

# ARCHAEOLOGY IN NEW ZEALAND



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Hirini Moko Mead. *Maori Art on the World Scene*. Ahua Design and Illustration Ltd and Matau Associates Ltd. Wellington, 1997. 241pp, 2 10 pge sections colour prints and 85 B&W photos. \$79.95

Sidney Mead is well known for his strongly held opinions on the art and material culture of the South Pacific. His book *Maori Art on the World Scene*, published by Matau Associates finds circulation at the same time as Te Waka Toi's *Mataora, the living face of contemporary Maori Art*. Mead's collection of twenty essays represents an even wider body of work produced over the writer's 30 year publishing career. This in itself is an outstanding achievement. His lifelong commitment has involved researching and lately defending those artforms at the heart of cultural expression for Maori and our cousins distributed throughout Te Moananui a Kiwa.

This sense of defence is very much at the heart of chapters such as 'The Maintenance of Heritage in a Fourth World Context,' 'The Maori Case' and 'Change and Control in the Arts of the Pacific : The big picture.' These lectures deal with issues of authenticity, the demise of First Nation artforms in the face of globalism and the encroachment of Western commercialism and crass tourism on our cultural heart. The chapter 'The Philosophy Underlying the Teaching of Maori Customs' is equally critical of the history of Maori art and cultural studies and its delivery and place within the New Zealand education sector. 'The Mataatua Declaration and the Case of the Carved Meetinghouse Mataatua' essay deals with cultural ownership. Mead has tribal affiliations with Ngati Awa and was involved in the historic return of the whare whakairo from the Otago Museum. Kia ora Sidney for upholding this very important kaitiakitanga guardianship role.

Each of the twenty essays has either been previously published in magazines or books or is a conference or exhibition opening address. There are no real surprises here then. Ahua Design and Illustration have created a lavish looking production. The technique of setting fine Museum of New Zealand colour transparencies against a black background enhances the mana and wairua of the taonga. However, black is also easily marked as a cover material.

It is worth noting that at least seven articles deal with Mead's special interest area for the last fifteen years or so. *Te Maori*: 'Becoming Maori Art' is a reprint of Mead's well known but contestable chronology of Maori art developments from the *Te Maori* catalogue. Other topics include the usual anthropological fare. There are some fine pieces of work on development of the curvilinear style, proto Polynesian beginnings of Maori art, fashion, the development of taniko design and commentary on carving. Essays on the revival and development of the performing arts, a cultural and historical framework for Maori chants are additional to the often strictly visual foci of this diverse body of work.

What we have here then is a collection of essays about taonga tuku iho, cultural treasures handed down by our tupuna. When Mead does venture into contemporary Maori culture it feels restrictive. There are particular chapters which require commentary. The chapter 'Te Whakapakoko o te Manene nui' deals with the predicament of Maori facing the challenge and the cultural disruption of the urban environment. The author rather bravely uses his own figurative carving attempts as a central visual reference for the conditions and challenges facing manene the Maori *stranger* or *drifter* in the city. I liked the body metaphor but as in other portions of the book wanted to move outside the confines of his rather average illustration.

Indeed the images used in this book also reflected the tight way that Mead defines Maori art as existing only in a traditional orthodox context. There are only three serious images of contemporary Maori art which I observed. There is a weaving by Erenora Puketapu Hetet and there are two illustrations of work by a little known artist, Jamie Boynton. Mead's own text confirms his reasons for not involving the work of major Maori artists. In the chapter 'The State of Maori Art in the Seventies' he writes

'it is difficult to perceive any signs of "ethnic" identity in the works of Ralph Hotere and Selwyn Murupaenga...the artists are completely

# assimilated into the Western tradition of art'.

It occurred to me that some illustrations by contemporary Maori artists would have been useful. The paintings of gang members by Robyn Kahukiwa in the 1970/1980s, for example, would have been a useful accompaniment to his commentary on the rootlessness of urban Maori in 'Te Whakapakoko o te Manene nui'. Images actually seemed to lack function at times in this book. The drawings which analytically trace developments in early Maori art at the beginning of the book appeared useful. However it wasn't clear how the two beautiful sets of colour images featured in the book actually related to text.

What this book does not do is offer any commentary on art outside the boundaries of the academic and institutional fields of ethnology, anthropology and museology which Mead has moved in with such distinction. If the book *Maori Art* is global in its scope it is perhaps more a reference to Mead's travel around the world as an ambassador of a small but vital dimension of our culture : our taonga.

In 1987 Paratene Matchitt gave a lecture at the Waikato University entitled 'Where to from Te Maori?' which challenged this idea of taonga. That challenge still applies to this type of book and its author who was the editor of the *Te Maori* catalogue. Matchitt's point was, now we have celebrated the past what about our contemporary environment and the future which we now move towards?

The definitions which Mead applies in the final chapter 'Maori Art Restructured, Reorganised, Re-examined and Reclaimed' do not, as I read them, offer much hope for the future outside the orthodoxy which he espouses. At a time when those involved in fields such as anthropology are thinking far more inclusively about the role other disciplines play in helping create a perception of culture, this text reads as a little too focused. This is the predicament then, that one reads Mead's work closing one's mind to Maori art in another quite different world scene out there.

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# Patrick J. Grant. Hawkes Bay Forests of Yesterday: A Description and Interpretation. Havelock North. Published by the author, 1997. 273pp. apps, bib., figs, index, maps, photos, tables. \$69.50.

Hard-won evidence from soil studies, charcoal identifications, pollen analyses, and archaeology all point to more or less the same conclusion: that when humans first colonised New Zealand some 700 years ago they found a heavily forested landscape. It is generally agreed among archaeologists that the forest clearance which followed was carried out by humans initially in order that they might establish their settlements and gardens, hunt moas, or explore the country. Acknowledgement that other factors might have been involved in forest change includes reference to natural fires, which could hardly be overlooked because charcoal is a component of many natural deposits from throughout the Holocene, but such factors tend to be relegated to second place compared with the perceived impact of humans. In case archaeologists should become too complacent about their story Pat Grant has produced a timely volume which gives a different interpretation, one in which he attempts to redress the natural-cultural balance by giving detailed consideration to an array of natural processes which have influenced forest history over the last 1000 years or so. Much of what he writes about refers to Hawke's Bay, the setting of the book, but there are references and examples to places outside Hawke's Bay sufficient to indicate that the author expects many of his findings to have wider application.

The first of four parts of the book describes the forests of yesterday, or rather their present day remnants, and throughout are observations of damage to the former forests and inferences about when it occurred. Wind damage is a particularly important factor and is frequently marked by pits and mounds in the landscape from blown-over trees, and by fallen logs. I have seen similar pits and mounds in the field but had no idea that such features were as extensive Pat Grant's photographs and descriptions clearly show. The pits and mounds and fallen logs, coupled with estimates of the ages of existing stands of trees, point to periods of severe gales in the past which had devastating effects on forests.

The second part reviews factors which influence forest change, the important ones being wind and rain, fire, and humans. Climate is perceived as the ultimate driving force and is the basis for a model of successive periods of erosion separated by tranquil intervals. The erosion periods were times of warm climate, gales and storms, and heavy rainfall. The tranquil periods

were times of cool climate, and drier, less stormy conditions. The model is used to interpret forest change in part three. When the climate was warm, gales were more frequent and of sufficient severity to blow down extensive tracts of forest; heavy rainfall caused extensive erosion which also denuded the landscape and increased the sediment content of streams and rivers eventually forming new terraces along waterways. The terraces were in turn colonised by forest which is dateable by tree size and tree growth rings, and the terraces themselves may be dated by radiocarbon or by airfall volcanic ash deposits.

In this book the role of humans and fire in the clearance of the forests of yesterday differs from the current archaeological consensus. Pat Grant places more emphasis on natural fires than on fires lit by humans. He minimises human activity as a prime agent of forest clearance in favour of natural events, of which gales were the most important.

What makes this book a contribution for serious consideration by archaeologists and other scientists interested in the history of the New Zealand landscape is that it is written by a former forester and hydrologist about his speciality. That its conclusions do not necessarily fit with current archaeological wisdom is not a cause for concern, but a reason for more research to find out why. Disentangling the relative effects of human activity and natural processes will not be easy, but will be essential if there is to be a fuller understanding of the processes that have transformed the forests of yesterday to those of today. This book is a good starting point and I recommend it to all with an interest in the processes of environmental change.

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H. Lourandos. Continent of Hunter-Gatherers: New Perspectives in Australian Prehistory. Cambridge University Press. 1997, Recommended retail price AUD\$ 39.95, paper.

Lourandos's *Continent of Hunter-Gatherers* joins that small number of syntheses of Australian prehistoric archaeology that began in 1969 with John Mulvaney's *The Prehistory of Australia*. In the past thirty years or so, the information available has grown significantly while, at the same time, archaeology has fragmented into a number of subdisciplines. These factors

make a continent-wide survey an ambitious and difficult undertaking. To do justice to this book it is necessary to examine its aims and how well it achieves them, particularly as regards its success as an alternative perspective on the Australian past.

Introductory chapters outline two major aims. The first is to provide information regarding the Australian past clearly and in as much detail as possible. The second aim is to question the conventional view that, firstly, not much happened during the long period of Aboriginal tenure of the continent and, secondly, that what did happen was a response to environmental factors. Such a view, Lourandos argues, concentrates on external influences and ignores the importance of socio-cultural factors. It neglects the ability that Aboriginal hunter-gatherers had to control environmental productivity and to intensify production through cultural means. Such means include the adoption of labour-intensive strategies, the use of marginal environments, and the creation of social networks, alliances and hierarchies. The author claims that cultural factors are the more significant in explaining both the shape and the trajectory of the Australian past.

The central chapters provide a detailed discussion of the evidencc from four main regions, the tropical north, arid and semi-arid Australia, the temperate south, and, finally, Tasmania. The areas that Lourandos has first hand knowledge of, either through his own work or his teaching at the University of Queensland, turn out to be the most accessible and interesting. This is especially the case for coastal and northern Queensland. However, it is in the regional summaries that difficulties arise for the continent-wide synthesis that is being attempted. The distinctiveness of each region cannot be treated in much detail while the common themes become repetitive. However, as a source of information, the book is successful and useful.

The central thesis of the book is that Aboriginal society is wrongly conceptualised in theories which presume that a cultural divide separates hunter-gatherers from farmers. Instead, Lourandos argues, many features of Aboriginal society, such as ecologically stable management of land and resources and the location of production within social networks of exchange are shared with horticulturalists. In addition, the Australian archaeological record demonstrates a trend towards more complex socio-economic relations over time.

There are a number of problems with this thesis and the proofs that Lourandos provides. One lies in the use of concepts that have been the subject of questioning within the discipline of anthropology, if not of archaeology. These include Sahlin's notion of the domestic level of production, Testart's ideas regarding social storage, Binford's distinction between foragers and collectors, and, finally, Woodburn's classification of 'immediate-return' and 'delayed-return' societies. Information and alliance theory is also called-up in the form of open and closed networks. To be fair, the author uses these terms in a general sense as useful labels without invoking the theories that lie behind them. However, while we are correctly informed that societies might move back and forward along the spectrum, their directional and evolutionary nature is revealed in their guise as the difference between simple and complex societies. The end product of Australian prehistory is claimed to be societies that are more complex, demonstrate relatively more closed social or alliance systems, logistical socioeconomic systems and, finally, delayed-returns.

A central problem with these formulations is that they are classificatory rather than explanatory. While most observers might agree that Aboriginal prehistory does demonstrate shifts in these directions, a concentration on the products of change does not necessarily advance our understanding of causal processes.

There is also an assumption that these questions can be answered empirically through an examination of the available archaeological record. Certain aspects of the data are considered to be environmental in nature while others are labelled cultural. Coincidence between an environmental and a cultural change is taken to indicate direct or indirect correlation or even determination. Where there is a lack of correlation, a cultural causation is invoked. The sureness of these conclusions, however, becomes increasingly qualified as the work progresses so that by page 304 we are informed that environmental and socio-cultural factors might operate together as causal agents. As neither the archaeological record nor the data comes in such convenient packaging, an examination of this kind must give ambiguous results.

Limiting explanations to either environmental or socio-cultural causes is unnecessarily restrictive. Tasmanian prehistory is a most interesting case because it does not conform to the picture of increasing complexity and social closure. It comes as a disappointment then to find changes in the Tasmanian record reduced to an environmental explanation (p280) when cultural innovations and environmental changes are so clearly interlinked. One of the most interesting parts of the book occurs right at the end, when interaction between north Australia and New Guinea are seen to produce historical changes.

Does Continent of Hunter-Gatherers provide a new perspective? In one sense it does. The author first put forward these ideas in 1983 and it is useful and important for them to be made available and given full expression through a book-length, continent-wide synthesis. On the other hand, a great deal has changed in archaeology in the past 14 years. Much of the debate in the book concerns questions of environmental versus the socio-cultural causation of change. The poles of the debate in a Continent of Hunter-Gatherers are about different ways of seeing the same archaeological data collected through standard techniques utilising conventionally-held categories of analysis. From the point of view of a number of newer archaeological perspectives, optimality theory for example, the similarities between the environmentalist and culturalist approaches outweigh their differences. In this case, the separation between strongly-held viewpoints is being dissolved by time.

It has long been predicted that the volume of information available for Aboriginal archaeology is so great as to prevent the writing of large-scale syntheses. Lourandos's *Continent of Hunter-Gatherers* shows that this is not the case. All that is necessary is that the data be approached from a particular and well-argued theoretical perspective. Buy the book.

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Who needs the Past?, edited by R. Layton, 1994. One World Archaeology 5. Routledge, London.

The Politics of the Past, edited by P. Gathercole and D. Lowenthal, 1994. One World Archaeology 12. Routledge, London.

These volumes in the One World Archaeology Series are the paperback editions of volumes from the World Archaeological Congress held in Southampton in 1986. The papers in the Layton volume are as given at the

original conference with a discussion of 'recent developments'. Papers in the Gathercole and Lowenthal volume were those given in 1986 and revised for publication in 1990.

Who Needs the Past is a collection of case studies about the ways that different societies conceptualise and periodise their pasts. Attention is given to what constitutes a historical fact and how these are authenticated. The studies were carried out by an interesting mix of cultural insiders and outsiders. They range from South America, Africa, India, Ancient Egypt, Classical Greece and modern Britain. They include three on Australia. The editor's introduction successfully joins this heterogenous but interesting collection of papers. The subject of this volume's subtitle 'Indigenous values and archaeology', howver, requires explication. Many papers are about indigenous (anthropological) constructions of the past, a context within which archaeology is seen as an alien and conflicting construction. The debate between indigenous and archaeological interpretations of the past has moved on considerably since 1986 and the World Archaeological Congress has played a significant role in subsequent developments, particularly through the First Code of Ethics (Members obligations to indigenous peoples) passed at the WAC Inter-Congress held at Barquisimeto, Venezuela in 1990.

The Politics of the Past, edited by Gathercole and Lowenthal covers some of the same territory as *Who Needs the Past* but from a more archaeological perspective. Here the subject matter is the use of archaeology in the presentation of the past through historical accounts, museums, and national mythologies. Again, a variety of insider and outsider perspectives are provided. The question of what happens to historical traditions when they are publically preserved, conserved and represented in museums or historical theme parks is usefully discussed in a number of papers.

Given that a week can be a lifetime in politics, the question of time-lapse is relevant in the assessment of these volumes. Have they retained sufficient freshness and vitality to justify their reissue albeit in a less expensive format? I found in reading them again that the issues raised are of long-term concern for the disciplines of archaeology and anthropology. As a consequence, these volumes retain their contemporary relevance and their value as collections of related papers.

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Kirch, Patrick Vinton, with photographs by Thérèse I Babineau, 1996. Legacy of the Landscape. An Illustrated Guide to Hawaiian Archaeological Sites. University of Hawaii Press. xii, 130 pp. US\$45.00 cloth, US\$29.95 paper.

An informed and sympathetic public is vital if any archaeological sites are to be preserved for future generations. Popular writing about archaeology has an important role in building and maintaining that informed and sympathetic public. We should never forget that many members of the public would like to visit archaeological sites, taking with them handily packaged and easily digested information about what they are going to see. Archaeological guidebooks are rare in our part of the world and consequently this contribution to public understanding of Hawaiian archaeology is all the more welcome.

The book features 50 'sites' (in some instances, archaeological districts or site complexes rather than individual sites) on 6 different islands. Almost half are on the big island of Hawai'i (24), with the remainder divided amongst Maui and O'ahu (7 each), Kaua'i (6), Moloka'i (4) and Lāna'i (2). A section is devoted to each island. Each begins with a map showing the site locations and a page summarising the nature of the island and its archaeological heritage. Then follow the individual site descriptions, each with a written account, one or more photographs and occasionally a map or other line drawing. Since the book was published, one site has disappeared: Waha'ula *heiau* on the big island, so nearly engulfed by lava from Kīlauea in 1989, has finally succumbed to the wrath of Pele.

Context is provided by an introductory chapter covering the archaeological background to the discovery and settlement of Hawai'i and the development of Hawaiian society, and a very brief history of Hawaiian archaeology. Sensible instructions are given on what to do and what not to do when visiting Hawaiian archaeological sites.

An important criterion for selection was that all the sites must be accessible to the public, although in some cases restrictions exist and are explained in notes. This inevitably means that the book is dominated by *heiau*, the monumental stone-constructed religious enclosures which are such a feature of most Eastern Polynesian field archaeology and so conspicuously lacking in New Zealand. These sites are often extremely difficult to photograph in ways that make them look like anything other than extensive heaps of stones;

Thérèse Babineau is to be commended for her skill in surmounting this difficulty in most instances.

Kirch and Babineau have tried hard to overcome the constraints of accessibility and to illustrate as wide a range of Hawaiian field evidence as possible. Petroglyphs, field systems and fish ponds are all represented by four or five examples on various islands. Rarer sites include birthing places of important chiefs, a trail, a set of footprints in volcanic ash, and a single example of defensive notches on a razor-backed ridge.

New Zealand archaeologists with an interest in cultural landscapes will appreciate the inclusion of several 'village' and other site complexes, although the lack of plans for any of these except Kaunolū is disappointing.

Variety is added by the inclusion of four historical archaeological sites. Fort Elizabeth on Kaua'i, built in 1816 by Hawaiians to accommodate a Russian garrison, is an interesting mixture of European design and traditional Hawaiian stonework. The site of the original leper colony on Moloka'i is only the best known feature in an area that also includes a wide range of prehistoric sites still under investigation. A mission site and an early European house site are also included.

For New Zealand archaeologists, this selection of Hawaiian sites must strikingly emphasise the differences in the field archaeology of these two points of the Polynesian triangle. We may lack the conditions in which irrigated field systems or fish ponds flourish; we do have rock art, traditionally important places, dry land field systems and at least one example of footprints in volcanic ash (even if not accessible to the public); but for us, a  $t\bar{u}\bar{a}hu$  stone would be even rarer amongst the plethora of  $p\bar{a}$  than the solitary notched ridge amongst the *heiau* in this book.

In his preface, Kirch writes that "In some respects this book may be used as a field companion to my more comprehensive work on Hawaiian archaeology, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks...*. These two books are designed to complement each other in providing an overview of Hawaiian archaeology that is scholarly yet readable." I feel, however, that with its relatively large format, the book breaks the first rule of field guides, which is that they must fit easily in the pocket, the small backpack, or the glove compartment of the vehicle. As a field guide, it probably also has too much text, too many photographs, not enough site plans, and too high a price. On the other hand, it should grace many a coffee table and do its bit to build a sympathetic and informed public for Hawaiian archaeology. The design and production are of a high standard, although I question the wisdom of reproducing the photographs (some of which are outstanding) in a gloomy shade of green most untypical of a tropical landscape. In some respects the book is a little too scholarly. For example, few general readers will know what a *holua* slide is or why it would have been nice if one could have been included. At the same time, scholars may take issue with aspects of the text, which naturally enough presents the author's views on Oceanic and Hawaiian prehistory. Quibbles aside, however, this husband and wife team of archaeologist and photographer have provided us with a useful addition to the limited range of general publications on Hawaiian and indeed Polynesian archaeology.

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# Chris Pugsley. Walking the New Zealand Wars. A series of articles appearing in New Zealand Defence Quarterly. Photographs by Bruce Connew.

*New Zealand Defence Quarterly* is probably not the first publication archaeologists are likely to think of when they are looking for up-to-date information about the archaeological remains of the Maori-Pakeha wars of last century. This slick, glossy but serious magazine put out by the NZ Ministry of Defence has however published 15 articles on New Zealand battle sites in its first five years of publication. The current series of articles is called 'Walking the Waikato Wars'. In earlier series NZDQ walked Heke's war in Northland, the Wellington Wars, and the Wanganui/Taranaki wars.

The chief value of these articles is that they relate today's landscape to last century's battlefields. In many cases excellent colour photo panoramas by Bruce Connew are taken from exactly the same vantage point as were contemporary illustrations. The modern photos offer an excellent truth-check on the degree of vertical exaggeration in the familiar old sketches and paintings, and on the tunnel-vision of their creators. They are particularly helpful in the field when locating precisely where particular events took place, but are less useful for armchair reconnaissance, because information about photo orientation is often lacking, and location maps are occasionally inadequate or absent.

The contemporary illustrations are mostly the ones we are already familiar with, but which we often have not seen in glossy colour before. Contemporary plans and maps are also reproduced in original colour, but generally at a scale so small that the detail is lost in the half-tone screen.

The articles are all written by Chris Pugsley, better known for his books about New Zealanders in World War 1. As an ex-military man (Lt-Colonel in the NZ Army), and as a historian of trench warfare one might expect Pugsley to offer special insights into the merits and failings of both British and Maori fortifications, but in general this is not so. Perhaps we will have to wait for a military engineer to do this for us. Pugsley does however offer interpretations which differ from those of James Belich in his New Zealand Wars. Pugsley tends to see the Brits as slightly smarter, the Maoris as not quite so clever, and Governor Grey as considerably more devious than does Belich. Unfortunately Pugsley does not explain in any detail why he occasionally disagrees with Belich about particular events. Pugsley sees Pratt's sap as a smart initiative which resulted in a substantial victory for the British. He doesn't believe Pukerangiora pa was built simply as a bait to tempt the British into useless attack.

Pugsley's interpretations are often closer to those of James Cowan than Belich. Pugsley gives attention to some battlefields -for example those of Wellington, which were described at length by Cowan but more or less ignored by Belich. Pugsley draws on published archaeological interpretation where it is available - as in Taranaki.

As someone with no direct acquaintance with the Northland or the Wellington battlefields I found the articles on those places excellent. As the series continues into areas I know better I become less satisfied. The recent article on Paterangi has a plan printed with east to the top and no indication that this is so, so that it is impossible for the naive reader to relate text to plan. There are mixed-up photo captions and one caption which is just plain wrong. Earthworks from a later British redoubt are mis-identified on an aerial photo as those of a gunfighter pa. I also feel that this particular article does not do justice to the magnitude and complexity of the Paterangi fortifications. Scaling-off from contemporary British plans shows there were 4 kilometres of ditches and 1 kilometre of palisade at Paterangi alone, plus all the usual bomb-proof bunkers, a 60 foot deep well, potato storage pits, and more.

These articles do not constitute a self-contained guidebook to the battlefields.

If you intend "walking the wars" with Pugsley as your guide you will still need a 1:50 000 topographic map to make complete sense out of the text and graphics.

Overall this series of articles is important in showing that Belich's book is not necessarily the last word on the subject. I think it also points to the need for a comprehensive archaeological survey of all the battlefields of the New Zealand wars, and for better signposting at many of these important sites.

The articles which have so far appeared are listed below. I understand the current series will continue with Orakau and finish with Gate Pa. I would recommend that anyone interested read the articles in full-colour original, as a lot is lost in monochrome photocopy.

## Walking Heke's War:

The sack of Kororareka 11 March 1845. No 1, pp 12-17. 1993. The battle of Puketutu 8 May 1945. No 2, pp 26-31. 1993 The attack on Kawiti's "much dreaded pah" at Ohaeawai, 1 July 1945. No 3, pp 34-8. 1993 The battle for Ruapekapeka - Victory or defeat? No 4, pp 28-33. 1994.

### Walking the Wellington Wars

The Hutt war of 1846 and the fight for Boulcott's Farm. No 6, pp 36-41. 1994.

Skirmishing at Porirua and Battle Hill, August 1846. No 7, pp 36-41. 1994.

## Walking the Wanganui War

The battle of St John's Wood, 19 July 1947. No 8, pp 31-35. 1995. The battle of Waireka, 28 March 1960. No 9, pp 26-31. 1995.

# Walking the Taranaki War

The battle of Puketakauere, 27 June 1860. No 10, pp 35-40. 1995. Maori defeat at Mahoetahi, 6 November 1860. No 11, pp 32-36. 1995.

Pratt's sap at Te Arei. No 12: pp 30-34. 1996.

## Walking the Waikato Wars

Governor Grey starts a war: The battle of Koheroa, 17 July 1863. No 13, pp 30-36. 1996.

A halt before Meremere. No 14, pp 28-33. 1996.

Controversy at Rangiriri: 20 November 1863. No 15, pp 31-37. 1996

Bypassing the Maori Maginot line at Paterangi. No 16, pp 32-36. 1997

Farce and tragedy at Rangiaohia 21-22 February 1864. No 17, pp 32-37. 1997.

Owen Wilkes DoC, Hamilton