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THE TARANAKI ARCHAEOLOGICAL LANDSCAPE—PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

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Nigel Prickett
Auckland War Memorial Museum

Thirty years ago I arrived in New Plymouth to take up a job in the Taranaki Museum as it then was. I immediately had to come to terms with a work environment that was a way outside my previous experience, in a museum with strong historical collections and great community goodwill.

I remember the great support and wisdom of the management committee chaired by the late Audrey Gale who became a good friend. Also on the committee, and now passed on, were George Koea senior, who had many wonderful stories of an older Taranaki long before my time, and Percy Tamati who had a great sense of humour especially in relation to football and the horses, and by his own account must surely have been Taranaki's best first-five before Ross Brown. Roy Yardley of Waitara and Rob Hair are also remembered with thanks. Other kaumatua who were an important part of my education, and who also have since passed on, are Sam Raumati, whose patience, when I look back, was remarkable, and Dr Alastair Buist of Hawera and later Tate Road, Waitara, who many archaeologists here will remember.

Then there was the Museum Board, comprising representatives of every Taranaki local authority, which met once a year to fix our budget. It was chaired by Harry Chapman—still very much with us—who milked cows on Stent Road, and on whose property I later excavated at Warea Redoubt. He once told me the site had a narrow escape when as a young man he was about to trundle over on his bulldozer to level the earthworks, in the interests of having a flat paddock rather than an ever so slightly up and down one. His father asked, "What do you want to do that for?" and as there was no good reply the site was saved.

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Tonight I would like to talk about four different kinds of archaeological sites in Taranaki, consider what they have to say about our history, and look at their future in a rapidly changing environment. These are pre-European Maori pa, Maori and European sites of the 1860s New Zealand Wars, sites relating to the first settlement of people in our region seven or eight hundred years ago, and first generation European homestead sites.

Pre-European Maori pa

The first sites to attract attention were of course the pa. Kath and I visited many of them and soon got used to the hazards of site surveying in this part of the country. Number 1: no stray bit of wire is to be trusted even if so rusty it could not possibly carry an electric current. Also, gumboots are required footwear on dairy properties, especially when the best access to the back of properties is by way of a farm race used four times a day by a large herd of cows (Figure 1).

Pa dominate the Taranaki site record file, just as they dominate the historic landscape. As at 31 March this year there were 1582 recorded sites in our region, 749 of which are pa, i.e., 47% of recorded sites (information from Tony Walton). The site record file has records of 6880 pa in New Zealand as a whole. Their distribution shows where Maori lived.

Figure 1. Among the hazards of site recording: Kath Prickett and Neville Ritchie at Koru pa, Taranaki, October 1974.

Pa clearly were important for the survival of communities in a society which put a high value on the practice of warfare and the cultural priorities which lay behind it. The big labour cost of building pa had to take its place alongside the necessary provision of food and other demands on community and iwi resources. The distribution of pa to a large degree reflects social and political arrangements in what was for Maori a familiar and ideal human landscape. Geoff Irwin has come close to this idea in his 1985 study of pa distribution on Pouto Peninsula in Northland (Irwin 1985).

In 1979–1981 I mapped or otherwise recorded 89 pa in the districts south of New Plymouth to Stoney River, home of the Nga Mahanga a Tairi people. This is a coastal area about 20 km long and as much as 5 km wide. 'Otherwise recorded' means the sites were already wholly or largely destroyed, and so were beyond detailed mapping. A new local hazard emerged during this project when on one pa a cow chewed to destruction a section of our baseline tape out of sight from where we were working.

The number of pa in the area reflects a considerable population living on the rich resources of bush, gardens and sea. In one place there are 20 pa in just 10 km^2; overall there is about one per km^2. There is a pattern of large pa on the coast and along the inland bush edge, and between them many small pa, probably located near to the all-important gardens.

Large pa such as Koru on the Oakura River, with a defended area of ca 7000 m^2, and Mounu Kahawai, on the south bank of the Kaihihi River, where defensive works may have enclosed as much as 55,000 m^2 (i.e., 5.5 ha), would have served a very different purpose to small pa with defended areas of just 2–300 m^2. Clearly there was low-level conflict where small family groups expected to deter small enemy parties, and even effectively defend themselves, and there were other occasions when larger iwi groups came together in the face of altogether bigger external threats. Small pa might be described as fortified homesteads, large pa, as iwi or hapu citadels.

It is the pattern of pa in a landscape that tells of the Maori way of life (Figure 2). The stories that any one of them tell in isolation will be a long way short of their actual purpose and place in the political, social and economic landscape. Site loss is a huge issue in the ability of archaeology to tell stories of the past.

The first pa in Taranaki may date from the 14th or 15th century. Some pa will have been used for generations, others for a much shorter time. Nearly all will, in their final form, date to the last one or two hundred years before the arrival of Europeans. Thus there is an historical depth in the landscape, the details of which are almost completely unknown, except where traditional

Figure 2. Ruataki pa, north Taranaki, ca 1975. Since the picture was taken half this pa has fallen into the sea from the continuing erosion of this part of the Taranaki coast.

accounts have something to say, or in rare cases where angled or zig-zag trenches indicate an early 19th gunfighter pa.

As part of the survey I looked at damage and destruction to pa, compared to what could be seen on 1950 aerial photographs. Making a rough assessment of each site as 25%, 50%, 75%, or totally destroyed, I estimated that the 89 pa had suffered overall 16% loss of archaeological evidence by 1950, but a total of 44% loss by 1979–81.

The reasons for this are to do with more intensive and changed land-use. Damage includes bulldozing, cultivation, stock damage, exotic plantations, quarrying, etc. Access to bulldozers was the big new factor after the Second World War. Despite the 1975 legislation protecting archaeological sites, damage and loss is continuing (Figure 3).

It also must be remembered that pa are important as visible signs of an altogether more complex cultural landscape which included gardens, kumara storage pits (not all were in pa), kainga (undefended settlements), urupa (burial grounds), etc., and named and unnamed places of significance to the people. Throughout Taranaki very few of these sites are recorded. In some districts none are recorded.

Figure 3. On Pungarehu Golf Course land this pa is protected from most forms of development damage; visited by the conference field trip, 4 December 2004.

Recent excavations at the Pohokura development site north of Waitara have revealed extensive remains which were invisible on the surface. This is an important reminder of the likelihood of unrecorded Maori sites being found anywhere in the Taranaki coastal strip. The pace of current development is such that all sites are at risk, but none more so than the vast majority, which are unrecorded and invisible on the surface.

Sites of the 19th century New Zealand Wars

Interest in New Zealand War sites began when I saw rectangular earthworks which obviously were not Maori when flying over the route of the Maui gas line in the mid-1970s (Figure 4). Few European works had previously been recorded, mostly by Alastair Buist.

My ignorance is shown by an early estimate that there might be as many as 25 European fortifications in north Taranaki dating from the 1860s. When I finished a thesis on the subject some years later I had recorded more than 70 of them (Prickett 1981). Clearly there was a historical process going on here unrecorded except in the most general way by historical accounts, and one which it is the task of archaeology to identify and explain.

Figure 4. Waireka Camp, a 60 m square British Army redoubt in the Omata district, south of New Plymouth, dating from winter 1860; visited by the conference field trip, 4 December 2004.

At first I assumed that Pakeha fortifications recorded in a general way the progress of fighting between Maori and Pakeha. In rare cases this was true. In the Huirangi district near Waitara eight earthwork redoubts and an attacking trench or sap mark the 1861 advance of General Pratt's army against Maori pa and rifle pits above the left bank of the Waitara River. These were tactical or battlefield works.

On the ground or from the air there is now little to be seen of them. Defensive ditches will survive under the ground. Part of No 1 (Kairau) Redoubt can be seen in the paddock next to Waitara Road, which runs through the centre of the work. Driving along the road at speed in the 1970s, two slight bumps could be felt where the road seal had settled with underlying ditch fill.

At No 3 Redoubt, 40 Maori and five Pakeha were killed in a dawn attack on 23 January 1861. This is one of only two attacks on European redoubts in the New Zealand Wars. The other was at Turuturumokai near Hawera in 1868. Some of No 3 Redoubt was visible in the 1970s under a plantation. Recently the land was sold, before which I am told the site was "tidied up." I have not visited it since to see what this involved, but I have my fingers crossed.

Most European forts were, however, strategic and not tactical in nature. Their purpose was to claim and hold land. They mark the expanding frontier of European settlement. They tell the all-important story of outcomes.

There is a huge propaganda element in any war, and its aftermath. Is it an accident that emphasis on campaigns and battles, and pa and guerrilla warfare, in histories of the New Zealand Wars takes attention from what was really happening? Archaeology is uniquely equipped to illustrate and explain the underlying processes of confiscation and dispossession—the expansion of the European settlement frontier and its cost. This is not unimportant in making New Zealand what it is today, when the Waitangi Tribunal is addressing the historical issues involved. The subject matter of archaeology is never just about the past.

I also recorded Maori sites of the period. Fighting took place at some of these, or they tell of the development of Maori tactics and strategy in the course of the struggle. Pa were tactical weapons designed to give an advantage to defenders against a better armed and usually, but not always, more numerous enemy.

The twin pa of Puketakauere and Onukukaitara near Waitara were scene of an important fight in June 1860 which is one of only three where British troops were defeated in an attack on pa. The others were Ohaeawai (inland Bay of Islands) in 1845 and Gate Pa (Tauranga) in 1864. Ohaeawai and Gate Pa are destroyed. What remains at the Puketakauere battle site has more than local significance. Much of Onukukaitara was quarried away before I first saw it in the mid-70s. Later a water tank was placed on top of what remained. This is now removed so that the important historic place can be seen again, on private land, from nearby roads. Puketakauere is in public ownership.

About 30 pa were put up in the 1860–61 war alone. Almost all are now destroyed, mostly by farming activities. It is not unique to Taranaki that we pay little attention to these important sites of our history. Rangiriri and Orakau in the Waikato, and Gate Pa at Tauranga—arguably the three best known battle sites of the New Zealand Wars—all have roads through the middle of them and are mostly destroyed.

Last year I re-visited war sites which I recorded in the 70s, mainly with the aim of locating them accurately on metric map sheets. A generic error of about 180 m in the conversion from the inch-to-the-mile sheets in north Taranaki has made the dots on metric sheets worse than useless for site conservation and resource management purposes.

I was surprised to find several sites recently destroyed. New houses have obliterated the sites of Mataitawa Blockhouse, Mimi Stockade and largely destroyed Timaru Redoubt on Weld Road. The Okato Blockhouse site is

destroyed by garden development. Pine trees are planted on Waiiti Redoubt near White Cliffs. If there was any consideration of archaeological values in the consent process for the house developments then the process clearly has failed.

The Bayly's Farm A.C. Camp near Pitone Road dates from the 1880–81 Parihaka Campaign. The site was known and protected for many years by the Stronge brothers who farmed the property and who I visited on several occasions. Within a few weeks of their selling up in the early 1980s a stock race was put through the site to a depth of several metres. This was a big lesson. Sites are never in more danger than with a change in ownership. New owners often introduce changed or more intensive land use, and without prior information cannot be expected to know anything of sites on the land, or their significance.

Moa-hunter sites

There are six site records in the Taranaki file of Archaic middens or ovens or both. 'Archaic' is an archaeologists' shorthand for sites and remains of early Polynesian settlement in New Zealand. The most important markers are the bones of moa and other locally or completely extinct birds, and tools and ornaments of stone, bone and ivory which are early in the historical development of Maori culture, often relating more to Pacific homelands than to later Maori items.

Polynesians who were our first settlers—and the ancestors of the Maori people—were of necessity innovative in changes to their older way of life, to successfully shift from the tiny tropical islands and atolls to this temperate archipelago, with its new raw materials, and constraints and opportunities right outside their previous experience. Their first settlements and changing way of life are documented by archaeology.

Two of New Zealand's important first settlement sites are in Taranaki, at the Kaupokonui and Waingongoro river mouths near Hawera. Here are the bones of many birds which quickly became locally or generally extinct following the arrival of people. Many were flightless after evolving over millions of years without mammalian predators. They had little chance against the most efficient predator of all. Other change, especially forest clearance, destroyed or altered ancient habitat. Dogs and kiore (Pacific rat), brought here by people, and perhaps disease, may also have impacted on bird species long isolated from the rest of the world.

When in 1983 I summarised bird identifications from early Taranaki sites there were eleven moa species, plus another eleven extinct bird species, and three species extinct in the North Island which today survive in the South Island or offshore sanctuary islands (Prickett 1983: 297). After recent DNA work there are now only ten moa species recognised altogether, and it may yet come down

to nine. In particular there is only one Dinornis, the biggest moa, in each island. The largest, which had been thought different species, turn out to be the females.

Auckland Museum zoologist Brian Gill has looked at my 1983 list and reduced moa species from eleven to five. The extinct eagle (Harpagornis) is now doubtfully present in the North Island, so the bones identified at Waingongoro (i.e. Ohawe) need to be looked at again. A supposedly extinct weka is now included in the present species. A swan is not an endemic species at all, but the same black swan since reintroduced from Australia.

But there are still five moa and eight other extinct birds identified from these early sites, so that the conclusion stands: that here were two of the settlements of the very first people to live here, who entered an ancient natural environment and changed it forever.

Radiocarbon dates on charcoal and moa-bone from Waingongoro and Kaupokonui suggest occupation in the latter part of the 13th and the 14th centuries. In 1983 I wrote that, according to available dates, “it would appear that the Taranaki region was not settled as early as other parts of the country” (Prickett 1983: 299). In those days most archaeologists agreed on first settlement of New Zealand prior to AD 1000, perhaps as early as AD 800. There was also an idea that the west coast may not have been settled as early as the east. I remember a map showing a string of early sites bathed in sunlight down the east coasts of both islands, and the west without sites and invisible under cloud. This was unfair.

Since then Atholl Anderson has led a revolution in our understanding of radiocarbon dates of early sites. There is now wide agreement among archaeologists that first settlement of New Zealand took place in the 13th century, i.e., the 1200s, or thereabouts. Thus, the Taranaki sites fall comfortably into the first settlement period, in approximately the 13th century.

Important first settlement sites are everywhere under threat. They are typically at the mouths of rivers or estuaries, often occupied by today’s beach settlements. At the Waingongoro River mouth there is very little left of the extensive area of moa-hunter ovens and middens, visited and described in the 19th century by the Rev. Richard Taylor, Walter Mantell and Sir George Grey. Near the river an entire hill with a pa on top has been quarried away, destroying not just the pa but all or nearly all the much older evidence below.

In the 1970s at Kaupokonui, moa bones and other remains were visible on the surface of a blown-out gully in dunes. I once visited the site to find a family having a barbecue there and throwing their chop bones among the remains of moa and other extinct birds. They might have thought the previous year’s holiday makers a messy lot, as well as being big eaters. A few years later the blow-out was stabilised by the planting of marram grass—every plant requiring a hole dug in the precious 700 year old archaeological evidence (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Kaupokonui moa-hunter site, planted in marram grass ca 1980.

We will have lost most first coastal settlement sites already to natural erosion. An average annual loss of 38 cm has been calculated for exposed parts of the Taranaki coast, so that in the 6–700 years since first settlement the sea may have advanced more than 200 m in places. What remains at Kaupokonui and Waingongoro and one or two other places in Taranaki is very important. The story of these first settlements is yet to be told.

First generation European homestead sites

There are obvious similarities between early moa-hunter settlements and the next group of sites, which tell of the first Pakeha who lived here, 5–600 years later. Both peoples brought a rich cultural inheritance from elsewhere, at the same time having to come to terms with this new land.

Early European settlers set about immediately creating an ideal and familiar landscape in their new home, as Maori had done before (Figure 6). Because it happened more recently we know much more about the cultural origin of early European settlers, their impact on the New Zealand environment, and the ideal landscape they set about making.

Historical circumstance has preserved an important group of early sites. In the war of 1860–1861 Maori and Pakeha both set about destroying the

settlements and subsistence of the other side. European forces burned kainga and harvested or destroyed Maori crops, gardens and fruit trees; Maori destroyed Pakeha subsistence, drove off stock, and burned down about 170 European farmhouses and their associated buildings. Where homesteads were destroyed and the sites not later re-used there are remains that tell directly of the lives of the first generation of Pakeha settlers.

In 2002 and 2003 I carried out fieldwork to locate intact farmhouse sites in the Tataraimaka, Omata, New Plymouth and Bell Block districts (Figure 7). The starting point was a July 1862 map by the surveyor Octavius Carrington, where 155 crosses mark destroyed homesteads, despite the map not always being accurate as to locations and not marking all of them.

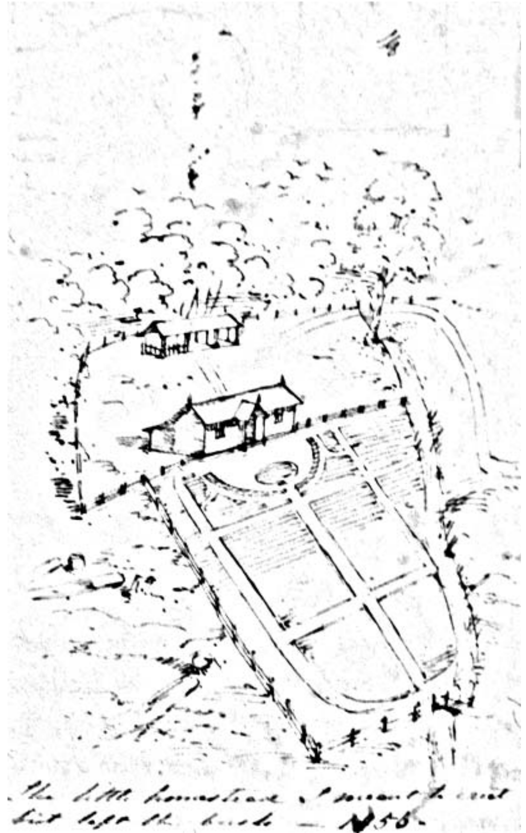

Figure 6. The ideal landscape meets the bush. The caption by artist and 1855-56 New Plymouth settler William Strutt reads "The little homestead I meant to erect but left the bush" (Curnow 1980: 25).

Most sites were reoccupied after the war, destroying the earlier evidence, or are buried by the expanding suburbs of New Plymouth. Eleven apparently intact homestead sites were found. The most significant group is at Omata, where there are seven confirmed sites. I was helped here by a landowner whose family has lived at Omata since before the First Taranaki War and who has a long-standing interest in historic sites. The district is now coming under life-style and other development pressures. These sites are recorded in the NZAA file, but are largely invisible and therefore vulnerable.

Figure 7. The Richmond homestead, Carrington Road, 1855 (Scholefield 1960 I: opp. p. 576).

The week before last when I was in New Plymouth to work on the Oropuriri (Bell Block) excavation I saw a notice advertising the auction of sections in a paddock near the old Bell Block dairy factory, to take place on December 11. On March 20 last year I searched this paddock between Mangati and Wills Roads without luck for one or two pre-1860 homestead sites shown on Carrington's map. It is very important that any such site and indeed other possible sites in this development area are not buried under the sub-division without an archaeological input.

Archaeological conservation—planning for the future

This brings us to the conservation and management of our archaeology, which is the last part of what I have to say tonight. How are we going to save a reasonable number of known landscapes and sites, let alone currently unknown sites, for future generations, in a place like Taranaki? Will there be serious planning for the future, or will things continue as at present without any systematic planning for the conservation and protection of significant sites and landscapes?

I remember nearly thirty years ago when I went to Auckland from New Plymouth to continue university studies, Roger Green of the Auckland department sometimes saying that a great thing about New Zealand archaeology was that the pre-European, i.e., Maori, archaeological landscape was still largely intact. I have to report that in much of the country it is intact no longer.

An Archaeological Association project to upgrade the quality of site records has recently revisited the Tauranga district which was intensively surveyed in the 1980s. Of 175 sites checked 26% were found to have been destroyed and another 46% could not be relocated, most of them probably destroyed (Walton and O'Keeffe 2004: 272). A similar level of site loss, here mostly of unrecorded sites, will be occurring in north Taranaki, which is now coming under unprecedented development pressure.

There are philosophical as well as practical issues to address. After the 1975 Historic Places Amendment Act gave protection to all archaeological sites more than 100 years old there was debate in the NZAA as to how this might actually work. In the 1960s the Association had developed a proposal for the identification and protection of significant sites (Green 1963). With legislated blanket protection, i.e., protecting all sites, a strong lobby now argued that to identify significant sites meant writing off the remainder—that the archaeological value of any site could be known only after proper research.

This view generally prevailed, and for years has left the Association's thinking in regard to archaeological conservation a long way behind the reality of site loss. It has also put us out of touch with the wider public, which has a more commonsense view of site significance, and so we have failed to enlist any groundswell of support for the protection of historically significant sites which are, or might potentially be, valued by communities. This is especially important in those areas which are now coming under development pressure, where I believe that unless a site is specifically flagged for protection then sooner or later it will be lost, probably sooner.

I have to say that I have come to think that it may be worse than this, and that in many districts, unless a site is in public ownership, or covenanted such as under the Queen Elizabeth II Trust, it will be lost. In the New Plymouth city area, all of ca 40 pa sites are destroyed, except seven in public ownership.

I am not arguing against the so-called 'blanket protection' which is an important tool for managing the overall archaeological resource. But I don't need to tell archaeologists and planners that a large part of this is the management not of conservation at all, but of site destruction. Since 1975 the Historic Places Trust has had the tough job of signing off on hundreds of sites, only a very few of which are in any way investigated. At the same time, many more unrecorded

sites—I would guess far more than are signed off—will have been destroyed in the course of development or changed land use.

The Archaeological Association is currently engaged in the upgrade of site records in districts where local authorities agree to fund this important work. Agreement has been reached with the New Plymouth District Council for this work soon to begin here.

But there is other work to be done. Many local authorities do not understand, or pretend not to understand, that the site file is not a complete or systematic record of sites. Landowners, planners and developers have the utmost difficulty with this. They look at a map of recorded sites and want to believe that this is what they are dealing with. They do not understand that the records we have are the work of unpaid people—in a region like Taranaki they have been mostly amateur—with particular interests, or there are rare paid-for projects of limited geographical scope, that some records are more than forty years old, and their quality is very mixed, some being famously recorded "from the road while driving past." The Association's site record scheme was not set up to serve the needs of cultural resource management.

Shortcomings in the existing record can be overcome, not only by the necessary upgrading of existing site records, but also by much needed general surveys to record something more representative of the range of sites in inadequately recorded districts. This requires a lot of resources, but I believe should be an on-going task of local authorities working with the Historic Places Trust. Many local authorities fund on-going natural resource surveys. Has any, except for the Auckland Regional Council, picked up a similar responsibility for archaeological surveys? Improved knowledge of what is out there is a matter of urgency.

Also necessary are focussed surveys ahead of proposed developments, to ensure good archaeological management decisions. This requires archaeologists and the Historic Places Trust to be notified early by local authorities which manage the resource consent process. At the moment, archaeologists are often informed, and asked for input, at the very end of the process, sometimes when everyone else has signed off on a proposal. This is an impossible situation. Or there is no attempt at all to look at archaeological issues. Local authorities must remember that absence of site records does not mean absence of sites.

Some months ago there was national publicity for the South Taranaki District Council which it seems has the fastest turnaround of resource consent proposals in New Zealand. I would be interested to know how many proposals that were signed off had any archaeological input. I suspect that in many cases archaeology was not on the radar. I have heard only today (i.e., the day this talk

was given) that the South Taranaki District Council is talking to the NZAA about taking part in the upgrade project. This is an essential start, but it is only a start.

Very important for archaeological conservation is the notification of sites on individual properties. It is usually too late to save sites when a major project has reached its proposal stage. So often we read in the newspaper that a landowner with a development proposal is surprised and unhappy to learn of an archaeological site on his land that he knew nothing about and that is now holding up a development.

Nor is a dot on the map now enough. Definition of the perimeter of archaeological sites has become essential to ensure that landowners and developers cannot be mistaken as to the location of sites. GPS technology is improving all the time so that small hand held units have every prospect of providing sufficient accuracy in the near future.

There are three effective ways of notifying the presence of sites to landowners: on the title, or by way of the Land Information Memorandum (LIM) attached to the documentation of individual parcels of land, or through listing on district schemes. It will be best, of course, if all three are used. All are easily accessed by landowners, so that knowledge of relevant information can reasonably be argued by planners and decision-makers to be the landowner’s responsibility, i.e., landowners cannot claim not to have been informed of the presence and location of archaeological sites.

If archaeological input is provided early enough in the development process, landowners and developers, tangata whenua, local authorities and the Historic Places Trust in its statutory role can then sit down and mitigate site loss and perhaps even come up with alternative plans that actually preserve particular sites. There should always be a well-informed archaeological sign off. This should be a matter of course, just as environmental, engineering, water-quality issues, etc., all are properly dealt with.

The other side of a successful archaeological conservation programme is making hard choices regarding significant sites. I believe that in many parts of the country, like north Taranaki, unless there are arrangements for the on-going protection of particular significant sites, we will lose them along with the rest. If archaeologists will not take a lead in the selection of significant sites then there are two alternatives: someone else will do it for us, or, much worse, it will not be done at all.

The Historic Places Trust register which might have played an important role in this has long been in disarray. In the 1980s too many sites were registered in places like the Bay of Plenty, many of which the community at large would rightly have the utmost difficulty in seeing as in any way significant. Today the

Trust has adopted the other extreme of registering almost nothing. After 29 years this potentially powerful tool for the identification and protection of significant historic places has failed utterly in respect of archaeological sites.

The NZAA cannot point the finger in this. Forty years ago some excellent work was done by the Association in developing a programme for the identification and protection of significant sites. Since then, encouraged by the blanket protection of the 1975 Amendment Act and believing that this would somehow be effective, we have lost our way.

As archaeologists we sometimes need reminding that archaeological sites are not simply the subjects of our research, but have, I believe, more important values for the community at large. It is these wider values that underpin legislative support for their protection. If we insist that all sites are significant, we are in danger of signalling to many New Zealanders and to decision–makers that, for practical purposes, none are significant.

Ultimately our sites will only be protected because communities know them and the stories they tell, and care about them. They will be protected in public and in private ownership because they are seen as an important part of a familiar and ideal landscape that has not been brought here from elsewhere, but which could only be in New Zealand.

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