



NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY



This document is made available by The New Zealand Archaeological Association under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

To view a copy of this license, visit
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/>.

Settlement Patterns in the Whanganui River Valley, 1839–1864

A. Walton¹

ABSTRACT

Early missionary and government census records and other documentary evidence suggest that about 3,700 people were living along the banks of the Whanganui River and its tributaries in the mid-nineteenth century. Changes in the size and locations of settlements are traced over a 25 year period. Superimposed on the seasonal ebb and flow of economic activities was a pattern of expansion and contraction in settlement caused by war or the threat of war. By the early 1850s fortifications, particularly those with limited access to arable land, were being abandoned. There was much temporary movement of individuals and groups, for both economic and social reasons.

Keywords: WHANGANUI RIVER, CONTACT PERIOD, POPULATION SIZE, SETTLEMENT PATTERNS.

INTRODUCTION

The first nationwide census of the Maori population of New Zealand was compiled and reported by Fenton in 1859. The situation before this in many areas would be little known, but for some important but little discussed census data collected by missionaries and government officials. The data from these censuses throw considerable light on population size and distribution in particular areas. Some of the censuses were quite detailed and included information such as the names of all individuals, numbers of adults and children, the names of chiefs and the hapū affiliations of the settlements. One area particularly well served by early census data is the valley of the Whanganui River and its tributaries (Fig. 1). This information, when considered in relation to other contemporary documentary evidence and later census results, makes it possible to estimate the size of the population in the 1840s and 1850s, how it was distributed and how the distribution changed over time.

The paper is divided into three main parts. The first discusses the various estimates made and censuses taken and their strengths and weaknesses. Some conclusions are drawn about the size and distribution of the population from the 1840s to the 1870s. The second focuses on the settlements in different sections of the river. The third discusses some of the factors which shaped changes in the pattern of settlement, including subsistence requirements, warfare, religious differences, social organisation, and the role of chiefs. The Whanganui tribes did not, of course, exist in a vacuum and many changes can be traced, directly or indirectly, to events in other parts of the country.

This is particularly evident from the late 1850s and 1860s with the rise of Kīngitanga, the effects of the Taranaki wars, and the impact of Pai Mārire. Patterns of allegiance amongst mid-nineteenth century Whanganui groups have been described elsewhere (Walton 1991) and are mentioned here only in passing.

¹Department of Conservation, P.O. Box 10420, Wellington

References to Wanganui are to the town; Whanganui is the river, the district and, occasionally, its inhabitants. The paper is based on missionary and government sources. Official papers, published and unpublished, are not listed individually in the reference section but the sources are clearly identified in the text.

POPULATION ESTIMATES AND CENSUSES

THE 1840s–1850s

In the 1840s the size of the population of the Whanganui River valley was variously estimated by observers as between 3,000 and 5,600. The Rev. J. Hamlin (1842) published an estimate of the number of inhabitants in each part of the North Island. His method was to count or estimate the number of warriors and multiply the result by three. This was the basis for many estimates of the time. Hamlin estimated the number of fighting men in the Whanganui region to be 1,800 and the population as a whole to be 5,400. Soon after, the Chief Protector of Aborigines produced a similar set of estimates and arrived at a figure of 5,000 (GBPP 1846/337: 47). The Wesleyan Missionary Society estimated the population at 5,600 in 1845 (in Taylor Ms Papers 254, Vol. 3). On the other hand, Grimstone (1847) reported a figure of 3,000 in 1845 based on unspecified government and missionary records. The Rev. R. Taylor of the Church Missionary Society published an estimate of 5,000 in 1855 (Taylor 1855: 468).

The Rev. J. Mason of the Church Mission Society made rough estimates of the population of a number of the settlements in 1840 including about 250 people at Hikurangi (Journal 21 November 1840), six to seven hundred people at Pukehika (23 November 1840), and about 140 people at Pipiriki (23 November 1840). Wakefield suggested that Pukehika was "capable of giving house-room to 600 or 800 people" (Heaphy 1842: 60) and estimated that the population of Pipiriki may have amounted to 200 (Wakefield 1845 (II): 84).

A number of full and partial censuses were taken by missionaries and government officials in the 1840s and 1850s. The censuses had their limitations but they do indicate the order of figures involved. In June 1843 the Rev. R. Taylor went upriver to Pipiriki and took a census at each settlement along the way with the assistance of native teachers. He listed the names of all the people living at each of the settlements. The names were grouped according to whether the person was male or female, adult or child, and baptised or unbaptised. Later, in November of the same year, the census was extended to include the settlements above Pipiriki although the lists of names from this later work have apparently not survived. The results were, however, summarised in a table headed "Native population of Wanganui river 1843" (Taylor MS Papers 254, Vol. 3)(Table 1, Fig. 2). Some of the numbers listed in the table differ from those recorded in his journals, indicating that he worked through the material and revised the results.

Reference to Taylor's journals shows that the figures for some settlements have been combined: his records list Purua as having a population of 63 but his journal reveals that the figure also includes the inhabitants of the nearby settlements of Waipakura and Tapuaruru. Similarly, the figure for Korokoro includes the inhabitants of Upokongoro, the figure for Pukehika the inhabitants of Rangitoto (a small settlement just across the river from Pukehika), and the figure for Patiarero the inhabitants of Wangairau. There are figures for almost all the settlements known from his journals and other sources to have been occupied about that time. Some of the more remote areas were not covered, however.



Figure 1: Map of Whanganui River showing locations mentioned in the text.

TABLE 1

Population of the Whanganui River valley in 1843

	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
Kaiatawa	21	19	9	10	59
Rauponga	21	17	10	6	54
Te Mai	22	17	3	6	48
Pahitaua	15	14	8	3	40
Pitaua	8	6	4	3	21
Te Rarapa	70	36	13	15	134
Utapu	64	55	18	13	150
Te Ririato	25	21	4	10	60
Tata	13	15	7	1	36
Manganuiateao	72	59	2	5	138
Nga Mahanga	55	47	22	13	137
Pipiriki	132	109	28	27	296
Patiarero	96	76	29	21	222
Pukehika	245	225	44	42	556
Hikurangi	85	61	30	18	194
Operiki	81	65	36	23	205
Kahikaitoa	29	25	13	7	74
Ikunikau	42	48	15	14	119
Mairekahoro	25	20	3	3	51
Kanihinihi	30	20	6	10	60
Tunuhaere	71	65	18	10	164
Kaiwhaiki	8	8	4	2	22
Tauraroa	12	13	-	-	25
Kaiaraara	18	15	-	-	33
Korokoro	26	26	5	10	67
Mataongaonga	17	14	6	4	41
Aramoho	13	11	4	-	28
Purua	28	24	6	5	63
Kaiata	10	7	-	4	21
Putikiwaranui	37	29	12	7	85
Wakaniwa ¹	4	5	3	2	14
Ngongohau	13	10	2	1	26
Total					3243

The European population of Wanganui in 1843 was 210. Source: Table headed 'Native population of Wanganui river 1843', Taylor MS Papers 254, Vol. 3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹ Location not identified. Probably close by Putikiwaranui.

Note: The order in which the settlements appear in all tables has been changed slightly so that they are in geographical order, north to south. In all tables spelling has been changed to a standard form.

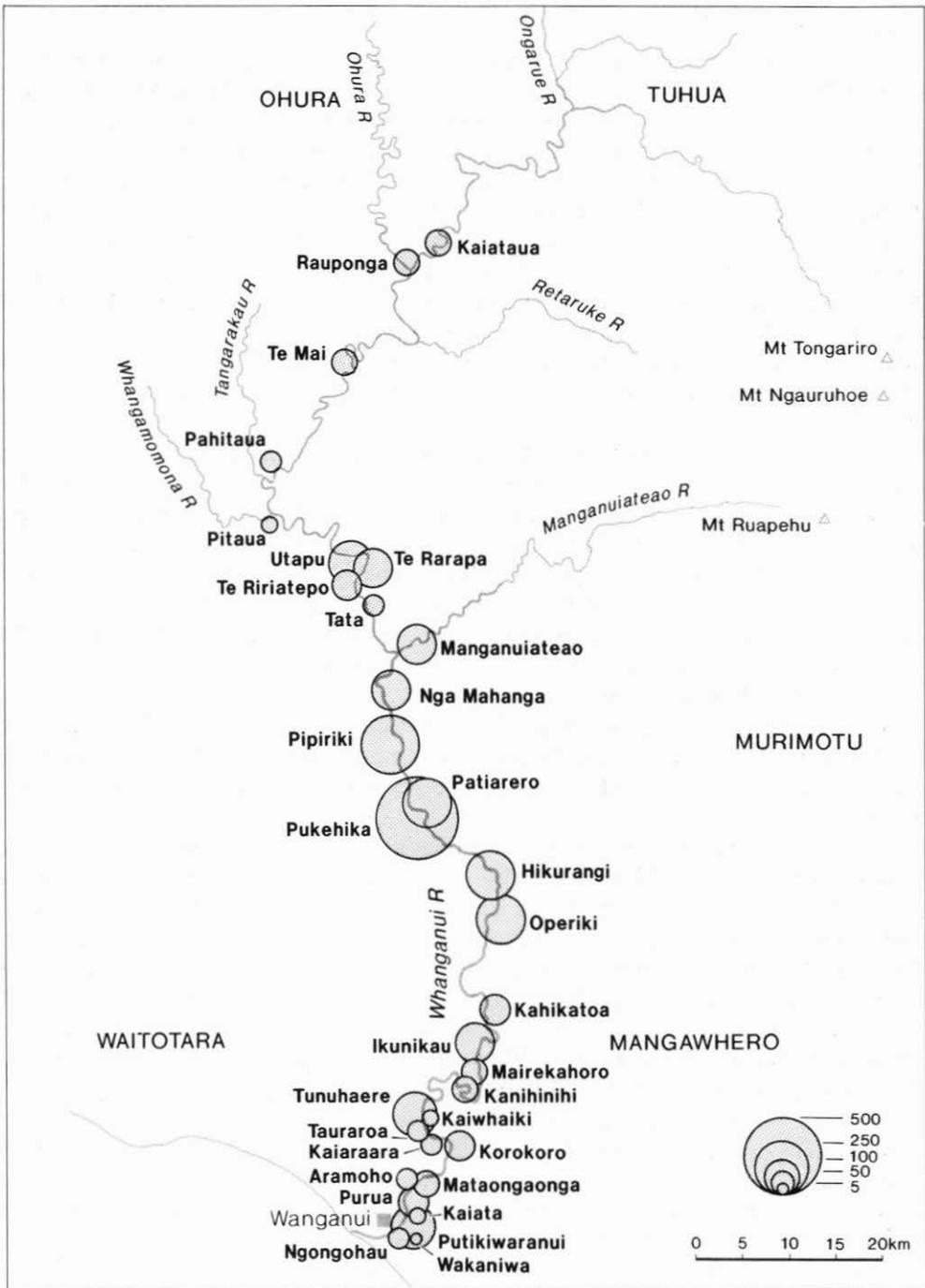


Figure 2: Map of distribution of population in 1843.

One such area was Tuhua, in the upper catchment of the Whanganui River, which Taylor did not visit until 1847.

In 1846 Taylor produced a table headed "Population of the Whanganui River 1846" (Taylor Ms Papers 254, Vol. 3)(Table 2). The 1846 census was not a completely new enumeration of the population; it was a revision based on the 1843 census. Figures for some places were updated, but not all. There were, for example, significant falls in the size of the populations of Operiki and Te Rarapa compared with those reported in 1843. The figure for Putikiwaranui is higher than in 1843 but this is largely because figures for three neighbouring settlements, reported separately in 1843, were combined in the 1846 census. Coverage of more remote areas was still incomplete. In 1846 Taylor (Journal 20 June 1846) took a census at Te Arero on the Manganuiateao River. Moving on, he visited Otaki and Tuwhare. Tuwhare was described as "a small village not containing more than 50 men and women" (Taylor Journal 22 June 1846). While Te Arero and Otaki both figure in the 1846 census, Tuwhare does not. Despite these omissions, the census was remarkably thorough for this period.

Taylor did occasional counts at particular settlements in later years. In April 1847 he reported taking censuses at some settlements on the upper river but the results are not included in his journals. In 1853 he reported that the population of Utapu had "decreased nearly 50 in number since I took their census in 1843" (Taylor Journal 30 October 1853).

The 1843 census produced a total of 3,243 for the population of the Whanganui and Manganuiateao river valleys, and the 1846 census a total of 3,240. These figures are accepted as indicating that the population in the mid 1840s exceeded 3,240 people. The results of later censuses suggest that it was a good first approximation.

In 1847, W. Ronaldson produced a "List of Pas with their chiefs etc on the river Wanganui". The list details settlements, chiefs and hapū as far upriver as Tieke and is dated 12 November 1847. It also contains some rounded estimates (Table 3) of population for most of the settlements recorded but these are generally very much higher than figures reported in the censuses.

In 1851 Hamilton, Resident Magistrate at Wanganui, reported the results of a census done over the summers of 1849–50 and 1850–51 by Deighton, Court Interpreter (Resident Magistrate to Provincial Superintendent, 22 February 1851, NM 8 1851/284). This census had covered the river as far north as Patiarero. At each settlement, with two exceptions, the names of the inhabitants were recorded. Hamilton also reported census records he had obtained from the Rev. William Kirk of the Wesleyan Missionary Society which covered Pipiriki and the areas above there. Most of the data were collected by Kirk but Tuhua was covered by Thomas Skinner from the Wesleyan Mission at Lake Rotoaira (Walton 1987). The Wesleyan mission on the Whanganui River was based at Ohinemutu (Te Autemutu, Te Aromarama) just above Pipiriki and was maintained from 1849 to 1852.

Hamilton reported a population of 3,374 (Table 4, Fig. 3) but thought that there were some uncertainties in the data. He suggested that the Wesleyan Mission's census was "somewhat under the true number as only the principal paha seem to have been visited and there are always many people away at the little outsettlements". This does not seem to be a valid conclusion as the census contains figures for most settlements known from other sources. On the upper river, neither Pitaua nor Te Mai are listed but both seem to have been abandoned about this time so their absence from the list may reflect changes in the settlement pattern rather than deficiencies in the census. There are other differences but these reflect changes which are known to have taken place since Taylor's 1846 census,

including the return of some people from the Wellington area after several years' absence. This movement is further discussed below.

TABLE 2

Population of the Whanganui River valley in 1846

	Male	Female	Total
Kaiatawa	30	29	59
Rauponga	30	23	53
Te Mai	25	23	48
Pahitaua	19	17	36
Pitawa	10	10	20
Te Rarapa	45	39	84
Utapu	78	68	146
Te Ririapero	44	44	88
Tata	20	16	36
Manganuiateao (Te Arero)	60	40	100
Manganuiateao (Otaki)	10	10	20
Whakaaumoe	13	14	27
Nga Mahanga	48	40	88
Rangitauhau	19	16	35
Pipiriki	143	114	257
Patiarero	135	97	232
Pukehika	289	267	556
Hikurangi	113	88	201
Operiki	81	80	161
Kahikaitoa	42	32	74
Parikino	134	129	263
Kanihinihi	32	26	58
Tunuhaere	89	75	164
Kaiwhaiki	12	10	22
Tauraroa	12	13	25
Kaiaraara	18	15	33
Korokoro	31	36	67
Mataongaonga	23	18	41
Aramoho	20	13	33
Purua	34	29	63
Kaiata	10	11	21
Putikiwaranui	70	59	129
Total			3240

Source: Table headed 'Population of the Whanganui River 1846', Taylor MS papers 254, Vol. 3, Alexander Turnbull Library.



Figure 3: Map of distribution of population in 1849-1850.

TABLE 3

Settlements in the middle and lower Whanganui River valley
and their estimated populations in 1847

Tieke	260
Manganui a te ao	280
Puraroto	40
Pipiriki	600
Moua? ¹	100
Patiarero	400
Wangairau	40
Pukehika	700
Pukehou	200
Tawhitinui	15
Huatahi	20
Kaiwaka	10
Hikurangi	400
Ruapira	20
Operiki and Te Rere	450
Warepakoko	30
Parikino	300
Kanihinihi	100
Kaiwhaiki	-
Tunuhaere	200
Tauraroa	40
Kaiaraara	-
Opiu	-
Upokongaro	-
Waipakura	-
Aramoho	-
Mataongaonga	-
Tutaiheka	-
Putikiwaranui and Ngongohau	150

Source: W. Ronaldson 'List of Pas with their chiefs etc on the River Wanganui', dated 12 November 1847. The list is in a Letterbook held by the Whanganui Regional Museum.

¹ Name and location uncertain.

There is an apparent omission of some of the settlements near Wanganui reported in earlier censuses. Taylor (Journal 1 May, 1 June 1847), however, reported that Aramoho and Tutaehika, the latter "a small Christian pa belonging to Hikurangi", were burnt during the attack on Wanganui in 1847 and it is likely that this episode, together with the sale of land in 1848, accounts for the absence of some settlements. Aramoho and others re-appear in later records. The absence of Kaiwhaiki, however, is inexplicable and must indicate incomplete enumeration.

The phenomenon of people being away at out-settlements requires further discussion. Hamilton explained that the end of the year was "the most unsuitable season for taking the

census, the paha are nearly all deserted and the natives either visiting or scattered over their cultivations". The appearance of 'out-settlements' in the census records, however, indicates that some care was taken to include people at these places. Tupapa, a settlement of 20 people, for example, is described in the census as "a few potato and kumara grounds natives live at Kanihinihi when not at work". It should also be emphasised that Taylor took his census mostly in the winter months when most of the population could be expected to be at their usual residence and his figures are similar to Hamilton's.

Hamilton reported that the Ngati Ruaka of Pukehika refused to give their names but that a head count was carried out. The inhabitants of Tawhitinui also refused to co-operate and an estimate was all that could be obtained. Apart from these instances he noted "the readiness of the others to comply with [Mr Deighton's] requests". He concluded that "From Putiki to Patiarero I think 10 per cent short is the greatest possible amount of error and above Pipiriki 20 per cent". He also reported that "as the names of each individual were obtained in nearly every Pah there can be no error in excess". If the under-enumeration was between 10 and 20 per cent then the censuses reported by Hamilton indicate a population in the range of 3,711 to 4,048.

The lower of these is more likely. When it is considered that Taylor's census did not cover Tuhua (about 150 people), and that there had been a migration to the upper Whanganui from Wellington involving about 80 people, then the differences between the two sets of results narrow significantly.

Fenton's national census of the Maori population (Fenton 1859) reports totals for the 'lower', 'middle', and 'upper' Whanganui and 'tributaries' (Table 5). Although there is room for debate about exactly what area each of these terms covers, the overall figure of 3,587 is of the same order as previous censuses. The source of the Whanganui figures is not specifically identified, but Taylor is one of the two people mentioned as having supplied the figures for this area. Taylor wrote to Fenton that he had "taken the census with very great care, correcting it with previous ones taken at intervals during the last 15 years and I vouch for its correctness" (Fenton 1859: 1). This comment is puzzling as there is no mention in his journal that a new census of the river and its tributaries was undertaken at this time. There are some indications, however, that he was in the practice of continually updating his records of specific places as he travelled around his district. Further information may have come by letter from his teachers in the various settlements.

There is some variation in the proportion of children reported in the various censuses. Taylor's 1843 census recorded 21 percent of the population as children. Children made up 27 percent in Hamilton's census (NM 8 1851/284) in 1851 and 25 percent in the relevant section of Fenton's census. Pool (1991: 65) finds the 1844 Waikato census results acceptable, in which children made up 28 percent of the population. It seems likely that children were under-enumerated in 1843, but that the later censuses achieved better, but not entirely adequate, coverage.

TABLE 4
Population of the Whanganui River valley in 1849-1851

	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
TUHUA					
Matahanea	2	3	1	1	7
Wakaaruamoko ¹	5	6	1	1	13
Taringapupu ¹	6	5	-	-	11
Te Rerenga	20	13		19	52
Papawaka and Otamakahi	15	10		9	34
Rangiahua ¹	20	16		6	42
UPPER RIVER					
Aukopae	14	12	9	6	41
Poukaria	13	8	7	3	31
Rauponga	21	20	7	3	51
Whataroa (on the Ohura)	10	7	2	-	19
Poumanu ¹	13	11	6	3	33
Whakahoro	18	15	3	2	38
Kirikiroa	16	14	7	9	46
Pahitaua	15	14	4	7	40
Te Rarapa	30	36	3	7	76
Utapu	83	78	24	21	206
Okirihau	38	34	14	7	93
MANGANUI A TE AO					
Tuwhare	-	-	-	-	40
Otaki	-	-	-	-	30
Te Arero	-	-	-	-	82
MAIN STREAM					
Whakaaumoe	-	-	-	-	35
Nga Mahanga	-	-	-	-	51
Rangitauoro ¹	-	-	-	-	45
Rangitauhau	8	7	-	-	15
Autumutu	16	17	-	2	35
Pipiriki	102	90	41	24	257
Patiarero	148	123	38	40	349
Pukehika	87	85	78	54	304
Tawhitinui	-	-	-	-	c200
Hikurangi	96	63	24	18	201
Koroniti	73	50	28	16	167
Atene	21	20	14	5	60
Pekepake	14	8	9	6	37
Parikino	77	72	28	25	202
Tupapa	11	5	2	2	20
Kanihiniihi	17	15	8	10	50
Kauarapaua	25	18	12	15	70
Tunuhaere	33	24	18	14	89
Upokongaro	4	2	2	-	8
Waipakura	14	11	8	9	42
Putikiwaranui	58	49	24	21	152
Total					3374

Source: Letter of Hamilton to Provincial Superintendent, 22 February 1851, NM 8 1851/284.

¹ Location not known. Rangitauoro was probably near Puraroto (Ronaldson 1847), and may even be the same settlement.

TABLE 5

Population of the Whanganui River valley in 1857-1858

	A	B	C	D	Total
Lower Wanganui	202	168	75	69	514
Middle Wanganui	964	739	271	236	2210
Upper Wanganui	169	139	63	63	434
Tributaries	164	142	67	56	429
Total					3587

Source: Fenton (1859).

A = Males over 14, B = Females over 14,

C = Males under 14, D = Females under 14.

THE 1860s

There were some counts at individual settlements in the 1860s but only one census covering a larger area. War and the threat of war prompted considerable interest among officials in obtaining accurate estimates of the population. The figures that were generated suggested a Whanganui population of not less than 1,417 and possibly more than 2,250.

The Resident Magistrate, John White, in a report dated 28 November 1862, noted census figures for two settlements ("Report of a visit to the native settlements of the Whanganui River preparatory to the introduction of Sir G. Grey's Native Policy", Resident Magistrate Outward Letterbooks, JC Wanganui 4). The figures are for Parikino which had a population of 152 and Roma, near Patiarero (Hiruharama), which had a population of 60. In the aftermath of the battle of Moutoa Island (14 May 1864), Booth (letter to White 20 August 1864, JC Wanganui 5) reported the number of men each settlement near the front line could muster. The Ngati Hau at Hiruharama could muster 82 men, although some were old, while Kauaeroa could muster 20, Maraekura (location not known) 16, Ranana and Karatia 84, Mokonui (left bank, below Ranana) 20, and Koriniti 54. Using the common missionary practice of multiplying the adult male population by three, 82 men at Hiruharama and 54 at Koriniti would suggest total populations in the order of 250 and 160 respectively; these are in line with earlier figures for settlements on this part of the river.

A full census of 'friendly natives' below Hiruharama (but excluding Kaiwhaiki) was forwarded by White to the Native Minister on 29 December 1864 (JC Wanganui 5). A copy of the census has not been located at National Archives and appears to have been lost. It is likely, however, that the results of this census were used in some publications. Colenso (1868: 416), for example, refers to an 1864 census which returned 1,417 for 'Central Whanganui'. This figure was supplied to him by the Native Minister. This is a credible figure for the population below Hiruharama. A remarkably similar figure turned up in official papers in the late 1860s. An estimate of the Maori population of New Zealand was compiled by the Native Department at the request of Governor Sir G.F. Bowen and the details were reported by him in a despatch dated 17 March 1868 (GBPP 1868/307: 125-9). The schedule is ordered by tribal group and Whanganui was listed as 1,427.

In 1869 a large military force, said by some to be the largest ever assembled on the river (AJHR 1870 A8A: 17), was put together from local Maori to go up the river after Te Kooti's forces. On 7 January 1870 the Resident Magistrate, James Booth, estimated that

there were 750 warriors on the river, of whom some 650–680 would side with the Government while the rest would remain neutral (AJHR 1870 A8A: 23). Booth's figure, if accurate, hints at a population of more than 2,250.

Colenso (1868: 423) listed a Whanganui population of 3,360 in a table of the "Native population" of the North Island. The table appears to have been based on Fenton's census but was "corrected to 1863". A "Return giving the names etc of the tribes of the North Island" was published in 1870. This list suggested a Whanganui population of some 1,700 divided up amongst groups such as Ngati Pamoana (320), Ngati Ruaka (296), Nga Poutama (278), Ngati Hau (200), Patutokotoko (160), Ngati Rongomaitawhiri (84), Nga Paerangi (76) and others (AJHR 1870 A11: 8–9). Groups which lived as far upriver as Utapu were included, but not those beyond.

THE 1870s AND EARLY 1880s

If the census information is taken at face value, it appears that the population increased from 3,243 in 1843 to 3,374 in 1851 and 3,587 in 1858 but fell to 3,360 in 1863. It is, accordingly, necessary to step outside the 1840s and 1850s to identify the longer term trends. The population recorded in the 1874, 1878, and 1881 censuses (Tables 6–8) showed a dramatic decline and it is probable that this trend was already well established by the 1840s and 1850s. The decline is such that it is unlikely to be solely an outcome of the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s. Disease may well have been the single most important factor.

Taylor and others often reported epidemics but their information, though drawing attention to much sickness and many deaths, was imprecise about impact. Taylor (1855: 255) described an epidemic in 1844: "so generally did it prevail, that scarcely an individual, escaped; the poor natives were affected so severely, that many of them were cut off" (see also Taylor Journal 28 November 1844). Influenza was widespread in the area in 1847 (Taylor Journal 1 December 1847). On 11 December Taylor indicated that he could not "recollect so sickly a season", while on 30 December he added that the epidemic had already killed many (Journal 30 December 1847). In his half yearly report to the Church Missionary Society to 30 June 1848, he stated that "we have had much sickness from the general prevalence of the influenza" (Taylor MS 254, Vol. 3). Dr George Rees, in his 1851 Report on the Medical Topography of the Wanganui District (GBPP 1854/1779: 29), noted the presence of influenza and whooping-cough and, for the first time in the winter of 1850, mumps. In a letter dated 17 May 1854, Taylor reported that there was much sickness and that measles was present (Taylor MS 254, Vol. 2). Later that year, he again noted much sickness and many deaths (Letter dated 15 September 1854, Taylor MS 254, Vol. 2).

Pool (1991: 75) suggests that the Maori population of New Zealand was in rapid decline from about 1840 through to about 1878. The data are incomplete and inadequate in many ways, but the decline nationally may have been as high as -1.5 per cent a year. Thereafter the rate of decline slowed and turned into slow growth in about the last decade of the century. The Whanganui data broadly conform to this model, once allowance is made for the uncertainties in the various figures. Assuming a population of 3,700 in about 1850, a decline of the order of 1.5 per cent per year would reduce the population to about 2,400 by 1878.

In Tables 6 to 8 data from various census districts have been re-compiled so that the information relates solely to the Whanganui River and tributaries. The population was much smaller in the late 1870s than three decades before. Some 2,090 people were reported in the

1878 census (Fig. 4), probably the most reliable of the three. Patiarero (Hiruharama) was the largest settlement, a position it had assumed in the 1850s after the abandonment of Pukehika. There are, however, some significant deficiencies in these three sets of census records. These were mainly caused by people being temporarily absent from the area.

TABLE 6

Population of the Whanganui River valley in 1874

Whatawhataarongi ¹	14
Patupatu ¹	12
Matahanea	18
Rurumaiaakatea	24
Teoteo	35
Koiro	68
Tawata	44
Whakahoro	18
Kirikiroa	17
Okirihau to Puketapu	340
Manganuiateao ²	109
Papoaka	36
Pipiriki	118
Hiruharama	252
Kauaeroa	24
Tawhitinui	37
Ranana and Te Hoko	150
Matahiwi to Kawana	52
Te Taniwha ¹	53
Karatia	76
Koriniti	143
Atene	62
Parikino	81
Kapukapu and Pungarehu	41
Kanihinihi	34
Kapuni	10
Potakataka	11
Raorikia	63
Rakato	23
Kaiwhaiki ³	50
Upokongaro no.1	18
Upokongaro no.2	22
Kukuta	21
Aramaho	56
Putiki	85
Total	2217

Source: AJHR 1874 G7: 16-17.

¹ Exact location not known.

² This figure covered the settlements of Waikurekure, Te Papatupu, Tarere, Teureiti, Parihi and Kawakawa (MA WG 4/2—Maori census). The largest of these settlements was Te Papatupu with 29.

³ This settlement apparently marked the boundary between the Wanganui and Upper Whanganui (River) Districts and was listed in the tables twice, with different totals.

TABLE 7

Population of the Whanganui River valley in 1878

Te Wakarewa Tuhua ¹	27
Patupatu ¹	14
Matahanea	12
Taumaranui	22
Rurumaiakatea	24
Teoteo	57
Whenuatere	8
Koiro	97
Tawata	30
Maraekowhai and Whakahoro	44
Kirikiroa	19
Tahereaka	4
Puketapu	22
Tukipo and Utapu	132
Tieke	22
Manganuiateao	
Waikurekure	18
Papatupu	41
Tarere	27
Teureiti ¹	13
Parihi ¹	15
Kawakawa	26
Papoaka	20
Pipiriki	77
Hiruharama	260
Kauaeroa	24
Tawhitinui	36
Ranana	138
Matahiwi	50
Karatia	79
Te Taniwha ¹	50
Koriniti	132
Atene	62
Parikino	90
Pungarehu	26
Kapukapu	36
Punakiwhitu	15
Kanihinihi	37
Raorikia	52
Rakato	27
Kaiwhaiki	45
Waipakura	20
Aramaho	24
Awarua and Putiki	116
Total	2090

Source: AJHR 1878 G2: 18-19.

¹ Exact location not known. Te Taniwha was possibly below Karatia in the vicinity of the Ruapirau Stream confluence.

TABLE 8

Population of the Whanganui River valley in 1881

Whakarewa ¹	4
Patupatu ¹	12
Matahanea	20
Taumaranui	17
Teoteo	33
Whenuatere	19
Koiro	45
Tawata	28
Maraekowhai	28
Kirikiroa	17
Puketapu	21
Tukipo and Utapu	77
Tieke	21
Manganuiateao	
Waikurekure	17
Papatupu	40
Tarere	26
Teureiti ¹	13
Parihi ¹	15
Kawakawa	23
Papoaka	18
Pipiriki	73
Hiruharama	152
Kauaeroa	19
Tawhitinui ¹	35
Ranana and Te Hoko	83
Matahiwi, Karatia ²	11
Te Taniwha ¹ , Karatia	41
Karatia	53
Koriniti	93
Atene	58
Parikino	35
Pungarehu, Parikino ²	6
Kapukapu, Parikino	10
Punakiwhitu	3
Kanihinihi	14
Raorikia	9
Rakato	25
Kaiwhaiki	18
Waipakura	14
Aramaho	26
Putiki	60
Total	1332

Source: AJHR 1881 G3: 17-18.

¹ Exact location not known.

² The 1881 census departed from earlier practice by listing groups primarily by tribe instead of by settlement. Some settlements were accordingly listed more than once.

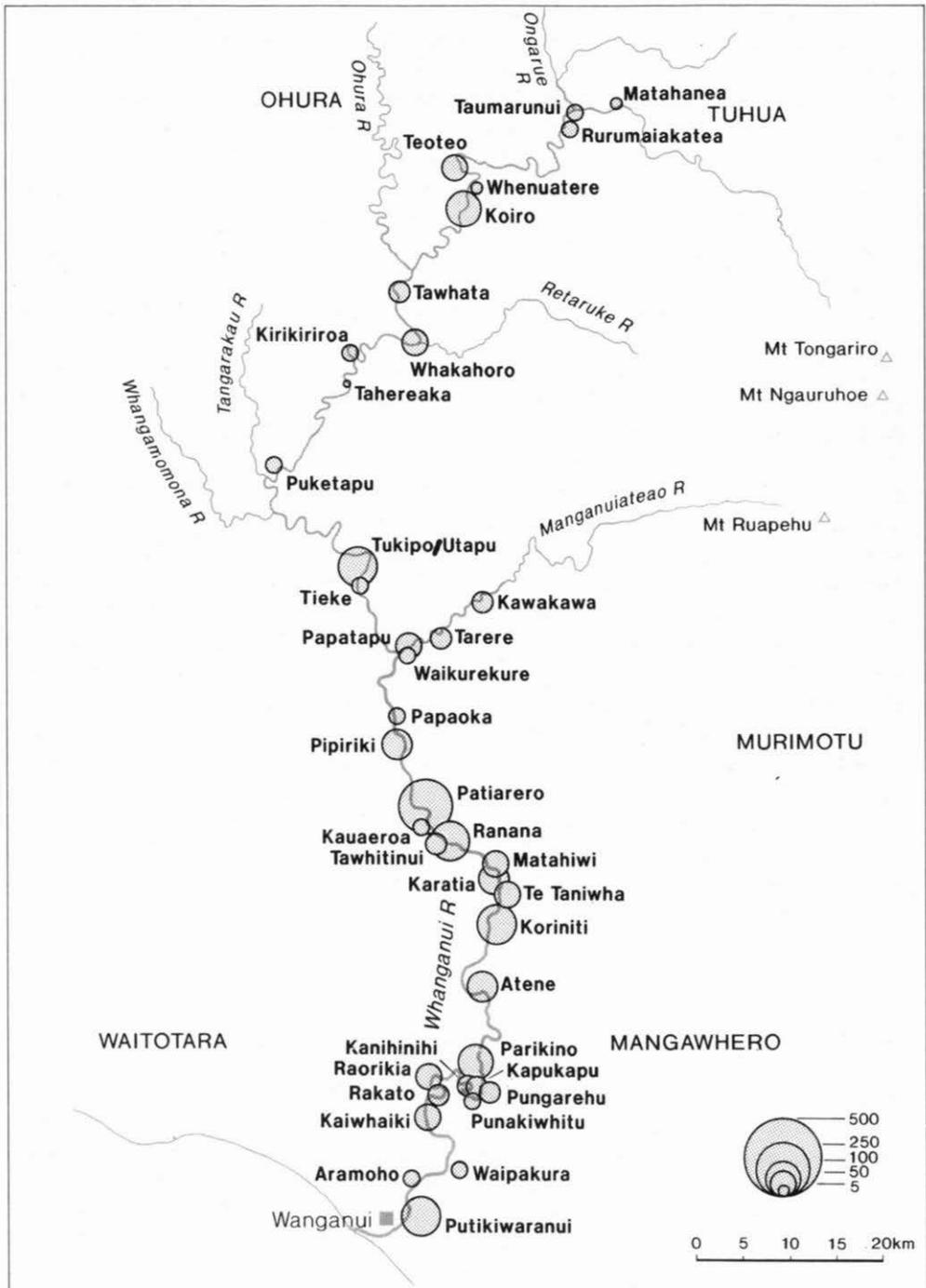


Figure 4: Map of distribution of population in 1878.

The 1874 census as published (AJHR 1874 G7: 16–17) was compiled by the Resident Magistrate, Richard Woon, from lists naming the people resident at each of the settlements (MA Wanganui 4/2). Two settlements, Okirihau and Utapu, were not covered and Woon supplied an estimate. The published table gives a figure of 340 for the settlements between Okirihau and Puketapu. An estimated 130 people were at home and an estimated 260 were temporarily absent in Waikato or Taranaki. The estimate of 340 was apparently also intended to cover the 25 people recorded as being at Puketapu (MA Wanganui 4/2). Nothing in earlier censuses, or in the 1878 census, however, indicates that the population was as high in the vicinity of Okirihau and Utapu as was estimated in 1874.

Although the problem of temporarily absent people could not be entirely overcome, Woon stated that the 1878 census was more correct than that of 1874. He suggested that, owing to the adoption of a system of registration, the census returns would become more and more reliable in the future (AJHR 1878 G2: 7).

The 1878 census lists 126 people from Whanganui hapū living at Murimotu. This was largely a recent development. The area was sparsely inhabited in the 1840s and 1850s but the land in this vicinity was useful for grazing sheep and by 1860 it had become a source of dispute between various claimants. Taylor travelled to Murimotu in March 1860 for a meeting between the claimants to the area and in 1874 it was noted that dispute with Ngati Kahungunu over Murimotu was near resolution and that some 30 miles of road had been built connecting the river settlements with the Murimotu plains (AJHR 1874 G2: 14,16). This opened up the area for further settlement. Kerry-Nicholls (1884: 254) in 1883 noted “the presence of several hapus of one of the principal Whanganui tribes” at Murimotu.

The 1881 census produced a figure substantially less than that reported just three years earlier in 1878. The Resident Magistrate, James Booth, indicated that 497 people were absent from his district, including 175 at Murimotu and 150 at Parihaka (AJHR 1881 G3: 8). This is only a partial explanation of the smaller numbers, as 126 people were already recorded as being at Murimotu in 1878 and this accounts for most of the people reported there in 1881. The absence of large numbers of people usually residing on the Whanganui was again a problem for enumerators in the 1886 census (AJHR 1886 G12: 12). Given the uncertainties, the 1874, 1878, and 1881 census figures have to be seen as only roughly approximating the size and distribution of the population.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

A number of conclusions may be made about population distribution in the 1840s and 1850s by analysing the various census records. Settlements have been located using Taylor's detailed maps of the course of the Whanganui River (Notebook 23, Taylor Collection, Sir George Grey Collection, Auckland City Library). On these maps he marked and named settlements and other points of interest. Other sources used were Allen (1864), Downes (1921), Mead (1977), and nineteenth century survey plans held by the Department of Survey and Land Information. It is evident there was some settlement almost the entire way along the navigable part of the river. Travel by canoe was possible from the mouth of the river to the Ongarue confluence (about 150 miles) and, with some effort in suitable conditions, to Matahanea, a few miles further up. Taylor (map in Journal 15-16 April 1847) refers to Matahanea as the “extreme point to which canoes go”. A voyage down river could be accomplished in as little as three days but an ascent required ten days to a fortnight (Swainson 1853: 118).

The population was very unevenly distributed along the river. In 1843 the average density along the navigable part of the river was about 20 people per mile of river. This figure obscures considerable variation. On the basis of population density, four sections of the river may be identified: from the river mouth to Kawhaiki (an average of 29 people per mile), Kawhaiki to Operiki (an average of 17 people per mile), Operiki to Te Rarapa (an average of 62 people per mile), and from Te Rarapa to Taumararua (an average of 3 people per mile) (Fig. 5). These sections may be referred to as the river mouth, lower, middle, and upper river respectively. Most of the population lived within four or five days' journey upriver from the coast (about 75 miles, or as far as Te Rarapa—half the navigable part of the river). Beyond that the population was small and the settlements scattered.

There was a very marked concentration of population between Operiki and Te Rarapa. Pukehika, the largest settlement in the mid 1840s, was very much larger than any of the others. With another large settlement, Patiarero, just across the river there was a sizeable concentration of population at this one point on the river. The unusual size of Pukehika was probably a response to the uncertain conditions of the 1820s and 1830s when the risk of war caused people to group together. This period saw parties from the northern North Island armed with muskets raiding the southern part of the island and forcing their way up the Whanganui River. Later, groups from Waikato and Taranaki migrated south to settle on the Kapiti coast creating a new set of alliances in the region. In the new conditions, the

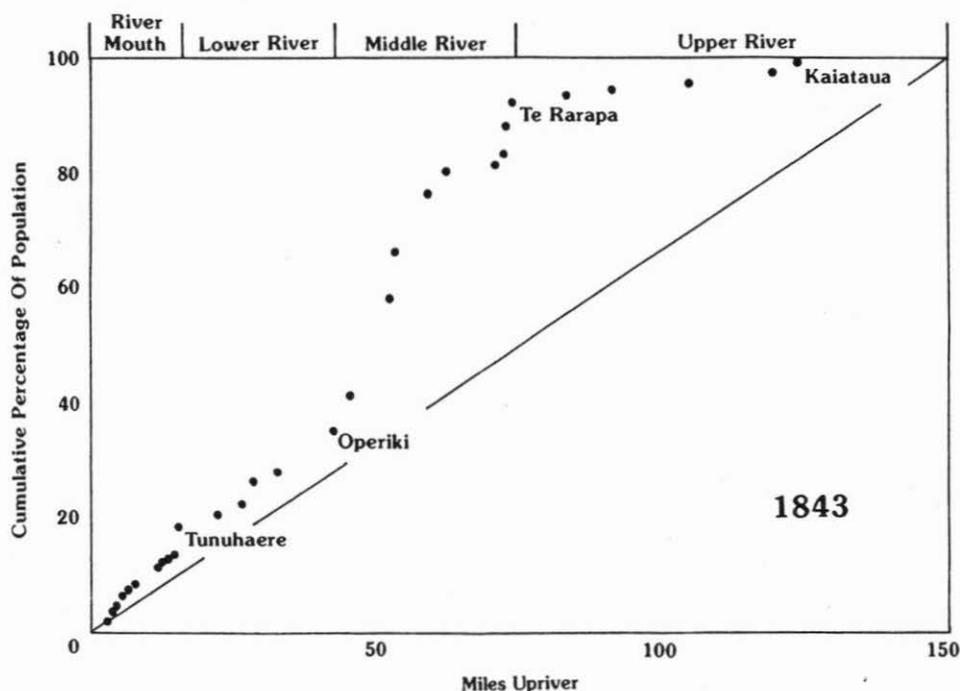


Figure 5: Cumulative percentage graph showing different densities along different sections of the Whanganui River in 1843.

settlements at the Whanganui River mouth were vulnerable, and Putikiwaranui was sacked in the 1830s (Taylor 1855: 326), but upriver the topography and local knowledge usually favoured the defenders. In the more peaceful conditions after 1848, the inhabitants of Pukehika soon moved away to new settlements nearby. This may be because, like some other pā, the site had been chosen primarily for its defensive potential and, unlike settlements such as Patiarero and Pipiriki, it lacked level arable ground in the vicinity. This made it increasingly ill-adapted to the more peaceful conditions of the late 1840s.

By the 1870s, Whanganui Maori were increasingly being integrated into the wider economy, both as agricultural producers and as casual labourers. The New Zealand Wars of the 1860s had disrupted agricultural production in many areas of the country but there was a revival of production in the Whanganui district in the 1870s. During this period also there was a massive public works programme and the economy generally was expanding rapidly. In the 1880s, however, the economy was in depression and there was widespread unemployment. This, together with the work of the Native Land Court, led to an increasing loss of control of land and resources by the Whanganui tribes, with consequences for patterns of residence.

By 1878 the average density overall had fallen to 13 people per mile of river. The river mouth and lower sections defined in terms of the 1843 situation had become virtually indistinguishable in 1878 and contained average densities of 14 and 13 persons per mile respectively (Fig. 6). The middle section still had the greatest average density with 31 persons per mile, about half what it had been 35 years earlier. The upper river had an average density of about 4 per mile. This was higher than in 1843 because, as already described, some groups usually resident there had been absent in 1843.

THE SETTLEMENTS

The settlements will now be considered in more detail, focusing on the number of inhabitants, the nature of the settlements, and changes over time. The settlements are discussed according to the four sections defined earlier, i.e., the upper river, the middle river, the lower river, and the river mouth. Settlements on tributaries such as the Manganuiateao River are discussed first.

TRIBUTARIES

The most northerly cluster of population in the Whanganui River catchment centred on the Taringamotu River Valley in the area known as Tuhua. Matahanea, a settlement on the Whanganui River above the Ongarue confluence, was also usually considered to lie within the Tuhua district. Tuhua was an important area because, along with the Manganuiateao River Valley, it was one of only two areas in the Whanganui catchment which had sizeable populations but were not along the banks of the Whanganui River itself. The presence of small populations in some other areas was indicated by occasional references to them, but they were off the main routes for travellers. Taylor found a man and two women at a settlement on the Ohura River but most of the inhabitants were away at a hui (gathering) at Te Rarapa (Taylor Journal 28 May 1849). Hochstetter (1867: 351–2) visited a small settlement on the right bank of the Ohura River in April 1859. It was 40 miles from the confluence with the Whanganui River. There is little written evidence of permanent settlement along the other major tributaries such as the Retaruke, Tangarakau or

Whangamomona Rivers although there is a suggestion that some groups took refuge in the Tangarakau from the wars in the 1860s and early 1870s.

Information about Tuhua is sketchy because the area was visited infrequently by missionaries and travellers. On 23 October 1844, Angas had visited Papawaka (he referred to it as Tuhua): "this place is famous for its potatoes, which are grown in the sandy pumice soil; and extensive potato-grounds occur all through this district" (Angas 1847 (II): 101). He went on to Te Rerenga which consisted of "a few native houses, built on the summit of a steep hill of pumice" (Angas 1847 (II): 104). There are no figures for the Tuhua district in Taylor's 1843 and 1846 censuses. He first visited the area in 1847 when he estimated the population was about 140. He called at Papawaka and Te Rerenga, two of the largest settlements, but noted that the population in the central parts of the North Island was very scattered. The population of Papawaka had been involved in the taua (war party) which was at Wanganui in 1846 (Taylor Journal 18 April 1847). Hochstetter (1867: 356) visited Petania (formerly Te Rerenga) on 14 April 1859.

The Wesleyan Mission's census, conducted by Thomas Skinner of the Rotoaira Station (Skinner Journal) and compiled by Hamilton (NM 8 1851/284), indicated a population of about 160 in the Tuhua district (Table 3). Of the settlements named in the census only Papawaka, Te Rerenga and Otamakahi figure regularly in travellers' accounts. Skinner visited Te Rerenga on 8 December 1849 but found the people had gone to Otamakahi. Taylor visited Otamakahi in 1850, 1851, and 1852 (Mead 1966: 158, 172, 183).

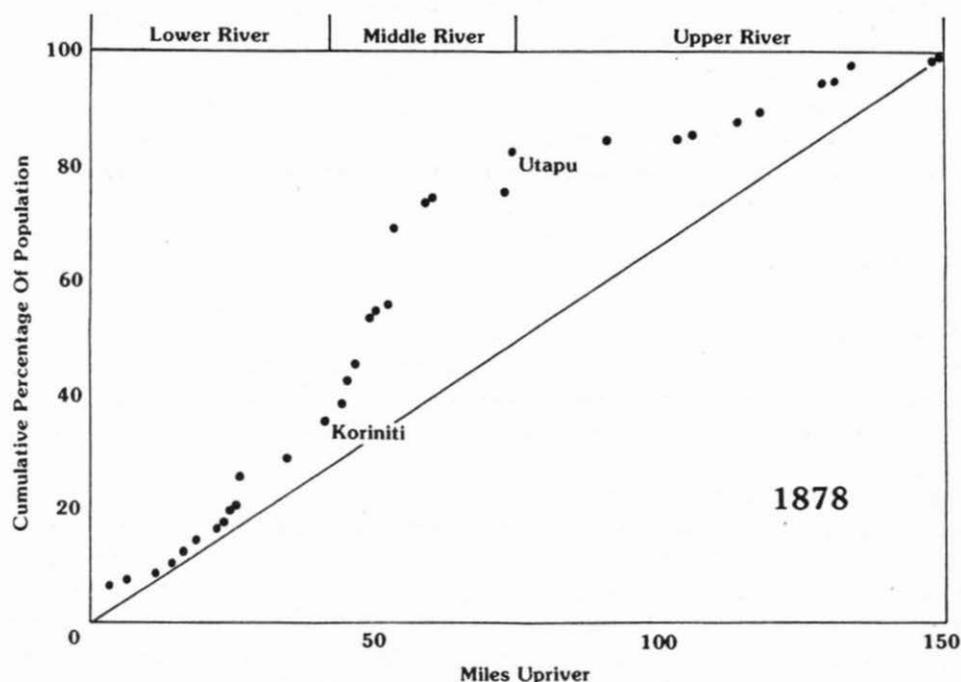


Figure 6: Cumulative percentage graph showing different densities along different sections of the Whanganui River in 1878.

The Manganuiateao River had a population comparable with that of Tuhua. In the 1840s and 1850s, the main settlement there was Te Arero. It consisted of "about half a dozen hovels" (Taylor Journal 30 October 1843) and was "situated on a table considerably elevated above the river surrounded by wooded hills" (Baker Diary 7 November 1848). In 1846 Taylor (Journal 19 June 1846) described Te Arero as "the grand stronghold of heathenism in this part and most entirely inhabited by the worst characters of the Patutokotoko tribe, they are notorious thieves, fighters and still observe the native religion".

Otaki (later Hamaria) was founded when 38 people, members of Taylor's congregation, moved from Te Arero to establish their own settlement nearby, which they called Otaki (Taylor Journal 19-20 June 1846). The settlement was situated on flat ground high above the river. Soon after its establishment, Taylor wrote that it consisted of a "small kainga where there are a few houses and considerable cultivations" (Taylor 22 June 1846). He (Sketchbook) drew two sketches of Otaki in 1852: one showed it sitting high above the river and the other showed it from the hill behind. The latter (Fig. 7) depicts a small settlement with a large church, a number of houses, raised storehouses and smaller buildings, some surrounded by fences of stakes.

Tuwhare had fewer than 50 inhabitants in 1846 (Taylor Journal 22 June 1844) and about 10 in 1852 (Taylor Journal 22 January 1852).

By the 1880s the location of settlements in the Manganuiateao River valley had changed considerably. Kerry-Nicholls (1884: 271) noted that "the whares and the cultivations of the natives, stretching for miles along the course of the stream, appeared dotted about in the most picturesque way". This is confirmed by the census records and is depicted on a "Topographical Plan of Rarete Survey District" (S.O.12565) by J.A. Thorpe dated June 1886. A more detailed survey plan completed in 1891 (S.O. 1406) shows the pattern more clearly. Kerry-Nicholls (1884: 271-277) stayed at Ruakaka during his visit but this settlement is not listed in the 1874, 1878, or 1881 censuses.

In the late 1850s Taylor estimated that a population of 429 lived along the tributaries of the Whanganui River (Fenton 1859). Tuhua and the Manganuiateao River would account for most of this number, leaving about 130 people unaccounted for and perhaps scattered in such places as the Ohura River Valley.

THE UPPER RIVER

The upper river consists of two topographically distinct areas: a continuous series of deep and winding gorges to the south, and more open country to the north. There was a small population in the gorges, where there was limited level land high above the river, but most of the population lived in the vicinity of the Retaruke confluence or above it, where the valley was more open.

Fewer people lived on the upper river in 1843 than in previous decades. Part of the population had left some years before to join Te Rauparaha in the Wellington area and had been assigned land in the Hutt Valley. The population recorded by Taylor on the upper Whanganui in 1843 and 1846 was about 200 people. Kaiataua was the settlement furthest upstream in 1843 (Selwyn 1847: entry dated 18 November 1843). In 1846, however, groups such as Ngati Rangatahi were displaced from the Hutt Valley (Wards 1968: 218, 226-7, 248) and began to return to their former homes on the upper Whanganui.

On 28 September 1846 Taylor recorded in his journal that Mamaku had passed through Wanganui on his way north. He was accompanied by about 16 men and a similar number of women and children. Mamaku, a noted Whanganui chief, had been involved in the

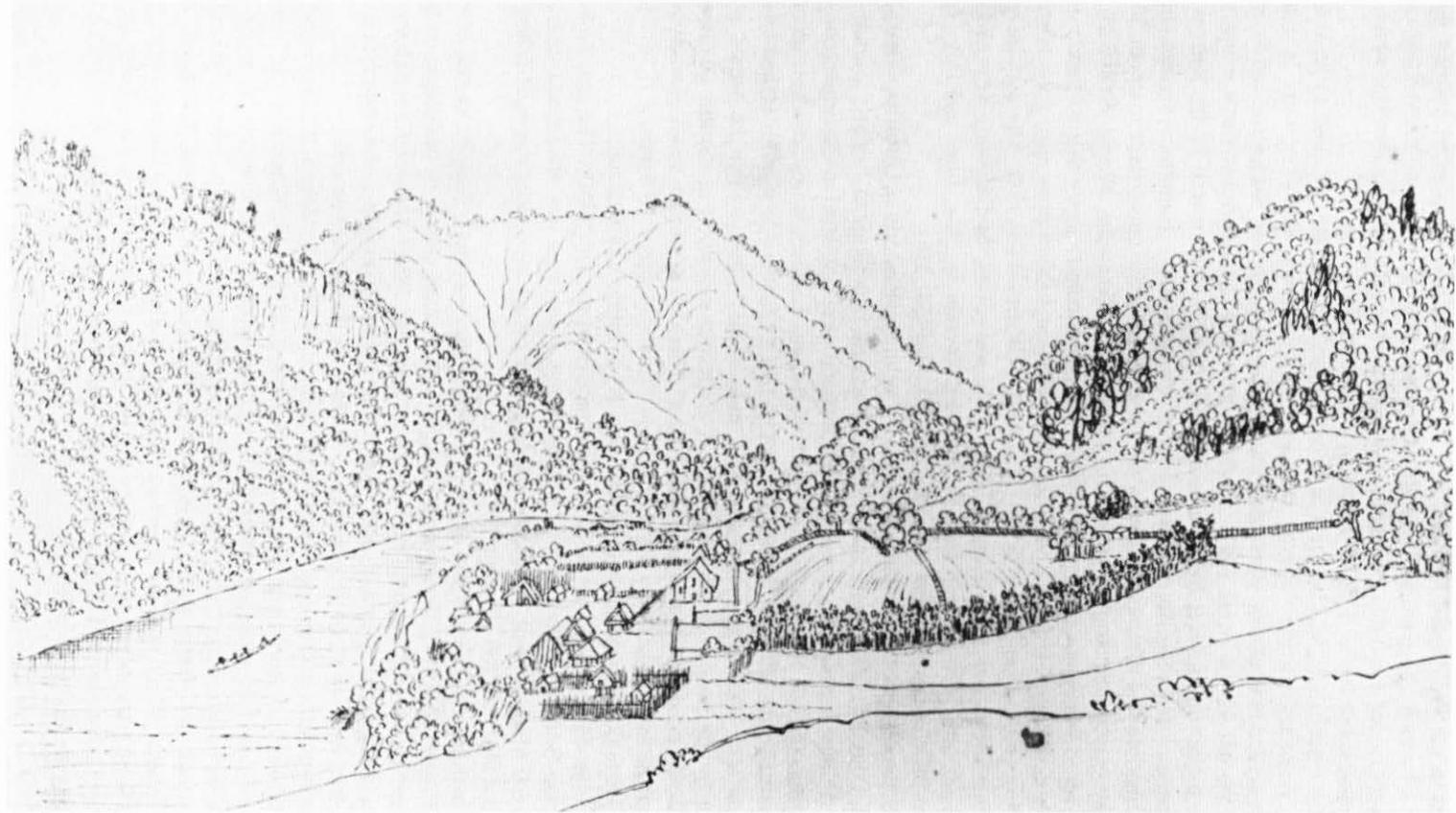


Figure 7: Richard Taylor, 1805–73. Hamaria, 21 January 1852. In Sketchbook 1839–1865 p.150. Alexander Turnbull Library. Reference F50745+.

hostilities in the Wellington area and had led the attack on an advanced military post at Boulcott's Farm in the Hutt on 16 May 1846. The following year, while travelling on the upper river, Taylor noted that "most of his [Mamaku's] people are from the Hutt which they were compelled to leave" (Taylor Journal 14 April 1847).

Mamaku established his residence at Whakahoro. Te Oro, who claimed to have killed Colonel Wakefield in the 'Wairau massacre' and who was the chief next in rank to Mamaku, settled at Poukaria. Other settlements were established at Kirikiriroa and Pounamu (Taylor Journal 12-14 April 1847). Poukaria was now the settlement furthest upstream, although higher up "several fresh cultivations [had] been commenced by the natives who had returned ... from the Hutt" (Taylor Journal 15 April 1847). Hamilton's figures suggest about 80 people had returned, boosting the population on the upper river to about 300.

Mamaku played a leading role in raising a force, 150-200 strong (Wards 1968: 323), that came down to Wanganui in October 1846. He was particularly angry that a relative of his, Matini Ruta (Martin Luther) Te Wareaitu, had been caught with arms during the hostilities in the south and had been hung by the Government (Wards 1968: 324). Although there was no fighting in October 1846, a much larger force was raised the following year and there was fighting around Wanganui for two and a half months in May, June, and July. Taylor estimated there were 600 men with the taua (Wards 1968: 336).

In 1850, the settlements of Pitaua, Mataiwhetu, Pahitaua, Kirikiriroa, Owairua, Whakahoro, Tawhata, Poumanu, Rauponga, and Te Rakura were all mentioned in Taylor's journal. Four of these (Pitaua, Mataiwhetu, Owairua and Tawhata) were not listed in the census compiled by Hamilton (NM 8 1851/284). Both Mataiwhetu and Tawhata were, however, identified as new settlements. During this trip, Taylor (Journal 29 January 1850) also visited Otaahua where the land was being cultivated by a man from Pipiriki so that he would not be forgotten by the people of the area. This is a specific indication of the kin ties between people living on different sections of the river. There were further small changes to the settlement pattern in the early 1850s. In 1854, Taylor (Journal 17 January 1854) "found about a [dozen] men, women and children" at Nga Huinga (Taumarānui).

Warfare brought changes to the settlement pattern in the late 1850s. The war broke out over a plan to build a flour mill at Maraekowhai. Rauponga was abandoned during the fighting and Maraekowhai, which became Mamaku's chief residence, was established soon after peace was restored (Walton 1987).

Few places are described in any detail in contemporary accounts. Taylor's sketch of Pitaua dated 10 April 1847 (Fig. 8) shows a clearing with a small cluster of buildings, including houses and raised storehouses. He (Journal 11 October 1862) described Te Rakura (also known as Aukopae or Arimatia) as a "pretty little kainga" consisting of a church and 12 or more houses laid out to form a rectangle. There were graves at one end.

Some settlements in the gorges attracted particular attention because access from the river was up a ladder. A number of writers have described 'ladder pā' (Wakefield 1845 (II): 89; Swainson 1853: 119; Crawford 1880: 106). Maclean wrote of "the inaccessible situation of many of their pas, only to be approached by ladders up the steep sides of precipices" (Cowan 1940: 19). Pitaua (Taylor Journal 1845), Pahitaua (Taylor Journal 1843) and Te Mai (Taylor Journal 1847) were all ladder pā. Such pā were also found on other sections of the river but were perhaps most characteristic of the gorges between Pipiriki and Pahitaua. Nga Mahanga (Taylor Journal February 1848) and Tata (Wakefield 1845 (II): 90-91) were other settlements identified as ladder pā.



Figure 8: Richard Taylor, 1805-73. Pitaua, 10 April 1847. Ink. In Sketchbook 1839-65 p.87. Alexander Turnbull Library. Reference F50602+.

THE MIDDLE RIVER

Pipiriki provides a topographical break in the Middle River. Above Pipiriki the river flows through gorges but below it the valleys gradually open up. There is considerable flat or gently sloping land above the gorges between Pipiriki and Utapu and also above the Manganuiateao River Valley.

Taylor (Journal 21 November 1843) described Te Rarapa as "a considerable pa". Te Rarapa was situated in the midst of an old karaka grove and beneath the trees stood "their old fashioned whares and watas fantastically ornamented with grotesque carvings and kokowai" (Taylor Journal 14 January 1854).

Utapu was "a considerable pa when compared with those higher up" (Taylor Journal 21 November 1843). Like Te Rarapa, it was situated in a grove of karaka trees (Taylor Journal 21 November 1843; Brassey Diary 10 May 1850). Taylor (Journal 21 November 1843) also noticed several "curiously carved watas and one lofty monument to the dead". In October 1853, there was a large acreage planted in wheat on the sloping ground around the settlement (Taylor Journal 28 October 1853). When he visited Utapu five years later, Taylor remarked that "the place is not half the size" it was previously: the inhabitants were papists. Some were involved in the current fighting upriver and others had migrated to Wellington (Taylor Journal 11 December 1858).

Wakefield visited Tieke in 1841 and described it as a large settlement (Wakefield 1845 (II): 91). Tieke is not listed in Taylor's censuses of 1843 and 1846 but both list Te Ririatope, a settlement directly opposite Tieke. Hamilton's census (NM 8 1851/284) has no listing for Te Ririatope but lists Okirihau, which is at Tieke. Te Ririatope had a population of 88 in 1846 and Okirihau is shown in the Government census as having a population of 93. It is likely that these entries all refer to one group of people and reflect changes in settlement. A sketch by Crawford in 1861 of "Okiri[h]au formerly Tieke" showed houses within a fence on a headland (Crawford Sketchbook: 40). While most other groups were moving out of pā by the 1850s, this community continued to occupy a fortified position.

Little is known of the settlements in the gorges immediately above Pipiriki. A sketch of Nga Mahanga by Taylor (Sketchbook) dated 28 February 1848 depicted buildings on the top of a cliff and the river far below. Rangitautahi was described as "a small village perched on a spot of level ground some 100 feet above the river" (Taylor Journal 8 November 1848). In January 1850 taro, kūmara, melons, pumpkins and peaches were being grown in the settlements just to the north of Pipiriki (Taylor Journal 11 January 1850). A Wesleyan Mission Station was established at Ohinemutu (Te Autemutu, Te Aromarama) in 1848 but was closed in 1852, the same year in which a Roman Catholic Mission Station was established at Kauaeroa.

Buller reached Pipiriki on 11 January 1840 and found several villages there (Buller 1878: 75). Wakefield (1845 (II): 83) described Pipiriki in 1841 as "a large stockaded village ...two fortified hills constitute the defences in case of war; but the inhabitants generally reside on the cultivated flat between the two". In 1843 Taylor depicted the place as consisting of eight pā, each of which had its own name (Notebook 23, Taylor Collection). In October 1843, he (Journal 28 October 1843) wrote that he was surprised to find a large pā had been built since his last visit in July. In the census compiled by Hamilton (NM 8 1851/284), Pipiriki was listed as "Pipiriki or Matawera". The latter was the name of one of the eight pā recorded by Taylor. On 3 November 1848, Mary Taylor noted that they had "walked through several pas" at Pipiriki and that "in the evening [they] went to the remainder of the pas" (Taylor MS Papers 254, Vol. 3).

In 1848, a large acreage of wheat was being grown at Pipiriki and discussions were held about building a water-powered flour mill (Taylor Journal 28 February 1848). Construction was finally under way in 1854 (Taylor Journal 16 March 1854).

Crawford visited Pipiriki in 1861 and noted that "the chief settlement is on the right bank but there are extensive cultivations and many dwelling houses on the left bank" (Crawford 1880: 102). Sketches by Crawford and Dr Tuke (Crawford Sketchbook: 30, 31, 36, 60) showed buildings, including potato store-pits and raised store-houses, scattered amongst the fields on the left bank, along with a large flour mill (Fig. 9). The generally peaceful conditions probably contributed to a greater spread of people across the landscape.

Pipiriki was the second largest settlement on the river in 1843. The population declined from 296 in 1843 to 257 in 1846. The results of Taylor's census at Pipiriki on 30 March 1860 were not recorded in his journal but he did comment "in a period of 16 years no increase but an apparent decrease in the population, the number of married couples without children is surprising and the deaths of the women to those of the men" (Taylor Journal 30 March 1860).

Patiarero (Hiruharama or Jerusalem) was situated immediately across the river from Pukehika. Maclean in 1849 noted that it was "delightfully situated within a lovely karaka grove" (Cowan 1940: 45). The inhabitants were Ngati Hau (Ronaldson 1847; NM 8 1851/284; AJHR 1874 G7: 16). Hamilton reported in 1851 that "at Patiarero Pehi's people are improving their cultivation largely" (NM 8 1851/286). This vicinity was the only one to record a large increase in population in the 1840s. It grew from 222 in 1843 to 349 in 1850-51.

By the early 1860s the vicinity was occupied by a number of adjoining, but apparently discrete, settlements. White's report of 28 November 1862 (JC Wanganui 4) noted four settlements: Peterehama, Iuharama [Hiruharama], Ikaroa and Ngakuratawhiti which were "all situated within a circle of a mile and are governed by the old chief Paora Poutini. This is part of the noted chief Pehi's tribe, and therefore some of them are King Natives". In addition, Roma was "about 600 yards below Peterhama". The population of Roma at that time was 60 (31 males and 29 females). Peterehama (Bethlehem) was founded by remnants of Taylor's congregation after the majority became adherents of Roman Catholicism (Taylor Journal 29 March 1862; Mead 1966: 241).

Pukehika was the largest settlement on the river in 1843. The Rev. Henry Williams visited Pukehika on 23 December 1839 and described it as a formidable place (Rogers 1961: 468). Wakefield (1845 (I): 467) attributed the importance of Pukehika to its role as "a mustering place for the Wanganui tribes ... in case of attack". When news that a Ngati Tuwharetoa taua was gathering reached Wanganui in November 1840, a large party went up from the coast (where they were fishing) to rebuild Pukehika's defences (Mason Journal 16 November 1840; see also entry for 16 March 1841). Pukehika was the headquarters of the taua which attacked Wanganui in 1847 (Power 1849: 151). The reputation of the inhabitants was such that Hamilton could write, in 1851, that he considered the Pukehika people "a very bad and turbulent set of chiefs and men" (NM 8 1851/284). However, he also added that they "trade[d] a great deal with Town" and that their cultivations were extensive.

As at Pipiriki, the settlement was made up of a number of different sections, also referred to as 'pa'. Mason (Journal 23 November 1840) noted that Pukehika consisted of "four pas, and three chapels and six to seven hundred natives". In 1841 Wakefield (1845 (I): 467) visited the settlement and found that it was "a very extensive pa or rather a collection of seven or eight detached ones, on a hill at the bend of the river". Taylor, as at Pipiriki, gives most detail. On one of his maps of the river (Notebook 23, Taylor Collection), he depicted



Figure 9: James Coutts Crawford, 1817–89. Pipiriki, Whanganui River, 25 December 1861. In an untitled sketchbook of a trip up the Whanganui River. Alexander Turnbull Library. Reference F69777+.

Pukehika as a settlement composed of twelve named divisions or 'pa'. The maps date to about 1843. Ronaldson's (1847) entry for Pukehika puts that name at the head of a list which contains nine others, seven of which appear, in a recognisable form, in Taylor's list. However, Pukehou, which appeared on Taylor's list as one of the twelve 'pas in Pukehika', appeared as a separate entry on Ronaldson's list. This may indicate that it, at least, was physically discrete. Baker (Diary 1 November 1848) recorded that at Pukehika they "dropped Mr T[aylor] at the lowest pa and proceeded on". Pukehika is, therefore, consistently depicted as consisting of a number of units, and the term 'pa' is used to indicate both the individual components and the whole cluster.

The difference between Mason's four 'pa', Wakefield's seven or eight 'pa', and Taylor's twelve 'pa' cannot be explained, as only three years separate the first observation from the last. It is possible the layout was such that the exact number of divisions was evident only on close inspection. Another, less likely, alternative is that the re-building noted by Mason had resulted in a substantial change in the form of the settlement.

The population of Pukehika was reported as 556 in 1843. The figure was not revised in the 1846 census. Hamilton reported a population of 304 in 1850–1. The pā belonged to Ngati Ruaka (Ronaldson 1847; NM 8 1851/284), the largest tribal group on the river. By 1852, Pukehika had “perhaps only 20 permanent inhabitants”. Its former occupants were “dispersed in little hamlets and cultivations” (Taylor Journal 3 April 1852). The sort of qualities which made Pukehika a favourable place in unsettled times made it unsatisfactory in the conditions which prevailed after 1848, when the settlement of the dispute over the Wanganui purchase was negotiated. Taylor (Journal 3 April 1852) suggested that there were not likely to be “any number residing there unless in time of war as the ascent is very steep”. The population of Pukehika began to disperse in the late 1840s and most people moved to Kauaeroa, Tawhitinui, or Kauika (Ranana). The 1874 census (AJHR 1874 G7: 16) and the 1878 census (AJHR 1878 G2: 19) list Kauaeroa, Tawhitinui, and Ranana as Ngati Ruaka settlements. None of the new settlements was far from Pukehika.

Kauaeroa was situated on river terraces immediately to the south of Pukehika. It is not listed in the census compiled by Hamilton (NM 8 1851/284) but the inhabitants may have been covered in the figure for Pukehika. The settlement was well established by 1852 when it was chosen as the headquarters of the Roman Catholic Mission (see Durie to Provincial Superintendent 27 April 1852, Resident Magistrate Letterbook 1847–1855, Alexander Turnbull Library). In his report of 28 November 1862, White reported that Kauaeroa was “a settlement where the Roman Catholic Mission have built a Church, and all the natives here are members of that Church” (JC Wanganui 4).

Tawhitinui is recorded in Ronaldson’s 1847 list and is noted as a Ngati Ruaka settlement. Ronaldson’s estimates are generally too high but 15 inhabitants at Tawhitinui at that time is probably of the right order. The big increase in population came between the time Ronaldson compiled his list and the time of the Government census in the summer of 1850–51. The inhabitants obstructed the taking of the Government census but an estimate of 200 was recorded. A note on the census records reported that the inhabitants of Tawhitinui “trade with town” and also that there was “a great deal of flax scraped here lately”. In 1851 Hamilton commented that “at Puke[h]ika & Tawhitinui a great deal of produce is raised for Town Consumption; but the natives of these two places do not seem to improve much in character” (NM 8 1851/286). Taylor (Journal 6 August 1852) obviously shared Hamilton’s opinion as he described the inhabitants of Tawhitinui as the “most turbulent natives of the whole river”.

Ronaldson listed an estimated 20 people living at Huatahi in 1847. This is a name associated with the locality around Kauika. After about 1848, people moved away from Pukehika and many settled at Kauika. In 1856 Taylor (Journal 8 September 1856) reported the adoption of a new name, Ranana (London), for the settlement.

On 14 May 1864, a taua drawn largely from settlements above Pipiriki, but including a large contingent from outside the area, was defeated at the battle of Moutoa Island. The taua was going down the river to attack Wanganui but was defeated by a force drawn from the settlements lower down the river. Some months after the battle of Moutoa Island, when Ranana was close to the front line, Booth reported that the original kāinga had been fortified and that three pā had been built on high ground in the vicinity (Booth to Resident Magistrate 8 August 1864, Resident Magistrate Outward Letterbooks, JC Wanganui 5; see also Taylor Journal 27 November 1864). This pattern of placing fortifications on hills above the settlement to protect it is similar to Wakefield’s description of Pipiriki in the early 1840s (Wakefield 1845 (II): 83).

Hikurangi, later known as Karatia (Galatia), occupied a ridge at a bend in the river. Williams described it in 1839 as "a very romantic place in the midst of Karaka trees situated on an eminence" (Rogers 1961: 467). The defences included a "double fence and fighting stages" and canoes were hauled up between the foot of the cliff and a small island in the river (Wakefield 1845 (I): 460). Hikurangi was described by R. Harrison in the *New Zealand Journal* (9 November 1844). His account provides one of the few detailed descriptions of the defences of a Whanganui River pā.

Ikorangi is a large settlement containing, I should think, about 350 souls, men, women and children. It is by far the best fortified pah I have yet seen. The outer fencing is composed of posts, slight, but very close to each other, and about ten feet high. At a distance of about five feet comes the next stockade; this is very strong and of the same height as the outer one. Between this second barrier and a third, similarly constructed as to strength and dimensions, is a deep ditch, in some places natural and in others artificial. The ditch contains a large number of karaka shrubs, thickly planted ...this affording an excellent place of concealment of the besieged; from which they can fire upon an enemy in comparative security. The dark background afforded by these shrubs almost effectively conceals from observation those who may be firing from between the first and second fence.

Hamilton (NM 8 1851/284) in 1851 recorded that Hikurangi was an "old pa strong position" but by then most of the population had shifted from that site to the adjacent river terraces. A sketch by Taylor (Sketchbook) dated 1852 shows a scatter of buildings on the bank opposite Hikurangi, suggesting that, as at Pipiriki, settlement was beginning to sprawl across the landscape. Sketches by Crawford (Sketchbook) dating from 1861 showed a cluster of buildings on a river terrace (Fig. 10) and another showed a church in a prominent site within the settlement. Crawford (1880: 100) noted that the cultivations at Karatia were "extensive, the plough having been brought into use".

The population remained much the same throughout the 1840s: Taylor reported 194 inhabitants in 1843 and Hamilton reported 201 in 1850. Harrison's estimate of 350 must be dismissed as too large, as must Ronaldson's 1847 estimate of 400. The inhabitants were Nga Poutama (Ronaldson 1847) although the Government census of 1851 (NM 8 1851/284) listed them as Nga Poutama and Ngati Hau. The biblical name for the settlement, Karatia (Galatia), dates from about 1850 (Taylor Journal 30 July 1850).

On 25 October 1848, Taylor (Journal) reported that an earthquake had brought down "a large portion of the lofty mountain at the back of Hikurangi ...the pa had a very narrow and providential escape ...as it was, several of their cultivations are deeply buried with the debris".

Operiki was one of the larger settlements on the river. Like most of the others, it was enclosed with karaka trees (Taylor Journal 8 June 1843). Between 1843 and 1846 the population declined from 205 to 161 but the reasons for this are unclear. In 1848 Operiki was abandoned and a new settlement established at nearby Otukopiri, which afforded more extensive flat ground for cultivation (Taylor Journal 4 April 1848). Some months later the settlement took the name Koriniti (Corinth) (Taylor Journal 23 August 1848). The inhabitants of Koriniti were Ngati Pa (Ngati Pamoana) (Taylor census notes in Journal June 1843; Ronaldson 1847; NM 8 1851/284).



Figure 10: James Coutts Crawford, 1817–89. Karatia (Galatea), Whanganui River, 23 December 1861. In an untitled sketchbook of a trip up the Whanganui River. Alexander Turnbull Library. Reference F69775+.

THE LOWER RIVER

Warepakoko was variously known as Oawhitu, Te Koponga, and Atene. Wakefield visited Oawhitu in 1841 (1845 (I): 458) and reported that the followers of Pehi Turoa (Ngati Patutokotoko) had cultivations there. On 4 April 1848 Taylor “found Warepakoko deserted and a new pa commenced on the other side of the river. It is called Kakata”. The houses in the old pā had been pulled down. He saw three cornstacks in the vicinity and a fourth down river at Te Rimu. The move to Kakata seems to have been a temporary one as this settlement is not mentioned in the census compiled by Hamilton (NM 8 1851/284). Instead, the two settlements named here were Atene, which was noted as the former Wakapakoko, and Pekepake. Atene was inhabited by Nga Poutama and Ngati Hine and Pekepake by Ngati Patutokotoko and Ngati Hine. There were still two settlements in this locality in 1864. Featherston (AJHR 1864 E3: 81) commented that Atene “really consists of two pas, distance from each other about a couple of hundred yards, the one occupied by friendly natives, the other by rankist kingites and scoundrels, headed by old Hamaraia”. In 1845 the inhabitants

of Ikunikau and Mairekahoro, together with people from the Mangawhero river valley, moved to Parikino where they constructed a pā (Taylor 5 November 1845) on the right bank. An unattributed sketch of Parikino dated 1848 in the Alexander Turnbull Library shows the palisades along a ridge high above the river. The pā provided increased security and this was the major reason for the changes. In September 1845, Ronaldson (Journal 19 September 1845) found much alarm on the river as a Ngati Tuwharetoa taua from Taupo was expected. The taua had passed down the river on their way to Waitotara on a number of occasions in recent years, and had threatened to attack local groups which had links with the people of the Waitotara area. Ronaldson (Journal 29 September 1845) found Ikunikau nearly deserted because the inhabitants had moved to Parikino. The Mangawhero people, in particular, had reason for concern as they had been attacked by Ngati Tuwharetoa taua in the recent past (Taylor Journal 20 May 1844, 31 December 1844). About 120 people assembled when Mason (Journal 27 February 1841) visited Mangawhero in 1841 but Taylor (Journal 7 October 1843) thought that the entire population did not exceed 100. The actual count was 91; this figure was given in a table headed "Native Population of Taranaki and outlying places in my district" (Letter to Church Missionary Society 28 March 1844, Taylor Ms 254 Vol. 1).

Taylor reported the population of Parikino as 263 in 1846. Three or four years later there were 202 inhabitants (NM 8 1851/284). As at Hikurangi, people gradually abandoned the fortified position and shifted down on to the river terraces at the foot of the ridge. Hamilton (NM 8 1851/284) reported that the old pā was deserted and the inhabitants were "going to lay out a new one". There were considerable cultivations, particularly wheat and maize. The inhabitants were Nga Poutama and the Mangawhero people (Ronaldson 1847, NM 8 1851/284). White, in his report of 28 November 1862, noted a total of 152, composed of 27 adult men, 51 young men and children, 32 adult women, and 42 young women and children (JC Wanganui 4). It is possible that some of the people had returned to the Mangawhero: a census of the area contained 67 names (White to Native Minister 29 May 1863, JC Wanganui 4).

After the battle of Moutoa Island, a number of contingency plans were suggested (White to Colonial Secretary 9 December 1864, Resident Magistrate Outward Letterbooks, JC Wanganui 5). One of these throws light on the settlement at Parikino. It was suggested that "2 of the three pas now there" be destroyed and that the third, Kaitangata, "be put into a state of defence". Parikino was considered important as it was "the point where the roads meet, from Rangitikei, from Taupo and from Waitotara".

Taylor recorded two disputes over land in the vicinity which show the importance of kinship in claims to resources. In 1849 inhabitants of Parikino had complained that people from Koriniti "had been commencing to cultivate at this place although no one of their hapu had done so since the arrival of Turi" (Taylor Journal 12 June 1849). In 1854, there was an argument over a place near Parikino which was claimed by a person of a different group on the basis of descent from a common ancestor. His claim was denied on the grounds that none of his other ancestors had cultivated in the area (Taylor Journal 27 March 1854).

Kanihinihi occupied a loop in the river. The pā was a "very strong position" (NM 8 1851/284) but, as elsewhere, there was a gradual shift down on to the river terraces below. A sketch by Taylor (Sketchbook) dated 4 January 1848 shows a carved house, three huts and a raised storehouse on the flats at Kanihinihi. The inhabitants were Nga Paerangi (Ronaldson 1847; NM 8 1851/284).

Kauarapaua, which was situated on the right bank of the Kauarapaua Stream at the confluence with the Whanganui River, was abandoned in 1841 and a new pā built at a

stronger position at Tunuhaere. The inhabitants were related to the Ngati Ruanui and were at risk from a Ngati Tuwharetoa taua from Taupo (Wakefield 1845 (II): 83). The taua destroyed the abandoned pā.

A new settlement was later established across the Kauarapaua Stream from the abandoned pā by the former inhabitants, by then based at Tunuhaere. This settlement, also known as Kauarapaua, was described in 1851 as a small out-settlement of Tunuhaere. It had a population of 70 (NM 8 1851/284). It is likely that by the late 1840s it was changing from an out-settlement to a permanently occupied settlement. In the 1850s Kauarapaua adopted a biblical name—Raorikia (Laodicea).

Tunuhaere pā was constructed on a ridge which “for defence in places had been cut through” (Taylor Journal 7 June 1843). “The pa stands on the summit of two lofty and precipitous hills ... The two peaks are connected by a narrow ridge which with considerable labour they have cut down and levelled a site for their church” (Taylor Journal 21 August 1848; see also sketch in Power 1849: 150). Taylor reported a population of 164 in 1843. In 1844 some of Taylor’s followers moved from Tunuhaere to settle in a new pā next to Kaiwhaiki (Taylor Journal 23 July 1844; see also 21 May 1844). By the end of the 1850s, the population of Tunuhaere was 89 (NM 8 1851/284), but 70 former inhabitants were at Kauarapaua (Raorikia). By 1851 the old pā was deserted (NM 8 1851/284) indicating that the inhabitants had moved from the ridgetop to the level ground at the base. The inhabitants were Ngati Rongomaitawhiri (Ronaldson 1847; NM 8 1851/284). Tunuhaere is described as a “small pa” on Field’s 1865 map.

THE RIVER MOUTH

Taylor reported 33 people at Kawhaiki in 1843 and 22 in 1846. The inhabitants were Ngati Rongomaitawhiri (Ronaldson 1847). The settlement is not listed in the census compiled by Hamilton (NM 8 1851/284); this may indicate a deficiency in the census. Kaiwhaiki is described as a “large pa” on Field’s 1865 map. In the early 1860s, Kaiwhaiki was inhabited mainly by Kingites (who were opposed to the government). After the battle of Moutoa Island, there was considerable concern about the threat posed by such groups behind the front line. The inhabitants were asked to report in at Wanganui and did so on 23 January 1865. White wrote to General Cameron that 33 men, women and children (20 males, 13 females) had come in (JC Wanganui 5).

The fighting around Wanganui in 1847 had an impact on local settlements. Those at Aramoho and Tutaehika were destroyed by fire (Taylor Journal 29, 31 May 1847, 1 June 1847). Taylor and Ronaldson both listed Aramoho as belonging to Nga Paerangi, whose main settlement was at Kanihinihi. Tutaehika belonged to the inhabitants of Hikurangi (Taylor Journal 1 June 1847). Ronaldson (1847) listed the inhabitants as Nga Poutama. Another settlement affected was Kaiaraara. Maketu, chief of Kaiaraara, was one of four men from the taua killed in the 1847 skirmishes. The pā was abandoned in the wake of the fighting (Taylor 7 December 1847). It was a Ngati Patutokotoko settlement (Ronaldson 1847).

Following the cessation of fighting, the Whanganui tribes agreed to the sale of a large block of land at the river mouth. The Deed of Purchase (1848) made provision for reserves, which included Waipakura, Upokongaro, Aramoho, and Putikiwaranui. Waipakura and Upokongaro were Ngati Patutokotoko settlements (Ronaldson 1847). Hamilton described Upokongaro as a “small settlement belongs to Waipakura” and listed both as Ngati

Patutokotoko settlements. There was still a Ngati Patutokotoko settlement in this vicinity in the 1870s and 1880s (AJHR 1874 G7: 16; AJHR 1878 G2: 19; AJHR 1881 G3:17). Some settlements were, however, in areas which were sold. Kaiaraara was one, and only the burial grounds were reserved at Tutaehika and Mataongonga. Mataongonga was described in 1844 as "prettily situated upon a small deep stream"; it had a "very neat low fence surrounding the burial ground the graves also ...were neatly railed in and painted with red ochre" (Taylor Journal 25 December 1844). It belonged to a Pipiriki hapū (Taylor census records with Journal June 1843). Mason (Journal 25 January 1842) found about 60 people there in 1842, but Taylor recorded 41 in his 1843 census. Field's 1865 map describes Putikiwaranui and Waipakura as "large pa" and Upokongaro and Aramoho as "small pa".

The largest settlement in the vicinity of the river mouth was Putikiwaranui. Sketches made there in the early 1840s formed the basis for a much-reproduced painting by Gilfillan of the interior of a pā. Taylor reported in 1849 that "the pa at Putiki has been laid out by the Government, at the request of its inhabitants, as a town: and they have destroyed the fortifications and pulled down their houses, wherever they interfered with the plan ...The houses and fences now being erected are of a more permanent character and superior in workmanship to those of former times". (Report for year ending 31 December 1849, Taylor MS Papers 254, Vol. 3). In 1851, Dr George Rees contrasted the old pā which "was generally surrounded by a wooden fence, and the houses built, without regularity, of a coarse grass or a rush" with the new town and its "more respectable" houses (GBPP 1854/1779: 29).

Summer fishing at the coast was a major activity. In December 1840 Mason reported that large numbers of people were arriving from "the various pas up the river" and that "they take fish in great abundance with the hook at the mouth of the river" (Mason Journal 13 December 1840). Wakefield (1845 (I): 243) wrote that "these villages near the sea were only used during this season, when the fish abound and the constant fine weather allows the almost daily exit of canoes. At the end of the summer they return up the river with large stores of dried fish". Being temporary settlements, the villages near the sea were "poorly built and badly fenced" (Wakefield 1845 (I): 243).

Power (1849:77) observed that "for about an hour before and after high water, in the Kawai season, the river is the scene of the greatest bustle and activity; every canoe is launched and hurried through the water with the greatest rapidity, while over the stern trail two or three lines with shining native hooks attached" (see also Wakefield 1845 (I): 243). In January 1848 he noted that "the natives are busy fishing, and one can scarcely go near their Pas on account of the horrid smell of the Kawai, dog-fish and small sharks, drying by the thousands in the sun for winter use" (Power 1849: 159). Taylor has little to say about summer fishing. In his published work, he noted, without specifically mentioning the Whanganui River mouth, that kahawai were taken with the hook in large numbers and dried for winter use (Taylor 1868: 24). In an entry in his journal dated 1 December 1853, however, he commented on the many large canoes coming to fish and on 5 December 1853 he noted that the river was illuminated by fishing camp fires and parties fishing by torch light. The latter were presumably after flounder (see Power 1849: 78).

Mason, in a letter dated 20 September 1840, wrote that the huts near the river mouth "formed the temporary residence of the natives during the fishing season; their pa and cultivations being up the river extending one to five days inland". Richard Matthews (letter to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society 13 November 1840) noted that the inhabitants of the river came down to the river mouth to fish but "there is but little land here which they think good enough to plant". This comment was confirmed by Wakefield

(1845 (I): 243): "their pas and cultivations were far up the river, which they consider more fertile as well as more secure from hostile account".

DISCUSSION

Ballara (1979) has identified the *pā*/village type of settlement as characteristic of North Island settlement patterns in the contact period. People lived either in a fortified settlement or in an unfortified settlement with a fortification nearby to retreat to in time of danger. Although the pattern of settlement in the Whanganui River valley conforms to this general model in the 1840s, the model is less applicable to the period from the beginning of the 1850s when, in response to peaceful conditions, fortifications were increasingly neglected. War became a factor again in the 1860s but the circumstances were not conducive to a return to the old patterns of defence. In considering the 1870s and 1880s, it becomes increasingly difficult to deal with trends amongst the Maori communities separately from those in the wider New Zealand society.

Some of the changes in settlement size and location in the 1840s and 1850s have been traced in some detail. Threats of war, such as the presence of a Ngati Tuwharetoa taua in the area in February 1841 and December 1844 (Grace 1970: 367-374), the presence of an upriver taua at Wanganui in October 1846, the fighting around Wanganui in 1847 (Cowan 1983 (I): 133-144), the fighting on the upper Whanganui in 1857-8 (Walton 1987), or the war on the river in 1864-5 (Cowan 1983 (II): 30-45) all caused changes in the settlement pattern, although the effects were sometimes restricted to some groups in particular sections of the river. Ngati Tuwharetoa taua were responsible for the abandonment of Kaurapaua for a new *pā* at Tunuhaere and also for three communities congregating at a new *pā* at Parikino. The Ngati Tuwharetoa taua were large, for as Taylor explained, "a chief might raise 20 or even 40 men for a taua that a very great chief as Te Heuheu [of Ngati Tuwharetoa] might raise 200" (Taylor Journal 6 October 1845).

Taylor (MS Papers 254, Vol. 3) listed four Whanganui dead and eight wounded in the fighting around Wanganui in 1847. Although casualties were few, the war had a significant impact on the settlements in the river mouth area. Taylor (Journal 7 December 1847) commented that "the many little villages and cultivations too which were seen before the war are almost gone". The background and the events of 1846 and 1847 are described in detail by Wards (1968: 301-351). It is significant that the fighting at Wanganui was connected closely with that which had occurred at Wellington. The events in Wellington had a particular impact on the settlement on the upper Whanganui River when a group displaced by fighting in the Hutt returned to its home.

Fighting upriver in 1857-8 arose from a dispute over the site for a flour mill. A group was fired on and a child was killed. Rauponga was abandoned and was not re-occupied when hostilities ceased. The level of casualties in the fighting is difficult to establish, although Taylor reported one incident involving an attack on a settlement (presumably Kirikiriroa, see Walton 1987) which had been left undefended. Two men, a woman, and two children were killed (Report for the year 1858, Taylor MS Paper 254, Vol. 3).

Individuals and groups from many settlements along the river were involved in the second Taranaki War (1863) and some were killed (Cowan 1983 (I): 227). The lower Whanganui lost 15 men (with 30 wounded) at the Battle of Moutoa Island in May 1864, while the enemy losses, which included men from outside the Whanganui area, were about 50 (Cowan

1983 (II): 34). Whanganui men served with Government forces in a number of campaigns in the 1860s.

Although it is sometimes suggested that the river was divided between two traditionally hostile groups, there is little evidence for this claim (Walton 1991).

In the relatively peaceful conditions of 1852, Taylor (Letter to Church Missionary Society 14 June 1852, Taylor MS Papers 254, Vol. 3) wrote "now that we have peace most of the pas are abandoned and their inhabitants live in their remote cultivations only coming in for the sabbath". Later the same year he wrote (Journal 5 August 1852) that "the scenery of the river is quite changing as in time of peace all the pas have suffered their fortifications to go to ruin and instead of congregating in them the population is now quite dispersed, each family being in its own cultivation and thus the sides of the river are dotted with them". The inaccessible approaches to, and the confined areas within, pā were increasingly inconvenient and most were abandoned in favour of more accessible and open sites. Taylor (1855: 257) thought that "the insecurity of life in former days compelled them to dwell in fortified places, and these were always situated near their cultivations ...when [they] found the land no longer able to yield [them] the usual return, [they] abandoned it, and sought a fresh locality for cultivation, and there erected a new pa for [their] defence". Perhaps the most striking example of moves in response to the peaceful conditions was the break-up of the large population at Pukehika and the movement of its inhabitants to Kauaeroa, Tawhitinui, and Kauika. This trend is also evident in the move from Operiki to Koriniti, and the relocation of settlements from high ridgetop positions down on to river terraces at Karatia, Parikino, and Tunuhaere.

As elsewhere in New Zealand in the contact period, the intensive exploitation of seasonally abundant resources and the preservation of the surplus for winter consumption produced a pattern of expansion and contraction of the population across the landscape in the course of a year. Butterworth (1991: 1) refers to this sort of mobility as transience, the regular movement from place to place usually for subsistence-related purposes or trade. Near the river mouth in January 1847, Power noted that "groups [were] scattered about in all directions, engaged in various occupations, carving spears or tomahawk handles, making paddles, fish-hooks, and lines, [and] patching up canoes" (Power 1849: 161). The importance of fishing has already been described: transience was a significant feature of Whanganui society in the mid-nineteenth century along with short term travel by individuals and groups to visit relations or attend meetings.

Whanganui-based observers, such as Powers and Rees, give some idea of the importance of various foodstuffs in the 1840s and 1850s. Power (1849: 135) estimated that up to half the diet came from fishing, pig-hunting, from birds (such as kākā and pigeon), from rats, and from berries of karaka and other trees. The rest, he thought, came from their cultivations. Rees observed (GBPP 1854/1779: 30) that "the food consumed is vegetable, with occasionally wild birds, pork or fish". Taylor (1855: 166) believed that the Maori diet generally was made up mostly of plant foods. He suggested that the kūmara, taro and gourd were carefully cultivated in large quantities in earlier times but that by the time he was writing the white potato "may be said to be their staple article of food" (Taylor 1855: 377). He recognised the importance of fern root but tended to regard it as a dependable last resort rather than a food of preference (Taylor 1855: 168, 379). Taylor took a special interest in foods and their means of procurement. He described foods such as mushrooms (Journal 6 June 1843), cooked stem of mamaku (Journal 1 December 1853), mataī and miro berries (Journal 19 April 1847), and bread made from hīnau berries (Journal 22 August 1848). He also made notes on the use of snares to trap rats (Journal 7 May 1844), and the use of

snare and long spears to hunt tūi and kākā respectively (Journal 2 November 1843). According to Shortland (1856: 214, 297), the inhabitants of villages on the upper part of the Whanganui River were known for producing potted kākā. Large numbers were taken from the forests in mid winter. Birds were sent out of the district and dried fish and other items were received in exchange.

Large quantities of food were gathered for special occasions. On a trip upriver in 1843 Taylor found an abundant supply of potatoes, kūmara, and pork had been prepared at Ikunikau while at Hikurangi there was much kākā and an abundance of pork (Taylor Journal 26 October 1843). At Pukehika 300 baskets of cooked food with 8 large pots of fermenting corn and 22 dressed pigs had been prepared (Taylor Journal 27 October 1843). At Pipiriki there were large quantities of potatoes, besides taro and an abundance of pork (Taylor Journal 28 October 1843). In 1849 MacLean visited Otaki on the Manganuiateao River. In his journal he noted that "the display of food provided by the natives for this meeting is very grand. There are 1,200 kits of kumara, large baskets of taro, papa or bark cases of birds cooked and preserved including tui, kaka, kiwi and there were also eels. The birds are boiled in their own fat and covered over with it; they will keep thus for three years. Pigeon, weka, duck and whio (blue mountain duck [sic]) are also included in the papa ... Pigs and potatoes are abundant" (Cowan 1940: 48). Provisions for the Christmas hui at Putikiwaranui in 1850 included kūmara and potatoes, with some preserved pigeons or parrots and roasted kiwi (Taylor Journal 21 December 1850). Although these meetings were carefully planned for, food was sometimes in short supply. Taylor held his Christmas hui at Pipiriki in 1857 because there were inadequate supplies at Putikiwaranui (Taylor Journal 22 December 1857).

Cultivations dotted the river banks. In 1840 Mason observed a 4–5 acre plantation at a small village "chiefly planted with potatoes, kumeras and maize" (Mason Journal 19 November 1840). Various crops introduced into New Zealand by Europeans were being widely grown along the river by the late 1840s. By 1847, crops such as wheat and maize were common and even far up the river "in every pa now there are also fowls" (Taylor Journal 12 April 1847). After the disruption of the war of the mid 1860s, the 1870s and 1880s saw something of a revival of agricultural production for the market. In 1874 Woon reported that the flour mill at Pipiriki was being rebuilt and that the mills at Karatia (Kawana) and Koriniti would also soon be operational (AJHR 1874 G2: 17). Large crops of wheat, maize, and potatoes were grown, the plough and harrow were in general use, and large numbers of sheep and cattle were raised (AJHR 1874 G2: 16; 1886 G12: 17; 1891 G2: 6).

Cultivations were often some distance from the settlement. At a place near Hikurangi, the cultivations were about half a mile away from the settlement (Mason Journal 20 November 1840). In summer, settlements were often deserted as all the inhabitants were tending their cultivations, fishing or snaring birds. On a trip down river in 1846 Taylor noted "we did not stop at any of the places as we went along for all were emptied of their inhabitants who were busily employed in their cultivations" (Taylor Journal 9 December 1846; see also entries of 7 April 1847; 12 April 1847; 9 December 1847; 12 October 1861; 16 October 1861). Similar comments were made by other travellers on the river (e.g., Mason Journal 20 November 1840, 25 November 1840; Wakefield 1845 (II): 426). This pattern continued into the 1870s. In January 1871, Woon was told at Te Aromarama (Ohinemutu) that it was useless for him to continue on as "all the natives were away back from the river living at their cultivations" (MA 2/1 Outward Letters, Letterbook 1871–1873).

Cultivations which were some distance from the main settlement were often tended from temporary out-settlements. These ranged in size from a hut or two, to larger, more substantial, but equally temporary, settlements. On 2 November 1848 Mary Taylor noted that "the banks [of the river above Hikurangi] are sloping and partially cultivated with corn, kumara and other things, with little huts here and there interspersed, which gave the landscape an ever varying scene" (Taylor MS Papers 254, Vol. 3).

Eel and lamprey weirs were a common sight on the lower and middle sections of the river (e.g., Taylor Journal 27 October 1843). On 23 March 1850 Taylor noted in his journal that people in the vicinity of Pipiriki were busy constructing or repairing their eel weirs. Huts were often built adjacent to the weirs to provide shelter for those attending them. Taylor visited a place above Te Rarapa where "we found some sheds close by a patuna in which we have taken our abode for the night ... My shed is about 100 feet above the river on the edge of a great declivity, there is an eel weir near and a number of baskets, our natives have gone and set them with the expectation of having a sumptuous breakfast tomorrow" (Taylor Journal 10 April 1847). A little further upriver, below Pahitaua, Taylor (Journal 10 April 1847) saw "several solitary huts erected I suppose to be near the weirs". Another fish caught in the river was inanga. In 1848 Taylor's party passed canoes "engaged in fishing for the inanga a small fish" with nets below Kanihinihi (Taylor Journal 30 October 1848).

Huts for temporary shelter were also associated with other subsistence activities. In 1850 MacLean, travelling from Waitara to Wanganui on the Taumatamahoe track, encountered huts used by bird snaring expeditions (Cowan 1940: 54; Brassey Diary 6 May 1850).

Whanganui Maori were involved in trade with Europeans in the 1830s but the founding of Petre (Wanganui) in 1841 provided a market for a wider range and greater quantity of materials and produce. Flax and agricultural produce were the major items used in trade in the 1840s and 1850s. Flax had been traded in the 1830s. In 1841 Wakefield (1845 (II): 124) saw large cultivations of flax near Hikurangi which "had not been used since the time when traders from Sydney used to buy large quantities of it from the Wanganui natives". He also met a Mr Scott who claimed to have had a flax trading station at Wanganui in 1831 (Wakefield 1845 (I): 268). In 1834 John Nichol ('Scotch Jack') travelled up river to Pukehika, Patiarero, and Pipiriki to trade (*New Zealand Times* 18, 24 February 1891). Flax continued to be a major trade item in the 1850s. Hamilton reported in 1851 (NM 8 1851/284; Resident Magistrate to Colonial Secretary 25 February 1851, NM 8 1851/286) that the settlements of Koriniti and Tawhitinui were cleaning a great deal of flax and that large quantities were sent down to Wanganui from the various settlements. Pukehika, Tawhitinui, Atene, and Parikino were all heavily involved in various trading activities.

Power (1849: 55) noticed on his arrival in Wanganui in December 1846 that so little land was cultivated by the settlers that they had maintained themselves "only by trade with the Maories in pig and potatoes". Taylor (Journal 10 July 1844) recorded he had met a party from Pipiriki on their way to Wellington to trade pigs in 1844. Local Maori supplied the wood to build the military stockades in 1847 (Power 1849: 67) and were reported to be floating firewood down to Wanganui for sale in 1848 (Taylor Journal 21 August 1848). In addition to trading with European merchants and settlers, some Maori also worked as labourers for Europeans. In a letter dated 14 June 1852, for example, Taylor reported that "most of the able natives in the vicinity of the town work for Europeans" (Taylor Papers MS 254, Vol. 1).

A number of changes in settlement pattern can be traced to the advent of Christianity. Christian converts often wanted to move away from their unconverted neighbours whom they regarded as living immoral lives. In 1844 some people moved from Tunuhaere to settle

in a new pā next to Kaiwhaiki for this reason. A similar situation arose in 1846 when Taylor's followers moved from Te Arero to Otaki.

The presence of more than one denomination in the region resulted in rivalry between missions for the loyalty of communities. The presence of rival missions was exploited by some groups to obtain material benefits. Taylor (Journal 8 March 1872) felt he had lost his followers at Maraekowhai in 1862 because he was unable to match the offer from the Roman Catholic mission to help build a flour mill. Elsewhere, religious differences became a means of expressing rivalries within or between hapū (Ross 1965: 180).

Although descriptions of social organisation lack clarity, such evidence as there is does not fit comfortably with traditional descriptions such as those given by Firth (1973 [1929]) and Hiroa (1977 [1949]). Two aspects of their generalised accounts, in particular, cause difficulties.

The first concerns the division of iwi (tribe) into hapū (subtribe) and whānau (family). It is now customary to think of iwi being made up of hapū, and hapū being made up of whānau. The word 'whānau', however, is absent from historical records, and tribal and hapū affiliations were seldom used in a consistent manner. The word 'hapū' was used to describe groups that varied considerably in size and status. Ngati Ruaka, Nga Poutama, Ngati Pamoana, Ngati Patutokotoko and others were sometimes identified as tribes (AJHR 1870 A11: 8-9) and sometimes as hapū (AJHR 1881 G3: 17). It is now common to describe these groups as hapū of Te Ati Haunui-a-Paparangi. Although the Whanganui tribes were sometimes referred to collectively as Ngati Hau (Ati Haunui-a-Paparangi) in the 1840s and 1850s, the emphasis now placed on Ati Haunui-a-Paparangi as the iwi is a distinctly modern development. There is little indication of the neatly ordered hierarchy of whānau, hapū, and iwi in the historical records.

The impression of a jumble of different sized groups cannot be put down just to a lack of understanding on the part of observers. The ambilateral reckoning of descent would tend not to produce an orderly pattern of kin groups, but a proliferation of groups of different size and status. Much recent discussion of contemporary Maori social organisation has focused on the way kin groups are able to re-define themselves to produce a closer correspondence between the kin group and the group actually involved in the local community. Webster (1990: 206) notes that in terms of kin groups what is important is "what has historically happened in a particular kin group over successive generations, viewed retrospectively by descendants with regard to one or another ancestor". The phenomenon of retrospectively selecting an appropriate ancestor to define the kin group introduces an important element of flexibility in social organisation and is likely to have been a long standing practice.

The second difficulty with the usual accounts of social organisation is the idea that the hapū is a coherent social unit occupying and defending a discrete territory. This difficulty arises partly from the phenomenon of numerous groups of different size and status but no matter how each is defined it does not seem to be the case that "as a rule a village was held by a single hapū" (Firth 1973: 113). Observers such as Taylor (Census records with Journal June 1843) and Ronaldson (1847) did often describe settlements as belonging to one particular group. Closer scrutiny, however, suggests a more complex situation. The census compiled by Hamilton (MN 8 1851/284) sometimes reported two or more groups where Ronaldson recorded only one (Table 9) and it is likely that in many cases the affiliations recorded by Taylor and Ronaldson represented only the most common amongst the inhabitants. A letter from the people of Raorikia to White dated 3 November 1863 named the inhabitants as members of three hapū: Ngati Hineuru, Ngati Hinerua, and Ngati

Rongomaitawhiri (JC Wanganui 4; see also AJHR 1870 A11: 9). The people of Raorikia were usually identified as just Ngati Rongomaitawhiri.

Some smaller settlements in the Whanganui River valley were inhabited largely by members of just one hapū, but larger settlements tended to be inhabited by a number of hapū belonging to a larger grouping such as Ngati Ruaka or Ngati Pamonana. These larger groupings often had more than one settlement, sometimes on different sections of the river. Some settlements were made up of hapū from different tribes, but these were rare. The kin group and the settlement group were related, but were seldom exactly equivalent.

The rights of related groups to resources would tend to cluster in certain places, giving substance to the idea of a hapū, and hence a settlement, having a territory. The territory need not be in one place, however, as many groups had a right of access to land at the river mouth and to fishing grounds offshore. In the Deed of Purchase of Wanganui (1848) payments for land at the river mouth were made to chiefs representing many of the hapū living along the Whanganui River valley (Downes 1915: 330).

A more useful model is one in which the inhabitants of a settlement were recognised as a group distinct from hapū and in which individuals and groups might have different, and indeed multiple, kin affiliations. A "Schedule Of Persons Who Have Taken The Oath Of Allegiance" on 26 July 1864 (JC Wanganui 5) recorded the name, hapū, iwi, and settlement of each individual. It included individuals from the Ngati Ruaka hapū living at Roma (usually considered a Ngati Hau settlement), Parikino (Nga Poutama), and Kanihinihi (Nga Paerangi) and a member of Ngati Patutokotoko hapū living at Kanihinihi. There may have been many reasons for individuals to be living with other groups. The custom of a husband going to live with his father-in-law (Taylor 1855: 164) was one. In his Journal (2 October 1848) Taylor gave two examples of this: one involved a husband from Koriniti and a wife from Hikurangi, and the other a husband from Putikiwaranui and a wife from Kanihinihi. Nevertheless, many inhabitants of a settlement would tend to have at least one hapū affiliation in common and thus it would be permissible to speak of the settlement as belonging to that hapū. The kin and settlement groups are conceptually distinct even if they tended to become blurred in practice.

The proposed model allows for some flexibility in the way that hapū affiliations were used to gain access to resources, although not as much as suggested by Anderson (1980) from his study of South Canterbury Ngai Tahu. There were, however, significant differences between South Canterbury and Whanganui in terms of population size and subsistence patterns. Uniformity is not to be expected.

Chiefs played a particularly important role in life along the river. There was a constant round of hui at which matters of common interest were discussed and chiefs also played an important role in mediating between warring groups. Chiefs could claim descent from significant ancestors. In 1849, Mamaku, a chief from far upriver, expressed dissatisfaction with the sale of land at the river mouth as he claimed land there "by right of descent" from "Te Aomihia of the Ngatipoutama tribe and Hinengakau of the Ngati Ruaka" (undated letter c. 1849, Skinner to Maclean, Skinner Journal).

When Pehi Turoa died in 1845 Taylor wrote that "by birth he is the great chief of all the river, though his possessions are properly confined to a district on the Manganuiateao. By birth he is closely connected to the head chiefs of Taupo, Rotorua, Waikato" (Taylor Journal 9 September 1845). His son Pehi Turoa Pakaro inherited his position and although he, like his father, was particularly associated with Ngati Patutokotoko, he was also nominally leader of Ngati Hau.

Pehi Turoa Pakaro was listed in the census compiled by Hamilton (NM 8 1851/284) as chief of the Ngati Hau settlement of Patiarero but Taylor reported that Pehi and Ngati Patutokotoko had turned Wesleyan and then Roman Catholic and he thought that they really had done it "to be different from Ngati Hau, with whom they had never been cordially united" (Taylor Journal 3 August 1854).

Another leading chief was Te Anaua (d. 1868). Te Anaua (later baptised as George King or Hori Kingi) and Te Mawai were the leading chiefs of Ngati Ruaka (Wakefield 1845 (I): 240, 455, (II): 135-36). The Putikiwaranui Ngati Ruaka were the "more especial adherents" of the missionary (Wakefield 1845 (I): 452) a situation that caused some ill feeling: "his (Pehi Turoa's) tribe have always been very troublesome and opposed to the truth ... as my residence is in the pa of the tribe they are jealous if they think they are slighted" (Taylor Journal 4 September 1845).

Ngati Ruaka were the largest single group on the river in the 1840s and 1850s. Their settlements included Putikiwaranui and Pukehika. While the Ngati Ruaka at Putikiwaranui took the side of the settlers or tried to remain neutral in 1846 and 1847, Ngati Ruaka from Pukehika were amongst those actively involved in the attack on Wanganui. Te Anaua's conciliatory role alienated a large number of his Pukehika followers (Maclean in Downes 1915: 332). The episode indicates that related groups from different places could, and often did, line up on opposite sides in local conflicts.

Most of the chiefs were related through marriage: Pehi Turoa's principal wife was a sister of Te Anaua (Wakefield 1845 (I): 240) while Te Kurukanga (Wakefield's E Kuru), a minor chief, was married to a high born Tuwharetoa woman and to a daughter of a Nga Rauru chief (Wakefield 1845 (I): 385). He was also closely related to the leading chief at Pipiriki (Wakefield 1845 (II): 84).

CONCLUSIONS

Early missionary and government census records, and other documentary evidence, suggest that some 4,000 people were living along the banks of the Whanganui River and its tributaries in the mid-nineteenth century. The population was very unevenly distributed along the river. Most people lived within four or five days journey upriver from the coast (about as far as Te Rarapa: half the navigable part of the river). Beyond that the population was small and the settlements scattered.

Settlements were permanently occupied but the number of people resident fluctuated seasonally. Cultivations were generally in the vicinity of the main settlement but more distant cultivations were tended from out-settlements. These satellite settlements could become permanent over time.

There was a very marked concentration of population between Operiki and Te Rarapa. Pukehika was very much larger than any of the other settlements in the mid 1840s, but it was abandoned after 1848 and the population moved to three nearby settlements. Patiarero, just across the river from Pukehika, was the largest settlement from the 1850s, and in the 1870s and 1880s. Groups exploited resources in distant sections of the river, and summer fishing at the coast was an important activity for groups from as far as four to five days journey upriver.

TABLE 9
Comparison of *hapū* residing at various settlements
as reported by Ronaldson and Hamilton

Settlement	Ronaldson	Hamilton
Putikiwaranui and Ngongohau	Ngati Tupoho Ngati Hinekino Ngati Tumango Ngati Pa	Ngati Ruaka
Tutaiheka	Nga Poutama	-
Aramoho	Nga Paerangi	-
Waipakura	Ngati Patutokotoko	Ngati Patutokotoko
Upokongaro	Ngati Patutokotoko	Ngati Patutokotoko
Opiu	Ngati Tai	-
Kaiaraara	Ngati Patutokotoko	-
Tauraroa	Ngati Ruaka	-
Tunuhaere	Ngati Rongomaitawhiri	Ngati Rongomaitawhiri
Kaiwhaiki	Ngati Rongomaitawhiri	-
Kanihinihi	Nga Paerangi	Nga Paerangi
Tupapa	-	Ngati Rongomai
	-	Ngati Paerangi
Parikino	Nga Poutama Mangawero	Ngati Poutama
Warepakoko (Atene)	Nga Poutama	Ngati Poutama
	-	Ngati Hine
Pekepake	-	Ngati Patutokotoko
	-	Ngati Hine
Operiki and Te Rere	Ngati Pa Ngati Tama Ngati Tuharikia Ngati Hine Ngati Tama Kainga Ngati Tu	Ngati Pa
Ruapirau	Ngati Pa	-
Hikurangi	Nga Poutama	Ngati Poutama
	-	Ngati Hau
Kaiwaka	Nga Poutama	
Huatahi	Ngati Ruaka	
Tawhitinui	Ngati Ruaka	Ngati Ruaka
Pukehika	Ngati Ruaka	Ngati Ruaka
Pukehou	Ngati Hau Te Kiriwera Ngati Hinetoke Ngati Haua	
Patiarero	Ngati Hau	Ngati Hau
Wangairau	Ngati Hau	-
Moua? ¹	Ngati Hau	-
Pipiriki	Ngati Rongomai Te Putoko Ngati Hinekau Te Ahiteraiti Ngati Tupare Ngati Hau Ngati Tupoho	Ngati Rongomai Te Putoko

¹ Name and location of settlement uncertain.

Changes in the size and locations of settlements can be traced over a 25 year period. Warfare was a major cause of changes in location. By the early 1850s however, fortifications, particularly those with limited access to arable land, were being abandoned. Settlement, no longer tied to defensible sites, became more dispersed.

European settlement near the river mouth caused some changes in 1848 when most of the land there was sold. Upriver, settlement continued to be concentrated in areas occupied in the past. In the 1870s, however, part of the population from the middle section of the river moved to Murimotu, an area little inhabited before.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank Ann Williams and two anonymous referees for their detailed comments on a draft of this paper.

REFERENCES

Official Papers:

AJHR: Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives.

GBPP: Great Britain Parliamentary Papers.

JC Wanganui 4: Resident Magistrate Wanganui Outward Letterbook 1863-4. National Archives, Wellington.

JC Wanganui 5: Resident Magistrate Wanganui Outward Letterbook 1864-5. National Archives, Wellington.

MA Wanganui 4: Maori Affairs, District Office, Wanganui. Office Papers.

NM: New Munster Archives. National Archives, Wellington.

Allen, G.H. 1864. Sketch of the Coast between the Rivers Manawatu and Patea and of the River Wanganui Etc. Copy of a tracing from F.A. Sheppard's sketch dated September 1844, with sundry recent additions—reduced from the maps in the Provincial Survey Office, Wanganui. Scale: 1 inch to 4 miles.

Anderson, A. 1980. Towards an explanation of protohistoric social organisation and settlement patterns amongst the southern Ngai Tahu. *New Zealand Journal of Archaeology* 2: 3-23.

Angas, G.F. 1847. *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*. Smith Elder and Co., London.

Baker, W. Diary 4 October-10 November 1848. Alexander Turnbull Library.

Ballara, A. 1979. Settlement patterns in the early European Maori phase of Maori society. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 89: 199-213.

- Brassey, R. Diary (of a Journey from New Plymouth to Wellington via the Wanganui river, 1850). Typescript, Wanganui Regional Museum.
- Buller, J. 1878. *Forty Years in New Zealand*. Hodder and Stoughton, London.
- Butterworth, G.V. 1991. *He Iwi Pokai Whenua/A Journeying People*. Ministry of Maori Affairs, Wellington.
- Colenso, W. 1868. On the Maori races of New Zealand. *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute* 1: 339-424.
- Cowan, J. 1940. *Sir Donald MacLean*. A.H. and A.W. Reed, Dunedin.
- Cowan, J. 1983 [1922]. *The New Zealand Wars*. Government Printer, Wellington.
- Crawford, J.C. 1880. *Recollections of Travel in Australia and New Zealand*. Trubner and Co., London.
- Crawford, J.C. n.d. Sketchbook. Alexander Turnbull Library.
- Downes, T.W. 1915. *Old Whanganui*. W.A. Parkinson, Hawera.
- Downes, T.W. 1921. *History of and Guide to the Wanganui River*. Wanganui Herald, Wanganui.
- Fenton, F.D. 1859. *Observations on the State of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of New Zealand*. New Zealand Government, Auckland.
- Field, H.C. 1865. Sketch map of coast country between Wanganui and Waitotara River. Scale: 1 inch to the mile. Public Record Office (England), MPH 1194.
- Firth, R. 1973 [1929]. *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*. Government Printer, Wellington.
- Grace, J. Te H. 1970. *Tuwharetoa: A History of the Maori People of the Taupo District*. A.H. and A.W. Reed, Wellington.
- Grimstone, S.E. 1847. *The Southern Settlements of New Zealand*. Wm. Stokes, Wellington.
- Hamlin, J. 1842. On the mythology of the New Zealanders. *Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science, Etc.* 1: 342-358.
- Heaphy, C. 1842. *Narrative of a Residence in Various Parts of New Zealand*. Elder Smith, London.
- Hiroa, Te Rangi 1977. *The Coming of the Maori*. Maori Purposes Fund Board/Whitcoulls, Wellington.

Hochstetter, F. Von 1867. *New Zealand: its Physical Geography, Geology and Natural History*. J.G. Cotta, Stuttgart.

Kerry-Nicholls, J.H. 1884. *The King Country*. Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, London.

Mason, J. Journal 1840–1842 and Letters. Alexander Turnbull Library.

Matthews, R. Letters 1838–1846 and Journal of a journey from Wanganui to Kaitaia 1841. Alexander Turnbull Library.

Mead, A.D. 1966. *Richard Taylor: Missionary Tramp*. A.H. and A.W. Reed, Wellington.

Mead, A.D. 1977. *The Naming of the Wanganui River Rapids*. Published privately.

Pool, D.I. 1991. *Te Iwi Maori: A New Zealand Population Past Present and Projected*. Auckland University Press, Auckland.

Power, W.T. 1849. *Sketches in New Zealand*. Longman Brown Green and Longmans, London.

Rogers, L. 1961. *The Early Journals of Henry Williams 1826–1840*. Pegasus Press, Christchurch.

Ronaldson, W. Memorandum Book and Journal 1845–1850. Typescript, Alexander Turnbull Library.

Ronaldson, W. 1847. List of Pas with their Chiefs etc on the River Wanganui. Letterbook, Wanganui Regional Museum.

Ross, J. 1965. The Missionary Work of the Reverend Richard Taylor at Wanganui. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington.

Selwyn, A. 1847. *New Zealand Pt 2: Journal of the Bishop's Visitation Tour from August to December 1843*. Society For The Propagation Of The Gospel.

Shortland, E. 1856. *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*. Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, London.

Skinner, T. Journal 1849–1856. Alexander Turnbull Library.

Swainson, W. 1853. *Auckland, the Capital of New Zealand*. Elder Smith, London.

Taylor, R. Journals 1833–1873. Typescript, Alexander Turnbull Library.

Taylor, R. Ms Papers 254. Volume 1: Letters to the Church Missionary Society 1836–53. Volume 2: Letters to the Church Missionary Society 1854–1866. Volume 3: Correspondence and Documents 1840–1865. Alexander Turnbull Library.

Taylor, R. Sketchbook 1839-65. Alexander Turnbull Library.

Taylor, R. 1855. *Te Ika A Maui, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*. Wertheim and MacIntosh, London.

Taylor, R. 1868. *Past and Present in New Zealand*. MacIntosh, London.

Wakefield, E.J. 1845. *Adventure in New Zealand*. John Murray, London.

Walton, A. 1987. Maraekowhai: a mid-nineteenth century settlement on the upper Wanganui River. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 30 (4): 249-262.

Walton, A. 1991. Tribal animosities and the battle of Moutoa Island. *Archaeology in New Zealand* 34: 47-53.

Wards, I. 1968. *The Shadow of the Land*. Government Printer, Wellington.

Webster, S. 1990. Response to Metge. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 99: 205-8.

Received 8 April 1993

Accepted 5 September 1993