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**CROSS CULTURAL COMMUNICATION
AND LAND TRANSFER
IN WESTERN MURIWHENUA
1832-1840**

Submission to the Waitangi Tribunal

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**CROSS CULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND
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INTRODUCTION

Qualifications and Aims

My name is Joan Metge. I am an anthropologist trained under Professor Raymond Firth at the London School of Economics (1955-57) which awarded me a Ph.D. for a thesis on research on Maori social organisation in Auckland and the community of Ahipara in Western Muriwhenua. This was published under the title A New Maori Migration, using the pseudonym Kotare for Ahipara. In the years since I have kept in close touch with the people of Ahipara and extended my contacts with the Muriwhenua iwi generally. I currently stay in Ahipara several times a year. It was my experience of the interaction between Maori and Pakeha in Ahipara and its vicinity which first led me to coin the phrase "talking past each other", to undertake research which led to the publication of the book of that title with Patricia Kinloch, and to go on to research the subject of whakama, dealt with in In and Out of Touch (1). From 1965 to 1988 I was on the staff of the Anthropology Department of Victoria University of Wellington, where my teaching included the topics of kinship, myth, gift exchange, and Maori society and culture.

In reading accounts of the dealings between Maori and Europeans in Northland prior to the Treaty of Waitangi (2), especially in relation to land, I was struck by the potential for talking past each other. Learning another language and culture (as both parties had to do) involves much, much more than matching words in one language with words in the other. It means recognising that words in both languages have multiple meanings defined and influenced by their relations with other words. It means learning to recognise and understand the ways of seeing the world that underpin and explain ways of speaking and acting in both cultures. Even in the most favourable circumstances, it is a process that takes a lot of time and effort, passes through several stages and levels of understanding, and is rarely carried through completely by those who embark upon it in adulthood. Prior to the signing of the Treaty and the establishment of government on the English model, the problems of cross cultural communication in Aotearoa/New Zealand were compounded by the fact that Maori was the main means of communication, and information and explanation about English concepts and proceedings were conveyed to Maori in their own familiar terms by English interpreters, most of whom acquired their knowledge of the Maori language as adults.

This submission falls into two parts. In the first part I attempt to build up a picture of the main protagonists in the encounter between Maori and missionary in Western Muriwhenua between 1832 and 1840 and to gauge the extent of their understanding of each other's language and culture, especially in relation to land tenure, gift exchange and commercial transactions. In the second part I discuss the meaning and use of the words "tuku" and "hoko", the concept and practice of tuku whenua, and what the rangatira involved thought they were doing when they transferred land to the missionaries.

The Question of Sources

The most extensive sources of information on interaction between Maori and European in Western Muriwhenua are the contemporary accounts by the missionaries: Henry and William Williams, Richard Davis and Charles Baker as occasional visitors and Joseph Matthews and William Puckey as residents at the Kaitaia Mission Station. The accounts they gave of events were filtered through their conscious and unconscious perception, aims and values.

Matthews and Puckey kept journals but these were destroyed in house fires. Fortunately, they included extensive extracts in their letters and reports to the Church Missionary Society. However, we cannot know how complete these extracts are, what if anything they

omitted from the passages chosen and how much they amended the selected text. In general it can be assumed that they selected the content of their letters and reports according to what they thought would be of interest and acceptable to the CMS directors, concentrating on the processes of evangelisation and "civilisation" as likely to be useful in attracting support. Crown Historian Tony Walzl has pointed out the discrepancies between accounts recorded in daily journals and summarised in letters and reports written months later (3).

These sources are entirely in English, even when the writers were reporting on extensive discussions with Maori both before and after conversion. The almost complete absence of Maori words is understandable, given that the texts were intended for an English audience far away, but makes it very difficult to check the extent of the writers' understanding of Maori words and concepts or their ability as translators. Mostly we cannot tell what Maori words they used to translate particular English words, whether they consistently matched the same Maori words with the same English words, or whether they recognised when a Maori word had different meanings in different contexts. Where it is possible to work out what the original Maori word was, the English translation is not always the one we would use today. For example, Matthews and Puckey frequently used the

word tribe, but an examination of the contexts of its use shows that they used it to translate not iwi but hapu: "a tribe of 60 people at Parapara"; "I have recently visited a tribe of 60 souls on the west coast"; visiting Panakareao's dying brother-in-law, "I found Pana and his tribe with him"; "all the tribes of the Rarawa" (4).

To my knowledge there are no contemporary accounts of this period written by Maori. Muriwhenua Maori learnt to read and write in the schools established by Matthews and Puckey, some early but most later in this period, and none of the learners seem to have used their skills to write letters or journals before 1840. The only known letter in Maori from Muriwhenua in this period is one from Nopera Panakareao to the Church Missionary Society in 1839, protesting at the proposed removal of one of the Kaitaia missionaries. As Dr Bauer shows (Appendix #5), this was composed by a first-language speaker of Maori but written down by a scribe, who may or may not have been Maori.

On the Maori side there are three main sources of information. First, there are the Northern Minute Books which record the evidence given by Maori witnesses in hearings of the Maori Land Court. Some of the books pertaining to Muriwhenua are missing. The evidence is recorded, not verbatim in Maori as delivered, but in English after translation by

interpreters and recorders. Secondly, there are the "whakapapa books" in which the guardians of tribal and family history and whakapapa wrote down much (but never all) of their knowledge, usually in Maori. While some of these books were lost in fires or buried with their holders, many others remain in the possession of the families; a few have been deposited in research libraries. Thirdly, there are the accounts which were transmitted orally by their guardians in whare wananga or to student-apprentices, sometimes in association with whakapapa books, sometimes not, and usually in fixed-form as a safeguard against error. One such account was presented orally before the Waitangi Tribunal on December 6th and 7th 1990 by Rima Eruera. It dealt with the encounter between Panakareao, Titore and Joseph Matthews at Te Ikahunuhunu, Panakareao's discussion with the missionaries on the eve of the signing of the Treaty in Kaitaia, and his comments (in speeches and in response to criticism) on his "sale" of land (5).

The sources which are in Maori have been little tapped by non-Maori researchers. We do not know how extensive they are or even what they contain. The few that are available in research libraries are often not indexed. It is important to acknowledge their existence. Reconstructions of what happened in the 1830s and earlier periods cannot be regarded as complete when they leave sources in Maori out of account.

CROSS CULTURAL COMMUNICATION IN WESTERN MURIWHENUA

In Western Muriwhenua the encounter between Maori and missionary began in 1832 when five CMS missionaries visited the area to investigate the feasibility of establishing a mission station there. Prior to that date the tāngata whenua of the area had had relatively little direct contact with Europeans. They had however been affected indirectly by the introduction of pigs, potatoes and corn, by the guns brought into the area by Ngāpuhi allies or obtained by Muriwhenua taua on expeditions southwards, by epidemics and new diseases, by information and rumour passed on by Ngāpuhi relatives and by temporary employment with Europeans in the Hokianga. Their knowledge of European behaviour and beliefs was generally secondhand, patchy and imperfectly understood. They had heard of missionary observance of "te Rā Tapu" and even tried to imitate it by "sitting still", but they had not learnt the reasons for such behaviour (6). Some were able to distinguish between different kinds of Europeans, most were not (7).

During the negotiations for the mission station site (1832-34), Panakareao and the other Te Rarawa chiefs were clearly in the ascendancy, holding power and control - mana and rangatiratanga - in Muriwhenua (See Appendix #8). The missionaries were well aware that

they could not venture into Muriwhenua without chiefly protection. They temporarily abandoned their plans for a northern station when Te Rarawa seemed set on accompanying Titore to war in the south and revived them only when assured that the important rangatira Panakareao had remained in the area in order to receive them.

Panakareao and the Rangatira of Western Muriwhenua (8)

Trying to build up a picture of the career, status and personality of Panakareao demonstrates the difficulties arising from relying on English language sources of information. In the 1830s he was clearly a dominant figure in Western Muriwhenua; the question is how dominant and why. Matthews and Puckey referred to him as "a principal chief", "our principal chief" and "the principal chief", usually without indicating the area in which he held that status (9). It is obvious that they used the English word "chief" to translate "rangatira", but not at all clear whether they used "principal chief" to translate a different term used by the Maori such as "ariki" or to differentiate rangatira with more mana and a wider sphere of authority from those with less. Sometimes they seemed to recognise Panakareao as one of several rangatira of equal status, since they identified others as "principal chiefs" too (10). Sometimes they seemed to make larger claims, calling him "the greatest Chief of the Rarawa", "the head Chief of the Rarawa" and

"the Chief of Chiefs of the Rarawa" (11). Three passages stand out. In 1835 Puckey wrote:

"Panakareao is the head Chief of the Rarawa and possesses kingly authority over all his tribe more so than any other Chief I know" (12);

and in 1939:

"Noble Panakareao our principal chief possesses almost (kingly) authority over the Northern tribes so that hardly any of them durst do anything of moment without his consent". (13)

The same year Matthews wrote:

"I will tell you the grand difference between a principal and a petty chief. Panakareao has by right of conquest as well as by birth the ki wainga - in English - the word and the power of command to fight or to sit still. We have witnessed his power in this, and therefore we can speak. If anything serious happened, a word would be sufficient to gather together all the tribes of the Rarawa which would amount to fourteen to sixteen hundred fighting men." (14)

None of these passages is detailed enough to substantiate conclusively the claims made. Matthews' statement has been taken to mean that Panakareao was the only chief who had this power over the whole of Te Rarawa, but both he and Puckey applied the term "principal chief" to other rangatira in Muriwhenua. Matthews' brief definition did not characterise the ki whainga adequately, and though he claimed to have witnessed Panakareao's power in action, he did not identify the occasion. In responding to Titore's summons to the war in Tauranga, the other rangatira of Muriwhenua made their own decisions, independently both of Panakareao and of each other.

Matthews and Puckey gave very little detail about the sources of Panakareao's mana in Te Rarawa. They identified his father as Te Kaka, a leading member of the Te Paatu section of Te Rarawa, who had a kāinga seven or eight miles upstream from the site eventually chosen for the mission (15), but they did not record his whakapapa nor his wife's name and whakapapa. A recent biography of Nopera Panakareao (16) alleges that the identity of Panakareao's mother is "not known". Experts in the tribal history of the area identify Te Kaka's wife and Panakareao's mother as Whakaeke, daughter of Moria, daughter of Tarutaru, an important leader of Te Rarawa in the 18th century (17). With their approval I have drawn up a chart of the descendants of Tarutaru (Appendix #1). This shows that on his mother's side, Panakareao belonged (in genealogical terms) to the most junior line and was teina to all the leading rangatira to the west of Kaitaia. This makes it imperative to explain what other sources of mana Panakareao had, whether they were enough collectively to give him higher status than these western rangatira, and if so to what extent and under what circumstances. Answers to these questions can come only from Maori sources, from those expert in the whakapapa and history of Te Paatu as well as the western hapū, and in the political history of Muriwhenua as a whole. I shall content myself with suggesting that significance attached to his descent and connections on his father's side as well as his

mother's, to his record of personal achievement, and to his personal as well as kinship relationship with Poroa, who held the mana whenua over the territory occupied by Te Rarawa in the early 19th century.

Panakareao had a reputation as a warrior and war-leader, but we need more information than is available in English. Accounts given in the Maori Land Court did not include his name among those who fought in the last battles between Te Rarawa and Te Aupouri. Matthews refers to his having brought a slave wife back from fighting in Taranaki "a little before we arrived here" but gives no details of the taua with which he fought there (18). Several accounts of his successful campaign against Hongi Keepa of Ngati Kuri in alliance with Paparaiti of Te Aupouri appear in the records of the Maori Land Court but are not in agreement on all points, especially whether or not Paparaiti transferred mana over part of Te Aupouri territory to him in recompense (19). These accounts need to be reviewed by a competent Maori authority.

Both Matthews and Puckey referred to Panakareao as "young" in the early 1830s; Dr John Johnstone said that "he appeared to be about 40 years of age" at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi at Kaitaia there (20). He would certainly have known Poroa, and if Poroa favoured him and passed on to him any of the mana whenua he held, that would have counted for much.

His marriage to Te Huhu's daughter Ati (21), later baptised Ereonora, undoubtedly strengthened his position and may have been a sign of Poroa's favour, since it would have required his approval.

In the early 1830s, at the time of the missionaries' first visit to Muriwhenua, Panakareao was young and active and had achieved a very high and possibly the highest position available in Muriwhenua society at that time. He was a man very much in control of his world. Why did he refuse Titore's invitation to join the war expedition southward and the opportunity to make his name in a wider arena? There is no simple answer. Undoubtedly he had the foresight to see that the Europeans had arrived in the country to stay and that the missionaries had advantages to offer: access to superior technology, skills (including reading and writing) and the Gospel, seen by many as the spiritual source of European power. As a leader who was in touch with the aspirations of his people, he articulated a widespread desire for these advantages. On his first official visit to the area, Matthews reported that the numerous inhabitants "all appeared desirous of Missionaries" (22). The pursuit of mana was also a motivating force, as Smith recognised (23). Accepting Titore's invitation would have been to continue his previous career as a war-leader. It carried the risk of death or failure, and Te Rarawa would have been part of an alliance, not the prime mover. To lead his

people in a new direction was a more creative option. In Maori thinking war and peace leaders are logical opposites; most rangatira are one or the other. Those who combine both roles are regarded as truly great. Poroa, who had achieved this difficult feat, provided Panakareao with a challenging role model.

Having chosen the way of peace and change, Panakareao played a key role in the negotiations over the mission site, personally escorting the missionaries on a tour of possible sites, securing the assent of those with interests in the land, mobilising the labour force to clear road and river, making arrangements by personal discussion with Baker, providing the protection of his warriors on the settlement day and installing families on the station to provide continuing protection (24). When he discovered that Baker, intended head of the mission, had not come to Kaitaia, Panakareao felt that his mana had been slighted and held aloof from the mission for some time, but eventually he resumed close relations, became with his wife a candidate for baptism, travelled around the villages preaching the new faith, and adopted many features of a European life-style (25). He was the principal Maori signatory on all but one of the deeds transferring land to the CMS or associated missionaries (26). In 1936 he signed the Declaration of Independence, along with several other chiefs from Muriwhenua. At the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi at Kaitaia in April 1840, he was a

leading orator; a report of his performance used the words "impressive" and "commanding", and he was credited with obtaining unanimous consent from the assembled chiefs (27). Ereonora was also a signatory (28).

Both Panakareao and Ereonora were rangatira of high rank, imperious in manner, accustomed to deference and wealth well above the general level. As his dealings with Baker showed, Panakareao was not used to giving ground and was quick to react when he considered his mana was challenged. Even after he was baptised as a Christian and engaged in preaching the Gospel he was involved in several turbulent incidents resulting from this cause, including disputes with kinsmen at Oruru and Ahipara, and with Ngapuhi at Oruru (29).

While he took the lead in relations with the missionaries, Panakareao was only one of a number of prominent rangatira who deserve to be treated as distinct personalities with their own whakapapa, personal histories, personalities and spheres of authority. This is a task for Maori experts and one I am not competent to undertake. I must however point out that most of the rangatira occupying areas to the west of Kaitaia belonged to family lines senior to Panakareao and like his father had made their names fighting with Poroa in the battles against Te Aupouri. Apart from Mahanga (baptised Te Poari) and Te Ripi

(Puhipi) they were considerably older than Panakareao and probably more set in traditional ways. For their interconnections see Figure 1 in the Appendix (#1).

Joseph Matthews

When Baker refused to go north, Joseph Matthews was appointed head of the Kaitaia mission. Matthews was born in Banbury, England, in 1808 and apprenticed to his father as a weaver (30). He extended his education by private reading and completed the one year training course at the Church Missionary Society Training College at Islington in 1830. Later he reported declining an invitation to stay longer because "I was then young and anxious to be engaged", that is, as a missionary (31). He sailed for Sydney as chaplain in a convict ship in 1831, spent six months with Marsden at the Parramatta station, where he had his first contact with Maori, reached the Bay of Islands in March 1832 and was appointed assistant to Rev. Richard Davis at Waimate North. There he established a school for Maori children under ten years, using up-to-date teaching methods (including learning games) studied in England. He improved his Maori under tuition from Davis' eldest daughter Mary Ann, who had been in New Zealand since 1824, had firsthand experience of Maori customs including "stripping" (muru) and spoke Maori well. He and Mary Ann were married on 16th December 1833, shortly before moving to Kaitaia. There they raised six children. Matthews was a lay missionary

when appointed to Kaitaia; he was ordained deacon in 1844 but his ordination as priest was delayed until 1859, because Bishop Selwyn disapproved of his holding land privately and caring more for his own land than for that of the CMS (32). Matthews died in Kaitaia at eighty-seven years of age.

In later years Matthews told members of his family that early in November 1832, when his superiors put their proposed visit to Muriwhenua on hold, he had made an unauthorised trip with a Maori guide, Pene Te Wahanga, taking an inland route through the bush clad ranges (33). They emerged from the bush at Kerekere pa, overlooking the village of Te Ahu and Te Ikahunuhunu flats, where Titore, Papahia and Panakareao were holding a war conference. In Te Ahu he recognised the mission station site which he had seen in a dream. He and his companion were captured and delivered to the chiefs. Undaunted, Matthews argued that they should not be killed because it was the Ra Tapu and he had an important message to deliver. Intrigued, Panakareao gave Matthews the opportunity to deliver his message and when the war conference resumed decided not to join the war expedition himself. He sent Matthews back to the Bay of Islands with an invitation to his superiors to proceed with their visit. The authors of Matthews' biography attribute the omission of this expedition from the CMS record to official disapproval. Whether the story is

taken at face value or as allegory (see Appendix #2), its telling suggests that Matthews was imaginative and adventurous, besides being a man of deep faith. A member of the parties which surveyed possible sites for the Muriwhenua mission station in 1832 and an alternative route from Kerikeri in 1833, he revelled in the physical difficulties of both trips.

William Gilbert Puckey

Though a little older in years, William Puckey was appointed assistant to Matthews, presumably because he was less well educated. He was born in 1805 in Penrhyn, Cornwall, but accompanied his family overseas in the missionary cause to Sydney and then New Zealand, arriving at Kerikeri in 1819 at fourteen years of age (34). There he worked as assistant to his carpenter father, associated with the young people of Hongi Hika's pa, learnt to speak Maori fluently, and had close encounters with tikanga such as "stripping" and the enslavement of captives. As a boy he reportedly "had a happy knack of getting on with the native" and was "full of mischief and an irrepressible joker". When his parents returned to Sydney on the Herald in 1826, Puckey sailed as supercargo, returning to the Bay of Islands on his own. Many years later Puckey spoke of living with Archdeacon and Mrs Henry Williams in Paihia for seven years, presumably in the 1820s, and of the Maori boys he knew "at school" there "when I myself was but a boy" (35). In September 1831

he was accepted as a member of the CMS Mission in New Zealand by the Parent Committee in England and on 11 October 1831 he married Matilda Davis, second daughter of Rev. Richard Davis. In 1833 Puckey spent some months at Waimate North with his father-in-law procuring timber and getting "some knowledge" of agricultural and other skills in preparation for service at Kaitaia (36).

Puckey was notable for his physical fitness, energy and varied skills; known as "the handyman missionary", he knew something of "half a dozen trades" and could "turn his hand to anything". He built his own wooden cottage on the mission station and much of the wooden church. With the help of the schoolmaster he repaired an organ which was damaged during unloading. He introduced wheat-growing, tree-grafting and bee-keeping to the local people, shod the first horse in the Far North, and made wheels and other equipment to teach the students in the mission schools to spin and weave. After the CMS supplied the medical and surgical books and instruments he and Matthews had requested, he not only dispensed medicines but became an amateur dentist and bonesetter and once amputated a leg. An experienced sailor, he kept an old whale boat and later a small schooner at Rangaunu for holidays and the collection of shells to make lime for fertiliser. He invented a wool press and improvised the first land yacht used on Ninety Mile Beach by adding a steering

wheel and sail to a dray. He soon took on the task of serving the remoter communities, travelling as many as 35 miles in a day on horseback and on foot, and making quarterly trips to Te Reinga. An expert shot, he took a great interest in sport of all kinds.

Like Matthews, Puckey was a lay missionary when appointed to the Kaitaia mission; he remained so all his life. According to family tradition, he attended St John's Theological College at one stage but refused ordination because it would mean leaving Kaitaia. He did not want to do this because of his wife's health (she suffered from periodic attacks of shortness of breath, presumably asthma) and attachment to the area and its people. William and Matilda Puckey had eleven children, raising eight to adulthood. He died in 1878 at seventy two years of age; she died in 1884 at seventy.

Matthews and Puckey

When they started the Kaitaia mission, Matthews and Puckey were young men, 26 and 29 respectively, physically fit, energetic, adventurous, keen to act independently and very sure of themselves and their ability to cope with difficult situations. They were impatient of their elders' caution over establishment of the Kaitaia mission and apparently did not hesitate to speak their minds when Baker's decision to pull out jeopardised the enterprise: Baker reported that Puckey

in particular "was out of all bounds of propriety" (37). Both exhibited in ample measure the holy zeal expected of Evangelical missionaries, possibly reinforced by a desire to prove themselves as successful in the evangelistic task as better educated colleagues. Puckey may also have been trying to live down his parents' departure under a cloud (38). Both Matthews and Puckey were supported by wives who knew as much or more than they did about Maori language and tikanga and who taught in the mission schools, nursed the sick, and supervised the training of resident Maori servants, in addition to bearing numerous children.

From the tone of their letters and reports, Matthews and Puckey retained their supreme confidence in the rightness of their beliefs as they aged. When they suffered disappointment, physical weakness and personal tragedy, they took comfort in their faith, interpreting all opposition to their message as the work of the Devil. They succoured and supported each other. Their letters and journals contained none of the personal sniping which marred the record of the CMS mission at Kerikeri and the Wesleyan mission at Whangaroa and Mangungu. With their wives, they made a strong and united team and firmly resisted attempts to split them up.

The Language of Communication

In the 1830s Maori was the dominant language throughout the country and the language of communication between Maori and European. Some Maori had a working knowledge of English but none of the Muriwhenua chiefs as far as is known. As a matter of policy the CMS in New Zealand fostered the translation of the Bible into Maori and expected its missionaries to learn and work in Maori. Services were conducted in Maori for Maori congregations, followed by English ones where there were English settlers. Matthews and Puckey used Maori for preaching, for teaching in the schools and for informal conversations. Maori understanding of European intentions, customs and concepts depended heavily on the missionaries' ability, first, to understand Maori, its grammar, vocabulary, imagery and idioms, and, secondly, to translate effectively from English into Maori and vice versa.

Competence in a second language is not an all-or-nothing thing. How competent were Matthews and Puckey?

Writing to the CMS in April 1833, Matthews declined to give a detailed account of the trip to Muriwhenua the previous November on the grounds that "I am young in the land and my knowledge of the language is as yet imperfect" (39). Once settled in Kaitaia his knowledge must have improved from constant usage. As well as

preaching sermons in Maori (which could be prepared beforehand), he reported engaging in conversations and debates in Maori and said that "we visit the Natives in the Villages around us in the weekdays as well as on Sundays, and thus we are enabled to enter more fully into their secular affairs." (40) It is difficult however to assess the level of competence he ultimately achieved without examples of his translations. Where he reported what particular people said on particular occasions he did so in English and usually in indirect speech and paraphrase. When he did report direct speech, he frequently used a literal English equivalent for the Maori words, so that they appear naive or quaint. For example, he translated "noho" as "sit down" or "sit still" where "live", "settle" or "stay behind" would have rendered the sense better, and "pōuri" as "dark" where "sad" was appropriate (41). In recounting local reaction to the CMS plan to move him or Puckey he reported "Our principal chief when the news was first brought him said "I am like a thing cooked." " (42) (The original idiom can only be guessed at: Panakareao probably meant that he had been robbed of mana and made noa.) He was uncomfortable with the Maori use of figurative language, writing in 1939:

"They are a very talkative people and our service is altogether adapted to their spiritual wants. It being composed of sound Scripture truths, they have something (illegible) balance them, otherwise they would so mix up their own Native "Kupu wakarite" (parabolic way of speaking) as to misguide themselves into the way of error." (43)

He seems entirely to have overlooked the extent to which "a parabolic way of speaking" is used in the Bible. This attitude suggests either that he had a rather literal turn of mind and/or that his linguistic competence was not enough for him to follow the allusions easily, at least in the early years of his ministry. Like many Europeans he interpreted Maori delight in figurative expression as an inability to think abstractly, as when he subscribed to the idea that the Maori language had no word for gratitude (44).

In contrast, Puckey learnt the Maori language in intimate social interaction with Maori people as a teenager. Family papers say his understanding of the language was such that older members of the mission at Kerikeri consulted him about the meaning of Maori words (45). In 1834 he himself wrote that:

"I have one great privilege beyond many of the Brethren that is a good knowledge of the language, having come to the land when very young I had a particular advantage in acquiring the language. I spend a good portion of my time in translating the Scriptures. After I have translated a part I take it to the elder Brethren who make such alterations as are necessary." (46)

When Bishop Selwyn set up the Translation Syndicate to revise the Maori translations of the New Testament, Psalms and Prayer Book, he appointed to it "the two best grammarians and the two best oral scholars, with myself as Chairman. Archdeacon Williams, Mr Maunsell, Mr Hamlin and Mr W G Puckey are generally acknowledged to answer respectively to the above description." (47)

The syndicate held its first meeting in June 1844 and continued to meet throughout the 1840s: in 1846 Puckey recorded spending a full three weeks working with Archdeacon Williams and Rev. Maunsell on the task (48).

Writing to the CMS in 1857, Puckey asked them "please to excuse all mistakes" in the journal extracts he had included, commenting in extenuation that:

"I have been so accustomed to write Maori (i.e. the New Zealand language) that many of my brethren have said in all my English communications I follow the idiom of the New Zealand language. It is hardly to be wondered at when it is known that I have for the last 38 years been principally speaking it. For 7 years I lived with Archdeacon H. Williams I was directed to speak nothing but Maori to him and Mrs Williams that they might learn the language." (49)

Puckey's son Judge Puckey told family members that at five years of age, apart from a short prayer his mother taught him, he knew very little English and invariably spoke Maori (50). Maori was evidently the language of the Puckey home, which consistently included several Maori in domestic training.

Puckey was much better than Matthews at recognising and appreciating Maori figures of speech. In a letter written in 1836 he reported one extended metaphor at length, evidently struck with its vividness:

"The New Zealander uses very figurative language and consequently it seems rather singular to Europeans. After asking one how he felt, he said "The Holy Spirit has begun to dig at the top of his heart but works downward very slowly. He seems to stand in need of a spade that he may more effectually work down to the many roots which are

there; sometimes there is a great dust in my heart." (51)

He was able and willing to adopt this method of exposition himself, for he tells of "trying to illustrate the death and merits of the Saviour in their most figurative way" (52). He even used it in a letter to the CMS to underline his argument against the proposal to remove Matthews to another station:

"I am well aware that were I by myself at times of great commotion and excitement without a Christian brother to consult I believe I should become a prey to my own thoughts. Yet still that passage of Holy Writ is for our support. "As thy day they strength shall be". But all men are not alike. They much resemble trees, some will thrive best by themselves, and others, best when they grow close together." (53)

The one piece of objective evidence of Puckey's understanding of Maori is his translation of the letter from Nopera Panakareao to the CMS dated 5th March 1939. Puckey signed this translation, identified himself as "Translator" and added "This I believe to be as near as possible to the original". I gave both the letter and the translation (in Xerox and typed versions) to linguist Dr Winifred Bauer with a request for her assessment of the authenticity of the original letter and the competence of the translator. The letter, the translation and her assessment of both are in the Appendix (#3-#5). Concerning Puckey, Dr Bauer's general conclusions are that he had a competent grasp of Maori grammatical structures, vocabulary and idiom, had understood the essential meaning of the Maori original and had mostly succeeded in rendering that message effectively into English; but that his

literary skills were limited and aspects of his translation open to criticism.

I endorse this assessment. Puckey's translation of particular words in Nopera Panakareao's letter was often so literal that it gave the impression of oddity or clumsiness and evoked connotations which were not present in the original. For example, he translated "tūnga rama" as "candlestick". The original meaning of "rama" in Maori is "torch of wood". The missionary translators used it in the Paipera Tapu to translate both "lamp" and "candle". "Tūnga (tūranga)" adds the idea of standing upright or fixed. "Candlestick" conveys the double idea of a light shining in darkness and fixity better than "candle", but "lamp" would have been more appropriate in the context. He translated "kaumātua" as "old men", a translation which emphasised age and sex rather than the senior status and authority of the people referred to. He translated "tika" as "straight" where the context required the meaning "right". He translated "e kake haere ana te Hahi o te Atua i Kaitaia" as "The Church of God at Kaitaia is rising", when "increasing" would have been the appropriate word.

On the other hand, in the attempt to render the sense of the original he sometimes paraphrased too freely, omitting something that was present in the original and/or including something that was not. For example,

he translated "Ka tokorua ki te mara, ka oti te mara tena, ka kotahi kahore e oti" as "If there are two workmen on a piece of land, it may be finished but if there be only one it is unlikely." A literal translation is: "Two (workers go) to the garden, it will be finished, one, it will not be finished." Puckey's translation identified the workers as men where there is no reference to sex in the original, failed to make it clear that the piece of land was a garden or cultivation (mara), used the conditional "may be finished" instead of the simple future tense of "ka oti", and replaced the strong negative "it will not be finished" with the weak "it will be unlikely". The nett result is to obscure the balanced structure and punchiness of the original. He translated "he tokomaha nga rangatira o Ngapuhi kahore ano i wakapono noa, heoi ano to ratou mahi he tuku whenua anake ano mo nga pakeha" as "There are plenty of Ngapuhi chiefs who have not yet believed and who do nothing but sell land to the white people who came there". A literal translation is: "Many are the Ngapuhi chiefs who have not yet believed (the Gospel), (and) who do nothing but let go land for the Pakeha". Puckey's translation used the colloquial "plenty of" where "many" was more accurate (since the reference was to people), added the qualifying clause "who came here", transposed "for (the Pakeha)" into "to", and translated the phrase "he tuku whenua" as "sell land", introducing commercial

connotations which the word did not have in 1839 and does not have to this day (54).

Given his experience and competence in speaking Maori, Puckey surely knew the proper usage of these words in Maori. Why then did he choose English translations which conveyed less, or more, than the meanings present in the Maori? Taken on its own, the translation of "tuku whenua" as "sell land" could be explained as a deliberate mismatch intended to convey the wrong impression to readers who did not understand Maori. However, this particular inaccurate translation should not be separated from the others which appear in his translation of Panakareao's letter and in his letters, including his habit of translating "utu" as "payment" (55). Taken as a group, these translations can be explained as the rough and ready matching of words that is typical of the translation practice of non-scholars. When there is no exact equivalent available, such translators opt for the one that seems nearest or to fit the context, without thinking out the implications. Puckey was a practical man: his knowledge of Maori was a working knowledge acquired in working situations, not in the context of scholarship. He was used to translating into English ad hoc, under the pressure of immediate need, and was not in the habit of agonising, as scholars do, over the relative merits of near synonyms or of searching for just the right word.

I suspect that these and similar translation usages were common among the missionaries, adopted originally and passed on with little or no serious reflection on their adequacy. Other examples are "stripping" for muru, identification of Te Reinga as "the New Zealand hell", and reference to the tohi rite as "Native baptism" on the basis of its use of water and naming, in spite of its fundamental differences from Christian baptism in other respects (56). The more often such inadequate translations were used, the more taken for granted they became, the less subject to conscious reflection, and the more likely to have a subtle, limiting effect on the missionaries' own understanding and translations.

It has been suggested that Puckey was responsible for the Maori in the document recording the transfer of the Kaitaia (Kerekere I) block to the CMS, which was the model for thirteen other Western Muriwhenua deeds (57). As the most expert in the Maori language among the missionaries involved it is likely that the task would have been entrusted to him, and the assumption is supported by John Ryder's statement that Puckey drew up the Maori deed for Maheatai (58).

As Mutu points out (59), the deed relating to the Kaitaia transfer has a number of decidedly un-Maori features, including clumsy transliterations from English in place of local Maori words for compass

directions, long and complex sentences, and an absence of the place names, whakatauki, and figurative expressions typical of Maori ceremonial statements. If Puckey was the composer of these deeds, do these features cast doubt on his competence as a translator? They certainly would if it were not for the evidence adduced above that he was competent, with a competence beyond that of most of his missionary colleagues. However, there is a difference between being a competent translator of speech and of texts composed by others and being skilled at composing in the target language on paper. The evidence suggests that while Puckey was well able to express himself orally in Maori in a Maori way, he was less skilled in formal written composition, whether in Maori or English. The most likely explanation of the inadequacies of the Maori of the deeds is that Puckey was asked not to compose the deed in Maori himself but to translate an English draft supplied by his superiors or to draw up a new deed on the basis of clear and limiting instructions. The format of the deed suggests that it was directed not at the chiefs who were transferring the land but at administrators and lawyers expected to come later. Given their own customary, oral ways and the elementary level of Maori language used in the deeds, Panakareao and the other chiefs could not have taken them seriously as records of so important a transaction. They would have placed most weight on the verbal description of the land (including the recital

of place names) and on the agreement made orally during negotiations, especially while walking over the land itself.

The Missionaries' Understanding of Tikanga Maori

Once the Kaitaia mission station was established the resident Maori and their rangatira on the one hand and the missionaries on the other set about trying to understand each others' ways. Nearly all the information we have about the success or otherwise of this process on both sides comes from the missionaries.

In the 1830s the missionaries had strong incentives to strive for understanding. They were in a position of relative weakness politically, dependent on the rangatira individually and collectively for access to land and people and, as some hapū drew back from their initial desire for missionaries or became disillusioned with the consequences of their coming, on particular protectors. Also, they perceived the need to understand something of the people's customs as a means to preaching the Gospel more effectively.

How much did Matthews and Puckey really know and understand about the tikanga of their hosts in Western Muriwhenua?

The most readily accessible evidence on the subject comes from Matthews who in a letter to the CMS early in 1841 gave "a rough draft of a few customs of the Natives which we suppose to approach rather near the customs of the Jews". (60; the full text is given in the Appendix #6). This account is revealing in a number of ways. It was presented in the form of a list of items, numbered 1 to 35. The items were in no particular order, only some being related to those on either side by association of ideas. They varied quite widely in specificity and significance, from observations dealing with minor activities (such as "they eat out of baskets" and they like "to sit under every green tree") to more complex behaviour patterns generated by beliefs (such as "they frequently kill their wizards and witches" and "seek a payment for the murder or for the loss of a relative"). They were chosen not for their general significance but for alleged similarities to Jewish custom; these were sometimes supported by a Biblical reference, sometimes not, and were mostly of a superficial order. The items were stated baldly without background context: for example, the statement that "a song is the general mode by which a chief commences a speech" said nothing about how a "speech" was defined or when, where or why speeches were made. In many cases, Matthews presented the items without comment. Ending each with an exclamation mark might be taken as an expression of surprise at oddity or perhaps at the perceived

likeness to Jewish custom; on the other hand, liberal use of exclamation marks was characteristic of the epistolary style of the time, so that too much should not be read into their use here. In some cases, however, Matthews did make explicit judgments, expressing disapproval when referring to adults encouraging children in warlike behaviour, the exacting of blood "payment" from other than the offender, women giving counsel in war, and female infanticide; impatience with Maori objections to travelling at night because of belief in ghosts; mild amusement at men joining the boys in spinning tops; and ambivalence over the teasing ditties composed by young people, which he described as both "wicked" and "clever", indicating that he understood the allusions! His comprehension of the language had improved markedly in the seven years since he settled in Kaitaia.

Matthews' account of "Native baptism" was more detailed (61; see Appendix #7). It too concentrated mainly on observable features, but included the interesting observation that the relations of the mother were particularly honoured at the ensuing feast and the people's own explanation of this as "on account of the mother having all the pain".

For the rest Matthews and Puckey dealt in their writing with customary Maori ways as they arose in the

course of their work and daily living. Unfortunately, they used English equivalents instead of the words the Maori used and went into relatively little detail. It is sometimes difficult to tell whether they recognised certain tikanga as such or not. For example, they noted that when members of different hapū met there was considerable delay in getting down to business. As Matthews put it:

"A Native and more particularly so with the Chiefs will sit for some time before one knows what he wants. But this is altogether in accordance with their customs. I have many times seen one party of Natives come to see another and having arrived within a few yards they would sit down for an hour before they made known their business or even saluted each other." (62)

It is hard to tell from this account whether he meant that they sat in silence for an hour or spent an hour exchanging welcome speeches, waiata and hongi, in other words, whether he recognised the welcome ceremony as such. If he did, he certainly did not see past its outward appearance to understand its purpose or functions (63), for he went on:

"This custom is to a European most tiresome, at least I have found it so as the apparent waste of time has sometimes made me demand of them what they wanted."

For his part, Puckey described several cases of behaviour which could readily be identified and explained in terms of the whakamā syndrome (64), but there is no indication that he recognised the complexity of the concept or accepted it as having explanatory power. Two cases involved mission teachers

who were so whakamā over the behaviour of associates

(65) that they withdrew from their duties:

"Sunday 15 (April 1849) Visited Ahipara, before the afternoon service, while I was going in company with a teacher to visit a sick person, he told me that the officiating teacher that morning was obliged to sit down in the middle of his sermon and cry; another teacher was obliged to finish the discourse. It appears that some of the congregation had been living in a very bad way with only the appearance of religion." (66)

" Sunday 20 (July 1856) Held Divine Service at Oruru. Admonished a Teacher who had given up coming to the Settlement on Saturdays to be instructed for Sunday duties; consequently had given up to address his congregation. He said his heart was weak because they would not build another Chapel, especially as he had procured most of the required material. The old one had fallen down...Sunday 31 (August) Visited Whakarake and Mangatakauere. I was informed at this place that the teacher mentioned July 20 had allowed his daughter to live in a state of concubinage with another man and through this had been ashamed to stand before his congregation, and had allowed them to scatter on the Sabbath days. I thought his manner rather strange while I was conversing with him about his congregation." (67)

Instead of attributing this behaviour to whakamā, a learned way of reacting, Puckey interpreted it as "one of the methods Satan uses to put down the preaching of the Gospel" (68). In this last case, he rendered the word used to describe the teacher's behaviour by the English translation "ashamed". He used the same translation in recounting a visit to a blind woman living in Ahipara.

"I asked her if she went to Church. She told me she was ashamed on account of her blindness. She appears more ashamed than grieved at her loss. This is characteristic of the New Zealander." (69)

Again there is little doubt that whakama was the word used in Maori. Puckey did not recognise that whakamā did not always mean ashamed but covered a much wider

range of meaning. In this case it might have been better translated as "embarrassed" or "humiliated". Nor did he ask her or himself why she should feel ashamed. He obviously had not made the connection between whakamā and consciousness of having lost mana.

In cases where Matthews and Puckey were obviously familiar with customary ways but disapproved of them as opposed to the Gospel, it is difficult to tell how far they had advanced in understanding before coming to that conclusion. In the late forties, Puckey recounted how, going to visit a sick boy, he found he had died and his relatives

"had tied him up in their old native style, and were about to deposit his remains in an upright position for the purpose of having the bones to cry over at a future period (I regret to say this is still practiced among the New Zealanders). I remonstrated with them upon the absurdity of such a custom and desired that they might bury him properly. They then untied him and made preparation for that purpose. Some of them were Christian natives." (70)

The following year, while visiting Poutahi, Puckey heard that some of the local people intended to take up the bones of relatives and cry over them. He reported that

"I remonstrated with them in strong terms. They said for excuse that there was an appearance of a quarrel between Noble and Pororua, and that it was necessary to remove them for fear of insult. I said, "If it is necessary to remove them, it is not necessary to use all the heathenish customs about them." They said I was quite right. I therefore thought they would not have taken them up with a view to cry over them, but it appears the temptation was too great." (71)

Puckey might have studied the custom of hahunga before rejecting it but his use of the word "absurdity" suggests that he had not in fact delved deep enough to discover that it was part of a larger, logical (if still distasteful) belief system, while the reference to "heathenish customs" and "temptation" suggests that he had prejudged the issue on doctrinal grounds. In this respect Puckey seems to have reached the limits of tolerance more quickly than at least one of his CMS superiors, Henry Williams (72).

Matthews and Puckey had little to say on some important and pervasive aspects of Maori belief and behaviour, for example, whakapapa, mana, utu, and muru. This might have been because they considered these aspects to be so well known to the CMS that comment or explanation was unnecessary, but it might also have reflected imperfect appreciation of their relevance and ramifications.

Their letters and reports contained few references to the ancestry of the rangatira of Western Muriwhenua, to the way they were linked by descent and marriage, or to the major part played by kinship loyalty to and rivalry between relatives in motivating behaviour. They gave Panakareao's father's name and hapū without further detail, left his mother unnamed and failed to mention that through her he was closely related to the principal chiefs of Western Muriwhenua. Matthews

identified Panakareao's wife Ereonora as "the daughter of Papahia's eldest brother" (Te Huhu) without naming the latter or mentioning that the brothers' mother was sister to Panakareao's mother's mother (73). Omissions, being negative evidence, prove nothing, but the writings of both Matthews and Puckey conveyed the general impression, hard to pin down in specific quotations, that they placed little weight on rank, whakapapa or whanaungatanga and typically dealt with rangatira and commoners alike as individuals and in terms of their individual response to the Gospel. Such behaviour was underpinned by their Evangelical beliefs that salvation was a matter of individual responsibility and merit and the basis of the only status of real significance.

Another remarkable omission was any reference to the concept of mana, whether using the word itself or an English word that could be considered a translation. In view of the importance of mana in relation to Maori religious, social and political belief and practice this omission is difficult to account for. Either Matthews and Puckey did not appreciate the supernatural source and pervasiveness of mana or they deliberately ignored it because they did.

In referring to utu and muru, Matthews and Puckey consistently used the terms "payment" and "stripping" (74). In doing so they focused on one aspect of the

tikanga concerned, both reflecting and encouraging a tendency to ignore or underrate other aspects of key importance. Even when allowance is made for the rough and ready translation habits of non-scholars already referred to, these translations suggest to me that Matthews' and Puckey's understanding of these concepts was decidedly limited.

The basic meaning of utu at the time was "reciprocity", applying in a wide range of social and economic situations. Translating utu as "payment" abstracted a single, one-way transfer from an on-going chain of reciprocal transfers and introduced ideas of price, cost and value derived from a money economy. Matthews and Puckey missed the fact that utu was the key concept in the Maori institution of "gift" exchange, which was so important in Maori society that I devote a special section to the subject (pp. 60-68).

As for muru, the translation "stripping" focused attention on the forceable removal of goods. In Matthews and Puckey's writings there is only one detailed account of muru, but it is revealing. In 1847 Puckey reported delaying a trip to the North Cape because

"adverse circumstances prevented it. We have been in constant trouble and anxiety during this week through the misconduct of one of my lads and John Bunyan's wife. Two fights, as they are called, have been brought into the settlement already, and how many more we are to witness I don't know. In all cases of Crim Con, the injured husband's friends go armed to the residence of the aggressor

and take all he possesses, and often it ends in two or three being shot when a war commences. John Bunyan, poor fellow, has been quite out of his right mind. I have been employed as usual with the exception of the time lost in this untoward affair. Had such a thing been committed in any of our dwellings 15 years ago, we should have been stripped of all we had. We must give glory to God, who has made them to differ in so great a degree from their former habits." (75)

One cannot be certain, but it is likely that the Maori word Puckey translates as "fight" was "taua": if so, this was another example of a rough-and-ready translation, since "taua" properly signified a party engaged in war or muru. In this account, Puckey showed that he was very familiar with taua muru, especially in cases of adultery, that he associated muru with disturbance, anxiety and violence, that he disapproved strongly of all aspects of muru, and that he saw the dropping of the "stripping" aspect, at least as applied to the missionaries themselves, as a significant advance, to be attributed to the influence of the Gospel. Associating law and justice with courts of law, he saw the institution of muru as law-less and un-just. He was unable to look beyond the surface manifestations of muru to see that in a tribal polity it fulfilled positive functions, many of them concerned with law and justice: securing redress for injury, publicising community values and the penalties for breaking them, and ensuring the circulation of wealth.

The translations "payment" and "stripping" were already in widespread use among Europeans in New

Zealand before the Kaitaia station was established. Using them in correspondence with the CMS did not necessarily mean that Matthews and Puckey had not deepened their understanding of the concepts and behaviour involved in the years since. Evidence suggesting that they had, however, does not appear in their writings.

Another topic on which Matthews and Puckey wrote relatively little is that of land. Their actions more than their words indicated that they were aware of several important features of the Maori way of holding the land. First, they recognised that rights to a particular area were vested in group leaders, for they always dealt with the rangatira when they wanted to acquire land. It is uncertain, however, whether they recognised that the rangatira held the land as trustees for the group. Matthews' comment, regarding Ereonora, that "her landed possessions, including Timber forests, are immense!" implied individual rather than group ownership (76). Secondly, they recognised that more than one group could have interests in a particular area, for they obtained the signatures of several rangatira on most of the land deeds they prepared. Thirdly, they observed that Maori moved frequently between land held in different areas to make use of different kinds of resources, though it is unclear whether they appreciated that such periodic use was necessary to the maintenance of title acquired

on other grounds (77). Fourthly, they commented frequently on the attachment Maori felt for the place where they were born and their insistence on returning to die or at least make a last visit there; they did not however seem either to understand or to approve of this attachment (78). In general, the comments they made on these features of Maori land tenure assumed that Maori would be better off settled permanently on individually owned pieces of land. However, in their practice Matthews and Puckey accommodated themselves to Maori ideas about the sharing of resources, because they accepted and even encouraged converts living on mission land on both a temporary and a permanent basis (79). Their own unwillingness to be transferred demonstrates the development of a commitment to the area not unlike that of the *tāngata whenua* (80).

Matthews' and Puckey's attitudes to customary ways were largely shaped by their high degree of commitment to the Evangelical form of Christianity which developed in England at the end of the 18th century. Both implicitly and explicitly in their writings they gave expression to the doctrines espoused by the Church Missionary Society: a literal interpretation of the Bible as the only source of divine revelation, faith in Christ as the only means of salvation, sinfulness as the natural state of human beings and thus of all who had not accepted Christ as Saviour, the necessity of individual conversion followed by

renunciation of former habits and holy zeal in the Lord's service, an unshakeable belief in life after death and eternal punishment or reward (81). Such beliefs were associated with emphasis on piety, sabbath keeping, duty, industry, literacy and learning. In that they called on Christians to preach the Gospel to all peoples and accepted the Maori as both capable and in desperate need of being saved, they provided Matthews and Puckey with a strong incentive to enter into intimate interaction with the Maori of Muriwhenua. On this basis they went considerably further than most Europeans living in New Zealand at the time in attempting to understand the Maori and Maori ways. At the same time, their beliefs placed definite limits on the extent to which it was proper for them as missionaries to enquire into customs they considered at variance with the Gospel. Though they argued for the value of finding out about Maori ways, their judgements were always made by reference to Evangelical ideals, their explorations sanctioned only as a means to the goal of effective communication of the Gospel. Matthews spelled this out in so many words:

"...our experience however has taught us that to a certain degree the customs of the country must be attended to if good is to be done" (82).

After writing an account of "Native baptism", he added:

"It is of great value even for missionaries to know these things as by deference to their rites, ideas of the nature of true baptism may be instilled into their minds." (83)

In the formation of their views, Matthews and Puckey were undoubtedly influenced by the attitudes of the older missionaries who had been their mentors, attitudes which judged Maori and Maori customs against their own Evangelical understanding of the Christian faith and of "civilisation". On the first visit to choose a mission site in Muriwhenua, Rev. William Williams, for example, wrote of "the blessings of Christianity and the grievous tendency of all their native proceedings" and of "the falsehood of their superstitions", and Rev. Charles Baker referred to "the attendant difficulties of working among a people without any principle or without reference to the spiritual grace accruing from a missionary station" (84). After attending the handing over of the "payment" for the Kaitaia Block, Puckey's father-in-law, Rev. Richard Davis wrote that the Maori of Western Muriwhenua were "wild in their appearance and will no doubt be found to be savages, but we know the Grace of God is all powerful to effect change among them"; he also described them as "poor wild untutored savages", adding "I am not aware the natives have any laws which may be considered as based on principles of humanity or justice" (85). After a year in Kaitaia, Matthews expressed similar views when he wrote to the CMS that:

"Although the natives are outwardly civil, yet the savage heart lies hidden under the civilised face. The tribes of the "Rarawa" behave well and are altogether respectful towards us, which outward good conduct (so different from former times) we must attribute in part to the influence which

missionaries and other Europeans have cast around them; nevertheless their moral character in the sight of God, their old and confirmed habits of polygamy, adultery, theft, lying and suicide, to say nothing of malice with its murderous effects; of their endless superstitions which hold them in worse than Egyptian darkness, and with which we have continually to grapple, these all remained in full force (and do in a great degree now) as though a Missionary had never resided on the Island." (86)

After twenty years of intimate association with the Maori of Western Muriwhenua and protestations of great attachment, Puckey referred to them as "poor simple Natives" and "simple minded Natives" (87). While such expressions were used in part in expectation that they would appeal to and ensure the support of the parent body in England, Matthews and Puckey were sticklers for the truth as they saw it and would not have used them if they had not subscribed to the underlying beliefs themselves.

As an integral part of their Evangelical beliefs, Matthews and Puckey had an absolute belief in civilisation as the highest form of human development, far superior to that of the Maori in technological achievement, productivity, morality and rationality. They saw their task not only to save souls but also to persuade Maori to adopt civilised lifeways. As Matthews wrote, " I feel persuaded that it is our duty as missionaries to endeavour in all things to seek to raise the Natives" (88). This was to be done by persuading them to grow "superior" crops such as wheat and to keep animals, to give up seasonal, shifting

work patterns in favour of steady labour and permanent settlement in one place, and to abandon war and muru in favour of living at peace under the Gospel. Within a year of the mission being established, Matthews wrote:

"..they all know that our chief design is to teach them to live as we live, and they are often constrained to acknowledge though sometimes unwillingly that all their good things come from us, and also that they never lived in a peaceable manner till we formed our station here." (89)

A decade later, their faith in this goal was as strong as ever, and they felt they had made progress towards achieving it. In their Annual Report for 1846, Matthews and Puckey wrote that Te Rarawa:

"grew a large quantity of fine grain, and they now possess 20 steel mills amongst them. Our people seem to value the blessings of civilisation. They possess horses, carts and sheep." (90)

Puckey expanded on this theme in his journal, reporting that the people of the area

"have been well off this last winter for wheat which has been a great blessing to them, as the crops of potatoes have been very scanty this last season. I have provided many of them with cows, and several of them with sheep; one tribe has as many as seventy. I want to see them esteem all those comforts that Europeans do for it is my opinion that civilisation will not proceed without it." (91)

However, he was not in favour of giving Maori all the aspects of civilisation they coveted, for he added:

"But their desire for horses is without bounds; this I do not like as I fear in time they will be too much like wild Arabs."

A couple of years later Matthews wrote in similar vein:

"This last season they have been blessed with abundant crops, both in wheat, kumera, corn and

potatoes. Many small vessels have come and returned filled with grain and potatoes for the European Market. I think that the natives of our District cultivated not less than 300 acres in wheat, all spade work! This is a great increase from the first 2 quarts which I sowed to rear seed for them. Civilization together with Evangelization is an immense blessing. Surely when the Natives have enough and to spare to their hungry white neighbours, it shews that they must have made great advance in Civilization: for the marks of a Savage include those of bad clothing and little food. " (92)

However, when the Maori showed signs of having learnt some lessons too well, when for example the prices of Maori produce rose in times of scarcity, the missionaries complained that they were "in danger of losing their simplicity of character" (93).

In their writings Matthews and Puckey recorded a heavy toll of disease among the Maori of Western Muriwhenua; from 1836 their journals are a catalogue of visits to the sick, deathbeds and burials. While recognising that at least some of this was a consequence of contact with Europeans (94), they nevertheless saw civilisation as the only hope the Maori had of survival. Although evolutionary theories were a long way in the future, they seemed to accept that the Maori would decline in numbers to the point where they would be unable to maintain a separate existence and would be assimilated by the European settlers they expected to come in increasing numbers. In 1838 Matthews wrote:

"The Children of Missionaries having for the most part to settle among them, will no doubt prove a blessing. If the Natives can be taught to look to the soil for support in food and raiment, an

important point will be gained. Now a word on the bright side! It is a consolation to think that although it may be possible for the New Zealanders to cease to exist as a Nation, yet the friends of our Society together with the labours of Missionaries will not have been thrown away. This is indeed like the life boat to save the man who has fallen overboard." (95)

And in 1839:

"I have my fears that the race of the New Zealanders will not far hence be only known as amalgamated among the Europeans. How true is that word of Holy Writ God shall enlarge Japhet and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem. The tide of Emigration is undoubtedly (although we as missionaries are opposed to it) fulfilling the decree of the Almighty! The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea. But it must first be filled with men which it never would be without emigration." (96)

In that case, Matthews held, it would be seen that "the Missionaries and their families are the best friends the Natives will have." (97)

To sum up: Matthews' and Puckey's approach was typical of the way most ordinary, intelligent but untrained observers react to encounter with members of another cultural group. They paid attention to what was readily accessible to eyes and ears, broke strange patterns of belief and behaviour up into manageable blocks which they dealt with separately, reacted judgmentally to those that ran counter to their own deepest values and with curiosity, indulgence or amusement to the others, and generally failed to see the other culture as an interconnected whole with its own logic.

In the context of their times, their attitudes were neither unusual nor surprising. Anthropology did not exist as a discipline in the 1830s, and when it did emerge its practitioners for a long time displayed similar views and methods. It was not until well into the twentieth century that they abandoned the "culture trait" approach and developed theories which stressed functional interconnectedness (functionalism) or delved beneath surface appearances in search of underlying logic and generative forces (structuralism and marxism).

While Matthews and Puckey were personally attached to Western Muriwhenua and its people, it is equally clear that they were blinkered in their approach to the Maori and to Maori customary ways by their religious beliefs, their cultural conventions and their perception of what was expected of them by their superiors. Some things they never learned to "see" or understand, so that they trampled on Maori susceptibilities from ignorance. More often they knew a good deal about particular tikanga at a surface level but their words and actions suggested that they understood them only in part, because they did not appreciate the complexity nor the logic of their underlying philosophy and interconnections. And however much they understood they remained unshaken in their belief that Maori ways should and inevitably would give way to civilised, European ones.

Matthews' confidence in the rightness and superiority of his beliefs is well illustrated by the sermon he preached when the great Ngapuhi chief Tawhai, newly baptised Mohi (Moses), visited Muriwhenua to make his peace with former enemies. Matthews chose as his text Isaiah 11:6-9, which begins: "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid." Knowing that "To use any figure of speech which compares a man to a beast is exceedingly offensive to a New Zealander", he refused to make any concessions but deliberately went on the attack. Reporting the incident to the CMS he commented that the Maori "in his native state is worse than the beasts which perish, far more savage and brutal than the ravenous tiger or the furious bear." His listeners were greatly astonished, presumably at his temerity, and Nopera Panakareao was "a little fidgety", but Mohi Tawhai, demonstrating the depth of his conversion, told Matthews "What you spoke of this morning was true! ... I was indeed like those beasts of prey."

(98)

As a result of the limitations in their understanding, Matthews and Puckey greatly underestimated the strength of tikanga Maori on many issues and the difficulties of first communicating an alternative way of doing things and then persuading Maori to change their practice. They expected Maori people immediately to perceive the superiority of what they were being

offered, and when they encountered resistance (for example, from Te Morenga of Wharo (99)) explained it in terms not of attachment to familiar ways nor of inadequacies in their own presentation but in religious terms as the work of the Devil.

Maori Understanding of Tikanga Pakeha

Unfortunately there are no direct contemporary records of what the Maori thought of the missionaries and their ways comparable with the letters, reports and journals left by the latter. Any assessment of their understanding of tikanga Pakeha must rely to a large extent on the missionary records. In using these allowances must be made for the missionaries' different purposes and own limited understanding.

As already pointed out, in the years 1832-40 Panakareao and the other rangatira held the political power in Western Muriwhenua, with access to a large and effective fighting force and a reputation as turbulent warriors. Politically they had no need to go out of their way to conciliate the missionaries or to try to understand their beliefs and practices. But they did have a burning desire for the goods and skills the missionaries could bring them, and at least some were genuinely interested in their religion, both for its philosophical ideas and as a source of power.

Reading between the lines of the missionary accounts, it is not difficult to see that in attempting to understand people with another culture the Maori of Western Muriwhenua did very much what the missionaries did: they paid most attention to external features, missed much of the hidden (because taken-for-granted) agenda and interpreted English words, concepts and ways of behaving in terms of their own language and tikanga. In their case, however, the usual difficulties were compounded by the fact that they encountered European beliefs through the medium of their own language with its familiar connotations and nuances. The translation of European concepts into Maori was done for them by missionary translators. Without a fluent knowledge of English they were not aware, as the missionaries were, that many key words (mana, tapu, karakia, aroha, whānau, utu, koha, tuku, hoko) did not correspond exactly with the English words they were commonly matched with. They also had difficulty understanding that the customs presented in the Bible were not those of the social and political system of nineteenth century England.

Before the missionaries settled in the area, when they had only heard of the Ra Tapu, the Maori of Western Muriwhenua seized on its outward form for imitation, especially the practice of "sitting still". On his first visit to Panakareao's village Whakarake, Matthews reported that:

"It appears that for a long time this Chief has been in the habit of gathering together his friends on the Sabbath. Their worship consists of sitting still." (100)

Puckey records that John Bunyan, a teacher in the Kaitaia mission school, told him:

"When the missionaries first came to New Zealand, the natives saw that one day in seven was set apart, but for what purpose they could not conceive. Potatoes were scraped, wood was cut, everything was put in order for the Sabbath, there was no work done on that day. The news soon reached Kaitaia of this mode of sitting still on the seventh day. I at that time was idly inclined and thought I should like to join that Sect as I should then ensure at all events one day in seven to indulge my idleness; not having any idea that the day was set apart for the worship of God." (101)

Though Puckey used the first person, this is almost certainly both a translation and paraphrase of what Bunyan said. Puckey either missed all the implications of Bunyan's choice of words or failed to convey them in his translation. The word that Matthews and Puckey translated into English as "sitting still" was most probably "nohopuku", which has the meanings "to be silent", "to be still" and "to fast". Whether this was the case or not, it is clear that to begin with most Maori focused on the negative aspects of the Rā Tapu, the prohibitions on activity, and missed its positive functions. This is not surprising given that the core meaning of tapu is "under religious restriction", hedged around with prohibitions because of the indwelling of mana.

In his evidence to the Tribunal, Rima Eruera suggested that Panakareao, as a chief trained in the whare

wānanga, was interested in the Rā Tapu because it accorded with his own knowledge of the spiritual philosophy underlying the concept of tapu, the idea of voluntarily giving up something in order to obtain a greater benefit still, as in sacrifice and rāhui (102).

Whatever the spiritual experts thought, Maori converts continued for many years to interpret both the Rā Tapu and the Paipera Tapu with reference to their understanding of tapu as consisting mainly of prohibitions and sacrifices, which, if properly observed, constrained the supernatural world to produce the required response. In 1847, when the summer heat resulted in numerous fires in the countryside, Puckey described how the wind fanned the flames while they were visiting a dying convert after morning service, so that they had to catch up the sick man and hasten to a place of safety.

"Some of the natives thought it was not right to exert themselves in putting the fire out on account of it being the Lord's Day, but I told them it was right to do good on this day." (103)

On a visit to Whangaroa in 1850, Puckey reported:

"After the duties of the day were ended, Takimoana, one of the chiefs of the place came into my tent to converse. "I have come to ask you if I have acted straight or properly. Some time ago while I was on a voyage to the North Cape we were taken in a violent gale a long way from the land. I went into the middle of the canoe and took out my Testament, kept it open with a leaf between my thumb and finger ready to take out and throw into the sea, directly the first wave should break over the canoe. I kept praying to the Great God Jehovah and told the man who was steering not to interrupt me with any native prayers, for if you

pray to your god and I to mine, my God will not hear me, and we shall inevitably perish. We sailed on in this perilous situation till we got safely to the other side. Had I not prayed we must have gone down. Did I do right?". I told him his praying to God was quite right, but I could not see what a leaf thrown into the sea was to do. He said, "but it is His own word; do you not suppose that would have no effect?". I said, "of course it would not; although God's word is printed upon it, it could have no influence upon the wind and the waves". He seemed much surprised. I told him it was much better to pray and say "Lord save or we perish" as the disciples. He said, "Yes, I think with you". (104)

The story of Panakareao's relations with the missionaries includes several revealing episodes.

On the second CMS missionary trip to Muriwhenua in March 1833, the missionaries George Clarke, Charles Baker and Joseph Matthews agreed with Panakareao for the making of a road and the clearing of the river in association with the establishment of a mission station at Kaitaia; Panakareao also agreed to have houses built for the missionaries (105). In July Panakareao visited Baker in Kerikeri (106). He told Baker that the river clearing was finished but wanted to increase the amount paid for the work. Baker reported:

"I reminded him of the agreement made between him and me for the clearing of the river. He said that others were not satisfied with that agreement & said that they should require at least a hundred blankets and if we were short of them dollars would do & he asked me how many hundred dollars I would give him. Pana also said that the agreement made for the land required for the Station was not to be defended as satisfactory as others were not agreeable to that agreement." (107a)

Negotiations went on for several days.

"I asked if we were to haste to take possession of our new Station or wait until we got blankets. They answered saying that we had better wait until our blankets come." (107b)

Eventually Baker made a partial payment and Panakareao and his party returned home.

There could hardly be a clearer case of representatives of two different cultures talking past each other. Baker saw the agreement as one made between himself and Panakareao only, once and for all. He interpreted Panakareao's wish to revise the return to be made for work and land as "avarice" and "unreasonable". He used his disgust with Panakareao's behaviour to justify withdrawing from the Kaitaia station. Panakareao on his side was acting in accordance with his understanding of the role of a rangatira, not as an individual but as symbolic representative and trustee of his group, answerable to its members and obliged to listen to and take account of their views. What Baker saw as welshing on an unconditional agreement, Panakareao saw as seeking flexible adjustment of a conditional one.

When Baker resigned, Panakareao was affronted. Years later Matthews related the consequences:

"Three of us were appointed to Kaitaia. Pana made this regulation: Mr. Baker being the oldest - he should be considered his charge or Pana would take care of him. Wapa was to take care of me - Tiro to take care of Mr. Puckey. Wapa and Tiro built the house for me which I gave up to Mr. Puckey. I took Mr. B's Site but Pana would not render a bit of assistance in the erection of my house on account, he said, of his being ashamed that his Teacher did

not come! and although we were not molested by any, yet we felt this much for Pana was very distant in his manner and hardly came near us for two years. After nearly two years had elapsed he even spoke to me when together up the valley "that he would have raupo cut to build a house for Mr. Baker and he would go with his strong party, and pull him here"! He considered himself a little disgraced by the event and with his views his brothers were more honoured than he." (108)

Panakareao did not cut off relations with the mission completely, for he signed three land transfer deeds in 1835 and was baptised in November 1836 (109), but his drawing back was pronounced enough for Matthews to notice it. His reaction suggests, firstly, that he felt that his mana had been belittled. Undoubtedly the word Matthews translated as "ashamed" would have been whakamā, a state stemming above all from perception of loss of mana (110). As is typical of serious whakamā, it took time to effect a cure. However, I believe that even more than that was involved. In dealing with Baker as intended head of the Mission, Panakareao had accepted him as a rangatira comparable with himself and had entered into negotiations with him in expectation that the relation would be an on-going one between them not as individuals but as representatives and leaders of their respective groups, as would have been the case when forming an alliance with the rangatira of another hapū or iwi. If Baker failed to understand Panakareao's role and responsibilities as a rangatira, Panakareao equally failed to understand Baker's role as at once an employee of the CMS bound in a relationship of obedience to his employers and a

free individual who could act independently in his own interests and as he felt to be right.

Once Panakareao decided to resume warm relations with the missionaries, he did it thoroughly as befitted a rangatira, sending for his own copy of the New Testaments, studying it intensively and becoming a lay evangelist (111). His familiarity with the parts of the Bible available in Maori shows clearly in the language and allusions in his 1839 letter to the CMS.

In evidence based on where wānanga teaching, Rima Eruera reported that during discussions on the eve of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in Kaitaia Nopera Panakareao questioned Puckey about the passage in Leviticus 25 which provided that a landholder forced to sell his land had the right to redeem it every seventh year and that unredeemed land was to revert to its original owner in the year of Jubilee (112). In asking for confirmation of his reading of this passage Panakareao was really asking if these provisions would apply under the Treaty. I wonder whether Puckey appreciated this, or did he interpret and respond to it as a question about Biblical interpretation? There was certainly potential for misunderstanding. Rima Eruera was in no doubt in his evidence that Panakareao himself believed that the confirmation he received for his reading of the passage referred to the future position under the

Treaty. Colonial Surgeon John Johnston also recorded that "Noble called upon us in the evening to question Mr Puckey as to the nature of the Treaty he was about to sign and particularly as to the meaning of the word Sovereignty." (113) Here too there was a problem of understanding, for the Maori text which was available to Panakareao used the word "kawanatanga" where the English text used "sovereignty" in the first Article and guaranteed the rangatira and their hapu "rangatiratanga" over their lands in the second. Reassured by the explanations he received on these two heads, Panakareao came out strongly in favour of the Treaty as he understood it. Speaking last, itself an indication of his mana in Muriwhenua, he summed up that understanding in the image for which he is well-known:

"The shadow of the land goes to the Queen, the substance remains to us." (114)

Orange, commenting on his speech before the assembly next day, considered that "Nopera had failed to grasp the transfer of power and authority implied in the treaty", that is, in the English text of the Treaty (115). Within a few years Panakareao had come to the conclusion that he had been misled and reversed his aphorism.

To sum up: Between 1832 and 1840, Maori made considerable advances in their understanding of tikanga Pakeha, but even at the end of the period their understanding was patchy, greater in some areas

than others, focused mainly on surface features and externals, only vaguely aware of deeper implications and hidden motivations, and entirely embedded in a Maori frame of reference. Politically, the rangatira still held the mana and the rangatiratanga in the area as a whole, and they were concerned to continue to control their own affairs.

"Gift" Giving, Buying and Selling

One area where the missionaries and the Maori of Muriwhenua had particular difficulty understanding each other's concepts was that of gift giving and its relationship to the commercial transaction of buying and selling. Their difficulties in this area originated in two very different systems of exchange, one taking the form of "gift" exchange and the other dominated by a market and money economy.

The missionaries complained on several occasions that the Maori were selfish and greedy; they always wanted a return instead of giving freely. In a letter to the Church Missionary Society written in 1837, Puckey said:

"in order that you may not form a wrong opinion of their kindness I must inform you that the natives generally require to be paid for everything they give us. If it is a present they generally want a present in return; and sometimes though very rarely if you give them a present they will bring back another in return." (117)

In 1839, he wrote:

"It is true that the New Zealanders are a fine and intelligent race of people, not at all deficient

in sense; yet withal the greater part of them are very selfish and ungrateful -- indeed the word gratitude cannot be found in their language, nor any substitute for it." (118)

For one so skilled in the Maori language the latter comment is singularly obtuse. The word "aroha" has many meanings not included in the English "love" which the translators of the Bible equated it with, among them the idea of gratitude.

Giving an account of the first Missionary Gala Day at the Kaitaia Mission station in 1841, Matthews refuted "the charge of universal ingratitude against the Natives of this Island", but in a way which linked their knowledge of gratitude with acceptance of the Gospel.

"It has been acknowledged that many have possessed Divine Grace not only in their dying moments but while living but I maintain that no one can possess Grace without gratitude, for the word gratitude if I judge rightly comes from the word grace. It has also been said that the Natives of this interesting ilse (sic) have not "the word gratitude in their language". - we have now introduced it at their first Missionary meeting in their first Resolution, and we have good reason to hope that the Lord will cause their seed to grow and multiply." (119)

Yet elsewhere Matthews had already recorded receiving generous presents from the Muriwhenua Maori. In 1835 he wrote:

"At the formation of this new station Mr Puckey and I lived by ourselves for the space of two months, and I lived alone after this seven weeks during which period the greater part of the Chiefs came to pay their respects, to bid us welcome, & make us presents of pigs, potatoes, corn & pumpkins." (120)

In 1837 he noted that those Maori who received benefit from medicines administered by the missionaries acknowledged it with "presents" (121). Puckey recorded that the people of the west coast marked the settlement of a dispute with the crew of the wrecked Osprey with "a present of potatoes" (122). And in his account of the first Missionary Gala Day Matthews went straight on to say:

"It is a singular custom with the Natives from time immemorial to make feasts of presents from one tribe to another. Now at these feasts particular notice is taken of the presents as to their number and value, and sooner or later this feast will be returned - but in what manner? The Natives, Natives as they are, have too much gratitude not to "press it down" as they call it, by giving in return double to what they received!" (123)

The missionaries' perception of the Maori as "greedy" and their failure to recognise that Maori gift giving was governed by the principle of reciprocity can be traced to their own understanding of the gift as separate from and logically opposed to the commercial transaction. The latter, which took place within the context of a market and money economy, was characterised by the prior adjustment of value according to the "law" of supply and demand; each party endeavoured to get the better deal; and any obligation or tie between them ceased with the transaction. In contrast, the missionaries (and other Europeans) thought of a gift as something given freely out of generosity of spirit, with no strings attached, and appropriately accepted with verbal expressions of gratitude. (In practice, this was not objectively

true: gifts were expected to be returned, on other, appropriate occasions, and the relationship might be terminated if this was not done.) In the case of the missionaries this view of the gift was compounded by their commitment to the Christian Gospel with its emphasis on the agape (loving-kindness) of God, which is independent of merit, and on the commandment to Christians to be equally generous in their dealings with others. The Latin equivalent of agape, caritas, became English "charity", which eventually came to mean the giving of alms to the poor, who by definition were unable to make a return. In European and missionary thinking (exemplified in Matthews' account of the Missionary Gala Day) gratitude was expressed not by giving a return gift to the donor but by passing it on to those in need, in particular the unknown poor.

The Maori understanding of the gift was very different because it was developed in the context of the non-monetary system of exchange known to anthropologists and economists as "gift exchange". This label has caused much misunderstanding because of the meaning attributed to the word "gift" in a society with a money economy. (As a constant reminder of the difference I shall use inverted commas when the word is used in a Maori context.) In the Maori exchange system, the separation and opposition of commercial and non-commercial transactions did not exist:

economic, social and political spheres were fused, and "gifts" were given to achieve economic, social and political ends. In addition, the giving of "gifts" had a spiritual dimension: certain kinds of "gifts" (taonga) were held to be imbued with a spiritual force (hau). "Gift" exchange was the means of achieving the distribution of goods and services between different production zones and social groups, the differentiation, competition and linkage of political groups, and the integration of gods and humans. (124)

The term "gift exchange" is a twentieth century invention. The missionaries did not know or use it. When they witnessed Maori individuals and groups involved in exchange with each other they confused the issue for themselves and those who came after them by using English words from the commercial sector: "barter", "trade", "buy" and "sell", and "payment". Describing the reception of the CMS party at Wharo on the first visit to Muriwhenua, Baker wrote:

"..the principal chiefs Mahanga, Ripi...became pressing for us to stay at least one night. A good quantity of potatoes was brought for our party. Our natives had brought trade with them with a view to buy themselves garments, mats &c. Waro resembled an English fair during the time. After barter was over I observed that many of our natives took the opportunity of speaking to the people." (125)

The driving force of the Maori system of exchange was the principle of utu with its associated tikanga. Williams' Dictionary of the Maori Language defines "utu" as a noun as meaning "return for anything;

satisfaction, ransom, reward, price, reply" and as a verb as meaning "make response, whether by way of payment, blow, or answer, etc.". Firth identifies utu as "the principle of reciprocity", with the root idea of "compensation" in the wide sense, the obtaining of an equivalent (126). It was not limited to revenge, as is popularly supposed, nor to economic affairs, but was implicit in all economic, social and political contexts. The basic rule of utu was that whatever was given should be requited, usually by a return "gift" of the same general kind: good gifts (women, material taonga, special kinds of food) by good gifts, bad gifts (injury, death, sorcery) by bad gifts. However, bad gifts could be neutralised and hostilities halted by the voluntary giving of good gifts by one group or through muru, the taking of goods in compensation for injuries suffered, with the acquiescence of the owners (127).

Under the tikanga governing utu, the decision of what and how much to give or give in return rested at least in theory with the giver, and haggling and open negotiation were ruled out, though hints might be dropped and fear of criticism or sorcery was a powerful incentive to generosity. The exchange might involve goods for goods, in which case they were preferably different in type, specialties not readily available to the other party, or goods for services. Givers always endeavoured to give more (however

reckoned) than they had received, in order to maintain their reputation for wealth and generosity and to place the receiver under an obligation. While receipt of a gift was acknowledged immediately by a small counter-gift, the real return gift was made on a later (sometimes much later) occasion and often in installments. The intention and result was not to discharge the obligation between givers and receivers but to create and keep it moving from one party to the other, binding them in an on-going relationship. The expression "tuia, tui, tuia" sums up this to and fro movement, "stitching" the parties together. This system gave plenty of scope for competition but it was competition directed at the enhancement of mana by the distribution of wealth not its accumulation, by generosity not bargaining skill (128).

Where the exchange of goods was concerned, there were two different levels or types of exchange, though the boundary between them was fuzzy. First, there was the exchange of goods with limited added value, mainly foodstuffs and raw materials, goods that were perishable and alienable since they would be consumed or worn out by the recipients. Secondly, there was the exchange of taonga, defined by Williams' Dictionary as "anything highly prized". Prominent among these were long-life articles with high value added by processing or association, such as preserved foods of the luxury class, superior kinds of cloaks, and greenstone or

carved weapons and ornaments. Such articles were considered to be imbued with the mana and hau of those who had made or held them as kai-tiaki (guardians), so that they could not be alienated but should be returned to the giver after an appropriate period of time or on an appropriate occasion. The category of taonga also included women and land: in fact these were the most highly prized taonga and hence the ultimate "gifts".

While much of the first kind of exchange took place as a matter of course and with a minimum of ceremonial, both kinds were associated with the coming together of hapu and iwi in infrequent, large-scale, formal gatherings characterised by hakari. Today this word is usually translated as "feast" but the first meaning given it in Williams' Dictionary is "gift, present". Firth deals extensively with the principles and practice of "gift" exchange in a chapter entitled "The Feast" (129). While a certain amount of food was presented by the hosts to the guests in cooked form at the beginning of such gatherings, by far the greater quantity was presented uncooked, displayed with taonga of various kinds in long mounds or on wooden staging. In the 19th century hakari was the proper term for the public and ceremonial exchange of "gifts".

Taonga could be presented in a way that indicated that they were not to be returned. This was highly unusual

and was done to wipe out a gross imbalance in the exchange system. Sometimes, by wiping out an insult or other injury, an unconditional "gift" of this sort enabled the parties to resume a normal reciprocal relationship; sometimes, by equalising the exchange it effectively severed the relation at least temporarily.

(130)

Of this elaborate and pervasive exchange system, Matthews and Puckey perceived little and understood less, because their own cultural experience and preconceptions got in the way. They "saw" those parts which had some correspondence with aspects of their own experience, and attached to them English words which not only did not accurately convey their character but proved an obstacle to deeper understanding. For example, they used "barter" and "trade" for the exchange of everyday, perishable articles; "presents" for gifts given in recompense for services and at hakari; "buy/sell" to translate "tuku", "homai/hoatu" and "hoko"; and "payment", "blood payment" and "price" to translate "utu". In particular, because their translations associated utu with either commercial transactions or revenge feuds, they failed to appreciate the depth of the concept or the way it tied the whole exchange system together.

What the Maori for their part thought of the missionaries' behaviour in the matter of "gift" giving

is not recorded as far as I know. Their descendants of today philosophically recognise that few Pakeha enter into real exchange relationships with them: most accept gifts with verbal thanks and make no comparable return. Many prized taonga given to cement a relationship have been lost to hapū and iwi because the Pakeha recipient was unaware that it should eventually be returned. To the Maori way of thinking, words are no real recompense. It is true that they have no formula equivalent to "thank you". They have other ways of expressing gratitude in words and prefer above all to do so with a counter gift, including one of service.

Even before the missionaries came to Muriwhenua the rangatira had probably heard, from kinsmen in the Bay of Islands, that it was the European custom openly to discuss and agree on the amount and value of the return to be made for goods and services before they were transferred. When they engaged in such negotiations themselves, on the missionaries' visits to Muriwhenua in 1832 and 1833, the discussions were conducted in the Maori language using the familiar word utu, so that the difference between the European concept of purchase and the Maori one of return gift was entirely obscured. The confrontation between Panakareao's party and Baker at Kerikeri in 1833 (131) made it clear that in accepting the European practice of negotiating a return for services beforehand the

Maori were making a procedural concession, not a fundamental change in either understanding or practice. As well as fulfilling his responsibilities to his own people as rangatira, Panakareao's persistence in holding out for more utu had, and may have been intended to have, the effect of protecting Baker and the CMS from the consequences of their ignorance of Maori custom, ignorance which insisted on viewing the return as a price to be kept as low as possible, instead of a gift to be made with generosity.

Once the missionaries were actually living at Kaitaia, the Maori of Western Muriwhenua became increasingly familiar with European concepts of buying and selling. Because they wanted European goods and the missionaries showed no sign of understanding or attempting to use the Maori system of "gift" exchange, they had little choice but to operate in ways familiar to the missionaries. It would seem that they learnt quickly: within a few short years Matthews complained that they put up the prices for basic foodstuffs when such goods were in short supply (132). However, in the 1830s the Maori used what they had learnt in this regard only in transactions with Europeans. With respect to buying and selling, their understanding and practice was limited to particular examples and certain aspects of commercial transactions. It did not encompass an appreciation of the market economy as a

complete alternative, and it did not fundamentally upset their own framework of understanding or their practice. Among themselves they continued to operate in terms of "gift" exchange at the level of both ordinary foodstuffs and taonga in its full form for several decades and in a modified one into the late 20th century. In 1863 the iwi of Muriwhenua gave a hakari at Ahipara in return for one given by the hapu of Ngapuhi. It lasted three days; 2800 articles were presented; and speech-makers discussed the adequacy of the return and whether or not to join Waikato in the war against the Crown (133). Eventually the combined disapproval of the missionaries and Resident Magistrate W.B.White (134) called a halt to hakari as such but many of the associated practices and the thinking that informed them continue to be a feature of Maori community life to this day.

THE PRE-TREATY WESTERN MURIWHENUA LAND TRANSFERS

In the Maori versions of the fourteen deeds recording what Walzl calls "the Western Muriwhenua Purchases" (135), the word used to describe the land transfer taking place is in most cases "tuku"; "hoko" and "hoatu" are also used, but only once or twice. The transfer of goods in the other direction is indicated by the words "hoatu hei utu". It is reasonable to assume that these were the words which the rangatira

who signed the deeds used in the discussions preceding the transfer and that the writers of the deeds (who from internal evidence were not Maori) used them to make the deeds meaningful and acceptable to the rangatira.

One important issue therefore is what meanings these words had for speakers of Maori as a first language during the decade 1830-40.

Tuku and Hoko

Examining the use of "tuku" in early Maori texts (136), Dr Anne Salmond found that in early translations of parts of the Bible it had a complex array of translation meanings, but the basic meaning appeared to be " 'directed transfer' with a connotation of either to 'pass' (eg send, deliver, offer, give, let down) or to 'release' (eg let go, allow, release)." In Nga Moteatea, "tuku" had the translation meanings "release, send, offer, go, come, let go, despatch, allow". She found only one instance of "tuku" being used in connection with land: this was in a Biblical translation and referred to acquisition by occupation, without payment. She did not find tuku being used with the meanings "buy" or "sell".

Examining the use of "hoko" in the same texts (137), Salmond found that it barely appeared in Nga Moteatea and Nga Mahi a nga Tupuna but was often used in the

Biblical translations, with the translation meanings "buy, sell, hire, exchange and redeem". She concluded that the basic meaning appeared to be "exchange". In the Biblical texts examined, "hoko" referred to exchanges of people (bondmen, women, pononga), animals, foodstuffs, wood, stone and land.

In her investigations of the use of "tuku" and "hoko" in early translations of parts of the Bible, Salmond began with the Maori text, referring to the English text for clues to the translation meaning. Approaching the issue from the opposite direction, I used two Biblical concordances to locate 24 places where sell occurs in the English text of the Bible and then checked the word used in a current Maori translation of the Bible Ko Te Paipera Tapu (138). In not a single case is "tuku" used to translate "sell": the word used without exception is "hoko". I then located 32 places where "buy" occurs in the English text: again the word used in the Paipera Tapu is "hoko" in every case. What was given in exchange was not specified: in the Hebrew society of the day it might have been money, goods or services. However, the translators did not limit the use of "hoko" to buy and sell. They also regularly used it to translate the word "redeem" in the English text, whether this referred to the redeeming of land (e.g. Leviticus 25 and Ruth 4) or slaves by a human agent or to God redeeming individuals or Israel from slavery or sin.

As Salmond points out (139), the Paipera Tapu is testimony first to the missionary translators' understanding and use of particular words and only indirectly of Maori understandings. The translation of Hebrew and Greek words into Maori posed many problems, for very often there was no exact equivalent word or phrase, and while there were similarities there were also differences between the Jewish and Maori social systems and world views. The earliest translations of parts of the Bible, published in 1827, 1833 and 1837, were produced primarily by Rev. William Williams with a significant input from William Gilbert Puckey. At this stage, gospel salvation was the urgent aim and problems of semantics, though not ignored, were not considered of paramount importance (140). However, at the first meeting of the Translation Syndicate set up by Bishop Selwyn in 1844, canons of translation were laid down, mainly through the agency of Rev. Robert Maunsell, who had an honours degree in classics and who became "the predominant figure in the Translation Syndicate, and the pre-eminent translator of Maori" (141). The translations analysed by Salmond were produced by or under the supervision of Maunsell, in accordance with these canons. As Porter sums up:

"..the missionaries were not loosely nor haphazardly translating scripture but were well aware of the difficulties and likely confusions, and as competent Maori linguists, were striving for precision in meaning." (142)

In the light of the evidence of the Maunsell translations of the 1840s, I emphasise that:

- 1) the missionary translators recognised a difference in meaning between "tuku" and "hoko";
- 2) they reserved "tuku" for uses congruent with its use in traditional texts and refrained from using it to refer to transactions signalled in English by the words "buy" and "sell";
- 3) they used "hoko" consistently for transactions signalled by the words "buy" and "sell", which in English are identified as commercial;
- 4) they also used "hoko" for transactions signalled by the word "redeem", which sometimes involves a commercial transaction but is more often a metaphorical application of the word.

The question is whether the translators recognised a difference between "tuku" and "hoko" which already existed or whether they created it to meet their need to translate the concepts of "buy" and "sell". The most likely answer, I suggest, is that they recognised a difference which already existed, but until we have more evidence about the traditional use of "hoko" we cannot tell how great that difference was, a matter of nuance merely or something more fundamental. One thing can be asserted with certainty: by using "hoko" to translate "buy" and "sell" the missionary translators either began or greatly hastened the process by which

it became largely detached from its original meaning and acquired "buy" and "sell" as its primary meanings.

This raises four further questions.

First, was "hoko" in fact a genuine Maori word, and if so what was its original meaning? Williams' Dictionary of the Maori Language lists "hoko" in the main lexicon, not in the Appendix containing "some of the more important words adopted from non-Polynesian sources", and gives its meanings as: "1. v.t. Exchange, barter, buy, sell. 2. n. Merchandise." (143) Two examples are given. The first, taken from an old waiata, clearly belongs in a pre-European context:

"Te kore korirangi hei hoko parawai pakipaki."
[This is difficult to translate because elliptical; a possible translation is: "A korirangi is not given in exchange for a parawai pakipaki." A korirangi is an everyday cloak with thrums of unscrapped flax, a parawai pakipaki a fine cloak woven of bleached flax with a taniko border].

The other example belongs in a post-European context and could be equally well translated by "exchange", "barter", or "buy":

"I hokona tona kakahu ki te poaka."
[He exchanged/bartered/bought his garment with a pig.]

The fact that "hoko" was used by interpreters to mean both "buy" and "sell", that is, as a reciprocal form, strengthens the probability that it was a genuine Maori word and not a borrowing, and also that its basic meaning was "exchange".

Only once have I heard of a Maori suggesting that "hoko" had a non-Maori origin. A Maori school-teacher once included it in a discussion of transliterations, telling his class that it originated in Maori imitation of early European visitors who asked them if they had potatoes to "hock off". However, the whole presentation was in the style connected with the telling of pakiwaitara (made-up stories), the teacher was known for his sense of humour, and the class had not taken it seriously. The kaumātua who reported this incident noted that he had not heard the story from any other source. (144)

The question of the original meaning of "hoko" cannot be answered definitely until a range of examples can be located in early and authentic Maori texts, not translations from the English. The fact that Salmond found "hoko" rarely used in Nga Moteatea and Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna does not necessarily mean that the word was of minor importance in the Maori lexicon. These works are collections of formal, literary texts the content of which would in most cases have been considered tapu. "Hoko" might have occurred rarely in such texts because it belonged to the vocabulary of everyday, non-formal, non-literary usage. In this connection, I have a hypothesis to suggest later.

Secondly, at what date did speakers of Maori as a first language themselves begin consistently to use

"hoko" to mean "buy" and "sell" as its primary meaning, displacing its traditional one? I would doubt that it happened before the Treaty of Waitangi, because tikanga Maori was dominant until that date. Maori may have begun to use "hoko" to mean "buy" and "sell" with respect to commercial transactions with Europeans in the 1830s, as the number of the latter in the area increased, but they would have continued to use it with its traditional meaning among themselves. It would have taken some years and a massive increase in the amount of commercial activity before the new meaning drove out the old.

Thirdly, what did the missionaries understand by the words "buy" and "sell"? The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines the words in terms of transfer in exchange for money, but the missionaries were aware of the need to use goods rather than money in exchange with the Maori. I suggest that when they used the words "buy" and "sell", they had two other ideas in their minds, subconsciously if not consciously: the idea of a complete transfer of all rights of ownership and the idea of a transaction complete in itself, carrying no further obligation. These ideas were fundamentally at odds with the ideas underlying Maori land tenure and "gift" exchange, especially the idea that a "gift" imposed an implicit obligation to enter into a continuing exchange relationship.

Fourthly, why is the word "tuku" in the Maori version of the deeds matched with the word "sell" in the English version, given the evidence that the missionary translators scrupulously avoided using it in that sense in their translations of the Bible? There is a major inconsistency here, especially in view of Puckey's role as one of the translators responsible for the translations examined by Salmond. There are two main explanations possible: a lack of precision and/or poor choice of words in translation, resulting from the laudable desire to translate the gist of a passage into something that made sense and sounded natural to speakers of the target language, or a deliberate intention to move land out of the category of things with which "tuku" should be used into the category of things which could be bought and sold. Given the meanings which Salmond adduced for "tuku" from her analysis of early texts, "tuku" presented real difficulties to translators. Because of the fundamental difference between Maori and Pakeha concepts of the "gift", the most obvious English translation, "give", would be misleading, because it was used in both formal and informal contexts and was also used to render homai/hoatu, from which "tuku" must be differentiated. "Release" and "allocate" would both need further explanation and sound clumsy in many of the contexts where "tuku" was appropriate in Maori. In this paper I have settled for the neutral word "transfer", but it lacks colour and does not convey

the overtones of significance attached to "tuku". When Puckey translated "tuku whenua" as "sell land" in the translation of Panakareao's letter to the CMS, he may have simply opted for a term that made sense and was familiar to other Europeans, though he really knew better, something all translators find themselves doing occasionally. He did not at that stage have the guidance of the canons of translation laid down for the Translation Syndicate in 1844.

In search of further understanding of the concept of "tuku", I turned to another source of information, contemporary experts on Maori language and culture, Merimeri Penfold of Te Aupouri and Rima Eruera of Te Rarawa (145). Significantly, both began their discussion of "tuku" not with an abstract definition but by referring to its use in combination with other words.

Merimeri volunteered the following usages:

- 1) tuku tūpāpaku, the ritual form of words and gestures by which a relative or priest acknowledges that a person's life has come to an end and "lets them go"; this is done just as they breathe their last.
- 2) kōrero tuku, a synonym for ohākī, the farewell speech of a dying person in which he/she directs how his/her property is to be distributed and

delivers words of wisdom to be treasured and passed on to future generations.

3) *tuku kōrero*, the sending or exchange of messages, i.e. communication.

4) *tuku aroha*, the formal giving of *taonga* such as *mere* or *toki*, "things which have real significance to the tribe", by hosts to a visiting group. Such *taonga* are *tohu aroha*, visible signs of the *aroha* being exchanged. (The original meaning of *aroha*, before the adoption of Biblical ideas of love, was kinship loyalty: thus *tuku aroha* symbolised the establishment of a relation of kinship, often literally through marriage.) Both sides take particular note of such a gift "because it must come back".

5) *tuku whenua*, the giving of land.

"Land is a very special *taonga*, because you belong to the land, not the land to you. *Ko au te whenua, ehara te whenua nōku.*" [I am (identified with) the land, the land is not my possession.]

Summing up, she commented:

"When we talk of *taro* in the Lord's Prayer, it is different to bread. It is physical and spiritual sustenance. *Tuku* has the same deep, old meaning as *taro*. *Hoko* hasn't got that element of life, that depth, that solid quality."

Rima Eruera set out the following usages:

1) *tuku wairua*. The first *tuku wairua* is by God, *Io Matua*, to human beings, establishing the relationship between them.

"*Nā te Atua i tuku iho te wairua ki te tangata.*" [God gave the spirit to the human-being/human-kind. In Maori the singular is

often used to refer to the collectivity: cf. "arohanui ki te tangata".]

When a person dies, *tuku wairua* applies again. At the moment of death the *tohunga* recites appropriate *karakia* to return the spirit to *Hine-Nui-Te-Pō* and ultimately to God the Creator who gave it. This is still done today. God gave the spirit to each human-being, forming a relationship for his or her lifetime, and it must be returned to its giver.

2) *tuku whenua*, the burial of the afterbirth in a special place with a special *karakia*. The word used in this *karakia* is *tuku*: "*Tukua tēnei whenua ki roto i a Papatuanuku*". [Let this placenta be given into the Earth, *whenua* into *whenua*.] This *tuku whenua* is part of the process of protecting a person's *mauri-ora* (life-force).

"It is a binding, it binds the spiritual to the physical, it binds that person to that place."

3) *tuku whakahere*, the giving (sacrifice) of a human life, for the benefit of those remaining. A good example is *Kupe's* sacrifice of his son *Tuputupuwhenua*.

"The son became *Te Puna o Te Aomarama*, which still exists today. It is an eternal benefit, binding the *tāngata whenua* to the land."

4) *tuku taonga*, the giving of a cherished heirloom.

"The giving can be either temporary or permanent. It establishes a binding, a lasting relationship. A good example is when you *tuku a tokotoko*. Whether the walking stick is given in a permanent way depends on how it is handed

over to the recipient. If the tokotoko is handed over with the foot pointing back at you and the top towards the recipient, that means it has to come back. If it is given with the foot to the person, that means it remains with that person or that hapū or that iwi. Tuku taonga can have to do with whakapapa: it can be to seal an agreement or an exchange. The tokotoko given in a temporary manner is usually a tokotoko that carries a certain mana. It is given to a person to assist that person to reach a particular goal. When that goal is reached, the tokotoko is returned to the giver, and then it is given to someone else. A mere can be given in the same way as a tokotoko."

5) tuku wahine, the giving of a woman.

"You often hear the old people ask, "nā wai i tuku tau kōtiro?" Who gave your daughter away? The answer is usually, "Nā tana matua", her father. That was very, very important, that was a strong one in binding hapū and iwi. These words are still used today. The giving of a woman created a binding relationship between hapu and iwi with regard to whakapapa, the land and the sea. The benefit of that relationship was felt in times of war."

Summing up, Rima emphasised that "tuku" used on its own is "a giving" but "has got more substance" than the words "homai/hoatu" and "whakahoki" (to give back). "Homai/hoatu" can refer to the giving of something insignificant. "Hoatu talks more of a friendly relationship". By friendly I understand Rima to mean an ordinary, relaxed relationship, one which can be characterised as noa. The implication is that "tuku" is used in contexts which are formal, ceremonial and tapu. "You couldn't use hoatu in connection with God's giving of the wairua". Finally, "tuku" means not only giving but also giving back. It implies reciprocity. "The fundamental thing is that it creates a binding relationship". In formal, tapu

contexts "whakahoki" is not appropriate, because, like "homai/hoatu", it is too ordinary.

Merimeri and Rima agree that:

- * the basic meaning of "tuku" is "give" in the sense of "transfer to a particular person and/or for a particular purpose";
- * "tuku" is appropriately used both for giving and giving back, i.e for the making of a return gift: in the context of a chain of transfers each act of tuku is at once a giving and a giving back;
- * "tuku" is more than a simple synonym for "homai/hoatu" and "whakahoki" and is appropriately used where they are not;
- * it is likewise differentiated from "hoko";
- * "tuku" is appropriately used for giving gifts which are significant, highly valued and full of meaning;
- * the transfer is associated with ideas of generosity, not a close calculation of commercial value;
- * the transfer has spiritual as well as physical dimensions and so is associated with tapu rather than noa;
- * the transfer binds giver and receiver in an on-going relation of mutual obligation;
- * in most cases it is expected that the gift will be reciprocated by a return gift of comparable but never exactly equal value at a later date.

In assessing the significance of evidence from contemporary living experts, it must be recognised that words change their meaning over time. What evidence is there that these understandings of "tuku" are traditional and not of later development? In the first place, the points made are congruent with and characteristic of the ways in which "tuku" is used in Nga Moteatea, Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna, and the translations of the Bible published in the 1840s. Secondly, words which were associated with particularly significant and tapu occasions in pre-European times are likely to have retained those connotations and to have resisted change more successfully than those associated with ordinary activities. Thirdly, both Merimeri and Rima learnt Maori as their first language and were brought up in isolated Maori speaking communities, where they were closely associated with leading kaumatua in the home, on the marae and in Rima's case in the whare wānanga, communities where the Paipera Tapu was read frequently, known extensively by heart, and referred to as the arbiter of correct usage.

The association of "tuku" with ceremonial rather than practical exchanges receives support from the name "tuku kai" given to the food-bearing ceremony at hakari (146).

On the basis of all the evidence available to me at this time, I suggest that "tuku" and "hoko" both belonged in the 1830s to a set of words associated with and used in "gift" exchange and that within this general context there was at least a degree of differentiation between the two words. As hypotheses for investigation, I suggest, firstly, that "tuku" was the word used in association with exchanges of highly valued and typically value-added articles identified as taonga, exchanges which were surrounded with publicity, formality and tapu, while "hoko" was used in association with practical, small scale and fairly ordinary exchanges, mainly of foodstuffs; and secondly, that the association of "hoko" with the more practical level of exchange made it more suitable for application to the new kind of commercial exchange that developed between Maori and European visitors and settlers in the eighteen twenties and thirties, and resulted in its further differentiation from "tuku".

Tuku Whenua

Muriwhenua elders are agreed that "tuku whenua" is the correct term to describe the transfer of land by gift, whether from one generation to the next (tuku iho) or from one individual or group to another. Their understanding of tuku whenua has been articulated by Dr Margaret Mutu (147). On the basis of my own knowledge I endorse her presentation as true in spirit and in detail. I see no point in covering the same

ground and instead will concentrate my attention on the two published works which deal in most depth and detail with the practice of *tuku whenua*, and indeed with customary Maori ways of holding and transferring land.

It must be recognised that both works are old, even older than is indicated by their dates of publication. Economics of the New Zealand Maori by Raymond Firth, published in 1959, is a revised edition of a work completed in 1927 and published in 1929 as Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori. In revising it Firth left unchanged the major part of the book, including the sections on land. Maori Land Law by Judge Norman Smith of the Maori Land Court, published in 1960, is a revised edition of Native Custom Affecting Land (1942). The section on pre-European land tenure was re-arranged but not substantially changed in the revision. These two works confirm and complement each other. The model of customary land tenure which they set out has been received with little or no criticism by Maori scholars (148) because it accords with understandings handed down from their ancestors. In recent years scholars have begun to re-examine the documentary evidence on which the model was based and to ask whether and to what extent it reflects post-European influences and developments. These are valid concerns which need to be pursued. As yet, however, the critics have raised more questions

than they have been able to answer and failed to produce a satisfying alternative model. Firth's work remains the most useful on the subject because it was based directly and indirectly on Maori as well as European sources and related land tenure and transfer to social structure.

In Economics of the New Zealand Maori, Firth listed, under the heading "Title to Land", four main modes by which rights to land were acquired and maintained in traditional Maori society: discovery, conquest, occupation and ancestral right (149). Under the heading "Transfer of Land" he wrote:

"Under the old Maori regime the transfer of land in bulk apart from conquest was comparatively rare, as may be gathered from the sentiment attached to it. Natives were always reluctant to part with land, especially that which had long ancestral associations, or contained burial places, etc. On occasions, however, it did change hands as a "gift", generally as an equivalent of one kind or another." (150)

In effect, he recognised five grounds (take) for claiming title to land: "bespeaking" on discovery (taunaha), conquest (raupatu), occupation, ancestral right, and "gift"; and he pointed out that acquisition by every other take had to be validated by occupation.

Norman Smith in Maori Land Law listed "the principal rights or takes" as discovery, ancestry (take tupuna), conquest (take raupatu), and gift (take tuku). He then went on to discuss

"the necessary common ingredient, common to all takes, which must be proved before a claimant can

be said to have established a claim conclusively, namely, occupation." (151)

In discussing the transfer of land by "gift", Firth summarised instances "where lands have been thus ceded" as follows:

"to celebrate the occasion of peace-making between two tribes, as utu (compensation) for a breach of tapu, for a murder or for people killed in war, for assistance in war, on marriage, to atone for adultery, to a tribe who wished to settle, and to re-equip relatives who had suffered a calamity. ... In general the cession of land to another tribe seems to have been regarded as one of the most valuable of gifts, to be made only on occasions of great significance." (152)

In this passage, Firth appears, from his use of the term "tribe", to be referring entirely to the transfer of land between tribes. However, only Maori historians with a detailed knowledge of the examples cited could decide whether the groups named were independent political units at the time. Many of the reasons he mentioned for "giving" land could apply equally to the transfer of land within the tribe, between hapū and even whānau.

In Maori Land Law Smith wrote that:

"Gifts were frequently made by one tribe to another for assistance rendered in times of warfare or danger, or for the purpose of strengthening the donor tribe against possible invasion by alien tribes; in consequence of cementing family connections by marriages; in payment for a death or injury suffered by chiefs and others; as compensation by one tribe to another after a conflict where the two tribes have declared a cessation of hostilities." (153)

So far his presentation covered much the same ground as Firth's. However, he went on to examine separately

the transfer of land as a gift within the tribe, between individuals, whānau or hapū.

"There were also other occasions which gave a person, and his descendants, special rights in respect of particular portions of the land of his own tribe, where amicable relations within the tribe had not been disturbed by conflict, i.e., if in passing through the lands of another hapu a chief or person of note was drowned there, or died, or were buried there, or if his blood was spilt there, his relatives would generally be given a special right to that place; or if a child of note were born on a particular spot, the child and its parents might have a similar compliment conferred upon them." (154)

A common form of gift in both cases was of a mara or cultivation, a berry-bearing tree (with the land on which it was situated), a rat-catching or bird-snaring place, or an area of land to sustain or provide maintenance for some infant or upon marriage (155). It should be noted that when the transfer of land took place within the tribe, what was transferred were "special rights", not full rights of ownership.

Taken together, these passages could easily be interpreted as indicating two kinds of tuku whenua, one which took place between generations and groups within the same tribe and involved the transfer of rights of occupation and use only, and one which took place between tribes and involved the transfer of full rights in the land, including those of control and alienation. I originally considered formulating a hypothesis on these lines but on examining the evidence concluded that such a neat dichotomy could not be sustained. It depended upon using the

tripartite model of iwi, hapū and whānau, which identified iwi as politically dominant, unified and independent tribes and hapū as subordinate sub-tribes. While this is useful as a general framework, scholars are increasingly critical of it for oversimplifying the complexity and dynamism of the Maori social order both before and after the Treaty of Waitangi. In Muriwhenua (and most other areas) there were usually two or three levels of hapū and the largest operated independently most of the time, combining as necessary in variably integrated alliances in response to external threats and/or exceptionally able leadership. At any given time it was often difficult to determine whether particular groups were hapū or iwi. Indeed the two terms were often used interchangeably; sometimes "hapū" was preferred even to the exclusion of "iwi" (for instance, in the text of the Treaty of Waitangi). (156) Likewise, in Muriwhenua the term "rangatira" predominated and "ariki", commonly associated with leadership of the iwi, was little heard. In their relations with each other, hapū and iwi made their dispositions in accordance with what was possible and acceptable, given the current balance of power. In the course of their history groups segmented and combined as was politically expedient, adopting different ancestral names to reflect current political reality rather than allowing ancestral connections to dictate political arrangements(157).

On reflection, I found it more useful to focus on the way in which, in the Maori system of land tenure, rights in a piece of land were separated and shared by different parties. Before the Treaty of Waitangi, an iwi or hapū which was able to maintain political independence did not own so much as hold a defined stretch of territory (takiwā); the mana whenua derived from thus holding it was vested in the group as a whole and in its rangatira as its representatives and trustees, in one if clearly pre-eminent or in several acting collectively. At the same time, rights of occupation and use were separated to a considerable degree from those of control and alienation and held by individuals and groups at different levels of the social order. (158)

Rights of occupation (nohoanga) and use (mahinga) were virtually one, expressed in the concept of ahi kā (keeping one's fires burning). Such rights were subdivided and distributed among particular sections of the holding group: to constituent hapū, whānau within hapū, and individuals within whānau. Individuals and the smaller groups commonly held rights in several different places, moving between them as necessary to tap their resources, while different individuals and groups held use rights in different resources in the same place. Periodic visits rather than continuous occupation were required to maintain ahi kā. Holders of occupation and use rights

could pass them on down the descent line to their children and descendants or transfer them to other members of the group as a whole, provided always that the leading rangatira did not object. If the rangatira vetoed or varied such arrangements they were obliged to compensate those disadvantaged in the process or risk losing their allegiance.

While those who occupied and used a particular piece of land by right had a degree of freedom in managing its resources, especially on a day-to-day basis, overriding rights of control and alienation were vested in the leading rangatira, operating individually or collectively according to current political realities. The right of control included the allocation of occupation and use rights, the imposition of tapu on resources in the form of rāhui (for example, on the taking of birds during the breeding season), and the moving of occupiers to alternative locations. This right could be delegated to lesser rangatira. The right of alienation was the right to dispose of land to outsiders. This right was reserved to the leading rangatira, usually after consultation.

In discussing the transfer of land as a "gift" from one tribe to another, Firth and Smith seem to have assumed that all rights in the land were transferred, that is, rights of control and alienation as well as rights of occupation and use. This should not be taken

for granted, however, as neither specifically addresses the issue. In another part of his book (in the chapter on "The Distribution of Goods and the Payment of Labour") Firth revealed that rangatira could transfer rights of occupation and use on a temporary and conditional basis, while retaining rights of control and alienation. He did not say that this arrangement was limited to hapū of the same tribe: it seems likely to have included members of other tribes who had relatives in the vicinity, wished to tap resources lacking in their own area, or were landless refugees.

"When ... a family or the people of a village obtained the usufruct of a piece of land or forest for a season, a gift of the portion of the produce was always made to the owners of it ... not so much by way of compensation to the owners for the loss they had sustained in allowing others to utilise their resources, as a sign or token (tohu) that the ownership remained with them. If the gifts were omitted and no protest were made by the ci-devant owners, then this would be sufficient to allow the users of the land to found a claim to it. On the other hand, it appears that such tribute was often refused by the owners. If it were accepted it might be construed as giving the person the right to live on such lands, or, at any rate, to use them in perpetuity. ... Whether taken or refused, the gift must, of course, be made on subsequent occasions. ... The real concern is with the ultimate right to the land, not with the temporary usage of it." (159)

In endeavouring to understand the ramifications of take tuku in pre-European Maori society, it seems to me to be fruitful to recognise that: the term applied to "gifts" of land both within the tribe and between tribes; "gifts" of land were one of the ways in which rangatira attached tribal members to them as supporters and non-tribal members as vassals or

allies; in giving a "gift" of land to a group of outsiders, the rangatira did not necessarily transfer all rights in it but might transfer rights of occupation and use only or rights of occupation, use and control, without the right of alienation; in giving a "gift" of land to a group of outsiders, the rangatira did so in the context of "gift" exchange, according to the rules governing the giving of taonga.

The evidence for this last contention is to be found in the word "tuku" itself but most importantly in reasons underlying the "occasions of great significance" on which land was given as a "gift". The occasions named by Firth and Smith can be organised under five headings:

- 1) occasions when tribes came together in large-scale hui marked by hakari (the formal presentation of "gifts" and counter-"gifts"), notably to celebrate the making of peace and the making of intergroup marriages;
- 2) occasions when one group gave a "gift" of land to the other hei utu (in compensation) for services rendered, notably for assistance in war and for assistance in staging a feast;
- 3) occasions when one group gave a "gift" of land to kinsfolk in a display of aroha (support and generosity), notably to re-equip relatives who had suffered a calamity and to attract relatives to settle, in order to increase the hosts' strength;

4) occasions when one group gave a "gift" of land hei utu (in compensation) for some injury inflicted on the other, notably for a breach of tapu, for adultery, for murder, and for people killed in war;

5) occasions when one group gave a "gift" of land to another as a substitute for a return gift of another kind, for example, a feast (160).

In every case, the "gift" of land was made in connection with an on-going relationship between the groups, whether to initiate or maintain a positive exchange relationship or to turn a hostile exchange relationship into a positive one.

Giving land in the context of "gift" exchange meant in most cases that, whatever rights were given, they were given conditionally, in expectation that an on-going relationship of exchange would be established or maintained; that the land given would be passed on only to the recipients' descendants, not to a third party (except involuntarily by conquest); and that the land given would be returned when it was no longer occupied and used by the recipients or on an appropriately important occasion. In a number of the cases he cited, Firth emphasised that the land was "still occupied" (i.e. at the time of reporting) by descendants of the original recipients (161).

Like other taonga, land could be given in a way that signalled that it was not to be returned, that is, unconditionally, but this was very rare. It was done when the imbalance in the exchange relationship was too great to be wiped out in the usual way, and was made very clear in the giving. Even then, when, in the course of time, the aggrieved party considered that the debt had been cancelled by the benefits derived from the land, relations might be resumed and the conditions which normally governed such a "gift" reinstituted.

Underpinning the custom of *tuku whenua* in the context of "gift" exchange were three important principles, well summarised by Norman Smith:

"The ingredients necessary to constitute a complete gift of land according to Maori custom were:

- (a) The donor must have had sufficient right to make it.
 - (b) The gift must have been widely known and publicly assented to, or tacitly acquiesced in, by the tribe.
 - (c) The donee or his direct descendants must have continued to occupy the portion gifted."
- (162)

Now to return to the central question: What did the parties to the transfer of land in Western Muriwhenua between 1834 and 1840 think they were doing? Did they have the same intentions and understanding of the arrangements made between them or were they talking past each other, to a major or minor extent?

The Kaitaia (Kerekere I) Block: Tuku Whenua or Sale?

As the first to take place in Western Muriwhenua, the transfer of the Kaitaia block set precedents and laid down a basic pattern of proceeding, especially in the introduction of prior negotiation (a departure from traditional Maori practice), the signing of a written deed (an entirely new element), and the way that deed was worded.

Matthews, Puckey and the other missionaries involved (Baker, Henry Williams and Davis) clearly wanted to acquire full title to the mission site for the CMS and persuaded themselves that their aim had been achieved. In their reports of the negotiations beforehand and the delivery of the agreed on goods, they used the words "purchase", "sale", "payment", "trade" and "bargain" and commented favourably on a speech which stressed that once the goods were accepted the land was gone forever (163). They took pains to draw up a deed which would meet the requirements of a court of law, read and explained it to the rangatira with whom they were dealing, and obtained their signatures (164). This deed recorded a transaction in which the rangatira on one side gave the block of land and the CMS on the other gave goods in reciprocation. It also included the phrase "ake tonu atu" which they took as applying to the act of transfer and translated as "for ever". Finally, Puckey testified along these lines

before the Old Land Claims Commission in 1843, stating:

"I claim on behalf of the Church Missionary Society a tract of Land at Kaitaia called the Kerekere containing about 2000 acres. It was purchased by me for the Society part in 1834 and the remainder on the 2nd of January 1840 from the Native Chief Nopera Panakareao & others and the payments were made to them as described in the deeds. ... No part of this land has been resold. The possession of this land by the Society has never been disputed either by Natives or Europeans. I witnessed the Signature of the Natives to the two deeds & saw them receive the payments." (165)

What of the Maori side? At the time when the missionaries first investigated the possibility of establishing a mission in Kaitaia, the Muriwhenua hapū and their rangatira had relatively limited experience of Europeans. They had seen and heard enough to know on the one hand that the missionaries in particular had goods and skills they wanted and on the other that they were different from themselves in aims and lifestyle, with different ideas on many matters. But they were not generally well informed on the details, for example, of European religious observance, family life or land tenure and interpreted them in the light of their own beliefs and practices. While some rangatira had travelled more widely and knew more than most, all were securely embedded in tikanga Maori and conscious of holding the mana whenua and rangatiratanga of the area on behalf of their people. Given this context, it is inherently unlikely that they would have abandoned their own way of handling the transfer of land in favour of one which involved

losing so much for an immediate, short-term advantage. Tuku whenua was a far more effective way of getting what they wanted, securing not only a single, one-off "payment" of desired goods but the continuing stream of benefits associated with an on-going exchange relationship. I believe that rangatira and followers alike viewed the transfer of Kerekere I as a case of tuku whenua, conforming in essential principle with familiar practice while making accommodations in minor matters of procedure.

That the rangatira saw the transfer of Kerekere I as he tuku whenua is supported, first by the fact that this was the view they passed on orally to their descendants (166) and secondly by a substantial body of circumstantial evidence derived from the missionary accounts either directly or by challenging their interpretation of events.

The missionaries opened negotiations for the Kaitaia mission site on the second CMS visit to Muriwhenua in March 1833, reaching agreement on boundaries and the goods to be given in reciprocation but not handing over the goods (167). The missionaries took the initiative and "named the quantity of Trade we intend to give for the land to form the settlement which he (Panakareao) agreed to." (168) The rangatira may or may not have been surprised at the missionaries wanting to discuss, openly and beforehand, the amount

of utu that would be given, since traditionally that was "not done", but their leaders adjusted quickly, seeing the advantages of prior negotiation where such coveted goods were concerned. In July 1833 Panakareao visited Baker in Kerikeri (169). He reported that others were not satisfied with agreements made for clearing the river and road and acquiring the mission site and asked for more goods. Baker attributed these demands to avarice and covetousness. From a Maori point of view, it was Baker who was putting the relationship at risk by failing to make the promised return, while Panakareao was acting responsibly, as a rangatira, to secure a large enough return to satisfy those with claims to a share and to ensure that the desired exchange relationship was established on a sound basis. By advising Baker to wait until the promised goods were available, Panakareao protected the CMS from criticism and possible repercussions for lack of generosity (an insult to the mana of the recipients and a reflection on that of the Society). The accommodation he made by engaging in prior negotiation did not go beyond the procedural.

Before the promised goods were delivered, Matthews and Puckey lived on the block together for two months late in 1833 and Matthews spent seven weeks there on his own early in 1834 (170). Thus to take possession of land before making a return was typical of tuku whenua, when the main acknowledging "gift" was often

delayed until harvest. During this time the local people brought Matthews and Puckey presents of foodstuffs, initiating the process of exchange at the everyday level that incorporated them into the community. This was not understood by the missionaries, then or later (see pp.61-3).

The missionary accounts of the events surrounding the handing over of the agreed upon goods (171) concentrated on the aspects that were relevant to themselves, such as the speech emphasising "the nature of European bargains", but left out the details that would be relevant from a Maori point of view, such as which hapū were represented in the assembly, and which rangatira were present, made speeches and shared in the distribution of the goods. Even so, reading between the lines suggests that the proceedings followed the general pattern of the gatherings called hakari, despite modifications made to accommodate missionary ways. The Maori participants gathered on the land in question, though outside the mission compound, stayed over at least two nights and engaged in speech-making, haka and socialising both before and after the actual presentation. Panakareao and his kinsmen of the local kāinga acted as hosts to both the missionaries and the assembled hapū and as mediators between them. Panakareao received the goods on behalf of those assembled and then redistributed them to the rangatira for their hapū, and he mobilised his own

hapu to protect the missionaries when some of the recipients threatened to turn on them.

The signing of a written deed was an innovation for the Maori. None of them could read or write at that time. They relied on the missionaries to read and explain its purpose and its content. In general, the rangatira would not have seen the deed as having the key importance which the missionaries gave it. While they accepted it as a tohu (sign or symbol) of the transfer, they would have placed far more weight on the agreements made orally, on the procedure of walking over the land identifying its features, and on the speeches made before the whole gathering. In his account Henry Williams referred to the "payment" being given to Panakareao and then "carried out to the multitude" (172). From this it would seem that the signing took place inside either a mission house or the mission fence, in the presence of selected rangatira but not of the full assembly. The signing of the deed thus did not fulfil the condition stated by Smith that "The gift must have been widely known and publicly assented to, or tacitly acquiesced in, by the tribe" (173). That condition was fulfilled not by the signing but by the speeches made before the assembly.

From a Maori point of view, the text of the deed must have seemed curiously short and unsatisfactory, containing some un-Maori expressions and lacking the

formal vocabulary and literary devices used to dignify important acts, but it would have given them no cause for concern, for it used the familiar phrases "tuku whenua" and "hei utu", supporting their own interpretation of the transaction. Even the phrase "ake tonu atu" would not have conveyed to them the finality with which the missionaries invested it, because grammatically it followed and modified the phrase "ki Te Paki mo te Hahi Mihanere". According to Williams' Dictionary of the Maori Language, "ake" indicates continuation in time, "tonu" also conveys the idea of continuance, and "atu" indicated movement away from the speaker in time or space. The phrase "ake tonu atu" conveys the sense of "continuing from henceforth on and on". It focuses attention on the continuance of the arrangement or relationship set in place to begin with. With the idea of tuku whenua firmly fixed in their minds, the rangatira would have interpreted the words of the deed as stressing the permanency, not of the alienation of the land but of the relationship thus established between the land and the CMS.

After the signing of the deed, the promised goods were displayed before the assembly, many speeches were made and then Panakareao as primary recipient began to distribute the goods among those present. The distribution was disrupted when some of the crowd rushed the goods and those who missed out looked as if

they would "strip" the mission settlement (174). This disturbance may have been a breach of the usual, traditional pattern, sparked off by the sight of coveted goods or by dissatisfaction at Panakareao's distribution. Alternatively, however, it could have been an example of the ritualised (but none the less real) conflict which is a feature of northern hui (especially tangihanga) to this day and which serves the functions of "honouring" the occasion, making it memorable, and releasing social tensions. Panakareao and his hapū acted promptly to protect the missionaries, now bound to them as exchange partners, and then resolved the distribution issue through haka and formal debate (175). Apart from the signing of the deed, the proceedings were conducted in an entirely Maori way, in accordance with Maori understandings of the situation and the relationships between the people involved.

Puckey and Matthews recorded that "the chiefs of whom we purchase the land manifested great satisfaction on seeing the payment" (176), but it must be remembered that "payment" was the word they consistently used to translate "utu" (see p.³⁸ above). The fact that the missionaries saw the goods transferred as a once-for-all payment in purchase does not mean that the chiefs saw it the same way. Operating in terms of their own system of "gift" exchange, they could have seen it as the "gift" given in immediate acknowledgment of a

taonga, to be followed by a fuller return in the future, or as the "gift" with which users acknowledged the continuing jurisdiction and mana of the donor rangatira. Even if Panakareao and the rangatira did understand that they were receiving the full return for the land at that gathering, they would still have expected it to institute an on-going series of exchanges.

The missionaries placed a great deal of weight on the speech in which "a leading chief" explained that once the "payment" was accepted the land was "gone for ever". I find it significant that only one such speech was reported. In Maori gatherings important and generally accepted points are normally reiterated by speaker after speaker. The speech in question was reported by Matthews and Puckey in a joint letter to the CMS written two and a half months later and by Davis in a letter written five years later in response to enquiries about the nature of missionary purchases (177). Neither report named the speaker. If it had been Panakareao, Matthews and Puckey would have used the phrase "our principal chief". Davis identified him as "a leading chief", an inadequate reference in the circumstances. In the Maori world of the time the identity of a speaker had an important bearing on the weight given to what he said by Maori listeners. Which hapū he belonged to, how illustrious his descent and personal achievements, whether he had rights in the

land being transferred -- all these considerations would have affected the hearing he was given.

Both reports of the speech used quotation marks, giving the impression that they were the speaker's exact words. This was not the case. Both paraphrased the gist of the speech in English. According to Puckey and Matthews, the speaker told the assembly:

" "that the land which they had sold was a weighty article and the right of possession would never ever return to them it was gone for ever." " (178)

Davis reported that the speaker said:

" "Ye tribes of the Rarawa listen. You are this day to receive a payment for your land. You must now think whether you will agree to sell it or not for remember when you have once received the payment your land is gone from you for ever." " (179)

The two versions used different words to say the same thing. They were not verbatim texts but reported the message that the translators thought and wanted to think was being expressed.

We can only guess what words were used by the speaker in Maori. Given the evidence reviewed in this paper on the use of "tuku" and "hoko", the custom of tuku whenua, and the text of the pre-Treaty deeds, it is most likely that he used "tuku" and "hei utu" where the translators used "sell/sold" and "payment". According to both accounts, the speaker was at pains to stress that the land was "gone for ever". The most likely form to have been used by the speaker was "ake tonu atu", which was used in the deed. It has already

been pointed out that this Maori phrase expresses continuance of a situation or relationship rather than the idea of finality which is attributed to it in English. The speech could have meant what the missionaries thought it did, but it could also have conveyed endorsement of the giving of land to the missionaries as an act of *tuku whenua*, valid as long as the recipients and their descendants continued to occupy the land.

Finally, the message conveyed also depended on the receptivity of the listeners. In general, they would have understood what the speaker said in the light of the known and familiar custom of *tuku whenua*, hearing what they expected to hear.

Of all the evidence adduced to support the missionaries' claim that the *rangatira* understood that they had sold the land and had no further claim on it, the strongest is that given by Nopera Panakareao, Tiro and Waha before the Old Land Claims Commission in 1843. In his statement Nopera Panakareao said:

"In 1834 and about three years ago I and other Chiefs sold to Mr Puckey for the Church Missionary Society a tract of land at Kaitaia as described in the two deeds now shown to me both of which I signed after they had been read to me. We received the payment stated. We had a right to sell this land and have never sold it to any other person."
(180)

Tiro and Waha made almost identical statements (181).

These three statements are not as conclusive as they have been taken to be, for example by Walzl (182). To

begin with, they are in English. None of the three chiefs spoke or as far as is known had any real understanding of spoken English. Teaching in the mission schools was in Maori. That they gave their evidence and responded to questions in Maori is attested by the signature of Tacy Kemp Interpreter. The statements have the complex grammatical structure typical of English but not of Maori, are similar in form and almost identical in wording. These features suggest that they are not translations of the signatories' own words but were constructed by a third party on the basis of oral statements or of responses to a list of standard questions. This construction could have been done by Puckey co-ordinating the testimony of witnesses supporting the CMS claim or by Kemp integrating responses to questions asked by the Commissioner. In itself it does not invalidate the statements as legal documents, since the rangatira signed them. It does however raise the question of what Maori words were used in the oral evidence given by the three rangatira and in their discussions with Puckey and Kemp, and what care was taken to make sure that the rangatira realised that they were affirming not a *tuku whenua* but a sale, totally cutting the donors off from the right to use or control what was done with the land, including sale to a third party. As we have seen, Puckey consistently translated "*tuku whenua*" as "to sell land" and "*utu*" as "payment", and Kemp did the same in his translations of land deeds,

including the two Kerekere ones (183). It is highly likely that they did so in this case.

Panakareao and the other rangatira who approved the transfer of the Kaitaia block to the CMS clearly intended to transfer rights of occupation and use on a long-term basis, not just for a season or two, but did they also intend to transfer rights of control and alienation? The Kaitaia (Kerekere I) deed did not specifically mention the transfer of mana and rangatiratanga, as the Kerekere II deed did, but such negative evidence cannot establish either that it was retained or transferred. Of all the occasions for *tuku whenua* which Firth and Smith identified, the one which comes closest to fitting this case is the giving of land for relatives to settle on for reasons of *aroha*. This is what Panakareao claimed to have done when Titore challenged him about his alleged land-selling:

"Horekau au i hoko i te whenua, i tukua e au i runga i te aroha, taku tuara ki Te Reinga." [I did not sell the land, I released it out of *aroha*, my back to Te Reinga.] (184)

At that time the basic meaning of *aroha* was love for kinsfolk, including sympathy, loyalty and the responsibility to be generous.

When a rangatira gave land to relatives from other tribes, he retained mana and rangatiratanga over it, since the intention was to incorporate the settlers into his own political unit, in so far as possible. The guardians of Muriwhenua history believe that this

was what Panakareao and the other rangatira did when they released the Kaitaia block to the missionaries "out of aroha" (185). However, in their dealings with the missionaries the rangatira were breaking new ground. The missionaries did not fit comfortably into known categories. They were not relatives; they were known to have very different tikanga, to be independently minded, and to control desirable assets. A case might have been argued for treating them as rangatira of equal status. On the other hand, they were very few in number and committed to the cause of peace. Panakareao could hardly have thought to transfer rangatiratanga to them when they were totally unable to exercise it effectively in the face of challenge. When they took up residence on the site, Panakareao installed two warriors with their families there, to protect both the missionaries and the benefits they represented: they were still there fifteen years later (186). Looking back in 1839 Puckey reported that Panakareao

"had been often of much service ... in restraining the turbulence which some of the natives have manifested towards us in former times." (187).

The missionaries would not have been able to develop the Kaitaia block as they did without his support and protection. If not exactly dependents, they were certainly protégés of Panakareao. Panakareao's people continued to come and go across the land, and periodically to live on and cultivate suitable parts of it (188). In so far as the missionaries exercised

any rangatiratanga, any control, over the area of the mission station, it was a delegated and conditional rangatiratanga, and the mana whenua remained with Panakareao.

Whatever else is uncertain, one thing is clear: Panakareao and the other rangatira saw the transfer of the Kaitaia block as taking place within the framework of an on-going reciprocal relationship which was highly personalised and extended to the parties' children and descendants. So strong was the emphasis on a personal relationship that Panakareao told Matthews he had nearly gone to bring Baker to Kaitaia by force some years after he withdrew from the mission (189). Having forged a new relationship with Matthews, he was so disturbed at the CMS proposal to send him elsewhere that he sent a letter to the Secretary of the CMS (Appendix #3, #4). As Matthews reported:

"He says if I go he will go or he will allow no one else to come in my place." (190)

Any breach of that personal relationship was also a breach of one of the conditions under which the land was released and threatened to void the agreement. As a transaction, the transfer of Kerekere I differed in significant ways from sale as defined by English law.

Further Land Transfers 1835-40

In the years between the establishment of the Kaitaia mission and the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, Nopera Panakareao, in conjunction with other

rangatira, transferred a further seventeen blocks of land in Western Muriwhenua to Europeans, mostly persons closely associated with the CMS, including Matthews and Puckey (191). There is no record, in the missionaries' writings, of the discussions and formalities which must surely have surrounded these transfers: the main evidence left is that of the deeds in which they were recorded. Like the Kerekere I deed, these were drawn up in Maori. Most of them followed the basic format of that deed, but with significant additions (192). Six (Ohotu, Waiokai, Warau, Okiore, Otaki and Pukepoto) recorded additional "payments" made at later dates. The deeds recording the transfer of the Ohotu and Pukepoto blocks to Puckey in 1835 and 1839 respectively included provisions for the local people to occupy and use the land, while deeds for Okiore, Oruru, Otaki and Parapara, all signed in 1839, provided for them to have certain areas to live on and cultivate "from one generation to another". With one exception the deeds signed in 1839 and 1840 added a phrase meaning "for his children or descendants" to the name of the European party to the agreement. Finally in two deeds of similar date (Kerekere II and Muriwhenua/Kapowairua) the clause describing the transfer of the land was amplified by the addition of the phrases "me te rangatiratanga me te mana i runga i taua wahi" [with the rangatiratanga and the mana over that place].

Like the Kerekere I deed on which they were mostly modelled, these deeds were all consistent with the interpretation of the transfer as he tuku whenua. With one exception they used the words "tuku whenua" to describe the transfer of the land and "hoatu hei utu" to describe the transfer of goods in the opposite direction in reciprocation. Grammatically the phrase "ake tonu atu" was attached to the names of the recipients, referring not to the transfer alone but to the transfer to named recipients and often their descendants. To Maori hearers this would preclude the right to transfer the land to a third party without the approval of the donors.

The additions made to the basic format all suggest that the Europeans who framed the deeds had come to appreciate firstly, that the Maori understanding of the nature of the transfer differed from their own and, secondly, that they had not acquired all the rights they thought they had. Some of the additions might have been made in response to pressure from the rangatira to recognise the continuing rights of themselves and their people; others were attempts by Europeans either to obtain exclusive control or to limit Maori claims.

The making of additional payments is evidence that the rangatira considered the first agreement on utu to be less final, more open-ended, than the Europeans did.

It reinforces serious doubts that the rangatira had fully understood or accepted the European concept of sale, involving a once-for-all payment which extinguished all the former owners' rights. But above all it supports the contention that the rangatira intended to and did in fact retain both mana and rangatiratanga with respect to the land. They were able effectively to secure European compliance to their way of handling the matter.

The phrases and clauses which granted the donors general occupation rights in a block or reserved specific areas for their use might have been included as a result of pressure from the rangatira or out of generosity on the part of the missionaries. The reasons can be guessed at, but not proven. The general effect was a modification of European ideas of exclusive possession in favour of Maori ideas of shared rights. Most of the deeds which contained such clauses were signed in 1839, after the parties had had several years to find out about the differences in their positions and work out accommodations.

However, the Ohotu deed, which was signed in 1835, included in its final clause the words "ma Te Paki ake tonu atu te whenua ma te tangata maori ano" [the land is for Puckey for ever and for the Maori people also] (193). The latter phrase is extremely general. It fails to specify, as it should have done, that the

tangata maori in question were those with established rights in the land. It has been interpreted as giving the t̄angata whenua "general occupancy rights" (194). Puckey confirmed that this was his intention in his evidence before the Old Land Claims Commission in 1843, when he said:

"the term in the deed "for the use of the natives" was inserted because I guaranteed to them the undisturbed possession of as much land as they required for cultivation." (195)

However, the phrase in question does not include the word "use": grammatically the deed puts the t̄angata whenua on a level with Puckey. At the least, the deed gave the local people the right not only to occupy and use parts of the block but also to decide how much and which areas to cultivate, that is, a degree of control. Walzl suggests that the insertion of the clause was "a Maori idea rather than having come from Puckey" and did not have the complete support of the missionaries (196). Certainly, Matthews was keen to minimise the rights thus accorded the Maori, testifying to the Old Land Claims Commission that their occupation was explained to them to be "on sufferance" (197). Puckey's evidence suggests either a more realistic or a more generous attitude. If the insertion was the result of pressure from the Maori side, why was it absent from the deeds for Otararau and Waiokai acquired by Matthews at the same time? It might have been, as Walzl suggests (198), because of a difference in the nature of the resources, but local knowledge is needed to substantiate that suggestion.

Did the Maori trust Matthews more than Puckey? There is no evidence to suggest so; in view of Matthews' limited competence in Maori at the time, the contrary is more likely. Perhaps Puckey, with his greater command of Maori and greater understanding of tikanga Maori, was ahead of the other Europeans in recognising and accommodating Maori views. Matthews, who grew to adulthood in an English environment and was a recent arrival in New Zealand, might not have been willing to make such a concession.

The deed for Puckey's acquisition of the Pukepoto block in 1839 included a more specific clause: "noho ana te hunga o taua wahi mate noa me o ratou tamariki" [the people of that place shall stay there until they die, and their children] (199). Puckey explained the intention of this clause to the Old Land Claims Commission in almost the same words used regarding Ohotu, while Matthews was similarly insistent that Maori occupation was by permission and not of right (200). In this case Puckey went further than in 1835 in recognising continuing claims on the land.

The reservation of parts of the blocks transferred was a feature of four of the land transfers that took place in 1839 and early 1840, including Matthews' acquisition of Raramata. This suggests that the Europeans had come to a better appreciation of *tuku whenua* and tried to limit the occupation rights of the

local people to defined areas and/or that the Maori had come to a better appreciation of the idea of sale and insisted on the insertion of such clauses to protect their continued access to cultivable areas. Two deeds are particularly interesting for their use of the word "tapu". The Okiore deed (17th September 1839) stated: "Ko te Kokopu kihai (i) riro, kia tapu taua wahi mo ona tangata". This was translated by Kemp as "Te Kokopu is not gone, let that place be reserved for its people." (201) The Otaki deed (17th December 1839) set aside the banks of the Awanui river for the people to cultivate, adding "kia tapu tonu ano aua wahi mo ratou ake ana". This was translated as "the places are to remain sacred to them for ever." (202) It should be noted that Kemp translated "tapu" differently in the two deeds, as "reserved for" and "sacred to". Used in this context, the word "tapu" certainly contained the idea of "set apart" or "reserved", but it also implied restriction, restriction on the rights of the occupiers to dispose of the land but also restriction on the right of the other party, the European holder, to intrude upon their use of the land or to evict them. In effect the Maori retained control as well as occupation rights in such reserves.

The history of the Otaki block is instructive in other ways as well (203). When Henry Southey submitted his land claims in 1841, he filed a deed dated 17th

December 1839 which included a block purchased in 1837 and a block given on his marriage to Raiha, a kinswoman of the Awanui rangatira (204). The transfer of the latter block had been recorded already in a deed which specified that it was given for Raiha and her children if she had sons but if not it was to pass at her death to Southee and his children (205). The transfer of land on marriage was a common form of *tuku whenua*, part of the exchanges which stitched the spouses' groups together. The one unusual feature of this transfer is the provision that the land should go to Southee on Raiha's death if there were no male offspring. Perhaps the rangatira hoped to bind Southee to them more firmly by such generosity. In subsequent correspondence with the Governor, Southee distinguished between the land that was "presented" to him on his marriage and the land he claimed as purchased, and he sought to have the deed of gift recognised as a deed of sale, on the grounds that he had more than recompensed the donors for the land.

"I humbly hope your Excellency is aware of the nature of a Maori deed of gift which although bearing a name of a voluntary present the parties interested are seldom satisfied even should the presents in return exceed the actual value of the article first presented. In the present case on addition to the articles in trade presented by Your Excellency's humble petitioner to the Aborigines concerned I have continually supplied those parties and their friends with Medicine watched and attended them in their sickness and have been to them as their Father." (206)

His argument reveals at once his preconceptions about the nature of gifts, his understanding of the reciprocal and on-going obligations involved in Maori

"gift" giving, and preference for sale as the basis of title. Yet the distinction which Southee made, and which was made by the English law introduced by the Kawanatanga, was not present in the deeds concerned, which used "tuku" for both transactions, nor in the thinking of the rangatira, for whom both were subsumed under the rubric of "tuku whenua".

The inclusion of "tamariki" (which Maori use to include all descending generations) in the deeds is particularly strong evidence that the Europeans had come to recognise and accept, at least partially, that they held the land in a way which involved a continuing relationship with the kai-tuku, with attendant obligations and advantages. Significantly, Puckey and Matthews justified their personal purchases of land on the grounds that they and their children would be able to provide for the Maori if and when they had disposed of too much land (207).

The addition of the phrase "me te rangatiratanga me te mana" in two deeds must surely have come from the missionaries, because they had always wanted to secure control as well as occupation and use rights. Their insistence on this addition makes it clear that by 1839 they had realised that deeds along the lines of Kerekere I did not in fact guarantee them all the rights they wanted. But why did the rangatira accept the inclusion of these phrases if they had previously

held on to the mana and rangatiratanga? By 1840 they were much more closely bound to the missionaries, had come to rely on what they provided, and developed a relationship of trust. The Kerekere II transfer was to the CMS to extend the mission base. The Muriwhenua/Kapowairua transfer was to a CMS missionary who promised to provide protection and leadership for a community under stress (208). It was tragic that the promise was broken.

As with Kerekere I, Matthews, Puckey and the others who acquired blocks of land in Western Muriwhenua before the signing of the Treaty gave evidence to the Old Land Claims Commission in which they stated that they had bought the land by giving goods in return. They acknowledged the reserves set aside within the blocks, but Matthews in particular minimised the importance of the occupancy right included in Puckey's deeds. The evidence of these European "buyers" was supported by statements from Nopera Panakareao and other Maori signatories that they had indeed "sold" the land, excepting the areas set aside as reserves. These statements from Maori signatories are subject to the same objections raised in connection with Kerekere I: they depended on the adequacy of the explanation of the issues given to the rangatira in Maori and the accuracy of the English translation of what they said in response. With respect to the Ohotu block, Nopera Panakareao explained that:

"the natives are allowed to live and cultivate upon this land but are prohibited from selling any part of it." (209)

Giving evidence on the Pukepoto block, Puhipi Te Ripi said:

"When we sold it to Mr Puckey we understood that we had parted with our title to it, although Mr Puckey allowed some to remain on the land and cultivate it." (210)

Exactly what Nopera Panakareao and Puhipi Te Ripi said cannot be judged without access to the Maori forms of expression they used for "sold", "allowed", "prohibited" and "title". The summary of their evidence was certified by Tacy Kemp, but a comparison of Kemp's translations with the Maori of the original deeds shows that he was less than meticulous as a translator. In the Okiore deed he translated "me noho tonu nga tangata maori i ona wahi ki te taha o te Wainui" as "the Natives are to be permitted to cultivate along the banks of the Awanui" (211). Since the particle "me" forms "a mild imperative" or a "polite request" (212), the passage would be better translated as "the Maori people are to continue to occupy their places along the banks of the river". Kemp gives the idea of permission much greater force than it has in the Maori. Both Puckey and Kemp consistently translated "tuku whenua" as "to sell land". If "tuku whenua" was used in questioning Panakareao, he would readily have affirmed not only that the land was tuku'd to Puckey but also that the Maori occupiers were thereby prohibited from transferring it to anyone else. But he would have

expected the same prohibition to apply to Puckey. I wonder how Puckey and Kemp expressed the idea of "title" in Maori. From a Maori point of view, if the local people continued to live on the land and cultivate it, they retained title of a certain kind, take ahi ka.

CONCLUSION

Developing Understandings 1834-40

Once the missionaries were established in the area, preaching, teaching, making regular rounds and talking to people on secular as well as religious matters, Maori understanding of European ways undoubtedly improved year by year, but it was still very far from complete by 1840. There were substantial variations both in the degree of understanding of European ways and in the degree of acceptance accorded them. While certain rangatira, led by Panakareao, took up the mission teaching with enthusiasm and sought baptism in increasing numbers, others, especially from the western hapu, held aloof or attached themselves to the Wesleyans or Catholics based in the Hokianga. None of them, however, abandoned their own ways holus-bolus in favour of the European ways offered to them: they adopted the new ways, often only partly understood, into their own culture, and modified and developed old and new in the process. They continually disappointed the missionaries by their misinterpretation of the

Scriptures and continued adherence to customary practices such as hahunga and muru. While many learnt enough about buying and selling to raise the price of food supplied to Europeans in times of scarcity, they continued to use "gift" exchange of both formal and informal kinds in their dealings with each other. Despite opposition from the missionaries and later the Resident Magistrate, large scale hakari continued to be held in the area for several decades, and informal exchange networks remained well developed for at least another hundred years. They were still operating in Ahipara when I lived there in the 1950s.

Over the six years after the Kerekere I transfer, as Panakareao and the other rangatira became increasingly familiar with the European concept of sale as it applied to perishable commodities, in particular the buyer's right to do what he liked with the goods bought, they became increasingly anxious about the application of that concept to the transfer of land. They put pressure on would-be European buyers to recognise their mana and rangatiratanga with additional payments and to include clauses in their land deeds which guaranteed access to some or all the resources of the blocks for present and often future generations. When, in early 1840, they signed two deeds which provided for the transfer of both mana and rangatiratanga, they did so in expectation that the recipients would take over the role of rangatira with

respect to those living on the land. On the eve of the signing of the Treaty in Kaitaia, they sought reassurance that their own understanding of land as an inalienable taonga would be respected under kawanatanga and signed only when they were given the reassurance they sought by the missionary they trusted. Any accommodations they made with Europeans were conditional on the maintenance of an on-going relationship with particular individuals and their descendants and exclusive of the right to alienate to a third party.

On their side the missionaries also grew in understanding. Originally strangers and outsiders, they were progressively transformed into adopted kinsfolk and insiders, integrated into the Muriwhenua community. Once they were actually living on the Kaitaia block, Matthews and Puckey must have realised fairly quickly that the original land holders neither understood nor accepted the idea that they had bought the land outright, so that their tenure was less secure and less exclusive than they had thought. Whatever their original intentions and later statements to the Old Land Claims Commission about the legal status of their title, they accommodated Maori ideas in practice by allowing the original owners to visit, live and cultivate crops on the land. Indeed they did not have the power to stop their doing so. Years later, Matthews cited this with pride when

refuting the accusation that the missionaries had driven away the local people, forcing them to plant their crops at the foot of the mountains.

"In the spring Captain Sofeby of the "Race Horse" visited our Settlement and he went where he could have a full view of the many Native plantations on the Society's ground, and he expressed himself in the presence of witnesses as being extremely pleased ... The Native plantations in Wheat and potatoes in the ground attached to our Settlement would amount to about 35 or 40 acres! I will here observe that the largest party of Natives who had planted at the mountains have a village and plantations here and their stacks of wheat are standing in "bold relief". This very party moreover have lived with us in harmony for fourteen years!! Their plantations are altogether unmolested by our cattle or by anything of ours. The two Chiefs whom Noble first deputed to guard our Settlement are living inside my fence and have done so ever since our Station was formed." (213)

Matthews and Puckey modified the wording of some of the land deeds they drew up to guarantee the donor hapu either general occupancy rights or access to defined reserves and to extend the agreement to future generations on both sides. That they accepted the terms of the *tuku whenua* with their hearts if not with their heads is evidenced by the passion with which they resisted plans to move them, the continuing relations they maintained with the Maori of *Muriwhenua* up to their deaths, and the respect and affection which the latter evince for their memories to this very day.

Final Comments

In acquiring a land base for their operations, not only Matthews and Puckey but also their superiors in the CMS sought to establish their title in terms not

of the tikanga Maori prevailing at the time but of the law of England. Within English law they settled on the procedure of sale and purchase as the appropriate instrument for their purposes. The English law of their time did in fact offer other possibilities, in procedures such as leasing, joint tenancy, easements, and licences for defined purposes. Collective ownership of common land was still legally recognised, though in the process of being whittled away by enclosures. Did the missionaries and other would-be European settlers consider any of these alternatives to purchase and set them aside as unsatisfactory? I do not know of any evidence that they did. As laymen in legal matters they probably did not know enough law to perceive their applicability.

In the search for ways to resolve Maori land claims, perhaps now is the time to examine the full range of legal mechanisms available in New Zealand law to see if those which stop short of alienation could be used to develop a creative and distinctively New Zealand approach to land title.

END-NOTES

- 1 Metge 1964, 1976, 1978, 1986.
- 2 Lee 1983, Salmond 1991b, Walzl 1991a, Wyatt 1990.
- 3 Walzl 1991a: 75fn.
- 4 Puckey, W G and J Matthews 1839 Annual Report for Kaitaia, in J Matthews 1831-39: 74. J Matthews 1831-39 (letter June 5 1838): 49; (letter November 22 1836): 28; (letter March 4 1839): 56. Also in Walzl 1991b: 892, 907, 895, 875.
- 5 Eruera 1990.
- 6 J Matthews 1833-39 (letter April 10 1833): 5. Also in Walzl 1991b: 866.

Baker journal entry December 4 1832 in Walzl 1991b: 781.
- 7 Compare W Williams journal entry December 2 1832 in Walzl 1991b: 749 and Puckey 1845-68 (letter January 24 1834): 7-8 (also in Walzl 1991b: 811-12) with H Williams journal entry August 11 1831 in Walzl 1991b: 732 and J Matthews 1831-39 (letter January 24 1835): 12 (also in Walzl 1991b: 872).
- 8 Panakareao's Maori name was Ngakuku Panakareao. He chose Nopera as his Christian name when baptised in November 1836. As far as possible use of the latter name will be restricted to events after that date.
- 9 Puckey 1845-68 (letter April 15 1833): 2; (letter June 6 1834): 12.
Puckey letter September 21 1839 in Walzl 1991b: 853.
J Matthews 1831-39 (letter November 22 1836): 31; (letter April 7 1837): 32; (letter March 5 1839): 63; (letter September 26 1839): 66. Also in Walzl 1991b: 899, 900, 916, 918.
- 10 Puckey 1845-68 b: 1. Also in Walzl 1991b: 820.
Puckey letter September 21 1839 in Walzl 1991b: 853.
J Matthews 1831-39 (letter January 20 1834): 7. Also in Walzl 1991b: 888.
- 11 Puckey letter January 21 1835 in Walzl 1991b: 829.
J Matthews 1831-39 (letter March 5 1839): 63. Also in Walzl 1991b: 916.
- 12 Puckey letter January 21 1835 in Walzl 1991b: 829.
- 13 Puckey letter March 4 1839 in Walzl 1991b: 847-48.

- 14 J Matthews 1831-39 (letter March 4 1839): 56.
The typescript gives "ki waiorea". The latter word has no meaning in Maori. The original manuscript bears the interpretation "ki wainga". In the orthography used by Matthews w stood for aspirated as well as unaspirated w, so "ki wainga" = "ki whainga". Williams' Dictionary defines "whainga" as "enmity, hostility". The expression "ki whainga" refers to the power to declare war, the corollary of which was the power to make peace.
- 15 Baker journal entries December 5 & 6 1832 in Walzl 1991b: 782; W Williams journal entry December 5 1832 in Walzl 1991b: 757.
- 16 Ballara 1990: 327.
- 17 Personal communications: McCully Matiu, Haimona Snowden, Rima Eruera, Shane Jones.
- 18 J Matthews 1840-49 (journal extract Feb 1841 in letter March 1841): 17; (letter April 13 1848): 127.
- 19 Walzl 1991b: 44-49.
- 20 Puckey 1845-68 a: 2 (letter April 15 1833).
J Matthews 1831-39 (letter March 4 1839): 56.
Salmond 1992: 50.
- 21 Personal communications: Haimona Snowden and McCully Matiu.
J Matthews 1840-49 (journal extract in letter March 9 1841): 17.
- 22 J Matthews 1831-39 (letter April 10 1833): 4. Also in Walzl 1991b: 864.
- 23 A Smith 1976: 6-7, 16-24.
- 24 Walzl 1991a: 57-122.
J Matthews 1840-49 (letter April 13 1848): 125-6.
- 25 J Matthews 1831-39 (letter April 7 1837): 32-33; (letter March 5 1839): 63. Also in Walzl 1991b: 900-01, 910.
Salmond 1992: 57.
- 26 Mutu 1992: 21.
- 27 Orange 1990: 83.
- 28 Orange 1990: 90.
Salmond 1992: 56.
- 29 Puckey 1845-68 h: 9 (journal entry 14 1852); h: 15 (journal entry April 27 1853); Puckey letter July 29 1843 in Walzl 1991b: 856-59.

- 30 Matthews, S C & L J 1940. Chapters 1 & 2 are the source for this section unless otherwise indicated.
- 31 J Matthews 1831-39 (letter March 5 1839): 62. Also in Walzl 1991b: 915.
- 32 Selwyn to CMS 1 Nov 1848 CN/03 Reel 40 Microfilm Coll 4 Alexander Turnbull Library.
- 33 Matthews, S C & L J 1940: 16-23.
- 34 Except when otherwise indicated, the source of information on Puckey is A M S M Williams.
- 35 Puckey 1845-68 j: 13 (concluding remarks); k: 5 (journal entry October 31 1857).
- 36 Davis 1824-33 (letter April 8 1833): 87.
- 37 Baker journal entry September 25 1833 in Walzl 1991b: 797-98.
- 38 Gunson 1978: 153. "After some years of valuable service with the CMS in New Zealand, William Puckey and his wife both 'drank themselves to death'."
Davis 1824-33 (letter February 27 1826): 22. "Puckey's discharge has given me great pleasure. He was certainly a very improper person to be employed in the mission and should have been discharged long ago."
- 39 J Matthews 1831-39 (letter April 10 1833): 5. Also in Walzl 1991b: 866.
- 40 J Matthews 1831-39 (letter January 24 1835): 12. Also in Walzl 1991b: 872.
- 41 J Matthews 1831-39 (letter April 10 1833): 4. Also in Walzl 1991b: 864.
J Matthews 1831-39 (letter November 22 1836): 28.
- 42 J Matthews 1831-39 (letter March 4 1839): 59-60. Also in Walzl 1991b: 912-13.
- 43 J Matthews 1831-39 (letter March 4 1839): 57. Also in Walzl 1991b: 910.
- 44 J Matthews 1840-49 (letter February 17 1841): 6.
- 45 Williams A M S M n d: 1.
- 46 Puckey 1845-68 a: 7 (letter January 24 1833).
- 47 Selwyn n d in A M S M Williams: 11.
- 48 Porter 1974: 316-17.

- Puckey 1845-68 e: 1 (journal entry December 8 1846).
- 49 Puckey 1845-68 j: 13 (concluding remarks).
- 50 Williams A M S M n d: 6.
- 51 Puckey letter January 27 1836 in Walzl 1991b: 831.
- 52 Puckey letter September 21 1839 in Walzl 1991b: 851.
- 53 Puckey 1845-68 e: 16 (last paragraph of covering letter dated September 13 1847).
- 54 Salmond 1991a: 2-3.
- 55 Puckey 1845-68 i: 12 (journal entry March 27 1855).
- 56 J Matthews 1831-39 (letter January 24 1835): 12.
Also in Walzl 1991b:873.
J Matthews 1840-49 (letter June 4 1841): 21-22.
Appendix #7.
- 57 Walzl 1991a Appendix V: 4.
- 58 Walzl 1991a Appendix V: 46.
- 59 Mutu 1992: 25-27.
- 60 J Matthews 1840-49 (journal extract in letter March 9 1841): 13-17.
- 61 J Matthews 1840-49 (letter June 4 1841): 21-22.
- 62 J Matthews 1831-39 (letter September 26 1839): 66.
Also in Walzl 1991b: 918.
- 63 Metge 1976: 250-55, especially 254.
- 64 Metge 1986: 25-33.
- 65 Metge 1986: 52-58, especially 53.
- 66 Puckey 1845-68 f: 13 (journal entry 15 April 1849).
- 67 Puckey 1845-68 j: 3 (journal entries July 20 and August 31, 1856).
- 68 Puckey ibid.
- 69 Puckey 1845-68 g: 1 (journal entry March 5 1850).
- 70 Puckey 1845-68 f: 7 (journal entry June 11 1848).

- 71 Puckey 1845-68 f: 12 (journal entry March 18 1849).
- 72 Rogers 1973: 78.
- 73 J Matthews 1840-49 (journal extract in letter March 9 1841): 17. At the time of her death he attributed her wealth and influence to her "being the eldest daughter of the oldest branch of the Rarawa chiefs" (J Matthews 1840-49: 127). While her father's line was tuakana to Panakareao's, it was not "the oldest branch"; Matthews accepted what he was told at face value and was not truly familiar with the whakapapa in question.
- 74 Puckey 1845-68 e: 3 (journal entry January 23 1847).
J Matthews 1840-49 (journal extract in letter March 9 1841): 15.
- 75 Puckey 1845-68 e: 15 (journal entry January 23 1847).
- 76 J Matthews 1840-49 (journal extract in letter March 9 1841): 17.
- 77 Puckey 1845-68 f: 10 (journal entry April 5 1847);
j: 5 (journal entry October 13 1856).
- 78 Puckey 1845-68 g: 6 (journal entry August 29 1850).
J Matthews 1840-49 (journal extract in letter March 9 1841): 15-16.
- 79 J Matthews 1840-49 (letter April 13 1848): 125-6.
- 80 Puckey letter March 4 1839 in Walzl 1991b: 847-48.
Puckey 1845-68 h: 2-3 (journal entry March 9 1852); e: 16 (covering letter September 13 1847).
J Matthews 1831-39 (letter March 5 1839): 63;
1840-49 (April 13 1848): 128.
- 81 Gunson 1978: 47-50, 198-214.
Porter 1974: 19-20, 48, 315n.
- 82 J Matthews 1831-39 (letter September 26 1839): 66.
Also in Walzl 1991b: 918.
- 83 J Matthews 1840-49 (letter June 4 1841): 22.
- 84 W Williams journal entry November 27 1832 in Walzl 1991b: 742.
Baker letter September 12 1833 in Walzl 1991b: 800.
- 85 Davis journal entry 15 March 1834, letter March 1 1839 in Walzl 1991b: 802, 806.

- 86 J Matthews 1831-39 (letter January 24 1835): 11.
Also in Walzl 1991b: 871.
- 87 Puckey 1845-68 c: 13 (journal entry March 15 1846).
- 88 J Matthews 1831-39 (letter September 26 1839): 69.
Also in Walzl 1991b: 921.
- 89 J Matthews 1831-39 (letter January 24 1835): 12.
Also in Walzl 1991b: 872.
- 90 J Matthews and W G Puckey in J Matthews 1840-49: 121.
- 91 Puckey 1845-68 d: 13 (appended letter).
- 92 J Matthews 1840-49 (letter April 13 1848): 128.
- 93 J Matthews 1840-49 (letter June 29 1840): 2.
- 94 J Matthews 1831-39 (letter November 1838): 51-52.
Also in Walzl 1991b: 882-83. Noting the "alarming march" of scrofula, Matthews attributed it to changes in the Maori diet (especially fermented corn) and the sale of "nearly all but seed" to Pakeha and did not recognise its infectious character. This was the accepted medical knowledge of the time.
- 95 J Matthews 1831-39 (letter November 15 1838): 55.
Also in Walzl 1991b: 884.
- 96 J Matthews 1831-39 (letter September 26 1839): 69.
Also in Walzl 1991b: 921.
- 97 J Matthews 1840-49 (letter April 13 1848): 129.
- 98 J Matthews 1833-39 (letter April 7 1837): 33-34.
Also in Walzl 1991b: 901-2.
- 99 Puckey 1845-68 d: 2-3 (journal entry May 24 1846);
f: 9-10 & 11-12 (entries August 20 1848 and March 5 1849); g: 1 (entry March 5 1850); h: 7, 10, 11 (entries May 26, August 8 & 22).
- 100 J Matthews 1831-39 (letter April 10 1833): 5.
Also in Walzl 1991b: 866.
- 101 Puckey 1845-68 d: 1 (journal entry May 10 1846).
- 102 Eruera 1990.
- 103 Puckey 1845-68 f: 3 (journal entry January 17 1847).
- 104 Puckey 1845-68 g: 5-6 (journal entry August 18 1850).

- 105 Walzl 1991a: 84-85.
- 106 Walzl 1991a: 87-91.
- 107 Baker journal entries July 10, 11 1833 in Walzl 1991b: 790, 791.
- 108 J Matthews 1831-39 (letter March 5 1839): 63-64. Also in Walzl 1991b: 916-17.
- 109 Mutu 1992: 21.
J Matthews 1831-39 (letter November 22 1836): 31. Also in Walzl 1991b: 899.
- 110 Metge 1986: 61, 47-49, 76-79.
- 111 Ballara 1990: 327.
J Matthews 1831-39 (letter April 7 1837): 32-3. Also in Walzl 1991b: 901.
- 112 Eruera 1990. Matthews was absent at the time. In the Maori translation of Leviticus 25 the word "hoko" is used to translate both "redeem" and "sell".
- 113 Salmond 1992: 50.
- 114 Salmond 1992: 55.
- 115 Orange 1987: 82.
- 116 Mutu 1992: 16-17.
- 117 Puckey letter November 1837 in Walzl 1991b: 837.
- 118 Puckey letter March 4 1839 in Walzl 1991b: 844.
- 119 J Matthews 1840-49 (journal extract Feb 11 in letter February 17 1841): 5-6.
- 120 J Matthews 1831-39 (letter January 24 1835): 11-12. Also in Walzl 1991b: 872.
- 121 J Matthew 1831-39 (letter April 11 1837): 39. Also in Walzl 1991b: 879.
- 122 Puckey 1845-68 c: 13 (journal entry March 23 1846).
- 123 J Matthew 1840-49 (journal extract Feb 11 in letter February 17 1841): 6.
- 124 Firth 1959: 393-432.
Weiner 1985. For a discussion of "hau", see pp.220-23.
- 125 Baker journal entry December 4 1832 in Walzl 1991b: 781.

- 126 Firth 1959: 412-17.
- 127 Firth 1959: 388, 400-1.
- 128 Firth 1959: 422-23.
- 129 Firth 1959: 308-37.
- 130 Firth 1959: 388, 400. The main ground for this statement is personal experience.
- 131 Walzl 1991a: 87-91.
- 132 J Matthews 1840-49 (letter June 29 1840): 2.
- 133 Papahia 1863.
- 134 White 1908-09: 39-40.
- 135 Walzl 1991a: 160-234.
- 136 Salmond 1991a: 2-3.
- 137 Salmond 1991a: 1-2.
- 138 Crudens, Metzger 1962, British & Foreign Bible Society 1958.
- 139 Salmond 1991a: 2.
- 140 Porter 1974: 44-45, 314.
- 141 Porter 1974: 314-19.
- 142 Porter 1974: 317.
- 143 H W Williams 1975: 57, 501.
- 144 Personal communication: Rima Eruera.
- 145 Interview with Merimeri Penfold December 10 1990; interview with Rima Eruera 11 December 1991.
- 146 Firth 1959: 321.
- 147 Mutu 1992: 7-10.
- 148 Te Rangi Hiroa 1949, Kawharu 1977, Asher and Naulls 1987.
- 149 Firth 1959: 383-88.
- 150 Firth 1959: 388.
- 151 N Smith 1960: 104.
- 152 Firth 1959: 388, 390.

- 153 N Smith 1960: 104.
- 154 N Smith 1960: 104-5.
- 155 N Smith 1960: 103.
- 156 Matthews and Puckey used "tribe" to translate "hapu": see end-note 4.
- 157 Motuti Community Trust 1986. The five iwi of Muriwhenua have all had different names at different times, share common ancestors and have multiple inter-connections. See Appendix #9.
- 158 Firth 1959: 374-83.
- 159 Firth 1959: 295-96.
- 160 Firth 1959: 337.
- 161 Firth 1959: 388-90.
- 162 N Smith 1960: 102-3.
- 163 Puckey and J Matthews letter June 1 1834 in Walzl 1991b: 814.
Davis journal entry March 17 1834 in Walzl 1991b: 802.
H Williams journal entry March 17 1834 in Walzl 1991b: 736.
- 164 Mutu 1992: 22-25.
- 165 Puckey evidence 31 Jan 1843 OLC 1/675: 8.
- 166 Mutu 1992: 7-9.
- 167 Walzl 1992a: 84-85.
- 168 Baker journal entry March 19 1833 in Walzl 1991b: 786.
- 169 Walzl 1991a: 87-90.
- 170 J Matthews 1831-39 (letter Jan 24 1835): 11-12.
Also in Walzl 1991b: 736.
- 171 See End-note 157 above.
- 172 H Williams journal entry March 17 1834 in Walzl 1991b: 736.
- 173 N Smith 1960: 102-3.
- 174 H Williams journal entry March 17 in Walzl 1991b: 736.
Davis journal entries March 17 & 18 1834 in Walzl 1991b: 802.

- 175 Puckey and J Matthews letter June 1 1834 in Walzl 1991b: 814.
- 176 Puckey and J Matthews ibid.
- 177 Puckey and J Matthews ibid.
Davis letter March 1 1839 in Walzl 1991b: 805.
- 178 Puckey and J Matthews letter June 1 1834 in Walzl 1991b: 814.
- 179 Davis letter March 1 1839 in Walzl 1991b: 805.
- 180 Nopera Panakareao evidence OLC 1/675: 9.
- 181 Tiro and Waha evidence OLC 1/675: 9-10.
- 182 Walzl 1991a: 198; Appendix V: 4-5.
- 183 Mutu 1992: 22-25.
- 184 Eruera 1990.
- 185 Mutu 1992: 9.
- 186 Matthews 1840-49 (letter April 13 1848): 125-6.
- 187 Puckey letter March 4 1839 in Walzl 1991b: 910.
- 188 J Matthews 1840-49 (letter April 13 1848): 125-6.
- 189 J Matthews 1831-39 (letter March 5 1839): 63-64.
Also in Walzl 1991b: 916-17.
- 190 J Matthews ibid.
- 191 Mutu 1992: 21-22.
- 192 Mutu 1992: 30-32, 34-35.
- 193 Mutu 1992: 35; Appendix III 4th page.
- 194 Walzl 1991a: 201.
- 195 Puckey evidence 28 Jan 1843 OLC 1/774: 8.
- 196 Walzl 1991a: 201-02.
- 197 J Matthews evidence 28 Jan 1843 OLC 1/774: 8-9.
- 198 Walzl 1991a: 201-02.
- 199 Mutu 1992: 35; Appendix III.
- 200 Puckey evidence 28 Jan 1843 OLC 1/775: 6.
J Matthews evidence 28 Jan 1843 OLC 1/775: 7.
- 201 Mutu 1992: Appendix III.

- 202 Mutu 1992: Appendix III.
- 203 Walzl 1991a: Appendix V: 34-40.
- 204 Southee evidence 31 Jan 1843 OLC 1/875-77: 8-10.
- 205 Wiremu Paranui et al deed June 1838 OLC 1/875-77:
68-69.
- 206 Southee letter to Governor April 1845 OLC 1/875-
77.
- 207 Puckey letter 22 Jan 1846 cited in Walzl 1991a:
202.
J Matthews 1840-49 (letter April 13 1848): 129.
- 208 Rigby 1991.
- 209 Panakareao evidence 28 Jan 1843 OLC 1/774: 9.
- 210 Te Ripi evidence 28 January 1843 OLC 1/775: 7-8.
- 211 Mutu 1992: Appendix III.
- 212 H W Williams 1975: 199; Ryan 1978: 54.
- 213 J Matthews 1840-49 (letter April 13 1848): 125-6.

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- a. Letters September 5 1831, June 1 1834.
- b. Journal of an Expedition to explore the Reinga.
- c. Journal Nov 19 1845 to May 5 1846.
- d. Journal May 6 1845 to Oct 11 1846.
- e. Journal Dec 8 1846 to Aug 8 1847 (includes letter Sept 13 1847)
- f. Journal Sept 5 1847 to Nov 19 1849.
- g. Journal Jan 24 1850 to May 10 1851.
- h. Journal Jan 1 1852 to Oct 9 1853.
- i. Journal June 4 1854 to April 11 1856.
- j. Journal April 13 1856 to June 24 1857.
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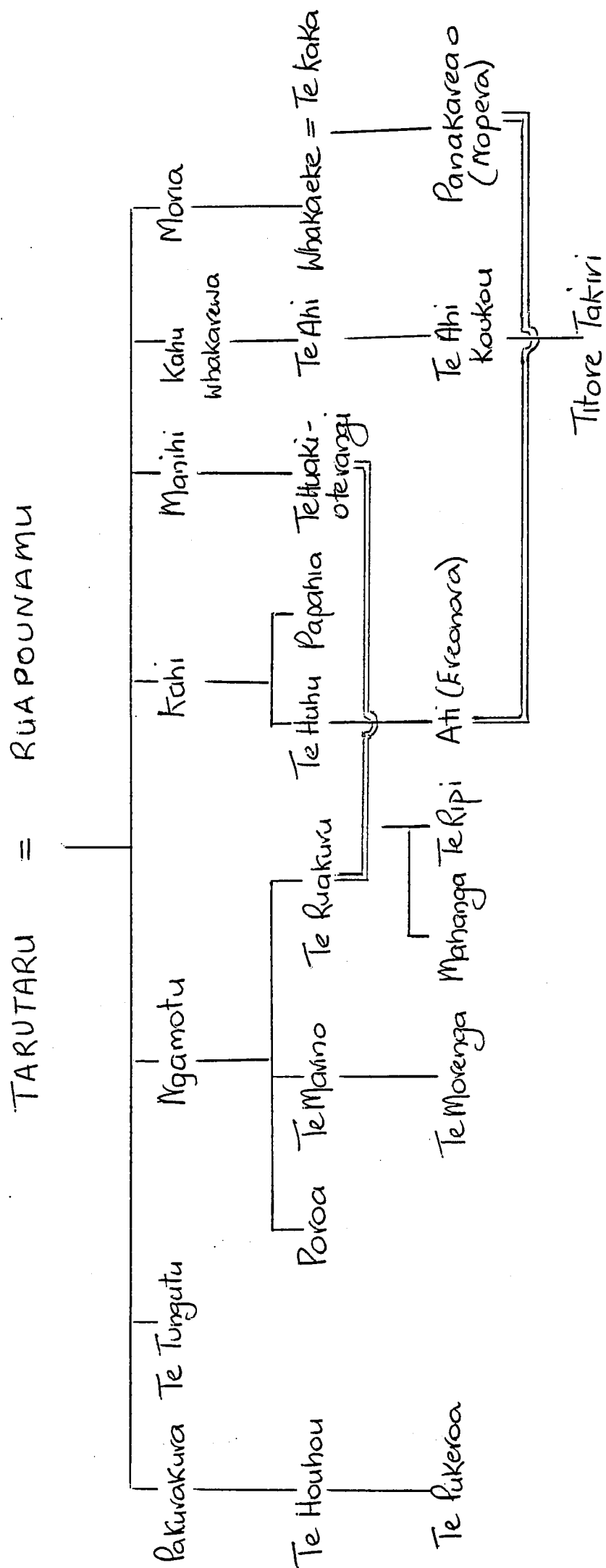
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JOSEPH MATTHEWS' UNOFFICIAL VISIT TO MURIWHENUA
NOVEMBER 1832

In Appendix III of Pre-Treaty Muriwhenua #4, Walzl examines the story told in Matthews of Kaitaia by S.C and L.J. Matthews of Joseph Matthews making an unofficial visit to Muriwhenua in November 1832 with Pene Te Wahanga as guide.* He comes to the conclusion that the story is "quite unlikely" and "has all the trappings of legend". He advances some cogent arguments based on evidence which contradicts features of the story, evidence from the missionary records of the official visit at the end of the month that the Maori of Muriwhenua were already familiar with elements of Christian teaching including the Ra Tapu and desirous to have missionaries to live among them, and evidence from the Bay of Islands that Titore was elsewhere at the time.

I agree with Walzl that the evidence casts doubt on the story as told in Matthews of Kaitaia but disagree with his cavalier dismissal of it as "legend".

In the first place, there is corroborative evidence in the story that has been handed down orally by Maori keepers of tribal and family history in Muriwhenua. From my knowledge of such keepers and the sources they use, it is highly unlikely that they derived it from Matthews or from the book. If the Maori version is accepted as having had Maori sources (and oral history is validated by multiple witnesses), it must be treated as a separate text from the English one, and hence potentially corroborative. The Maori version was presented to the Tribunal by Rima Edwards in Kaitaia in December 1990. As he presented it, and as it is presented by other Muriwhenua storytellers, it is told in Maori and from the Maori point of view. Panakareao emerges as the dominant character, very much in control of the action, and Matthews is depicted as far from heroic. Maori tellers like to depict his fear and trembling before the assembled might and ferocity of the Te Rarawa taua. The turning point is not Matthews' calm reasoning and stress on the Ra Tapu so much as Panakareao's magnanimity and interest in debating religious ideas.

Secondly, I do not hold, as Walzl apparently does, that history and legend are opposed and mutually exclusive categories with positive and negative values respectively. Both the Matthews and the Maori versions of the story strike me as exactly what would be expected

to emerge when oral storytellers tell a story which they consider falls outside the category of sacred stories, which must be transmitted verbatim. In this case Matthews told the story orally and it was transmitted orally in the family before it was written down, just as it was transmitted orally by the Maori custodians of Te Rarawa history. A good oral storyteller starts with a core of "historical" truth and heightens its inherent dramatic possibilities by a variety of devices: for example, presenting the gist of what was said as direct speech, inventing likely touches of detail about appearance, demeanour and setting, exaggerating the key qualities of the protagonists, and even bringing into direct contact characters who were in actuality separated in time or space. Do such practices invalidate the historicity of the resulting story? Not if they are appreciated for what they are, literary devices, and taken into account. The irony is that the same devices often go undetected in written records accepted as authentic by historians. Matthews and Puckey frequently used the device of direct speech in their letters to the CMS. They used it in their account of the speech made explaining "the nature of European bargains" at the settlement of the "purchase" of the Kaitaia block, as did Richard Davis in his reporting of the same event. In both cases, the words within the quotation marks were in English, when the language used would have been Maori, and the two accounts differ considerably as to the words used, while conveying the same general message!

A comparison of the Matthews and Maori versions of the story of the unofficial visit would reveal both similarities and differences, which would be very revealing. It is a task I should love to undertake if I had time and copies of both tellings. Here however I shall content myself with pointing out that there is more than one level of "truth" in accounts of human interaction. Some accounts set out primarily to chronicle events, concentrating on correct sequence and truth at the surface level of appearances. Some accounts go to the other extreme and concentrate on underlying, inner truth more or less divorced from actual happenings. These we classify as myth; they can be very powerful in providing a charter for present behaviour. In between are scholarly history, which aims to combine surface level accuracy with uncovering inner truth, and oral history, which also tries to combine the two but, because of the need of its tellers to capture and hold an audience, takes liberties with the details of actual events

the better to convey inner truth.

I suggest that both the Matthews and the Maori versions of the story of Matthews' unofficial visit to Muriwhenua fall into this category. I would not care to dismiss the story as totally untrue. I suspect that Matthews may indeed have made an unauthorised trip through the forest with Pene Te Wahanga, had an encounter with the local inhabitants in which he presented something of the missionary teaching, and even saw the Kaitaia site. But I would question the authenticity of much of the detail. Yet questioning particular details does not have to involve questioning the inner truth of the story. To me it conveys in a symbolic and allegorical way important truths about the first encounter between Maori and missionary in this part of the country. Interpreted in this way it does not really matter that Titore was not in Muriwhenua at the time.

Panakareao and Titore, war chiefs of equal status and close kinsmen, are (it seems to me) to be seen as representatives of the old Maori world, gathering with their warriors on the site traditionally used for war assemblies. Matthews is the representative of the CMS, impatient to get on with the task of preaching the Gospel, supported and protected by the converted chief Pene Te Wahanga, who acts as his guide and interpreter. The two "sides" are brought face to face when the warriors capture Matthews and Te Wahanga. The Maori are strong, dominant physically and numerically, the missionary party weak and vulnerable but armoured by their religious beliefs. One of these -- the Holy Day of rest -- symbolises them all. Panakareao holds up the action to hear more, and falls out as a consequence with Titore, who departs. The Maori ranks are split by the missionary challenge into those willing to listen and those who hold to the old ways, to those who are for peace and those who are for war. Finally Matthews convinces Panakareao that the missionaries have something important to offer, and the two sides discover common goals / a new alliance is formed, resulting first in the establishment of the mission station and ultimately in changes in the distribution of power and the people's relation with the land. No wonder the Maori storytellers enjoy telling of a time when their ancestors were in control.

Another account of the journey was given by Harry Matthews on a Whangarei Radio Programme in 1962: see References.

LETTER FROM NOPERA PANAKAREAO TO CMS in LONDON

Kaitaia

Maha 5 1839

E Mara ma E te Komiti

Kua pouri ke o matou ngakau e kore matou e pai kia tangohia o matou tunga rama ki te mea ka tohe te komiti kia tangohia tetahi o o matou tunga rama ka tohe matou kia noho a ka waiho hei totohe ka tangohia o matou turanga rama a kaho mai ke he matua ke mo matou e kore matou e matau ka hore he tangata e wakawanau ana i te tamaiti ka wanau haere ana ki tawiti ka mate no te mea ka hore he wau e kai ai He nui te wakaake o nga kau matua kia nohoia Kaitaia heoi he tamariki kau i noho iai ai taihoa ra kia taria ake te taima e puta mai ai te kono ka tika kia tangohia o matou tunga rama E hoa ma he taima torutoru ta te taima e nohoai ohi ra ko o tatou wairua kia rapu i te okiokinga o to tatou kai Waka ora o Ihu Karaiti ki te mea ka unuhia o matou tunga rama i o matou aroaro ka marara nga hipi E mara ma ka tokorua tangata ki te mara ka oti te mara tena ka kotahi ka hore e oti ki te mea e kore e unuhia tata ana te mara ma tanga ki o matou ngakau heoi ra ka koa ka hari ki te Ariki heoi ra kia wakamutua te tohe mai ki o matou kai tohutohu e kore ra e unuhia atu e hoa ma i te ritenga o te kikokiko ka hore he okiokinga ka hore he taumata tena ko tenei kua wai okiokinga kua wai taumata he tokomaha nga Mihanare e noho ana i tokerau a he tokomaha nga rangatiara o Ngapuhi ka hore ano i wa kapono noa heo i ano to ratou mahi he tuku wenua anake ano mo nga pakeha e kore ra e ahei te tiki mai i te ka horenga o te pakeha E rangi ko e tahi o nga pakeha o Tokerau te haere ki Turanga e mara ma ki to matou ritenga ki to te tangata maori kua nui ke te mahinga a tetahi tangata a ka poka ke mai he tangata ke hei mahi waka oti e kore e pai hore rawarawa a matou pai ki a haere tetahi o matou pakeha he wahi ke e tupu haere ana te kupu o te Atua ki runga ki nga herehere e kake haere ana te Hahi o te Atua i Kaitaia.

Na Nopera Panakareao,

Ahu Kaitaia e tata ana ki Muriwhenua

ki te Komiti o Ingarangi.

TRANSLATION OF PANAKAREAO'S LETTER

BY WILLIAM G. PUCKEY

Friends of the Committee

Our hearts have been made dark. We do not like to have our candlesticks taken away. If the Committee take away one of our candlesticks we shall strive to keep them and it will remain as a strife between us. If our candle sticks are taken away and other Fathers are given to us we shall not understand. There is no one who labours with a child and when it is brought forth do run away and leave it to die for want of milk. The old men of the Committee were very glad to have the young men come to occupy Kaitaia and the young men came. Now stop and wait for the times when the evil shall come, then it will be very straight to take away our candlesticks. Friends, it is a short time the body has to remain here and we must look for the rest which Jesus Christ our Saviour has provided for us. If our candlesticks are taken away from before us, the sheep will all be scattered. Friends, if there are two workmen on a piece of land it may be finished but if there be only one it is unlikely. Now if they are not pulled out from among us light is near to our hearts and we shall delight and rejoice in the Lord. Now it is best to bring to an end the striving for our teachers to pull them out. My friends in the body, if they are taken away there will be no peace or rest, but now we have peace and rest. There are plenty of missionaries living at the Bay of Islands, and there are plenty of Ngapuhi chiefs who have not yet believed and who do nothing but sell land to the white people who came there. It is not good to come and take from so few. It is best to take from those of the Bay of Islands to go to Turaga. According to our native mode it is not right after one man has carried on a work for another to come and finish it. We have no desire at all that either of our teachers shall go to another place. The word of God is growing among those who have as it were been tied. The Church of God at Kaitaia is rising.

From Noble Panakareao

Ahu Kaitaia near the North Cape

To the Committee of England

Wm G Puckey Translator

This I believe is as near as possible to the original.

NOPERA PANAKAREAO'S LETTER TO THE CMS
AND PUCKEY'S TRANSLATION - WINIFRED BAUER

1. Comments on the letter from Nopera Panakareao to CMS in London

I have no doubt that this is basically native-speaker Maori. However, there are certain features which suggest mediation at some point by a non-native speaker of Maori, almost certainly a native speaker of English, such as a scribe. The most obvious features which suggest this are:

- i *rangatiara* for *rangatira*. British English speakers have a diphthong /iə/ rather than a monophthong /i/ before an /r/, and this would account for the extra *a* in the spelling;
- ii *Mihanare* for *Mihinare*. The vowel in question does not carry the word stress, and would likely be pronounced /ə/ by an English speaker. /ə/ can correspond to any full vowel in English, but of the Maori vowels, it is closest in quality to *a*, thus accounting for the mis-spelling;
- iii *wau* for *waiu*. In three-vowel clusters in Maori, the middle vowel seldom has its 'canonical' quality. Normally a gesture is made in the direction of the canonical vowel, but this would not necessarily be perceived by a non-native speaker, who might then omit it altogether. Thus a mis-perception by a non-native speaker listening to spoken Maori appears to be the most likely explanation for this error;
- iv the possessive relative clause *he taima torutoru ta te taima e noho ai...* is, I believe, inappropriate, and would not be native speaker usage. It would appear that *ta* should have been deleted. This looks like a scribal error, and could occur either if the letter was written from dictation, or if the letter was copied from a written draft;
- v *kia nohoia Kaitaia* occurs where I would expect a native speaker to say *kia nohoia a Kaitaia*. This omitted personal article would fuse in the spoken form with the final vowel of *nohoia* and hence might not be perceived by a non-native speaker. This suggests that the letter was written by dictation to a non-native speaker.

Most of the orthographic oddities are the sort of thing that can be expected from a scribe who is not fully literate: the lack of punctuation and non-conventional word breaks are found in native speaker script as well, and so these give no clue as to whether the scribe was a native or a non-native speaker.

There are a number of features which suggest that this is an informal text (eg. written by dictation from a speaker not accustomed to producing for the written medium). In particular, the subject deletions in the passage

about the mother not leaving a child to die do not follow the strictly controlled pattern observed in most written Maori texts. These suggest that the author did not polish the written text.

There is one place where the oddity of the text cannot readily be explained by non-native scribal error: *kia haere tetahi o matou pakeha he wahi ke*. The omission of the second *o* (*tetahi o o matou*) is explainable in this way, but the use of two noun phrases without an introductory preposition (*tetahi o matou pakeha* and *he wahi ke*) occurs in Maori only after what Biggs calls 'stative' verbs, and *haere* is not a stative verb. Perhaps the most probable explanation is the omission of the preposition before the second as a copying error.

2. Comments on the translation of the letter from Nopera Panakareao to CMS in London by William Puckey

In general terms, this translation seems to me to capture the gist of the Maori adequately. That said, there are a number of places where one might quibble with the translation. I give a few examples:

- i *Kua pouri* vs. *have been made dark*. The English *made* implies causation, which is not present in the Maori. It might better be rendered *are darkened*;
- ii In the third sentence, *tohe* in the Maori is not rendered at all in the English. Something like *persists in taking away...* would be closer;
- iii In the fourth sentence, the Maori has *ke* twice, but only one is rendered in the English. ...*given to us instead* would retain the double contrast of the Maori;
- iv The Maori word *mara* (or *marā*, to distinguish it from the term of address) does not seem adequately rendered by *a piece of land*; it would be more aptly translated as *a garden*, or *a cultivated area*.

The translator appears not to have great literary skills. There are occasional grammatical solecisms in the English, for instance *no one who labours ... do run*. At a different level, the Maori *kono* is contrasted with *tika* but the English uses *evil* and *straight*, where a more sophisticated translator might have been expected to choose terms in English which bring out the contrast present in the Maori. There are places where the English is ambiguous, such as the initial address, *Friends of the Committee*. On the other hand, there is one place where the Maori seems to bear two interpretations: *nga kau matua* could be read either as the local elders or as the Committee, but Puckey's translation specifies the reading *The old men of the committee*. This indicates an awareness of the

needs of the translation to communicate clearly, a point to which I return below.

There are places where the translation is very literal, almost to the point of not being English, eg. *the striving for our teachers to pull them out, or who have not yet believed*. Again this points to a lack of training in the task of translation. At other times, the reverse is true: the translation seems needlessly free, eg. *it is unlikely* (at the end of the passage about the *marā*) or *it is not good to come and take from so few*.

These free translations can often be seen as endeavours to ensure that the translation will make sense to its readers when the original is somewhat cryptic. Translators are often forced to explain as well as or instead of translating. This should probably be taken as evidence of skill, rather than the reverse. Perhaps the controversial translation of *tuku* as *sell* comes into this category.

Thus I return to my original assessment: Puckey seems to me almost always to succeed in conveying the message of the original Maori in a way which is not only true to the spirit of the Maori, but which will be likely to be understood similarly by the non-Maori reader.

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"A FEW CUSTOMS OF THE NATIVES"

Extract from a letter to the CMS from Rev. Joseph Matthews
dated February 17 1841

"In this sheet I will give you a rough draught of a few customs of the Natives which we suppose to approach rather near the customs of the Jews.

Extract Feb 1841

1. The Natives like "to sit under every green tree"! They frequently rear the "karaka tree" (much like the laurel) near their dwellings, and in sitting outside of their house whether sick or well, they stick up temporary green booths to shade them from the sun! Noble Panakareao & other chiefs are very fond of this custom!
2. It is the opinion of the Natives that the seat of thought is in the reins and not in the brain. The Natives even the christian Natives are highly offended when at being told they have no brain or thought in it. Their reply is "Europeans suppose the seat of thought is there but we do not it is in the reins". Their word for conscience is of similar import! There are full twenty passages in the Bible which shew that the Jews held this opinion! "The daughters of his quivers hath he sent into my reins &c I was pricked in my rein."
3. The Natives are very fond of reclining like the Jews! preferring that to any other posture!
4. The Natives in making speeches "put out their tongue" and that a very long way!
5. They make lamentation for their dead and the greater their sorrow the deeper they cut themselves (to this day). They believe that the Spirit hovers about the body for a few days after death!
7. When friends meet they fall on each other's necks and weep!
6. They believe that the Spirit hovers about the body for a few days after death.
7. When friends meet they fall on each other's necks and weep!
8. Their word for blood is plural!
9. They have a great desire to possess riches and are very avaricious!
10. Even to the third and fourth generation they will remember the crimes of their enemies to revenge them.
11. Whenever Natives go to war their women are sacred. This has always been the case with the New Zealanders for they believe that if they slept with their wives after the war had commenced till it was concluded that they should not run so well fight so bravely and thus they

would be sure to be caught! A Relation of Nobles told me that formerly there was so much fighting "that the women of this part of the Island were forsaken women"! Uriah the Hittite hinted at this probably.

12. The Natives eat out of baskets!

13. They eat their enemies! This is hinted at in the Bible.

14. The Natives when mourning for the deceased make their hair short. "They cast away their hair"! The wife of the deceased husband must sleep close by the corpse however decomposed and eat nothing! The friends would be quite glad if she were to die too that they might both go together.

15. Black hair is esteemed by them to be most beautiful! "Canticles".

16. The Natives hold out their right hand stretched out full length when they call to the Heavens for rain or anger! In making their speeches they make much use of their hands and likewise stamp with their feet! Paul stretched out his hand! Acts.

17. The Natives paint their bodies for neauty's sake and likewise have different precious oils in use - also a scented moss, which they wear in their clothes for fragrance!

18. It is the universal custom for chiefs especially to instruct their children in the history of their country but more particularly in that of their own family!

19. They endeavour to instil into the mind of the child honourable thoughts of its Parents and Relations and of himself. The Children will listen with great attention; they are also educated in all that is wicked & barbarous from a child! Many young Children may be seen highly delighted with a gun in the hand and a Cartouch box belted round their little waist! There are times when a Chief will pay great attention to what a child says. To observe them while conversing you would suppose the child capable of giving its father advice!

20. In some few cases women gave counsel in war. (Nobles wife in this way has had great influence) and they are frequently the instigators of war and of all that is bad.

21. It is the custom with the new Zealander for the nearest of kin to "seek a payment" for the murder or for the loss of a relation! the murderer however is not always "te utu" or payment as it frequently happens that the murderer is himself a near relation of the avenger of blood; nevertheless "blood must be shed sooner or later"!

22. The figure of speech which the Natives use for gladness of heart is universally light, and darkness for grief of any description!

23. "A song" is a general mode by which a chief commences a speech.

It is used to call attention and to grace the speech!

24. The Natives pay great respect to their dreams and regard meteors & other signs of the heavens as ominous: According to the direction of the lightning or the passage of the meteor so they conceive the destruction of war will follow! This of course has been the case frequently!

25. The frequently "kill their wizards & witches" because they believe in it very strongly and even some christian Natives have been sorely tried on this account. It hangs to them like their own skin!

26. They believe in the appearance of Ghosts that they are to be heard and that most audibly of not at all times seen. They have great objection to travel at night and are universally horrified at pitch darkness! I have been travelling in the dense forest when before sun down conversation has gone on pleasantly but no sooner did "thick darkness" set in than conversation instantly stopped. Nature drew her appalling curtain and I could not obtain a civil answer, on asking "are you afraid? he candidly answered "I am! We are going by sacred ground". I was glad for his sake to arrive at the top of "Maunga Rewiti" whither we are going!

27. The Natives are most strongly attached to the place of their birth and even many christian Natives I have known, who wished to have their bones laid with ours insist on their friends carrying them a few days before their demise to see the place where they were born or lived for a long time.

28. They universally think more of a Male than of a female child! And many I have known so angry at the birth of the daughter that they have with difficulty kept their hands from murdering their own offspring as a payment for the disappointment. Nothing but christian principles has abolished Infanticide in many cases owing to this very wicked principle.

29. It is a great disgrace or reproach to married New Zealanders if they have no children. Such would give anything for children!

30. Adoption is not uncommon in New Zealand. We know many instances of it.

31. The Native women who give suck to infants not their own are called "mothers of those children"! The women are very fond of giving suck. A woman in our settlement whose only son (John Newton) who has lived with us ever since I came here was born about sixteen years before she died and for fifteen years she preserved her milk by giving suck to different children as she was fond of giving suck to Infants!

32. The Natives, like the Jews & other surrounding Nations, have a certain season for going forth to battle and that is the 'end of the year' to them. They do not number the months in which they are not busy. They call these odd months by the name "Tahingu" &c which means the first month after the Inst working one in which they have to sit still in their houses a great part of the time and "ngu" at each other!!

33 The prophet says "that boys & girls shall be playing in the streets" thereto alluding to peaceful times. This is the case with the Native children yea men & boys who call the play with the whip top "a tohu rangimarie" or a sign of peace! They will play one hundred together and all appear quite happy!

34. The young men & women are very clever in making songs of a nature including the relation and the representation (in?) action. Numberless actions are related with the utmost precision and generally things offensive & disgraceful to several people are related. if any one in courtship has been unsuccessful this will be most cuttingly dilated on. This is undoubtedly a very clever and at the same time a very wicked performance! It is a play performed generally between sometimes a man and a little girl and goes on in the strain of an argument! When we first came to Kaitaia it was practised by the Natives every night. It is now pretty well extinct.

35. Adultery is punishable with death which has been a frequent occurrence. Panakareao brought home a fine young woman from his victory at "Taranaki" when a young man. His present wife took her husband's gun, loaded it in his presence & shot her dead. We must however remember her rank is very high being the daughter of Papahia's eldest brother. Her landed possessions, including Timber forests, are immense!

There are many more (including) interesting ones - one alone throws light on their origins as I think.

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"THE FORM OF NATIVE BAPTISM BOTH INFANT AND ADULT"

Extract from a letter to the CMS from Rev. Joseph Matthews
dated 4 June 1841

"When the Infant is eight days old, the parents & friends assemble near an appointed place, by the side of a running stream. the priest procures a branch of the "Karamu" tree (which bears a red berry). This stuck upright in the water; the navel string of the child having fallen off is preserved with the shell which was used at the child's birth which with this instrument are fastened to the branch. The branch is called the "Kawa" which means sour in English, but which is intended to convey to the mind the future character of the child as it is hope he will be strong in savage disposition. The water which flows round the branch is then taken and sprinkled on the child when it receives its name. Some Infants are merely sprinkled, while others are immersed and drawn backwards and forwards in the water!

I would also remark that at baptisms a good feast is provided, but the relations of the Mother are particularly honoured. They sit nearest the mother, and (have) the best food as well as the greatest quantity. This is on account of the mother having all the pain as they say. It is on this account that relationship by the mother's side where Chieftainship is concerned is always spoken of as paramount.

MANA, MANA WHENUA AND RANGATIRATANGA

In my submission to the Waitangi Tribunal in respect of Te Wharo Oneroa a Tohe in February 1991, I wrote (on p. 19) that "Mana is power and authority which has a spiritual source and dimension and becomes visible in effective political action. Mana is closely associated, indeed is synonymous, with rangatiratanga." Since then I have discussed this issue with Te Rarawa friends and reflected upon it, and I should now like to amend the last sentence of that statement slightly to read: "Mana is closely associated and almost synonymous with rangatiratanga. When used together, mana refers primarily to power and authority, the power that endows the holder with the authority and ability to act in particular circumstances, and rangatiratanga refers primarily to the exercise of that power and authority in practice." (This is what I said in 1991 in the next sentence). "However, when used on their own each term implies and subsumes the other, so that in effect they are inseparable."

In Maori mana is frequently qualified with other nouns used as adjectives: mana tupuna, mana atua, mana tangata, mana whenua. The resulting terms identify not separate entities but different forms of mana. Each term can be read at least two ways, signifying both the route by which mana has travelled to the holder and the authority which it confers on him or her and which enables or empowers him or her to act effectively in the spheres involved. Thus mana tupuna is mana which has been handed down through a succession of ancestors and which empowers its holders to act with authority in relation to their co-descendants individually and as a group. Mana whenua is the mana which comes from association with a particular territory on the basis of conquest, ancestral inheritance or gift, supported ^{in each case} by occupation, and which empowers the holder to act with authority in relation to that territory. The mana whenua of a descent-group is vested in its rangatira as representative leader. (Metge 1986: 62-71)

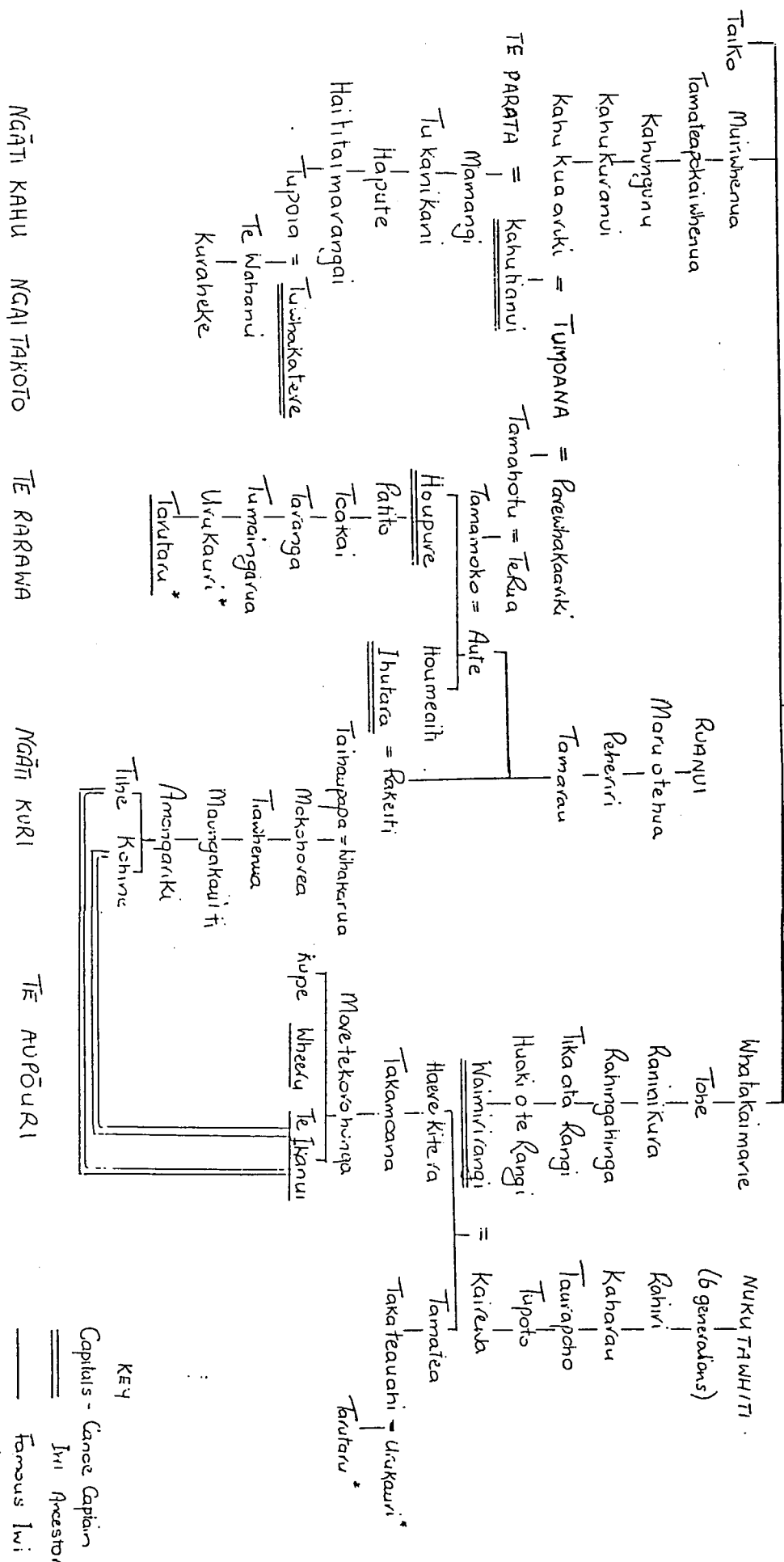
While mana in these senses can be transferred (or held on to), mana whenua can also refer, in one sense, to the power inherent in the land or embedded in it by a person of sufficient mana. In Te Rarawa mana has the additional meaning of taniwha, tipua or kai-tiaki. In a personal communication Rima Eruera suggested to me that Te Puna o Te Aomarama, originally Tuputupuwhenua, the son whom Kupe sacrificed, became

mana whenua in this sense. He also said that this sort of mana whenua cannot be alienated but remains embedded in the land regardless of who holds the legal title.

In pre-Treaty times, rangatiratanga, defined as the exercise of power and authority in practice, included two major aspects with regard to land:

- 1) the control/management/supervision of the occupation and utilisation of the land (nohoanga and mahinga):
 - a. by the allocation and re-allocation of specified pieces of land or resources to group members for occupation and use;
 - b. by confirming (probably mainly by inaction) occupation and use rights acquired by inheritance;
 - c. by approving occupation and use by non-group members on condition of acknowledgment of ownership by gifts of produce and return of the land when no longer occupied;
 - d. by taking action to evict those attempting to occupy and use land without authority;
 - e. by imposing rāhui on the land for whatever purposes and determining the times of opening and closing seasonal use of the land;
- 2) the alienation/disposal of any part of the land to non-group members for purposes that will benefit the group (including enhancing its mana or preventing its destruction by an enemy:
 - a. conditionally;
 - b. unconditionally.

POHURIHANGA = MAIEKE



KEY

Capitais - Lance Captain

Iwi Priestor

Famous Iwi

Leader

* Same person