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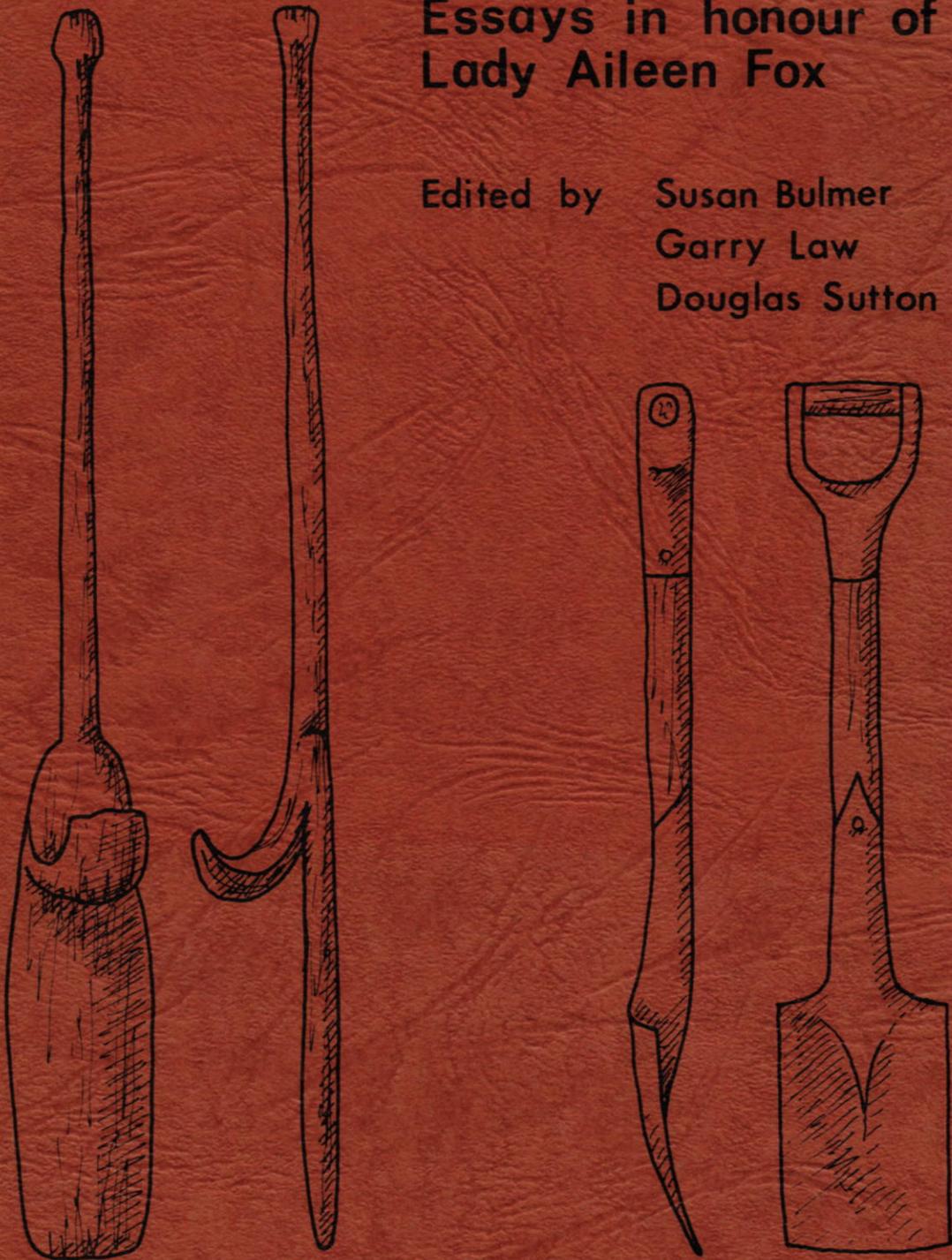
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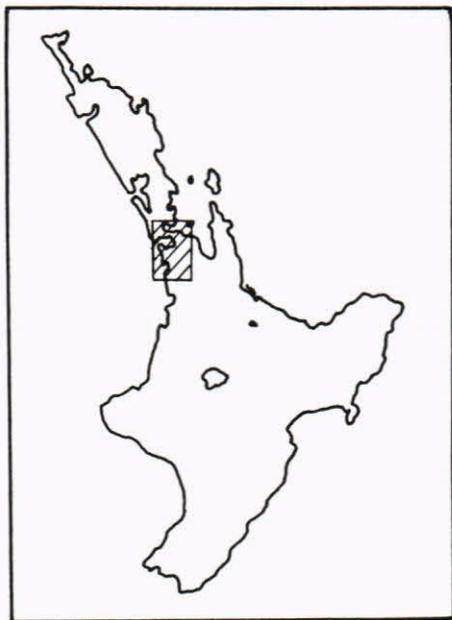
A LOT OF SPADEWORK TO BE DONE

Essays in honour of
Lady Aileen Fox

Edited by Susan Bulmer
Garry Law
Douglas Sutton



THE MANUKAU LOWLANDS: SITE DISTRIBUTION PATTERN



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Introduction

It is clear that prehistoric man in New Zealand did not always utilise to the full an environment which had favourable resources, was well situated for trade and had no defensive disadvantages. The Manukau lowlands is a case in point. This area is shown on Figure 1. It extends from the Waiuku River and Awaroa Portage in the west to the Hunua Ranges in the east and from the Waikato River in the south to the Manukau Harbour in the north. The interior and, in particular, the Pukekohe Hill area is an enigma to New Zealand prehistorians through the lack of field evidence of archaeological sites in an area of favoured soil types (Gorbey 1970), and endowed with a wide range of resource zones in such close proximity. These comprise the fish and shellfish resources of the Manukau Harbour, the eels and other resources of the Aka Aka Swamp, the riverine resources of the Waikato River, and a wide range of berries and avifauna from the forests of the isthmus itself and the bordering Hunua Ranges. The area has been intensively surveyed but the number of sites located is far fewer than one might expect to find. R.H. Hooker's (1971) work in inland Taranaki demonstrates that the lack of recorded sites does not necessarily imply lack of utilisation of an area. In the case of

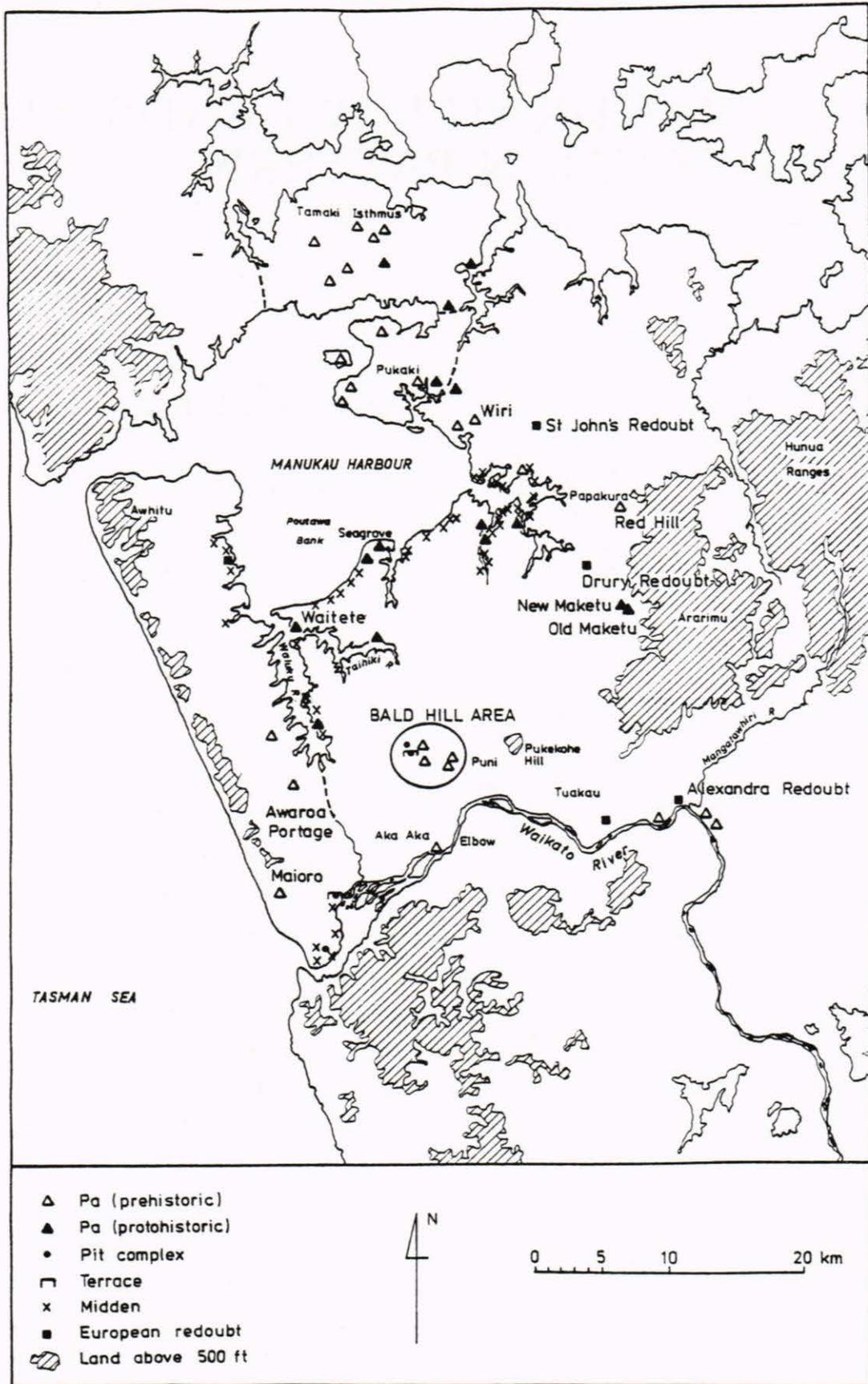


Fig.1

The Manukau lowlands.

the Manukau lowlands to the east and south of the region it could, in fact reflect archaeologically destructive practices in the area and the availability of more broken areas for defensive purposes. However, a thorough investigation of the aerial mosaics (photographed 1943-47) and subsequent field surveys have not revealed sites except on the periphery of the region, and historical evidence strongly suggests that most of this interior area was without permanent occupation until very late Classic Maori times and the Early European Contact period.

Can some explanation be suggested for this absence beyond that advanced by Gorbey? He proposed incomplete infilling of the favourable areas of New Zealand within the short period of New Zealand prehistory with chance suggested as the primary factor applying.

The Environment

Geographically the area can be divided into two broad belts:

- (a) In the west is a plateau made up of late Pliocene Bombay basalts which overlay the young sedimentaries spreading through to the east. The well-rounded contours of the west are characterised by deeply-weathered, well-eroded, small volcanic cones, with areas of poorly preserved coarse tuffs from explosion craters, especially in the Waiuku-Pukekohe area (Schofield 1967). There are extensive areas of fertile soils, especially in the south on the various river-deposited ashes (Gorbey 1970:92; Beyda 1961:20-26)
- (b) North of these large areas of fertile soils, i.e. along the Manukau littoral, soils are ash-derived and are of low to medium fertility. On the eastern boundary the country is broken and the hills steep, while the leached clay soils that developed under mull-forming trees are thin and infertile except in the small alluvial valleys of the foothills.

With the exception of the Manukau littoral, which was covered in stunted fern and dwarf manuka when Europeans first entered the district in the mid-1830's (Hamlin 1830-6:5-8/3/1834; Reeds and Brett Almanac 1874; Daily Southern Cross Plan of the Scene of the War 1863) most of the region was covered in a luxuriant mixed Podocarp-dicotyledenous forest. Kahikatea and tawa were the dominant tree species, and there was a thick layer of tangled undergrowth. The great Hunua Forest extended westwards to cover the whole of the eastern and half of the western side of Franklin County, and from the Waikato River to within 5 kilometres of the Manukau Coast. The bush that grew on the western basaltic plateau where the soil was of a light volcanic nature was less dense, consisting largely of puriri, kohekohe, mahoe and other smaller tree species interspersed with stands of rimu, kahikatea, matai, rata and pukatea (Hamlin 1830-6:16-21/3/1834; Angas 1850:9-16,19; Ligar 1847:26, 102-112, 115-120; Johnson in Taylor 1959:120-125; The New Zealander:13/10.1847, 20/10/1847). Large areas of kahikatea swamp forest, toetoe and flax swamps marked the margins of the Waikato River (Ligar 1847). These forests were in 1834 occasionally interspersed by small clearings of fern. James Hamlin (1830-6:19/3/1834) wrote:

"...There are three paths near Waikato, though few now go by land but go by the river and drag their canoes out of one river into the other... the woods were continually intercepted by little patches of fern."

These patches of fernland were almost certainly the result of cultural interference, as it was customary in the Waikato to burn out small areas of fern adjacent to the river for the convenience of travellers. Possibly this practice extended to other lines of communication. These places were called whai. (Best, 1966:343). The edible root of bracken fern was an important staple in the diet of the lower Waikato Maoris until well into the 1840's when it gradually

came to be replaced by the European white potato and maize or wheat (Johnson in Taylor 1959; Ligar 1846:15/11/1846). Descriptions of the amount of fernland encountered and the destructive practices of cultivators of the white potato in clearing the forest increase in the 1840-50's, and are associated with the development of the pig and white potato trade with the growing settlement of Auckland.

Archaeology

A total of 157 sites have been recorded on the Manukau Lowlands (see Bulmer (this volume) Fig. 2 and Appendix). Only two archaeological excavations have been undertaken, at Bald Hill (N46-47/22 Allo and McKinlay 1971) and Waitete paa (N46-47/14 Bulmer this volume). No Archaic sites have been recorded. There are 116 middens, located on the coastal and estuarine margins as one would expect. Field records of the shells in these middens indicate that pipi and cockles predominate constituting from 70 - 95% of the shellfish species occur, the archaeological evidence pointing to the exploitation of the Manukau Harbour's shellfish beds from summer seasonal fishing camps.

There are 26 paa all told, including a number of historically documented fortified settlements (Fenton 1879) whose sites have not been able to be located in the field. It is assumed that some of these at least were palisaded enclosures without earthwork defences such as have been recorded elsewhere in the Waikato (Clark 1973-75), or did have defences which have since been destroyed by farming.

The existing earthwork fortifications fall into three broad categories:

1. Ridge paa: situated on the ridges overlooking the Aka Aka Swamp or running down from the foothills of the Hunua's; N46-47/5,6,80,85,116,117,118,119,128, N51/1

2. Headland or promontory paa: situated on the Waiuku Estuary;
N46-47/13,14,24.
3. Small cliff edge/ring ditch paa: along the southern Manukau
Harbour littoral;
N46-47/8, 137, 140 and,
on the Waikato River;
N51/16 "Te Hika", (Ligar 1847).

Historically recorded paa were located at Waiuku, Tuakau, Waitete, Pokeno, Mercer, and Karaka.

In the Land Wars of the 1860's (Cowan 1922; Sinclair 1959) a number of military redoubts were constructed, sometimes on the site of prehistoric paa as with the Bluff Stockade, and though a few representative sites still survive (e.g. Alexandra Redoubt), most have been destroyed. No Maori "made" agricultural soils have been recorded in the field, but kumara cultivations extended along the Waikato River's northern banks near the mouth in the 1835-45 period (Dieffenbach 1844:300).

Isolated pits, pit complexes, pit/terraces and pit/terrace/midden are important components of the settlement pattern. Fourteen have been recorded, and are almost exclusively situated in close proximity to the Awaroa Portage and around the paa overlooking the portage and the surrounding swamps.

Isolated pits, pit complexes and pits and terraces are also important components of the site distribution pattern of both the Awhitu Peninsula and the littoral south of the Waikato Heads which lie to the west and south of the Manukau lowlands respectively. The archaeological and historical evidence can be reviewed in a number of areal groupings.

Bald Hill Area (Figure 2). On Bald Hill, formerly known as Titi by the Maori there are at least three pit groups and others may have been destroyed as the result of quarrying and farming operations. Bald Hill is a small volcanic cone (161 m) with steep sides on three points and is the highest spot for several kilometres around, situated about 8 km west of Pukekohe. Site N46-47/23 consisting of 12 clear and several indistinct rectangular pits, occupies a rocky site. Situated about 100 m along Bald Hill, 6-7 pits in a very eroded condition were revealed when scrub was being cleared (N46-47/79). Limited excavation by Allo and McKinlay (1971:2-11) of a pit group (N46-47/22) consisting of 11 pits on a northern spur of the hill has thrown some light on their use, yielding evidence of a storage rather than a habitation function.

In the three pits excavated there was no occupational debris but there were numerous postholes regularly disposed in their floors. These were interpreted as evidence of internal storage racks, and some shallow drains around their perimeters were thought to have been dug in order to keep the floors free of rainwater and seepage. That these structures belonged to the prehistoric period is suggested by the cutting edge marks of an adze in a section of Pit 4 and small discoidal depressions made by pointed digging sticks. The pit complex is adjacent to a ridge paa (N46-7/80).

Just inland from the Waikato River's banks at Puni is another cliff-edge paa (N46-47/137) slightly different in morphology from the two previously mentioned paa. This paa is known locally as Te Tongaroawhata. It is sited along the edge of a steep cliff, grass-covered and eroded by cattle and farming activities to vague outlines. It is almost a terraced paa with a transverse ditch on either side, at some distance (80-90 m) from a central tihi type of platform. Three pits are to be found at a short distance beyond the east end of the trench.

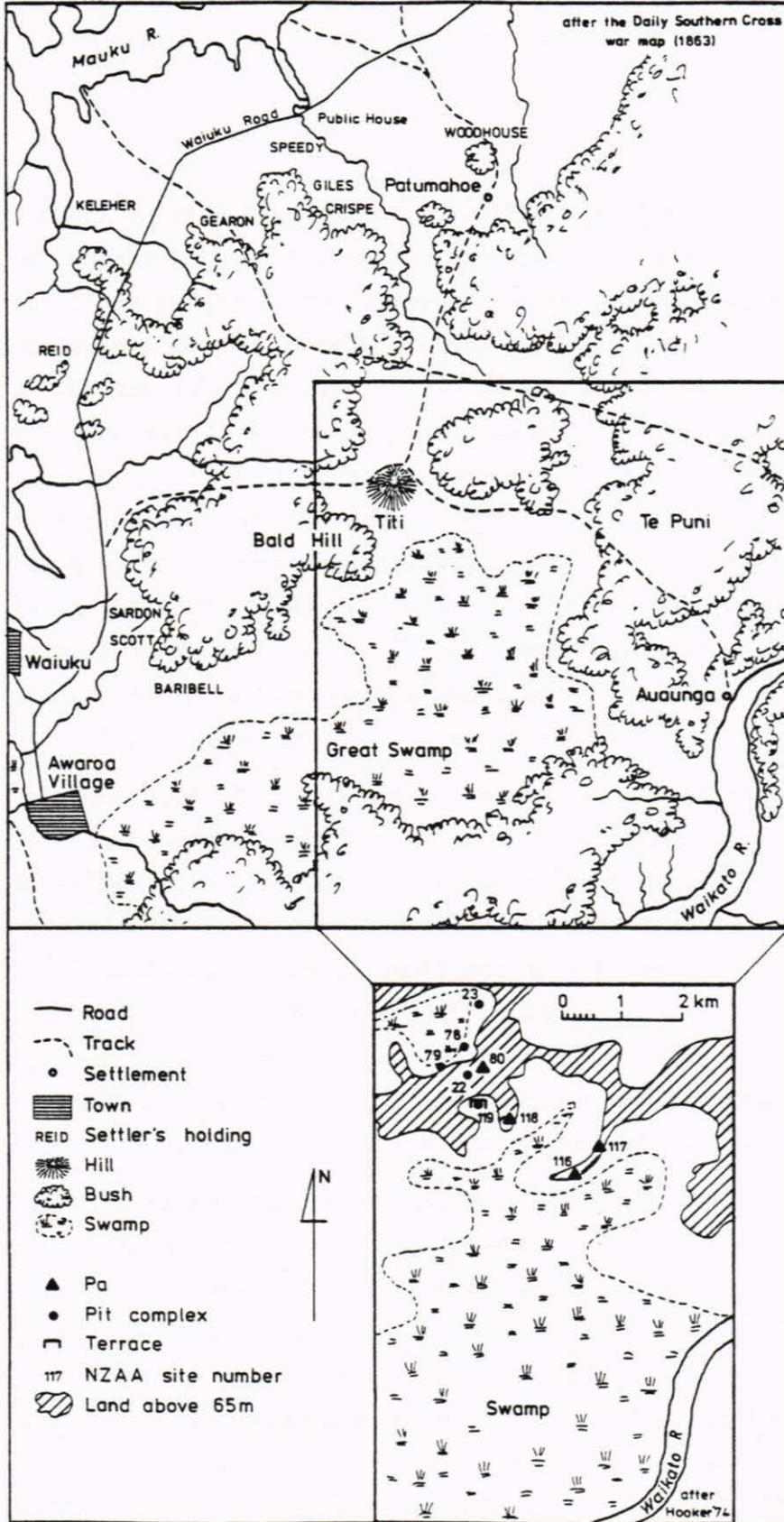


Fig.2 Bald Hill area.

Awaroa Portage. Traditionally, the group of ridge paa found on the ridges around the Aka Aka Swamp to the south of the Awaroa Portage belong to the prehistoric period. Among the many small, composite tribes that gradually seem to have developed around the margins of the Awhitu Peninsula and the Waikato Heads were the Ngati-Kahukoko, Ngati-Tamaoho and Ngati-Teata. John White (1880,4:116) has the following traditional account collected from Ngati-Teata sources in the mid-nineteenth century.

"Ngati-Kahukoka...occupied the district from the entrance of the Manuka (or Manukau) to the entrance of the Waikato (High Water) river. They occupied many pas, some of which were on the tops of hills; others were built on platforms erected in the lakes and swamps between Waiuku (Clay Used as Soap) and the Maioro (Ditch Outside a Pa). But the principal home or pa of the tribe stood on the peaks of the hills, Puketapu (Sacred Hill) and Titi which were inland, and the stockades (pa) occupied by those who procured fish for the tribe were at Awhitu (Sorrow), and Tipitai (Skim Along), near the entrance of Manuka(u)".

Apart from Maioro, the paa mentioned by White are on the Awhitu Peninsula on the opposite side of the Awaroa Creek. However, he goes on to say (1880,5:2) that:

"Some of this tribe occupied pas inland of Waiuku, at Te Whakaupoko (The Head), Titi, and on Te Awaroa (Long Creek). At Te Awaroa the pa occupied a mound or hill in the midst of a koroi (Podocarpus dacridioides) forest in a swamp, on the east in passing from the Waikato River up the Awaroa Creek to Waiuku. This was usually occupied by those who procured eels for the tribe, but in these days as a burial place for the illustrious dead, where it is said Pouate (Steadfast Liver), Papaka (crab) and Te Niho (Tooth), progenitors of the Ngati-Teata tribe are buried".

No traces of the swamp paa have been found by the author, largely because of the difficulty in surveying the Aka Aka swamp. The Ngati-Teata were later to take the lands from the Ngati-Kahukoko, but by the 1860's both of these tribes had become absorbed into the

confederation of Waikato tribes. The Ngati-Kahukoko were a junior line of the Waiohua of the Auckland Isthmus, while the Ngati-Teata trace their descent from their ancestors, Te Atairehia, who lived in the late eighteenth century (Kelly 1949). The whole of the Lower Waikato Basin was deserted from 1821 to 1835 (Clark 1973a:1-12, 1973b), and the Manukau lowlands only sparsely populated from 1835 on (Lawry 1844-50:22/8/1844:7) when the tribes began to return to their former territories.

The ridges and spurs of a small valley overlooking the Aka Aka Swamp in the south west corner of the region provided suitable defensive positions to enable exploitation of the area which fell within the territory of the tribes mentioned above in prehistory. Constructed on highly fertile red-brown loam soils, they are surrounded by the Waikato swamplands (now largely drained) which would have been an important economic resource area for food, clothing and building materials and transport. They also dominated access along the Awaroa Portage, the main line of communication between the Waikato Basin and the Tamaki Isthmus via the Manukau Harbour. When seeking positions to fortify, the Maori builders of these sites made good use of the well-rounded or flat ridges and spurs with steep sides, and of the numerous bluffs. These were protected by ditch and bank earthworks (Hooker 1974). N46-47/117 is typical (Fig. 3).

N51/2 is a small knoll on the edge of the Waikato River at the end of Elbow Road. There were until recently indications of two small ditch systems at the western and eastern ends of the paa, but these have largely been destroyed by sand dredging and other allied activities. There were no clear surface features visible when the site was visited by the author, although some features existed in 1967 (G. Law, pers. comm. 1982). This may have been the paa called "Te Auangaanga" recorded by Kelly (1940:129-33).

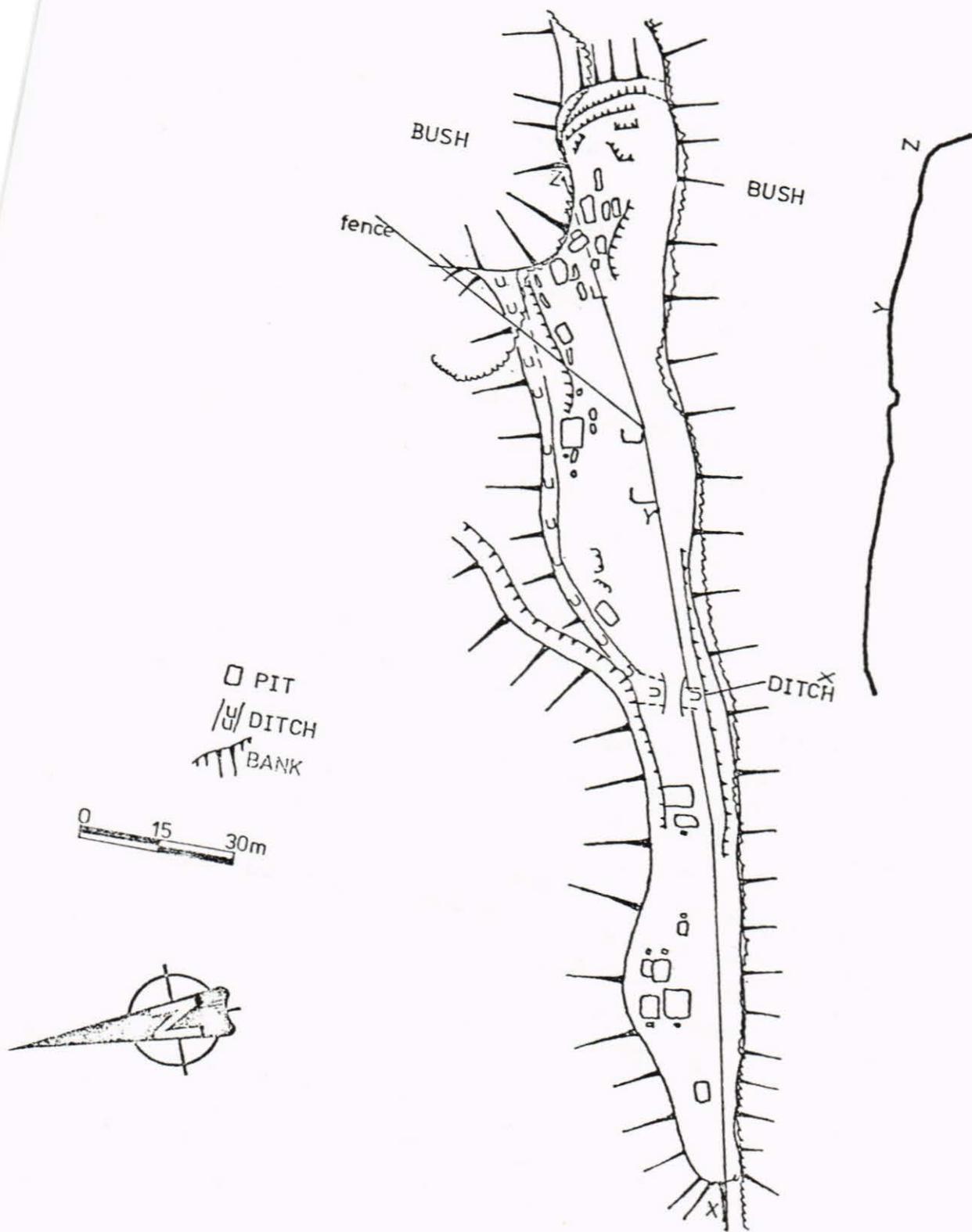


Fig. 3

Pa N46-47/117 near Aka Aka.

Hunua Foothills. The Hunuas form the eastern boundary of the Manukau lowlands, and are a natural geographical barrier between the Lower Waikato, the Tamaki Isthmus and the Hauraki Gulf. For the later part of its prehistoric occupation (about 1700-1820) and part of the protohistoric (1822-1846) it was inhabited by some of the Waikato tribes who occupied the Manukau lowlands (Clarke 1973-75). As already mentioned, a luxuriant mixed podocarp-dicotyledenous forest some 60 kilometres long and about 40 kilometres wide covered the broken hills which stretch from the Hunuas in the east towards the Hauraki Gulf. Of the sites recorded in these forests, only N46-47/3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12 and 85, 86 fall within the subject of this discussion, relating to the Manukau lowlands.

N46-47/5 is Puke(o)kiwiriki or Pare-Taiuru (Red Hill) ridge paa, which lies due east and 5 km from Papakura (Fig. 4). Quarrying began in 1927, but has since stopped and has little affected the paa itself, which is now a public domain in fern and grass. The paa is said to be of great antiquity (Graham 1929), traditionally being constructed in the 13 - 14th centuries, although it was re-occupied during the wars of the 1860's. It occupies a prominent flat-topped ridge at the head of the small Kirikiri (Hays) Stream which flows west to the Manukau Harbour. A narrow neck of land divides it from the Hunua Valley. The paa is defended by sheer cliffs over 13 m high on three sides. The north-west side was defended by a straight length of ditch with an internal bank.

There is a row of rectangular pits on the perimeter, and it has been postulated that they were musket pits constructed in the 1860's. Some large pits are aligned axially along the end of the paa. On the west side the pits are on a terrace about 0.5 m below the rest of the paa. There was terracing on the north-west slopes

beyond the defences which has since been ploughed out. A map drawn by C.W. Ligar (1847) in 1846 shows an "old Pa" on the bluff on the left bank of the Waikato near its junction with the Mangatawhiri Stream, which was destroyed when it was refortified during the Maori Wars and the Havelock Bluff Stockade was erected. To the west of this is Te Hika paa (N51/16), a small terraced knoll surrounded by a swamp on three sides and the river on the other. Ligar has annotated in pencil "Te Hika of Wetere's" indicating that it was a Ngati-Tamaoho settlement belonging to Wetere Te Kaauae. Thin shellfish lenses, with minute quantities of freshwater mussel (kakahi), are evident in a slumping terrace. Another map of Ligar's in the same notebook indicates the position of "Maketu pa" on the high ridge known as Pratt's Hill (160 m) about 4 km east of Drury on the edge of the Hunua Ranges. Another map, drawn by F.von Tempsky in 1863 shows that between the time of Ligar's visit to the area and the 1860's a further settlement had been constructed. To differentiate the two he calls the first pa "Old Maketu" (N46-47/6) and the second "New Maketu" (N46-47/85). Old Maketu (Fig. 4b) is traditionally associated with the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. According to W.E. Gudgeon (1894:48) it was occupied by the Te Uri-o-Pou when they were forced to move from the eastern shores of the Tamaki area after suffering defeat at the hands of the Ngati-Maru. At the Compensation Court hearing 1865 (Morris 1973:22-23) the principal claimant to the Maketu Block stated that Old Maketu, shown as Opaheke on the block land deed (although this name appears on current topographic map to the north of the site), was built by Noia, the uncle of Kiwi Tamaki the famous Waiohua chieftain (Fenton 1869). Wiremu Te Wheoro, a noted chief of the Ngati-Naho hapu of the Ngati-Mahuta during the 1860's war, was a great-grandson of Noia (Cowan 1922), and on genealogical reckoning (25 years to a generation), the paa would have been built about 1740-1780 A.D.

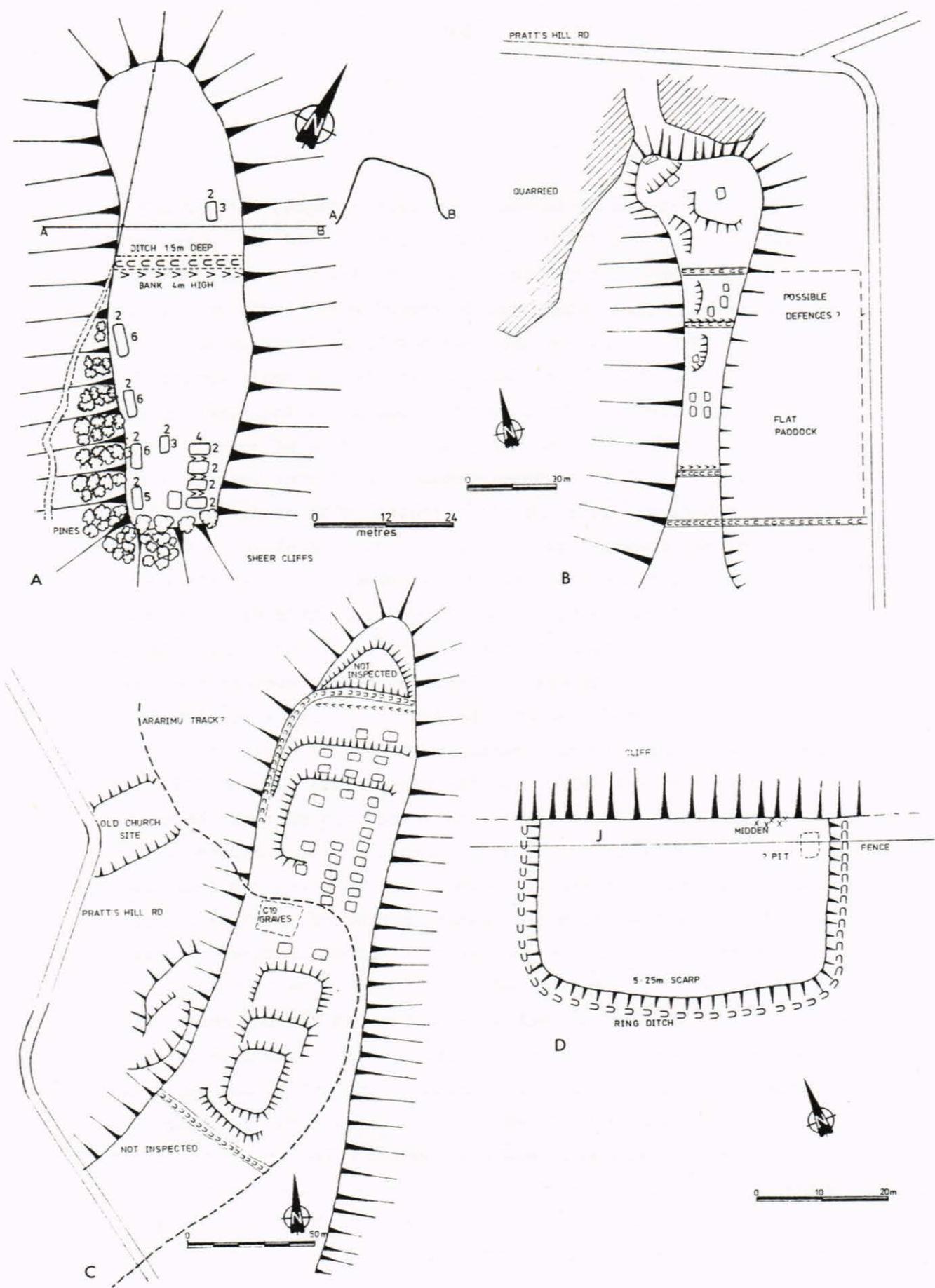


Fig. 4 A (above left): Pukekiwiriki paa. N46-7/5, B (above right): Old Maketu, Opaheke, N46-7/85, C (below left): New Maketu, N46-7/6, D (below right): cliff-edge paa, N46-7/139. Note varying scales.

when the Waiohua occupants of the Tamaki Isthmus were forced to flee into the safety of the forested, rugged marginal hill country after their defeat by the Ngati-Whatua (Fenton 1869). In tracing his right to the land, Hawiri Maki stated that:

"I claim through my ancestor Ko Whatu and he was a younger brother of Ngariki...I claim an interest in the whole of the Wairoa and all the Pokeno Block...I claim this land through the Ngati-Pou. I can trace the genealogy through Waihousteke...We were living at Maketu when the war broke out...There was a pa at Maketu and at Wenuakura and another at Pukekiatea. These pa were built by Nohia. The Ngati-Tamaoho laid claim to the land but never attacked these pas I mentioned. They offered the land to Mr. Ligar but negotiations for its purchase were never commenced...Koputokeke (Ko Putekeke) our ancestor, is buried at Maketu. I am the chief..."

Poutukeka is recognised as being the progenitor of both the Uri-o-Pou and the Ngati-Pou (Gudgeon 1894:48, Kelly 1949:175, Te Pueku 1888(4):177) living around Lake Whangape in the 1830-50's. Old Maketu guards the Ararimu track (Fig. 1) which linked the Auckland Isthmus with the headwaters of the Mangatawhiri Creek which was one of the main canoe routes both to the Waikato and the Hauraki Gulf in the protohistoric period. One of the three overland trails into the Waikato, the Ararimu track skirted the Papakura Swamp before taking a precipitous and rugged course through the densely forested hills to the Mangatawhiri Stream. Extensive views of the flat to undulating country leading across to the Manukau in the north-west and to the Bombay Hills in the south-west gave it a distinct strategic advantage. Access to these areas was possible for part of the way along two tributary streams of the Karaka Creek (i.e. the Hingaia and Maketu Streams) which ran in deep beds. Although they were both shallow in summer, they were deep and easily navigable in winter allowing access from the Manukau Harbour to within a few hundred metres of the site of it and New Maketu. (Johnson 1847; Ligar 1847). That shellfish were brought to near

the paa is testified by a midden (N46-47/3) on the Hingaia (Drury) Creek. It formerly covered about 70 m² but has since been destroyed. A map of the area drawn up in the 1860's (Daily Southern Cross 1863) shows that the paa was completely surrounded by forest.

With the restoration of peaceful relations in 1835-36 the local tribes moved back and resettled their ancestral lands, but it would appear that the paa was not reoccupied, for on von Tempsky's map is shown "New Maketu", (Fig. 4c) a small ring ditch/cliff edge paa sited on the low ridge at the foot of nearby Pratt's Hill N46-47/6) A sheer cliff leading down to the Maketu Stream defends the site on the eastern side, while a shallow ditch with portions of an internal bank has been constructed on the western approaches to the paa. The interior of the site has a number of terraces ascending the ridge, and there is evidence of a series of terraces leading down the slope away from the ditch. At least 27 rectangular pits are clearly visible on the terraces. There are two circular raised rim pits on the lowest portion of the paa, outside the ditch, which are possibly musket pits as could have enabled enfilading fire to be aimed along the ditch and down the slope, the main line of attack. Very old manuka with young native tree species cover the site which is very well-preserved.

While von Tempsky clearly differentiated between the two settlements in his map, only one settlement ("Maketu") is shown on Ligar's map of 1846. This is because by 1846 Old Maketu had fallen into a state of disrepair. Edward Shortland (1842) stayed at this "...old pa and cultivations" in November 1842 after having travelled through dense forest with only scattered patches of fern from the Mangatawhiri. At this time the Ararimu track was not much travelled as a result of the development of the pig trade with Auckland through Tuakau and Tuhimata, and was overgrown and difficult to traverse. Shortland wrote that once the surrounding forest had been cleared,

deep-red loams were available for cultivation, and together with fish from the Manukau, he was fed on kumara grown on the flats below the paa, which was then occupied by the Te Akitai (Ngati-Tamaoho) under their chief Te Tihi. Two years later (1840,2:8-9) declared that after proceeding through fern and belts of forest from the Tamaki River he eventually arrived on the banks of a rapidly flowing river:

"...and soon afterwards reached a small ruined pah on the slopes of a hill having around it several grotesquely carved figures much decayed."

The paa was under a cover of fern and the population had moved to the potato grounds at Papakura when Ligar (1847:15/11, 1846:100) was in the area in 1846. It appears, however, that New Maketu had been built and occupied about this date, for even though Ligar failed to visit it or report its presence, Johnson (1846) described this new settlement. "Maketu, the settlement on the face of the hills occupied by Ngati-Pou", as opposed to:

"...the deserted pa of Maketu on the main ridge of hills." (1846:29/11/1846)

of the latter he wrote (1847:19/1/1847)

"We soon reached the deserted pa of Maketu, seated on a projecting rock composed of horizontal masses of breccia, commanding the country around, and which, before the introduction of firearms, must have been impregnable. We had a splendid view from it of the Manukau, the estuary itself and the country as far as the shores of the Waitemata."

It may have been New Maketu that was seen by Lt. F.W. MacKenzie (1853; A.J.H.R., 1863) at the foot of the Ararimu track a few kilometres from Drury in 1853:

"The houses - or rather - huts have a very neat appearance, and are all fenced in, each one separate from the others, having stiles leading from one enclosure to the other, to prevent pigs from going into their neighbouring grounds."

These features were characteristic of most Waikato village settlements in the 1840-50's. When the Waikato War broke out in the 1860's, the Maoris put up fresh palisading on the site of Old Maketu and this was clearly seen by the troops stationed at Drury. One newspaper correspondent at Drury wrote on 25 July 1863:

"The palisading that has this week arisen on old Maketu - a strong position, distant about three miles in a direct line from here - placed beyond a doubt part of their plan of operations. There is a track from Maketu to Paparata at the head of the Maungatawhiri Creek..."

On several occasions the British troops went out to Maketu only to find that the Maoris had retreated into the forested hills beyond. An account from von Tempsky 1863, describes how this famous corps visited the abrupt eminence of the Maketu paa and although the site was deserted, huts capable of containing 200 men were found. The chief of the paa at the time was Hawiri Maki of Ngati-Pou. Only groves of peach trees and figs marked the site of New Maketu in 1865 (Lush:1865). Other sites recorded in the vicinity of N46-47/6 and 85 are N46-47/86 on Peach Hill, on the face of which there are still some signs of former terracing, small scattered midden and many pits which have been filled in recently by the owners, and a burial cave (N46-47/7). Two small pits, (N46-47/87) are located on a ridge or hilltop about 80 m south-east of Old Maketu.

Waiuku River. There is a group of headland or promontory paa at the entrance to the Waiuku River and the Taihiki River (sites N46-47/13, 14, 24) and at least one of these spans the prehistoric- protohistoric periods. One of the first areas of the Lower Waikato Basin to be reoccupied by the tribes returning to their former territories in 1834-36 was the Waikato Heads (especially Kaitangata, Waimate, Waihekura and Putataka paa), but the tribes also either constructed or reoccupied a number of "outpost" settlements along the

Waiuku Estuary in order to reassert and protect their rights to the Manukau Harbour fishing grounds which were being contested by the Ngati-Paoa, supported by certain Ngapuhi chiefs from Whangarei who were out to seek revenge for past defeats at the hands of the Waikato. (See Clarke 1973a). Intimately associated with this conflict was a small headland paa (N46-47/14) situated on the eastern banks of the estuary at Waitete Point, near the former Waiiau Pa wharf, south of Clarke's Beach. Returning from a visit to the Manukau in January 1835, Hamlin (1830-6:8/1/1835,13) reported that the "Ngati-Whatua" (i.e. Ngati-Tamaoho) were at Waitete paa, shark fishing and planting potatoes, but that a native on board the missionary vessel "Columbine" had told him that the Ngapuhi chief Wharerahi was at Otahuhu, and two others "...Motutara and Kahakaha were at Waitemata for the purpose of killing all they could meet with; and should they not meet with anybody there, they intended to go onto Waitete, and perhaps to Waikato."

At some time over the next two weeks the paa at Waitete was attacked and burnt. , On 27/1/1835 Hamlin returned to Waitete where he expected to find the Waikato Maoris, but they had returned to the Upper Waikato, and Stack (1835-6:22/1/1835) reported that:

"As we passed up towards Waiuku (from Awhitu) we saw the pa of Waitete the place concerned the burning of which so much to do had been made... It looked more like a place where a solitary canoe might stop occasionally (rather) than a place worthy of the name of a pa".

Stack believed that the Ngati-Paoa, who were reported to be at fishing grounds near the paa, were responsible for its destruction but when Hamlin (1830-6:27/2/1835) paid a return visit to the Manukau he reported that the builders of the paa, whom he now declared to be the Ngati-Tamaoho, had returned to the Waipa Valley south-west of Ngaruawahia because the two Ngapuhi chiefs, Kahakaha and Motutara, were in the area cutting off the stragglers. They had been residing

with the Ngati-Paoa at Wakatiwai paa, near Miranda on the Hauraki Gulf:

"At Wakatiwai were Kahakaha and Motutara who had burnt Waitete, the Pa belonging to the Waikato natives - took away some canoes and broke others to pieces, but killed nobody, for they saw nobody."

It is apparent that this paa was not so much a permanently defended and occupied habitation at this time so much as perhaps a defended canoe enclosure to provide protection for those of Ngati-Tamaoho who were at the seasonal fishing grounds. The Rev. Henry Williams (Rogers 1964:417) visited the paa on March 1835 but not an individual was to be seen. He found it "...a miserable filthy wretched spot, the ground covered with fleas". It is not clear from his account whether or not the place had been attacked or rebuilt at this time, but Stack (1830-6:22/5/1836:13) stated that by the following year the paa was reconstructed and enlarged, and the strength of the defences increased. N46-47/14 was part of the Kahawai Block which was sold by the Te Ngaungau section of Ngati-Tamaoho in 1852 (Morris 1965:O.L.C. 5/4/1853). In 1978 S. Bulmer carried out a rescue excavation on the outer portion of this paa (see excavation report on this volume).

Waitete paa is very similar morphologically to the Matakītaki, Te Horo and Ngaruawahia river terrace promontory paa defended by transverse ditch and bank systems on the landward approaches constructed in the period approximately from 1821-1834 (Clark 1974:2-10). It is possible to speculate that this paa (N46-47/14) was in operation at the time of Hongi Hika's first raid into the Waikato in 1821. After making attacks on the Tamaki Isthmus which was abandoned by the defeated tribes, he crossed in a south-westerly direction and at the mouth of the Manukau Harbour put to flight the Awhitu people (Wily and Maunsell 1939:65)). He moved down the Waiuku River but locals were lying in wait at the Sandspit and heavy losses were incurred on

both sides after much fighting, hence the name for the Sandspit area, Tahuna Kaitoto (Muir 1957:1). Hongi then crossed over the Awaroa Portage in pursuit of the local tribes who had sought refuge with their Waikato relations in the great Matakītaki paa. His 3,000 warriors in 30 canoes (McClymont 1959:11) soon defeated its occupants and indirectly brought about the end of the Waikato Basin's prehistoric occupation. Thereafter, the Waikato tribes sought trading relations with the Europeans to obtain muskets for both defence and offence. (Clark 1974b).

Very similar in their morphology to Waitete paa are N46-47/13 and 24, but whereas Waitete's defences served to cut off a promontory, the ditch and bank systems are almost ring-ditch paa cutting off a part of the cliffs as well as the headland itself and it is difficult to classify them. Both are in a very bad state of preservation. N46-47/13 is mainly filled in now, but until recently two short lengths of ditch and bank remained on the edge of the cliff, about 200 m apart. There was about 40 m off the course of the ditch from the eastern end where it turned at right angles and continued 43 m across the paddock up to a hedge. There were two pits on the cliff edge which have also been filled in. N46-47/24 is situated on The Needles, the narrowest part of the Waiuku Estuary, commanding access to the Awaroa Portage from the Waikato River to the Manukau Harbour. The site is on a headland, quadrangular in shape, with low sandstone cliffs forming natural defences on two sides with faint evidence of a defensive ditch and bank on the other two sides. These have been almost entirely filled in. The interior of the site slopes gently down towards the west with low terraces visible. Comparatively few surface features can be seen but there is one large feature in the centre of the site towards the south side which suggests a very shallow rectangular pit with a drain or entrance on the west side. A series of levelled areas can be seen and there are extensive middens most evident on the west side. The main species are pipi and cockles with some scallops and oysters.

All surface evidence suggests considerable complexity of sub-surface remains, and disturbance of the surface of the paa at one point for a survey post revealed a depth of darkened soil and fragmented marine shell. What appears to be filled in rectangular pit is visible in the eroding cliff face.

N46-7/24 is surrounded to the north and south by a number of other settlement sites, but while close by they may not be contemporary. These sites (N46-7/2, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37) consist of small middens or isolated pits.

Manukau Shore. The third category of paa site found on the Manukau lowlands is the cliff edge/ring-ditch variety that has been recorded mostly along the Manukau Harbour's littoral. Overlooking the Poutawa Bank in the Manukau Harbour at Seagrove Point is N46-47/10, a rectangular enclosure, 47 x 30 m, defended on three sides by a ditch and an internal scarp and on the fourth side by the cliff edge on which it is sited. The ditch is indistinct but it is 3 m wide at the top. There is one large pit in the north-west corner. A midden deposit, mainly pipi is exposed at one spot in the cliff.

In Fenton (1879) there is a map showing the position of a number of paa referred to in the court's proceedings. One of these situated at Seagrove, is Kraka Te Aua's paa, occupied by the Ngati-Tipare hapu of Ngati-Tamaoho. It appears on the map to be slightly to the west of N46-47/140 and as there are no other paa in the vicinity, there is a very strong possibility that it is site N46-47/139 (Fig. 4d) and as such is likely to have been one of the early gunfighter paa constructed in the 1840-50's (Ligar 1847). N46-47/139 is another cliff-edge paa on the edge of an old shoreline at Seagrove Point. The site is a small rectangular enclosure, 26 x 46 m, defended on three sides by a ditch and internal bank. Some midden scattered on the cliff face consists mainly of cats eyes and pipi.

Along the coast between Clarke's beach and Seagrove Point are recorded thirteen middens. Cockles dominate the contents but mudsnail and scallops are also found. Sites N46-47/143-151 are very similar in their stratigraphic features and contents.

Pukekohe. So far in this paper, all the sites discussed have been located on the borders of the region. What sites and historical documentation is there for the interior of the region? Apart from Bald Hill only two sites have been located around the Pukekohe area, in spite of a number of extensive surveys over the years. Hooker (1974:5) has located a pit group (N46-47/120) less than 2 km east of the crest of the Pukekohe Hill, on a small scoria cone on its furthest slopes. It was recorded as a possible paa, but roading and quarrying of scoria from the small hillock has made confirmation impossible without excavation. Pits of rectangular type and circular type occur, and an adjoining ploughed field showed evidence of cooking residue in the form of burnt stones, charcoal and ashy soil, but there was no faunal material. Hooker also recorded a further possible site (N46-47/121) 3 km south-west of the summit.

Late Occupation and Forest Clearance. Historical documentation tends to support the archaeological evidence of limited and late occupation of the interior of the Manukau lowlands. The area around Pukekohe was settled by the Ngati-Pare hapu of Te Akitai (Ngati-Tamaoho) in 1836 (OLC 44/1063). The principal chief, Ihaka Takanini, did not live at Pukekohe himself, but two of his younger chiefs established themselves there and with the help of others of the tribe cleared a large area of forest. The first of the European settlers in the district encountered a 50 acre clearing north of Pukekohe Hill which marked the beginning of the wholesale forest clearance that was ultimately to lead to the present fertile lowlands landscape. In 1853 Mohi Te Ngu and Ihaka Takanini claimed and sold an area called

Te Awanui-o-Taikehu on the northern and eastern slopes of Pukekohe Hill.

The Maoris claimed that there had been former settlements dotted here and there as well as a burial ground for chiefs. They stated that the land had belonged to the Ngati-Teata in the prehistoric period but these people had not cultivated there, and the ancestors of Mohi Te Ngau had been the most recent owner after their return to the Lower Waikato area (Morris 1865:67-68; Turton 1877:2; A.J.H.R. 1864).

There is documentary evidence of forest clearance by the Maori associated with the cultivation of the white potato. In 1846 Johnson (Taylor 1959:129) wrote,

"In ascending the river from Tuakau, the banks on either hand rise to the height of several hundred feet, sometimes so abruptly from the watery edge, that one could almost fancy it would be easy to step from the canoe and ascend to the summit, on the dense foliage of the forest, that universally clothes them. At other places the hills recede, forming crescent-shaped vales or hollows, encircling a few acres of level ground, where families of natives had established themselves, and were preparing the ground for the autumnal or spring crop of potatoes, by their usual destructive mode of burning the wood;... it was painful to see the fires, favoured by the dryness of the season, which rendered the underwood inflammable, eating their way upwards, and consuming hundreds of noble trees, far beyond the cultivations".

It seems possible, therefore, that the pit groups (N46-47/120 and 121) on the spur of Pukekohe Hill are a reflection of these activities.

Even a decade after the return of the Lower Waikato tribes the population of the Manukau lowlands was very small in numbers. The Rev. R. Lawry (1844-50:22/8/1844:7) reported in 1844 that the population between the Tamaki Isthmus and Waikato River was very thin and scattered, but once the Waikato was reached:

"The native villages were more numerous...than in the inland districts".

A remnant of the Te Akitai and Nga Iwi hapu of Ngati-Tamaoho occupied small settlement at Papakura and Pukaki (Johnson 1846: 6/10/1846). The main settlement at Pukaki lay outside the ambit of this paper, but Papakura was an occasional residence of the tribe who came to plant potatoes and gather fernroot. The settlement of Papakura consisted of a few scattered huts among some potato grounds (Ligar 1846:88;1847:14/11).

Some clumps of kahikatea generally in a decayed state were scattered across the landscape with Johnson (1846:6/10/1846,13/10/1846; Meurant 1845:14/10/1845) equated with shifting cultivation of the white potato which he and others declared required new ground, generally forested, at each planting. He stated that:

"...fallen trees always encumbered the ground around a Maori settlement, who in clearing for cultivation, take the wholesale method of burning the trees as they stand, planting between the stumps, and sometimes not even drawing aside the fallen branches and half-burnt trees".

It is evident from this and similar statements that there had been a decline in agricultural standards by the mid-1840's and that the careful management of the kumara cultivations was not perpetuated in the cultivation of the white potato.

From Papakura, travellers could either use the Ararimu track or the alternative route by Tuhimata to Tuakau on the Waikato River. The settlement of Tuhimata was situated in a small valley about 5 km north of Pukekohe, near Rama Rama. It was a village of the Ngati-Teata (Johnson, in Taylor 1959:120-121), and consisted of a few huts erected on the edge of the cultivations which had been formed for the supply of travellers between Tuakau and Auckland. Once again the Maoris had set fire to the surrounding forest and:

"...hundreds of whole trees were laying about, charred and blackened, or standing deprived of bark and leaves,

and some were still burning."

wrote Johnson in 1846:

"This is of course a necessary operation, in clearing forest land, but as the natives seldom grow more than 3 or 4 crops of the same ground, the work of destruction is continually going on, and forests are clearly diminishing".

It is obvious that the wholesale forest clearance taking place in 1846 was assisted by a prevailing drought. The Maoris had refused to sell Johnson potatoes because the dry weather had injured their crops of potatoes, maize and wheat but had not harmed their kumara. Ragged potato grounds were located all along the track to Tuakau which lay through a mixed forest of tawa, rimu and puriri, and occasional kahikatea stands and nikau. These clearings were covered with tupakihi, koromiko, fern and toetoe.

In 1844, when Angas (1850,2:16) passed through the area, there was no settlement at Tuakau (Tuakaua), but within the next two years the site became a landing place for pigs and other Maori trade with the Auckland market. European pig traders had begun to move into the Waikato by this date and a wholesale trade developed:

"The settlement of Tuakau consists of a few houses, within a stockade, situated in the centre of a semi-circular hollow, whose two extremities abut on the river and enclose an area of a few acres, gently sloping down to the water's edge, allowing pigs to be drawn up on the beach, which the precipitous and thickly wooded banks for a considerable distance on either hand, do not permit".

It was a settlement of the Ngati-Pou.

Discussion

Having ascertained the archaeological site distribution and nineteenth century settlement patterns, the question remains, why was the interior of the Manukau lowlands so thinly settled? Evidence suggests that in the Lower Waikato Basin (and the Upper Waikato as well),

there were sometimes large areas on the boundaries of the different tribes which remained unoccupied or uncultivated but which were a never-ending cause of dispute. Such ground lying between territories occupied by neighbouring tribes, claimed by both but occupied by neither, was known as kainga taotohe in the Waikato (Shortland 1856:280) or whenua taotohe (Firth 1959:385) meaning "debatable lands". For example, the Rev. Robert Maunsell (1845:90) stated that in 1845 there were two disputes near the Waikato Heads concerning the boundaries of land in his district:

"...a thing of by no means a rare occurrence - about pieces of land which, if there were any in the district, might fairly be classed 'spare' or 'waste land'

Writing after the Ngapuhi wars, the Rev. W.T. Fairbury (1836) stated that:

"The land at Tamaki appeared to be a bone of contention, each party claiming it as their own and neither party daring to cultivate any portion of it least they should be taken by surprise and cut off".

(See also Clark, 1903:17; Robertson, 1966:92-93; Gorst, 1864).

It is postulated, therefore, that the interior Manukau lowlands served as a neutral or buffer zone between the powerful tribes of the Tamaki Isthmus, Hauraki Gulf and the Lower Waikato (in prehistory these would be the Ngati-Whatua and cognate tribes and the Ngati-Paoa as opposed to the Ngati-Tamaoho, Ngati-Teata, Ngati-Tipa, Ngati-Tahinga and their allies). Though it contains extremely valuable resource zones, as the meeting point of a number of tribes it was likely to be disputed and acted as something of a "no-man's"land. It also served as a corridor allowing access between the Tamaki Isthmus and the Waikato River and such settlement as there was concentrated on the routes through the area, that is, the Awaroa Portage and along the Hunua foothills and through the Ranges.

Though members of adjacent tribes may have fished, foraged or cultivated there on an occasional, temporary basis, it was generally not a safe place to live. Thus political considerations were reflected in the absence of sites in a patently well-favoured area. It was only in the mid-1840's with the extensive conversion to Christianity and the enthusiastic and wholesale adoption of European cultural forms that the Maoris of the Manukau lowlands began to lay claim to their various territories, which were in turn sold to the early European settlers (Morris 1965).

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