# Ranfurly Bay Scenic Reserve Historic Heritage Assessment Bay of Islands Area Office

Melina Goddard 2011



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Department of Conservation *Te Papa Atawbai* 

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Melina Goddard, DoC, Bay of Islands Area Office 2011
Cover image: Ranfurly Bay Scenic Reserve taken from the Dukes Nose looking west towards Lane Cove
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Image: The entrance to the Whangaroa Harbour from the Dukes Nose facing north (A. Blanshard 2010)

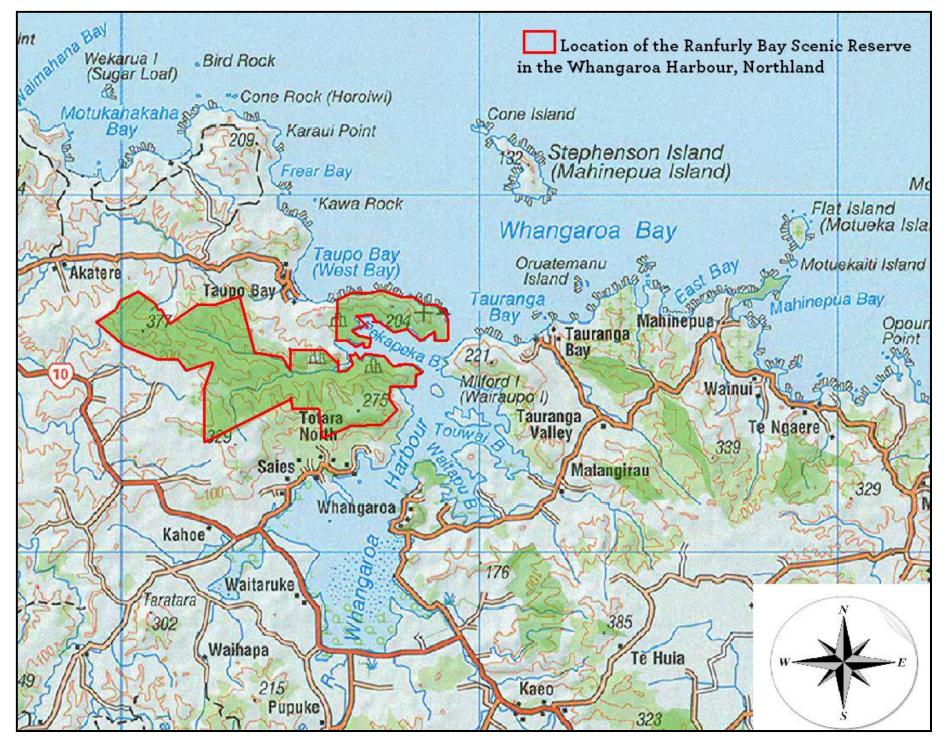


Figure 1: Ranfurly Bay Scenic Reserve showing the approximate area administered by the Department of Conservation (arcreader)



Figure 2: Map of the archaeological sites located within and near the Ranfurly Bay Scenic Reserve as recorded in ARCHSITE

### Site Overview

The Ranfurly Bay Scenic Reserve is located on the western arm of the entrance to the Whangaroa Harbour and is named after Ranfurly Bay, one of the numerous bays that make up the coastline of this reserve (fig 1). The Whangaroa Harbour is geologically and scenically unique. It is a spacious perfectly land-locked anchorage and represents a drowned river system, eroded in rocks of two different types. The narrow rock-walled entrance to the harbour, scarcely a third of a mile across, is cut into hard volcanic breccia while the upper reaches, over 2 miles in width and surrounded by gently undulating country, consist of eroded soft, sedimentary shale's and sandstones.

The Whangaroa Harbour has a long and distinctive human history of Maori and European occupation and a large portion of this history is represented at Ranfurly Bay Scenic Reserve. This is emphasized by the 46 recorded archaeological sites of Maori and European origin. This amalgamation of different sites reflects the many events that took place here and the diverse use of a landscape through time by various groups of people (fig 2).

The natural resources of the Whangaroa Harbour and around Pekapeka Bay would have been plentiful for its Maori inhabitants. They would have found a wide range of bird and plant resources available in the bush and good soil fertility, drainage and climate for gardening on the small flats around the coast, in the Wairakau Valley and in some of its tributaries. The major economic resource however would have been the rich and diverse seafood of the harbour and the adjacent open coast. <sup>3</sup>

Land status: Scenic Reserve

Administered by: The Department of Conservation, Bay of Islands area office under the Reserves Act 1977.

Access by: Boat and the Wairakau Stream track. www.doc.govt.nz

Visitor numbers: to the hut: booked as sole occupancy: number of times booked from  $1^{st}$  June 2011 to  $31^{st}$  of May 2012: 179 times

Heritage status: protected under the Historic Places Act 1993, the Conservation Act 1987 the Reserves Act 1977 and the ICOMOS charter as a place of cultural heritage value.

Site area: approximately 1800 hectares

Functional location number: DN-61-200-2042

# The History of Ranfurly Bay Scenic Reserve

The name Whangaroa itself has descended from legendary history when a princess named Rauri-iti lived here. Her warrior husband had been absent on an inter-tribal foray to the south. Impatiently Raru-iti awaited his return, standing beside the harbour and calling, "Whaingaroa", or "What a long waiting" for his return. Hunger finally reached her, and she went looking for pipis in the harbour. As she paddled in the morning sunshine past Ohauwai she looked up and to the left on the skyline was her husband, Kaimohi engraved in stone. This made it clear to Rauru-iti that the worst had happened, for he was facing northwest towards the spirit path of Te Reinga.<sup>4</sup> The Maori head of Kaimohi can still be seen on the skyline above Waihi Bay.

Within the reserve oral traditions are known for Waihi Bay and Okahumoko Pa. Waihi Bay is located outside of Pekapeka Bay to the south and is reportedly where the legendary anchor of the *Mataatua* canoe is said to be located. This canoe brought *Toroa*, and his brother *Puhi-Taniwharau* to New Zealand from Hawaiki. The canoe first went to Whakatane, where *Toroa* stayed but *Puhi Taniwharau* later brought the canoe north. The stone that tradition tells is the anchor of the *Mataatua* is reportedly golden brown and stands out as it has no obvious counterpart in the geology of the Whangaroa. Legend says the canoe *Mataatua* is buried in the sands of Takou Bay. <sup>5</sup>

Okahumoko Pa is located at the north head of Rere Bay and is reputed site of a battle in 1827:

"Ururoa, the chieftain who lives at Huruata, not far from where the convent now stands at Waitaruke, had been deputed by Hongi to destroy the Kaitangatu hapu who lived at Pekapeka on the shores of the inlet. Of the Kaitangatu only two children escaped". <sup>6</sup>

Further notable pa sites within the reserve are Kohutupapa Pa, Whititata Pa, and Pukekohukohu Pa. Kohutupapa Pa is located in Ranfurly Bay and appears to be part of an extended settlement that includes Whititata Pa. A populous Maori village was reported to be located here in the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>7</sup> This village settlement may have reflected seasonal movement of people from the gardening centre at Taupo Bay to this area where there was easy access to harvest the marine resources of the inner and outer harbour. Whititata Pa on the North Head of Pekapeka Bay is a strategically located at the entrance to the harbour and Pukekohukohu Pa overlooks Taupo Bay.<sup>8</sup> These pa sites have a traditional style of construction not designed to withstand gunfire, therefore they may have been built well before 1800.<sup>9</sup> All of these pa sites are located on high rocky headlands and knolls that provide excellent natural defences and only Whititata Pa and Pukekohukohu Pa have defensive ditches.<sup>10</sup>

In 1991 an extensive map of the notable sites and bays in the reserve was created by J. Robinson (fig 6). Additionally, research into written sources and early plans by J. Robinson indicates the location of several European sites in Pekapeka Bay. Early plans that provide

this information are Maori Land Plan 6695 of the Matakaraka Block and the Maori Land plan 7921 of the Taupo block. The plan of Matakaraka Block is dated 1899 and shows eleven faint penciled names along the southern side of Pekapeka Bay, along the shores of Waihi Bay and in the interior. The names were Pekapeka (P04/537), Kaingahoa (P04/538), Retapokaka (P04/537), Te Pua P04/541,-543). Waihi (P04/556), and Te Arero (P04/560). These named locations were visited by Robinson and were all found to contain archaeological features. The Taupo Block plan dates to 1912 and shows buildings in Tekomanga Bay and Te Rere Bay. Also fishing camps were noted in Ranfurly Bay and Te Hungarere Bay. Papertedly Ranfurly Bay contained a populous Maori village in early 1900.

"The people of Taupo Bay were accustomed to sojourn here for part of the year-spending planting time at Taupo Bay and fishing time at the heads". 13

There are reports that four whaling shore camps at Puwhara, Omahu, Ranfurly, <sup>14</sup> and Seasick Bays. <sup>15</sup> As reported by Robinson these may be the two sites in Puwhara and Omahu that contain terraces with steep scarps and stone alignments on the shoreline (P04/515, 516). Reportedly some of the whaling stations were associated with a Norwegian mother ship that was anchored off Puwhara and another in Ranfurly Bay, circa 1919:

"The crews lived ashore and cut into the hillside are terraces where they had their huts located. There are also a few peach trees located in the bays where they made their temporary homes". <sup>16</sup>

Seasick Bay was where the first station was located on the south-western arm. The operations were reportedly causing a nuisance and this was responsible for both the name of the bay and the transfer of activities to beyond the confined waters of the harbour.<sup>17</sup>

There is a geological map dated to 1909 which covers the Whangaroa to Kaeo District and shows the harbour in detail. Some of this detail includes gum digging camps west of Totara North, shanties up the tributaries of the Wairakau Stream and trails leading to Taupo Bay and Mangonui. One tributary of the Wairakau is called "dam CK". The suggestion that driving dams and therefore logging occurred in the valley is supported by historical accounts. Description of the Wairakau is called "dam CK".

Ranfurly Bay was named after the governor of that name, but its traditional name is Kohutupapa. It was the location of the "Mushroom Rocks" which have been eroded. These were a popular tourist attraction and in the early 1900's there was a populous Maori village located here.

The adjacent bay to the west is Hungarere or Lanes Bay which was named after the Lane family who gave much of their lives to the preservation of the scenic values of the harbour (fig 3). <sup>20</sup>



Figure 3: Taken from the Dukes Nose from left to right looking east towards Hangarere (Lanes Bay), Kohutupapa pa on the first headland, Ranfurly Bay and Whititata pa on the entrance headland (A. Blanshard DoC)

Next is Ngaone or Kelly's Bay which was named after an engineer at a timber mill, who was accustomed to spending much of his time there.<sup>21</sup> The following bay is Puwhara or Bannisters Bay. This is where the whaling station was located in 1919.

Omaanu or Poplar Bay is then followed by Waitepipi or Willow Bay. This has an area of it named after Ururoa, the victor of the battle of Okahumoko Pa. There is also a family cemetery here of the Maori people who used to own Taupo Block 24.

The next bay west is Tekomanga or Peartree Bay, it is said that in the days of Maori occupation it was the custom to hang corn on the tea tree racks to ripen in the sun. The Pakeha called it Pear Tree Bay, on account of the Pear tree located there.<sup>22</sup> It was here that the annual Whangaroa picnic used to be held.<sup>23</sup>

Peartree Bay is followed by Rere Bay that has Okahumoko pa located on its northern headland and then Lane Cove a secluded nook that has a DoC accommodation hut located on its shores (fig 4), was once the holiday home of the Lane family and was built by Solloway Lane in 1922. The Lane family has been in the Whangaroa since the 19<sup>th</sup> century and early settler William Lane's son Thomas Major Lane went into partnership with William Brown and established a celebrated shipyard and Kauri Timber Mill at Totara North in 1870.<sup>24</sup> Over a period of 40 years the shipyard built 120 vessels from schooners to three masters and local

vessels in what became the busiest shipyard in New Zealand. The mill was small in comparison to the two that operated on the opposite side of the harbour (The Auckland



Figure 4: lane Cove hut today (DoC)

Timber Mill Co and Wigmore and Co Mill), but by the mid 1880's they had a staff of 50,<sup>25</sup> and in its prime Lane and Brown's Mill generated a self-contained community,<sup>26</sup> in its small isolated harbour located beyond Otawhiri (Frears Point) and Motukauri Island. Solloway Lane worked with his family and other workers at the Lane and Brown Mill and he was also the Captain of the ship Maile in 1883 that was built in the Lane and Brown Shipyard. <sup>27</sup> Eventually the ship building enterprise of Lane and Brown became too small for all those in the two families who wanted to participate and in the early 1900's the business was split between the two families, the mill was now called Lane and sons. In time the Lanes built in Auckland after they realized Whangaroa was too remote for business.<sup>28</sup>

Before the hut is reached from Rere Bay there is the Wairakau Stream (Wairakau meaning "timber water") was used to float the trees that were cut and trimmed in the bush to the harbour. Other waterways that were used were the Kaeo and Pupuke. The streams were usually much larger than they are today.<sup>29</sup>

Accessible from the track that runs behind the Lane Cove hut is the Duke Nose (fig 5). This is a high rock outcrop named after its profile which resembles an aristocratic nose. Once the

climb is made there are stunning views of the harbour entrance and inland up the Wairakau Stream. During the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Maori occupation continued in Pekapeka Bay but European activities were reduced to irregular visits. It did however become a popular place to visit. Apart from hosting the annual Whangaroa picnic yachts and motor boat visits became more frequent.<sup>30</sup> The reserve was established in 1919 when the peninsula of land separating Pekapeka Bay from the sea was gazetted. Since then it has been progressively extended by the addition of various parcels of land culminating in the 1985 absorption of 1800ha of the Mangonui State Forest.<sup>31</sup>

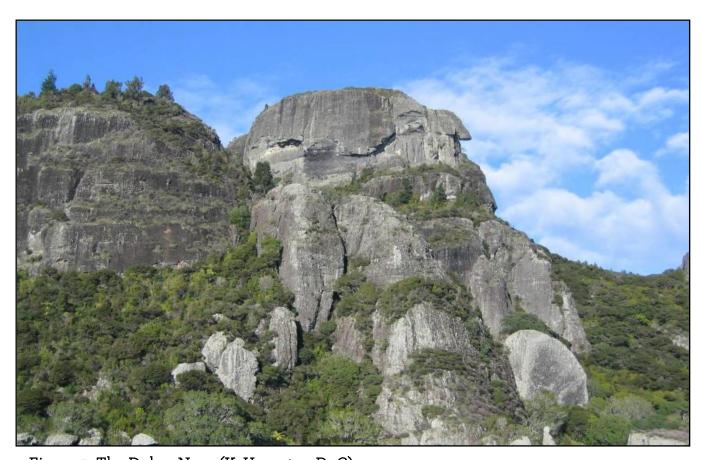


Figure 5: The Dukes Nose (K. Upperton DoC)

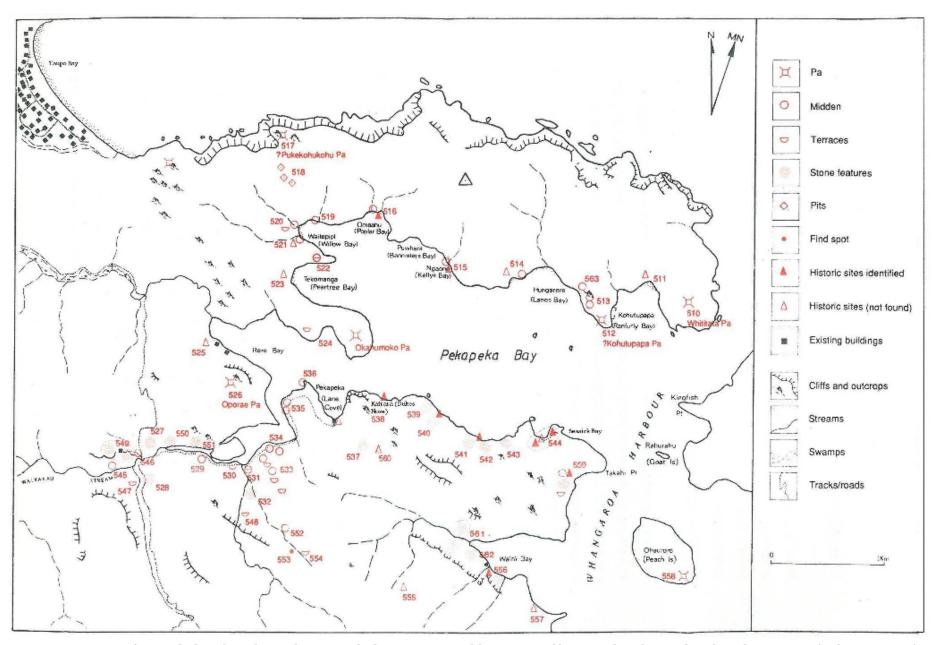


Figure 6: Map of recorded archaeological sites including names and locations of bays and pa located within the reserve (Robinson 1991)

# The Wider History of Whangaroa Harbour

Associated to the history of the Ranfurly Scenic Reserve is the wider history of Whangaroa Harbour. This history is largely derived from early accounts by European explorers and settlers. From these accounts we know that it was not until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century that the first European ships entered the harbour. However there is a map dated 1793, which shows the earliest reference to the harbour (fig 7). This was drawn by *Tuki* and *Huru* for the Governor, Phillip Gidley King of Norfolk Island. In this map it shows Whangaroa as "Whangar-ooa, supposed to contain 2000 fighting men".<sup>32</sup>

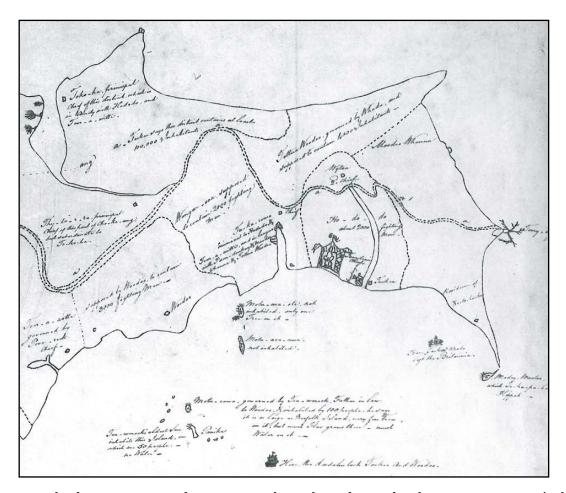


Figure 7: The first Maori map drawn in 1793 by Tuki and Huri for the Governor King (Sale 2006:38) Public Records Office London

Direct contact with the Whangaroa was made in 1807 by Captain Wilkinson in the sealer *Star* which later left with a young chief by the name of George or *Te Ara*. Later, George was recorded as being transferred to the ship *Boyd*. In 1808, Captain Ceroni in the brig *Commerce*, with the Bay of Islands chief Te Pahi on board, visited the harbour while on his voyage to Sydney. There is some evidence that on the wake of this visit an epidemic

occurred that killed many Whangaroa Maori including a chief, 'Kytoke'. It was said that Ceroni had dropped his watch, an alien item to Maori, into the sea which Maori believed to be a curse and the cause of the outbreak.<sup>33</sup>

In 1809 when the *Boyd* arrived at Whangaroa Harbour her crew and passengers, with the exception of a woman and two children, were killed. The reason usually given is that George, on his voyage with the *Boyd* was flogged on the captain's orders, an intolerable offence to Maori, and thus the ship was lured to the Harbour and avenged. Another less well known version given by a missionary from Paihia, William Williams is that it was not the ill-treatment of George but the epidemic attributed to European seaman, which resulted in the massacre. <sup>34</sup>

Whatever the cause the result was a decline in ships visiting Whangaroa and also the Bay of Islands after reports of the Boyd massacre began to spread as far as Sydney. Ships and European visits began to increase after 1814 when the Reverend Samuel Marsden with the chieftain Ruatara and Hongi Hika visited the Whangaroa in an attempt to settle tribal tensions.<sup>35</sup>

As a result of Marsden's visit to the harbour and the lack of threat to his life European visitors began to increase again. One of the first ship's to call was *HMS Dromedary* that entered the Whangaroa in 1820 to obtain kauri spars. The *Dromedary* stayed in the harbour for 5-6 months and in this time a road was built inland to access kauri. Many items were being exchanged during this time including ships biscuits, axes, hatchets, saws, spades, hoes and iron tools, so much so that as noted by an early visitor, Dr. Fairfowl "they (Maori) became over-stocked and indifferent to the items". The Maori traded the Europeans with hogs, potatoes, cabbages, turnips, peas and fish. With this increase in demand for foodstuffs ground had to be cleared for planting and fires were lit that got out of hand, so much that early explorer Cruise reported the whole country "in a blaze". The Maori traded the Europeans with early explorer Cruise reported the whole country "in a blaze". The Maori traded the Europeans with early explorer Cruise reported the whole country "in a blaze".

The Whangaroa had much to command it as a place for shipping to visit. It had timber, water and a population capable of providing food resources for trade. As Cruise remarks:

'One of the finest harbours in the world, the largest fleet might ride in it, and there is not a wind from which it is not sheltered'. $^{38}$ 

By the time missionaries arrived at Whangaroa the Maori people had learnt the advantages of having resident Europeans. Their women had a close knowledge of British men and the guns of the *Dromedary* had been demonstrated so they were well aware of the military resources that could be brought against them if they offended their visitors. Although Whangaroa had not felt European influence as fully as the Bay of Islands, the basic points of contact had been made.<sup>39</sup>

In 1823 the Wesleyan Church established one of New Zealand's earliest mission stations on the Kaeo River, but was obliged to withdraw after a few years owing to an ever present hostility of some of the Maoris. It was during these years that the chief Hongi Hika ravaged the district. Hongi Hika's war expedition reached Whangaroa in 1827. Hongi wanted to take the Whangaroa and make it a popular anchorage for visiting ships. Some local inhabitants fled immediately; others were driven off. As they left, Ngati Uru sacked the Wesleyan mission. But Hongi himself was the chief casualty; a ball from a musket, the weapon he had helped to introduce, passed through his chest. He died from his bullet wound on 3 March 1828, at Whangaroa.<sup>40</sup>

Whangaroa was again shunned until 1840, when the first permanent settlers arrived. In that year the Roman Catholic Church established a mission, still in existence, at Waitaruke, near the head of Whangaroa Harbour. The immigrant ship *Lancashire Witch* arrived in 1865, and progress commenced in the timber and kauri gum industry. Shipbuilding began in 1872 when Lane and Brown erected yards at Totara North. Milling was carried on by Christie and Wiggins and, later, by the Kauri Timber Co. By the 1880's Whangaroa had become one of the most prosperous and heavily populated parts of Northland.<sup>41</sup>

# Fabric Description

An extensive survey by J. Robinson of the reserve area in 1991 resulted in valuable information of the archaeology of the Ranfurly Bay Scenic Reserve. The fabric is made up of built Maori and European heritage. These are pa sites or fortified villages, extensive midden remains, a sign of intensive food procurement, terraces, which indicate living areas where structures were located, pits for food storage during the winter months and stone heaps and rows which are signs of land clearance and gardening.

The pa sites around Pekapeka Bay have a traditional style of construction not designed to withstand gunfire and are likely to have been built before 1800 and are examples of the archaeological remains of the pre-European Maori. Eleven pits are ocated within the reserve and are in three groups along 100m of a ridge that runs northward from Waitepipi Bay. Overall the pits range in size from 3-8m long, 1-3m wide and 0.8 to 2m deep.<sup>42</sup> Pits were used for storage of kumara and other root crops over the winter months and their distribution is likely to closely mirror that of gardening activity. Pits were usually covered with a pitched thatched roof with supporting beams.

There are numerous undefended sites that comprise of terraces cut into ridges and slopes and a range of features constructed from or faced with stone including terraces, mounds or rows. Together these are commonly associated with habitation, gardening and fishing activities<sup>43</sup>. Undefended sites are located along the southern side of Pekapeka Bay and on both sides of Waihi Bay. The sites are small and contain only a few features, for example small stone faced terraces 2-5m long, stone paths, and the odd stone mound or row. Their size and location to the shoreline suggests an association with fishing rather than gardening and is supported by historical evidence of fishing camps in the area.<sup>44</sup>

Further undefended settlements are found on the floor of river valleys and on moderate slopes behind the larger bays and cut into ridges and hill slopes within the Wainiwha valley and around Waitepipi Bay. One site on the eastern slopes behind lane Cove consists of ten stone faced terraces, thirty-one stone mounds and four stone rows a site likely to be associated with gardening on and around the stone mounds.<sup>45</sup>

Within the reserve midden sites are the largest and most numerous sites represented (fig 8). These are found in association with other sites and can be largely seen around the coastline and in the banks of the Wairakau and Waihi streams. Overall midden in the reserve is made up of cockle, pipi, a few gastropods, oyster and paua.<sup>46</sup>



Figure 8: Midden spilling down the banks along the Wairakau stream track in the Ranfurly Bay Scenic Reserve (A.Blanshard DoC)

The fabric of the European occupation is represented by terraces and stone alignments in Puwhara, Omahu, said to be remnants of whaling activities and also the Lane Cove hut now a popular accommodation hut within the reserve.

It was beyond the scope of this report to conduct an extensive archaeological survey of the reserve to update sites recorded in 1991. Sites are expected to be in good condition and protected as they are located in a reserve which has low human impact. As noted by Robinson in 1991 pig rooting and vegetation growth are the main causes for site damage. Erosion is also a destructive process that occurs overtime to sites. In the Ranfurly Bay Scenic Reserve this is an issue on the banks that line the track along the valley floor, where high amounts of midden spill down the sides and over the track.

The lane cove hut is part of Whangaroa's early built history and represents an influential and well known family of the time in Whangaroa. Today the hut is popular visitor's location with many families having stayed there for generations.

### Cultural Connections

The people that traditionally settled the land around Pekapeka Bay, which consists of a major proportion of the reserve, were the *Kaitangatu hapu*, the *Ngati Kawau hapu*, and the *Te Whanau Pane hapu*, who are relocated today at *Matangirau* and *Touwai* on the eastern side of the Whangarei Harbour.<sup>47</sup>

Te Runanga o Whangaroa are the people connected to the pa and Taratara's rock. The site is also connected to the descendants of the founding families and consecutive settlers and also to all New Zealanders as part of their country's early formative history.

### National Context

The archaeological sites within the reserve are common in Northland. Pa sites are located on headlands and hilltops along the coast and river systems. Terraces, pits and midden are also a dominant archaeological site. Stone terracing rows and mounds representative of gardening activities are not as common in the archaeological record but regionally there are examples outside the Ranfurly Bay Scenic Reserve.

Overall the sites within the reserve are not rare and are well represented in the Northland archaeological record. As a whole however the reserve is a complete archaeological landscape which is rare and becoming rarer in New Zealand:

"Intensified land development and subdivision are changing the rural and urban terrain so rapidly that only remnants of the landscapes relating to the 500 years of Maori settlement and the subsequent 100 years of joint Maori and colonial settlement will survive into the 21<sup>st</sup> century".<sup>48</sup>

The Ranfurly Bay Scenic Reserve is considered to be one of these "remnants" and its effective management including iwi involvement is central to ensure future preservation.

The reserve as an environmental and cultural unit is relatively undisturbed and the fact that such a large archaeological landscape is preserved such as this one is significant in itself. The surrounding history that the reserve is located in represents New Zealand's early formational history and is some of New Zealand's earliest accounts of European and Maori contact and the area within the reserve is an intrinsic part of this.

# Historic Significance

The Ranfurly Bay Scenic Reserve is historically significant as part of one of New Zealand's earliest European settlements and as an intact archaeological landscape that informs on the prehistory and history of the land area.

# Fabric Significance

The Ranfurly Bay Scenic Reserve is a complete archaeological landscape which in the sought after coastline of the north is a rarity. The opportunity the reserve poses as a relatively undisturbed area as an environmental and cultural unit is rare and the fact that such a large archaeological landscape is preserved is significant in itself. The most significant aspect of the European fabric is the Lane Cove hut built by the Lane family who added greatly to the history of the Whangaroa. The hut today is a valuable asset to the Department of Conservation as a popular visitor destination.

# Cultural Significance

The site is culturally significant to Te Runanga o Whangaroa to the descendants of the early European settlers and to the Whangaroa region and all New Zealander's as part of their early history.

# Management Recommendations

• Management of the midden spilling down the banks of the track. Although this is hard to prevent, a salvage excavation may be beneficial in these areas.

### Management Chronology

- 1919 the reserve was first established when the peninsula of land separating Pekapeka Bay from the sea was gazetted.
- Over time the reserve has increased in size by the addition of various parcels of land.
- 1985 saw the absorption of 1800ha of the Mangonui State Forest into the reserve.

### Management Documentation

Current historic DoC management file numbers: <u>HHA-01-02-01-01</u> NLB-1 17/03/1942 Northland - **Bay** of Islands Area Office - **Ranfurly Bay** - Research and Assessments <u>HHA-01-02-01-02</u> NLB-1 01/01/1976 - 25/08/2006 Northland - **Bay** of Islands Area Office - **Ranfurly Bay** - Archaeological Site Records <u>HHA-01-02-01-02</u> NLB-2 30/08/1990 <u>HHA-01-02-01-03</u> NLB-1 01/01/1999 Northland - **Bay** of Islands Area Office - **Ranfurly Bay** - Maps

Heritage assessment: 1002689

Baseline inspection: Robinson. J., 1991. Whangaroa Archaeological Survey: An interim on fieldwork in the Ranfurly Bay Scenic Reserve. Department of Conservation, Northland Conservancy.

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### **ENDNOTES**

<sup>1</sup> Findlay Hay 2009

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

<sup>3</sup> Robinson, J. 1991: 5

<sup>4</sup> Sale, E.V2006:2

<sup>5</sup> Op cit: Sale.E.V:14

<sup>6</sup> Op cit: Sale, E.V:14,15).

<sup>7</sup> Op cit: Sale. E.V

<sup>8</sup> Robinson.J, 1991:SRF P04/512

<sup>9</sup> Op cit: Robinson. J, 14

<sup>10</sup> Op cit: Robinson: SRF P04/512

<sup>11</sup> *Op cit:* Robinson:13

 $^{\scriptscriptstyle 12}$  Ibid

<sup>13</sup> *Op cit:* Sale. E.V:16

<sup>14</sup> *Op cit:* Sale. E.V :14

<sup>15</sup> Op cit: Sale. E.V

 $^{16}$  ibid

 $^{17}\ ibid$ 

<sup>18</sup> Bell and Clarke 1909

<sup>19</sup> Sale N D:volume 6

<sup>20</sup>Op cit: Sale. E.V.

<sup>21</sup> *Op cit:* Sale. E.V:17

<sup>22</sup>Op cit:Sale. E.V :15

<sup>23</sup> *Op cit:* Sale.E.V:16

<sup>24</sup> *Op cit:* Sale. E.V:96

<sup>25</sup> Op cit: Sale. E.V

<sup>26</sup>Op cit: Sale. E.V:120

<sup>27</sup> Ibid

 $^{28}$  Ibid

<sup>29</sup> Ibid

<sup>30</sup> *Op cit:* Sale.E.V:iv;9,15

<sup>31</sup> *Op cit:* Robinson:3

<sup>32</sup> *Op cit:* Sale. E.V:36

<sup>33</sup> Owens. J.M.R 1974:35

 $^{34}$  ibid

<sup>35</sup> Op cit: Owens. J.M.R:36

<sup>36</sup> HRNZ, vol. I, p. 551

<sup>37</sup> Cruise.R.A,1820: 168

<sup>38</sup> *Op cit:* Cruise:66-67

<sup>39</sup> *Op cit:*Owens. J.M.A:38

<sup>40</sup> Ballara 2010

<sup>41</sup> McLintock. A.H, 2009

<sup>42</sup> Op cit: Robinson. J.:9

<sup>43</sup> Op cit: Robinson. J.:11

44 ibid

45 ibid

46 ibid

<sup>47</sup> *Op cit:* Robinson. J. 1991:3: Te Aniwa Hona pers comm.

<sup>48</sup> Allen 2010:157