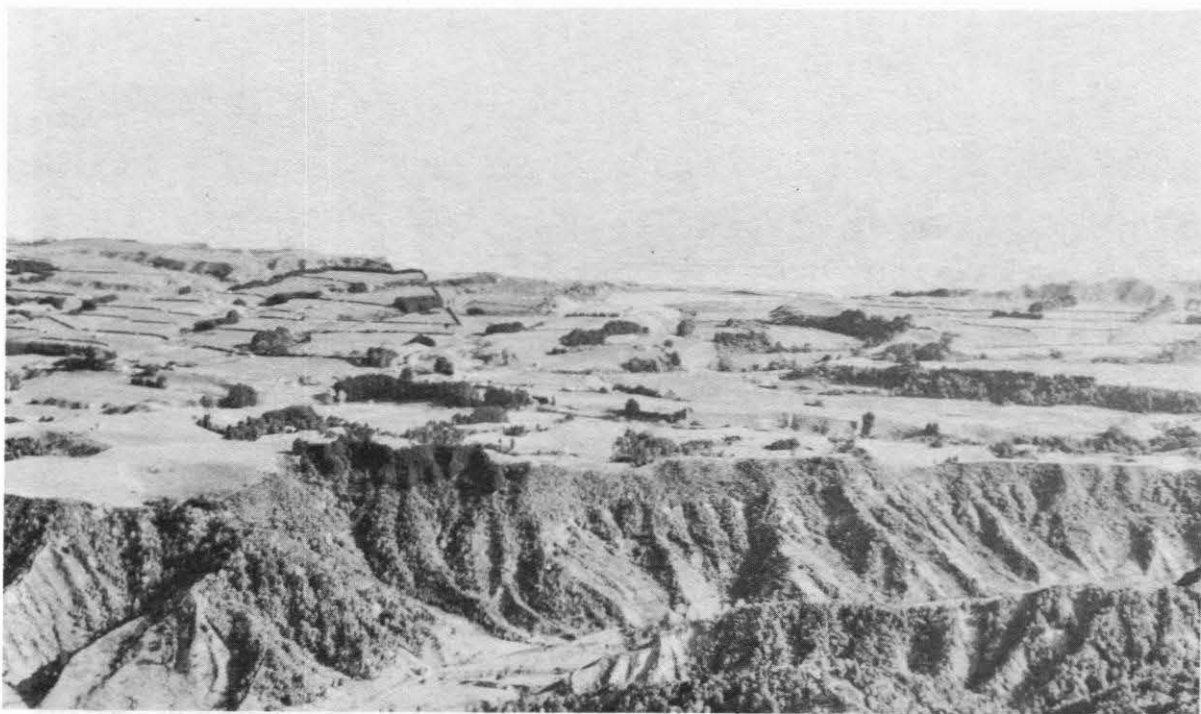


Plate 2. Aerial view from east to Mimi River mouth



Plate 3. Telephot view of N99/37 from N99/15



Plate 4. Coastal view south from N99/43



## Chapter 2.

HISTORY OF THE AREA

In the following summary, citation of dates before 1814, when the first missionaries settled at the Bay of Islands and kept missionary records (18 : 295), is based on traditional evidence. This evidence is derived from a study of geneological tables and may be grossly inaccurate, as recent research has proved (15).

Tradition :

Sir Peter Buck (3 : 9 at seq.), after sifting the myths and traditions of the Maori people, was convinced that there were people occupying New Zealand before the alleged arrival of the Fleet 600 years ago. He suggests that there were two prior settlement periods and that the people of both periods were referred to by settlers of later Maori migrations as tangata whenua (people of the land). Green (11 : 102) postulates that the first settlers of about 1000 years ago lived in temporary camp settlements and exploited the abundant avifauna and marine life with which the country abounded.

Buck (3 : 22-24) sets his second settlement period about 1150 A.D. beginning with Toi's migration. Toi allegedly made landfall on the Auckland Isthmus and eventually established his home at Whakatane. Some descendants of Toi settled in Taranaki, taking their name from Toi's grandson and calling themselves Te Atiawa. The Developmental Phase postulated by Green (11 : 100) corresponds with this period, when it is likely that semi-permanent camps were established.

Buck's third settlement period (3 : 52 et seq.) is that of the traditional fleet settlement of 600 years ago. The canoes of the fleet said to be relevant to the area of this survey are the Tainui, the Tokomaru and the Aotea. Turi, the commander of the latter canoe, allegedly travelled with his people through the area naming certain localities and finally settling in South Taranaki.

Aboard the Tainui, commanded by Hoturoa, were the Ngai-Tara-Pounamu tribe who settled at Waiiti. The Tokomaru canoe was navigated by Tamaariki, the eponymous ancestor of the Ngati Tama tribe, and it made final landfall at Mohakatino. The Ngati Tama tribe occupied territory north and south of the Mohakatino River. Command of the Tokomaru has been attributed to Manaiā, but Buck (3 : 52) shows that Manaiā lived during the period of Toi and commanded a vessel named the Tahatuna, which probably made landfall on the west coast two hundred years earlier than the Tokomaru.

The third tribe to occupy the area of this survey was the Ngati Mutunga tribe, belonging to the Atiawa Confederation of Tribes (3 : 24). According to Smith (18 : 114) this tribe occupied eleven miles of coastline from Rua-o-te-Huia (site N109/43), one mile south of the area of the survey, to Titoki Pa (site N99/63), two miles south of Pukearuhe, with an inland boundary on the upper reaches of the Waitara River. The Ngai-

Tara-Pounamu tribe at Waititi were settled within the district of the Ngati Mutunga tribe. Buck says that Te Puke Karito Pa (N99/70) was their ancient home (18 : 116)-see Plates 23-24. There are several pa around this area -see Figure 7 - " some of which are said to have been built by the Ngai-Tara-Pounamubut it seems doubtful that this is the case, although it is probable that some remnant of the emigrant tribe became absorbed in Ngati Mutunga." (18 : 114)

The Ngati Tama tribe lived on the land extending from Titoki Pa in the south to Mohakatino, which is ten miles north of Paraninihi. Thus they had a fourteen miles sea frontage, a narrow strip of fertile level ground and a large extent of broken forest country bordered by the upper reaches of the Waitara River. (18 : 111)

Smith (18) devotes some fifty pages to the traditions of these particular tribes during the years from the traditional fleet to the beginning of missionary records. It would seem that there were constant inter-tribal quarrels, murders, revenges and wars. In these stories the names of the following pa are recorded :-

|                |            |            |
|----------------|------------|------------|
| Arapawa-nui Pa | N99/2      | Page 197-8 |
| Waitangi Pa    | N99/43,/44 | " 197-8    |
| Whakarewa Pa   | N99/29     | " 197-8    |
| Pukearuhe Pa   | N99/49     | " 254      |
| Otumatua Pa    | N99/46     | " 254      |

Gudgeon (18 : 216) states that somewhere about 1730-1740 the southern Taranaki tribes, to avenge the murder of one of their number by the Atiawa, in a very large expedition carried every pa they came upon and were victorious in every battle against the Atiawa, whom they managed to drive on as far as Pukearuhe. After this expedition they returned to their home, having desolated the whole of the territories of the Atiawa along the coast, and having killed the people or driven them into exile. John White (18 : 219) says of this expedition that only one hundred Atiawa escaped into the forests at the back of Mimi.

These wars were not the only cause of depopulation. There were three great epidemics, probably resulting from very early contact with Europeans, which resulted in many deaths (18 : 269, 3 : 409).

#### Recorded History :

In 1821 Te Rauparaha and his Ngati Toa tribe resolved to forsake their ancestral lands at Kawhia and to migrate to Kapiti Island, on account of constant warfare with the Waikato tribes. He arrived at Te Kaweka (N99/104) near Okoki Pa (N99/26) where the Ngati Mutunga assigned the Ngati Toa places for cultivation of crops to serve the people on their journey. They were given a pa called Puke Whakamaru (N109/19) which is a high hill in the Okoki Valley - see Plate 19. The Ngati Mutunga occupied Pohokura Pa (N99/7), Pihanga Pa (N99/34), Te Kawa Pa (N109/13) and Kumara-kai-amo Pa (N109/9) (18 : 368). Smith goes on to relate

that a very large party of Maoris from the Waikato marched south in order to chastise Te Rauparaha for his evil deeds, and to try and raise a seven month siege at Puke Rangiora Pa where there were many of their kinsmen. These forces met and were repulsed by Te Rauparaha's Ngati Toa people together with the Ngati Mutunga and the Ngati Tama people, at the battle on the Te Motunui Plain north of Okoki Pa. (18 : 366-368)

In 1822, after the harvesting of the kumara and potato crops, the Ngati Toa together with a party of the Ngati Tama and Ngati Mutunga set off south (18 : 384). In 1824 the Waikato tribes gathered to march on the area but they found 'no men', according to John White (18 : 406). As the Waikatos were still eager to avenge their losses at Te Motunui, reports of their massing caused most of the people from Paraninihi to Waitara to go to the south of the North Island (18 : 400) John Marmon visiting New Plymouth in 1824, saw an assembly of two thousand natives who were presumably travelling to the south. (14 : 3)

In 1828, the remaining Ngati Tama finally abandoned their country and removed themselves to the Wellington area (18 : 189). Buck relates (3 : 13) that in 1835-36, influenced by the prospects of rich food supplies some of the Ngati Tama and Ngati Mutunga people left the lower part of the North Island, invaded and settled in the Chatham Islands. More recent research by Rhys Richards provides an interesting digression (Pers. comm.) " About nine hundred " Maoris arrived in the Chatham Islands in two trips in November 1835, and from then on various dissatisfied groups filtered back. In 1838 the long-intended invasion of Samoa lapsed for want of a vessel. (The 1835 invasion chose the Chathams after considering Samoa and Norfolk Island.)

In 1831 a great Waikato war party estimated at four thousand by Thomas Ralf (18 : 290) swept south, and slaughtered the inhabitants of Arapawanui Pa (N99/2). They also made a night attack on Pohokura Pa (N99/7), but the Mutunga chief and a few others escaped to Kaipikari Pa (N109/38) The Waikato then pushed on to Pukerangiora Pa (N109/6) whence the remaining Atiawa people, now panic stricken, had fled without even bothering to gather their crops. The Waikatos besieged them for three months during which time those within the pa endured a terrible famine. Even the escaping women and children, sent forth so that the strength of the warriors might be saved, were slaughtered. During the final overthrow of the pa some twelve hundred were killed (18 : 346). One of the few chiefs to escape related that ' All was quite deserted- the land, the sea, the streams, the lakes, the forests, the rocks, the food, the properties, the works ; the dead, the sick were deserted ; and the land marks were deserted.' (20 : 11) Those who were not killed were enslaved, except for about fifty who maintained a precarious existence at Nga Motu near the present city of New Plymouth. (16 : 112)

Various sources make reference to the few people left living in the area. In February 1840 "Taranaki was purchased again from a handful of natives then living near New Plymouth." (16 : 111). Dieffenbach wrote " The New Zealand Company became the proprietors of the finest district in

New Zealand which offers ... the advantage of there being no natives on the land with the exception of a small remnant of the Atiawa Tribe at Ngamotu." (20 : 41). " The whole district between Taranaki (New Plymouth) and Mokau has not a single inhabitant, although one of the most favoured districts of New Zealand." (20 : 39). In a journey in 1855 with the Bishop Selwyn, Abraham reported that he " Met people at Waititi." (19 : 109). In a journey in 1858, Smith refers to seeing " several Maoris and cultivations " in the area. (19 : 352-3).

In 1848 Wiremu Kingi returned from Waikanae and settled with his people on the south bank of the Waitara River (16 : 122). Prior to the tribes' migration Wiremu Kingi had lived in his father's pa on the north bank of the Waitara River, but in 1848 it was deemed advisable to keep to the south side as a precaution against renewed attack from the Waikato tribes (16 : 169). The Ngati Mutunga returned from the Chatham Islands in 1868 and settled at Maruwhi (N99/24) according to Buck. (18 : 115). Rhys Richards (pers.comm.) states that the desire to return home became particularly strong in the early sixties due to the excitement back home over the sale of the land, although the decline in the whaling industry and a measles epidemic were also major factors in the decision. Fifty-two Maoris left for Taranaki on 28th November 1864. Rolleston went to the Chathams to urge the Maoris to remain there but was singularly unsuccessful. (Otago Witness 16th March 1867). The heke took place in 1867 and 1868. One hundred and sixty odd left on the first trip ; on the second, one hundred and fortyseven Maoris and four Morioris ; on the third, about fortyfive. (Shipping Record National Archives, and Otago Witness 26th Dec. 1868).

The period of direct and intensive European contact is poorly documented owing to the lack of an exhaustive history of the Imperial and the Armed Constabulary campaigns of 1860-69. There is no record of military action at all in the area of the survey. Redoubts were however established at Urenui at Te Pihanga Pa (N99/34) and Pukearuhe on part of the old pa (N99/49), in 1865 (5 : 304, Vol.2). The murder of a small garrison and the missionary the Rev. J.Whitely by a small raiding party of northern Maoris occurred in February 1869 at Pukearuhe. The redoubt was rebuilt and remained garrisoned by the Armed Constabulary until 1885. Further redoubts were built by the Armed Constabulary along the left bank of the Papatiki Stream (sites N99/78,/79 &/80) (5 : 496-8 Vol.2). No doubt there were other redoubts built at this time, but there is no accessible record of them. On field evidence at least one (N99/42) was such a redoubt, and N99/103 was possibly another. Because there was no conflict between Maori and European in this area, it can be assumed that none of the existing Maori earthworks in this survey were constructed during the period of the wars of European aggression, but that all of them belong to a period prior to any European settlement.

SUMMARY :

According to tradition the area was already occupied by Tangata whenua when the people associated with one of the traditional canoes of the fleet arrived. In the fleet canoes there were allegedly the ancestors of the tribes who settled in the area. There is good evidence of raids by Maoris from the north in the eighteenth century and clear historic reference to the continuation of these raids up to 1832. At the time of the first European contact there is some evidence for the depopulation by epidemic diseases. With the arrival and departure of Te Rauparaha in 1821-22, most of the remaining Maoris left their homes and migrated to the south of the North Island, the north of the South Island and to the Chatham Islands. There is strong evidence that during 1832 - 1848 the whole area was deserted. In 1848 the tribes began to return to Waitara and then, in 1868, to Urenui. Here they settled and cultivated such land as was left to them by the European military settlers. They lived in isolated settlements and not in the old pa sites, and continue to do so to this day. The Maori population was estimated in 1961 to be approximately three hundred and thirteen in the whole of the Clifton County; the Maori Population of the area covered by the survey would be possibly fifty, today.

Chapter 3.TYPES OF FIELD MONUMENTS

Five separate types of historic and prehistoric earthworks were recorded in the area :

1. Pas
2. Large pits and made soils
3. Villages
4. Tracks
5. Military redoubts

1. PAS :

a pa is defined as an area of land enclosed by a ditch, or a ditch and bank, or a scarp.

All pas fall within the following subdivisions :-

Single unit pas

Double unit pas

Multiple unit pas - pukearuan type

This method of classification was developed in order to record pas in a completely objective manner. The classification is purely descriptive and leaves no room for subjective reconstruction or interpretation. It has the merit of simplicity and of being a clear and explicit definition, so that seldom if ever will difficulty be experienced in placing a pa in an appropriate category.

Earlier attempts at classification into complexes, based on the small rectangular platform, proved to be too indefinite to be practical and furthermore resulted in too subjective assignment of pas often on no better grounds than the weather at the time of investigation. For instance, the visit to a badly eroded scrub-covered site on a wet day could have resulted in the rejection of its significance as a pa on the grounds of the dislike engendered in the field-worker by the adverse conditions. The large complicated pas visited on a fine day might be considered the 'best' site, the 'main' pas, and may hold precedence in all sorts of ways over the other pas in the subsequent analysis. Discussion on other methods of classification appears in Chapter 4. The objective conception of the site as a unit or multiple of a unit eliminates the subjective errors.

Single Unit Pas :

The basis of all pas is the single unit, which is characterized by a single platform. A platform has been defined on page 7 as an area usually flat, in whole or part enclosed by ditches or ditches and banks and not rising by way of a scarp to any feature natural or artificial.

The platform is essentially rectangular or may have sides of equal length. It is regarded as the simplest type of site, the smallest unit into which further units may be constructed to form larger and more complex pas. The single units are not necessarily small, although in the area of this survey most of them are ; elsewhere in Taranaki they are quite large.

Four principal variations of the single unit have been recorded (see Figure 3.).

1. Cliff Pa - one side is bounded by beach or river cliff.
2. Ridge Pa - platform separated from the remainder of the ridge by two transverse ditches, sometimes associated with banks.
3. Headland Pa - platform separated from upland on three sides by ditches or ditches and banks. In the area of the survey the fourth side was often enclosed by a ditch and bank.
4. Peninsular Pa - may occur on ridge headland or true peninsula - platform is separated from the upland by a single ditch or ditch and bank.

Although the size of the platform may vary greatly, as a rule it is in the region of a chain square. The surface of the platform may be small and may have rectangular surface pits either deep or shallow, or the depressions of probable collapsed subterranean pits. (Whilst not every small circular depression was excavated, those that were investigated were found to be the surface signs of collapsed bell-shaped subterranean pits.) There may or may not be an inner bank on one or more sides. The inner bank may be low in its eroded state or high and wide in the better preserved pas.

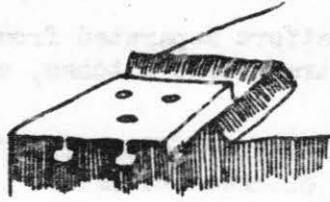
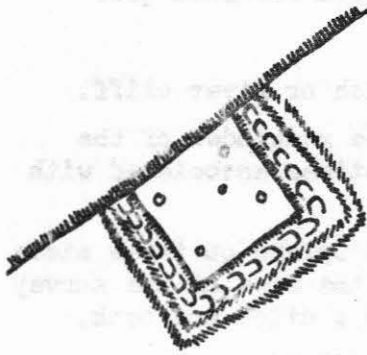
In the better preserved examples the scarps from the platform edge to the bottom of the ditch are perpendicular, with a height variation of 10 to 20 feet. The ditches are usually about 18 feet wide and the outer bank, if present, may rise some 10 feet from the bottom of the ditch. The present state of general decay from both weather and stock precludes very definite statements about the measurements, but those sites well preserved because of second growth native bush, give some indication of the probable dimensions of the majority of features. Further and more definite confirmation was made in the excavation of N109/9. In those instances where the pa is placed in a position with steep natural slopes the outer bank of course is low: the slope would not hold any bank of substantial height, indeed it is often surprising to find that any attempt had been made to form a lateral outer bank. In at least one pa, N99/63, the outer bank was dispensed with and there is only a steep and high scarp. In N99/40, a pa of similar size and topographical situation, there is however a completely surrounding ditch and low outer bank (see Figure 3.).

There are sixty one single units, details of which may be found in the check-list, Chapter 6.

#### Double Unit Pas :

In this subdivision are placed those pas in which the platform units may be doubled or in which the platform is associated with a terrace.

1. CLIFF PA 99/43

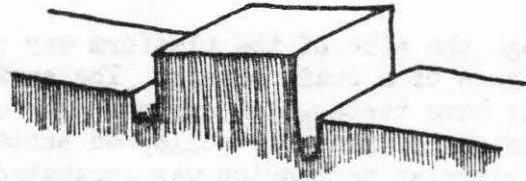


bank

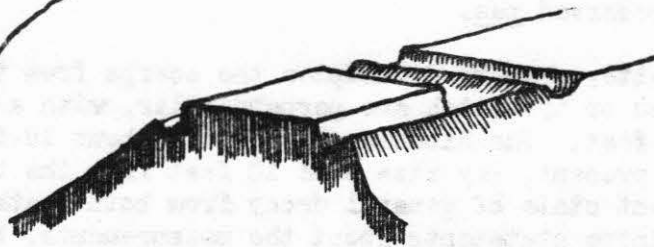
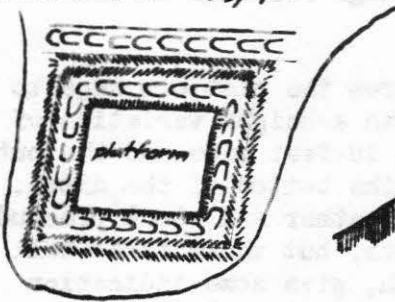
ditch

scarp

2. RIDGE PA 99/102



3. HEADLAND PA 99/40



4. PENINSULA PA 99/33

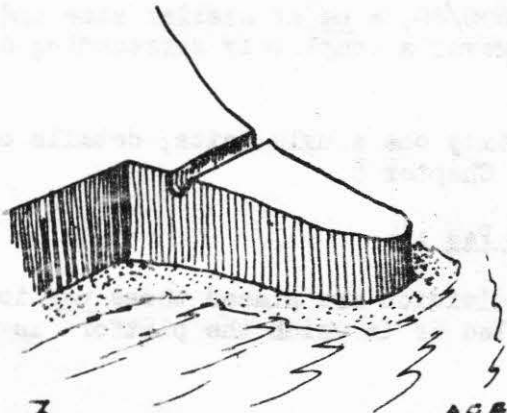
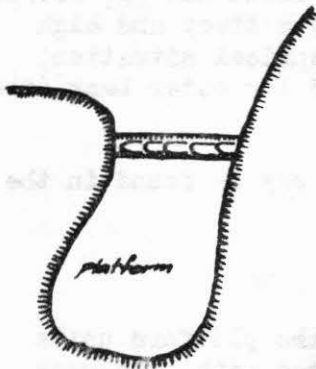


FIGURE 3

A.G.B.



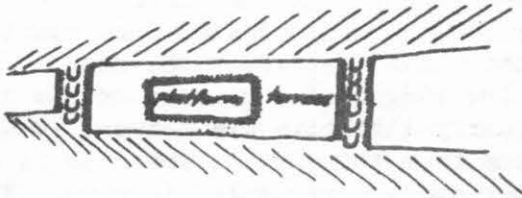
A terrace is defined as a flat area rising by way of a scarp to another feature natural or artificial; it may or may not have ditches or ditches and banks on one or more sides. The abutment by a scarp distinguishes a terrace from a platform ( See Figure 4.).

There are three principal variations of the double unit pa, though a greater number of variations is obviously possible, and they may be situated in any of the descriptive features of the landscape.

1. The terrace surrounds the platform on all sides.
2. The platform is duplicated.
3. The terrace is a continuation of the pa site, along a ridge or headland at a lower level.

The double unit is a larger pa than the single unit, and the terrace may exceed the size of the platform. Terraces may have the same surface features as platforms and may have the same variations in inner banks. There are fourteen double unit pas in the area of the survey (See Figures 5 & 6).

1. 99/51



2. 99/9



3. 109/52



FIGURE 4

### Multiple unit Pas : pukearuan type

In this subdivision are placed those pas which have more than two platforms or have a single platform with more than one terrace in association. There are no pas with more than nine units, in the area of the survey. Site N99/76 (see page ) is made up of nine units. The largest pa, N99/49, covers some 12 acres at the present time, and comprises seven units (see page ). The extensively terraced volcanic cones of the Auckland area or the long terraced ridge pas of the East Coast illustrated by Best (2) do not exist within the area of this survey.

'Pukearuan' is the name proposed for multiple unit pas with from 3 to 9 terrace and platform units, without significance either in shape or total area of the complex. Other higher complexes of this classification system would have 10 to 19, 20 to 29, 30 to 39 etc. units, to be given suitable names at some future time, either from adjacent localities or from any other place. There are twenty-nine pas of pukearuan type in the area of this survey. (See plans and descriptions for N99/37, N99/49, N99/70, N99/76, N109/23 etc.)

### 2. LARGE ISOLATED PITS and MADE SOILS :

In three localities there exist large irregular pits in the sides of low hills. Such pits are a prominent feature of the consolidated dune country on the southern border of Taranaki, and they have been given the name 'borrow-pits' by Fleming. (7 : 94). " On low ridges of dune-sand on the coastal belt, particularly west of Waverley, quarry-like pits are common, locally grouped in large numbers and conspicuous from the air.... The pits range from half a chain to two chains in diameter and are irregular in plan. They may be on top of, or on either side of, a ridge, and range in depth from two to twelve feet.....In Waverley district andesitic ash a foot or more thick overlies dune sand, but the pits penetrate into the underlying sand. The irregular pits of the Waverley-Whenuakura region are undoubtedly Maori excavations to obtain sand for use in agriculture. Elsewhere, Maori agriculturists carried gravelly sand for addition to heavy soils to improve their texture and warmth for cultivation of kumara." Fleming gave these pits the name 'borrow-pits, and illustrates them lying on the low dune-ridges of the Rapanui Terrace at Waverley (7 : 95). The Maori undoubtedly removed sand from these pits, but there is no evidence that they ever returned it : 'borrow' may be an euphemism, and 'quarry' a better term.

Two of the isolated pits are close together in the flatland zone north-east of N99/37, and the other is on the north edge of the Waiti Stream valley near the beach. A careful search of the aerial survey photographs has failed to reveal any similar features, though they may, of course, have existed. The three recorded were presumably quarried to provide suitable sand for areas of cultivation in the vicinity. Presumably the absence of widespread quarries could indicate a general suitability of the natural soils without addition or modification. However this conclusion may not be valid. Several farmers, particularly in the Mimi River area,

when ploughing have turned over large areas containing river sand which had obviously been brought to the site. The excavation of N109/9 revealed a layer of coarse river sand sealing lower occupation layers. One early settler remembers Maori expeditions up the river for the purpose of quarrying coarse river sand. The river sand in these man-made soils is easily distinguished from beach sand, as the beach sand is the 'black' iron sand of Taranaki whilst the river sand is coarse and grey.

### 3. VILLAGE SITES :

Only one village (kainga) site has been recorded - N99/24. From the directions given by Peter Buck in Smith (18 : 115), the village Maruwhi was found - or at least presumed to have been identified by midden remains only. No pits are visible, though a stereoscopic examination of the aerial photographs reveals three possible house-floors. The midden contains artifacts from the period of early European contact as recorded by Jonas (10 : 191).

There must, of course, have been other kainga, but the only other presumptive evidence found was a group of house-floors in the valley below N99/10, and a further group along the cliff edge at N99/54. A paddock above N99/55 was said to have had houses within living memory, but there is no ground evidence of them today.

### 4. TRACKS :

Smith (18 : 12) records major tracks to the interior : collectively they seem to have been known as the Taumata-Mahoe Track which ran from the coast to the Wanganui River. Three are specifically mentioned ; one running up the Waitara River (south of the area of this survey); one up the Onaero River ; and one up the Urenui River. These three apparently met on the Upper Waitara River and a single track continued over the Taumata-Mahoe Range to the Wanganui River near the junction with the Tangarakau River at Mataiwetu. (Manuscript Diary of Major Brassy - 1850 : Turnbull Library)

Early travellers walked along coastal tracks on the top of the cliffs and at some places, along the beaches. There is little trace of these tracks today, possibly because they were used first as military roads and later as the basis of surveyed roads : the 'old north road' is visible in many places along the cliff-tops and is plainly visible cutting down to the Mimi Beach in the photograph of N99/33 (Plate 7). The 'Gilbert Track', used in the days of the Armed Constabulary, runs from Pukearuhe to Uriti across the ridge-tops. In view of the numerous pas on both sides of this track, it is likely that Gilbert simply widened and graded an existing Maori Track.

There are, however, short stretches of Maori Tracks unmodified from

the original state. One which winds down the slope and across the farmlands from N99/18 is clearly visible on the aerial survey photographs. This track obviously led from this ridge-top pa to the coast. Plate 5B, an aerial view of N99/4 which is situated on the coast opposite N99/18, shows a track running down the headland in the centre across the swamp and up the slopes to the right. Another track is plainly visible to the naked eye, winding up the hill and across the paddocks south-west of Waititi Beach. It can be followed for some quarter of a mile when it is lost in a ploughed field. The old north road runs just east of this, choosing an easier grade up the slope.

## 5. REDOUBTS :

As mentioned elsewhere, the absence of a history of the Armed Constabulary makes much of this section speculative. Cowan records that there were three redoubts in the 1860's at Uremi : N99/34, Te Pihanga was recorded as such. Mceariki, N99/14, is presumed on the evidence of the aerial photograph to have been another, but the locality of the third is unknown unless it was the small structure near N109/9 as suggested by Best (2 : 242). Further redoubts were located on the Papatiki Stream left bank - the 'Papatiki Front' - N99/78, N99/79 and N99/80. (8 : 498, Vol.2) The last redoubt was that at Pukearuhe, N99/49, built on portion of the platform of the pa. (5 : 304-310, Vol.2).

The redoubts took the form of a rectangular flattened area on which tents were pitched or a block-house built, surrounded by a high dirt and bracken wall and an outer ditch. The ditch was usually crossed by a draw-bridge which, when raised, closed the gap in the wall. Cowan has numerous examples drawn and photographed. The pattern of settlement is best preserved in N99/79 where an area 50ft. by 40ft. is surrounded by a shallow ditch in which a well was sunk. Along the edge of the valley there are numerous small house floors cut into the hillside, and in one of these is a brick fireplace which possibly served as the cookhouse. The flattened area of the platform is horizontal and level in contrast to Maori construction which was not so concerned with dead-levels.

Chapter 4.PA LOCATIONS

No discussion on pas can be attempted without reference to the pioneer work of Elsdon Best in his book "Pa Maori". In the introductory remarks, Best divided fortified pas into three main types related to their position in the landscape (2 : 15).

1. Fortified positions on flatland.
2. Hill forts:
  - A. ridges and spurs.
  - B. isolated hills or peaks and hillocks.
  - C. headland or promontory forts.
  - D. cliff forts.
3. Island forts, including swamp strongholds.

Best explains that nearly all of his category 1 forts had at least one face impinging on "rivers, streams, hollow or bluff"; therefore his category 1 is unreal and should be absorbed into category 2.

Best (2 : 47) also describes methods of fortification:

1. Pre-European : Positions defended by stockades only.  
Positions defended by fosse, rampart  
and stockade.  
Positions defended by scarps and stock-  
ades only -terraced hill forts.  
Positions defended by a combination of the  
three.
2. Modern : The modified gun fighters pa.

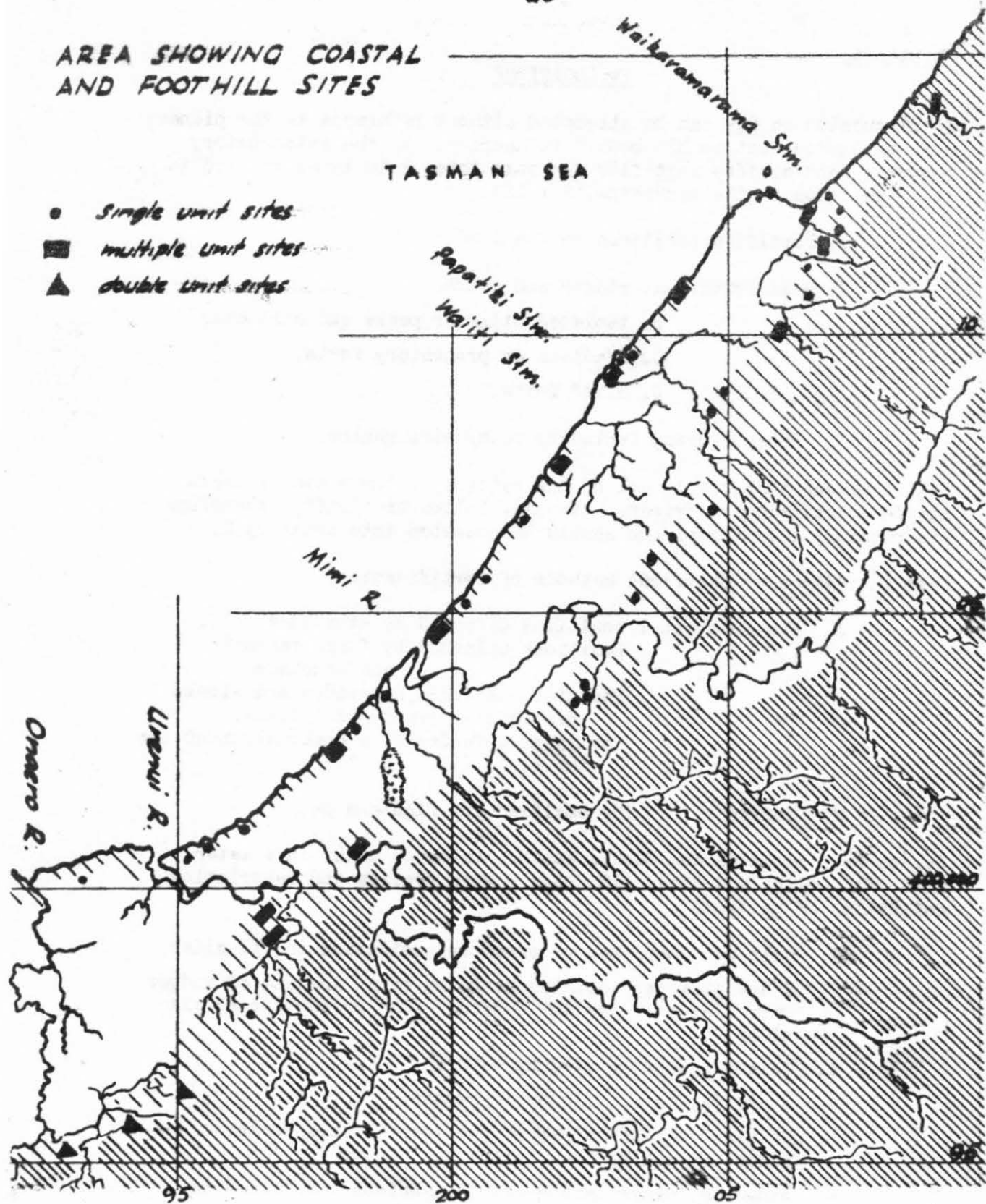
Golson (8 : 64) modified Best's scheme. Based on this, in a later Handbook, Golson and Green (10) gave a more precise and restricting definition of pa types :

1. Hill pa, where nature provides protection on all sides.
2. Ridge peak pa, isolated peaks on or at the end of ridges where, as in 1, nature provides some protection on all sides.
3. Island pa, surrounded by water.
4. Swamp pa, being islands in swamps.
5. Headland pa, where nature provides defence on three sides but not on the fourth.
6. Ridge pa, where nature provides defences on two sides.
7. Open pa, where nature provides little defence.

AREA SHOWING COASTAL  
AND FOOTHILL SITES

TASMAN SEA

- single unit sites
- multiple unit sites
- ▲ double unit sites



N99 · MIMI · N109 · INGLEWOOD

FIGURE 5

Scale of Miles

Whilst the definitions of Golson and Green are of great help in the local description of a particular feature, they do not form a satisfactory basis of classification. The use of the terms headland, ridge, ridge-peak pa etc. is restricted to the check-list in Chapter 6.

A topographic classification rather than a descriptive one would appear to have more logic to support it in this area where it is clear that any suitable feature has been used. Regardless of other considerations the sites are located in four clearly defined topographical situations. The area of the survey can be divided into four distinct zones, as a reference to Figure 2 clearly shows. These are :-

1. Coastal in the sand dunes on the edge of the Rapanui Bench.
2. Flatland on the Rapanui Bench.
3. Foothills on eroded Ngarino and Brunswick Benches.
4. Ridge-tops mainly on the extreme tops of the 800ft. high ridges formed from the Kaiatea Terraces.

#### COASTAL :

Except for the immediate vicinity of the three river mouths, the coast is lined with 100 foot high cliffs. The pas all lie on the cliffs behind the modern beach and are built on the fixed dune-sand ridge which lies on the top of the Rapanui Bench as described in Chapter 1. In most instances they occupy ridge-peaks on the dunes, but a few are located on isolated spurs which run out into the sea from the general cliff line, and one occupies a large area of flatland (Pukearuru Pa N99/49). Access to the sea would be possible, though sometimes difficult, from most of the pas.

Along the thirteen odd miles of coastline there are nineteen pas. These are located about every half a mile from the top of the cliffs at Pukearuru to the Urenui River mouth. Six of these pas are multiple units (pukearuan) and these are fairly evenly spaced along the coast, separated from each other by from one to three single unit pas. Only three of the pukearuan are really large, covering from five to eight acres. These all lie in the northern part of the area. Pukearuru Pa, N99/49, which is the largest, occupies the tablelands above the only easy access from the beach leading from the extreme north. Since this beach is negotiable only during low to half tides, the location of a large pa at this point may have had some strategic significance. The pukearuan Otumatua Pa, N99/46, occupies the first large ridge-peak on the northern coastline and provides a much better 'lookout' both up and down the coast than does Pukearuru Pa : in fact Otumatua Pa can be seen from practically all the sites in the area of the survey, so prominent is the coastal peak. The third large pukearuan type, Whakarewa Pa N99/29, overlooks the beach at the mouth of the Waiti and Papatiki Streams. This is the first beach down the coast from Tongaparutu, twelve miles away, where it would be possible to land and secure canoes regardless of the tide.

The other three pukearuan pas are long and narrow. Two are placed on either side of the Mimi River and the other just down the coast from the Waiti Stream mouth.

The following list identifies the coastal pas whose distribution is shown in Figure 5.

- A. Single units : N99/5, N99/6, N99/14, N99/25, N99/33, N99/39, N99/41, N99/42, N99/43, N99/44, N99/47, N99/48, N99/52.
- B. Double units : nil
- C. Pukearuan type: N99/4, N99/10, N99/29, N99/37, N99/46, N99/49.

#### FLATLAND :

As already mentioned in Chapter 1, this area is not strictly flatland, but an undulating low hilly country cut by numerous small streams. Pas in the region all occupy low headlands formed by creeks and swamps, except for three pukearuan type which occupy isolated hills on the banks of the Urenui and Mimi Rivers not far from their mouths. These hills, situated in wide valleys, are the remnants of the eroded Rapamui Bench.

The contour is described as 'flat' in contrast to the ridges and foothills. From present day drainage, it is impossible to determine whether any of the small creeks actually flowed but it is a reasonable assumption that, except for the lower parts of the Waikaramarama, Papatiki and Waiti Streams and the Mimi, Urenui and Onaero Rivers, most of the headlands extended into swamps rather than running streams. These pas, then, were placed in the midst of arable and fertile plains. Seven of them are on the precipitate edge of bluffs into the three large rivers.

There are thirtyseven pas in this zone. All of the nine pukearuan pas are in the vicinity of the rivers, and it is clear that they were strategically placed on the most suitable features within easy reach of the river mouths. Of the double unit pas, five are north of the Mimi and two near the Onaero. There is an even distribution of pas over the area except for a gap north of Urenui, there being no pas on the Motunui plains between the Urenui and Mimi Rivers.

The following list identifies the pas in the flatland zone whose distribution is shown in Figure 6.

- A. Single units : N99/3, N99/12, N99/13, N99/27, N99/31, N99/32, N99/34, N99/40, N99/60, N99/62, N99/63, N99/64, N109/9, N109/10, N109/11, N109/12, N109/13, N109/22, N109/31, N109/42, N109/79.



B. Double units : N99/1, N99/9, N99/28, N99/38  
N99/67, N109/25, N109/35.

C. Pukearuan : N99/2, N99/7, N99/8, N99/11, N99/70,  
N109/21, N109/23, N109/24, N109/32.

### FOOTHILLS :

The foothills, as discussed in Chapter 1 indicated, are formed from the eroded Ngarino Bench. They lie some 200 feet above sea level and some 100 feet above the 'flatland'. Most of the pas have strong natural features such as steep slopes and bluffs. Apart from being reasonably close to arable areas both in the flatland and the valleys, these pas have the advantage of a wider field of visibility than those on the flatland. There is a considerable area of arable land on terraces and valleys beneath the ridge-tops.

Of the twentytwo pas in this zone, six are of pukearuan type. Three of these are in the extreme northern part of the area, in the vicinity of Pukearua; three are near the Urenui River. The double units lie between the Urenui and Onaero Rivers. Thus the larger pas are distributed at either end of the area, and the single units in the area between. Again, pas are absent between the Urenui and Mimi Rivers with the exception of the 3 acre Okoki Pa N99/26 on the banks of the Urenui River itself.

The following list identifies the pas in the foothill zone whose distribution is shown on Figure 5.

A. Single units : N99/35, N99/36, N99/61, N99/65,  
N99/68, N99/69, N99/71, N99/72,  
N99/77, N99/81, N99/83, N99/102,  
N109/49.

B.. Double units : N109/36, N109/37, N109/38.

C. Pukearuan type : N99/26, N99/30, N99/55, N99/66,  
N109/15, N109/16.

### RIDGE-TOP :

Most of the sites are on the extreme tops of the 300 foot high ridges on the Kaiatea Terrace. The basis of these terraces is papa mudstone, covered with bush or exposed raw in slips down the precipitate sides. All the pas command a wide view of the surrounding countryside, though the view up the coast to the far north is restricted by the high Paraninihi Ridge which runs from the coast inland. All the pas can be approached from the east as well as the west, but the spurs leading

into them are few and most of them have ditches across them. The pas have been constructed by flattening the ridge-top into a platform and terraces, separated by scarps. As mentioned in Chapter 1 there are extensive table-lands on the ridge-tops, and there is evidence that at least two of these localities - that to the east of Pukearuhe, N99/58, and the east of N99/76 - were used for cultivation. Mr. V. Wells of Pukearuhe stated that N99/58 was a large clearing free from heavy native bush when the farm was first taken up, and that on this clearing he found pits and ploughed up at least two adzes.

There are twentysix ridge-top pas, eight of them pukearuan type. The pas are spaced at fairly regular intervals from the north to the south. It should be noted that there is a pukearuan pa located near all the foothill pas and further, there is a strongly defended high refuge within reach of all the lower lying pas. The four double units and fourteen single units fill the gaps or occupy the spurs near the larger pas. N99/15, N99/18 and N99/17 are of added interest in that they surround a basin in which there is a strongly flowing spring; although these pas are small individually, they together surround a large area on the ridge-top. During development of the area for European farming, it was found that the spring had been dammed at the top of a steep papa bluff over which it flows to the valley below... the purpose or significance of the dam is unknown.

Sites N109/19 and N109/21 on the Urenui River were possibly related to an inland track to the upper Waitara River, and N109/39, N109/40 and N109/41 probably lay on a similar track up the Onaero River to the Waitara River. As noted in Chapter 2, the inhabitants of the whole coastal land from Pukearuhe to below Waitara were said to have sought refuge 'behind Mimi' in the early nineteenth century and it is possible that at least some of the ridge-top pas were occupied by these people at this time. One of them, Puke Whakamaru Pa, has specific reference as having been occupied by the Chief Te Rauparaha in 1822. (see page 16).

The distribution of the following ridge-top pas is shown in Figure 6.

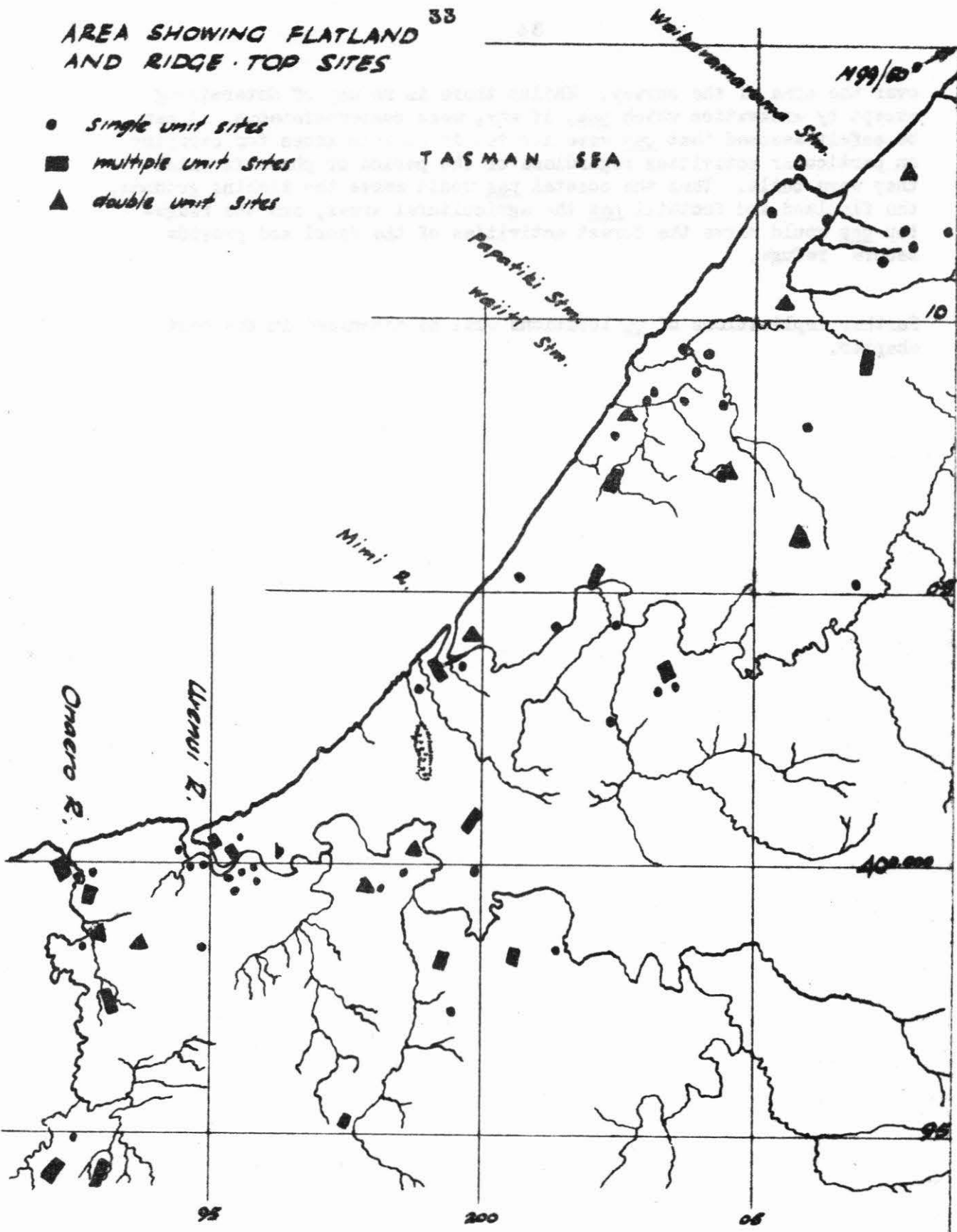
- A. Single units : N99/16, N99/17, N99/50, N99/53, N99/56, N99/57, N99/58, N99/74, N99/75, N109/41, N109/50, N109/51, N109/53, N109/95.
- B. Double units : N99/51, N99/73, N99/85, N109/52.
- C. Pukearuan : N99/15, N99/18, N99/76, N109/19, N109/20, N109/39, N109/49, N109/86.

#### SUMMARY :

Consideration of pa locations alone leads to the conclusion that all the types of pas defined in Chapter 3 are evenly distributed

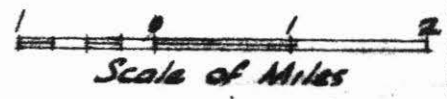
33  
 AREA SHOWING FLATLAND  
 AND RIDGE-TOP SITES

- single unit sites
- multiple unit sites
- ▲ double unit sites



N 99 · MIMI      N 109 · INGLEWOOD

FIGURE 6.



over the area of the survey. Whilst there is no way of determining except by excavation which pas, if any, were contemporaneous, it can be safely assumed that pas were located in certain zones for carrying on particular activities regardless of the period or phase in which they were built. Thus the coastal pas would serve the fishing grounds, the flatland and foothill pas the agricultural areas, and the ridge-top pas would serve the forest activities of the Maori and provide secure refuge.

Further implications of pa locations will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 5.ANALYSIS OF PAS

The previous chapters have dealt with pas as archaeological features making as few assumptions as possible. That these field monuments can be reconstructed to pas with defensive works of the type recorded by Europeans is tacitly agreed. The ditch, the bank, the platform and the terrace, the deep pit and the shallow, are each assigned a definite use, and their development in New Zealand is assumed to predate any feature included in this survey. Although the problems to be answered in any survey are many, it is generally necessary to restrict enquiry to a few selected objectives. Two objectives have been here selected: - 1. Does such a survey of field monuments make possible any inferences about the organization of the inhabitants of the area.?

2. Does such a survey provide any clues for a typological sequence of pas applicable not only in North Taranaki but also elsewhere in New Zealand. ?

This analysis will endeavour to answer the questions.

Of the one hundred and fourteen field monuments recorded, ten have been excluded from further analysis :

|         |     |   |
|---------|-----|---|
| N99/24  | ... | village site of European period.              |
| N99/54  | ... | find-spot of adze, and area of cultivation.   |
| N99/78  | ... | military redoubt of European origin.          |
| N99/79  | ... | "   |
| N99/80  | ... | "   |
| N99/101 | ... | two quarries.                                 |
| N99/103 | ... | probable military redoubt of European origin. |
| N99/104 | ... | historic Te Kaweka village.                   |
| N109/14 | ... | probable military redoubt of European origin. |
| N109/18 | ... | pits, and adze find-spot.                     |

The following analysis and discussion is confined to the remaining one hundred and four pas. In this area of some sixtyfour square miles, the density of fortified pas is approximately two to the square mile. These pas, which have been described, may be analysed in three ways in an attempt to answer the questions posed. They may be analysed according to pa type, to some locations or to their situations in relation to the surrounding topography.

It would be possible to use other features and factors in any analysis, but I have chosen these three factors as the least likely to lead to a too subjective appraisal. Midden analysis or sorting of pit types would obviously require a much more extensive exploration involving excavation. Given time and man-power, such investigations would supplement this simpler analysis.

## ANALYSIS OF PA TYPE :

The following table indicates the numbers of pa types as detailed in Chapter 3.

|                   |              |      |
|-------------------|--------------|------|
| A. Single units   | - 1. Coastal | - 13 |
| 61                | 2. Flatland  | - 21 |
|                   | 3. Foothills | - 13 |
|                   | 4. Ridge-top | - 14 |
| B. Double units   | - 1. Coastal | - 0  |
| 14                | 2. Flatland  | - 7  |
|                   | 3. Foothills | - 3  |
|                   | 4. Ridge-top | - 4  |
| C. Pukearuan type | - 1. Coastal | - 6  |
| 29                | 2. Flatland  | - 9  |
|                   | 3. Foothills | - 3  |
|                   | 4. Ridge-top | - 3  |

Introduction : an examination of traditional and recorded history of the area does not aid the classification of pa sequence. It appears to be firmly established that the area was occupied by two tribes, the Ngati Mutunga in the south and the Ngati Tama in the northern part, although there is no clear evidence of the exact boundary between the two. A third tribe, the Ngai-tara Punamu, are said to have occupied an area between the two other tribes. However only nine of the one hundred and four pas of the survey are mentioned in traditional histories, too few a number to serve any purpose in elucidating pa type sequence from traditional evidence.

In the recorded history of contemporary Missionary records, there is mention of eight pas : Puke Whakamaru, Pihanga, Pohokura, Te Kawa, Kumara-kai-amo, Okoki, Arapawanui and Kaipikari. Once again, only eight of a possible one hundred and four pas is too few a number from which to draw firm conclusions. Each of these is different in some way from the others. Puke Whakamaru Pa, situated on a large terminal ridge peak with strong natural defences, has transverse scarps across one section as the only artificial defence. Pihanga Pa was rebuilt as a European redoubt which obscures its original form. Pohokura Pa is an isolated hill with terracing and a terminal ditch and bank. Te Kawa Pa is a single unit with no inner bank, and a surrounding ditch and bank. Kumara-kai-amo Pa is a single unit with a massive inner bank. Okoki Pa is an elaborate pukearuan site on a ridge peak. Arapawanui Pa is a pukearuan type situated on an isolated hill. Kaipikari Pa is largely destroyed by farming but was apparently a small single unit.

The problem of site sequence has not been pursued by earlier writers. Best,

in the 'Pa Maori', does not deal directly with the problem, except to divide his pas into pre-European and modern gun-fighter categories. His chapter on the modern Maori pa is not altogether satisfactory and we still await an exhaustive and satisfactory examination of the evolution of the gun-fighting pa. Best however does mention, indirectly, some features which have a bearing on the scope of the present analysis.

When writing of 'hill forts', he states " In some cases such a ridge summit had several of such rounded hills strongly fortified, while the intervening hollows were occupied as residential areas, but were abandoned in the event of a strongly pressed attack." (2 : 15). In his general description of fortified pas he goes on to say " In examining old forts it is clear that, in many cases, an outer area was not strongly defended, though used as a residential area. In the event of a serious attack these folk would vacate such a place and retire within the stronger defences." (2 : 35). Quoting from Earle's "Narrative of nine month's residence in New Zealand in 1827", he states, under the heading 'Outworks', " In the direction where the approach of the enemy was expected, they had erected a strong square stockade to molest the army, while women and children retired to the principal fort which was very strong and situated at the summit of the highest hill." (2 : 98).

Vayda (1960) in his entertaining book "Maori Warfare", was unable to cite any references which would help in the problem of differentiation of pa construction phases. John Houston in the introduction to his series "Stone Age Forts of South Taranaki" (Hawera Star 1932), uses the 'irregularity' of outline as a criterion which distinguished Maori earthworks from 'regular' outline European earthworks, although he was unable to give any sequence of Maori pas. The criterion proved to be of little value, as an examination of regular outline monuments invariably revealed Maori and not European midden. Furthermore, the European military redoubts have been well documented for the area he was discussing, and they can be placed accurately in the field. As far as I am aware, no one has attempted a description and analysis of Maori earthworks in the Maori Wars period. Such an analysis would be of tremendous help to the archaeologist working in the field.

Discussion of the Available Evidence : since there is no clear ground evidence of any evolution in pa typology, and because pa dwelling probably occurred in only the late phase of Maori occupation of New Zealand as suggested by Green (12), it may be assumed that all the pas in the survey area were more or less contemporaneous. Therefore the organized tabulation may be treated paradigmatically and so may allow certain conclusions on the social organization of the Maori.

It can be seen that the single unit is not only the prototype of all the pas but also dominates numerically. There are four times as many single as double units and twice as many single as pukearuan type.

This suggests, then, that the Maori pattern of living was one of dispersion rather than aggregation, and that the larger pag were fully occupied on special occasions rather than continuously. It can be concluded that the single unit pa could provide protected accommodation for from three to ten houses and could thus provide shelter for a family or small hapu. In times of tribal threats, these families could possibly have retreated to larger pag to provide tribal solidarity. If Earle's description (see above) is valid, this factor alone could account for them : but it should be noted that not all of them necessarily lie on the approaches to a larger site. A common term currently applied to the single unit pa is "food-pa", and it is possible that some at least of them were temporary store places.

The problem of evolution of pa construction is not so readily answered from a study of pa types in the field. Within the one hundred and four pag there are no distinctive differences in the ditch and bank defensive systems. The partial excavation of one single unit pa, N109/9 (see appendix) indicated that there may have been an essential change in the defensive system. The first defence was a row of palisade posts : whether these were built on the edge of a scarp is by no means certain, as the later ditches associated with the first and second banks obscure the original design. There was certainly no inner bank associated with the palisade in this first period. The pits excavated show great variation during the progressive occupation of the site, and these changes are reflected in the defensive systems. First, the palisade without the inner bank, then the extensive terracing, then the erection of massive palisades, then the construction of the first inner bank and outer ditch, followed by the massive second inner bank and deeper ditch.

This sequence of construction may indicate that the presence of an inner bank is a late development in pag. The reason for the inner bank is not apparent for although it certainly lies across the upland part of the platform in the site excavated, it lies along the north side of the platforms in N99/37 ; yet in this pukearuan pa the most readily approachable side is the lateral east, and not the north, therefore the inner bank could not have served a purely defensive function. Nevertheless if the evidence from the excavation of one feature is any indication, the presence of an inner bank may denote a later phase of pa construction.

#### ANALYSIS OF ZONE LOCATION :

The second approach to the analysis of pag, in an attempt to answer the questions posed, is to consider the implications of their localisation in the countryside.



The following table enumerates the number of the different pa types according to their localization within the four zones :

|    |           |   |             |             |    |   |
|----|-----------|---|-------------|-------------|----|---|
| 1. | Coastal   | - | single unit | -           | 13 |   |
|    |           |   | 19          | double unit | -  | 0 |
|    |           |   |             | pukearuan   | -  | 6 |
| 2. | Flatland  | - | single unit | -           | 21 |   |
|    |           |   | 57          | double unit | -  | 7 |
|    |           |   |             | pukearuan   | -  | 9 |
| 3. | Foothills | - | single unit | -           | 13 |   |
|    |           |   | 22          | double unit | -  | 3 |
|    |           |   |             | pukearuan   | -  | 6 |
| 4. | Ridge-top | - | single unit | -           | 14 |   |
|    |           |   | 26          | double unit | -  | 4 |
|    |           |   |             | pukearuan   | -  | 8 |

Introduction : the description of a pa site as an isolated feature in the landscape is one thing ; to describe a large number of pas in a given limited area and to attempt to correlate and analyse them is another. I have not used either the Best or the Golson categories outlined in Chapter 4 : the location of the pa on headland, ridge or cliff is largely fortuitous because such topographic features simply lend themselves readily to defensible positions ; whether headland, ridge or cliff pas dominate in any one area depends entirely on the availability of such topographical features, and such features are used as necessary. It is therefore obvious that these categories cannot be used when a large number of sites are being considered together, valuable as they may be in describing single sites. This matter has been given brief confirmation by G.D.Smart in his description of the Waitotara area on the southern border of Taranaki (17 :185).

There being no evidence of the earliest phases of Maori occupation in the survey area, it is probable that the activities of the Maoris approximated somewhat those activities recorded during the early European colonisation period. In this case, the proportionate division of sites of the pas should give some measure of relative importance of particular activities. The four zones under consideration have been described in Chapter 1.

Discussion of the Available Evidence : In the tabular organization one feature stands out : in the flatland zone, the total number of pas is fifty percent greater than on coastal, foothill or ridge-top zones. It is argued, therefore, that the flatland activities were of somewhat greater importance than the activities based in the other zones, since the pas were obviously built where the people were. Since it has been shown in Chapter 1 that the flatlands of the Rapanui Terrace represent the bulk of the arable land in the area, it can be safely concluded that agriculture was the predominant activity

of the population at the time of the pa building.

The distribution of pas probably gives reasonable emphasis to the activities of agriculture, fishing and forest hunting. It can be safely assumed that coastal sites would provide shelter and refuge during fishing activities as well as providing bastions against the enemy invasions from the sea. Flatland and foothill sites would be associated with cultivation of food-crops, and the ridge-top sites with bird-catching and berry collecting. Further confirmation of this conclusion will not necessarily be provided by midden analysis. The Maori was not particularly cooperative with the archaeologist in this respect. A casual examination of exposed midden in the pas of the area revealed that they were not orientated exclusively around one activity, since sea-shells were found in all zones and on one of the highest ridge-top pa, N99/15, a perfect net-sinker was picked up during the visit.

The distribution maps on pages 28 and 31 illustrate that pas are distributed along rivers and streams rather than about the boundaries of the area. If pas were located only in places of strategic advantage and importance, there would be no particular need to concentrate on rivers and streams. The Urenui area which lies in the centre of the traditional tribal area has a total of 51 pas, nearly a third of the total number in the whole area. It is obvious, then, that considerations other than defence from outside attack determined the location of a pa. It is concluded, once again, that pas were located where the people found it necessary to be. A river provides ready access not only to the sea but also to the hinterland by way of the valleys. Furthermore, both rivers and streams provided eels, an important portion of the diet.

It is concluded that consideration of the zone localization of pas allows the assumption that agriculture was the most important social activity (aspect) of the Maori population, at least during the phase of pa building. The evidence also allows the conclusion that fishing and forest hunting were pursued. The numerical preponderance of the single unit pa in all areas gives further emphasis to the probable exclusive existence of small family units pursuing these various activities throughout the area, rather than tribal participation at any one time.

#### ANALYSIS OF RELATIONSHIP TO SURROUNDING TOPOGRAPHY :

The question of typological sequence of pa appears to be answered, at least in a limited way, by a consideration of the relationship of the pa to surrounding topography.

When writing of the Modern Pa Maori, Best quotes Tuta Nihoniho.(2 : 272). " One change that was soon made in regard to the pa maori after the introduction of guns, was that in many cases the people moved down from the hills to the flat land, abandoned their hill forts and constructed new ones on level ground. The reason given for the change of location is that a hill

pa was more easily approached by an enemy than one situated on a flat. The hill formation afforded cover to a hostile party enabling it to approach and, in some cases, to dominate the fortress, facilities that were not vouchsafed it on level ground."

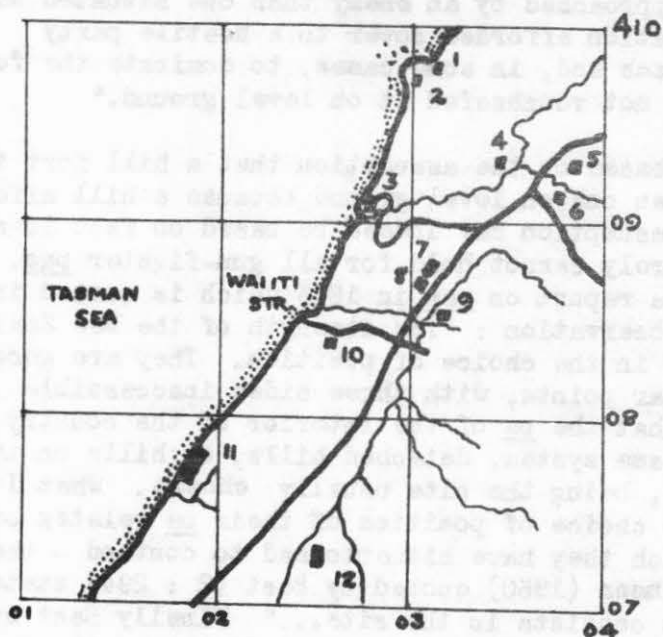
Such a statement is based on the assumption that a hill fort is more easily approached than one on level ground because a hill affords cover. Whilst the assumption may indeed be based on fact in some specific instance, it surely cannot hold for all gun-fighter pas. Indeed Lieut. G. Bennett in a report on pas in 1843 which is quoted in Best (2 : 292) made the observation : "The strength of the New Zealand pa consists principally in the choice of position. They are generally situated on peninsular points, with three sides inaccessible ... I have been informed that the pa of the interior of the country are constructed on the same system, detached hills, or hills on the extremity of a ridge, being the site usually chosen. What I have said relative to the choice of position of their pa relates only to that arm against which they have hitherto had to contend - the musket." Again, Captain Collinson (1850) quoted by Best (2 : 294) states : "Their (pa) strength consists in the site..." Finally Best himself states (2 : 283) "After the introduction of firearms, the fort builders of Maoriland were compelled to abandon many formerly strong positions, on account of their being commanded by adjacent hills."

The aspect of topography which concerns this part of the analysis of pas is immediately striking in the field : some pas are low-lying and are overlooked by high ground, whilst others are on high ground. It is known that the pa as such preceded the introduction of gun fighting to New Zealand and that pas were constructed after the introduction of gun-fighting. On field evidence it could not be said, as Best suggests (2 : 284) that the shallow ditch denotes a gun-fighting pa, for the shallowness is just as likely to result from detrition as from original design. However, assuming an effective range of 150 yards, gunfire could be directed into some of the low-lying sites, but not into those situated on higher ground. Altogether nineteen of the flatland and foothill pas (regardless of unit type) are overlooked by higher ground within this effective range. One could say of these, then, that their construction preceded gun-fighting. None of the ridge-top sites can be distinguished in this way as none are overlooked by higher ground. Te Puke Karito Pa, N99/70, is overlooked by a higher hill and is within easy reach of gun-fire ; but the two pas N99/31 and N99/32, which are nearby, could not be reached by gun-fire. N99/4 and N99/14 are both cliff pas on the coast and are close together : N99/4 is obviously older since so much of the platform has eroded over the cliff. However the one really distinguishing feature is that N99/14 is on higher ground. (see Figure 7).

There are no distinguishing features in the construction of the pas : those sites that are, by definition, more recently constructed gun-fighting sites have similar transverse and lateral ditches and banks as have the sites that are older. Since no fighting took place here during the later period of the Maori Wars of European aggression, the

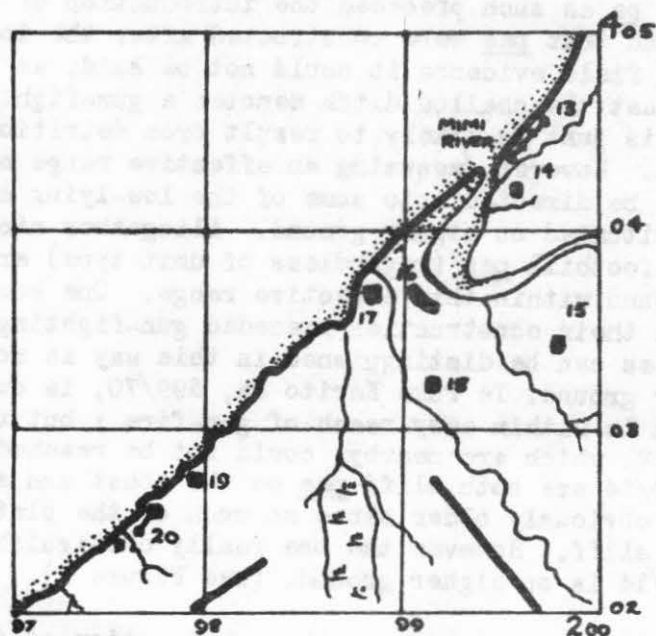
# LOCALITY MAPS

## N99 - MIMI



- |           |           |            |
|-----------|-----------|------------|
| 1. N99/44 | 5. N99/63 | 9. N99/64  |
| 2. N99/43 | 6. N99/80 | 10. N99/28 |
| 3. N99/29 | 7. N99/31 | 11. N99/37 |
| 4. N99/79 | 8. N99/32 | 12. N99/70 |

A.G.B. 1963.



- |            |            |
|------------|------------|
| 13. N99/10 | 17. N99/33 |
| 14. N99/38 | 18. N99/3  |
| 15. N99/1  | 19. N99/14 |
| 16. N99/2  | 20. N99/4  |

FIGURE 7

more sophisticated development within the site itself which is described by Best and by Cowan and which is seen in the Waitara area, does not occur.

Another aspect of the relationship to surrounding topography has been considered under zone locations : most of the pas are situated on or near streams. These streams provided not only water for the Maori, but also served as a source of food supply.

It is reasonable to conclude that consideration of topography can answer both the question of social organization of the Maori in the area and also to a limited extent the question of sequence of pa construction.

#### SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS :

From a consideration of pa type, zone location, and of the surrounding topography, we have reached some answers to the two questions posed.

It should be clearly understood that attempts at grouping pas with reference to differing patterns of construction within each type were abandoned when it was found that the common defence construction was a ditch and bank, and that these were used as the topography demanded. On field evidence one could not say that one specific type of earth-work differed sufficiently from another to designate a different phase in pa construction. Those pas with terraces as well as platforms have used terracing as a means of increasing the enclosed area rather than as an expression of a different cultural phase. Invariably there is a ditch and bank somewhere on the perimeter of all the sites.

1. Pas were located on suitable topographic features where the Maori people were at any particular time. They were located in positions related to certain aspects of their culture : on the coast for fishing : on arable land for agricultural pursuits : on ridge-tops for hunting. Their primary function was, then, to serve as refuges and not as garrison forts in the style of the later European redoubts.
2. Agriculture was the most important aspect of the culture in the area.
3. The people lived in a dispersed fashion over the whole area, living in small groups. Pas large enough to protect larger groups probably were used only on special occasions.
4. Field evidence of the evolution of pa construction is based on the differing locations in relation to the surrounding topography rather than on visible differences in defensive systems. Excavation

will provide more precise evidence of evolution, as indicated in the appendix. There were two periods of pa building in this area : an early period spanning an indefinite number of years, and a later short period adapted to the raids of the northern Maoris who were equipped with guns.

5. Since there are no fundamental differences in the defences or configuration of the two types of pa of these time periods, it is likely that development of pa building occurred during one, possibly brief, phase of Maori Culture development and continued on unchanged except for positioning, into Early European Maori Phase (Green12).

It would be comforting to be able to draw more positive conclusions in this analysis. Indeed this has been, apparently, the main concern of the traditionalists. However documentation is simply lacking and an objective approach to field recording doesn't allow the reconstruction of apocryphal stories.

Chapter 6 .CHECK LIST OF SITES

The following list and brief descriptions of sites contains some alterations to site numbers and grid references previously published by D.W.Robinson in Volume IV no.4 of the N.Z.Archaeological Association Newsletter. The changes can, in most instances, be traced by the site names.

Most of the sites have been more fully described in the record forms deposited in the files of the N.Z.Archaeological Association Site Recording Scheme. Four of such site reports have been selected for inclusion in this monograph, and these follow the check-list.

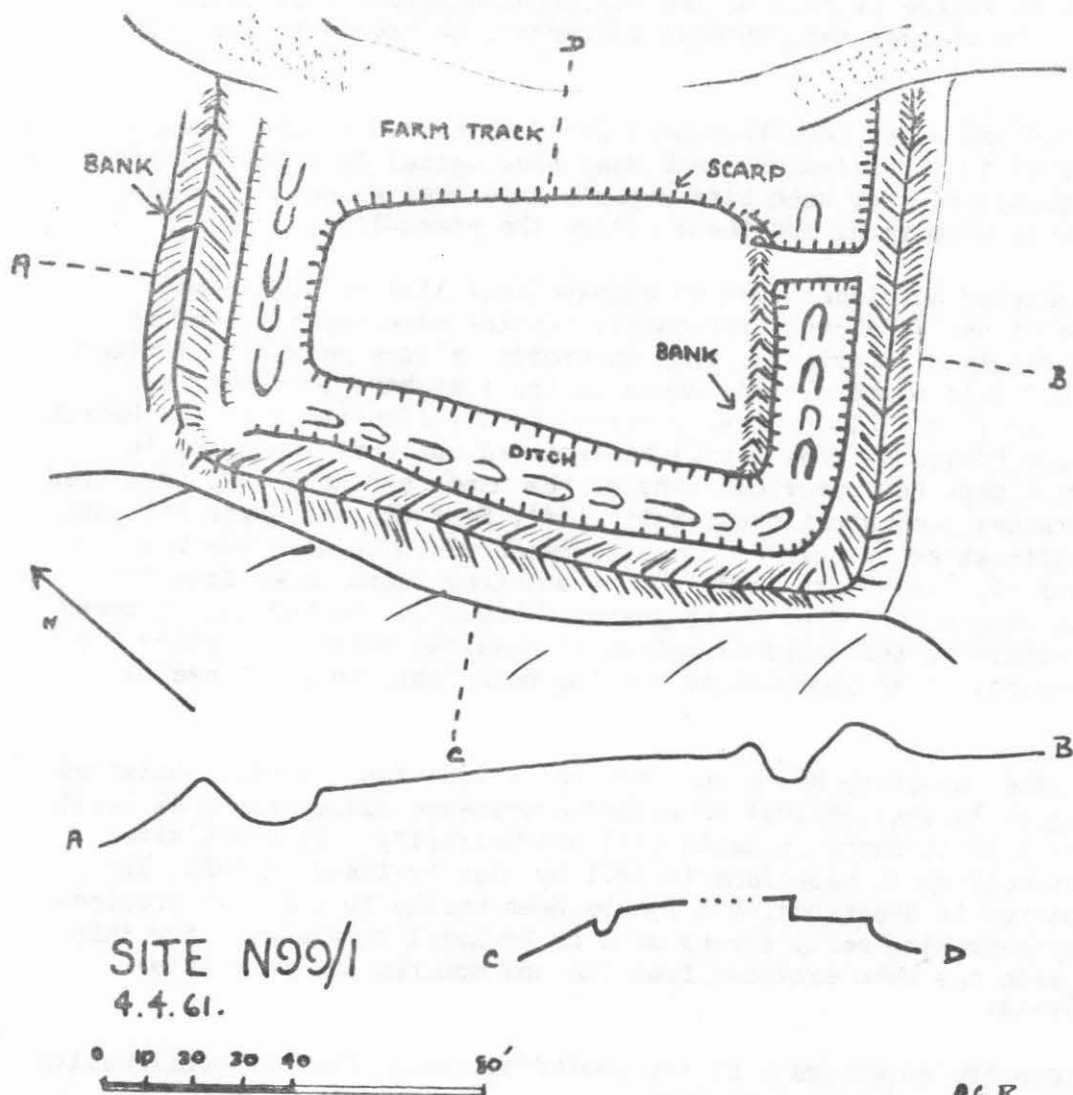
The chapter concludes with an alphabetical list of site names which may be of use as a cross-reference. Whilst site names are of no great archaeological importance, they do provide a more readily memorized reference than site numbers. The names in the list have been obtained from several sources. Elsdon Best recorded twenty-five names in the Urenui area, although Robinson (vide supra) has pointed out some confusion in these. Survey maps have provided many of the names and have also been used to check personal communications. Smith (14), Best (2) and Cowan (3) also provided confirmation of some of the site names given to me by Mr Tom Martin of Waititi. Tom Martin had in turn obtained these names from the Maori people over a period of fifty years of enquiry. He had always been careful to obtain as full a confirmation as possible before accepting the names as correct. I am indebted to him for being able to put these on record.

One site, however, has a name but not a location. I felt justified in recording Te Kaweka (99/104) on recorded evidence alone, since at least six references to it occur in Smith (14) and Wells(17). It was a site occupied not only by Te Rauparaha in 1821 by also by Ihaia in 1858. The general location is described, but I have been unable to place it precisely either by searching early survey maps or by local knowledge. For this reason the site has been excluded from the one hundred and four sites of the analysis.

The names are as accurate as the quoted sources. Further confirmation is beyond the scope of this monograph.

Maps N99 - Mimi N109 - Inglewood NZMS 1.

99/1 998035 N14 Omihi Pa. Small headland pa on left bank of Mimi River near mouth. Single platform, transverse and lateral ditches and eroded outer banks. Preservation: partly eroded by farm track. agb



99/2 997035 N14 Arapawa-nui Pa. Large hill pa in river mouth valley on left bank of Mimi River. Multiple platforms with transverse and lateral ditches and banks. River has cut a bluff into north-west end. Very much overgrown with scrub and gorse. Preservation: good. DWR

99/3 987033 N14 ?Omihi Pa. Small headland pa west of 99/2. Isolated from tableland by a single transverse ditch and outer bank. Preservation: poor. DWR



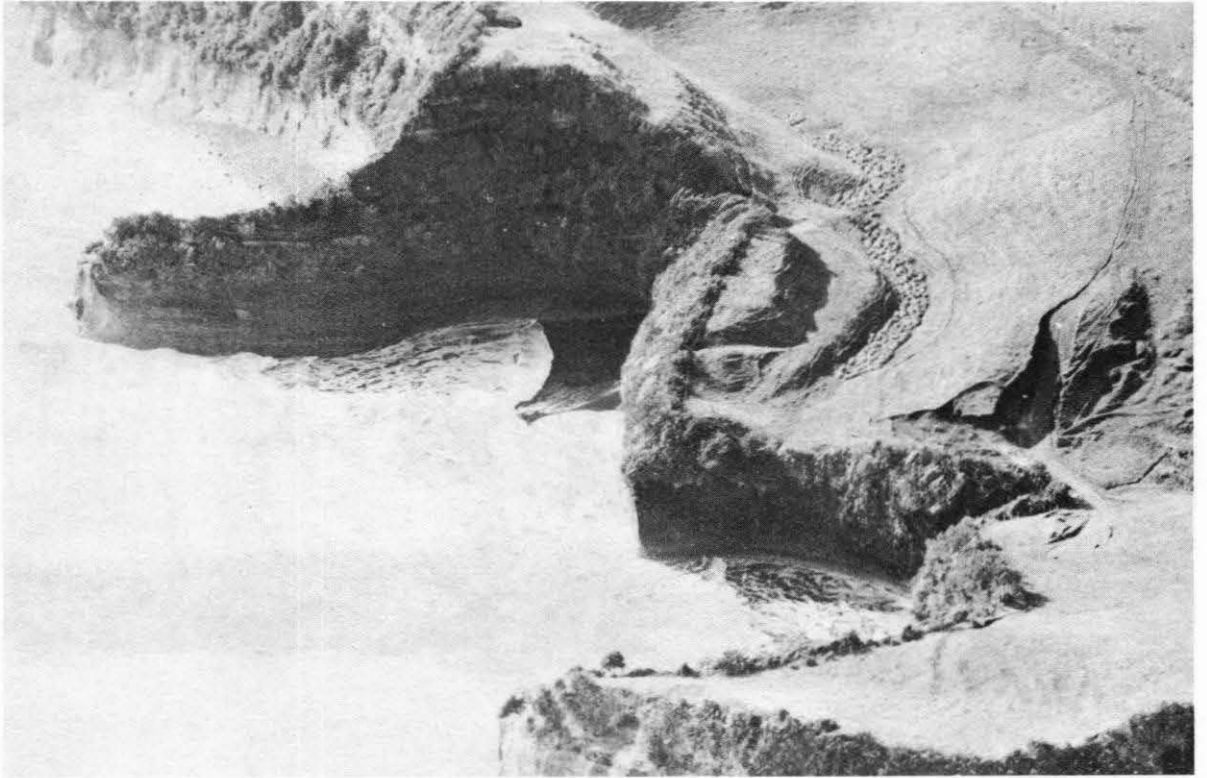


Plate 5. A. Aerial view N99/4 from south-west



Plate 5. B. Aerial view of N99/4 from south

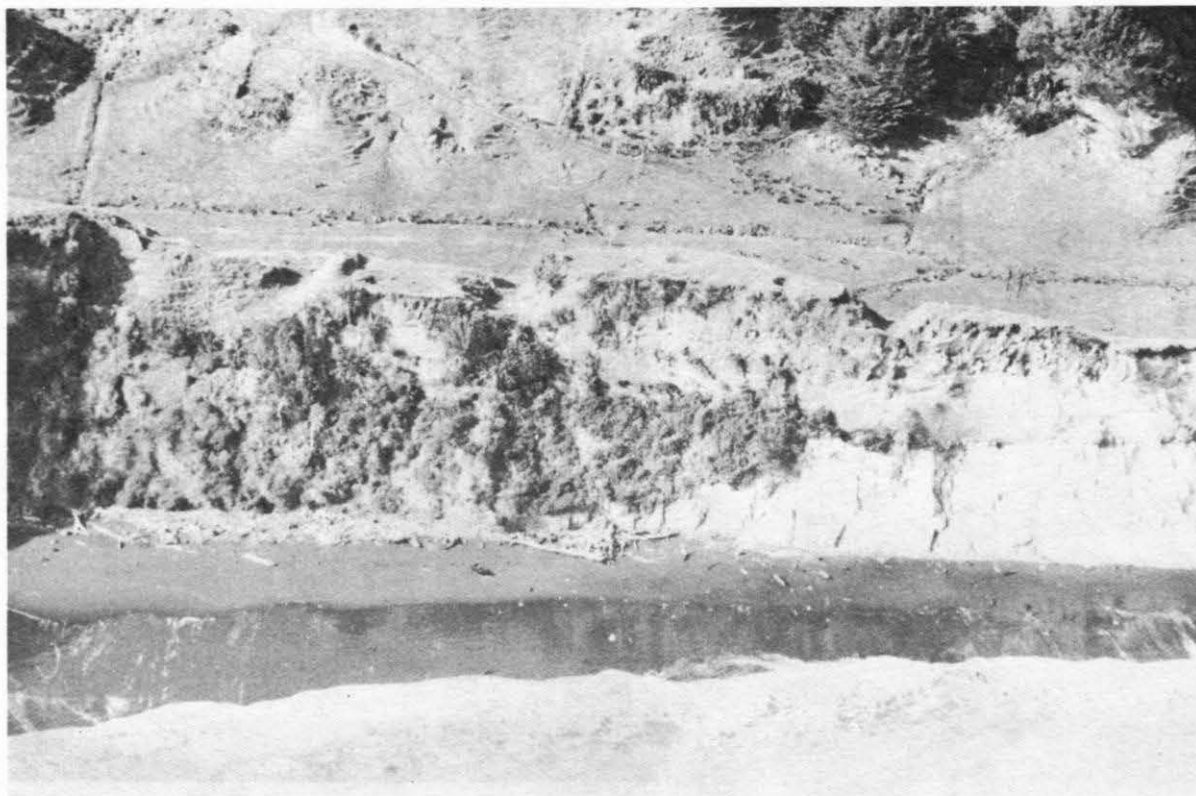
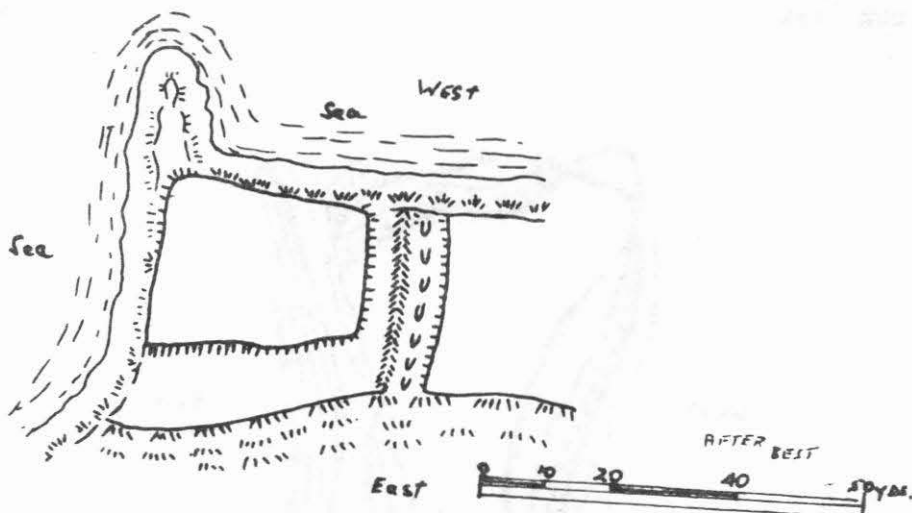


Plate 6. A. Aerial view of N99/10 from north



Plate 6. B. Aerial view of N99/10 from south

99/4 978025 N14 Pukekohe Pa. Large cliff pa on coast west of Mimi River mouth. Three platforms in close proximity, possibly originally connected by lateral terraces but these have been eroded by slumps. Preservation: poor. (Plan from Best.) See Plate 5. DWR



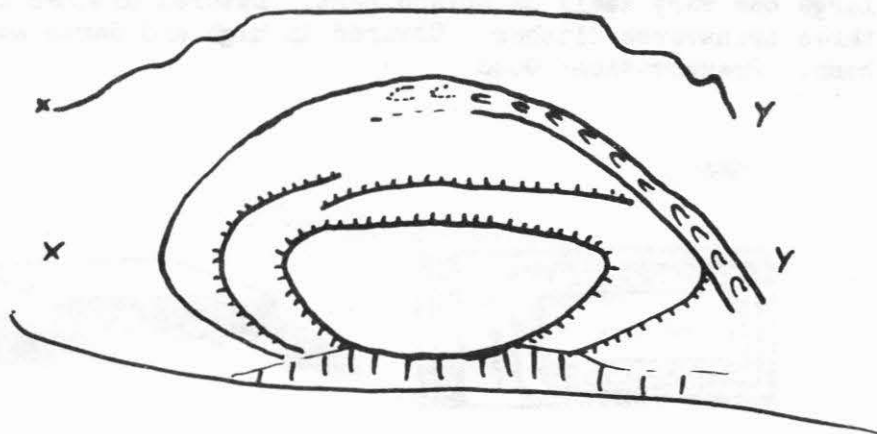
99/5 955010 N14 Oropapa Pa. Small headland pa (peninsular) into the sea on coast west of previous sites. Connected to mainland by a narrow isthmus. Sea erosion too great to determine defence pattern. Preservation: poor DWR

99/6 952009 N14 Maruwhi Pa. Cliff pa on coast on right side of Urenui River valley. Small headland into sea with transverse ditch remnant only. Preservation: poor DWR

99/7 949003 N14 Pohokura Pa. Hill pa, isolated, near Urenui River mouth and in the valley. Platform on highest part, bluff on river side, the other sides having been terraced with a much eroded outer ditch and bank. Preservation: poor due to house building and natural erosion. DWR

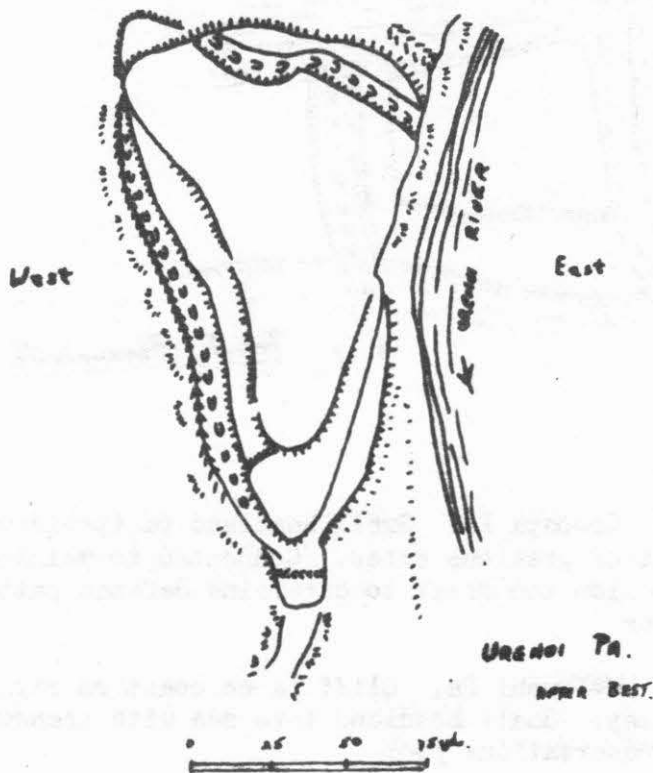
SITE N 99/7

40 YDS  
APPROX.



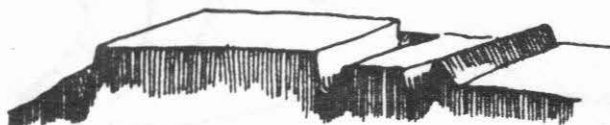
A.S.B. AFTER BEST  
AND GOLFSON.

99/8 954002 N14 Urenui Pa. Large hill pa on isolated hill in Urenui River Valley upstream from 99/7. Large platform on flattened top, terrace around south-east end and a ditch and outer bank continuing this on the other sides, up to bluff on river side. Preservation: good. (See corrected plan from Best.) DWR

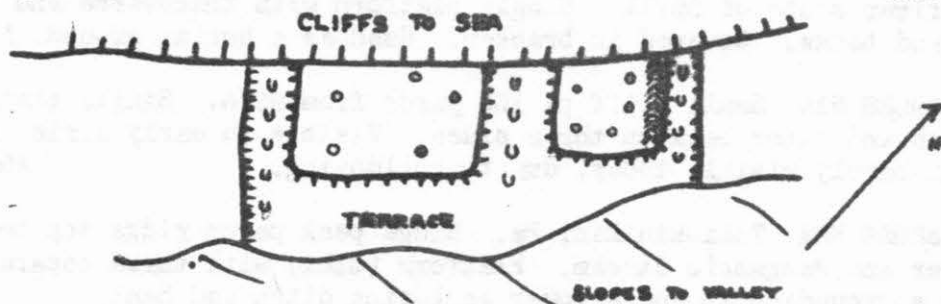


99/9 044073 N24 Kaihushua Pa. Headland pa between two tributary creeks of the Waititi Stream approximately a mile from the mouth. Platforms, one large one very small on upland part. Lateral ditches and outer banks and three transverse ditches. Covered in high and dense second growth native bush. Preservation: Good DWR

99/9



99/10 996045 N14 Cliff pa on coast immediately on the right bank of the Mimi River mouth. Five platform units with terraces lying along the length of the cliff and terraces along the inland lateral edge. There has probably been considerable erosion by the sea, but the site is otherwise well preserved. (See Plate 6. AGB



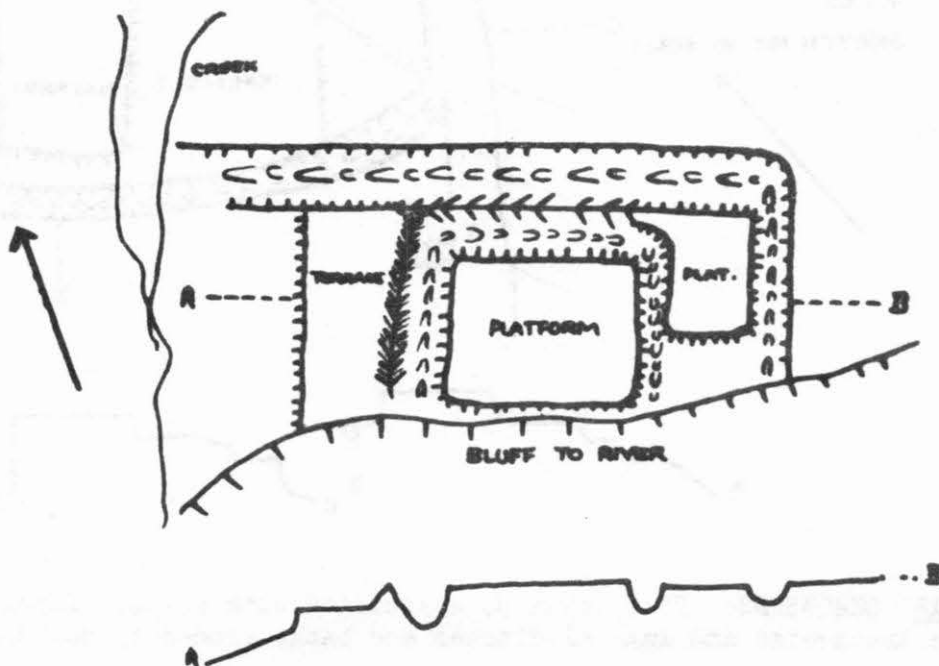
SITE N99/10

22.12.61.

SKETCH NOT TO SCALE



99/11 020053 N24 Cliff pa on a bluff on the right bank of the Mimi River a mile from the coast. Platforms (2) with ditch and outer bank on three sides and a large terrace on the north-west side outside this bank, and enclosed by a further long lateral ditch and outer bank. Covered in gorse and second growth native bush. Preservation: Good. AGB



SITE N99/11

2.1.62.

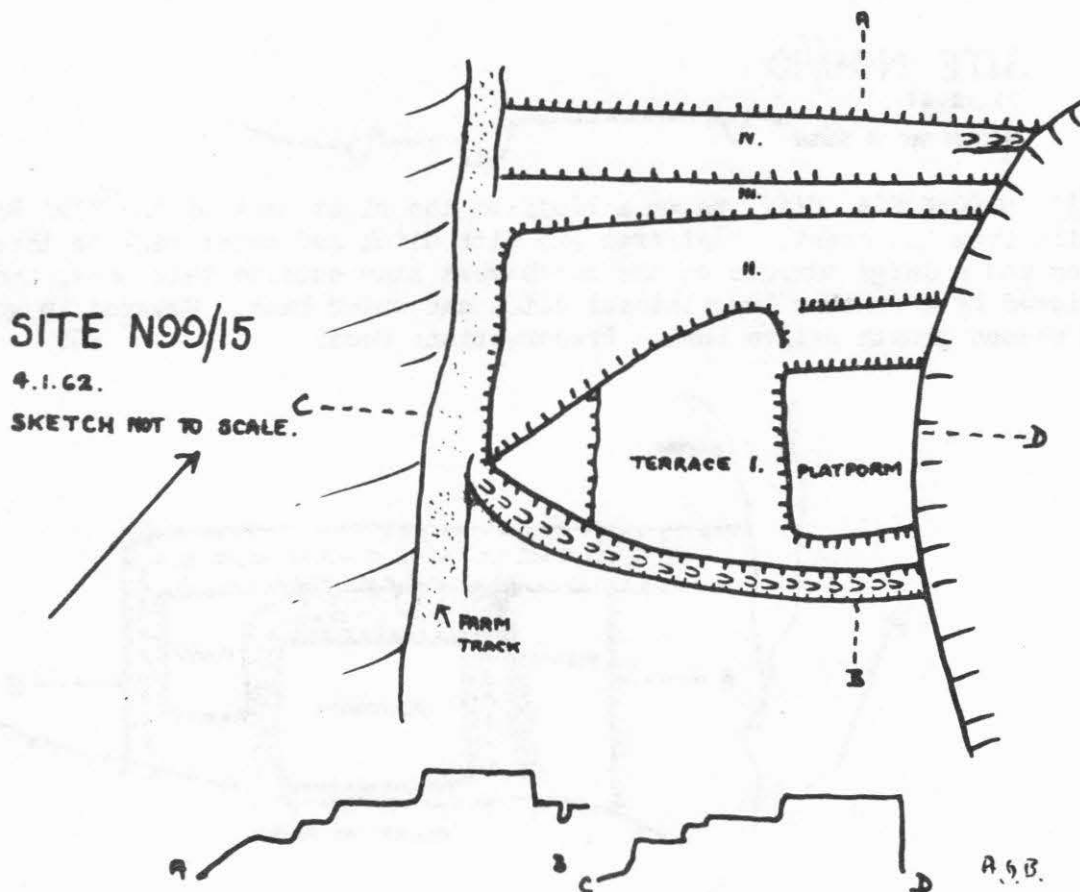


99/12 011044 N24 Small cliff pa on a bluff into the Mimi River downstream from previous site. Consisted of a single platform with ditch and outer bank on three sides. Almost completely destroyed by bulldozing. AGB

99/13 024045 N24 Teke-teke-O-terehua Pa. Small headland pa on left bank of Mimi river south of 99/11. Single platform with transverse and lateral ditches and banks. Covered in bracken. Used as a burial ground. AGB

99/14 979028 N14 Small cliff pa 100 yards from 99/4. Single platform with ditch and outer bank on three sides. Visible in early aerial photograph but barely visible today, due to bulldozing. AGB

99/15 032036 N24 Toki-kinikini Pa. Ridge peak pa on ridge top between Mimi River and Mangamaio Stream. Platform (tihi) with three separate terraces surrounding it and a lower enclosing ditch and bank. Preservation: Good. (See Plate 9). AGB



99/16 034035 N24 Ridge peak pa associated with 99/15. Single platform with transverse and lateral ditches and banks eroded by bulldozing. AGB

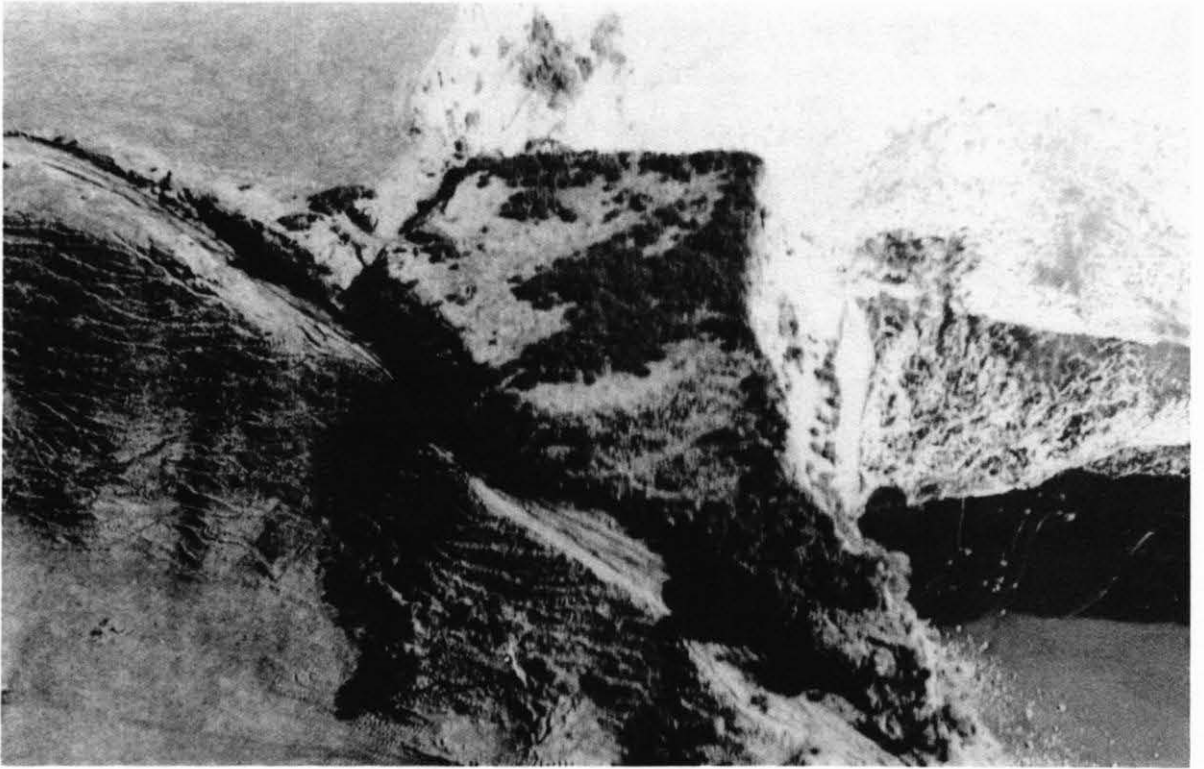


Plate 7. Aerial view of N99/33 from north



Plate 8. Aerial view of N99/39 from north

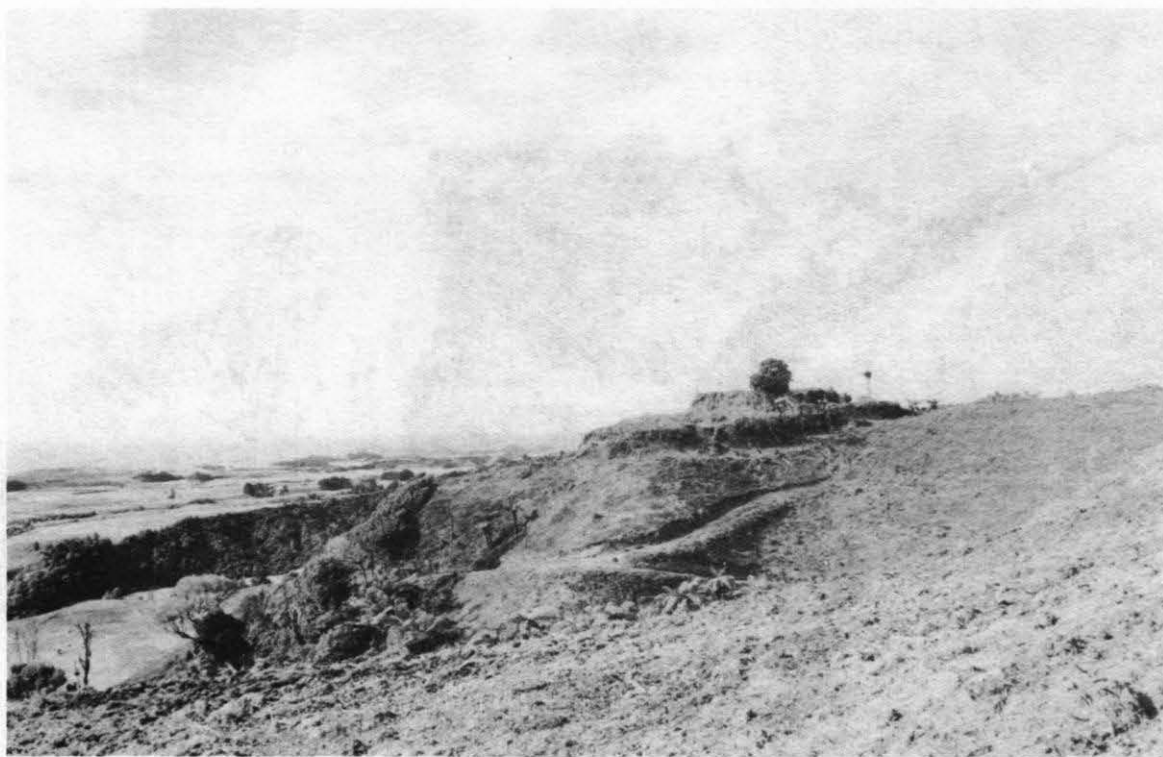


Plate 9. A. N99/15 and the coast

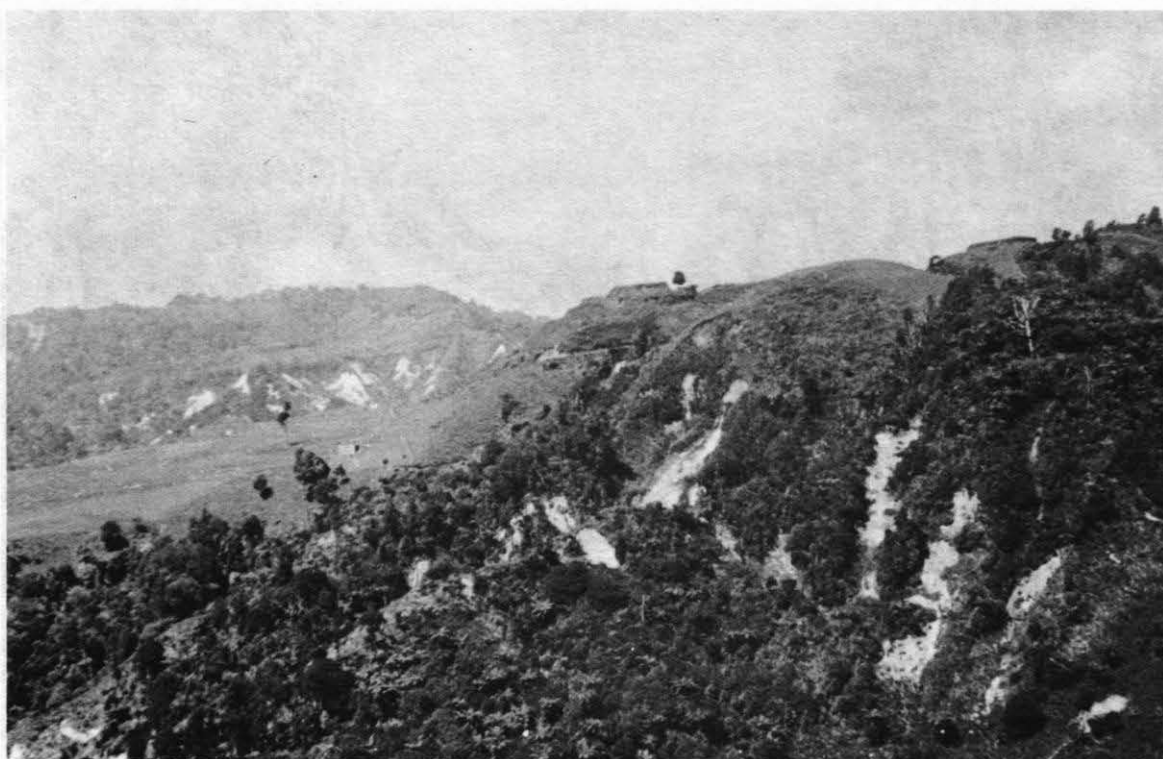


Plate 9. B. N99/15 and N99/16 from north



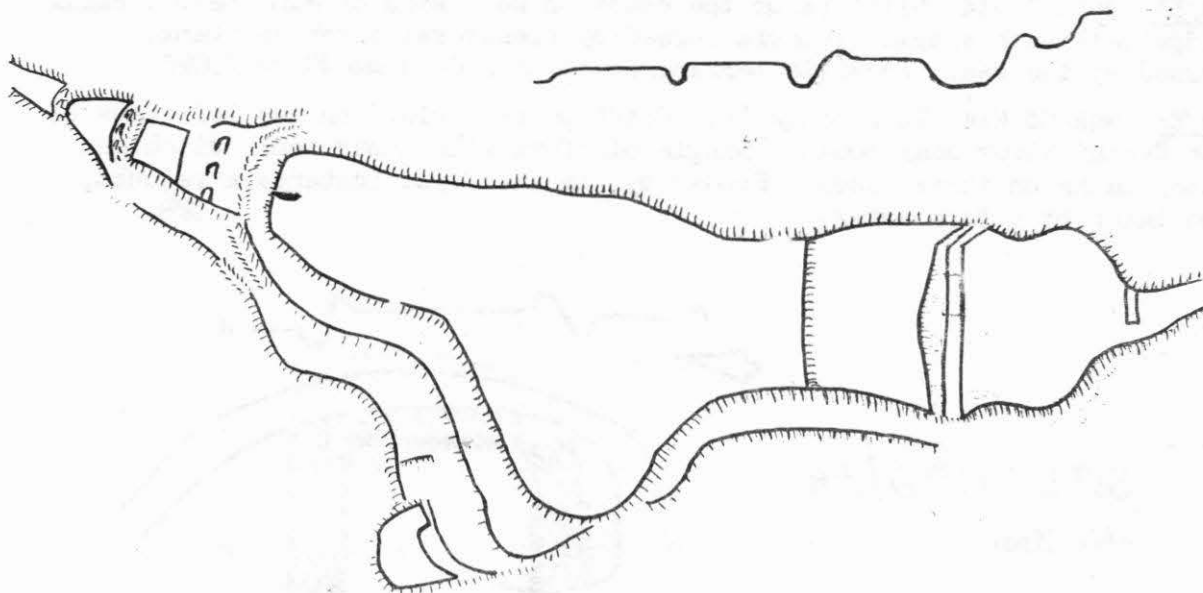
99/17 032035 N24 Ridge peak pa associated with 99/15 and /16. Single platform and eroded ditch and outer bank which has been bulldozed. These three sites surround a basin in which a spring rises. They lie on the ridge top and have strong natural defences. AGB

99/18 002011 N24 Tupari Pa. Extensive multiple occupation areas on ridge top south of 99/83 and overlooking the Okoki Valley. Whares were standing within living memory. Scarp fortification only. Track leading to Mimi River mouth clearly visible in aerial survey photographs. AGB

99/24 955005 N14. Maruwhi. Village site, located by midden remains of European contact period. Situated on the right bank of the Urenui River Valley. No visible earthworks. DPJ

99/25 962012 N14 Te-mutu-o-Tauranga Pa. Cliff pa on coast north of Urenui River mouth. Was a headland, or peninsula, into the sea, but is almost completely eroded by sea. Only remnants of a transverse ditch remain. DWR

99/26 981009 N14 Okoki Pa. Ridge pa on the right bank of the Urenui River. Consists of a platform with terraces both along the line of the ridge and along the western lateral sides. Transverse ditches and banks. Covered in second growth native bush. Preservation: Good. (See Plan from Best) AGB



99/27 961001 N14 Orongowhiro Pa. Cliff pa on the edge of steep slope to Urenui River. Single platform with ditch and outer bank on three sides. Eroded by farming. DWR

99/28 025084 N24 Headland pa between small creek and valley of Waititi Stream near mouth. Two platforms - large central one and small one off end of headland. Transverse and lateral ditches and lateral outer banks, those on the south side being almost completely destroyed by old North Road. (See Plate 18.) AGB

99/29 028092 Whakarewa Pa. Cliff pa on coast north of Papatiki Stream mouth. Occupying a large ridge peak. Consisted of a central platform surrounded by terraces and outer enclosing ditch and bank. Site partly destroyed and true pattern of terraces destroyed by a road leading to 'Wilkinson's Castle' which is built on the platform. AGB

99/30 086140 N24 Waipingau Pa. Headland pa in a bend of the Waipingau Stream. Four platforms formed by transverse ditch across the ridge. Lateral defences steep natural bluffs to stream. Covered in scrub. Preservation: Good. DWR

99/31 031086 N24 Ridge pa above Waititi Stream right bank. Single platform with transverse and lateral ditches and banks. Partly destroyed by ploughing. (See Plate 10.) AGB

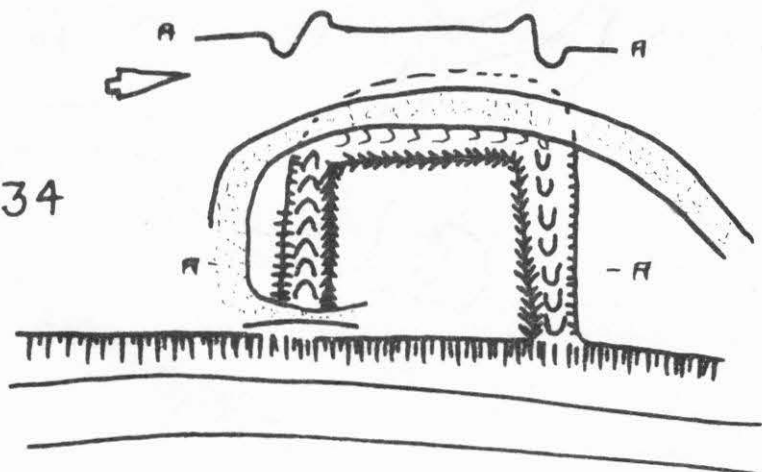
99/32 032087 N24 Ridge peak pa a hundred yards north-east of 99/31. Single platform with transverse and lateral ditches and outer banks. Larger than /31. Partly destroyed by farming, but better preservation than /31. (See Plate 10.) AGB

99/33 988037 N14 Cliff pa on the coast on west side of Mimi Beach. Small ridge peak with single platform formed by transverse ditch and bank. Eroded by the sea. Possible terrace on south side. (See Plate 7.) DWR

99/34 945003 N14 Te Pihanga Pa. Cliff pa on a bluff on the left bank of the Urenui River near mouth. Single platform with inner bank, ditch and outer banks on three sides. Eroded by, in the first instance a redoubt, and later by a farm track. DWR

SITE N99/34

JAN 1961.



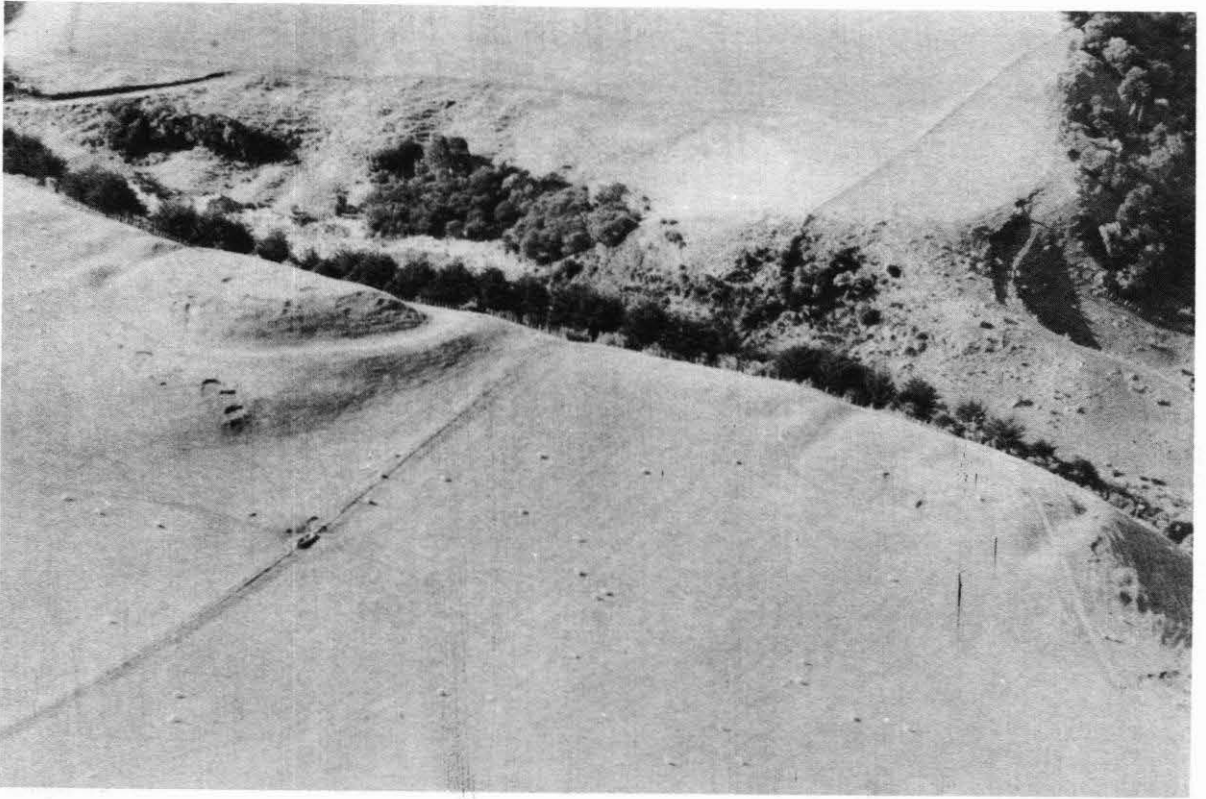


Plate 10. Aerial view of N99/31 and N99/32 from north-west



Plate 11. Aerial view of N99/43 from north

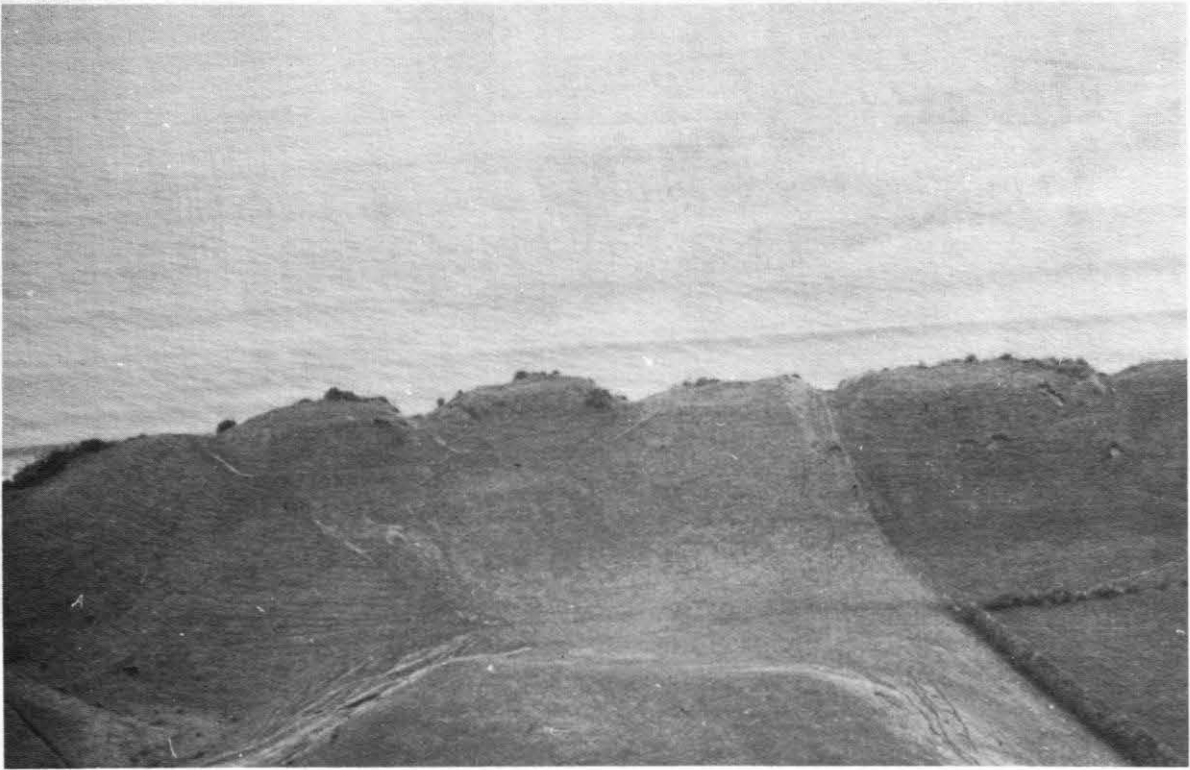


Plate 12. A. Aerial view of N99/37



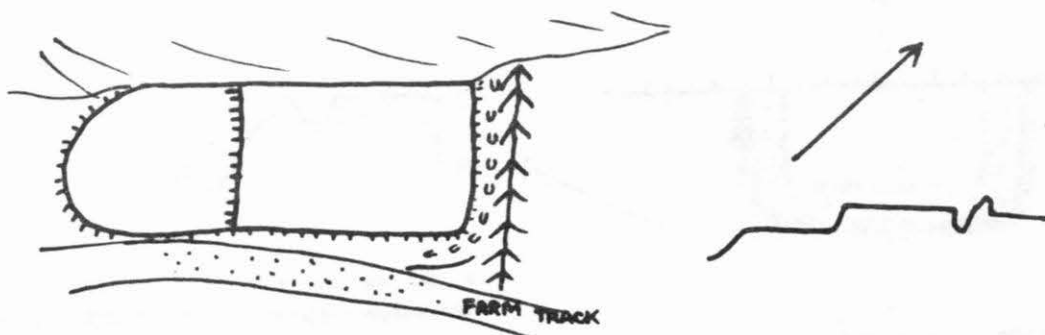
Plate 12. B. view of N99/37 from south

99/35 025034 N24. Ridge peak pa on a spur from the long ridge on the left side of the Mangamaio Stream valley. Single platform with high scarp and possible transverse and lateral ditches, but this is difficult to judge owing to the heavy growth of bracken. Partly destroyed by erosion. AGB

99/36 024027 N24. Ridge peak pa on a spur from the long ridge as for 99/35. Single platform with high scarp. Transverse and lateral ditches and outer bank. Preservation: Good AGB

99/37 019077 N24 Ruataki Pa. Large cliff pa on coast west of Waititi Beach. Five platform units along edge of the cliff, separated by transverse ditches. Supplementary ditches, banks and terraces on the inland side. Preservation: Good. (See complete description, Plates 3 & 12.) AGB

99/38 997043 N14. Headland pa between two creeks into the Mimi river, right bank, near the mouth. Platform and terrace with transverse ditches and banks, and single lateral ditch much eroded by a track on the south-east side. AGB



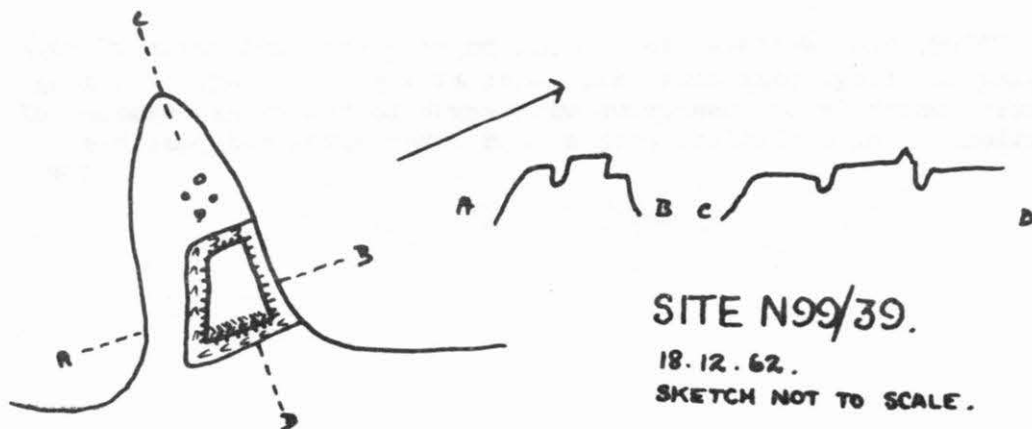
SITE N99/38

18.12.62.

SKETCH NOT TO SCALE.

R.G.B.

99/39 004058 N24. Cliff pa on coast on a small peninsula north of 99/41. Single platform with transverse and lateral ditches and outer bank. Preservation: Good. (See Plate 8.) AGB



SITE N99/39.

18.12.62.

SKETCH NOT TO SCALE.

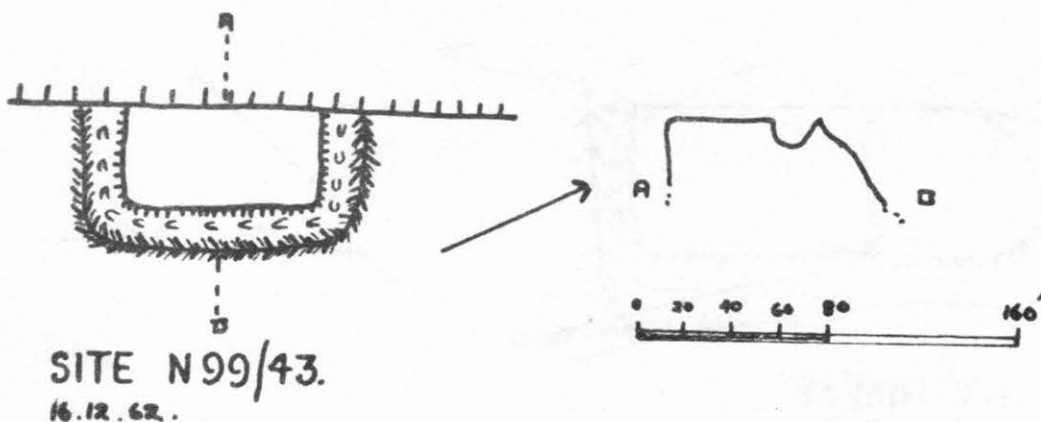
R.G.B.

99/40 006056 N24. Headland pa between two creeks. Single platform with transverse and lateral ditch and outer bank, the upland defences being double. Low lying. Preservation: Good. AGB

99/41 001051 N24. Cliff pa on coast north of 99/10. Single platform with ditch and bank on three sides. Preservation: Good. AGB

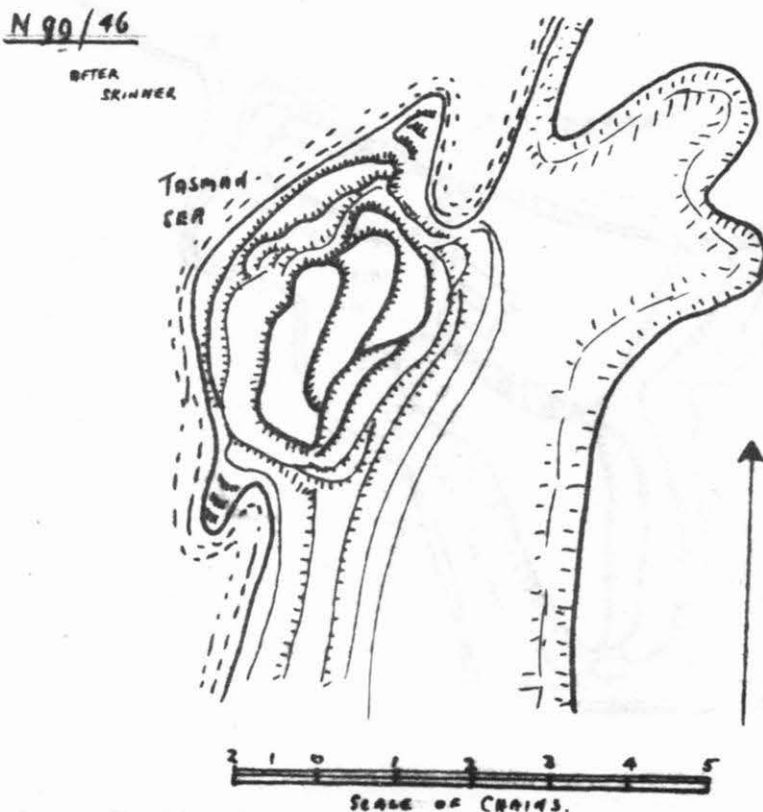
99/42 013068 N24. Cliff pa on coast north of 99/39 - between it and 99/37 on a ridge peak overlooking the latter. Single platform with low inner bank and perfectly smooth surface. Ditch and outer banks on three sides. Has the form characteristic of a military redoubt. Preservation: Good. Note - marked in S.P. Smith map, page 186 as Titoki Pa - which it isn't. AGB

99/43 032097 N24. Cliff pa on coast north of 99/29., and just below the crest of a ridge peak. Single platform with ditches and outer bank on three sides. Preservation: Good. (See Plate 11. AGB



99/44 033097 N24 Waitangi Pa. Cliff pa on coast just north of 99/43, occupying the ridge peak above it. Lies at the inland end of a long peninsula which is too overgrown with scrub to determine evidence of occupation. Single platform with eroded outer ditch and possible bank. AGB

99/46 041109 N24 Otumatua Pa. Large cliff pa occupying last prominent peak on the coastal dunes north of Waititi. Site consists of a central platform on the highest part (tihi) surrounded on all sides by terraces. The outer defences are eroded by the sea and the whole site is heavily overgrown with lupin and flax. (See Plan from Best and Photo) Best had full description of site. AGB

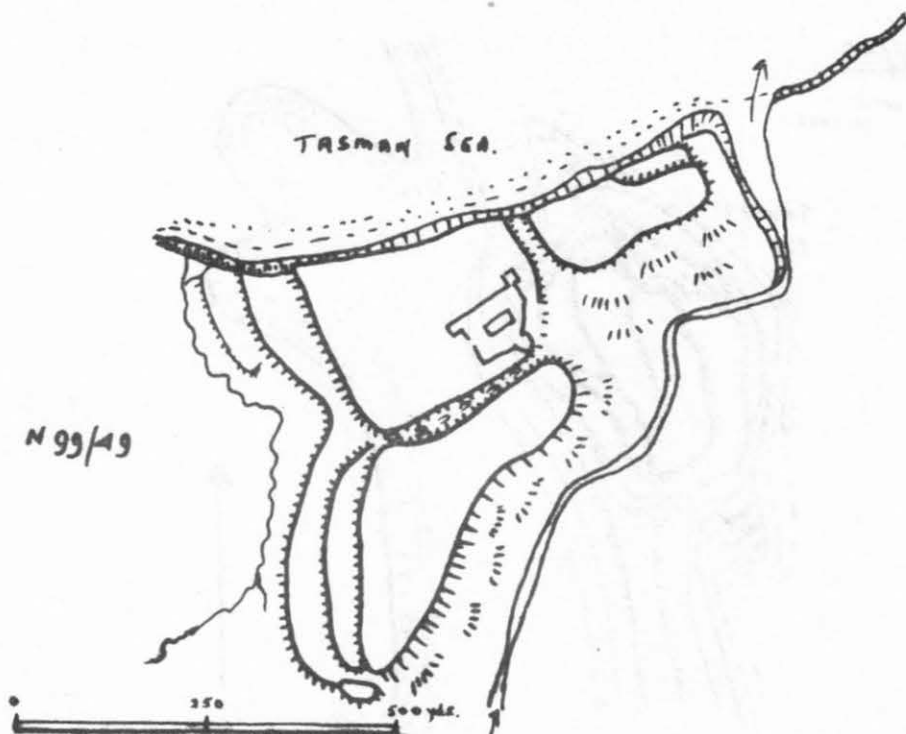


99/47 056125 N24. Cliff pa on coast just south of Pariokariwa Point, Pukearuhe. Single platform with eroded outer ditch and bank. Platform so small that it is obvious that most of the site has been eroded by the sea. AGB

99/48 057126 N24 Waihero Pa. Cliff pa on Pariokariwa Point. Single platform with single transverse and single lateral ditch and outer bank both terminating at the cliff edge. Eroded by ploughing. AGB

99/49 062123 N24 Pukearuhe Pa. Large cliff pa on coast at Pukearuhe. Occupies entire headland between the Waikaramarama Stream on the north and a creek (possibly the original course of the stream) on the south. Site consists of three large platforms separated by ditches. Lateral terraces on the south-west side. Small area secondarily fortified by ditches of a small military redoubt. Partly eroded by sea and ploughing. (See Plan and Plate 15.)

AGB



99/50 094151 N24. Ridge pa on the top of the 800 ft. bluff to the sea known as Paraninihi or Whitecliffs. Single platform with transverse and lateral ditches and banks. Covered in second growth native bush. AGB

99/51 080129 N24 Te Hawera Pa. Ridge pa on the top of steep slope and bluffs to sea south-west of 99/50. Single platform and extensive terrace only. Possibly an eroded transverse ditch upland. Covered in second growth bush. AGB

99/52 070122 N24. Ridge peak pa south of 99/51. Single platform with transverse ditch upland. Covered in gorse. Preservation: Good. AGB

99/53 070118 N24. Ridge peak pa south of 99/52. Single platform with upland transverse ditch. Gorse covered. Preservation: Good AGB

99/54 067123 N24. Spot-find of 'Poutama-whiria' traditional adze.

AGB





Plate 13. Aerial view of N99/66 from north



Plate 14. Aerial view of N99/55 from west



Plate 15. Aerial view of N99/49, N99/60 and N99/55 (right upper corner)

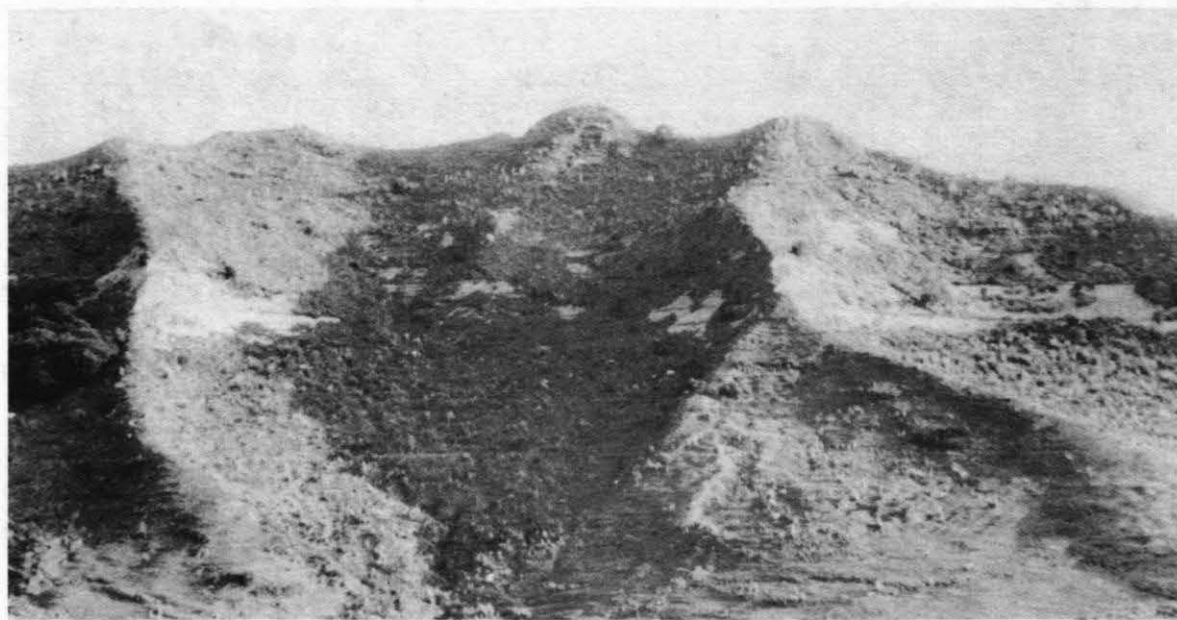


Plate 16. N99/102 from north-east

99/55 066117 N24 Ngarauarua Pa. Ridge pa on a local rib of a broad ridge between higher ridges east of and higher than 99/49. Three platforms separated by transverse ditches and enclosing lateral ditch and outer bank on east, west and north. Steep natural bluff on south. Preservation: Good, apart from some erosion by stock. (See Plates 14 & 15.)

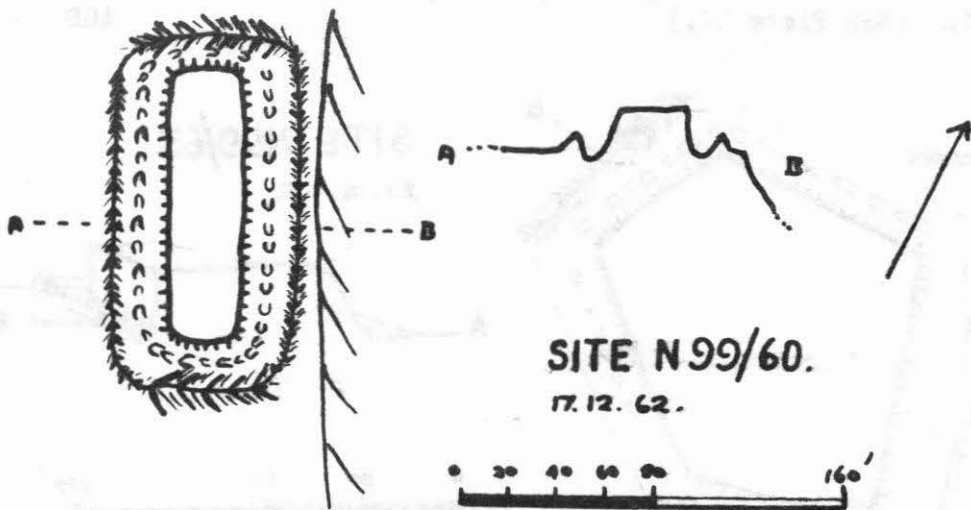
99/56 072112 N24. Small ridge peak pa higher than 99/55. Single platform with transverse and lateral ditches and outer bank. Eroded by stock, gorse. AGB

99/57 074118 N24. Small ridge pa on high ridge north of 99/56. Was a single platform with two transverse ditches, but almost completely destroyed by fencing operations in 1961. AGB

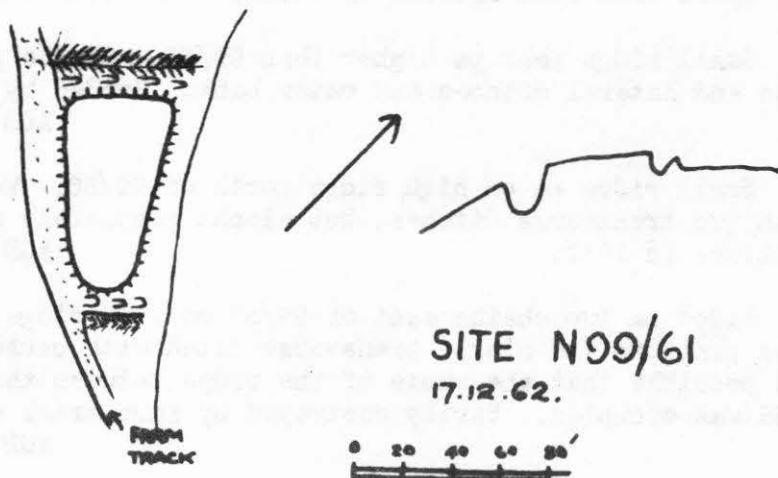
99/58 077115 N24. Ridge pa two chains east of 99/57 on same ridge top. Larger site. Single platform and single transverse ditch with causeway in upland part. It is possible that the whole of the ridge between this defence and site 99/58 was occupied. Partly destroyed by farm track and fence-line. AGB

99/59 084117 N24. Large clearing in heavy native bush on ridge tops east of 99/55 and /56. Isolated subterranean pits. Spot find of two adzes - one a perforated greenstone. AGB

99/60 061119 N24. Ridge peak pa occupying narrow ridge which leads onto the headland on which lies 99/49. Single platform with transverse and lateral ditches and outer banks. Preservation: Good AGB  
(See Plate 15.)



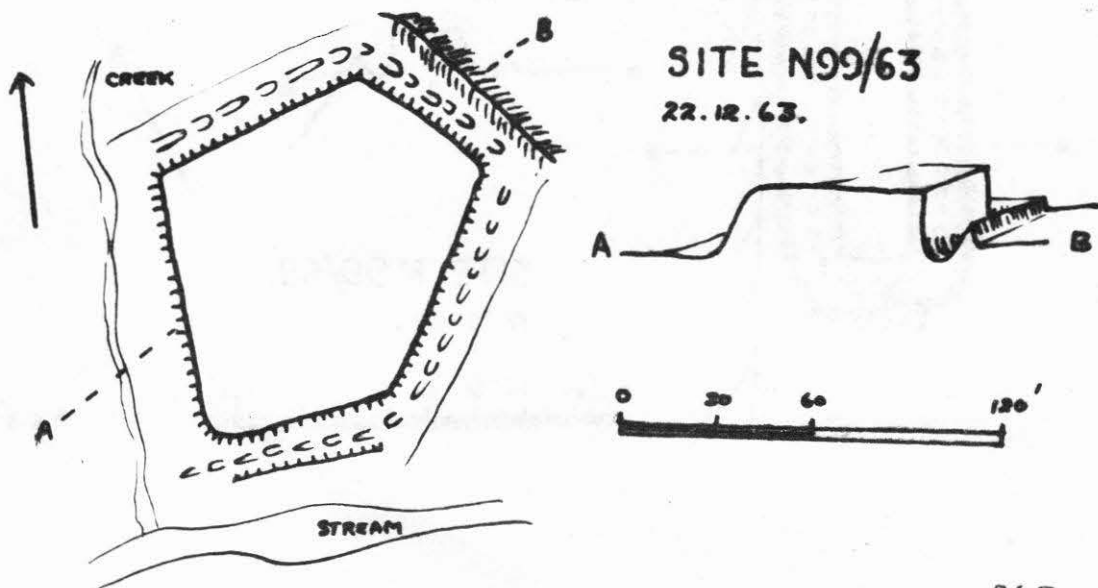
99/61 063111 N24 Te Orokaea Pa. Small ridge peak pa on low ridge between two branches of the Waikaramarama Stream. Single platform with eroded transverse and lateral ditches and possible outer banks. Well preserved steep scarp. AGB



R.G.B

99/62 051120 N24. Small headland pa between two creeks near coast between 99/46 and /47. Single platform with transverse and lateral ditches and outer banks. Partly destroyed by ploughing. AGB

99/63 041093 N24 Titoki Pa. Small headland pa between Papatiki Stream and tributary creek. Lies directly north across the stream from Military Redoubt 99/79. Single platform with well preserved steep scarps. Transverse and lateral ditches and possibly a very low outer bank. Preservation: Good.. (See Plate 17.) AGB



R.G.B



Plate 17. N99/63 from west

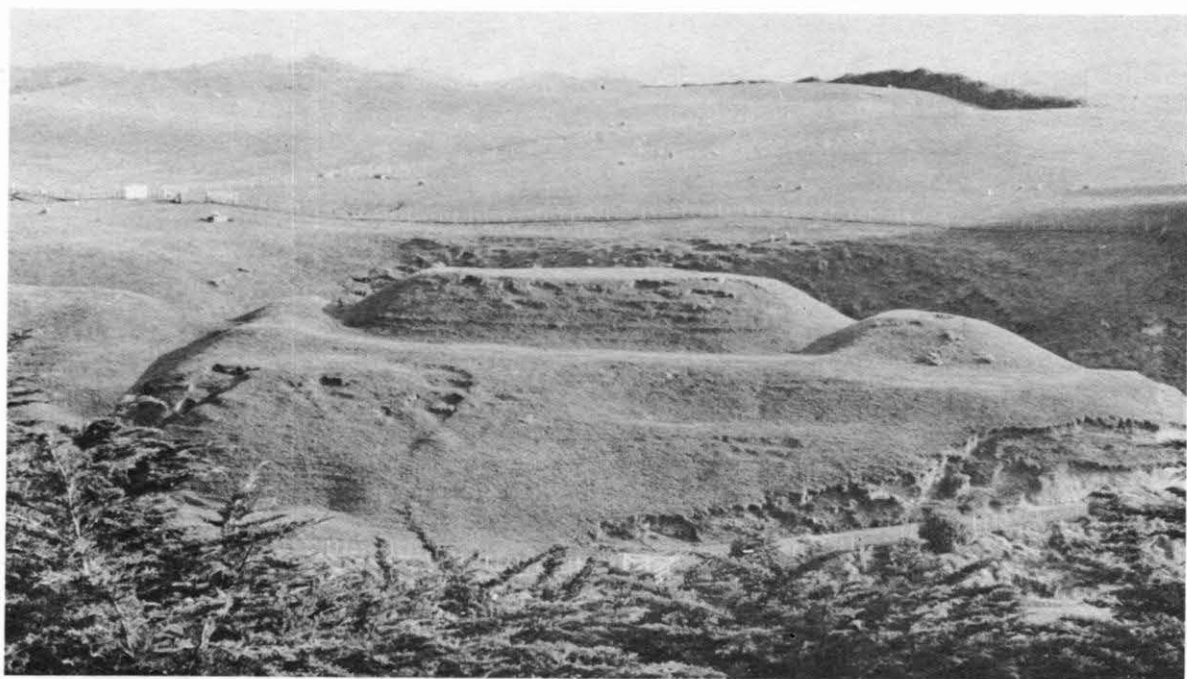


Plate 18. N99/28 from west



Plate 19. A. Terraces on N109/19



Plate 19. B. N109/19 from valley floor

- 99/64 034086 N24. Small headland pa on right bank of Waititi Stream. Completely destroyed by bulldozing. AGB
- 99/65 064108 N24 Ngarautira Pa. Small cliff pa on edge of steep papa bluff south-east of 99/61 and high above it. Single platform with ditches and banks on three sides. Covered in bracken and manuka. AGB
- 99/66 059101 N24 Otuhangi Pa. Cliff pa on steep bluff to Waikaramarama Stream which lies on the east side of ridge leading to the tops and to 99/75. Three platforms along edge of bluff (and crest of ridge) and two lateral terraces, part of which have slumped. Transverse ditches across approaches both above and below. Tihi has inner bank, upland. Preservation: Good. (See Plate 13.) AGB
- 99/67 052103 N24. Headland pa between two creeks below 99/66. Double platform with enclosing lateral ditches and outer banks, and three transverse ditches. Partly destroyed by farming. AGB
- 99/68 047089 N24. Small cliff pa on edge of steep slope to Papatiki Stream tributary. Single platform with three sides defended by ditches. Covered in Rewarewa trees. Well preserved rimmed rectangular surface pit. AGB
- 99/69 049090 N24. Small headland pa at lower altitude than 99/68. Single platform with transverse and lateral ditches and outer banks. Gorse covered. Preservation good. AGB
- 99/70 025072 N24 Te Puke Karito Pa. Headland pa on low-lying headland which is almost completely isolated by swampy creeks into an island. Three platforms separated by transverse ditches. Three discontinuous lateral terraces. Partly destroyed by farm tracks on south end. (See Plans, complete description, Photo) See Plates 23&24. ) AGB
- 99/71 040065 N24 Nopera Pa. Small ridge peak pa south of and above 99/9. Single platform with lateral and transverse ditches and outer banks. Partly destroyed by farm track. AGB
- 99/72 035060 N24. Small ridge pa almost completely destroyed by farm track. Was apparently a small platform between two transverse ditches. Sites 99/102, /71, /72 and /77 lie each on a separate leading ridge to 99/73, and are also all at the same altitude. AGB
- 99/73 058059 N24 Pukekahu Pa. Ridge peak on the tops above 99/9 and 99/102. Three peaks appear to have been fortified and occupied, each with a single platform and narrow terrace. Site much eroded by farm track and slumping. AGB
- 99/74 068052 N24. Small ridge pa east of 99/73 and overlooking Mimi Valley. Single platform with transverse ditches. Covered in second growth native bush. AGB

99/75 053085 N24 Ruapukeaka Pa. Cliff pa on the edge of a steep papa bluff high above 99/68 and /69. Single platform with ditch on three sides. Covered in second growth native bush. Partly destroyed by erosion of bluff. AGB

99/76 068092 N24 Turangarua Pa. Large ridge pa on tops above Waikaramarama Stream and Papatiki Stream headwaters. Single central Platform (tihi) and many subsidiary terraces running both along the ridge top and laterally on the south side. Covered in second growth bush. Well preserved. (See full description and Plan.) AGB

99/77 033051 N24. Small ridge pa - see 99/72. Single platform with lateral and transverse ditches and low outer bank. Partly destroyed by quarrying. AGB

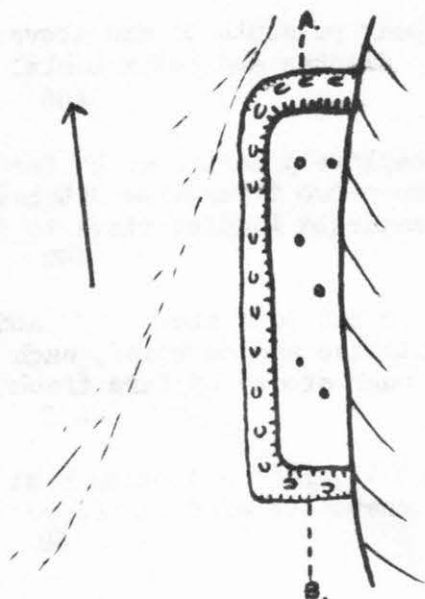
99/78 042087 N24 Military Redoubt. This, and the two following, formed the Papatiki Front of the Armed Constabulary. There is no record of fighting from these, however. AGB

99/79 039092 N24. Military redoubt on left bank of Papatiki Stream Valley, directly west and across stream from 99/63. AGB

99/80 036095 N24. Military redoubt on right bank of Papatiki Stream north of 99/79. Almost totally destroyed. AGB

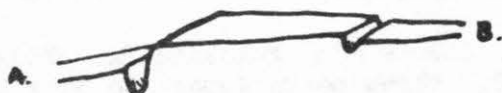
99/81 023038 N24. Small ridge pa on crest of ridge above 99/35. Single platform with two transverse ditches only. Preservation: Good AGB

99/83 022035 N24. Small ridge pa higher up crest of same ridge as 99/81. Single platform with transverse ditches above and below and a lateral ditch on west. The east side is naturally defended by a steep slope to the Mangamaio Stream Valley. Preservation: Good AGB



SITE N99/83.

22.12.62.



A.G.B.



99/85 988003 N14. Ridge pa on high ridge on left bank of Urenui River south-east of 99/26. Single platform with transverse ditch upland and scarp to a long terrace on west side, running along crest of ridge. Strong natural lateral defences. Partly destroyed by fence line. AGB

99/101 023080 N24. Two quarries or borrow-pits, in low hills inland from 99/37. Above flat swampy flats, drained. AGB

99/102 047068 N24. Small ridge peak on ridge leading to 99/73 (See 99/72) Peak apparently unmodified by platform formation, but two transverse ditches cut across ridge above and below. Eroded by slumping. (See Plate 16.) AGB

99/103 932002 N14 Military redoubt on terrace edge near coast east of Onaero River mouth. AGB

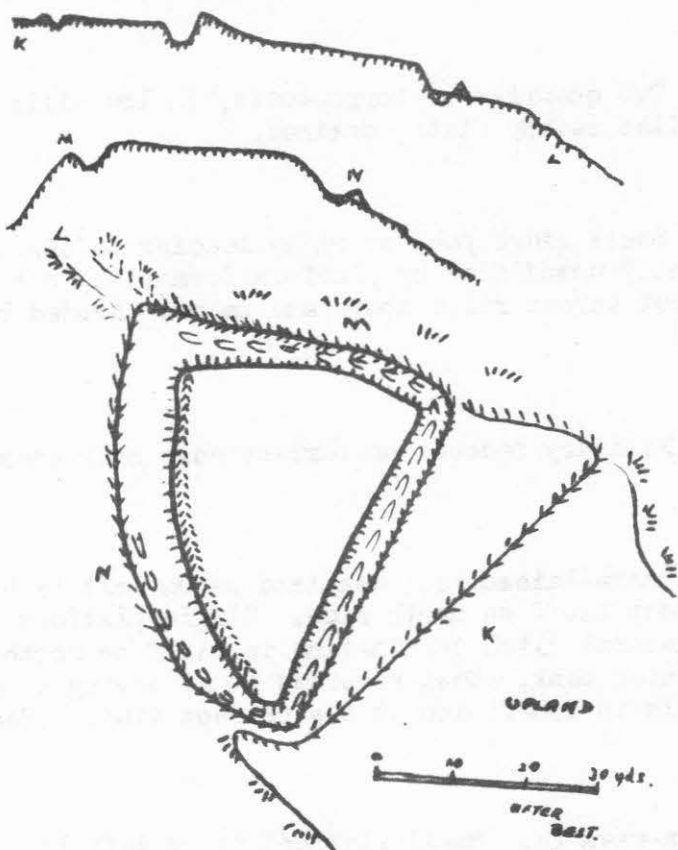
109/9 949999 N13 Kumara-kaiamo Pa. Headland pa on left bank of Urenui River near mouth: steep bluff on north side. Single platform with two transverse and one lateral ditch terminating in bluff on north. Massive inner bank and low outer bank. Best recorded it as having a terrace on the west end, but this is indefinite at the present time. (See Excavation Report) AGB

109/10 952998 N13 Pa-wawa Pa. Small flatland pa on left bank of Urenui River. Recorded by Best, but destroyed except for midden traces. DWR

109/11 953997 N13 Ohaoko Pa. Small flatland pa on river flats on left bank of Urenui River. Recorded by Best, but now destroyed by house building. DWR

109/12 955998 N13 Pa-oneone Pa. Small hill pa on left bank of Urenui River. Single platform with lateral and transverse ditches and banks. Partly destroyed by road and abattoir. DWR

109/13 956997 N13 Te Kawa Pa. Small headland pa overlooking sites 109/11 and /12. Single platform, triangular, with two lateral ditches and one upland transverse ditch and outer bank. Much eroded by farming. DWR



109/14 957997 N14 Moeariki Pa. Recorded by Best but recently destroyed with no trace. However the aerial survey photograph shows the site plainly and this, together with Best's description, leaves little doubt that it was a military redoubt.

109/15 965998 N13 Otumcana Pa. Large ridge Pa on left bank of Urenui River: due south of 99/26 and west of 109/16. Six platforms along crest of ridge, with transverse ditches and banks. Eroded terraces on west and one on the crest. Eroded by farming but in reasonable state. (See Plate 20.)

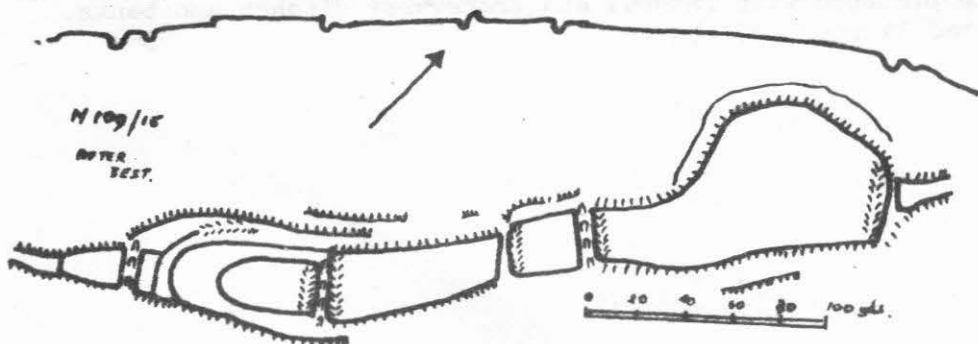




Plate 20. Across N109/15 ditch and bank to N109/16

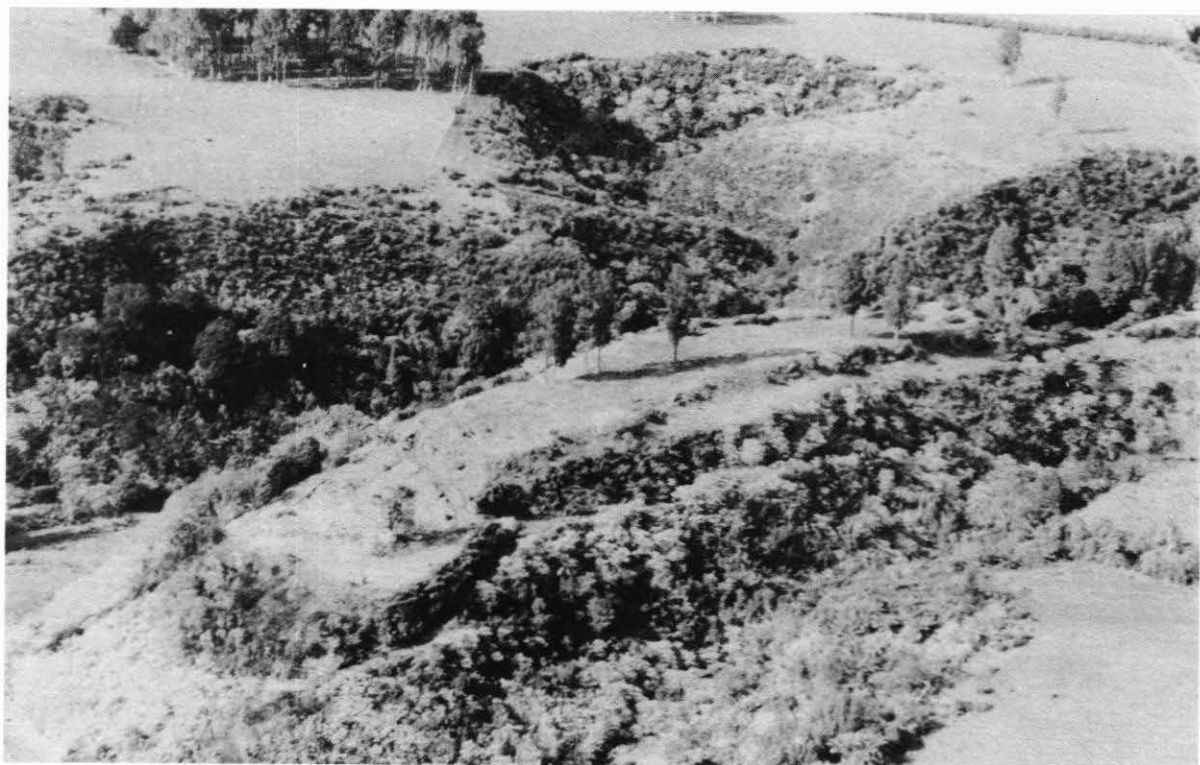


Plate 21. Aerial view of N109/24 from west

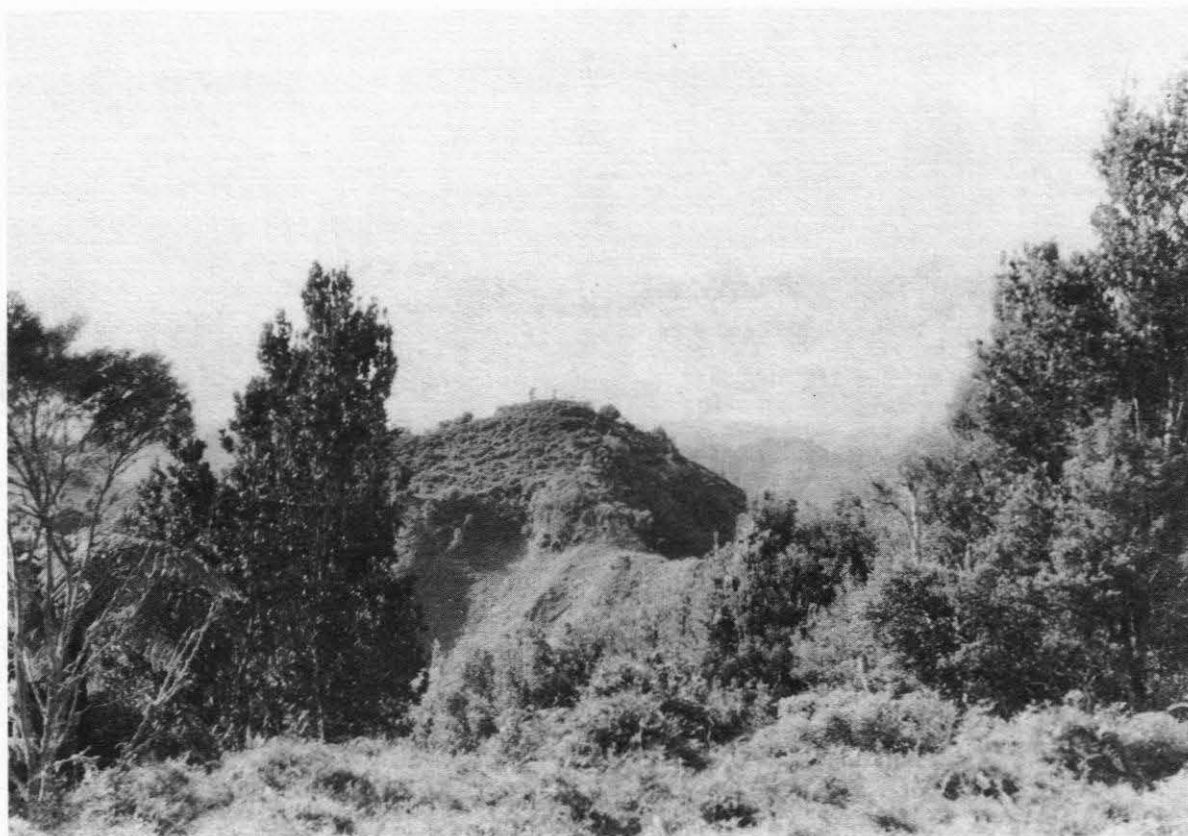


Plate 22. A. N109/20 from N109/19

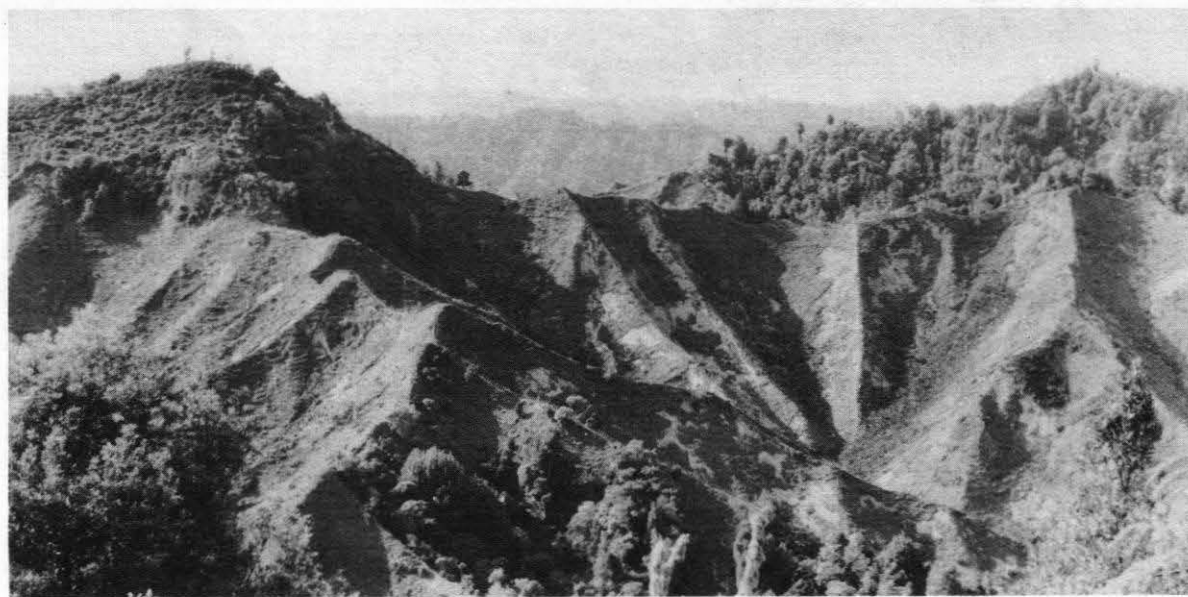
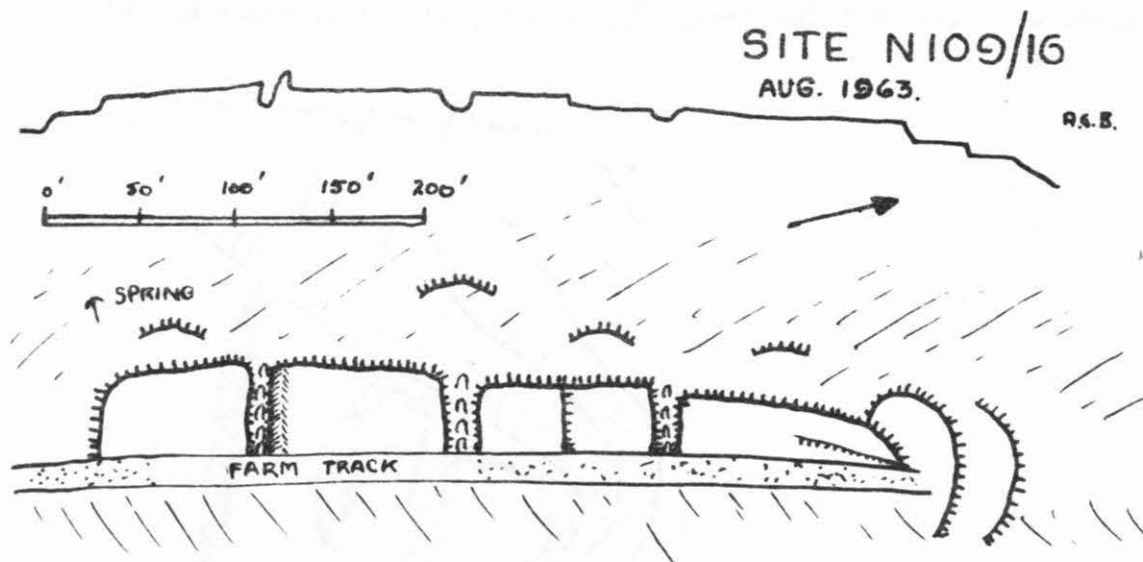


Plate 22. B. N109/20 from N109/19 to show ridge running to south

109/16 968993 N 13 Manowhareiti Pa. Large headland pa south of 109/15. Five major, but narrow, platforms separated by scarps or ditches. A further five small platforms along the narrow neck of the headland. Grossly eroded by farm track. (See Plate 20.)  
AGB



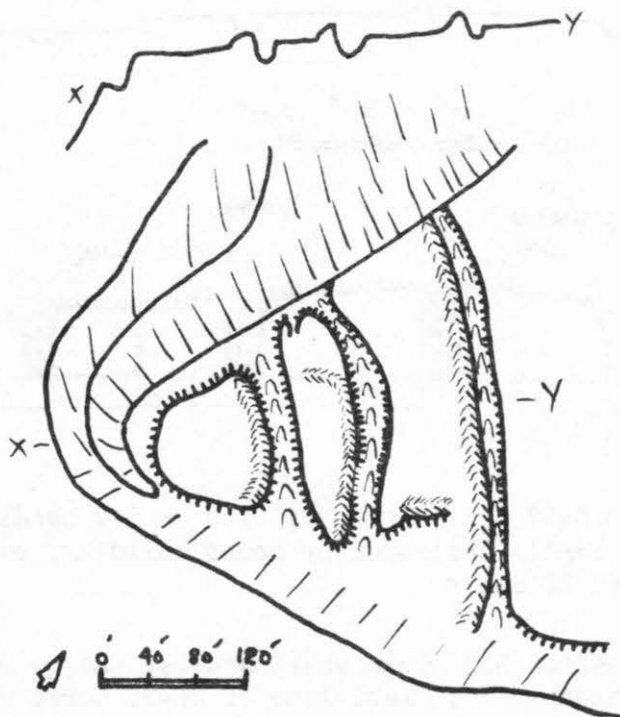
109/18 013987 N23. Group of pits on low headland into Okoki Valley below 109/20. Partly destroyed by house building, but no defences. Find-spot of several 2B adzes.  
AGB

109/19 992982 N13 Puke Whakamaru Pa. Large ridge peak pa, on top of 600 ft. high ridge. Tableland of 25-30 acres with pits along the entire edge. The north part has been terraced with two transverse 4 ft. high scarps separating a long narrow platform from a large undulating terrace. The whole area is surrounded by bluffs through which there are two steep leading ridges. The razor back ridge leads south to 109/95. (See Plate 19.)  
AGB

109/20 005985 N23 Tutumanuka Pa. Small ridge peak pa south E of 109/19 on top of 800 ft. high ridge. Single platform with narrow terrace on two sides and a further larger terrace on the north side. Strong natural defences on all sides. Covered in bracken. Preservation: Good. (See Plate 22.)  
AGB

109/21 927995 N13 Oparinga Pa. Headland pa on edge of tableland on right side of Onaero River Valley. Small stream on the south side. Three platforms and a terminal terrace with transverse ditches and inner banks only. Site eroded by road works in deviation of Main North Road 1962-63. A slip, carrying away the newly formed road, was small revenge. DWR

SITE N109/21  
JAN. 1961.



A.G.B.

109/22 923997 N13 Pukemiro Pa. Small headland pa on peak at east end of headland on left bank of Onaero River near mouth. Single platform with eroded transverse ditch and scarp. Covered in second growth native bush.

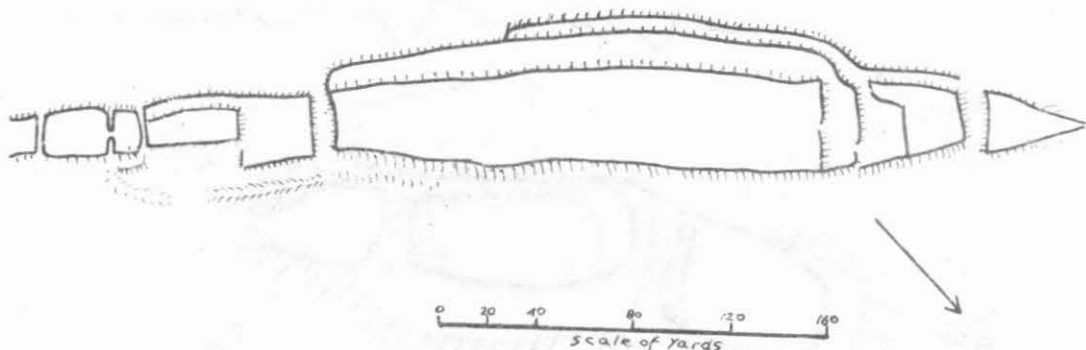
AGB

109/23 923998 N13 Puketapu Pa. Large headland pa on upper part of headland of 109/22. Platform (tihi) in central part, with surrounding terraces. Two large transverse ditches and outer banks. Low inner bank on platform. Well preserved in second growth native bush. Used as a burial ground. (See complete description)

AGB

109/24 932977 N13 Kaitangata Pa. Large ridge pa between creeks contributory to Onaero River right side. Four platforms - one large central - with transverse ditches. Six or more lateral terraces. Short lateral bank on the north-east side of the upland part only. Covered in rewarewa trees and gorse. Well preserved. (See Plan from Best and Plate 21.)

DWR



109/25 937985 N13. Small ridge pa up the Kakapo Stream from its junction with the Onaero River. Single platform and lateral terrace with transverse ditches at both ends. Eroded by a farm track.

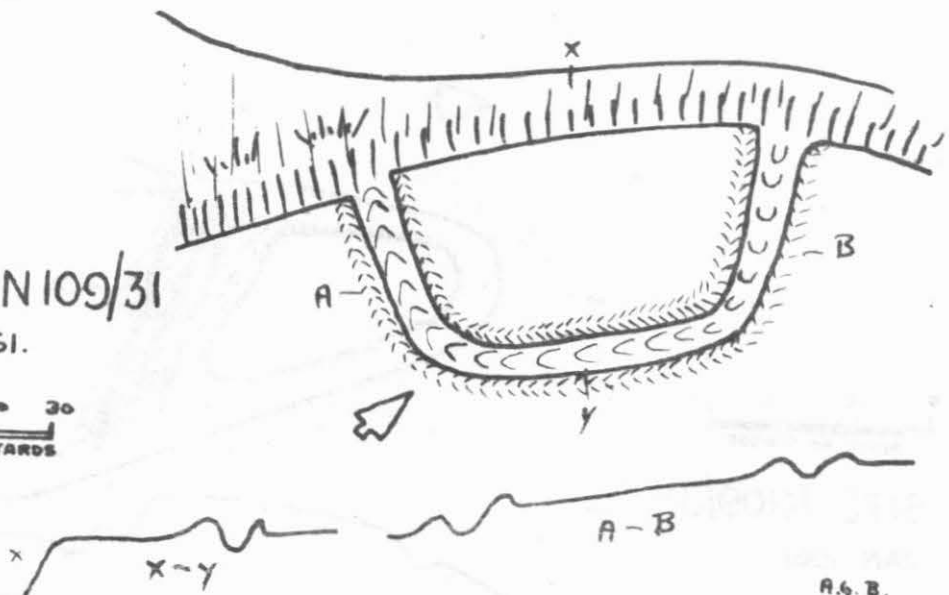
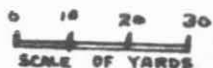
AGB

109/31 928997 N13. Small cliff pa 100 yds. north. of 109/21, on edge of steep cliff on right bank of Onaero River. Single platform, with inner bank, outer ditches and banks on three sides. Preservation: Good.

DWR

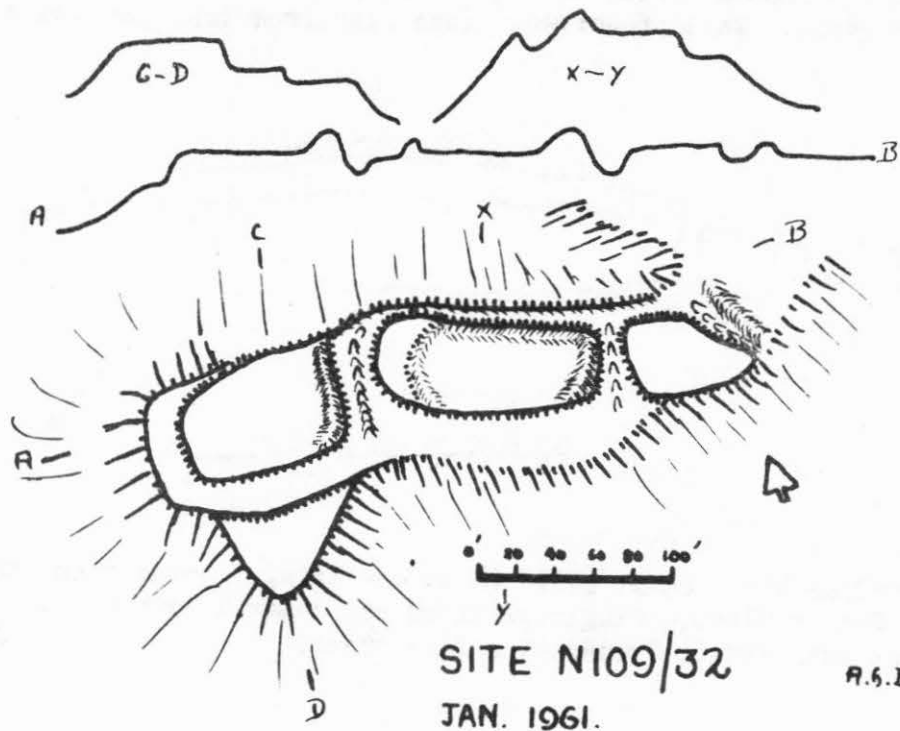
SITE N109/31

JAN. 1961.

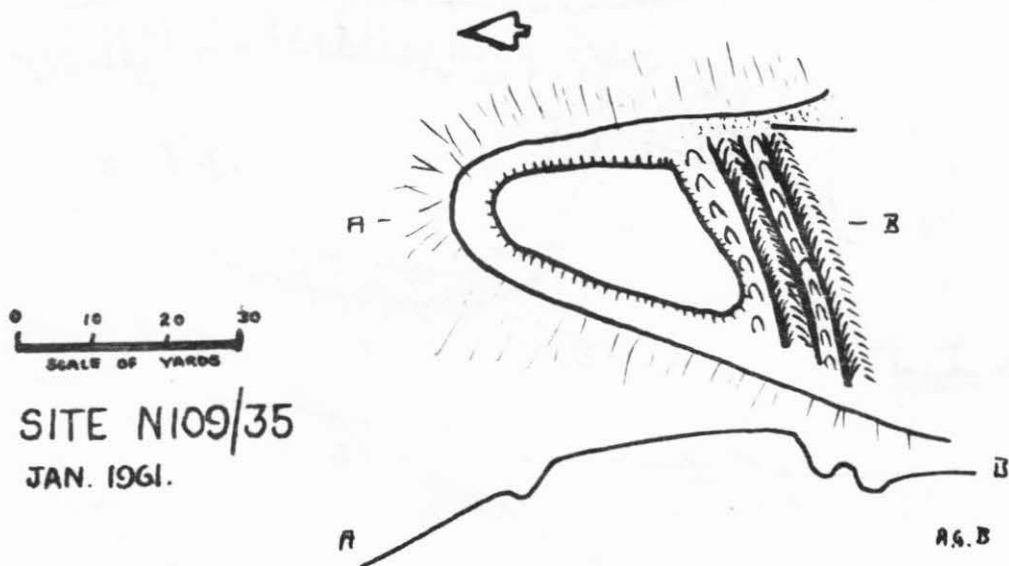


A.G.B.

109/32 929988 N13 Te Ngaio Pa. Headland pa on right edge of Onaero River Valley, upstream from 109/21 and /31. Three platforms with inner banks separated by transverse ditches. Continuous lateral terrace with small terrace on south side terminal end. Preservation: Good. DWR



109/35 926985 N13 Moerangi Pa. Small headland pa on right bank of Onaero River. Single platform with double transverse ditches and banks upland. Terrace laterally. Covered in pine trees. Preservation: Good. DWR





109/36 940957 N13. Natural terrace which has been occupied and separated into several separate areas by scarps. A lateral ditch further separates a long platform along the edge. Covered in gorse and badly eroded.

AGB

109/37 952964 N13 Tikorangi Pa. Small headland pa on heights above 109/36. Almost completely destroyed by farming.

DWR

109/38 964978 N13. Small headland pa east of 109/37 on same level. Almost completely destroyed by farming.

DWR

109/39 921936 N13 Ruahine Pa. Large ridge pa on ridge top three and three-quarter miles inland from mouth of Onaero River. Large platform and lateral terraces. Double transverse ditches and banks upland, and deep ditch on leading spur from valley of Mangaheva Stream. Covered in second growth bush and well preserved.

AGB

109/40 929942 N13 Takapuikaka Pa. Large ridge pa on North-east of 109/39. Site consisted of a large flat platform on the ridge top, divided into two parts by a narrow spur. Defences only on the north-west side, a long shallow ditch and outer bank.

AGB

109/41 942946 N13. Small ridge peak pa down leading spur from 109/40. Small single platform, single upland transverse ditch and steep scarp only. Strong natural defences on the other three sides. Preservation: Good

AGB

109/42 948984 N13. Small headland pa east of 109/25. Almost completely destroyed by bulldozing but apparently was a single platform with transverse ditch and bank.

DWR

109/49 929953 N13. Small headland pa below 109/40. Almost completely destroyed by farming, but was possibly undefended.

AGB

109/50 999999 N13. Small ridge pa on right side of Urenui River and high above it. Single platform with steep scarps only. Covered in scrub.

AGB

109/51 987999 N13. Small ridge pa on ridge leading to larger site 99/85. Single platform with two transverse ditches. Find-spot of 2B (Duff) adzes. Badly eroded by farm track and fence line.

AGB

109/52 980997 N13. Ridge pa on ridge leading to 99/85, on left bank and high above, the Urenui River. Single platform with transverse scarp, upland terrace and possible transverse ditch. Covered in scrub.

AGB

109/53 981997 N13. Small ridge pa just above 109/52 and possibly originally part of it. Single much eroded platform with scarp defence in lower part.

AGB

109/66 972950 N13. Whakairongo Pa. Large pa, almost completely destroyed, on the left side of the Mangaonga Stream Valley on ridge top. Platform with terraces along edge of valley. Clear view of 109/19 and/20 two and a quarter miles to the north. AGB

109/79 947999 N13. Headland pa west of 109/9 in Urenui township. Eroded by road cuttings. House floors and pits discovered during levelling of area for building. RJ

109/95 993972 N13. Ridge peak pa south of 109/19 and on same ridge. Single large platform with transverse ditches at either end. AGB.

Alphabetical Cross-reference of site names and numbers :

|                        |        |                       |        |
|------------------------|--------|-----------------------|--------|
| Arapawa-nui Pa         | 99/2   | Puketapu Pa           | 109/23 |
| Hawera, Te Pa          | 99/51  | Pukewhakamaru Pa      | 109/19 |
| Kaihuahua Pa           | 99/9   | Ruahine Pa            | 109/39 |
| Kaitangata Pa          | 109/24 | Ruapukeaka Pa         | 99/75  |
| Kawa, Te Pa            | 109/13 | Ruataki P Pa          | 99/37  |
| Kaweka, Te             | 99/104 | Takapuikaka Pa        | 109/40 |
| Kumarakaiamo Pa        | 109/9  | Teketeke-o-Terehua Pa | 99/13  |
| Manowhareiti Pa        | 109/16 | Tikorangi Pa          | 109/37 |
| Moeariki Pa            | 109/14 | Titoki Pa             | 99/65  |
| Moerangi Pa            | 109/35 | Tupari Pa             | 99/18  |
| Maruwhi Pa             | 99/6   | Turangarua Pa         | 99/76  |
| Maruwhi Village        | 99/24  | Tutumanuka Pa         | 109/20 |
| Mutu-o-Tauranga, Te Pa | 99/25  | Urenui Pa             | 99/8   |
| Ngaio, Te Pa           | 109/32 | Waipingau Pa          | 99/30  |
| Ngarauarua Pa          | 99/55  | Waitangi Pa           | 99/44  |
| Ngarautiri Pa          | 99/65  | Waiwhero Pa           | 99/48  |
| Nopera Pa              | 99/71  | Whakairongo Pa        | 109/66 |
| Okaoko Pa              | 109/11 | Whakarewa Pa          | 99/29  |
| Okoki Pa               | 99/26  |                       |        |
| Omihi Pa               | 99/3   |                       |        |
| Oparinga Pa            | 109/21 |                       |        |
| Orokaea, Te Pa         | 99/61  |                       |        |
| Orongawhiro Pa         | 99/27  |                       |        |
| Oropapa Pa/            | 99/5   |                       |        |
| Otumatua Pa            | 99/46  |                       |        |
| Otumoana Pa            | 109/15 |                       |        |
| Otuwhangi Pa           | 99/66  |                       |        |
| Paoneone Pa            | 109/12 |                       |        |
| Pawawa Pa              | 109/10 |                       |        |
| Pihanga, Te Pa         | 99/34  |                       |        |
| Pohokura Pa            | 99/7   |                       |        |
| Pukearuhe Pa           | 99/49  |                       |        |
| Pukekahu Pa            | 99/73  |                       |        |
| Pukekarito, Te Pa      | 99/70  |                       |        |
| Pukekohe Pa            | 99/4   |                       |        |
| Pukemiro Pa            | 109/22 |                       |        |

Complete Description of Site N99/37 .....Ruataki Pa, Waiiti.

The site is a large cliff pa occupying the ridge running parallel with the sea cliffs half a mile down the coast from the Waiiti Stream mouth. The ridge is here some 150 ft. high, but narrow. There is a free flowing creek on the west side of the site, which is joined by a creek running along the east side of the site.

The site consists of five platforms running along the crest of the ridge on the cliff edge, and two lateral terraces. From the south:-

Platform 1.

Some 80 ft. above the creek on the top of the steep slope there is a wide bank and ditch which form the first defences of the site. The platform has the appearance of being the main one of the site, as the defences are somewhat larger than the others. It is 61 ft. long and 66 ft. wide tapering to 38 ft. at the north end. There is a low inner bank, but the surface is otherwise flat, although circular pits are visible in section over the cliff edge. Defences: surrounded on three sides by a wide ditch and outer bank, and by the cliff. Scarps 20 ft. to the bottom of the ditch. (See Photo).

Platform 2.

59 ft. long, 25 ft. wide at south end and 45 ft. wide at north end. Inner bank on the north. Deep collapsed circular pits. Scarps to ditch 20 ft. The transverse ditch separating it from Platform 1 is 57 ft. wide. Defences as for Platform 1.

Platform 3.

Lies at a slightly lower level than Platform 2, 79 ft. long, 64 ft. and 58 ft. wide at north. Contains one large rectangular flat area 29 ft. by 12 ft. and several collapsed circular pits. Defended by transverse ditches running to the cliff, but the lateral defence was simply a scarp, or was possibly a ditch and outer bank which has slumped away here as in Platform 5. The transverse ditch on the north is 20 ft. wide and, on the present fence line, there is a low transverse bank and a further transverse ditch 35 ft. wide. These two units divide the site into two separate parts.

Platform 4.

133 ft. long, 50 ft. wide at the south end and 34 ft. wide at the north. Inner bank on the north and collapsed circular pits. Defences: as for Platform 1 the north ditch being 36 ft. wide.

Platform 5.

Small and narrowing to the north as does the ridge..90 ft. long and 34 ft. wide at the south and 20 ft. wide at the north. Contains collapsed circular pits. There is a transverse ditch at the north end, but no sign of lateral defences apart from the scarp, although these may have eroded away.

Terrace 1.

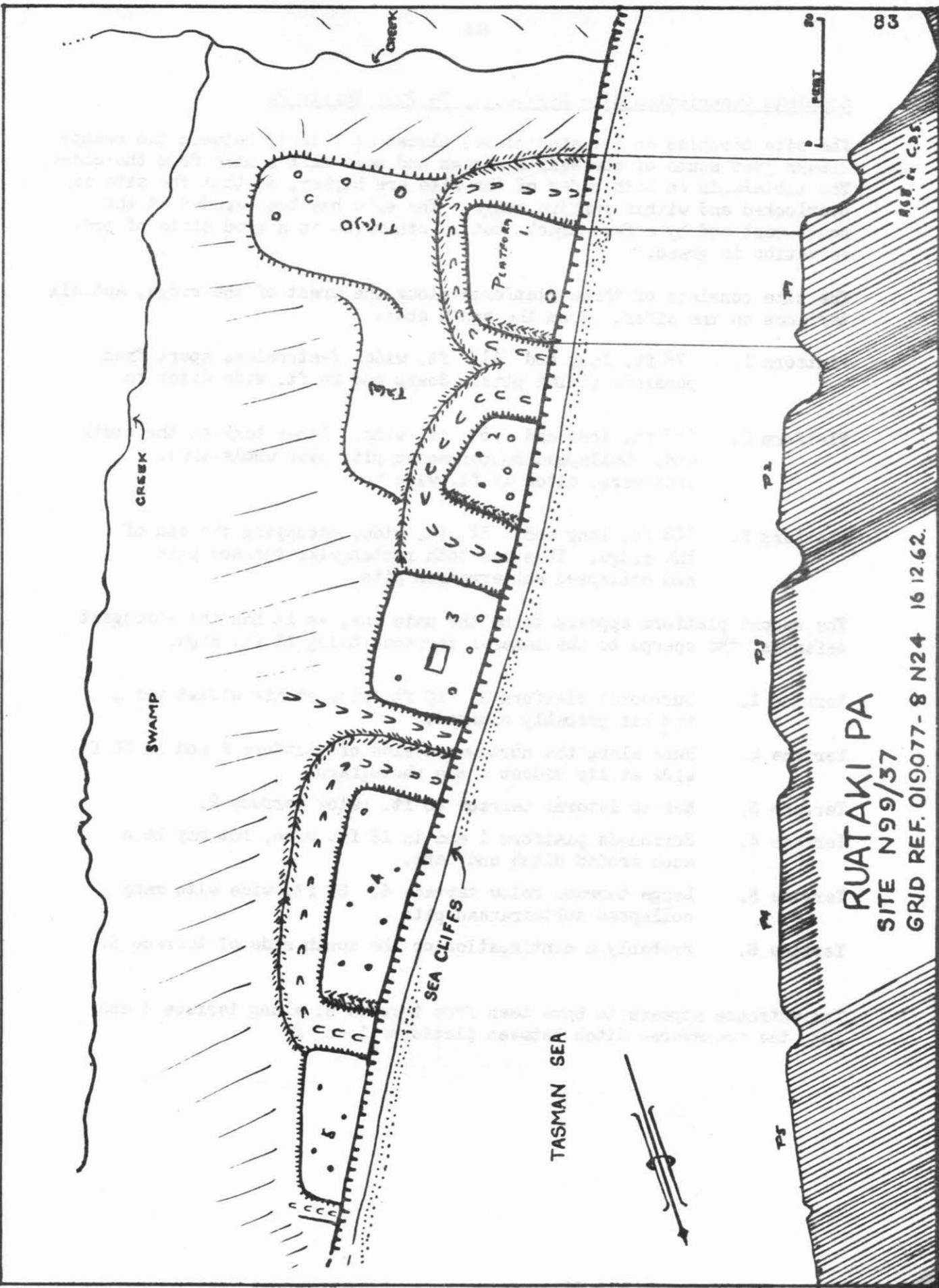
Occupies an extension of the ridge to the east of 100 ft. in the south and 60 ft. wide. Occupied by collapsed circular pits and defended by scarps only.

Terrace 2.

Separated from Terrace 1 by a low eroded scarp at the bottom of which the entrance to the site appears to have been.

Note:

The pits noted seem to be largely collapsed circular subterranean and the only surface pit is the rectangular one in Platform 3 which has the surface appearance of a sunken house floor.



RUATAKI PA  
 SITE N99/37  
 GRID REF. 019077-8 N24 16 12.62.

REP. BY C.A.S.

P2

P3

P4

P5

TASMAN SEA

SEA CLIFFS

SWAMP

CREEK

Tide

Platform 1.

T(2)

T(1)



Complete Description Site N99/70.....Te Puke Karito Pa.

The site occupies an isolated ridge, almost an island, between two swampy creeks just south of the Waititi stream and some half a mile from the coast. The tablelands on both sides of the site are higher, so that the site is overlooked and within gunfire range. The site has been eroded at the south-west end by a farm track, but is otherwise in a good state of preservation in grass.

The site consists of three Platforms along the crest of the ridge, and six terraces on the sides. From the south end:-

- Platform 1. 76 ft. long and 110 ft. wide, featureless apart from possible filled pits. Scarp and 26 ft. wide ditch to
- Platform 2. 138 ft. long and 59 ft. wide. Inner bank on the south end. Collapsed subterranean pits over whole area. Transverse ditch 17 ft. wide to
- Platform 3. 122 ft. long and 52 ft. wide, occupying the end of the ridge. This has both rectangular surface pits and collapsed subterranean pits.

The second platform appears to be the main one, as it has the strongest defences, the scarps to the lateral terraces being 12 ft. high.

- Terrace 1. Surrounds Platform 3. 10 ft. wide at its widest part, but has probably slumped.
- Terrace 2. Runs along the north-west side of platform 2 and is 30 ft. wide at its widest - see photograph.
- Terrace 3. Narrow lateral terrace 20 ft. below terrace 2.
- Terrace 4. Surrounds platform 1 and is 16 ft. wide, but may be a much eroded ditch and bank.
- Terrace 5. Large terrace below terrace 4. 38 ft. wide with many collapsed subterranean pits.
- Terrace 6. Probably a continuation on the south side of terrace 5.

The entrance appears to have been from terrace 6, along terrace 4 and into the transverse ditch between platforms 1 and 2.

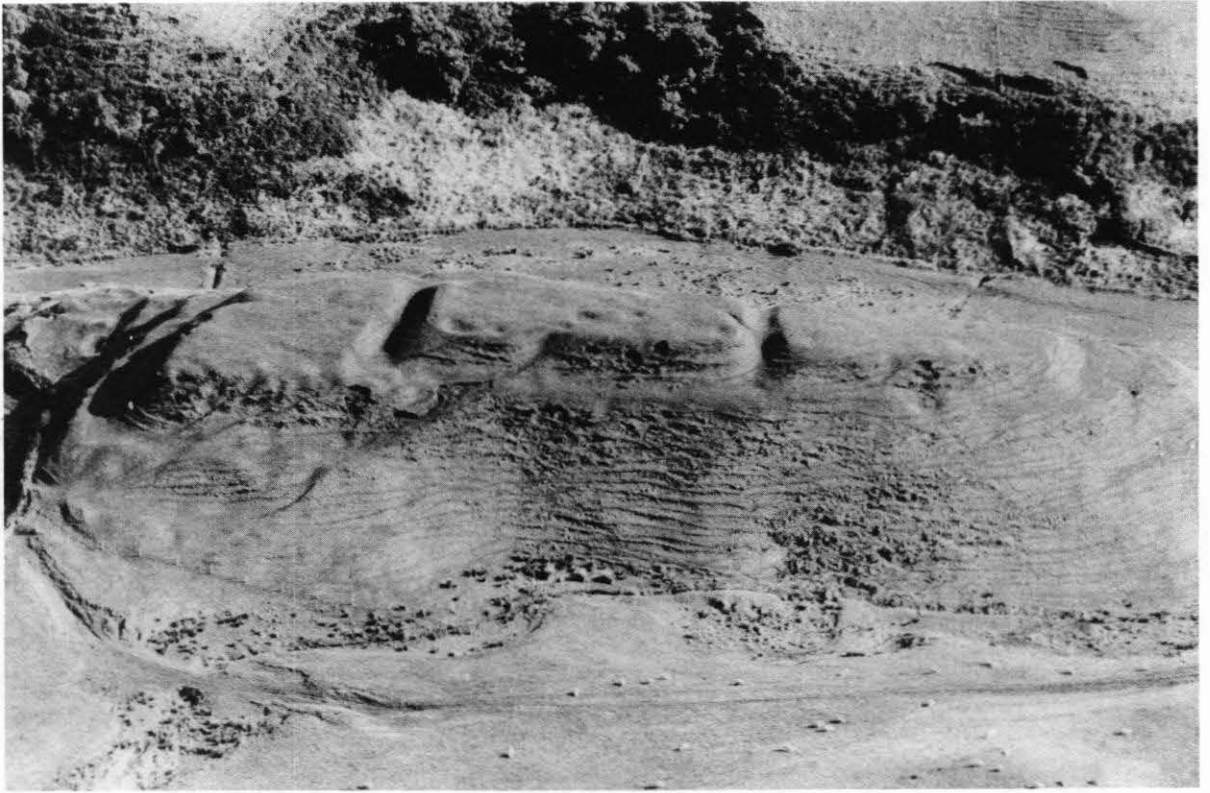


Plate 23. A. Aerial view of N99/70 from south

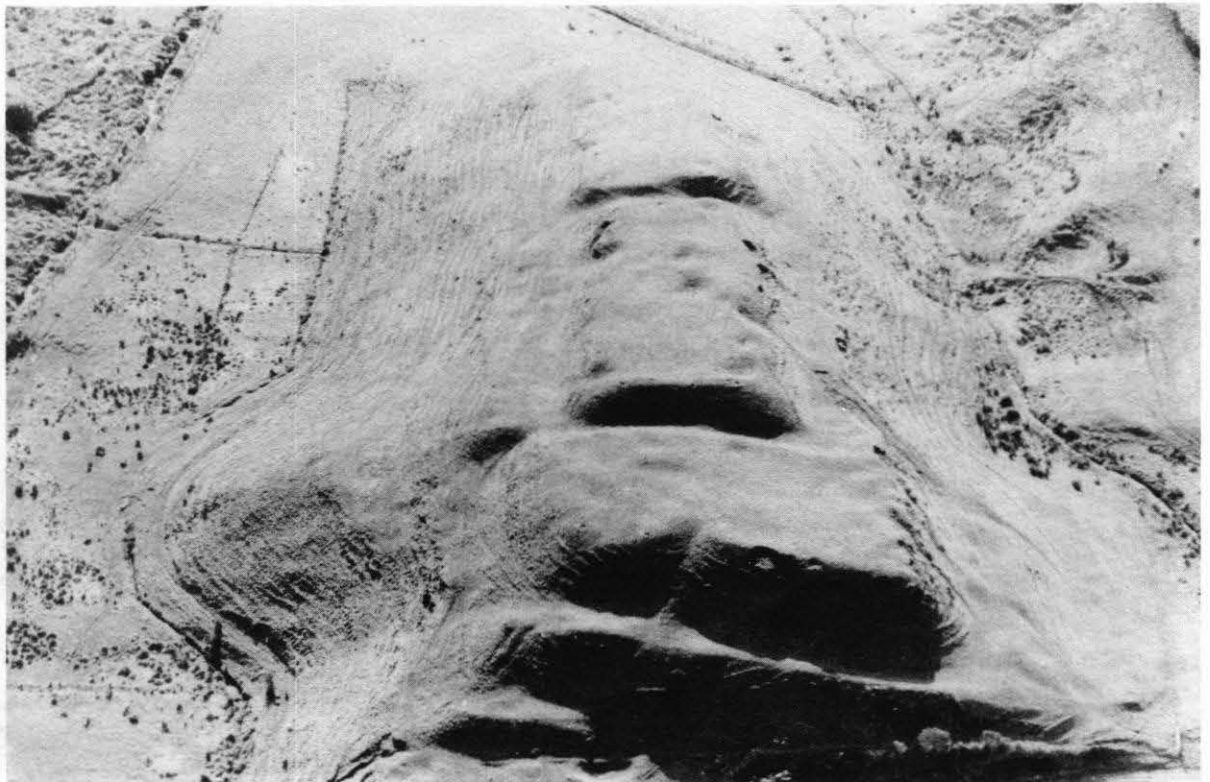


Plate 23. B. Aerial view of N99/70 from west



Plate 24. A. N99/70 from higher ground on north

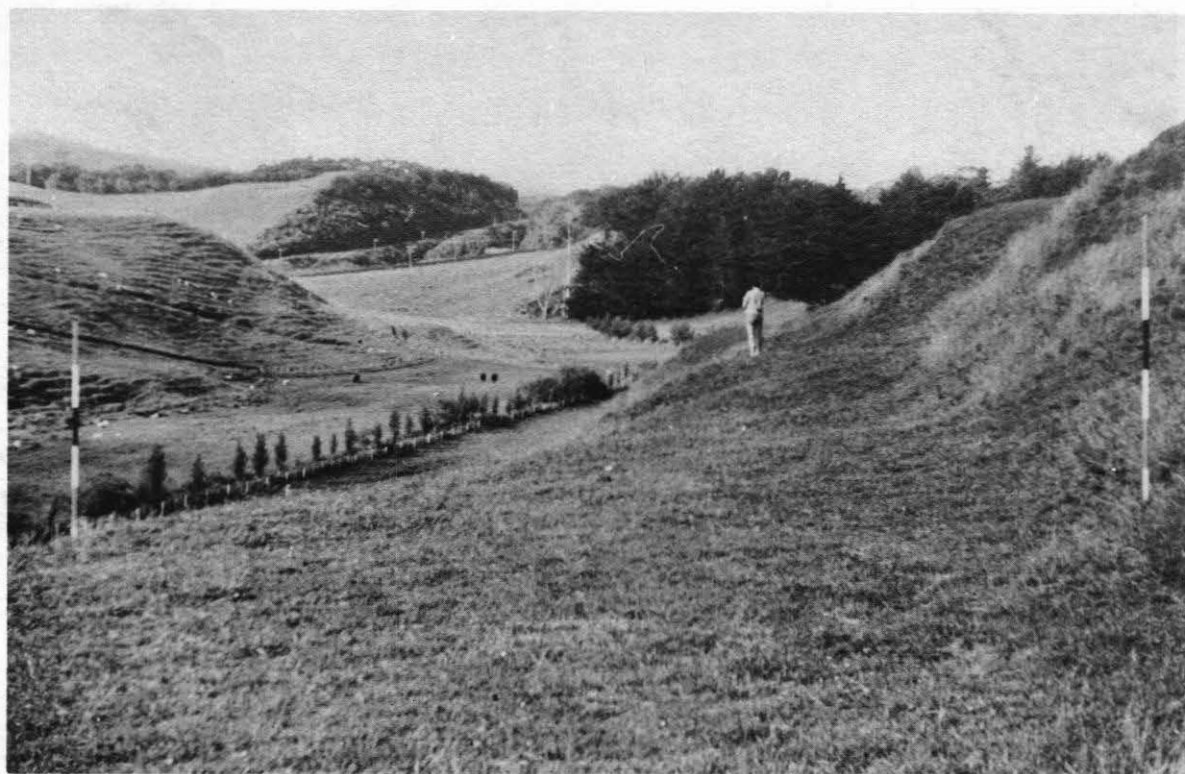
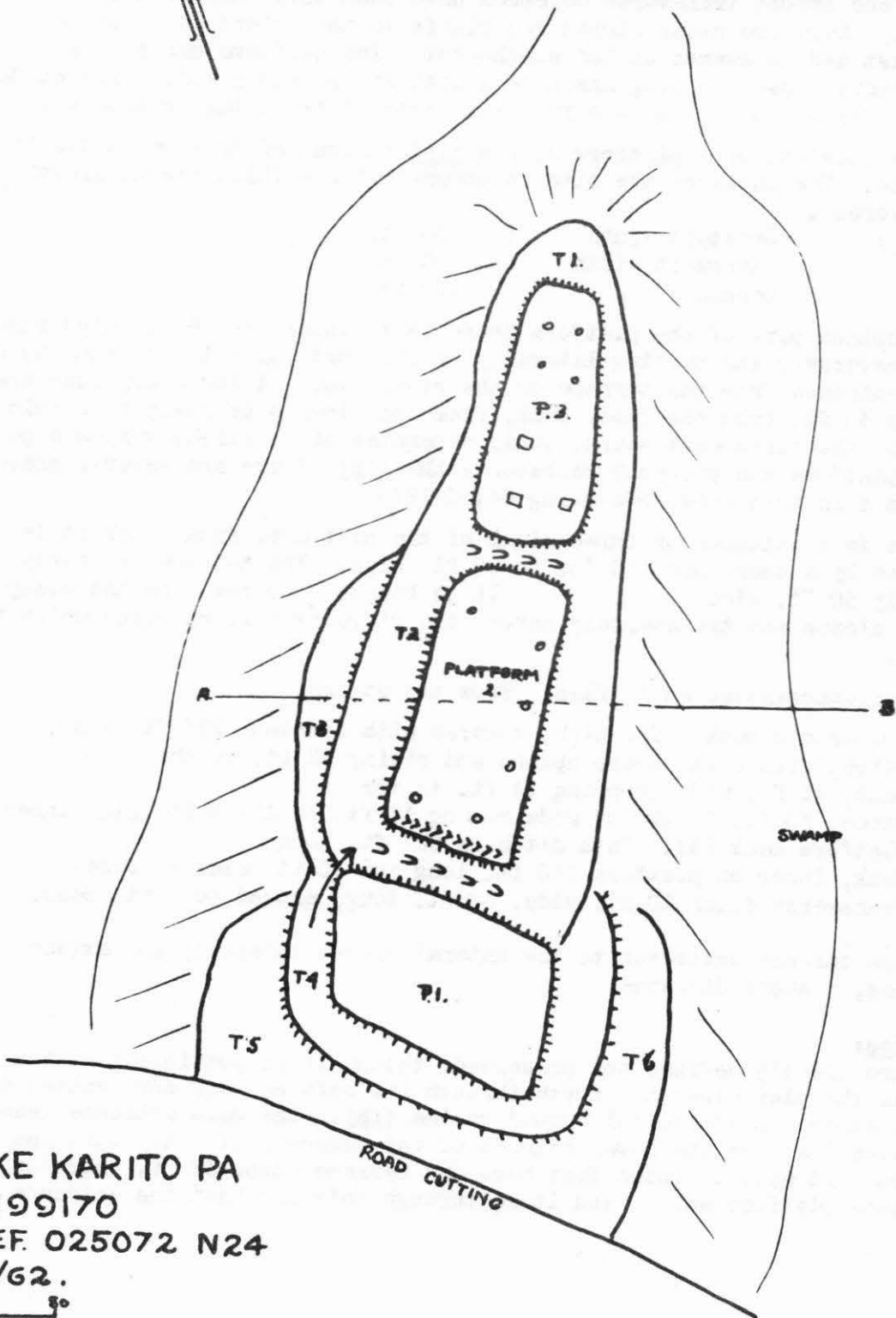
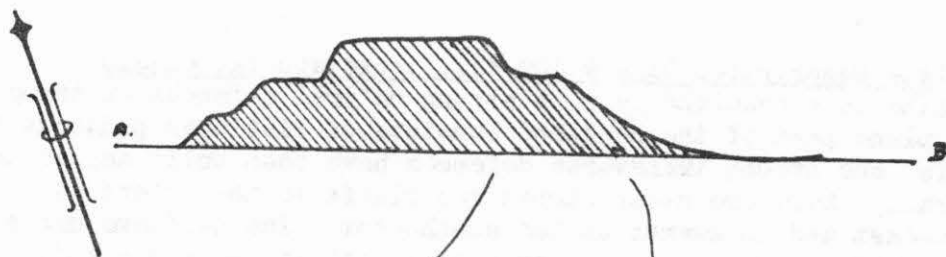


Plate 24. B. West terrace on N99/70 looking north-east





TE PUKE KARITO PA  
 SITE N99170  
 GRID REF. 025072 N24  
 20/12/62.



Complete Description Site N 109/23....Puketapu Pa. Onaero.

The site is a headland pa with strong natural defences on three sides. The upland part of the headland consists of flat open paddocks to the sea cliffs, and strong transverse defences have been built across this part. Laterally there are steep slopes and bluffs to the Onaero River on the north-east and to swamps on the south-west. The headland drops to a saddle about midway, rising again to a peak at the south end. Present day access is by way of the saddle from the river flats on the north-east.

The site consists of a platform with a tihi surrounded on three sides by a terrace. The whole of the site is covered with a thick second growth native forest.

Platform:

|                 |   |         |
|-----------------|---|---------|
| Greatest width  | : | 150 ft. |
| Narrowest width | : | 30 ft.  |
| Length          | : | 110 ft. |

On the upland part of the platform there is an inner bank 8 ft. high running transversely and turning laterally on the north side to continue 30 ft. to the entrance from the terrace on the river side. A low scarp runs transversely 40 ft. from the inner bank, from the river side scarp to within 30 ft. of the south-west scarp...this separates off a slightly raised part of the platform and probably represents the tihi. There are several grave headstones in this area, one being dated 1876.

Terrace: is continuous on three sides of the platform, from which it is separated by a scarp from 10 ft. to 20 ft. high. The terrace is nearly uniformly 30 ft. wide. It is bounded laterally by the steep natural slopes and transversely across the ridge by a scarp below which is a ditch.

Defences:(enumerated as on Plan) From the upland:-

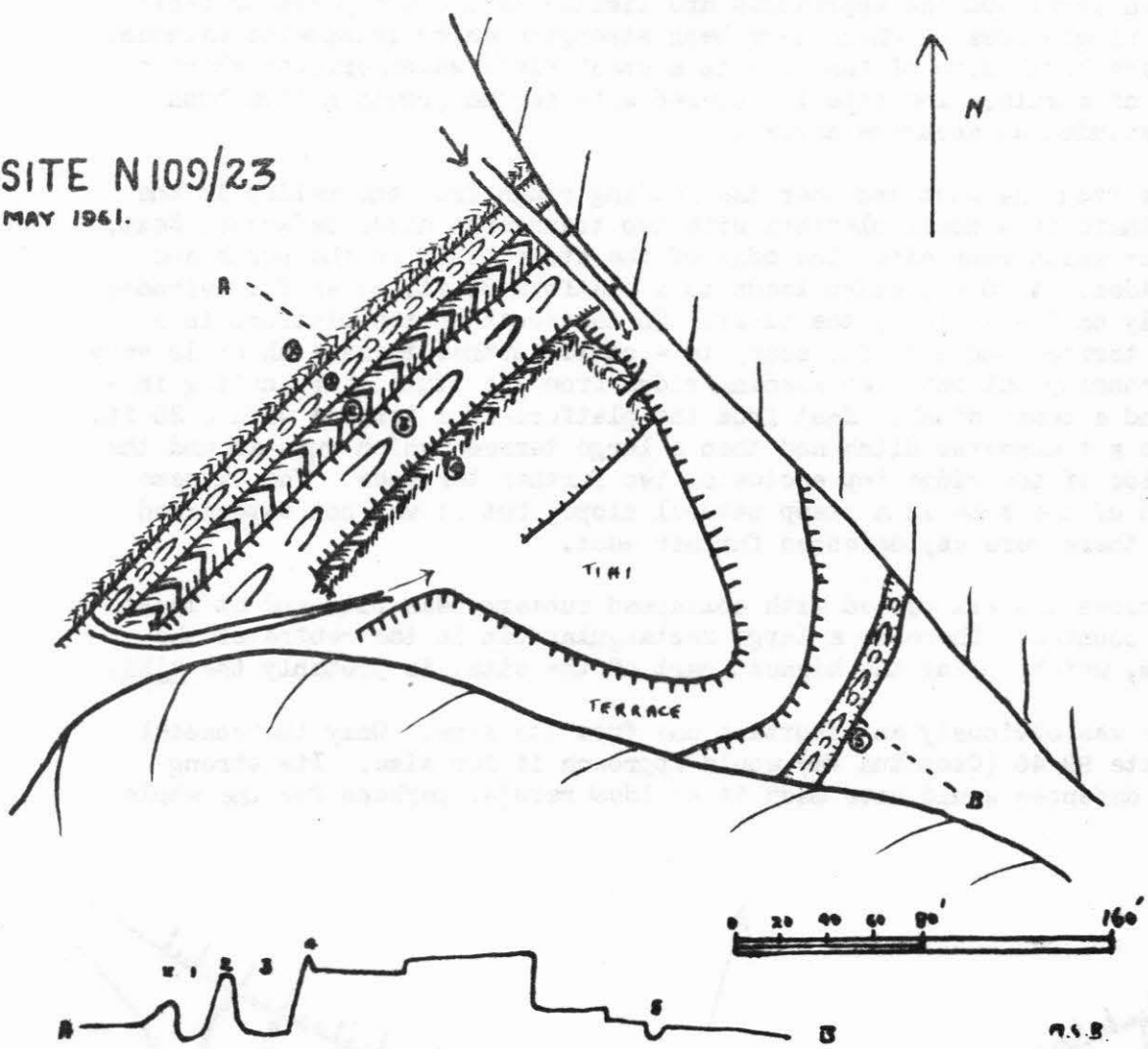
- X. low eroded bank 4 ft. high, covered with bracken. 276 ft. long.
1. Ditch, with 9 ft. scarp upland and rising 12 ft. to the
2. Bank, 11 ft. wide dropping 14 ft. to the
3. Ditch, 30 ft. to 41 ft. wide rising 14 ft. to the 8 ft. high inner platform bank (4). This ditch is 227 ft. long.
4. Bank, inner on platform 150 ft. long and 10 ft. wide at base.
5. Transverse ditch 10 ft. wide, 50 ft. long, eroded to 3 ft. deep.

All these defence units run to the natural slopes laterally and extend down them, a short distance.

Entrances:

These are clearly defined and preserved, though it is possible that the one noted in the plan along the north through the defences was constructed to provide access to the burial ground on the tihi. The main entrance leads from ditch 1 across the lower reaches of the defences directly onto the platform. It will be noted that here the terrace stops 32 ft. short of the upland platform scarp, and it is through this gap that the entrance runs.

SITE N109/23  
MAY 1961.



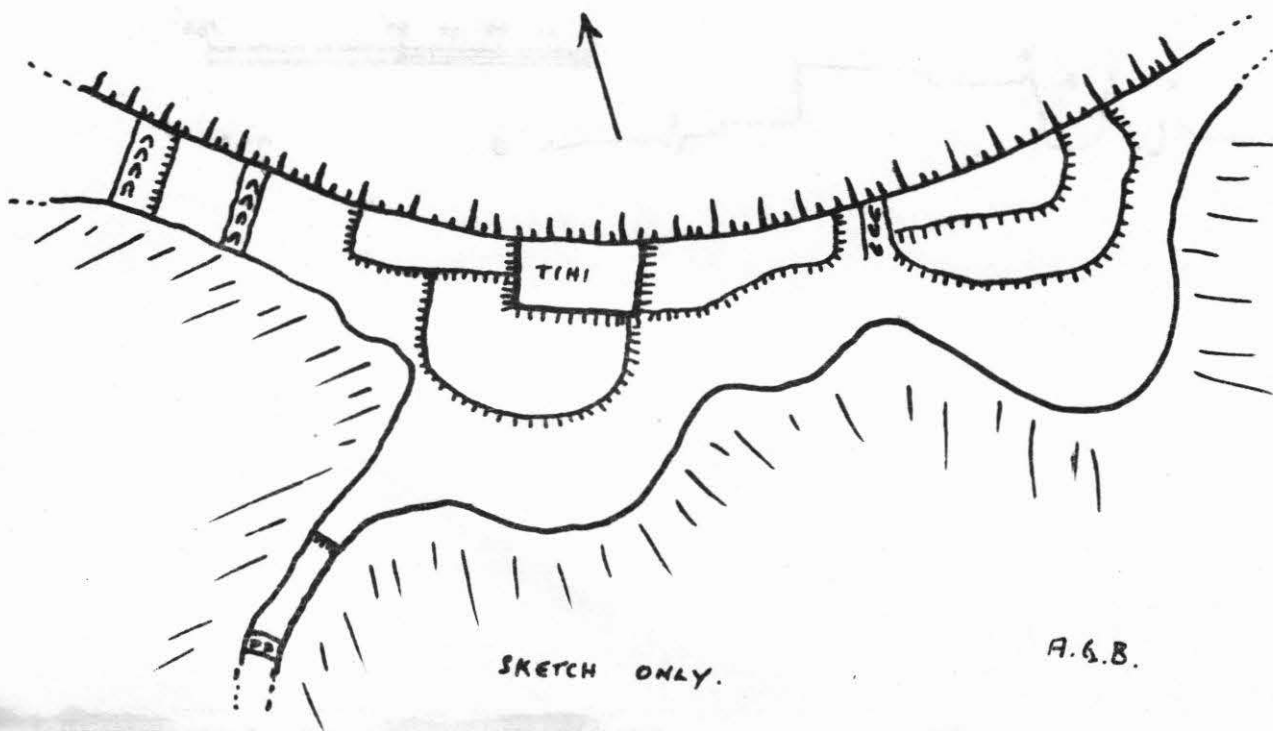
Complete Description Site N 99/76 .....Turangarua Pa, Pukearuru.

The site is on a long ridge top which has been modified by levelling and terracing into a large occupation area. The ridge top is about 800 ft. above sea level and the approaches are limited by the steep 'razor-back' leading ridges some of which have been strengthened by transverse ditches. The entire north side of the site is a steep bluff which extends about a quarter of a mile. The site is covered with second growth native bush which excluded an accurate survey.

Starting from the west end near the leading ridge from the valley in the north, there is a small platform with two transverse ditch defences. Next, a terrace which runs along the edge of the steep bluff on the north and south sides. A 20 ft. scarp leads to a platform 80 ft. by 45 ft. defended naturally on the north by the bluff. On the south of the platform is a further terrace and a 20 ft. scarp to a still further terrace which is very large, running out onto the leading ridge from the south, terminating in a scarp and a lower ditch. East from the platform is a terrace with a 20 ft. scarp to a transverse ditch and then a large terrace which runs around the south side of the ridge top enclosing two further terraces. The extreme east end of the site is a steep natural slope, but it was not determined whether there were any defences further east.

The terraces are all pitted with collapsed subterranean pits and at least 50 were counted. There is a large rectangular pit in the centre of the platform, which, being the highest part of the site, is probably the tihi.

The site was obviously an important one from its size. Only the coastal cliff site 99/46 (Otomatua Pa) would approach it for size. Its strong natural defences would have made it an ideal refuge, perhaps for the whole tribe.



APPENDIX.EXCAVATION OF KUMARA-KAIAMO PA

The systematic excavation of one site in the area was undertaken. The owner, Mr. Gerald Pigott and his brother-in-law, Mr. Dick Jonas, both expressed their interest and co-operation in the idea and through their continued enthusiasm and practical help a great deal of work was done.

The site was first described by Elsdon Best in the 'Pa Maori'. At the time of his visit about the turn of the century, the site was covered with bracken, but was in a good state of preservation. After his visit, the open subterranean bell-shaped pits were filled and the platform was planted with pine trees. These were subsequently milled but seedlings were left growing on all the slopes and these still flourish today. The only tree growing on the platform is a puriri. During milling of the pines a causeway was formed over the transverse ditch, part of the inner bank being used as filling. This milling and the subsequent exposure of the dry soil caused considerable erosion on the west and south-west parts of the site. Since milling, the area has been grazed by sheep, and the destruction of the inner bank continued. Rotted pine stumps line the crest of the inner bank and the lateral west edge of the platform.

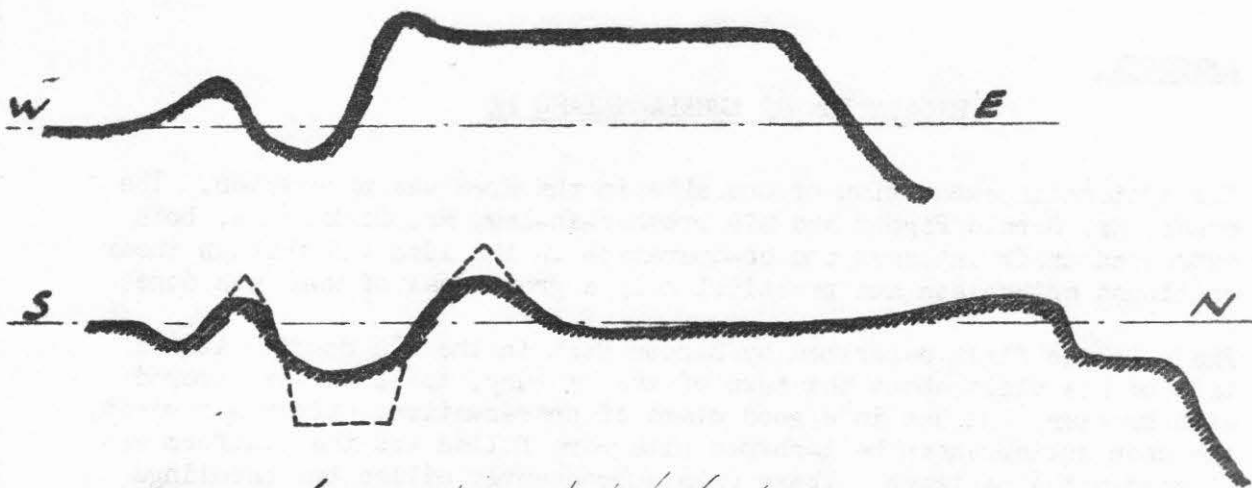
The site is 150 ft. long, 140 ft. wide in the upland part and 70 ft. wide at the north end. (See Plan). It occupies a headland into the Urenui River Valley half a mile from the mouth. The river flows along the north and east sides some 100 ft. below the platform. The north side is also steep falling to river flats, but has been eroded by a roadway. The west side drops some 20 ft. to a small level plateau which terminates in a steep slope to the river flats. The south (upland) part of the headland is a continuation of extensive flat tablelands which stretch to the foot-hills.

Platform:

120 ft. long, 100 ft. wide in the upland end and 50 ft. at the north end. Apart from some depressions in the surface, the platform was a featureless grass lawn, adorned by a single tree.

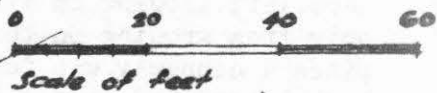
Defences:

The most striking defence was the large inner transverse bank which rose 5 to 6 ft. above the platform and was 20 ft. wide. The west part of this bank had been destroyed by the early milling operations, but a low inner bank continued half way along the west scarp of the platform. Across the upland part and continued on the west side, was a 10 ft. deep and 20 ft. wide outer ditch which, Best recorded, continued as a narrow terrace on the north side providing access to the platform. There was some evidence of a low outer transverse bank which became much higher and definite along the lateral west side.

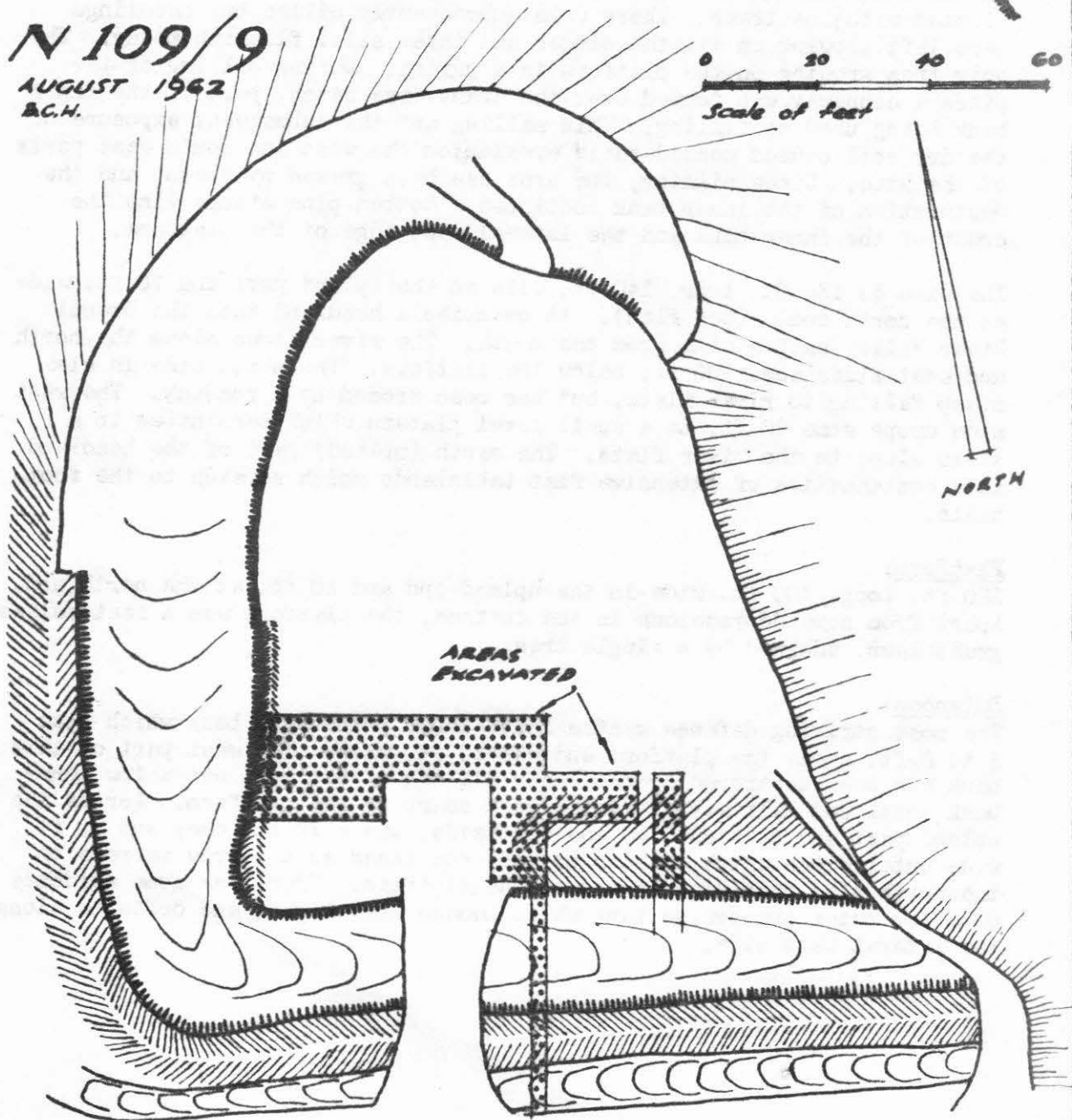


**N 109/9**

AUGUST 1962  
B.C.H.



NORTH

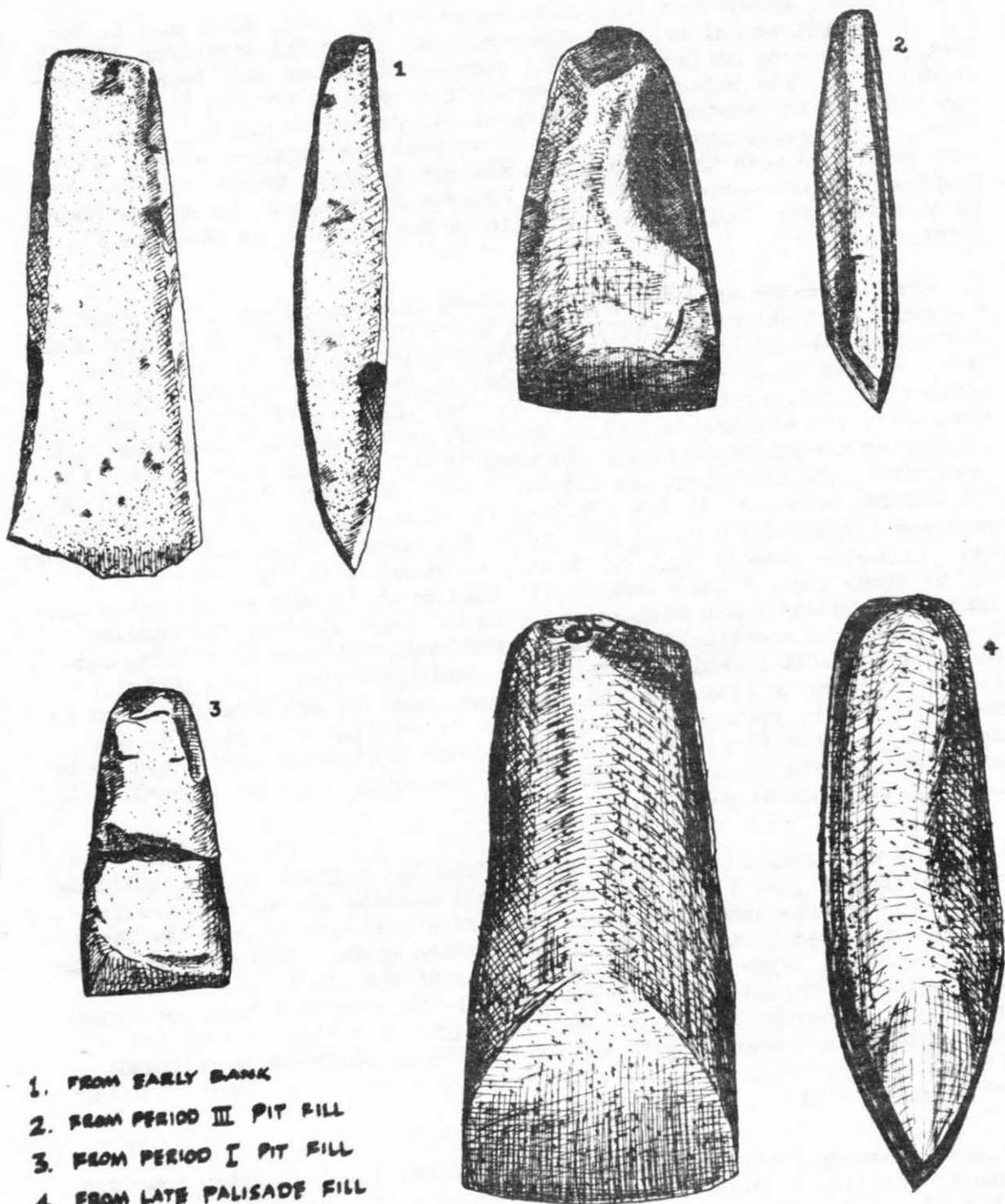


A preliminary excavation was commenced at Easter 1961, continued in the May and August school holidays and completed under the direction of R.H. Parker at the end of January 1962. Further study was made by Mr. Parker in May 1962. The objects of the excavation were to try and determine something of the history of the site and to determine pit typology. At first, it appeared that these objectives would be easily reached, but as work proceeded both the history and the pit typology became more and more complex. In the absence of a full excavation report I can only attempt to summarize the findings and to indicate the possible sequence as I interpret it.

The area excavated extended south to north from the upland plateau across the outer bank and ditch, through the inner bank and then at a right angle west across the platform into the lateral scarp of the platform. The later periods of occupation, represented by the defences, presented no problems of interpretation. There were two phases of defence building. In the first, the site was modified, at least in the upland transverse part, by digging a shallow ditch and throwing up a 7 ft. high inner bank. At some later date the ditch was increased to 7 ft. deep (from the level of the natural base beneath the bank) 10 ft. wide at base and that the inner bank was increased in height and width (See photo). The bank of each phase had palisades from 12 ins. to 15 ins. in diameter and these were placed on the inner side of each bank rather than on the summit as one would have expected. Subterranean bell-shaped pits had been dug into the earlier bank before the construction of the later bank, which is surprising considering the soft friable nature of the disturbed soil. (See photo). These pits were in line with the palisade posts of the later bank and in one instance the post-hole was sunk into the filling of a pit. In the platform, a stone lined hearth and associated post-holes were found to be contemporary with the later phase of bank building, as were several small but deep rectangular pits.

A further distinguishing feature between the two periods of bank building was a mantle of grey river sand effectively sealing all earlier occupations. So far, the interpretation of the site was easy in that the facts were plainly open to the simple interpretation given. However beneath the grey river sand layer there were many signs of occupation and these were not so readily sorted out, and are possibly open to more than one interpretation. Immediately beneath the sand layer, a further hearth and associated ovens together with a large number of postholes were found. These features, then, were contemporaneous with the first phase of ditch and bank building.

Beneath these features there were three distinct types of pits, some cut into the filling of earlier pits and others cut into the natural yellow sub-soil. One 2 ft. deep rectangular pit was cut into the natural soil beneath the first bank prior to the construction of the bank. (See Photo).



1. FROM EARLY BANK
2. FROM PERIOD III PIT FILL
3. FROM PERIOD I PIT FILL
4. FROM LATE PALISADE FILL

ADZES FROM EXCAVATION *scale full size*

FIGURE 8



Another similar shallow pit was found in the same layer and since this one had both palisade posts and smaller postholes cut into the fill, it is likely that both these pits represented a very early period of occupation. The most striking pits were the square ones 5 ft. by 5 ft. by 4 to 5 ft. deep, which ran in a row east-west. (See photo). At the west end of these were two further large features. The earliest was a large 'house-floor' with central postholes, the remnant of a scooped hearth and an associated dirt-roofed subterranean rectangular double pit on its east side. (See sketch and photo). This very early feature had been filled with a soil containing lumps of grey mudstone (papa) and into the filling a rectangular pit  $8\frac{1}{2}$  ft. by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ft. had been cut, or rather two such pits had been cut, but only the post-holes and a fragment of the floor of one remained. Small  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ft. by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. pits were associated with this pit at its south end. (See photo) Further west, near the scarp of the ditch, large palisade posts had been placed.

Such a profusion of pits and evidence of such activity on the site led to great difficulties of interpretation. The earliest subterranean pits were either partly or completely filled prior to the collapse of the roof, further pits were dug either through the intact roof into the fill beneath or into the filling on top of the collapsed roof as the case may be. These pits in turn were filled and from the level surface still further pits were dug. It was obvious during the excavation that in some instances only fragments of some pit walls remained, the rest of the wall having been destroyed by filling and later pit cutting.

One reaches the rather lame conclusion that there were at least four periods of occupation prior to the sealing of the site with sand, and that there were at least three periods after this. The problem was not resolved in any way by the artifacts found. Four small adzes, a small sandstone rubber, a small worked piece of stone, net sinkers and three paua-shell fish-hook or lure fragments were found. All the adzes were Duff Type 2B (See sketch). The paua shell artifacts were found in the filling of a rectangular subterranean pit which had its roof still intact and were the only artifacts from the early period of occupation.

In summary, then, we may speculate on the sequence of events on this small headland near river and sea: by reproducing with modifications the summary of events as recorded by Mr. R.H. Parker in the New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter Vol. 4 No. 4.

#### Period 1:

The first occupants found the site as a gently rounded headland terminated on the east and north by cliffs. The settlers seemed to have ringed the knoll from cliff to cliff with a palisade and within it, in the area of our excavation, placed a house. A doorway, cut through the east wall of this house pit, gave access to a double underground store-pit.

Period II:

The next group of people to occupy the site levelled up the summit of the knoll by constructing a massive earth platform using grey mud-stone as binding material. The level of the higher ground was thus extended outward for a distance of about thirty feet north and west. Into this platform they dug first one, then another, shallow rectangular pit and south of this three or four small bin-shaped store pits. The larger rectangular pits were probably roofed.

Period III:

The second occupation was in turn superseded by a third, again with a radical change in the type of pit. The pits were deep and almost square. Their open top was covered with a light roof supported on centrally placed poles and probably sealed by mounding soil over it.

Period IV:

This was represented by two lines of massive post-holes two feet wide cut into the filled pits of period three. There was also one large rounded bottom pit too fragmented by subsequent pit digging to determine its shape, size or possible function.

Period V:

The site was modified by introducing a wide, rather shallow ditch with a bank built along its inner edge. The palisade was carried on the inner edge of the bank and the site became a fully developed P<sub>a</sub> of a type common in Taranaki and certain other parts of the North Island. From the village of this phase the excavations revealed a house-floor, its hearth bordered with flat stones set on edge. To the east of this were the remains of four ovens. The same level produced a very large number of post-holes indicating the building of other structures.

This settlement was followed by a period of abandonment during which the site seems to have been used as a kumara garden, since at this level large quantities of grey river sand had been worked into the soil, and pits were dug into the inner side of the bank.

Period VI:

The abandonment of the site ended with the rebuilding of the defences, possibly in the early part of the nineteenth century. A narrower but much deeper ditch was dug and a higher and more massive bank was built, extending right around the southern and western sides. This new bank was again surmounted with massive palisade, the posts of which were butted down as much as five feet into the bank build up. A short outer bank and ditch were also constructed at this time in order to strengthen the vulnerable southern upland face of the P<sub>a</sub>.



A

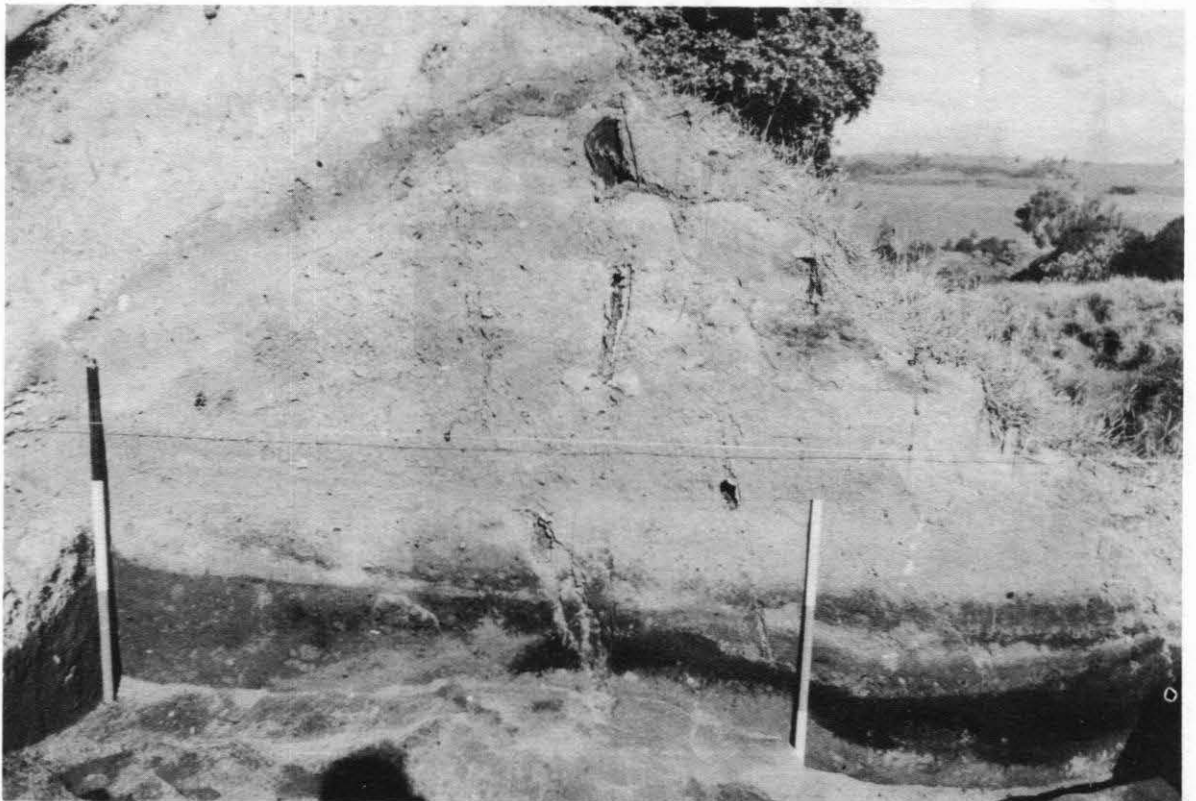
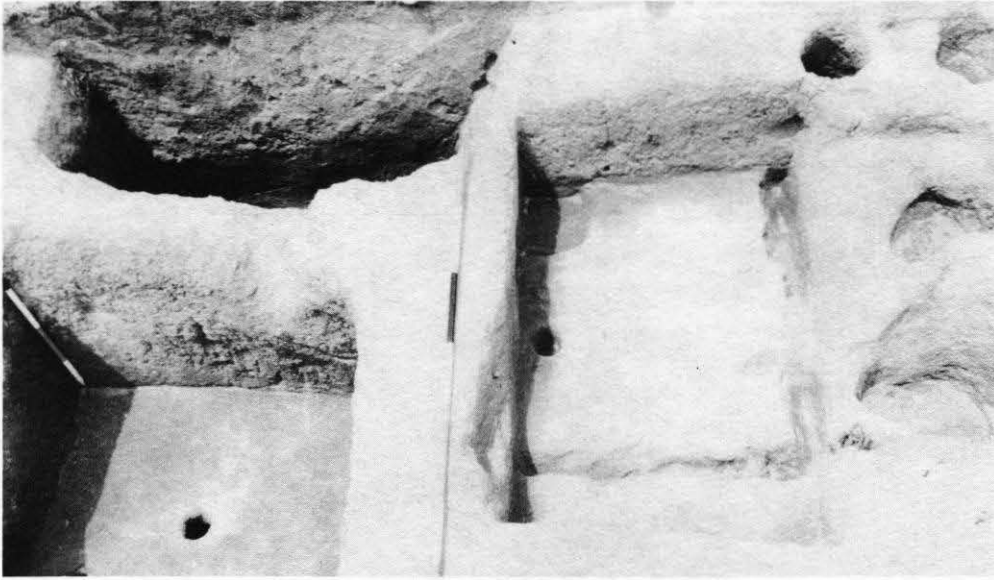


Plate 25.

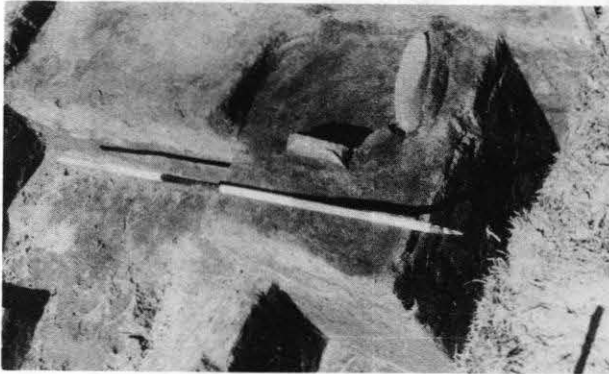
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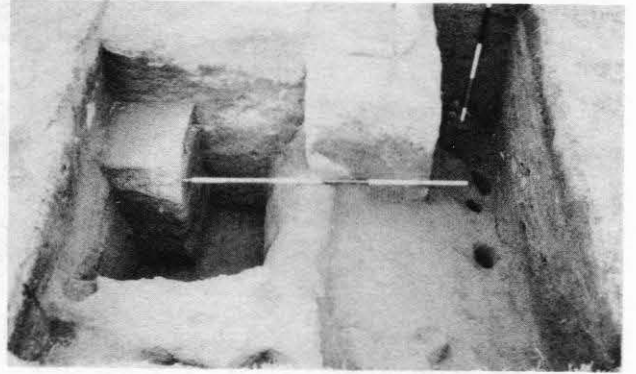
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B



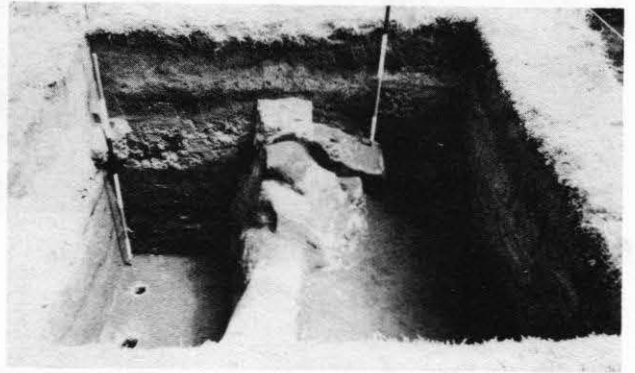
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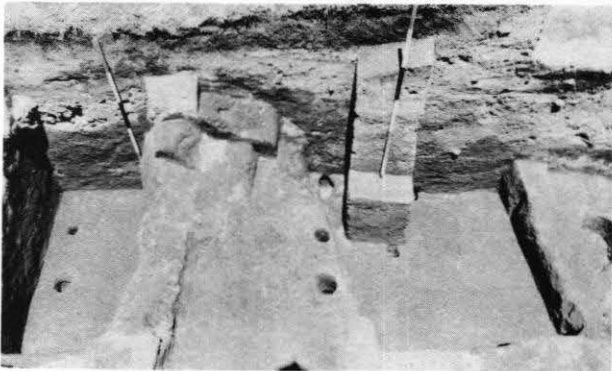
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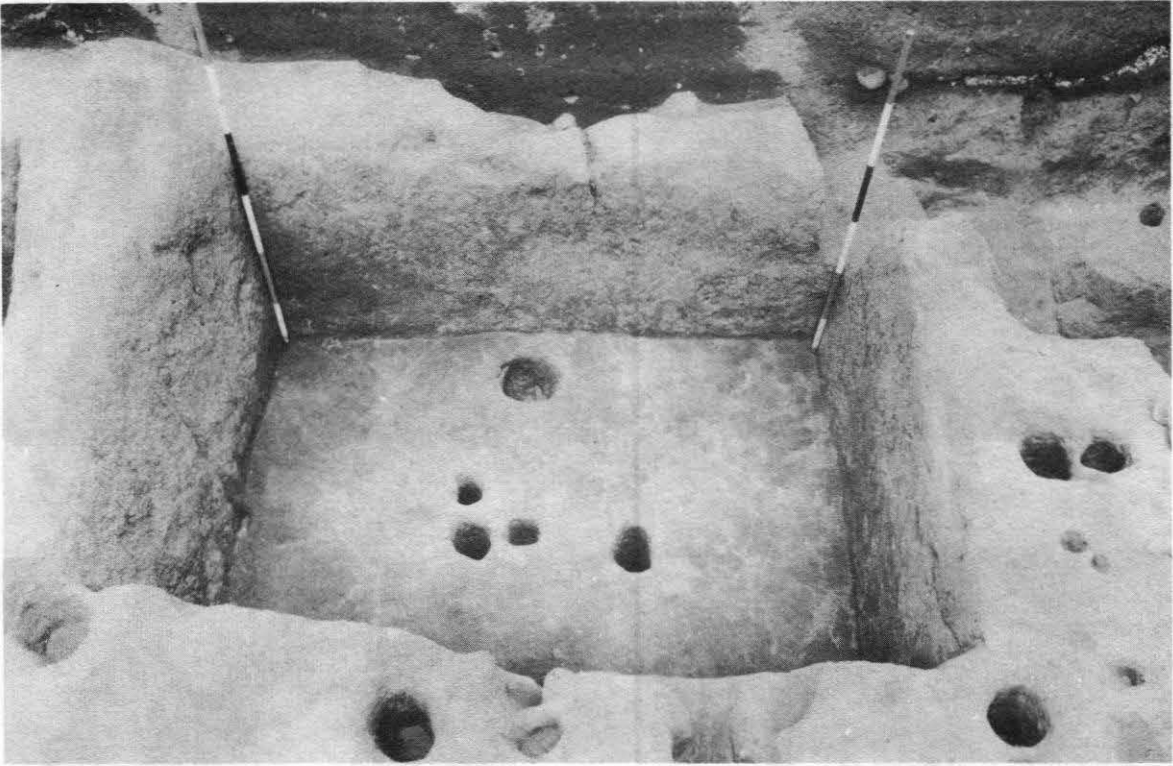
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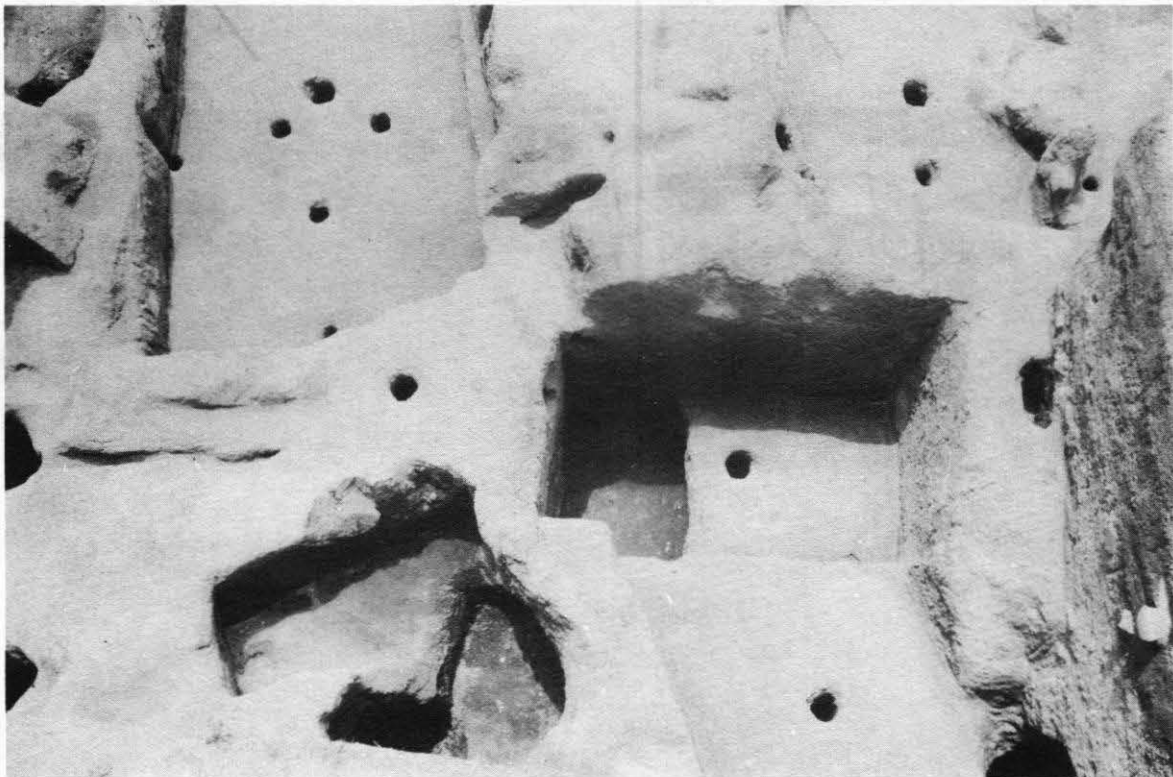
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6



A



B

This sixth village again provided us with a house-floor with a stone bordered hearth and a large number of post-holes. It seems certain that this village period immediately preceded the abandonment of the entire locality by the Ngati Mutunga Tribe when they left the district beginning the migration which carried them nine years later to the Chatham Islands.

Period VII:

In 1868 the tribe returned to their ancestral lands and it is likely that at this stage a few families returned to live on the Pa since about this time two small pits were cut into the crumbled face of the main bank and two broken clay pipes were discarded and left on the surface, to be covered with the further erosion of the bank.

In conclusion, if this brief report has done nothing else but indicate the complexity of occupation sequence of one small site it will have fulfilled its purpose. By corollary, it has perhaps made clear the futility of attempting too firm conclusions from surface evidence alone, for here beneath a flat lawn of grass lay concealed at least seven occupations extending over a period of possibly four hundred years.

**Illustrations of Kumara-kaiamo Excavations :**

- Plate 25.** A. General view of excavation area from bank, Jan. 1962.  
B. Section of bank to show early pit sealed by bank construction, and later bank in left upper corner.
- Plate 26.** A. Bin pit of Period II sealed by banks. Large pits of Period III on left.  
B. View of final stage of excavation, from west. Period I house-floor and associated subterranean pit in foreground, bank in background.
- Plate 27.** Excavation sequence of one square : 1. Period VII hearth.  
2. Period VII hearth with Period VI postholes in left foreground; Period I house-floor and pit, beneath.  
3. Period I house-floor on right and associated subterranean pit on left with partly collapsed roof in situ.  
4. Further clearing to show sectioned roof and remains of wall.  
5. Bank on west side removed to reveal Period II rectangular pit which cuts earlier house-floor.  
6. Final clearing of east and south banks; compare with plate 20 B which is viewed from the south.
- Plate 28.** A. Deep 'square' pits of period III cut by later pits.  
B. Period I house-floor and pit on right, cut by Period II rectangular pit on left, with its associated bin-pits in the foreground.

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