

Pā in Porirua: social settlements

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ABSTRACT: This paper examines the records of 12 pā (fortified settlements) and kāinga (settlements) in use during the Ngāti Toa occupation of Porirua in the 1823–52 period. The histories of each pā and of their major builders are briefly recorded, focusing on the reasons for both the founding and the abandonment of the pā. This information is examined and the conclusion drawn that the creation of these pā was primarily the result of social dynamics. Environmental resources seem to affect the siting of these pā rather than causing their creation. This interpretation may shed some light on why so many pā were built throughout the later part of New Zealand prehistory and the European contact period.

KEYWORDS: Pā, kāinga, settlement pattern, Porirua, New Zealand, Ngāti Toa.

Introduction

The construction of a new pā or large kāinga is a monumental undertaking in the true sense of the word. It was not carried out lightly, nor was it carried out for a single reason. At least two deliberate decisions need to be made before a new pā is made: first to create a new pā; and second, where to site it. At times we can confuse the where of pā construction with the why, but a good position for a pā is not the same as a need to have more pā. The question that lies at the heart of the contention that pā are created as part of a social dynamic, is why build more pā?

Travel routes, resources and defence determine the placement of a pā. The historical record can generally tell us who the constructors were as well as give a general idea of when pā were built. A case study, such as the example of Porirua in southwest North Island, New Zealand, discussed here, seeks to separate all the reasons behind the existence of each pā.

Porirua has 12 pā or kāinga within an area of approximately 2100 km² built in the 30-year period between 1823 and 1852, giving a very dense settlement pattern. The primary reasons behind this density were social rather than based on speciality resources or even defence. By demonstrating that social development was a primary factor in settlement patterns, we can begin to place the construction and occupation of pā in a more human context.

Is it a pā? A note on nomenclature

The term pā is used in this paper. Historically it was often used interchangeably with the term kāinga. This is because in some instances it is difficult to determine if the defence of a settlement was considered a defining point from the occupants' perspective. In Porirua, the term pā is still used locally for any concentrated Ngāti Toa settlement.

Any taxonomy used to describe settlements is artificial, and as a result actual settlements don't always fit neatly into the categories commonly applied in anthropology. In this analysis, it has not been easy to be exact about the type of Ngāti Toa settlements dating from this period, and this has led to the exclusion of other settlements in Porirua from this analysis.

The most basic of criteria were used to establish which settlements should be included in the study: the settlement must have had some defensive capability; it must have been occupied year-round; and the population of the settlement must have been a significant proportion of the total population of the region. However, even these basic propositions are very hard to prove, and in fact may not apply all of the time for any given settlement. For example, in some settlements defences were added long after they were founded, and in

Table. 1 Pā in Porirua, 1823–52.

Pā	Primary occupation period	Chief
Pukerua	1835–51	Tungia
Hongoeka	1824–present	Nohorua
Motuhara	1823–90	Karehana Whakataki
Taupo Pā (Turi Karewa)	1843–46	Te Rangihaeata
Taupo Village	1838–50	Te Rauparaha
Paremata	1835–45	Te Rakaherea, Te Kanawa
Kaitawa	1840s–48	Unknown
Komanga-rautawhiri	1839–51	Te Rangi-takarore
Takapuwahia	1845–present	Rawiri Puaha
Motukaraka	1846	Te Rangihaeata
Matai-taua	1846	Te Rangihaeata
Mana Island	1831–43	Te Rangihaeata

others their defences lapsed. Some defences might even be considered more boundary markers than workable defensive lines. Similarly, pā populations would often wax and wane year by year and even season by season.

A good example of a settlement that is hard to define is the one at Titahi Bay. It began as a fishing village and pā for Ngāti Ira. Some Ngāti Maru settled there after 1832, having journeyed south in the Tama Te Uaua heke (migration) of that year (Smith 1910: 489). No fortifications are recorded at Titahi, and although ethnologist Elsdon Best mentions three distinct small sites (Best 1914), little else is recorded. It may be that there is no discrete site there. So although it is certain that Titahi was occupied and we even know by whom, at best it can be classed as a kāinga and even then perhaps one that was only seasonally occupied. Other Porirua settlements are even smaller, such as Aotea, or more notably seasonal, such as Onepoto.

A 13th pā, Te Paripari, has been excluded from the study as it falls outside the Porirua basin geographically, being more than one day's walk from the next-nearest pā in Porirua. Te Paripari did lie within the geopolitical sphere of Porirua, as did Kapiti Island, Waikanae and other areas of settlement. However, the study area needed to be delineated, and for

good or bad the Kapiti Coast pā, Te Paripari and the pā to the south and east of Porirua are excluded.

In addition to the decisions required for identifying which settlements to include in the study, it has also been difficult to be precise about periods of occupation in the absence of independent accurate scientific dating of each site. As a result, much reliance has had to be made on historical records and later recorded traditions.

Pā in Porirua

From an academic point of view, Porirua is an excellent region for a case study on pā locations, primarily because between 1819 and 1822 the existing resident iwi, Ngāti Ira, was replaced in total by Ngāti Toa. Because of this we can trace the development of a settlement pattern for a region from its beginning. The observance is made possible due to the fact that the change of settlement from Ngāti Ira to Ngāti Toa was close to the time when memories from oral traditions were written down for the Māori Land Court records and other proceedings.

The hydrographic chart surveyed by HMS *Acheron* dated to 1850 (HMS *Acheron* 1850; Fig. 1) is one of a few

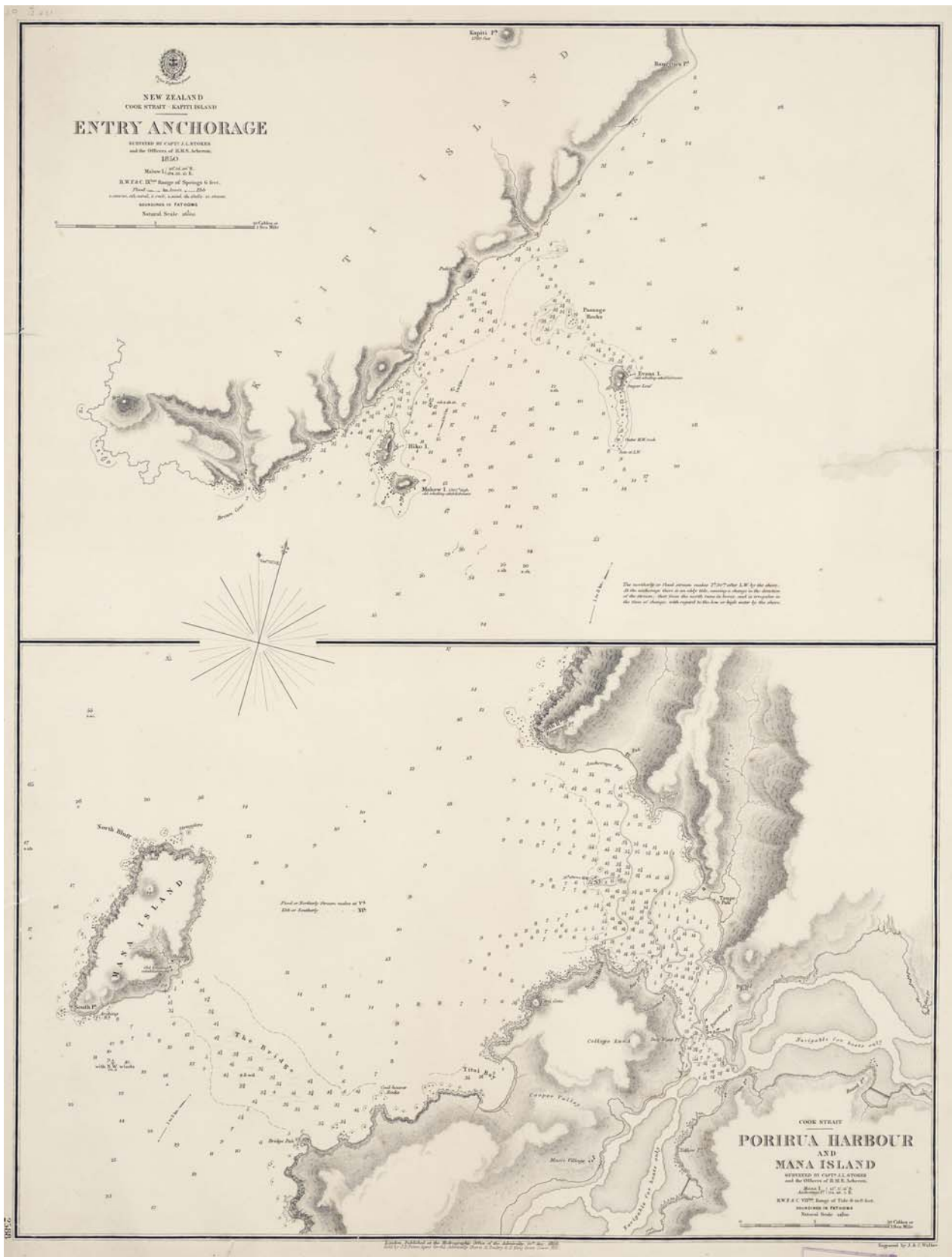


Fig. 1 Detail from *New Zealand. Cook Strait – Kapiti Island. Entry anchorage*. Admiralty chart of New Zealand 2588, surveyed by HMS *Acheron* (1850). 1: 180,000. London: Great Britain Hydrographic Office (832.47aj 1850 Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington).

cartographic sources for the area, but even so only prominent pā and kāinga are depicted, notably Hongoeka (marked as ‘Pah’ in Anchorage Bay), Taupo, Takapuwahia (marked as ‘Maori Village’ south of Cooper Valley) and Komangarautawhiri (marked as ‘Bridge Pah’). Minor occupations are not shown, while others – like Mana Island – had been abandoned by this date. Table 1 gives a summary of the pā and kāinga discussed in the text.

Background to the 1820s settlement of Porirua

From the mid-seventeenth century, Porirua was the territory of Ngāti Ira, who also occupied Wellington and parts of the Wairarapa. At the time of Ngāti Toa’s first incursions into the area, the leading local Ngāti Ira chief was Whanake (also named Te Huka-tai-o-Ruatapu). Best (1901) records Whanake’s favourite dwelling place as being the entrance to Porirua Harbour, while historian Angela Ballara (2006) relates his home as being at Omanga-rau-tawhiri (presumably Komangarautawhiri, about 2 km southwest of Titahi Bay).

The Ngāpuhi/Ngāti Toa Amiowhenua taua (war party) in 1819–20 found Korohiwa (just south of Titahi Bay) to be a stockade pā, and Waimapihi at Pukerua Bay and Te Pa o Kapo just north of Titahi Bay to be earthwork pā (Best 1901: 148). Prior to the Ngāti Toa occupation, the number of fortified pā present seems to have been limited: ‘some of Ngāti-Ira, at Porirua, were slain in their cultivations but that no fortified villages were seen there’ (Best 1919: 73, probably quoting Smith 1899).

Ethnologist Percy Smith records how in the second Amiowhenua raid, in 1821, an unnamed informant described the lack of (occupied) pā in Porirua: ‘then we proceeded to Porirua and Kapiti; at the former place we saw the kotuku (white crane), and killed some of the people of that Port (Ngāti Ira) but there were no pas; the people were found and killed in their cultivations’ (Smith 1899: 49–50).

Pressure from Waikato iwi and a desire for European trade led some Ngāti Toa to migrate to Kapiti and Porirua under the chiefs Te Pehi Kupe, Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata. Ngāti Toa settled on Kapiti Island, turning it into a strategic fortress. Within a few years they invited several other iwi into the area, later forming a confederation of related iwi that included Ngāti Raukawa and Te Ati Awa.

The Battle of Waiorua (c. 1824) signalled the end of Ngāti Toa’s confinement to Kapiti Island; henceforth the iwi would

begin to spread out to occupy the area they had won by force of arms. A second expansion from Kapiti, described by Tamihana Te Rauparaha, is recalled as taking place in the years after the defeat of Ngāti Tahu at Kaiapoi and Onawe in 1831 (Butler 1980: 52).

‘The living together on Kapiti was now finished, as it had become too crowded ... Te Rauparaha stayed on at Kapiti and Otaki. Te Rangihaeata went to live at Mana, among other places. Some went to Porirua; others to Wainui and all along the coast to Pukerua and Wairaka’ (Butler 1980: 52). This movement is reiterated by historian Wakahuia Carkeek (1966: 81): ‘Ropata Hurumutu was the chief of Wainui Pa, having resided at that place since the Haowhenua Battle in 1834.’

With the defeat of all the Kapiti Coast iwi and the South Island Ngāti Tahu, not only could Ngāti Toa colonise the mainland, but they could also build unfortified kāinga as well as pā. In fact, prior to 1843 and the Ngāti Toa–European conflicts, none of the Porirua pā was strongly defensive in nature.

Ngāti Toa had small settlements at Aotea, Papakowhai, Kahutea and other places around Porirua Harbour, but for the purposes of this paper they are not considered. This is because the archaeological and traditional evidence indicates they were seasonal camps of a temporary nature rather than permanent, year-round occupation sites during this period.

It is also important to remember that chiefs had pā in other places, or at least held sway over them – for Ngāti Toa, these sites extended to the other side of the Cook Strait. For example, the missionary John Hobbs felt that Kakapo in the Marlborough Sounds was Rawiri Puaha’s principal residence in 1839 (Roberts 1992: 63), but naturalist Ernst Dieffenbach wrote that Nohorua was the chief of Kakapo at this time (Dieffenbach 1843: vol. I, p. 63).

The pā builders of Porirua

The 1819–20 Amiowhenua raid, which brought Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toa to Porirua, included a number of other leaders. These Percy Smith (1899) lists as Te Rauparaha, Te Rangihaeata, Tungia, Te Rako, Te Kakakura, Hiroa, Nohorua, Puaha, Tamaihengia and ‘others’. Most of these reappear as chiefs of Porirua pā over the next 30 years, but were they chiefs of pā as a reward for their loyalty or was it simply that the qualities required for taking part in a taua were the same as those needed by the leader of a pā? Certainly in Porirua, the chiefs of pā were fighting chiefs.

The most important of the Ngāti Toa chiefs of this period was undoubtedly Te Rauparaha. Often said to have been born in the 1760s (although his actual date of birth is unknown), Te Rauparaha was the son of Werawera of Ngāti Toa and his second wife, Parekowhatu of Ngāti Raukawa. Although not of the highest rank, Te Rauparaha rose to the leadership of Ngāti Toa because of his aggressive defence of his tribe's interests and his skill in battle. He took his tribe from defeat in Kawhia to the conquest of new territories in central New Zealand. The history of Te Rauparaha is essentially the history of Ngāti Toa in the period 1810–49.

In the 1820s, Te Rauparaha led a major portion of Ngāti Toa south to the Cook Strait area and resettled there. After securing the iwi's position, he led raids to the South Island and established alliances with local iwi. Te Rauparaha also established a strong trading relationship with European whalers and traders in the Cook Strait, with the result that the area became the second-largest source of European materials, particularly muskets, in New Zealand (Ulrich 1970: 404). The arrival of the New Zealand Company in 1839 and subsequent land sale disputes led to a series of confrontations with surveyors, settlers and the British Army, resulting in the Wellington land war of 1846. In July of that year, Te Rauparaha was seized from Taupo Pā. He was kept on HMS *Calliope* for 10 months, then allowed to live in Auckland under 'house arrest'. In 1848, he was returned to his people in Otaki, where he led them in building Rangiaitea Church. He died on 27 November 1849.

The most notorious chief, as far as the European settlers were concerned, was Te Rangihaeata. He was probably born in the 1780s. His father was Te Rakaherea and his mother Waitohi, the elder sister of Te Rauparaha. Often called Te Rauparaha's lieutenant, Te Rangihaeata was a major chief in his own right, a warrior of great renown, a poet, an orator and a master carver. He was the leader of Māori resistance to land sales in the Wellington region, and in 1846 was forced from Porirua into the Horowhenua. He died on 18 November 1855.

The father of chief Te Whatarauhi Nohorua was Werawera, making him the elder half-brother of Te Rauparaha. He was also uncle to Te Rangihaeata – Nohorua's mother, Waitaoro, was the sister of Te Rangihaeata's father, Te Rakaherea. He was acknowledged as the primary tribal tohunga tumutauka, a term associated with spiritual war leaders (Mitchell & Mitchell 2007: 103) and is recorded as having fought as a warrior. His first wife was Whare-mawhai of Ngāti Rahiri, and he later married Miriama Te Wainokenoke of the Ngāti Haumia hapū (sub-tribe).

After moving off Kapiti Island, Nohorua first went to Pukerua and then to Taupo/Hongoeka and Titahi Bay. By 1843, he was resident at Cloudy Bay in the South Island. He drowned shortly after when his canoe capsized between Titahi Bay and Mana Island (Rei 1980).

Tungia of the Ngāti Te Maunu hapū of Ngāti Toa was the son of Pikauterangi and grandson of Te Maunu, who in turn was the younger brother of Kimihia. Tungia's wife Rangimakiri was also directly descended from Kimihia. Tungia was known as the 'Wild Fellow' by local whalers (Wakefield 1845: vol. I, p. 92) and was one of the original warriors of the 1819–20 Ngāpuhi/Ngāti Toa Amiowhenua raid into the lower North Island. His actions in taking the Pukerua pā while a member of that taua were of particular note according to Smith (1910: 303). Tungia built his first pā, called Waiorua, around 1822–24 at Te Kahu o te Rangi on Kapiti Island (Māori Land Court 1874: 435–449). Later, he built a new pā at Pukerua Bay. In 1840, he signed the Treaty of Waitangi at Port Nicholson alongside other Ngāti Toa chiefs. His daughter Oriwia married Ropata Hurumutu of the Ngāti Haumia hapū, who had captured the Ngāi Tahu pā at Kaikoura and was later the chief of the pā at Wainui in the Paekakariki area. A second daughter married the whaler Tommy Evans, to whom Tungia sold Tokomapuna Island off Kapiti. The date of Tungia's death is unknown, but was before 1846.

Rawiri Kingi Puaha was the eldest son of Hinekoto (sister to Nohorua and half-sister to Te Rauparaha) and Te Matoe Hinekoto. Puaha was a high-ranking Ngāti Toa chief; his elder brother Te Kanae and younger brother Tamaihengia were both important chiefs in their own right (Wakefield 1845: vol. I, p. 105), and he married Ria Waitohi, daughter of the paramount Ngāti Toa chief Te Pehi Kupe. Puaha was one of the leading warriors in Ngāti Toa's migration from Kawhia in the 1820s (Smith 1910: 303), and he fought at the battles of Haowhenua (c. 1834) and Te Kuititanga (1839). In the early 1840s, he converted to Christianity and became a Wesleyan missionary teacher ('A noted chieftainness' 1912: 6). Puaha died at Takapuwhia, Porirua, on 6 September 1858.

Besides these prominent chiefs there were others of lesser renown. One such chief was Hoani Te Okoro, whose statement at the Ngakaroro hearing of the Māori Land Court in 1874, when he was talking of Te Waha o te Marangai near Otaki, is a blunt summary of his rights and mana over the land: 'I killed men there. I am of Ngati Toa, Ngati Kimihia' (Māori Land Court 1874). Te Okoro was also listed as having been given land by Ngāti Toa at

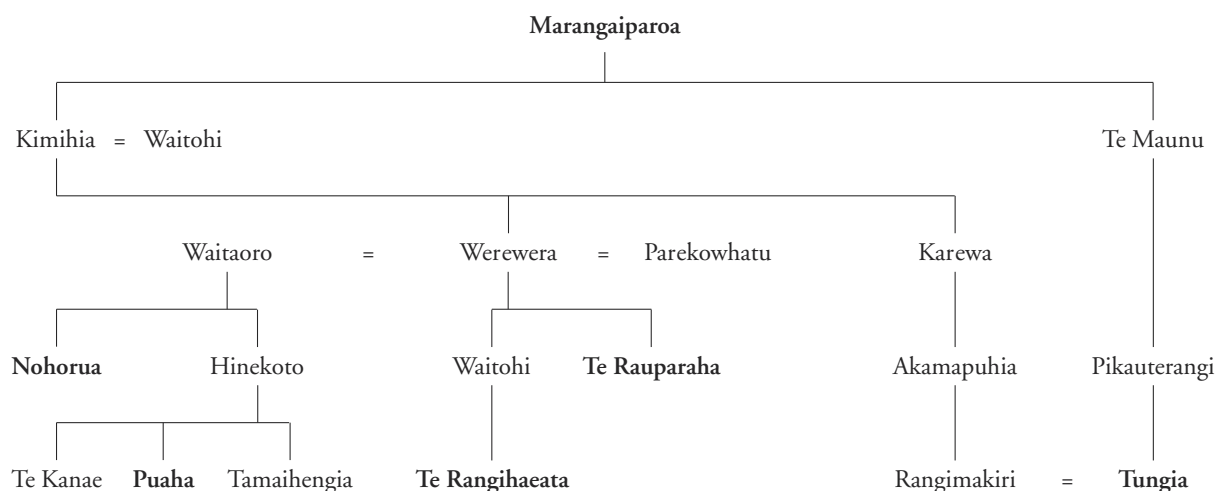


Fig. 2 Descendants of Kimihia, with the builders of pā in the Porirua basin in bold.

Takapuwahia, where he became the Episcopalian minister. Little else is recorded about him, but from these few lines we can see that he fits the pattern of a chief of the Kimihia hapū who had been a warrior of note. He was one of the 26 Ngāti Toa chiefs who received a grant of 200 acres (80 ha) from the government in 1853.

Hapū: the people in the pā

Moving beyond the level of individual, we can begin to see how the relationships between the chiefs extend to the next social level of extended family group or hapū.

At the time of the Battle at Waiorua on Kapiti Island in 1824, the Ngāti Toa hapū of Te Kiriwera, Ngāti Koata, Ngāti Hangai and Ngāti Haumia are recorded as being present there. This is according to Ihaia Te Pahi, who related the information to Elsdon Best (Best 1901: 163). Percy Smith also includes Ngāti Rārua among the major Ngāti Toa hapū but notes that ‘there are many hapu claiming ancestry with Ngāti Toa’ (Smith 1910: 315). Ngāti Kahutaiki was the hapū of Nopera te Ngihā, an important witness at the Māori Land Court hearings of the 1870s.

Te Pehi Kūpe’s hapū was Ngāti Te Maunu, and according to the evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi (Ballara 1990: 20), the chief of the Ngāti Toa Te Rā hapū was Te Rakaherea Te Tuaruau. Te Rakaherea survived the massacre associated with the attempt on Te Rauparaha’s life at Ohau in 1822, and confusion in the records between him and Te Rangihaeata’s father, who had the same name, appeared from early on (Graham 1945: 77).

Te Rauparaha’s own hapū, Ngāti Kimihia, had control of the major pā in the Porirua basin. Te Rauparaha and Nohorua were both grandsons of Kimihia, while his great-grandsons included Te Rangihaeata, Te Kanae, Puaha and Tamaihengia; all of these descendants were prominent chiefs of the area. Tungia was married to another descendant of Kimihia, Rangimakiri, and he was a grandson of Kimihia’s brother Te Maunu. Between them, the descendants of Kimihia were responsible for building nine of the pā and kāinga in Porirua; the relationships between them are shown in a simplified form in Fig. 2.

Te Rauparaha gave the land at Hongoeka to Nohorua, his Ngāti Haumia wife Miriama Te Wainokenoke and her people. The Māori Land Court judgment of 1871 granted this land to seven individuals, among them several leaders, some of whom had had little to do with Hongoeka. These included the chief of the Wainui pā, Ropata Hurumutu. However, Ropata was probably the most prominent Ngāti Haumia leader of the time, so in effect the claimants were reasserting the right of the hapū to the land through descent from Te Wainokenoke (Hongoeka Marae 1997: 10).

Relationships between individuals is complex; the ties of hapū are strong, as is respect for earlier generations. Tamihana Te Rauparaha refers to Tungia and Te Hiko as Te Rauparaha’s grandchildren (Butler 1980: 64), when they were not related in this way in the strict genealogical sense. The Māori Land Court minutes also contain numerous references to elders being referred to as mātua (parents) when they are in fact an older relation. It should be noted that the European fixation on direct genealogical relationships being

the basis of inheritance (of authority as well as of property) did not always apply in Māori society at this time.

It is also important to note that what distinguishes iwi, hapū and extended whānau (family) groups is not always clear, the aforementioned Ngāti Haumia being a case in point – Raiha Prosser (née Puaha) stated in 1905 that the pā at Waikanae was occupied by Ngāti Toa *and* by Ngāti Haumia, a hapū of Ngāti Toa (Royal Commission 1905: 11). Quite what she meant to convey by distinguishing a hapū as separate from its iwi is unclear. Perhaps she identified her own hapū, Kimihia, as Ngāti Toa and wished to distinguish it from Haumia, or perhaps she was trying to convey a subtlety of tribal organisation that is lost in translation.

Special individuals in special circumstances: leaders and fighting chiefs

There are two particular instances in the history of pā building in Porirua that stand out. The first concerns the leading chief Te Rauparaha and how little direct impact he had on the number of pā in Porirua. The second instance concerns the creation and occupation of three pā within as many years by Te Rangihaeata.

Te Rauparaha and three pā in 27 years

Descriptions of Te Rauparaha's lifestyle indicate that he was at times constantly on the move from settlement to settlement, and that Kapiti, Taupo Village and Otaki can be described only as his principal residences. We know that he also had houses at Mana Island (Fig. 1) and elsewhere, indicating that he was not just a guest but a regular occupier of some of these places.

Europeans assumed this life of constant travel was because Te Rauparaha feared for his life and moved to outwit any assassination plot. These European observers would not have at first realised just how precarious the alliances between various iwi could be and the constant work needed to hold this confederation together. Ngāti Toa held its position of prominence by trade networks with Europeans and by a confederation of iwi that were not naturally allied. It is apparent that Te Rauparaha would constantly need to be on the move to ensure that flax and other crops were ready for trade and that disputes were resolved.

The confederation was in many respects based on Te Rauparaha's personal mana (prestige). With the confeder-

ation consisting of many who were considerable leaders in their own right, Te Rauparaha would have needed to use his mana to settle disputes and impose his will, something he could not readily delegate. Although the actual growing of the crops, their harvesting and their trading could be trusted to others, the presence of a senior chief would ensure that all remembered it was he who was in overall command and he who settled disputes.

If Te Rauparaha was in such a constant state of movement, and his mana extended over the entire area, why did he have a kāinga of his own at all? The answer is probably that he needed to have a tūrangawaewae – a ceremonial base and a home – for his own whānau, made up of his immediate family and followers. In fact, from the time of Ngāti Toa's successful capture of Kapiti Island in c. 1821, the principal leader of the iwi, Te Rauparaha (as opposed to the paramount chief, Te Pehi Kūpe), had only the three pā or kāinga mentioned above – Kapiti, Taupo Village and Otaki – indicating a more settled lifestyle than is at first apparent.

Te Rangihaeata and three pā in three years

In contrast to Te Rauparaha, Te Rangihaeata built three pā in three years.

In June 1843, disputes over the New Zealand Company's doubtful land purchases from Ngāti Toa came to a head at the Wairau River near modern-day Blenheim, and with the deaths of both colonists and Ngāti Toa (notably Te Rongo Pomamoe, a relative of Te Rangihaeata who was under his protection), the two sides armed themselves for war. In the days following the Wairau Affray, Ngāti Toa left Cloudy Bay and returned to Kapiti Island, and Ngāti Awa returned to Taranaki – the Wesleyan missionary Samuel Ironside records the bay's coves as being empty except for isolated whaling parties (Chambers 1982: 139).

Te Rangihaeata himself moved from Kaitangata, his carved house on Mana Island, to new pā, first Turi Karewa at Taupo Bay (Plimmerton), then Motukaraka, and finally Matai-taua at Pauatahanui, all between June 1843 and June 1846.

The construction of each new pā was forced by strategic reasoning. Mana Island was in a strong defensive position up until the time that British warships and marines made it vulnerable. As Te Rangihaeata became more opposed to the British presence, he moved from Mana to Turi Karewa, and as the situation deteriorated further, he moved from

there, realising the pā's tactical vulnerability. Certainly he was proved correct, as seen in the raid on Taupo, Motuhara and Hongoeka in June 1846 (see below). The patrols by small gunboats proved also that Motukaraka was not immune from attack, hence Te Rangihaeata's last move within the district was to Matai-taua.

People would live at different places at different times – for example, for seasonal harvesting, for the gathering of kai moana (seafood) and in times of war. These movements might be either of individuals, of whole hapū or anything in between, and they might happen on a regular basis or at very short notice.

Pā locations

Pā and kāinga were, of course, placed within the landscape for a number of physical reasons beyond any socio-political importance. All sites were influenced by a number of factors, including the proximity of walking tracks, the availability of resources and defensive capabilities. In the case of the Porirua pā, however, one factor usually predominates.

Routes

Two major tracks ran through Porirua: Purehurehu, which crossed the range between Pauatahanui and Heretaunga; and Taua-tapu, which ran from Pukerua Bay to Plimmerton (Smith 1910: 10). Taupo and Motuhara Pā were sited at the southern end of the Taua Tapu track, while at the northern end were Waimapihi and Tungia's Pukerua Bay settlement. The early colonist Thomas Bevan gives an account of a journey on this track undertaken in 1845 (Bevan 1907).

The village of Takapuwahia was close by the Kenepuru Stream and the long-established Māori track running north from Wellington Harbour. Matai-taua sat at the Pauatahanui (western) end of the Purehurehu track and was at the junction of tracks leading to and from the Hutt Valley, Kapiti Coast and Porirua. Titahi Bay was the launching point for canoes to the South Island, and Paremata sat at the junction of Porirua's two harbours. Besides the regional transport routes linking settlements, there were also local tracks between the Porirua pā.

Resources

Pre-contact settlements seem to have been generally based around a hapū, the size of which was closely related to the sustainability of local resources. Too large a hapū, and the

resources – in particular food – could not cope; too small a group, and effective harvesting of resources could not occur. There were some actions that could be taken to help mitigate strained resources, such as seasonal movements and raiding other groups.

Post-contact, however, settlements may not necessarily have had to follow the previous rules. European goods as trade items would have put pressure on local resources – flax, for example, would have been more heavily drawn upon for trade purposes and hence required a larger workforce. Some resources, on the other hand, would have become more plentiful, such as the total root-crop harvest as hardier and more productive species like the potato and pumpkin were introduced. Historian Hazel Petrie has also made the argument that access to productive land (and defensible productive land especially) is likely to attract followers (Petrie 2002: 1)

Taupo Village was located midway between Taupo Swamp and the water's edge – the perfect place for trading flax grown in the swamp with Europeans arriving by sea. Over a six-month period in 1831, six ships transported more than 600 tonnes of flax from Kapiti to Sydney (Millar 1971: 63). The number of muskets in particular exchanged for flax was enough to make Kapiti one of the top trading centres in New Zealand (Ulrich 1970: 404). Komanga-rautawhiri and Paremata Pā were built close to whaling stations specifically for trade and the exchange of labour. The opportunity to provide goods and services to these outside ventures was not one to be missed, and Europeans became a valuable resource to be cultivated and drawn upon.

More traditional resources also helped in the siting of the pā at Mana Island, Komanga-rautawhiri, Paremata and Hongoeka. All remain today as prime fishing spots, and in previous decades Motuhara and Takapuwahia shared the same reputation. Motukaraka, meanwhile, was on the Pauatahanui Inlet, which was named for the size of its shellfish, so clearly this resource had an influence on the location of the pā.

An 1844 illustration (Fig. 3) shows Nohorua with his family at what the artist, George French Angas, described as a potato ground between Takapuwahia and Titahi Bay called Kahotea. The illustration is primarily a family portrait of a prominent Ngāti Toa leader, but the details are interesting: an important leader present in crop fields, the emergence of new produce types and a temporary whare (building).

With the exception of Matai-taua Pā, which was primarily built for battle, all the kāinga and pā are recorded as having

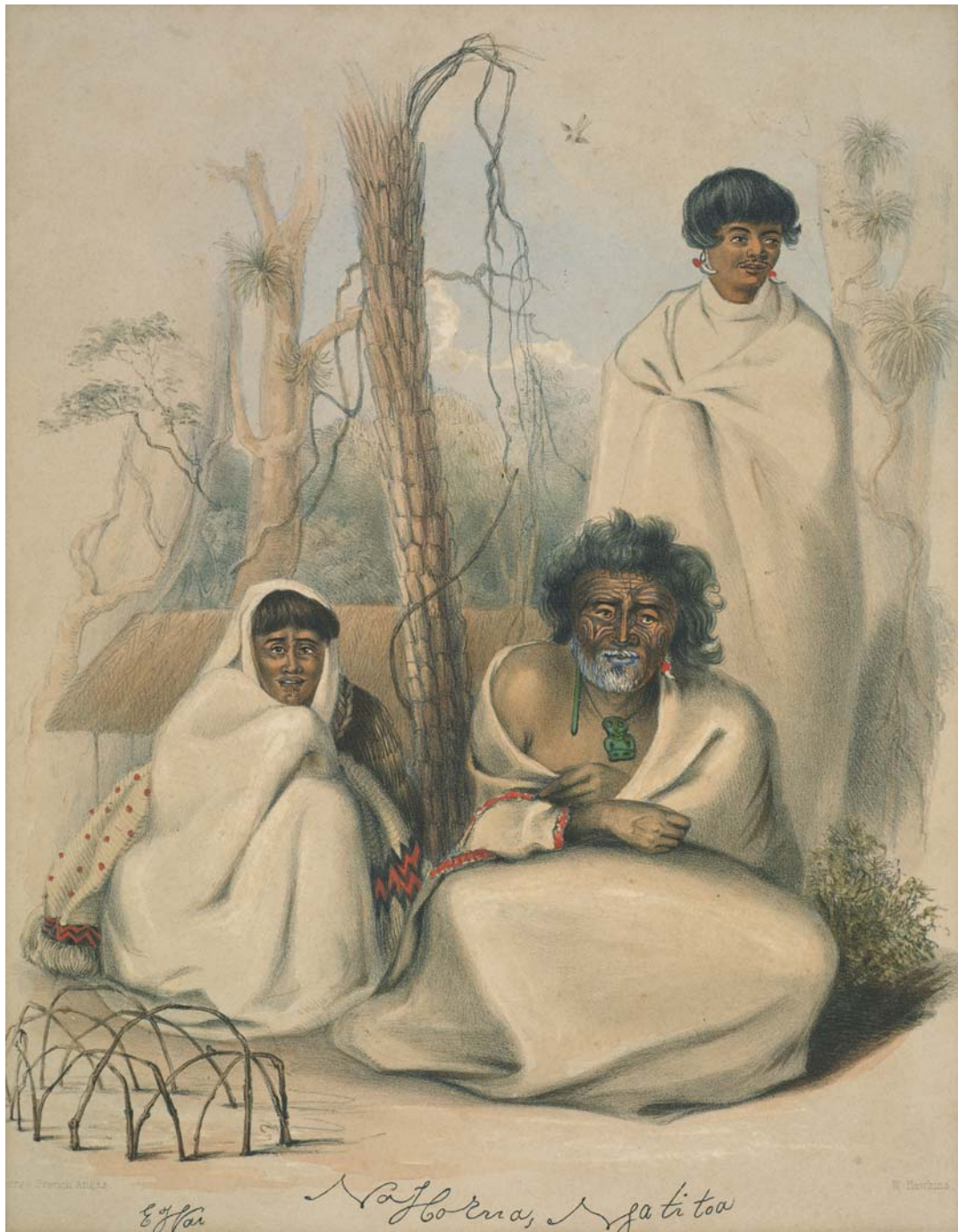


Fig. 3 *Na Horua or Tom Street. Elder brother of Rauparaha. E Wai, his wife. Tuarua, or Kopai, his son. At Kahotea, near Porirua, 1844, hand-coloured lithograph. Artist George French Angas. Acquisition history unknown (Te Papa 1992-0035-710).*

at least small fields of crops, and a few had major areas under cultivation. The hills above Plimmerton (the site of modern-day Camborne) and Whitireia Peninsula were said to have many root-crop gardens, the former area serving Taupo Village, Turi Karewa and Motuhara, and Whitireia supplying Kaitawa and Paremata. Mana Island was occupied by

Europeans in the 1830s, who introduced many new species of plants as an early farm and gardens were established.

European influences in the late 1820s had already started to alter settlement patterns throughout the Cook Strait region. Te Rauparaha and other Ngāti Toa chiefs granted whalers rights to establish stations and other European

occupations in South Island's Port Underwood area (Mitchell & Mitchell 2007: 26), and this was probably also true for Porirua, Kapiti and elsewhere.

Defence

Initially, until British warships altered the type of warfare that was waged, pā on Mana Island had major defensive capabilities, and Turi Karewa, Motukaraka and Matai-taua were all built specifically for military defence. Had anything changed in warfare since the arrival of the Europeans with their muskets and cannon? Ballara argues that nothing had changed in terms of style, but that the scale of warfare may have altered. Inter-tribal warfare was not a new phenomenon but rather an intensified continuation of behaviour prior to the arrival of the musket (Les Groupe quoted in Ballara 2003: 26).

Komanaga-rautawhiri is the most northern of several headland pā stretching south to Makara and was once part of Ngāti Ira's strategic defence of the coast. Pukerua Pā controlled access from the north into the Porirua basin via the Taua Tapu track, with Turi Karewa at the other end. Hongoeke appears to have consisted of both a kāinga and a fortified pā.

The end of pā

The bulk of this article is concerned with why the Porirua pā were created. But when and why individual pā were abandoned is equally crucial. Some obvious reasons are the depletion of resources – for example, the demise of the Korohiwa whaling station and its effect on Komanga-rautawhiri.

One cause for the abandonment of settlements that is often underestimated was the introduction of European diseases. Dieffenbach noted the presence of influenza in the 1840s, which was often fatal (Dieffenbach 1843: vol. II, p. 14; Lange 1999: 19). The denser the population, the more serious and rapidly transmitted were outbreaks of disease. Mason Durie contended that as Māori moved from traditional pā to new styles of settlements based on trading, whaling and missionaries, sanitation declined (Durie 1994: 35). Certainly, contemporary descriptions by Jerningham Wakefield and others of settlements of this type all agree on the lack of cleanliness (Wakefield 1845: vol. I, p. 220), although standards will have varied from place to place depending on the local chief and his European counterpart.

Another example is the movement of Te Rangihaeata and his followers between 1843 and 1846. This is one of the crucial factors that archaeologists need to pay particular attention to: not that Te Rangihaeata was moving from place to place as he was chased by a superior opposing military force, but that he had followers who moved with him. As a leading chief, he had an obligation to provide those he led with the basic necessities of life, and that included a home in return for their allegiance. So the archaeological record will show that his three pā – Turi Karewa, Motukaraka and Matai-taua – were almost concurrent but with no increase in the area's total population.

Māori society at this time was based on chiefdoms and personal mana – without rank and mana, you could not found a pā or kāinga. When chiefs moved, their followers moved with them, and when those chiefs died, their followers dispersed. This is the reason for the abandonment of the pā at Pukerua Bay: its founding chief, Tungia, died. Tungia's daughter married the chief of Wainui Pā and, according to the 1851 *New Zealand Journal*, his followers moved to Takapuwahia to join Rawiri Puaha ('Description of the Port Nicholson district' 1851).

Taupo Village was abandoned when, after his release in 1848, Te Rauparaha resettled at Otaki. Paremata Pā was abandoned in the early 1840s, despite the continuation of the nearby whaling station, when many Ngāti Toa moved across Cook Strait to Cloudy Bay. The death, absence or movement of leaders, resulting in the abandonment of these pā, reaffirms the hypothesis that it was their leadership that led to the construction of the pā in the first place.

Synopsis of major pā and kāinga occupied by Ngāti Toa (Fig. 4)

Pukerua Bay

There are remains of at least two pā at Pukerua Bay that were connected to Ngāti Toa. The first was called Waimapihi and was situated 'on the cliff above the beach and just below the present railway station at Pukerua' (Best 1901: 153). Carkeek placed it on the left bank of the Waimapihi Stream (Carkeek 1966: 6). The pā was captured by the Ngāpuhi/Ngāti Toa Amiowhenua taua in 1819–20, when it was defended by both Ngāti Ira and Muaūpoko warriors. According to some accounts (including Smith 1910: 303), one of the leading chiefs in this action was the Ngāti Toa



Fig. 4 Map of pā and kāinga discussed (after HMS *Acheron* 1850).

chief Tungia. An account by Watene Taungatara says that the pā was taken only after a false offer of a truce was made (Taungatara 1899: 7), a tale further elaborated on by Smith (1910: 303) and recorded by the Māori Land Court: ‘The land was obtained by the conquest by Te Rauparaha and Tuwhare and it was taken possession of by Te Pehi hanging a garment (he Kaka) on a post on the land’ (Māori Land Court 1892: 368).

In the 1830s, a section of Ngāti Toa moved to Pukerua Bay, where they built a second pā, called Pukerua Pā: ‘The first people to occupy this land were Tungia, Nopera, Te Ngiha, Te Raupatu, Te Ngou, Tapuiora, Pango and Te Teke. These people and their slaves were the persons who first went on the land’ (Māori Land Court 1892: 368). Te Teke and Tungia were the elders of the party and used to travel between the pā and Kapiti Island (Māori Land Court 1892: 375).

Elsdon Best (1919: 69) states that the pā was on a terrace on the northern side of the Waimapihi stream. The border of the land to the north was between the rock outcrops of Te Ana o Hau and Te Paripari

Following Tungia’s death, Pukerua Pā was abandoned – the *New Zealand Journal* in 1851 records that the late chief’s

followers left Pukerua to join Rawiri Puaha at Takapuwhia (‘Description of the Port Nicholson district’ 1851).

A statement that possibly conflicts with this account comes from Ropata Hurumutu (sometimes spelled as Huruinutu), chief of the Wainui Pā and Tungia’s son-in-law. In evidence given to the Māori Land Court (quoted in Ballara 1990: 31), he stated that Te Hiko and the Ngāti Te Maunu hapū built a new pā at Pukerua following the Battle of Te Kuititanga in 1839. However, Oriwia (Tungia’s daughter and wife of Hurumutu) said that the pā was built following the Battle of Haowhenua in c. 1834, and that Ngāti Haumia and Ngāti Te Maunu moved first from Kapiti to Haowhenua and then on to Kenakena at Waikanae (Carkeek 1966: 39). There is some suggestion that Ngāti Toa returned to the Pukerua district at a later date, but not to the pā (Royal Commission 1905: 22). From 1848, the Māori Land Court records the land as being leased to Europeans by Nopera, Ngahuka Tungia and Potete. In 1861, parts were sold by them under the authority they had from their mātua (Māori Land Court 1892: 376).

Both versions lend credence to the notion that the occupation of the land at Pukerua was linked by conquest: either by Tungia taking the pā; or by Te Hiko, the son of Te Pehi, claiming the land with his garment after battle.

Hongoeka

According to Māori Land Court depositions made by Matene Te Whiwhi, Te Rangihaeata's nephew, Hongoeka was given to Nohorua and the Ngāti Haumia hapū of Ngāti Toa by Te Rauparaha (quoted in Williams 2003: 6).

In November 1839, the missionary Octavius Hadfield was present while church services were held at Hongoeka (Roberts 1992: 54), and in 1843 a hui (meeting) between government officials and Ngāti Toa was held here, at which some 200 Ngāti Toa men were present, including Te Rauparaha. When Te Rauparaha was seized from Taupo Village in 1846, Hongoeka was also searched (Cowan 1983: 121). In the 1850 chart produced during the HMS *Acheron* survey, Hongoeka is marked at Anchorage Bay as 'Pah' (Fig. 1).

Today, Hongoeka remains an active marae, with a new meeting house that was opened in 1997 (Hongoeka Marae 1997: 10).

Motuhara

Motuhara is a settlement whose origin pre-dates the arrival of Ngāti Toa. Archaeological finds suggest that prior to the Ngāti Toa occupation it was a small kāinga with associated urupā (burial ground), and it appears that it did not have an important defensive function. James Cowan describes it as a 'small beach settlement' (Cowan 1983: 119), though who his source for this description was is unknown. Although permanently occupied, Motuhara appears to have been a small kāinga – considered almost an annexe to the larger pā and kāinga surrounding it. According to Matene Te Whiwhi (quoted in Ballara 1990: 20), the Ngāti Te Maunu hapū occupied the settlement.

When Te Rauparaha was seized from Taupo Village in 1846, Motuhara, along with Hongoeka, was also searched. And when Te Rauparaha was being taken to HMS *Driver*, he called out for help from Motuhara.

Te Kanira (also called Kanira Tuhi) had the official certificate of title to Motuhara. He died around 1875 and his nearest relative, his niece Raiha Prosser (née Puaha), succeeded him in ownership (Māori Land Court 1885: 28).

In the 1890s, Motuhara was still occupied by the old chief Te Karehana Whakataki, who at that time was described as living alone. Whakataki was Elsdon Best's primary Ngāti Toa source in his researches (Best 1914). In 1894, Whakataki is said to have been resident at Takapuwhia (Smith 1910: 193). According to Best, Te Rauparaha's canoe, *Te Ahu a*

Tūranga, was still visible as it lay rotting at Motuhara in 1909 (quoted in Smith 1910: 423).

Taupo Pā (Turi Karewa)

Jerningham Wakefield records in early September 1843 that he found 200 Māori in a new village at Taupo Bay (Wakefield 1845: vol. II, p. 426). Māori Land Court records include Rawiri Puaha, Te Hiko and Hohepa Tamaihengia as the builders, but it is Te Rangihaeata with whom the pā is most strongly associated and who occupied it until early 1846.

Of these other chiefs, Wi Parata in his Māori Land Court evidence said he stayed at Taupo Pā with Te Hiko and Ngāti Te Maunu hapū until the death of Te Hiko in 1845 (Māori Land Court 1890). It certainly seems Te Hiko was buried in the urupā behind the pā on Te Rangihaeata's instructions. The grave was painted by John Gilfillan not long after; the image was reproduced by Thomas Downes in his book *Old Whanganui* (Downes 1915: 111).

The 1843 Wairau Affray had a profound influence on life at Porirua. Not least, it led to the decision by Te Rangihaeata to move from Mana Island to the mainland at Taupo, along with several hundred of his followers. The majority left in 1846 to move to Motukaraka (see below), but some of Te Rangihaeata's hapū remained at the pā until at least 1848. Above the pā, a wāhi tapu (sacred place) was created and remains today as an urupā and native reserve. The placement of the pā was related not only to defence, but also brought Te Rangihaeata closer to the paramount chief Te Rauparaha at Taupo Village.

Several European writers and painters, notably John Gilfillan, George French Angas and Charles Gold, recorded Taupo Pā. These contemporary images depict a pā with extremely large palisades extending from the edge of the exposed rocky shore back to the bluff behind that contained the wāhi tapu. Other illustrations show a semi-subterranean house, an elevated pātaka (food store) on a single large post, and the interior of a house with carved ridgepoles, all indicating a substantial occupation. However, no structures have been identified archaeologically, leaving some uncertainty as to the pā's exact position and orientation (Stodart 2002: 32).

Taupo Village

It is uncertain exactly what year Taupo Village was founded but it was between the years 1838 and 1841. Up until 1846, it was the main kāinga of Te Rauparaha and therefore the centre of Ngāti Toa influence. As a domestic kāinga it was, at



Fig. 5 *Porirua Harbour and Parramatta whaling station in Nov. r 1843*, 1843, hand-coloured lithograph. Artist Samuel Brees (PUBL-0011-12, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington).

least initially, unfortified. In Fig. 5, Taupo Village, illustrated in 1843 by Samuel Brees, is shown as a kāinga. The wāhi tapu where Te Hiko would later be buried is in the foreground above the future pā of Turi Kawera. In the distance can be seen Paremata Whaling Station, alongside which Paremata Pā was sited. The scene in Fig. 6 was drawn by George Angas French two years after Brees' image of the same settlement (and printed in 1847). By then Taupo was clearly palisaded, the fortifications probably added as the result of tension following the Wairau Affray in 1843 (Stodart 2002: 25).

In June 1843, Reverend Ironside recorded in his journal that Rawiri Puaha took his followers from Cloudy Bay and Port Underwood in the South Island to Taupo (Ironside 1839–43: June and July entries). Given that Puaha had converted to Christianity, it is no surprise that Taupo Village became the centre for missionary work in the area. In 1845, Ironside and his fellow Wesleyan missionary James Watkin held a major hui there, and in 1848 a chapel was erected there at the cost of £3 (Roberts 1992: 61).

It was from this site that British troops and the Armed Constabulary, acting under the orders of Governor Grey,

seized Te Rauparaha in June 1846. After this event the village gradually lost its pre-eminence to the kāinga of Takapuwhia and Te Uru Kohika, perhaps as a result of Te Rauparaha's decision to retire to Otaki in 1848. An 1850 survey showed the village as abandoned (Roberts 1992: 79).

Paremata

The pā at Paremata Point was at the water's edge, with a fish fence-trap set up on the foreshore and gardens close by. Although palisaded, Paremata was a kāinga rather than a defensive pā. The date the village was founded was close to that of the nearby shore-based whaling station, although it is not clear which came first (Wakefield 1845: vol. I, p. 220). The cousins Te Rakaherea and Te Kanawa were the chiefs of the Ngāti Te Ra hapū at Paremata according to evidence given by Matene Te Whiwhi to the Māori Land Court (quoted in Ballara 1990: 20).

Joseph Thoms came to Cook Strait to hunt whales; he established a shore whaling station at Paremata in 1835–36, becoming the first European to settle permanently in the

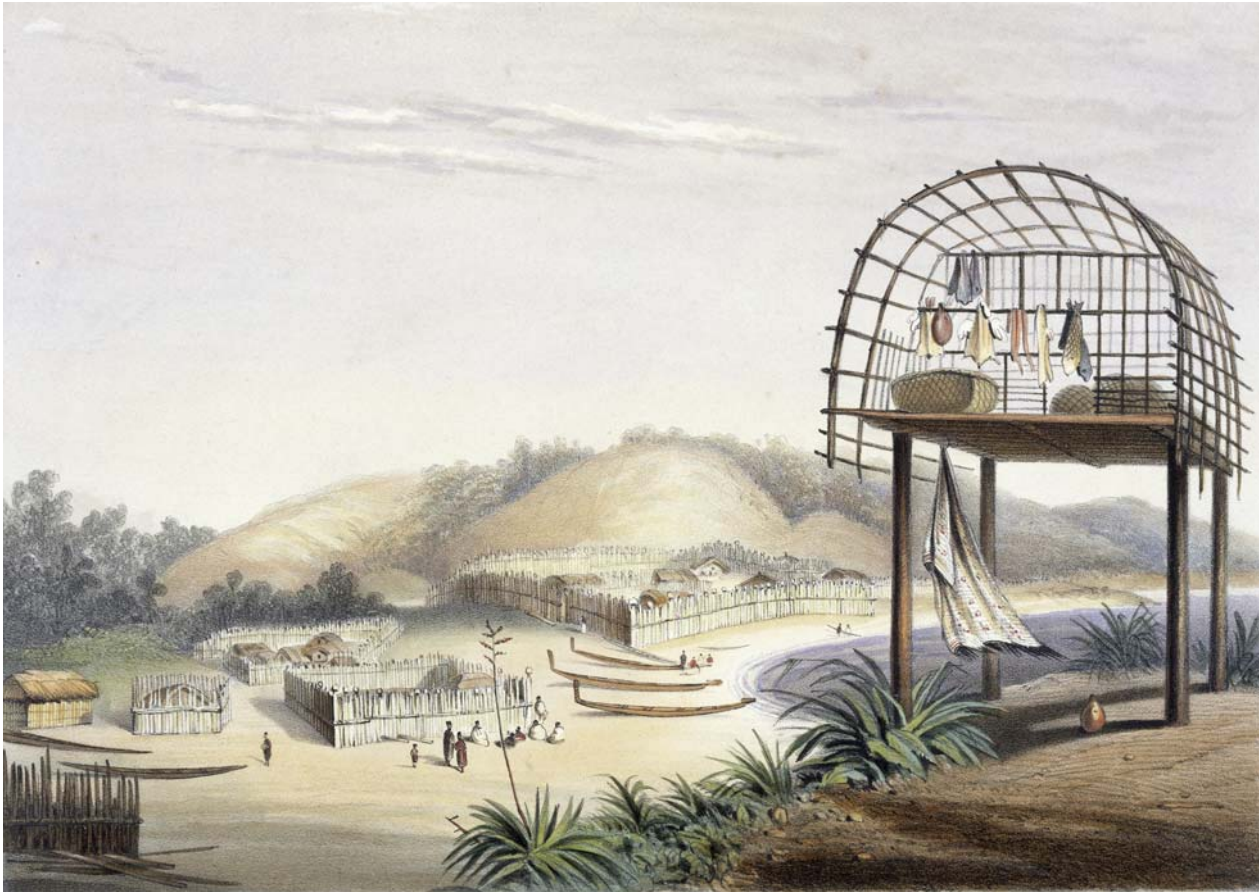


Fig. 6 *Taupo Pa*, 1847, hand-coloured lithograph. Artist George French Angas, lithographer J.W. Giles (PUBL-0014-48, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington).

area. With a mixture of Pākehā and Ngāti Toa whalers, Thoms hunted the slow right whales that migrated through Cook Strait and past Porirua every year. One of these whalers was Te Ua Torikiriki, daughter of Nohorua. Thoms married Te Ua in c. 1830 and thus linked himself to Ngāti Toa (Wakefield 1845: vol. I, p. 46; Millar 1971: 70; Boulton 1990). Some time after 1844, following the death of Te Ua, Thoms moved permanently over to his Te Awaiti whaling station in the Marlborough Sounds. It seems likely that at this time, with the whaling station at Paremata no longer active, the nearby pā was abandoned.

In 1846, the British Army occupied Paremata and built stone barracks there. Although no mention is made of the pā, the government surveyor Thomas Fitzgerald did mark on his plan of the barracks in 1848 two 'old post of native pa of totara' (Fitzgerald 1848). This complements an earlier map by Fitzgerald showing Joseph Thoms' claim, in which the general area of the 'Parhamatta Pah' is indicated (Fitzgerald 1843).

Kaitawa

In 1841, there was a small Ngāti Toa settlement called Kaitawa at the outer entrance to Porirua Harbour and a defended knoll above the bay. The defended position was formed at the end of a spur, with cliffs on three sides and palisades on the fourth; the postholes of three of the palisade posts can still be found.

It seems that only the kāinga was occupied by Ngāti Toa and that the fortified spur was either predominately or entirely of an earlier occupation. Jerningham Wakefield spent a night in a village below the pā in 1839, but named it Waitawa rather than Kaitawa (Wakefield 1845: vol. I, p. 220).

Some printed versions of the 1850 HMS *Acheron* chart (e.g. the copy in Porirua Library) name Kaitawa and indicate structures on the hill and below it on the beachfront. The Whitireia Peninsula was the site of extensive gardening, which contributed to the wealth of food already available from nearby forests. Like many small kāinga, Kaitawa

appears to have been abandoned gradually in the 1840s. In 1848, the Whitireia Peninsula was granted to the Anglican Church by Ngāti Toa in 1848; by this time, Kaitawa was almost certainly abandoned.

Komanga-rautawhiri

As related above, Angela Ballara states that in the early nineteenth century Komanga was the home of the leading chiefly family of Ngāti Ira, although this presumes that Omangarautawhiri and Komangarautawhiri are one and the same. The location, about 2 km west of Titahi Bay at Green Point, would support this (Ballara 1990: 422). Following the Battle of Haowhenua in c. 1834, Mitikakau of the Ngāti Maru hapū of Te Ati Awa moved with his people from Komanga to Whareroa, north of Paekakariki (Carkeek 1966: 42), but the date they had originally settled at Komanga is not recorded.

Komanga was still occupied when the nearby whaling station of Korohiwa was in operation, and this station was probably established in 1836 under William Thomas. The missionary Henry Williams landed at the whaling station and pā in 1839 and named Te Rangitakaroro as its chief (Best 1914). He was the brother of the Ngāti Tama chief Te Puoho, a firm ally of Te Rauparaha. Te Puoho had led a section of Ngāti Tama in the heke that headed south from Taranaki to the Cook Strait region in 1822.

The 1850 HMS *Acheron* chart shows Komanga as 'Bridge Pah' (Fig. 1). In the same year, Native Secretary Henry Tacy Kemp describes the inhabitants as 'few', saying that they were continually on the move and that their cultivations intermixed with those of Ngāti Toa at Porirua and Nelson (quoted in Fordyce & MacLehn 2000: 15). By 1851, Komanga was listed as having a resident population of 45. In 1880, there was one last kuia (elderly woman) living there, and by 1905 rotting palisades were all that was left standing (Best 1914).

Takapuwahia

According to Percy Smith, Takapuwahia is named after a place at Kawhia Harbour (Smith 1910: 337). Elsdon Best seems to suggest that there was a settlement here prior to the arrival of Ngāti Toa, although his phrasing is ambiguous and he gives no evidence or reference to support this claim (Best 1914). The missionary James Watkin was at Takapuwahia in July 1845, according to his journal (Chambers 1982: 162), and while he was there he spoke with Te Rangihaeata.

In 1851, the village of Takapuwahia had a population of 252, who had moved there from the pā at Taupo and Pukerua after they were abandoned. Besides houses, Takapuwahia Pā had two reed chapels, and a flour mill powered by water from the stream was under construction. Intensive farming of 80 acres (30 ha) included crops of potatoes, maize and kūmera ('Description of the Port Nicholson district' 1851: 314).

A few years later, in 1889, the other pā in central Porirua, Te Uru Kohika (founded after 1852), was abandoned and Takapuwahia became the undisputed primary home of Ngāti Toa. In 1901, the meeting house Toa Rangatira was opened at the settlement, its name taken from that of the founding ancestor of Ngāti Toa. In 1910, a school was built alongside and was used for church services as well as education.

Today, the streets around the marae are named for prominent leaders of Ngāti Toa, including Nohorua, Te Hiko and Puaha. This reflects the fact that Takapuwahia is an old pā around which the city of Porirua has grown up, rather than a new marae built within a growing city. It is also noteworthy that Raiha Prosser (daughter of Rawiri Puaha) stated in 1905 that the inhabitants of the pā at Porirua were all of the same hapū (Royal Commission 1905: 11).

Motukaraka

Occupied by Ngāti Ira prior to Ngāti Toa's arrival, Motukaraka Pā, in the Pauatahanui Inlet, was home to the Ngāti Te Ra hapū of Ngāti Toa by 1845. In 1846, Te Rangihaeata briefly resided here after abandoning Turi Karewa at Taupo and before establishing Matai-taua (Best 1914; Healy 1980: 15).

Matai-taua

The spot now occupied by St Alban's Church at Pauatahanui was formerly the site of a pā built by Te Rangihaeata in 1846 (McKillop 1849: 183; Cowan 1983: 123). Placed on a ridge running into the eastern arm of the Pauatahanui Inlet, the pā was protected on three sides by a stream and a swamp, and was entirely surrounded by a palisade. Covered gun pits were an added innovation, making this a true gunfighter pā. From here, several war parties were dispatched – notably to Boulcott's Farm in the Hutt Valley in May 1846 and to skirmishes on the Pauatahanui Inlet.

On 1 August 1846, a mixed force of native allies, regular British Army soldiers and local militia were sent to attack Matai-taua. Troops were also dispatched from Paremata, but both forces found Matai-taua empty (Power 1849: 18).

Mana Island

From the early 1830s, following Ngāti Toa's defeat of Ngāi Tahu and up until the mid-1840s, the chief and master carver Te Rangihaeata chose Mana Island as his main base. His house there, named Kaitangata, was recorded by the artist George French Angas in a painting in 1844 as well as in his journal, published three years later (Angas 1966: pl. 4; 1847: vol I, p. 265). By that time, however, Te Rangihaeata had left the island and only a few members of the iwi were left in residence.

In 1832, three Europeans – Alexander Davidson, Archibald Mossman and John Bell – paid Te Rangihaeata, Te Rauparaha and Nohorua (the three Ngāti Toa leaders connected to Mana) goods to the value of £24. What the goods were for is disputed: Ngāti Toa said it was rent; the Europeans said it was for a land purchase (Carkeek 1966: 64). From that time on, Mana became the haunt of whalers, traders and other Europeans. However, Te Rangihaeata continued to live there, as stated by James Crawford, who records him on the island in late 1839 with the whalers Alexander and Thomas Fraser (Crawford 1880: 26).

Te Rangihaeata abandoned Mana Island altogether in August 1843 following the Wairau Affray, when he moved to Turi Karewa at Taupo Bay.

Concluding discussion

The timeframe of this case study, in the era frequently referred to as post-contact, might cause some to consider it as irrelevant to earlier Māori settlement patterns. Certainly, all the sites excavated have contained portable European goods. The argument of 'Fatal Impact', as archaeologist Stuart Bedford (1996: 413) calls it, whereupon once Europeans arrived all of Māori society changed, is simplistic. Bedford puts forward compelling arguments that change in society was neither complete nor rapid. Māori agriculture, for example, remained traditional in nature despite the introduction of new crops and tools. Quoting Roger Green, Bedford makes the argument that the end of any 'classic phase' was not at the first introduction of European culture, but at the later point when that culture became dominant (Bedford 1996: 421), and that the transformation was incremental rather than abrupt.

Clearly this was the case in the Porirua basin from the time of Ngāti Toa's arrival. Yes, Ngāti Toa brought European goods with them and selected the region at least partly on

its perceived trading opportunities. However, it was Ngāti Toa's decision to settle there and that decision was made within the framework of traditional Māori society based on resources and pressure from other Waikato iwi. That some of those resources were European and the Waikato pressure was exacerbated by the introduction of muskets is not, I would argue, overwhelming in terms of instituting a change in Māori society. That change began in the late 1840s following the establishment of European society as the politically dominant influence.

The impact of European contact from the 1830s did have an effect on the distribution of pā and kāinga. Cultivation of gardens and flax was increased to provide for whalers and traders, and this, coupled with the supply of labour to shore-based whaling ventures, helped determine the location of sites such as Korohiwa and Paremata. It is difficult to know, however, if European contact also had an effect on the number of pā built.

One of the real questions about the spate of pā building in Porirua is, was this normal? It is likely that the construction pattern may well be normal if we think of pā building as similar to the model for punctuated equilibrium. An iwi moves into a new geographical area and over a short period of time expands into a variety of new groups (with accompanying settlements) until the area is saturated. Then a period of relative stability follows, until a new factor emerges. During this period of stability, it may be possible that the number of settlements decreases even if the population does not. The fact that iwi may, like Ngāti Toa, be expanding into an area already settled is not as important as the factor that they are expanding into an area that is new to them.

As leaders rise and fall, so the resulting dynamics lead to the ebb and flow of population movement within the area. Because these migrating individuals come from within related iwi (primarily the intertwined Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa), there is little physical conflict. And it is for this very reason that new pā are created; if there was conflict, we might see challenges for existing places. It is only towards the end of the period discussed here that we see the continued utilisation of a pā after its primary founders have died. This may be because there are no new areas available, or it might be a normal reaction to external pressures that mean the iwi and hapū remain together for strength.

Is this fluctuating emergence and disappearance of differing leaders and pā a manifestation of what anthropologist Patrick Kirch calls 'an inherently unstable and

oscillating social formation' (Kirch 2000: 283)? It certainly seems that an oscillating pattern occurred in Porirua over the 100-year period between 1800 to 1900, with peaks of Ngāti Ira, Ngāti Toa and European incursions, and troughs of war, disease and population displacement in between. However, Kirch argues that population size is the ultimate cause behind cultural change, leading to cultural controls that result in variations (Kirch 2000: 309–310). On the other hand, it could be argued that the cultural variations themselves are the cause of population fluctuations.

The ability to attract followers relies not only on personal charisma but also on the fundamental basis of a leader's ability to provide for their followers and to exert power in a military manner. Both of these abilities are heightened when the leader is able to demonstrate a 'natural' right to leadership through hereditary status or another form of mana. Te Rauparaha is a classic example of a leader who demonstrated that he had all three requirements on a national scale. Most, if not all, of the other leaders listed here could also qualify on a smaller, more local scale.

Te Rauparaha's constant attention to the hapū of Ngāti Toa and the iwi's allies are a glimpse into the efforts required to hold together a group of followers. This process was also happening simultaneously with every lesser chief. Their successes and failures can be measured in the kāinga and pā of Porirua. Essentially there are a lot of pā in Porirua because each is a physical expression of an individual's ability to form a group of followers, break from their existing situation and create a new living space, and yet at the same time remain within the tribal territory.

Rapid development and discarding of individual pā has repercussions for our approach to the analysis of site distribution. As an example, one of the more significant attempts in this field was carried out by archaeologist Geoffrey Irwin in 1985 when he published a study of pā at Pouto Point in Kaipara Harbour. In it he suggested that 12 pā in the study were occupied contemporaneously between 1650 and 1800. If the examples at Porirua can be held to be true for other parts of the country, we have to revise our thoughts on exactly what we mean by contemporary. Not only do the pā have to fall within the same date range, but hopefully they will also exhibit evidence of a long enough occupation span to overlap with the other pā.

The evidence from Porirua would suggest that a much tighter dating regime is needed if accurate conclusions are to be made. The 150-year time period covered by the pā at Pouto might equate to four or even five generations,

meaning that they could still have been occupied in succession rather than contemporaneously.

The significance of contemporary versus successive occupation impacts heavily on the theory of spheres of influence and dominance. Additionally, it affects the amount of area available in which resources can be gathered for each pā. In real terms, the impact may be only on the specific example rather than on the theory itself, but it does once again highlight the importance of temporal relationships between sites.

Archaeologists have concentrated almost exclusively on the physical resources associated with pā and kāinga, and at times have wondered why some pā and kāinga were abandoned for no clear reason. In the 30 years between 1820 and 1850, many pā and kāinga were built, occupied and then abandoned within the Porirua basin. The reasons why this happened gives us some important insights. By looking into the social structures of the time and regarding these sites as physical manifestations of social actions, we can come to a better understanding of why there were so many settlement sites at Porirua and speculate if these reasons can be extrapolated to a wider New Zealand context.

The implications that can be drawn from the results are important in understanding the social and cultural aspects of tribal leadership amongst Ngāti Toa of this period and, by inference, Māori in general. These implications are also important in terms of our interpretation of the archaeological record of site distribution, particularly of pā, for New Zealand as a whole.

Acknowledgements

An earlier version of this paper was presented verbally to the Archaeology Section, Wellington Branch, Royal Society of New Zealand. As a result, many useful comments and questions were raised and are now incorporated into this version, and for that I wish to thank the participating audience.

I also wish to thank Miria Pomare and Susan Forbes for reading drafts of this paper and encouraging me to finish it.

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