

BETWEEN PEOPLE AND THINGS  
Understanding Violence and Theft in early New  
Zealand transactions

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for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

By Annette Wilkes

University of Canterbury  
*Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha*  
*Christchurch*  
*New Zealand*  
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## Abstract

In this thesis some Māori-Māori and Māori-European transactions in pre-colonial New Zealand are examined in detail to establish why physical violence resulted although violence had not been the intention. A methodology adapted from those developed by Brass (1997) and Wilson (2008) for investigating violence has been used. The aim was to identify who were the social actors at key turning points in the sequences, what initiated the sequences and what eventually caused them to stop. Thus the focus of the analysis was to find which motivating factors influenced the actors' decision making and caused the situations to evolve in the way they did. Using archival material, sailor and missionary journals, indigenous narratives, oral literature, genealogical and artifact records both Māori and European ways of 'seeing' and 'knowing' the world have been compared for evidence that ontological disjunction may have been a source of poor decision making. Competing notions of what constitutes theft are explored as one aspect of such disjunctions, because in all the transactions the initiating circumstance involved an action that could have been perceived as theft. Yet in addition to being a source of misunderstanding in the local cases described, theft is also shown to interfere with the social relationships of individuals and groups, diminishing their self-esteem and affecting their *mana*. It is this component of decision-making that is shown to have been crucial in provoking violence in all the New Zealand cases described. In turn the relationships between *mana*, honour and theft have been linked to contemporary records about the character and personality characteristics of the social actors who have been implicated in the violent actions. This suggests that Anton Blok's notion of "Honour and Violence" applies cross-culturally, and equally, to early New Zealand as it does to the Northern Hemisphere examples he has used, and that further cross-cultural investigations of this connection may "allow us to reach some measure of transcultural understanding" (2001: 11). Furthermore, the results of this study also strongly suggest that preventing physical violence, promoting and negotiating peace require that *mana* and honour should be acknowledged.

# INTRODUCTION

## Thesis Aims and Background

When the Pākehas got to the top of the hill they waved a white handkerchief to make peace. I could not get up the hill fast – the young men ran before me, shooting and cutting down Pākehas as they ran away. I called to them to spare the gentlemen, but Rangihaeata coming up behind me at the time said, "why save – they have shot your daughter." When I heard that my voice failed me. Rangihaeata got up the hill and all the Pākehas were killed (From Te Rauparaha's account of the Wairau affray 1/07/1843 before William Spain Commissioner for Land Claims)<sup>1</sup>.

Te Rangihaeata and his father-in-law Te Rauparaha lined up their warriors on one side of the Tuamarina stream, on land they had but recently conquered from the Rangitāne. On the other side of the stream New Zealand Company representative Captain Arthur Wakefield and police magistrate Thompson had arrived to support the survey of land, subject at that time, of a current legal claim by the chiefs who said that they had never sold it. A petition was already before the land court, and the chiefs had become impatient because the survey was proceeding without the matter being resolved, so they pulled out the survey pegs, burnt the hut and equipment, and escorted the surveyor Cotterill and his boatman to their boat at the mouth of the Wairau. Wakefield and Thompson had already convicted them, in what Mitchell & Mitchell describe as a Nelson "kangaroo court", and then attempted to evict the Māori people from their camp, on arson charges. About 30 Europeans – mainly untrained young 'constables' from Nelson – were killed, including Wakefield, together with about six Māori. It has been claimed that Te Rauparaha's daughter (Te Rangihaeata's wife) Te Rongo had been the first to die – in the cross-fire – as she stooped to arrange the stones on her hāngi (Mitchell & Mitchell, 2004: 323-4; Burns, 1980: 242).

Incidents such as that just described are exemplary of the issues that this thesis examines: perceptions of ownership and payment, perceptions of what is an appropriate response to injustice, the role of differing world-views, the effects of these as motivators in the decision-making of persons of particular ages, ranks, and personalities, and the consequent often violent responses to such decisions. Though the Wairau incident involved Māori-European interactions and transactions in New Zealand after the official establishment of Western colonial legal systems, this thesis demonstrates that the issues do not seem fundamentally different from those operating before and since, here, in other parts of the world, or in close parts of the Pacific

region during the period 1642 to 1860. I argue that, as Bruno Latour has stated, “We have never been Modern” (1999), in our human social responses to situations that we perceive as threatening our lives, our land, resources and *mana*, for all of these are socially entwined. It is the way that we *perceive* these things – the ontological lenses through which we view them – that influences our decision-making processes at key transition points in intercultural episodes, and often causes events to erupt into violence.

In short, the thesis interrogates how misunderstandings of inter-cultural transactions led sometimes to perceptions and accusations of theft, injustice, and unfairness by indigenous people and their European counterparts- male sailors and marines, naval officers and sealers. Such perceptions and accusations usually led to violence. These matters stand at the intersection of a number of discourses in both anthropology and history. The theoretical components of these discourses include writings on the Anthropology of Violence, Transaction and Gifting, Enlightenment Philosophies, and Māori Epistemology. The historical time frame chosen here begins with the arrival at Rakahanga in the Cook Islands of Pedro Quirós in 1606, and ends around 1860, when early colonial interactions were well underway in Aotearoa and other parts of the Pacific. This period has been chosen to encompass the very early ‘first encounters’ between Europeans and some of the indigenous peoples of New Zealand and the closer Pacific. It also includes that period when missionaries and others recorded oral traditions and narratives dictated by ‘illiterate’ indigenous people. As in the aforementioned incident of the “Wairau affray”, after which chief Te Rauparaha’s own evidence was recorded by a land court reporter, other indigenous people also recorded their observations of cultural practices surviving since ‘first contact.’

### *Evidence used*

Readings of ships’ journals reveal which items were transacted, human interactive behavioural responses (including violent episodes), and contemporary interpretations made by the writers at the time of those episodes. These records from ship’s officers and seamen show that most New Zealand and Pacific transactions between Europeans and indigenous peoples were complicated by instances of physical violence and what Europeans termed ‘theft’. All the ship’s journal accounts available for the voyages of Quirós, Tasman, Cook, de Surville, D’Entrecasteaux, D’Urville,

Bligh, Christian, Bellingshausen and Vancouver to New Zealand, the Chatham, Austral and Northern Cook Islands, and the accounts of crew and passengers have been examined for details of interactions with indigenous peoples. From analysis of these reported transaction incidents it has been possible to identify which people, situations and contexts initiated the violence, what maintained it and what caused it to cease. The analytical method used has been modified from those recommended and used in their separate investigations of recent violent intercultural episodes by Chris Wilson (Indonesia, 2008), and Paul Brass (India, 1997).

Much of the evidence used in analysis and interpretation of the transactional sequences that turned violent, the actors' motivations and their decision-making, stems from the journals of men 'crewing' on European ships. Primarily, the parties to these transactions were tough men subject to naval customs and discipline who had been at sea, isolated from their natal communities and women for years, and were in the service of King George IV of England and his successor Victoria, or – in the case of sealers – of his merchant colonial service; and male warriors dedicated from birth to *Tu-matāuenga*, God of war, who were defending the *mana* and *tapu* of land and lineage in their own country. Thus, the violence that occurred between these disparate groups of men was male violence in which the part played by women was significant, although (in the cases described in this thesis), there is no clear evidence that women were the direct decision makers.

The example of violence at Wairau with which this introduction opened constituted male violence in which the death of a woman became the trigger for the violence to commence. Similarly, prior to the Kaiapoi battle (Chapter 5), the consumption by Ngati Toa of the corpse of Tamaiharanui's deceased aunt became an aggravating factor in the violence that erupted. Both situations involved violence against a woman and a network of relationships. In the Kaiapoi case, a matriarch who had borne responsibility for continuity of the lineage, and the violence against her provoked Ngai Tahu into an *utu* response. At Open Bay and at Otakou (Chapter 6), where some Ngai Tahu men killed some sealers, the issue was how much influence that the amenability or otherwise of affinal relationships between sealers Perkins & Honoré – or Tucker – and their Ngai Tahu wives had upon the disposition of the Ngai Tahu warriors who attacked these sealers. They told their people that this was for *utu* reasons. At Queen Charlotte Sound (Chapter 7), George Forster, ethnographer aboard Cook's *HMS Resolution*, reported that women were brought aboard the ship and “ ...

some among them submitted with reluctance to this vile prostitution and but for the menaces of their men would not have complied” (J. G. A. Forster, 2000 [1775]: Vol. 1, p. 121). Such activity was one component of the transactions that took place, but there is no direct evidence that either the women or their procurers were dissatisfied with any imbalance in value of items they received reciprocally, so *utu* appears not to have been an issue in this case. However these sexual transactions provoked Captain Furneaux of *HMS Adventure* into expressing concern to Captain Cook about the prevalence of venereal disease amongst the men and the effects that this may have had on the Maori people. Upon the return of Cook and Furneaux, Maori may indeed have perceived that the illness was due to the European visit, angering the gods, or was a *tohu* or warning sign about interactions with them for which *utu* must be paid (Chapter 7). Therefore, although the archival evidence is that transactional violence in all the cases described was effected by men, the forms of violence against women, just described, probably constituted at least part of the context in which Maori men made decisions for a violent *utu* response against the Europeans. More generally (though not in the cases involving sailors and sealers that are described here) it was accepted that Maori women could be active agents in provoking *utu* responses to violence of various kinds. They achieved this through performance and creativity, such as was the case with the cloak Pareraututu, used to shame the men into retributive action for lives lost in a former battle (Chapter 4). Sometimes – as for the girl presented to Te Rauparaha together with the female *hei tiki* Te Maungārongo (Chapter 4) – women embodied precious lineages and land as prestations to terminate violent sequences, thereby paying *utu* to effect lasting peace. This was also apparent when *takawaenga* (inter-iwi alliance) marriages were contracted for the same purpose (Chapter 9). Therefore, even though women were not usually the decision makers in the transactions described here as having turned violent, women are seen as having influenced the context in which the violence took place, and also the context in which it ceased. Such male violence was involved in all the cases presented in this thesis.

Whilst representations in the journals describe how each observer ‘saw’ and interpreted ‘what happened’, they are also coloured by the way in which the writers wished to be seen by their superiors and by the public in their own countries when they returned home. This politically motivated impression management was not the same for all the journalists. It can therefore be shown that because of their differing ages, ranks and perspectives, many ‘thefts’ and violent incidents were observed and

reported differently by ‘other’ people. Available documentation such as official Admiralty correspondence, personal letters and wills, that are peripheral to the voyage accounts, have contributed towards clarifying peoples’ motivations and personalities. By comparing them, all of this makes it possible to obtain a clearer idea of what happened. Bronwen Douglas (1998), and Serge Tcherkézoff (2004), have both argued that by close reading of various European eyewitness accounts ‘against the grain’, it is possible to deconstruct them and tease out some understandings of what actually happened. The aim has been to interpret what the journals have said, in the light of primary ethnographic and cultural sources, recent insights from current cultural practices (that have been more or less historically continuous), and from more recent literature pertaining to violent transactions elsewhere.

Objects transacted, and reports about how they were exchanged, combined with early ethnographic information about their customary usage, help clarify the socio-cultural meanings encompassed in the transaction processes that often led to violence. Prior investigations of early interactions between Europeans and Māori have already indicated that some degree of violence was a result (Wilkes, 2008). It appears that this violence ensued from epistemological misunderstandings between Māori and Europeans of the transaction process and objects, and the physical and social environmental contexts of the transactions. Documented cases from New Zealand, the Chatham, Austral and Cook Islands are analysed and compared in this investigation. The analysis shows that violence has resulted from accusations by Europeans and Maori of theft, or from unjust behaviour and cultural misunderstanding. The interpretation of such cases utilises the findings of more recent empirical studies and theoretical approaches to the anthropologies of violence, as well as European and indigenous primary sources.

Therefore in addition to the analysis and comparison of violent episodes, the European and Māori philosophies and praxes are investigated (as far as possible for the particular areas). These would have informed the various reactions (including violence) of the social actors. Social actors’ customary understandings and practices would have influenced their perceptions of the value and meanings of transacted objects and of the interactions where they were used. It will therefore be argued that the representations of ‘dishonest’ and violent episodes are dependant upon the perceived nature of the things and ideas being transacted. The contexts in which the transactions took place, and prior cultural/epistemological understandings and

ontologies which each of the parties brought with them to the encounters would also have influenced their perceptions during transactions. As Clammer et al. have noted “[it is in]... the cosmologies or ontological conceptions upon which a culture is ultimately based, and in the friction between... in a pluralistic world, [that] conflict is generated (2004: 3).

Such detailed comparative analysis of the issues that led to violent outcomes is under-represented in the ethno-historical literature for the Pacific region. Furthermore, in the current climate where cultural differences have been emphasised (and often essentialised), universal features of human behavioural responses have been omitted from the analysis. This omission detracts from any possibility that might enable better comprehension of inter-cultural transactions and their frequently violent outcomes. It is therefore hoped that this investigation will add an anthro-historical dimension to the theoretical approaches to the anthropology of violence more generally.

### *Chapter reviews and thesis structure*

This thesis could therefore be divided into two principal parts:

*Chapters one to four* outline pertinent theoretical aspects of History, Anthropology and Violence, together with issues of methodology and interpretation. These include aspects of the Maori and European ontological worlds containing Maori understandings of *taonga* (treasured objects) whose usage during transaction events reveals something about how their owners understood their world during the times and events being described.

*Chapters five to nine* contain detailed analytical case studies in which different kinds of transactional situations that eventually led to violence are examined. In each case the situational context, the immediate initiating circumstances, the turning points in the sequence that led to violence, the social actors involved, and possible motivations for the decision-making that led to violence – or caused it to cease – are all described and summarised. The New Zealand case studies were chosen from the South Island and Chatham Island.

The chronological sequence in which these cases appear within the narrative is counter-intuitive. However, in order to establish a temporally late baseline for ‘traditional’ Maori practices it was necessary to select a Maori *rohe* (traditional territory) from which detailed indigenous *and* European narratives were available about Maori-Maori transactional violence that was substantially unaffected by

Christian or European influences. Since missionary activity proper commenced rather later in the South Island than in the North Island, and there were less complicating factors in terms of number of *iwi* (tribes) – with the possibility of locally different ontologies and praxes – the area chosen was the South Island, and the transaction sequence that turned violent and was chosen for the baseline was the first Kaiapoi battle (c. 1828, in Chapter 5). Analysis of this battle between Ngai Tahu *iwi* groups and the Southern North Island Ngati Toa alliance, is then followed by three chapters in which transaction events between Maori and Sealers (1826 & 1817, in Chapter 6), Maori and British naval personnel (1771, in Chapter 7), and between Moriori and naval personnel are analysed and described (1791, in chapter 8). It was therefore the necessity of establishing the baseline mentioned above, and then the categories of European ‘others’ with whom Maori were interacting that determined both the selection of cases, and the apparently ‘reverse’ chronological order of their appearance in the sequence.

*Chapter one* discusses theoretical viewpoints and a methodology of textual interpretation. The viewpoints discussed belong to: History, Anthropology, and Anthro-history. Historical and working relationships of these disciplines and the tension between historical and social science approaches are examined, and the use of particular sources (including oral histories) is justified. Four aspects that seem to be pertinent to the interpretation of early encounter situations described here are: the overlap of interest between history and social science, which determines the methodology to be used; the idea of dynamic contexts; the limitations of texts as representations of what ‘really happened’; and the role of culture. I argue for a ‘history-in-the-round’, incorporating perspectival views of the same subject/objects and actions. In this view historians and anthropologists need not agree upon one approach to historical interpretation nor on one method of representation of the past, because all perspectives count, in fleshing out what is essentially informed guesswork. What each discipline finds can be used to counterbalance and check the other. This applies equally to oral, visual and written records, observations and accounts. No one theory fits all cases, some work together in some situations or times, and all insights deserve consideration. Sometimes it is a case, not of ‘either-or’, but of ‘both-and’. Too many truths are missed because of the habitual use of a Western legal adversarial approach to problem solving. An example is the competing notions we have of time and history. A methodology incorporating insights from Māori and European

discourse will be discussed. I did not invent this methodology, but have chosen it because it seems ethically sound and insightful for the reasons described above. Bronwen Douglas (1998) and Serge Tcherkézoff (2004) have used it for the Western and Eastern Pacific cases respectively, so I follow their example. Any mis-interpretations or ‘deviations from the true path’ are, of course, my own!

*Chapter two* reviews the history of theoretical approaches to violence with some cases that have been used to justify them. It details more recent approaches and insights into the violence process that can be gained from various studies of the (Western) Anthropology of Violence. Recent, historical, and empirical studies of violent outbreaks in other parts of the world, including in India, and Indonesia were considered for the contribution they could make to analytical methods that seem relevant for the cases to be analysed in this study. Such recent studies consider the subjectivity of violence. They try to establish who or what starts the violence, how subjects experience it, what maintains it, and what eventually causes it to stop. Many empirical studies of intercultural violence have taken place in modern nation-states. These deal with violence on a very large scale, but it remains possible to see in them features of the ‘violence-process’, the subjective experience for participants, and the ways in which they come to understand and rationalise its meaning. The findings of these studies appear to apply equally to full-scale wars, large riots, coups, and even to small-scale skirmishes. They suggest commonalities with the historical cases I have examined for New Zealand’s South Island region. Such more recent approaches to the study and interpretation of violence – the processual and subjective aspects – will then be used in chapters five to nine, to interpret evidence of violence that is represented in the primary source material of sailors journals, and where possible, indigenous sources. The possibly universal characteristics of the violence process described by Das, Kleinman et al. (1997), Schmidt & Schröder (2001), and Trnka (2008); and the role of human personality and agency described by Jackson (2005) can be shown as being connected with the ideas of blood, honour and violence that are described by Blok (2001). Furthermore, all these aspects of violence and its interpretation provide good comparative material for reflection upon a situation that, for Māori, involves the principles of *tapu*, *mana* and *utu*.

*Chapter three* considers how conflicting ontological worlds contribute to intercultural misunderstandings. It examines the thesis articulated by Clammer, Poirier & Schwimmer (2004: 3), that violence often originates from ontological and

epistemological disjunctions when different cultures interact within nation states. In this chapter the differing epistemologies of Māori and Europeans in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and the different ontological worlds they occupied are compared. I suggest that the issue noted by Clammer et al. is not confined to nation states, nor to the modern world, but is based upon an assumption that there is only one world, and that one group's understanding of it is the correct one. Conversely, those who do not conform to the 'one world' view are 'wrong' (2004). Sorenson recommends "... inquiries into truth that are not beholden to the sense-of-truth of any one particular culture" (1998: 79; cf. Descola & Palsson, 1996: 9), and we should "take [other] peoples' justifications seriously" including within our own culture (Boltanski & Thévenot, cited in Dodier, 1993: 567). At cultural boundaries where transactions occur, we cannot understand what is happening "without coming to terms with the discourse[s that these boundaries] enclose" (A.P.Cohen, 1994: 129). Salmond's statement that "Western thought is often closed by premises of intellectual superiority... and the process of opening Western knowledge to traditional rationalities has hardly begun" foreshadowed the claims of all those just mentioned. However, descriptions of the encounters and transactions in her major works (1991, 1997) have not focused specifically on a comparative study of violence, per se; nor particularly upon the cultural misunderstandings of 'exchange objects' and their agency in the transaction process, which this investigation seeks to demonstrate (cf. Hēnare, et al, 2007, Thomas, 1994). Neither has Salmond used more general recent insights about the violence process to elaborate upon these issues.

To clarify the ontological disjunctions that exist between Māori and Europeans the Māori and European knowledge systems as they existed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are examined and compared. The Māori cosmological world of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, their understandings of the nature of the physical world, their biological, physical and spiritual relationships, and their understanding of history, were very different from those of Europeans of that time. Primary sources and more recent interpretations of them were utilised in the research for this chapter to establish what Māori theories of knowledge might have 'looked like' at the turn of the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries. The semantics of Māori 'texts' such as traditional chants, expose the relational mode and hence the implications, of word usage and meanings. They give insights into the meanings of key Māori words and concepts, like *mana*, *tapu*, *mauri*, and *tohu*, metaphorical expressions of the Māori

worldview, and particular understandings of violence and its processes. Furthermore, *korero tuku iho* (speech handed down), *whaikōrero* (oratory), *pūrākau* (myths), *pakiwaitara* (stories/scandal), *tito* (lies or gossip), and *whakapapa* (genealogies) of people and things are all considered here in their social function of constructing understandings about others, the world, and violent events that people observe (cf. Salmond, 1985: 249-250; Tau, 2003: 17). All these facets of discourse are seen as being essential for understanding Māori ontologies and for interpreting Māori-European transactions and violent events. Therefore Māori oral literature and Māori interpretations of it, give access to Māori epistemology and the ideas which underpin it, and also to the ways that Māori could have generated discourse as a component of the violence processes that are examined in this thesis.

European ontologies, and changes they were undergoing during the period being described, are also considered in this chapter; rational, secular and enlightenment discourses that helped explain the world being explored and ‘discovered’ are compared with Māori ones. Ideas that influenced their treatment and understanding of the *tāngata whenua* are also discussed: concepts of what it is to be human, whether all humans had equal moral and territorial rights, how they fitted into the ‘grand scheme of things’, and what the relationship was between humans and the natural world. In all these facets of European ‘seeing and knowing’ there were conflicting understandings with Māori.

*Chapter four* includes descriptions of Māori material records, ‘things as social actors’ and also the role they played historically for Māori and Europeans as mediators and interpreters of social behaviour. Theories of transaction, including those of economic anthropologists like Godelier are utilised, together with gifting theories including those of Mauss, Strathern, Thomas and Weiner. Interpretations of early ethnographic material ‘things’ from New Zealand are used and this is done in the light of Māori ontologies as well as ‘Western’ theories of gifting, in order to establish whether mutual misunderstandings of the “figured worlds” inhabited by Europeans and Māori could have been part of the triggering context of any violence that occurred. The objects referred to in the journals range from food items such as fish, *kūmara*, pork, and ship’s biscuit to iron nails, fishhooks, greenstone, wooden weapons and fine cloaks. The natural environment (also an object) included land, sea, weather phenomena like winds and clouds, celestial phenomena such as comets, aurora, eclipses, and dynamic relationships between the sun, the moon, and the stars.

Many smaller 'exchange' objects still exist, and where cultural practices can be shown to have been continuous, the way in which Māori people now regard them can also give insights into the meanings that are likely to have been attached to them by their Māori donors. These 'things' exchanged between Māori and European had different meanings in different transactions, for different people, and changed their meanings over time (Appadurai, 1986: 26). In New Zealand the principal material items given by Europeans (apart from 'trifles') were Tahitian bark-cloth, clothing, and later, iron implements, axes, nails and fish-hooks. They were exchanged for woven fabric (i.e. cloaks & mats), weapons (spears, ceremonial axes, clubs), 'curiosities' (ornaments, fish hooks etc.) and food (fish & kumara). This chapter examines some exchange objects and attempts to expose the multiple and layered meanings, they may have had for the Māori people who gave or exchanged them. These meanings are also significant because functionally similar European things, and exchange items similar in appearance or properties, are likely to have been interpreted by their Māori recipients as being functionally similar to their own. Therefore, a number of such items have been traced in museums, art galleries and private collections, and where possible their histories have been gathered, to assist in the interpretation of meanings that particular intercultural interactions may have had for both parties. This includes the possibility that they were misunderstood. The usage, the *kōrero* that objects are 'wrapped' in, and their complex trajectories also help to clarify their agency as social actors in the various transactions where they were involved. Of particular interest are items that could have been considered by either party as aggressive, challenging, or involved in violence, on the one hand (such as weapons), or as symbols of peace (such as offerings of food) on the other.

The Western categories of 'gift' and 'commodity' are used primarily for 'objects'; and the categories 'exchange', 'barter' and 'trade' are used for what people do with them. These categories remain useful and were widely used in earlier expositions of what happened when people of different cultures met and interacted with each other. The Europeans usually thought that they were 'giving presents', receiving them, or 'trading'. In 'trading', one had to be watching out for 'others' who might be taking an 'unfair advantage' and even, 'cheating' or 'stealing'. Moral judgements placed upon the activities were accompanied by a sense of righteous outrage by those persons who had lost something, and this frequently led to violent action by those who felt aggrieved. They presumed that the 'others' made the same

moral and value judgements and had the same understanding of what the ‘proper’ protocols for the interaction were. Enlightenment Moral Philosophy was allied to the assumptions that ‘others’ may be less well developed in the socio-cultural evolutionary sense, and hence were savages. However, as the ‘children’ of the one God everyone should know right from wrong, and be punished accordingly if they erred. There was little cognisance of the fact that the ‘others’ may not be operating from the same epistemological position at all and may not have the same notion of ‘property’. In this thesis I interrogate the idea of ontological disjunction as a source of conflict which frequently led to violence, especially in the way that the items themselves, and the manner of their transaction may have been differently understood by the people involved with them. Any contested meaning that an object had, might have led to misunderstanding about the intentions of the other party to the transaction, and could thus have led to violence.

One way of conceptualising things and the transactions that they are involved in, is to regard them as an embodiment of relationships, with the actions where they are involved as a performance, being done to enhance the quality of those relationships and build alliances with ‘others’, either gods or humans (cf. Babadzan, 2003; Mauss, 1950; Pedersen, 2007; Tcherkézoff, 2004). The quality or value of the relationships thus formed must therefore be dependant upon the perceived value of the ‘thing’, its ‘ceremony of transaction’, and upon any expectation of a lasting alliance that they might come to embody. The specific cases of transaction, how value was attributed to these things, how it was interpreted, and by whom, are all examined here. It is suggested that this attribution of value is allied to concepts of honour and status in the Western world, and *mana* in the Polynesian world. *Whakapapa*/ genealogy, *tapu*/sacredness of blood and soil are included in the ontological worlds of both peoples (cf. Blok, 2001). In order to maintain the relationships and alliances that they embody there is then an obligation for reciprocity. As Mauss has said, giving is “to make a present of oneself... refusing to give or accept is to reject the bond of alliance” (2002[1950], including with the gods (cf. Hooper, 2006: 32). Tcherkézoff has said that Samoan fine mats may become an “imaginary core of identifying references that constitute the life of the group”, and symbolise the alliances the group has made. They are seen to have witnessed the transactions and thereby have an agency of their own that transcends time (2002: 28). An ontological disjunction occurs when in ‘another’ social world things are ‘seen’ and ‘known’ differently and assume some of the

character and importance of living beings. The socio-political roles that some transacted objects might have played via their contested meanings during transactions are therefore described here for New Zealand, the Chatham, Austral and Cook islands where, in the past, different understandings of things have resulted in violence (cf. Clammer et.al. 2004: 3).

*Chapter five* is a New Zealand case study that explores the violence process using the analytical methodology adapted from Paul Brass (1997) and Chris Wilson (2008). The case chosen (the first battle at Kaiapoi between the *iwi* (tribes) Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Toa took place about 1830 when Māori had already been interacting with Europeans for about half a century; yet their ontological world and decision-making remained substantially Māori and unaffected by European ways of life (cf. Ballara, 2003; Head, 2006). The Kaiapoi conflict was also chosen because indigenous and European records and interpretations by participants from both sides in the battle sequence were available. Brass has emphasised the need to gather multiple discourses and compare them in order to identify the key social actors at transitional turning points that ultimately led to violence (or peace). Surprisingly, this method has identified some social actors and contingent actions that were unexpected at the outset. Some of the human social actors are not high ranking or easily visible in the narratives but it is demonstrated in the analyses that they played key roles. Similarly, it is shown that some social actors were ‘things’, not people. Motivations for decision-making by human actors are also explored, and shown to involve complex interactions of hearsay and discursive magnification, trickery, jealousy, perceptions of personal loss, and fear – all of which could be regarded as forms of theft or violence and therefore damaging to personal and group *mana*. The role of non-human social actors such as the gods, their manifestations and omens through which humans receive communications from the metaphysical world is also described as one motivating force in decision-making. Particular personal objects like weapons were perceived as having individual *mana* and efficacy that enhanced the survival chances of their owners in both physical and metaphysical ways. The *mana* that objects could accrue from their social and perceived metaphysical trajectories made them valuable items for gifting barter, ransom or peacemaking situations. *Pounamu* (greenstone) items could also sometimes be regarded metaphorically as contractual ‘documents’ representing land. These issues surrounding the role of non-human social actors in ‘transactions gone wrong’ have become visible from surviving oral histories, personal

narratives and more recent bilingual academic writings about tribal conflict that are now accessible through the published work of indigenous scholars. All of these allow for new interpretations unclouded by colonialist viewpoints. The purpose of chapter five is to view the first Kaiapoi conflict via the lens of Brass's analytical method and use it to trace those crucial decision-making turning points and social actors that caused the violence to erupt, maintained it and finally also caused it to cease, as Wilson has done (2008: 4, 23-25). Some of these 'actors' were not human.

*Chapter six* contains two further case studies; one from South Westland in 1826 (just prior to the Kaiapoi battle), and one from Otākou in 1817. In both cases the interactions were between Ngāi Tahu Māori and European sealers from Eastern Australia. Both are cases where Māori-European transactions 'went wrong' and turned violent. By following the same analytical procedure as for the Kaiapoi battle, with the identification of the decision makers in both transaction sequences, it has been possible to evaluate whether they developed in the same way and for similar reasons as happened between Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Toa at Kaiapoi. The Europeans were two separate groups of sealers set down in different parts of the South Island, and the local Māori belonged to different but related *hapu* (sub-tribes). Because these altercations occurred prior to the Kaiapoi battle, it is likely that the decision-making of Ngāi Tahu locals was influenced by traditional ontologies, and incorporated a praxis based on old concepts of *mana*, *tapu* and *utu*. Similarly the practices and perceptions of the sailors were influenced by hearsay about savages, cannibals, and European superiority as much as they were by notions of their right to take resources and occupy land without permission. These ontological disjunctions between Māori and Europeans as well as their possible motivations and contingent behaviour when they met are explored in this chapter. Since both Māori and Europeans at different parts of the sequences believed that thefts had occurred or were about to occur, some views of what constitutes theft from a cross-cultural perspective are also explored. Some connections are made through the idea that insult, proliferation of hearsay, and challenging a person's good name, are all forms of theft as much as are activities like stealing their land or property. Evidence from the interaction between Māori and sealers is used to show that for both parties such thefts damaged their social relationships and hence the honour or *mana* of the persons involved, and *utu* or (in the case of Europeans) revenge was the outcome. When considered in this way Blok's thesis that honour and violence are intimately connected can be supported by the two New Zealand cases described in

this chapter. In fact it could be considered that all theft is a form of violence, as it impacts upon self-esteem and the esteem of others. Hence it strikes at the heart of social relationships and triggers uncertainty, fear and anger as well as more measured and intellectual responses justified from the knowledge system within which one is operating. These then provided the motivational force for *utu* or revenge when the affected people chose such a course of action.

*Chapter seven* is about two consecutive episodes that occurred at Queen Charlotte Sound on Cook's second visit to New Zealand in 1773. Both involved the Captain and crew of *HMS Adventure*, the consort ship to Cook's *Resolution*, so the two episodes occurred between Māori and ship's crews operating under British naval command. They were a different group of men, they were not left ashore for months without their officers (as the sealers were) and none of them had formed relationships with Māori women that had any permanence. Furthermore their visit had different aims to refurbish and repair the ships, restock the water casks and supplies for the Pacific voyage, make scientific and ethnographic observations, and raise the British flag to mark the territory. Although such information and relationships formed would eventually pave the way for the expansion of British interests in the Pacific, the intention of the expedition and the behaviour of these visitors was not primarily an economic exercise in the same way as that of the sealers. Thus the research for this chapter enabled a further application of the same analytical method to a different group of Europeans and Māori as they transacted 'things' in a geographical area where inter-*iwi* economic, social and conflict-related transactions had been taking place for centuries. The aim was to try and identify whether the initial triggers, interactive sequences, transition points and social actors showed similarities with those at Kaiapoi, Open Bay and Otākou, or whether the number and kinds of people involved caused the sequences, transitional turning points, and violence to be different. Because the European crews were larger there were more journals and a greater variety of individual opinions available for analysis than for the previous chapter, yet the indigenous narratives are much fewer in comparison, and are viewed through the lens of European writing. However, some aspects of Māori and European decision-making are described in this chapter as being influenced by quite disparate views of the world. Actually, by considering the various reported Māori behaviours in the light of their ontological relationships with each other and with their gods, it is clear that the world that Māori inhabited was not the same conceptual world as that

occupied by the Europeans. Close examination of how Europeans regarded the astronomer Bayly, and comparison with how it seems that Māori regarded him, exposes a disparity between the world-views and gives some insight into why the ‘Grass Cove Affair’ (as the final part of the violent sequence is known) ended up so tragically. As in Chapter six, the violent outcome of the transactional sequence, can, for European sailors *and* for Māori, be understood in terms of Blok’s thesis: that violence is intimately connected with honour. I would add that this was because theft is a form of violence, and in every part of each of the two episodes at Queen Charlotte Sound there are at least *perceptions* of theft. Hence for both parties this was a challenge to their honour or *mana*. Whether the theft was a matter of trampling on someone’s *mana*, honour or land, stealing their things, or perpetuating inaccuracies about them, the outcome was the same. According to the ontological world occupied by the aggrieved person or persons, whatever was stolen had to be recovered, and some social actors *chose* to do this by physical violence. The seriousness of the theft was also measured within the particular ontological world that one occupied, so that, as was the situation in previous chapters the relative value of things was different for Māori than it was to Europeans. Things sometimes could be social actors, because of their perceived spiritual qualities and efficacy. This may have been the Māori perception of Bayly’s astronomical gear, for example, and the chapter describes how these particular ‘theft’ scenarios played out. The place and the actors were different, and some features of the interactions were more visible than in the cases described in chapters five and six, but the dynamics were very similar. *Utu* had to be paid and most often it was by violent means.

*Chapter eight* describes one further case, the 1791 arrival of another group of British sailors at Rēkōhu in the Chatham Islands Group. Lieutenant William Broughton and his crew sailed from Dusky Bay in New Zealand to the Pacific with Captain Vancouver, became separated in a storm, ‘discovered’ Rēkōhu Island, and spent one day ashore interacting with the Moriori locals. This case was chosen because some of the Europeans had already travelled in New Zealand and the Pacific with Cook so they had a similar cultural background and experience. However, they were interacting with a different group of Polynesians who (though sharing some common ancestry with New Zealand Māori) had been isolated from them for some 20 generations. They shared many aspects of their knowledge system and history with other Polynesians, yet because of isolation, had developed some cultural peculiarities

of their own. Thus interactions with Moriori could be expected to be different from those with New Zealand Māori, and any analysis by using the Brass methodology of seeking multiple discourses and Wilson's practice of investigating phases and transition points between them might expose different transaction protocols, social actors, transitional turning points and decision-making. It may also reveal different motivations, resolution processes, and notions of theft, and, moreover, was another opportunity to test whether the conceptual relationship of honour and violence held true for another Pacific group. The analysis has shown that transactional sequences involving both actual and perceived thefts occurred at Rēkōhu Island just as they had between British sailors and Māori in the South Island of New Zealand. Although both groups at Rēkōhu had a conscious intention and strategies to avoid any violent outcomes, Broughton's impression management and Johnstone's misunderstanding when a Moriori man thought his property was being stolen, resulted in one person being shot because a sailor was afraid. Thus decision-making driven by matters of honour, self-esteem, cultural misunderstanding and fear all contributed to the resulting physical violence. Yet Moriori who shared so much of the Māori Polynesian epistemology and ontological world over centuries had embraced a philosophical position favouring a different way of upholding their *mana* and respecting that of others. They had an ingrained philosophical interpretation allowing for *utu* to be dispensed differently. How they did this, and why, is explored in this chapter.

*Chapter nine* draws together the various threads that have been explored in the *kaupapa*<sup>2</sup> of this thesis. Episodes from New Zealand's South Island, the Chatham Islands and the Cook islands have been examined for their social and transactional activity sequences that culminated in physical violence. An effort has been made to identify those social actors that influenced the decision making at crucial turning points in the actions that led to violence. The possible motivations that actors had for the choices they made have also been explored, and an argument has been made for considering that all theft is a form of violence against a person or persons and affects their social relationships. The various cases explored in the thesis are compared in terms of the types of theft that have been triggering factors for the violent sequences, and for the transformational turning points in those sequences. Yet it has been the human responses to such thefts that have determined whether or not the sequence actually turned physically violent. Some personality types have made decisions to silence or minimise the necessity for extreme responses and have utilised other

resolution pathways. It has been found that the decisions they made were also influenced by their relationships with other social actors, (including things), the knowledge system underpinning their choices, and emotional factors such as fear and anger. This form of analysis used by Brass (1997) and also by Wilson (2008) in their separate investigations of modern ethno-religious violence has been demonstrated here to be an effective method of exposing to view the role of human decision-making and culpability during violent inter-cultural episodes in pre-colonial New Zealand. It has also exposed the role of honour/ *mana* and also of fear and emotion as triggering factors in those violent sequences. Whilst Blok's thesis about the connection between honour and violence can be supported, human agency and decision-making at turning points was also an important factor in whether violence was actually an outcome when things began to go wrong.

Finally, and in contrast to the other cases compared in the preceding chapters, another Pacific interaction with Europeans is analysed briefly. The 1606 landfall of Pedro Quirós at Rakahanga in the Northern Cook Islands – a much earlier era and a more distant place – was chosen as a contrast to the Māori-European cases already described in the previous chapters. Yet there may also be some commonalities amongst them. Therefore the Quirós visit to Rakahanga would be another opportunity to examine any possible universal applicability for Blok's thesis about the relationships between honour and violence, and its extensions in the Pacific region more generally: honour, *mana*, *tapu*, theft and consequently, *utu* and revenge.

## CHAPTER ONE<sup>3</sup>

### Theory and the History-Anthropology frontier

There is no society... which does not bear the 'scars of events' nor any... in which history has sunk without trace.

(Levi-Strauss in Braudel, 1980: 36)

This chapter provides a brief introduction to some issues at the history-anthropology frontier, how it developed, and some key figures in its development. Some ethno-historical methods and theories used in this thesis are discussed together with ways historians and anthropologists can collaborate. The perspective of "History from below" is considered for what it might contribute to interpreting data gained from close reading of archival texts.

In the eighteenth century, history, anthropology and sociology were not separate disciplines. Some historians such as Adam Smith in his "Wealth of Nations" (1776 [1991]) addressed socio-economic and political issues and were regarded as 'philosophical' historians. From them sprung some ideas discussed in chapter three, about how some Enlightenment philosophies influenced the interpretations and representations of Pacific peoples that appeared in mariners' and politicians' journals during eighteenth and nineteenth century 'Western' voyages into Oceania. By the middle of the nineteenth century, incorporation of 'the social perspective' into history became overshadowed by the approach of such historians as Von Ranke, who focused on the history of the state and developed a methodology that emphasised public archival records as the most objective sources of information and privileged state power (Burke, 2005: 3-7). The voices of 'others' such as lower classes and indigenous minorities became increasingly repressed as compared with the earlier eighteenth century. Given that most of the crew of Imperial ships visiting the Pacific were of inferior rank, experience, and education, their impressions of people they met on the voyage were sometimes quite different than that of their officers and their narratives reported a different story that needs consideration. An emphasis upon archival documents by those focused on the history of the state did introduce a more rigorous approach to data gathering, but the data was biased as Herbert Spencer said in his famous essay *Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical*: "The biographies of monarchs... throw scarcely any light upon the science of society" (1882: 29). He

considered that there was a place for comparative sociology. Sociologists and anthropologists began to separate themselves, their disciplines and methods from those of historians, though many of them such as Frazer, Weber, and Durkheim had begun their careers as historians (Burke, 2005: 8-10). Some historians also insisted that the methods and theories that anthropologists used were developed for studying non-European worlds and may not have been appropriate for the West (Cohn, 1987: 66). Burke describes a consequent movement amongst social scientists away from the past, and a growing interest in fieldwork. Boas, Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski who (in contrast to Frazer, for example) actually went to fieldwork destinations and lived amongst the peoples being studied, were some of these. Burke also highlights the movement in Germany and America toward studies of contemporary urban societies, and the “founding of their own professional associations and specialized journals... independence from history and historians was necessary to the formation of the new disciplinary identities”. Yet, despite tensions, some sociologists and anthropologists such as Evans-Pritchard, and also Bloch and Febvre believed that the dialogue between anthropology and history should be maintained (2005: 11-14). Braudel argued further for a collaborative approach to history in which all the human sciences should come together under the banner of History (1980: 25-69)<sup>4</sup>.

Until the 1960's then, there was a tension between historians and anthropologists, originating from a desire to distinguish their disciplines. This centred on the perspective and methods they used, rather than the subject they studied. While social scientists focused on societal structures and their development, historians focused on difference and change. Additionally, history was frequently excluded from anthropological discourse, because it was seen as being implicated in the ‘social evolutionism’ to which Boas was so opposed. Thomas called this a “systemic exclusion” of the historical perspective and argued for its re-inclusion (1996 b: 18, 120). Anthropologists had, however, begun to address those perspectives that historians favoured when around the 1960's, on returning to their fieldwork sites, they became aware that some rapid social changes were occurring in ‘their’ societies. They saw these as resulting from global economic change, and were then forced to address the issue of ‘change over time’ (Burke, 2005: 17). In a sense, as Nicholas Thomas has stated, the Annales School, and historians like E. P. Thompson (1968) changed the way historians (and anthropologists) saw history because they challenged the *aspects* studied and the *methods* used: “... unconventional sources, oral history, and critical

and imaginative readings of canonical documents were required” (Thomas, 2002: 273). Amongst these revised methods was a new consideration of ritual and the ‘native’s point of view’ as examples of such unconventional sources<sup>5</sup>. Anthropologists such as Denning (1980) and Nathalie Zemon Davis (1973) used these new approaches to investigate the effects of colonial processes on cross-cultural relationships<sup>6</sup>. Ethnohistory had therefore come of age. This was not an anthropology or sociology subsumed under ‘History’, as Braudel apparently advocated, but in the sense that Bernard Cohn hoped for, a “... history [that] can become more historical in becoming more anthropological... anthropology [that] can become more anthropological in becoming more historical...” (1987: 42).

In the spirit of creating a perspective on historical events and situations that is multi-dimensional, the viewpoint in this thesis is that there should be no firm distinction between history and anthropology where social history is concerned. Each discipline gives a different perspective and it is the overlap that requires exploration. Burke suggested that it is useful to be “interested in theories rather than committed to them... [they can enable one] to become aware of problems... to find questions rather than answers...” (2005: 18). Fields of exploration overlap at their margins, and my interest is in the overlap between the fields, theories and differently ranked people who occupy them. Their historical voices and worlds can place a new interpretive perspective upon archival material. The availability of ordinary peoples’ records is limited unless the incorporation of oral histories and literature, songs, poetry, ritual, and genealogical material, is included, as Nathalie. Z. Davis and E. P. Thompson have done (Thomas, 2002: 274-5). The writings of “those lacking ethnographic credentials” include early missionaries and explorers whose writings “sometimes contain reasonable synchronic ethnographic descriptions”. Thomas says they have been excluded from consideration thus far, and need to be re-examined (1996 b: 15-16). Denning warns that any archives can be capable of multiple interpretations, and that we descendants, European and indigenous, cannot claim ‘privileged’ understandings of what they say just because they are ‘our’ ancestors (cited in R. White, 2000: 170). In this thesis which considers both European and indigenous records Denning’s point is quite pertinent, and it should be added that neither should those of any particular social rank or position claim to have privileged understandings either.

Regarding Māori, Salmond has stated that “documentary and oral accounts illuminate the past in bits and pieces and from particular angles” (1997: 14) and Tipene O’Regan argued that *whakapapa* (genealogical material) from different *iwi* (tribes) can be used to cross-check each other when they refer to the same persons and event-connections, because of family inter-relationships between *iwi* and *hapū* (sub-tribes). Similarly, these methods which are basically the same as those used for verification of written records in the Western academic tradition, can be used for *waiata* (songs and poems) and regional variants of *tikanga* (cultural protocols), *whaikōrero* (ritual speeches), and *karakia* (prayers and incantations (1992: 24-6). Borofsky has embraced a similar viewpoint emphasising how Pacific Islanders Hau’ofa, Pule and Wendt say that they are uncomfortable with “more structured forms of Western history writing” (2000: 8-9), just as (conversely) some Western historians find poetry and novels used by Pacific historians problematical as history. Yet he also cites “notable examples” of Western books where literature and history overlap and are considered acceptable to Westerners. Indigenous people sometimes see different deficiencies in Western historical narratives. Pukapukans, for example, consider that the performance aspect of storytelling is essential for a full understanding of history because written text is experientially deficient in the historical data it provides (ibid.). In the following chapters some of these kinds of records are used, because for Māori and some European ‘others’ who (at the time described) were largely unable to read/write, any historical representation would otherwise be determined entirely by dominant Western colonial viewpoints. Like all narratives, they present ‘what happened’ from the perceptions of those wishing to hold the balance of power and ‘saw’ their own world-view as ‘true and correct’. Thus, I have defined more precisely for the Māori case and the social status case, the kinds of ‘texts’, which Bronwen Douglas has referred to more generally. The following chapters utilise what the archives actually say, using Burke’s “social microscope”, and viewing small things and situations as sites for “privileged information gathering” (2005: 42). One way these primary sources can then be interpreted is from the standpoint of “History from Below”, the idea of a changing context, and in the light of what Said (1994), Ricoeur (1979), Douglas (1998) and O’Regan (2002) have said about the limitations of text as a representation of others<sup>7</sup>.

## ‘Other’ perspectives on History

My attention to ‘ordinary’ people in the archival material was inspired by Serge Tcherkézoff’s comparison of journals of Bougainville’s and La Perouse’s younger crew in Samoa, and how their reports differed markedly from those of their superior officers. They noticed different things (2004: 22-67). They sometimes reported people/events in more detail than officers did, and appear to have been differently motivated and concerned with a different aspect of impression management. This study includes the narratives of Europeans of varying social status, about the ‘natives’, about each other, and about their relationships with others. Thus hierarchical relationships, as well as cross-cultural ones are of interest because they help illuminate the role of impression management in human behaviour, and in this thesis, its relationship with violence. These aspects of inter-group relationships are shown in subsequent chapters to be crucial components of decision-making during transactional sequences that occurred when groups met each other for the first time. ‘Position in the social hierarchy’ appears to have influenced particular individual interpretations of social interactions described in the archival material. Private William Wheeler’s letters to his wife were written from the battlefield at Waterloo [1815]<sup>8</sup>: “The three days fight is over. I am safe... I shall now write... what came under my own observation... The morning of the 18<sup>th</sup> June... found us drenched with rain, benumbed and shaking with cold...” This was not the perspective of the Duke of Wellington and British authorities who considered that *they* had ‘won’ the battle. The perspective of the low-ranking soldier was not considered in the ‘grand scheme of things’ that British histories of the time reflected (quoted in Sharpe, 1992: 24-5). Similarly, Hawkesworth’s account of Cook’s first voyage appearing in 1771, forty-four years prior to Waterloo, also reflected the ‘grand scheme’ viewpoint of historical reporting. However, observations of the ordinary seamen exist, and the perspective they provide paints a very different picture of the experience. For any chronological period there is more than one history, and this perspectival aspect is implicated in the ethno-historical methods advocated by Douglas and Tcherkézoff that are elaborated at the end of this chapter.

## Dynamic Contexts

There is a strong sense of action and dynamism in the primary sources used to research this project – a feeling that the mariners, sealers, missionaries, traders, Māori commoners and chiefs were actually there, or knew others who were actually there. They felt involved. They saw themselves as positioned observers. The point made by Pierre Bourdieu that “... participant observation is... a contradiction in terms” (1990: 34) is taken, but considering that these people were not pretending to be objective social scientists and would never have used the term, it is never-the-less a useful description of how they represented themselves – as people who both experienced and observed the action. It is therefore appropriate in this contextual section to apply to them and to myself, Roy Dilley’s warning that “we must never lose sight of the fact that a claim about context is precisely that – an articulation concerning a set of connections and disconnections – thought to be relevant to a specific agent that is socially and historically situated, and to a particular purpose” (1999: 39). Choosing which were the connections and disconnections, agents, decisions, social and historical situations, purposes and motivations were important tasks in this research. These same choices are also important in its presentation as a thesis. There are therefore two kinds of context to be considered. They are the individual context(s) in which the encounters and interactions between Māori and Europeans happened, and the context in which they are now framed or represented. This section of the chapter describes a particular approach to the context of interactions, in the light of what others have said about it. Its relationship with text and the representation of ‘others’ will be discussed in the following section.

The idea of context as used in the first sense, contains the *spatial or geographical frame* of Bateson (1973) and Goffman (1974), and the *environment* described by Scharfstein, which incorporates the idea of “*a process or set of relations*” (1989). Dilley has described them all (1989: 5). The best analogy for this viewpoint is probably an ecological one, where the “... articulation... of connections and disconnections...” described above is not bounded and incorporates a set of relations, and processes, which are dynamic but not always in equilibrium. It includes the physical and biological environments as well as the social, and these provide an interactive background for social action and interaction. Dilley quotes Goodwin & Duranti who support an interactionist stance: “the capacity of human beings to

dynamically reshape the context that provides organization for their actions within the interaction itself... [and]... individual participants can actively attempt to shape context in ways that further their own interests”. Context is created by social action as well as influencing it (1992: 5-6, in Dilley 1989: 19). In other words interaction makes the context dynamic and makes possible the operation of power and cultural change. In chapters four to eight it is argued that ‘agents’ in the interaction can be non-human and inanimate *mediators*, and can include contextual elements of the physical environment such as geological, astronomical and weather events that for some people (Māori and European), may have metaphysical implications. These contextual elements also had another role, in that they provided environmental constraints, and opportunities. They influenced the possibilities for and actualities of social interactions and also of decision-making during transactions. Cross-cultural encounters like those between Māori and Europeans therefore involved multiple dynamic contexts. This statement is not meant to imply the same thing as Sahlins’ “structure of the conjuncture” (1985) and I emphasise that context is not seen here as a monumental structure that absolutely controls what happens, but more as something that flows, a dynamic setting operating in the background, and used by the agents that interact with it and partly control it. The same context could be seen, understood and interacted with differently by different agents, and as Rapport has said can [also] “become shared through communication and interaction between” the agents. It is thus generative and emergent (Dilley, 1989: 35, 38).

Despite the references to cross-cultural encounters, the issue of *where* ‘culture’ fits into the context has not been explained. In their physical dimensions ‘things’ are substantial resources, and in their symbolic dimensions are, in this reading, components of cultural force as Ortner has described it. She considers that culture “operates largely as a pool of symbolic resources upon which people draw, and over which people struggle, in the course of social and political differentiation and conflict” (1990: 59). Compare this notion with Comaroff & Comaroff’s definition of culture: “... the semantic space, the field of signs and practices in which human beings construct and represent themselves and others, and hence their societies and histories... a historically situated, historically unfolding ensemble of signifiers in action... a shifting semantic field... of symbolic production and material practice...” (1992 a: 27-8). So for the Comaroffs, culture is a *field* corresponding very much to the contextual structure, envisioned here, and for Ortner it is an *operational* structure,

with force and power via the agents who operate it. There does not appear to be a conflict between the two views. In this reading they supplement each other, equating to the dynamic context with which this section began. As will be shown in succeeding chapters, the human agents who participated in the cross-cultural encounters described, acted within this kind of context, were constrained and enabled by their cultural schemas, reflected upon them and manipulated them, as Ortner suggests (1990: 88-91). However, it is claimed here that over and above their cultural schemas there are additional components to the agentive capacity of human actors. These consist, as is argued in Chapters four and five, in their use of the separate agency of objects, their spontaneous, situated contingent action, and scaffolding of new behaviours and knowledge during transaction events (Hendriks-Jansen, 1996). Part of the agentive capacity of the objects present during transactions was of course symbolic and therefore due to the cultural schemas of the donor. However, for the recipient this was a matter of perception and interpretation belonging to his own cultural schemas. The scaffolding of new knowledge and behaviour would be effective for both parties to the transaction, and the objects could both mediate and confuse because of the differing ontological worlds of the participants. For these reasons, in the interpretive aspects of this thesis the constraining effect of their own cultural schemas on the behaviour of human actors would not be as great as Ortner's view suggests, and agents would have a greater personal effect on the outcomes of their actions, as the following section explains.

## Social agents

As just described, Ortner has considered in detail the practical relationship between human actors and the cultural contexts in which their lives are played out. In doing so she has traversed the degrees of influence that various authors have assigned to the agency of social actors, on the one hand, and to cultural forces on the other. After her work with the Sherpas in Nepal she said: "The point was that every culture contains not just bundles of symbols...[and ideologies] about the universe, but also organised schemas for enacting (culturally typical) relations and situations" (1990: 60). The schemas were described as being reproduced in a similar manner to Bourdieu's *habitus* but in her conception "schemas... give actors more room for choice and agency than they seemed to have in older versions of this concept... Actors *both* manipulate their culture *and* are constrained by it" (ibid: 63). However,

there is a fair amount of flexibility in the scale of interpretation one can adopt for determining the relative importance that should be attached to either the actors or their culture. Ortner suggests that there are three positions: The “*hard/internal position*” where schemas are firmly embodied in the identities of the actors through cultural environment and ritual; the “*intermediate position*”, where actors are usually constrained, but sometimes distance themselves from the schemas; and the “*soft/external position*” where actors are not constrained but may ‘use’ the schemas in “some form of rational self-interest”. Ortner then concludes that cultural schemas (if they exist) must be involved in the structuration of events but it is the actions of the actors that achieve this. Furthermore, actors may use the culture to their own advantage, or they may be critical of it and try to change it (ibid: 85-92).

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### Text, Context, and the Representation of ‘others’

Three aspects of text and context are considered here:

Firstly, in this study there are two kinds of text, which are already representations, no matter how objective they claim to be. There are the texts from which the research information was obtained, which are primarily archival documents, diaries, ship’s logs, journals, letters, reports, early ethnographies and official statements, oral histories, orally based literature such as poetry and oral religious ‘texts’. All have their own bias depending upon the position, trajectory, and ontological worlds of the writer who chose the context in which to set them<sup>9</sup>.

Secondly, more recent histories have re-represented these documents, selecting some and excluding others, editing and giving a new bias for publication, thus producing yet another new context.

Thirdly, this attempt to incorporate them into my interpretation creates yet another new context from a multi-perspectivist approach. This, as it has been applied

to the South Island and Chatham Island material, has given insights from a fresh reading of the manuscripts by using new interpretations of the agency of people and objects from a Māori cultural perspective, as well as that of Europeans.

‘Hindsight is a wonderful thing’ and ‘many heads are better than one’. Many cultural and disciplinary perspectives are also better than one. As Stephen (Tipene) O’Regan has said, we have to bear in mind the purpose for which a text has been written, because that forms part of its context and determines what has been selected and what has been omitted for presentation (1992: 24-6)<sup>10</sup>. This issue is particularly relevant when one is seeking to represent the perspective of someone from a lower position in the social hierarchy. Although the following comment refers to Māori, it may equally well apply to Europeans: “Situations are forgotten, names are changed, and quite often as history evolves the senior lines are changed, are conveniently forgotten or manipulated so that everyone becomes a Chief. There are no commoners” (Jim Gray, in Steedman, n.d.: i). There is therefore no apology here for writing yet another account of human interaction in Te Wai Pounamu. High and low ranking people of all the ethnicities involved – and even other members of these societies *not directly* involved, may all have had multiple agentic capabilities for making decisions or influencing decision-making. Their individual agency was not dependent only upon their traditional knowledge, social position and personal trajectory, but upon their contingent and spontaneous re-configuration of meanings when the encounters occurred and new items, meanings and observed behaviours entered the equation. When things began to go wrong during transaction episodes, particular social actors and the decisions they made were crucial to whether or not violence occurred. Such sequences of decision-making are explored in the remaining chapters of this thesis.

Adrian Bennett argues for a re-examination of primary texts to try and overcome the bias of sequential re-representations, and this has been done wherever possible (2005: 62). Supplementary use of Māori oral literature is an attempt to include Māori discourse in its various formats: *whaikōrero*, *karakia*, *pakiwaitara*, *waiata* and so on, which have been recorded by such indigenous scholars as Apirana Ngata and Pei Jones. Sadly, it has been impossible to remove the contextual filters that have already been applied by bureaucratic ‘others’ of our colonial past, but an attempt has been made to compensate by applying insights gained from contemporary Māori practices that bear the stamp of those reported in the archival material. Collection of such

contemporary material is also fraught with representational difficulties because of contemporary political power struggles. Members of different *iwi* and social status groups are keen to position their public views strategically in terms of collective and individual power, as Borofsky says for the Pacific more generally. However, this should not prevent us from aiming for objectivity, approaching more closely by “...negotiation, involving conversations across divergent perspectives, with challenges and counter challenges” (2000: 10). Borofsky refers to oral interactions, and would probably include discursive textual interactions also. Ricouer highlights the increased possibility of misinterpretation of text that is addressed to anyone who can read, and is polyvocal because it lacks visual cues. Once text leaves its author it can have unintended consequences (1979: 80-90). From the anthropologist’s point of view, there are ethical dilemmas of representations thus produced – especially as they may affect those who have minimal cultural capital – if they are misused or misinterpreted by those holding the balance of power (Comaroff & Comaroff: 1992: 7-15).

Bearing in mind that for this investigation, many of the representations thus far published have perpetuated the imbalance and power relationships of past eras, it seems appropriate to raise the issues of social rank and position for this context. As Gramsci has said, the two worlds of power interacted with each other and it is *between* them that social history is made. The comment applies to all societies and these ‘two worlds of power’ both need to be examined for any society. None is superior or can take the moral high ground and we should not “arrogate to ourselves an exclusive, emancipatory, suprahistorical purchase on reality” (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1992: 17). However, researchers ‘have what they have’ and must continue to do their best to record what they observe of people’s behaviours, trying to interpret and give them contexts, explaining the social power relations and what ‘others’ say about themselves. The hope for any textual discourse raised in this thesis, is therefore that (at least for the Māori, Moriori and European examples described) any possible future representations may incorporate *all* those social actors<sup>11</sup> known to have participated in the ongoing ‘first encounters’ which can still be observed and experienced.

## Ethno-historical Methods

In 1986 Nancy Farriss asked “ How do you reconstruct past systems of meaning... when you can neither participate in nor directly observe the lives of the people?” (in Appadurai, 1986: ix). The answer has been partially provided by the use

of those ethno-historical methods described and critiqued by such people as Greg Dening, Bronwen Douglas, Gananath Obeyesekere, Marshall Sahlins, Anne Salmond, and Serge Tcherkézoff.

Dening's paper on the value of ethnohistorical evidence helped define the field, but said that it: "does not mean... a discipline independent of both history and anthropology and endowed... with a distinct methodology. It merely bands together those with an interest in the contact of literate societies and those who hope that the questions anthropologists have learned to ask of living cultures may be asked about the past..." (1966: 34). Dening's reflection on his Pacific work explained that many societies are close to their pre-[European] history, "making it more... personal than any normal prehistory based on archaeology alone" (ibid: 30). Although this definition is problematical, because by using the words 'illiterate' and 'pre-historic' it is implied that having no written language means there is no literature, it does suggest the possibility of using present-day ethnography to illuminate past 'ways of being' from knowledge of what he calls the "living culture" (ibid.). From this perspective of the present, so-called 'illiterate' societies were not illiterate at all. They were highly literate and had genealogies, oratorical formulae, chants, poetry, songs and dance, as well as carvings and other art works that can be read and performed as texts. Dening highlighted the difficulties of using early textual sources like journals and logs of mariners, which are used in this thesis. Historians see these problems differently from anthropologists and the central issue in their perception is that societies are continuously changing, albeit that the rate of change may vary. Historians, said Dening, are "deeply conscious of change" but do not trust evidence that may have been distorted by interaction with Europeans (ibid: 29). It is as though historians need a constant baseline for their data, and fail to acknowledge the obvious situation that any baseline data are themselves subject to contemporary change, including in this case during interaction with 'other groups' (even Polynesian ones). This does not, therefore, seem to be a valid criticism, for as Hau'ofa says, "our cultures have always been hybrid and hybridising... we have always given to and taken from our neighbours and others we encounter" (2000: 456; cf. Jolly & Tcherkézoff, 2009: 1, 25). Conversely, anthropologists have difficulty in accepting the use of 'a priori' methods of interpretation that historians use when they "impose" models or "organizational principles" on their evidence. They need to incorporate in their interpretations a consideration of social dynamism (Dening, 1966: 30). Dening reveals

other deficiencies in using early textual data also. The problems associated with the European visits from which most of the texts were generated include the brevity of the visits which sometimes amounted to only one day or a few hours, the fact that the 'native' language was not known, or was known incompletely, and the problem of interpreters who were unskilled or intervened in the translation with interests of their own or of those whom they represented. Yet, the aim is, to use these texts 'fruitfully despite their limitations' (ibid: 26-7). On the positive side, short visits frequently produced very detailed descriptions and these provide rich analytical data that is often missing from longer and more generalised accounts.

Marshall Sahlins (1993) in his article "Goodbye to Tristes Tropes: Ethnography in the Context of Modern World History" reported on the development of ethno-history as a "different kind of ethnographic prose" aiming to combine "the field experience of a community with an investigation of its archival past", which he has done in *Anahulu* (1992). He acknowledged the need to incorporate transformation and time into the ethnography and even that recent ethnography could be used to clarify these, but his interpretation still implied that the "structure of culture" was the main thing implicated in providing the mechanisms of change. The concept of critical close reading of texts, and using recent ethnography reflexively as a kind of hermeneutic to tease out some of the issues of agency that could be involved in change, does not seem to feature in his evaluation.

Obeyesekere in his book *Cannibal Talk* (2005) recommended "deconstructing" colonial texts by close critical reading that seems similar to that used here. However Obeyesekere's version, as Māori would say, has an implied *kaupapa* (agenda). The object is to "deconstruct" text(s) and then "restore" them by demonstrating their "multiple meanings". He claims that this is an ethical project which he, as an indigenous person, has taken on to "restore... self-worth and integrity" to those whom he considers have been maligned by prior textual representations of them. Sahlins criticised such "deconstruction" considering it to be very selective, using only a few texts to create a one-sided story, when plenty of texts would attest otherwise. Furthermore, he showed that in several examples describing Fijian cannibalism there are multiple narratives, which all detail the same event but differently, a fact that would confirm their authenticity. He also raised the issue of the political implications of narratives constructed for "ethical" purposes, since this word, like other words can mean different things in different discourse once they are 'let loose' from their

original author (2003: 3-5; cf. Ricoeur, 1979: 78-80). This raises a further ethical issue not addressed by Obeyesekere, which is that ‘close reading’ can mean different things to different people.

In her Melanesian and New Caledonian work, the historian Bronwen Douglas used close reading of archival texts in a different way than Obeyesekere, looking for insights that close reading can provide from “traces of past presents... inscribed in texts: written or spoken words, memories, gestures, decorations, objects, buildings, landscapes, visual images... as vehicles for representation...”(1998: 17). If we regard all these items as texts, the way they are used, in cross-cultural encounters and elsewhere in society, can provide insights into the role of strategy and contingency, collective or individual decision making in “deflecting, appropriating and exercising power” by any of the participants (ibid: 281). Such insights are then particularly pertinent to the decision-making of social actors who participated in the violent sequences that are described in this thesis. Douglas is aware of the biases in colonial texts that are highlighted by Obeyesekere, but she says that biases can help rather than hinder interpretation from the ethnohistorical viewpoint (1998: 124-33). Douglas has been criticised by Lansdown for ignoring the fact that the “... causes and relationships... [that] help constitute the ‘particular situations’ in which the actors engage are in turn illuminated by what people did. If that is not so the expression ‘*what it meant*’ has little meaning” (2006: 23, my emphasis). Because of the limited number of indigenous written accounts, with which to compare the ‘western’ records, in this project other indigenous ‘texts’ such as objects and the reported behaviours associated with them have been used as interpretive tools. Chapter four traces a number of objects that have been transacted amongst Māori and with Europeans, together with the *kōrero* (oral history) that surrounds them and this enables their social and transactional significance to be interpreted.

Serge Tcherkézoff, working in the Eastern Pacific, particularly Samoa, has extended the use of close reading and comparison of archival records, by comparing them with those obtained from recent fieldwork and personal experience: “I strongly advocate the potential... of *extrapolating backwards* from more recent ethnographic accounts, as well as from those of the 19<sup>th</sup> century”, especially where the ethnographer had used the local language (2004: 198-203), and where the context can be shown to have not changed markedly. For example the structure of Samoan ceremonial houses has changed only slightly since d’Urville drew them in 1842, and Tcherkézoff feels

justified, in such cases, in extrapolating from recent Samoan representations to interpret historical data about houses. If change has not been minimal, then this method would be inappropriate (ibid.). When used appropriately the method addresses the concern that historians have about anthropologists not dealing with the dynamics of socio-cultural change because it enables the ethnographer to choose which contexts can be appropriately applied to his interpretations of social dynamics in the past. Where only written European records are available, this method may help to illuminate them from the indigenous viewpoint. It also recognises that indigenous *and* European narratives need to be ‘scrutinised for how they were constructed’, that all cultures are changed directly or secondarily by encounters with other cultures, and that the resulting interpretations become history (2004: 198-203).

Likewise, Salmond has used insights from her knowledge of Māori *tikanga* (custom) and epistemology supported by her instruction in Māori philosophy, from the respected *kaumātua* (elder) Eruera Stirling, to interpret aspects of early inter-cultural encounters in New Zealand. She too has used close reading of early journals and narratives combined with more recent knowledge to illuminate the past by ‘extrapolating backwards’ in the way that Tcherkézoff has done (1997: 9-10, 517).

Dening’s suggestion for using various kinds of textual data as historical evidence, and Tcherkézoff’s approach of using recent ethnographical insights, are combined here to interpret the meanings that objects had in the social interactions and transactions documented in this thesis.

## Methodology used

‘Doing’ ethnography and historiography requires the gathering of fragments from historical worlds and assembling them in contexts “without losing their fragile uniqueness and ambiguity”. The best way to achieve this, say the Comaroffs, is to understand the social processes, which enable things to happen and which form human subjects. They argue that, “Save in the assertions of our own culture... that has long justified the colonial impulse, there is no great gulf between “tradition” and “modernity”... If such distinctions do not hold up it follows that the modes of discovery associated with them – ethnography for “traditional” communities, history for the modern world, past and present – also cannot be sharply drawn” (1992 b: 6, 31). Acknowledging this philosophical stance makes it possible to approach ‘early encounters’ and transactions now and in the past with a mind open to the possibility

that the past gives insights into the present, as the present gives insights into the past. Those “fragments from historical worlds” may perhaps be “assembled” using hindsight and insights from the world of the present about the functioning of social interactions, processes of conceptualisation, cultural worlds and the agency of people and things. But first one has to find the fragments.

The methods for this project involved three phases: finding the fragments, evaluating the fragments, and representing what happened and why. All these are entangled with difficulties that come from mining texts for data. Most of these difficulties have been discussed previously in this chapter. Remembering that the main object of this investigation is to find out how some early cross-cultural encounters in Te Wai Pounamu were experienced, understood and influenced by participants, a summary of the main aspects of the method used follows:

*Phase one: finding the fragments*

a) Detection, uses close reading of those fragments that Bronwen Douglas calls “texted traces” that could reveal anything about the social relationships and interactions of the historical figures described (1998:14). In this thesis they were predominantly Māori slaves, commoners and chiefs, European, American, Indian, Pacific Islander and Māori sailors, ships officers and captains, traders and sealers, mostly men and some women. Any ‘fragments’ relating to transactions that turned violent; the lives and personalities of the social actors and the context in which the meetings took place, were gathered. These included references to objects used, exchanged, given, received or stolen (eg. weapons, clothing or symbolic items).

b) Collection of ethnographic material might shed light upon and enable a better interpretation of these ‘fragments,’ which Bronwen Douglas describes as being ‘sedimented’ in the texts (1998: 301). This involved searching library manuscript databases, published books containing early accounts of Māori customary practices, and more recent Māori and academic interpretations of the traditional Māori knowledge system.

c) Collection of details about the provenance and life histories of particular ‘exchange’ objects was done in Museums and private collections, and used together with information about their historical and social connections, symbolism and agency via catalogues, archaeological reports, personal communications and databases.

d) Collection of biographical information on lives and times of human social actors.

*Phase two: interpreting the fragments*

a) Interpretation of what the primary data says about exchange objects and transactional behaviour in terms of what early ethnographies describe about contemporary Māori and European cultural practices. The idea was to use ‘things’ as a window on the past, and as a way of perceiving the agency and conceptual worlds of their owners and former owners, and their role as communicators of social meaning.<sup>12</sup>

b) Evaluation of the times and conditions in which the Europeans lived and wrote their accounts was done in order to read more clearly ‘between the lines’ of their reports, and interpret their ways of ‘seeing’ and ‘knowing’ the world.

*Phase three: representation*

The aim has been to write an honest, reflexive report on the readings of contemporary primary manuscripts about encounters between Māori and Europeans in Te Wai Pounamu, Rēkōhu, Rakahanga and Rapa in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; additionally to interpret these manuscripts to reflect as closely as possible the actions, possible motivations, and differing strategies for dealing with the contested realities of things and beings that were utilised during transactions. I have endeavoured to “assemble” the fragmented stories from archival manuscripts, published historical and ethnographic texts, material artifacts and contemporary cultural evidence. In this respect I follow Douglas:

My general intent is... to display and exploit the ethnographic potential of contemporary colonial texts to throw light on particular indigenous strategies for handling problematic... experiences, deflecting, appropriating and exercising power in cross cultural encounters, translating and domesticating the esoteric and the exotic; tackling calamity and death. (Bronwen Douglas, 1998: 281)

In this thesis the intent has also been to detect within those same texts, the strategies of *tauiwi* (Foreigners such as Europeans) who also had to “handle problematic experiences” as they attempted to exercise power, and deal with all manner of beliefs and practices that were foreign to them, and which they frequently misunderstood. The resultant and related issues of theft and violence that are the principal theme of this thesis are backgrounded in Chapter two, together with further details on other aspects of a methodology for analysing violent sequences and conflict.

This owes much to the ethno-historical approaches just outlined, but also (in the spirit of Tcherkézoff's uniformitarian principle of using the present as a key to the past) takes up approaches that have already been used by Brass (1997) to analyse multiple discourses, and Wilson (2008) to analyse phases in contemporary interactions that turned violent. These techniques combined are used to identify the key turning points and the decision-making social actors who influenced what happened. The methods are used in combination – the one an investigative phase to seek out information to find the “sedimented fragments” as Douglas called them – and the other an analytical phase to identify where the intercultural transactions ‘went wrong’ and why.

## Summary

This chapter has backgrounded the tension between historical and social science approaches to history, and argues for a multiperspectival approach to data gathering and interpretation. The approaches taken to text and context have been described, as have the usage of the ethnohistorical methodology of Denning, Douglas and Tcherkézoff, and the combined analytical methods of Brass and Wilson for identifying turning points and social actors in modern violent sequences. The data thus gathered will then be used, beginning in Chapter two, to examine particular transaction sequences that ‘went wrong,’ and turned violent.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Approaches to the Anthropology of Violence

Violence is performed as well as imagined by reflexive, socially positioned human beings under specific historical conditions for concrete reasons... The recourse to violence... results from decisions that have narrowed down the number of options for conflict resolution to one. Anthropologists should try to understand the cultural mediation of real-world conditions that bring these decisions about. (Schmidt and Schröder, 2001: 20)

This chapter details some further insights into the violence process, including not only the cultural context and conditions but also the agency and identity of the “socially positioned human beings”, described by Schmidt and Schröder as being decision makers. Whilst taking on board their warnings about the likelihood that accounts from observers as well as those from victims and perpetrators are liable to be contaminated with bias, I want to highlight the actors as much as the situations because as Brass says, there is a need to identify specific persons who actually carry out the violence and the “net of complicity” that they are involved in (1997: 8). Further insights can be gained from various studies of the (Western) Anthropology of Violence, both recent and historical, and from empirical studies of violent outbreaks in other parts of the world, including in India, and Indonesia. How and why these studies are relevant to the cases to be analysed in this study is also discussed.

#### What is Violence?

Historically, a variety of meanings have been attached in the social sciences to the word ‘violence’, including its association and sometimes conflation with other words like conflict, aggression, warfare, coercion, hostility, antagonism, and so on. It is therefore pertinent at this point to examine this range of ideas in terms of their historical representations and to clarify how and what aspects of violence will be interrogated here. When Georges Sorel wrote his “Reflections on Violence” at the turn of the 20th century he was writing about the ‘natural’ role that violence had in the functioning of society, especially in times of class revolutions. In particular he described situations where “... important strikes, accompanied by violence take place” and the function of violence was seen in “maintaining the division between the proletariat and the middle classes” (1950: 67). Similarly, Coser (1956) described

conflict and hostility within groups as having a positive function, both in establishing internal cohesion, and in adjusting power relationships in response to new conditions as a kind of feed-back mechanism, that allows a social structure to survive. Collins (1941[2009]) was concerned with the way that violence is organised in society, and its justification, including all sorts of issues around property and people. Violence in this sense could be warfare, threats, coercion, or physical violence. The social group or sub-group can thus mobilise state power in ways that enforce their own demands in a conflict. Daniel Bar-Tal (2003: 92, 79) describes how groups can develop ‘cultures of conflict’ where the formation of a collective memory or shared experience of physical violence serves to bond members together emotionally and contributes to group identity. The social system can “provide the rationales... for the violence... train individuals to carry out violent acts, and... glorify... violent confrontations.” Osman and Lee (in Kutash & Kutash, 1978: 68) also, are interested in the social system aspect of violence, conflict and aggression, although, in contrast to Sorel and Coser, they say that “aggression or violence imply an undesirable social phenomenon”. They advocate (with Chandler, 1973) that the *legitimation* of violence in social systems is an issue that needs to be examined, and there is a need to define what violence is. Chandler describes it as “any non-legitimised application of force” (ibid.). Furthermore, Osman and Lee say that legitimation would require some form of consensus, such as that of a culture or institution, and a minimum of three view points; the initiator, the victim and the audience (ibid: 61). Although this thesis does not emphasise the ‘systems’ approach espoused by those authors, an effort has been made in assessing the violent incidents described, to include the three viewpoints where possible. Additionally, the thesis will evaluate the incidents from different cultural standpoints than just the one culture or institution envisioned by Osman and Lee. Thus for Sorel, Coser, Collins, Chandler, Osman & Lee, violence is a social phenomenon – a behavioural thing – with social functions and outcomes. Osman & Lee infer that it is behaviour *against* a person, and is subject to some kind of *judgement* by members of a group or society. This is not very different from Riches’ definition “... an act of physical hurt deemed legitimate by the performer, and illegitimate by (some) witnesses” (1986: 8).

Newton Garver’s essay (1968) takes a different approach by seeking the origin of the word. Garver acknowledges that violence is generally deplored, but that there is a spectrum of value judgements about this deploring, depending upon whether it is judged as being for or against the status quo. He therefore approaches the definition

neutrally, through the word-origin, which is from Latin via French. The key roots are ‘vis’ (force) and ‘violare’, that have “the sense of to carry force at or toward”, which Garver points out, is a way of violating something, and “violence in human affairs comes down to violating persons”. This can be done personally or by institutional systems such as slavery; it can be overt or covert, and property can be an extension of a person, since in a physical or social sense it is a product of his/her labour (ibid: 173, 179, 183). If the violence is covert, there may be no audience, so Osman and Lee’s triad would not hold. Schmidt & Schröder point out that this situation would still be violent but would have no social meaning because there is no audience to witness the performance (2001: 6). It seems however, that if a witness experiences the aftermath of the performance it would still be a performance and would certainly have social meaning with perhaps more possibilities for meaning than if a witness *had* been present. Many violent sequences develop meaning via social imaginaries and constructions because of this. Garver’s Western interpretation of the word ‘violence’ is the definition taken here as a baseline for comparison, but to accommodate the purposes of this thesis, it is necessary to acknowledge that in Māori and other Polynesian societies the culturally understood concept of a person is (or was at the time being examined) ontologically different from the European one. As with the English word ‘violence’, if we take the Māori language as a Polynesian example there are, similarly, multiple contextual and metaphorical meanings and word varieties to convey the idea of violation/violence and its connection with cultural schemas<sup>13</sup> of personhood. These various Māori words show some equivalences with the English words, but also convey the ontological differences which Māori have (and had) with the *tauiwi* (foreigners) – now known as *pākehā* – who came to inhabit their land.

The same is true of the Giriama people of Kenya whom David Parkin (1986) has studied. Parkin, advocates that “insights into English notions [of violence can be] produced through examining the ethnography of an African society”, and points out the metaphorical extensions of the English word including damaging someone’s reputation. He also highlights Copet-Rougier’s insights from the French language which allow inclusion of invisible things like witchcraft or “metaphysical desecration” as forms of violence acknowledged by the Giriama (in Riches, 1986: 204, 212-218). All this of course suggests that ontological differences in the understanding of what constitutes violence are reflected linguistically, not only in English, but also in French and Giriama. I shall therefore proceed to show how this phenomenon can also be seen

to hold true for the Māori language and can be used to help interpret the behaviour and responses of Māori persons during the transaction events to be interpreted here. Ryan's *Dictionary of Modern Māori* (1983) gives two words each for 'violent' and 'violence' and three for 'violate'. They and their meanings are respectively: Violent – *tūkino, taikaha*; violence – *tutū, āinga*; violate – *takahi, pāwhera* (of a woman – rape, lit. to split open); *whakanoa* (of *tapu*). The authoritative text for traditional usage, which employs old sayings and oral literature as examples, is the Williams dictionary (1985 [1844]). It has been used here to clarify proper usage and meanings of all words related to the current European terms that Garver has used. This provides a view of traditional Māori conceptions of violence and its associated terms.

Williams' gives the meanings as follows:

*tūkino* – to ill-treat/use with violence/cause distress, as in the expression: “Treat an old man violently and you will kill him with the stress” (“E koro tukino, e koro mate i te whakatoitoi” (Williams, 1985: 450).

*taikaha* – violent, impetuous, persistent.

*tutū* – to fight with, be vehement/persistent/ insubordinate, to be ignited (as in fire), to be hit/wounded, as in the expression: “Wounded by the spear of Hatupatu” (“Kua tū i te tao o Hatupatu” (Williams, 1985: 380).

*āinga* – (derived from 'ā') violence/driving force, referring to natural forces like sea and wind, as in the expression: “The descent to the sea is slippery across the grasses, from the violence of the wind” (“I te wa e rere ai te kano o te perehia i te āinga a te hau ki te moana” (Williams, 1985: 5).

*takahi* – this word has a great number of uses, all related to trampling with the feet (the most non-*tapu* part of the body). Most of the usages Williams lists indicate that this implies a lack of respect for what or whomever is being trampled, which may extend from a *tapu* place or person, ravishing a woman, being disobedient or rude, exceeding one's welcome as a visitor, trampling on land to establish possession, performing a ceremony to produce water, or trampling on something to hold or catch it (Williams, 1985: 367).

Reflecting upon these variations in meaning of the Māori words associated with violence, violent actions and violation; there is a surprising equivalence with Garvey's investigations of the Latin roots of the corresponding English words. There is the feeling of action, of driving force, and of harm to a person (directly or by pushing them to carry out actions they are incapable of) – or to things belonging to the person.

There is even the notion of legitimacy, in the sense that for Māori, legitimacy is known as *tikanga* (what is right by customary rule). However, within the range of meanings allowed by Pei Jones, Apirana Ngata, Merimeri Penfold, Bruce Biggs et al. in the Williams dictionary, there is a presence of references to the idea of intrusion on the integrity of the other – not necessarily only of a physical nature – to the violence of natural forces, and of the ontological connections of people to them and to the land. Through violating the land, *tapu* things, places, or actions, one is violating, or being violent towards persons, and this is showing disrespect for their *mana*. Now since *tapu* and *mana* are metaphysical and not material things or persons, a similarity is starting to emerge with the matters described by Parkin (*ibid.*) in connection with his Giriama people. Furthermore the Māori form of witchcraft is much the same, in that *mākutu* was considered capable of achieving a range of outcomes from reducing a person or group's capacity to act, to causing sickness or death. All of these were feared as forms of violence, and suitable rituals were needed to counteract them. Like the Giriama witchcraft described by Parkin, this highlights not only the differing world-views, but gives cause for reflection upon whether any of these meanings might usefully be included in the English definition of violence as it was understood and practised at the time of the early New Zealand and Pacific events which I am investigating. If Garver's definition of violence "violating persons... or their things" which are "extensions of themselves" is combined with the metaphysical components described by Parkin, then violence can actually be equated with theft: towards a person's wellbeing, integrity, relationships, ownership, status and so on. Hence, conversely, theft is a form of violence in the sense that Garver and Parkin define it. These ontological issues will be raised later in Chapter three where Māori epistemologies are discussed at length and in Chapters eight and nine where the concepts are applied. One or more of these varieties of theft form an integral part of nearly all the transactional case studies that appear in the following chapters. Whether or not these issues are the same now as they were in the time, about which this thesis is written, will also be interrogated in Chapter eight.

### *More Recent Approaches*

More recent studies of violence appear to be moving away from the structuralist, classificatory approach where violence is viewed mainly from a social evolutionary perspective. They are looking at the subjectivity of violence as a process – who or

what starts it, maintains it and eventually causes it to stop – and how it is experienced. Many empirical studies have taken place in modern nation-states like India and Indonesia. These deal with violence on a very large scale, but it is still possible to see in them features of the ‘violence-process’, the subjective experience for participants, and the ways in which they come to understand and rationalise its meaning (cf. Brass, 1997; Wilson, 2008). Schmidt & Schröder describe this as the ‘experiential approach’, which considers violence at the individual everyday level, as well as in intergroup conflict or war (2001: 1). It therefore encompasses a wide range of situations and of all the approaches it best enables a methodology where one can “... route connections through persons... the relations of logic, of cause and effect, of class and category that people make between things... [and] attend to the relations of social life to the roles of behaviour through which people connect themselves to one another” – which is what anthropologists *do* (M. Strathern, cited in Das, 2007: 3). It does not fully meet the requirements for a complete understanding of violent acts that Schmidt and Schröder recommend – that any act must be regarded in as “a link in the chain of a long process of events” whose context is a “system of cultural and material structure” (2001: 7). In my view, the experiential approach goes further than that. It does not exclude the possibility that social structures may be influential in the violence process and indeed the works of Brass (2008) and Das (2007) described in the next paragraph acknowledge this. However the experiential approach does also permit the agency of people who live within the structure. Furthermore, it can be applied in cases of small *unstructured* groups in which violence may still occur, and where the process and outcome are not primarily dependent upon any social structure (although cultural schemas may influence the decision making of the social actors; cf. Ortner, 1990: 59, 88-91). Therefore the experiential/ subjectivist approach appears to be a more suitable one, both for cross-cultural comparison, and for comparison between large and small violent events where there may be some similarities in process that are independent of scale. A brief review of some of these studies follows.

Paul Brass (1997), Das, Kleinman, Rampele & Reynolds (1997), and Wilson (2008) have all shown concern for how violent situations are experienced and interpreted by those who have participated in them. Like Osman & Lee (*ibid.*) they emphasise that the process is experienced and described differently depending upon whether the report originates from the perpetrator(s), victim(s) or observer(s), and that even this may vary with context and the particular individuals concerned. It may even

vary with time, and how close chronologically the memory of the violence is; for as Brass, writing of Indian society has said, they "... continue to generate their own interpretations". These often are not objective, and can be selectively captured by political 'others' for their own agendas. In analysing the multiple discourses he collects Brass tries to follow the action and the varied interpretations, and look for any "grand interpretive framework" that may exist in the society, which might have triggered the incident (1997: 4-9).

Similarly, Das et al. are interested in the processes that lead to violence, as well as how people deal with it whilst maintaining their daily lives. Everyday life always has the potential for violence and Mehta says that "the social violences of everyday living are central to the moral order: they orient norms and normality" through the generation of local gossip (1997, in Das et al: 9), often casting the 'other' as immoral or in some other way vilifying them (Das, 2007: 126). The same phenomenon is described by Bar-Tal in relation to the Palestine-Israeli war and the Protestant-Catholic conflicts in Northern Ireland, where people valorise themselves, and take a superior moral stance in relation to their perceived opponents who are depicted as transgressors or sinners. Eventually experiences of collective violence may become embodied in rituals, ceremonies, and monuments to act as a cultural mnemonic that helps maintain the conflict (2003: 84-5).

Between the years 1999 and 2000 some ethno-religious violence erupted between two religious communities, one of long-term migrants and one of indigenes, in Indonesia. Chris Wilson (2008) has described their conflict and offered an analysis of its origins, which is far too complex to relate here. However, in trying to identify how the conflict became violent, why it spread and why it stopped, he emphasises the role of rumour, and how it feeds into public discourse, causing generalised violence. What appeared in his study to have been primarily about the competition for resources became reconfigured as an ethno-religious morality discourse, which fuelled the conflict. Both the discourse and the conflict spread from local to national and defenceless people were targeted, dismembered and even cannibalised. Wilson cites Brass and Tambiah as thinking that "certain actors portray minor incidents as having major communal significance in order to gain political or other advantage" (2008: 9). In doing this they may invoke folk heroes or myths. Das describes the effects of this as "voiding the 'other' of all subjectivity... peopling the world with a phantasmagoria of shadows" (2007: 134). This "voiding the 'other' of all subjectivity" can include, for

example, accusing them of theft (in Surville, 1769), killing a person's good name (in Whitehouse, 2007: 260-267), being savages or cannibals and so on. All these are ways of accusing 'others' of being immoral or dishonourable, and of providing motivation for the instigation and sustenance of violence, often over generations.

Yet not everyone chooses to follow these norms, and some people "digest... contain... and seal" them to protect generations to come. In Das's experience of the violence surrounding the Partition of India, for example, it was often women who carried out the work of ensuring intergenerational continuity by maintaining some silences and thereby repairing relationships damaged in the violent episodes (Das, 2007: 11-12; Das, Kleinman et al, 1997: 12). Both Das (2007: 95-100) and Trnka (2008: 13-14) have described how this happens. They call it a "descent into the ordinary", for in the details of their everyday lives, women still have to carry out all the usual tasks, support and tend to relationships which are ordinary activities that "allow life to knit itself back into some viable rhythm" (Cavell, in Das, 2007 b: xiii). However, in moments of crisis there is also a relativity of time, which changes the perception of its tempo in ordinary life. The past "takes on the quality of being unfinished and re-opened as part of the present" (Das cited in Trnka, 2008: 3), and this produces a reconfiguring of the violent episode within a grander time frame. However, whilst this may help some people to make sense of what is happening, it also results in misconceptions because some aspects may be forgotten, and the true connecting parts of the narrative sequence may be lost. The effect can then be to create rumours that either challenge the existing cultural schemas and re-evaluate them, or reinforce them (Das, cited in Trnka, 2008: 15; cf. Ortner, 1990: 88-91; cf. Wilkes, 2008: 30). Das and Trnka are, however, most interested in the interpersonal subjective experience, and how people make sense of violence. Besides illuminating how they may choose to perpetuate silences in order to protect the relationships that they need to nurture, this can also give insights into the development of the collective actions through which rumours acquire their effective force.

Wilson's view (2008: 8) also concurs with what Mehta has said, giving examples of the role of gossip and rumour, emotions (like fear and anger), and human agency in causing and perpetuating violent incidents (in Das et al, 1997: 6). Das et al. emphasise the subjectivity and ways that people *choose* to deal with it – in other words with *the action of human agency*. The findings of Susannah Trnka regarding the 2000 military coup in Fiji (2008) reinforce those of Veena Das who studied the

Sikh-Hindu troubles in India in 1984 (2007). They also highlight the social construction and reconstruction through gossip, rumour and myth, of inferences and memories about the ‘other’ which are then used to initiate or justify decisions by certain actors to incite or carry out violent actions.

Das and Trnka have illustrated how individuals and families adjust and make life tolerable and meaningful in the midst of the trauma of the relatively recent riots and coups in India and Fiji respectively. Similarly, Michael Jackson (2005) has described the recent violent situations in Sierra Leone and the ways that people there respond to the same kinds of trauma. Although he does not aim to explore the issue in quite the same way as Das or Trnka, he discusses the ‘social and ethical strategies’ that the Sierra Leone people employ in peace *and* war, as they are revealed by his investigation of storytelling events. Jackson’s approach “explores some of the theoretical implications of Michel Oakeshott’s assertion” that “there are not two worlds – the world of past happenings and the world of our present knowledge of those past events – there is only one world, and it is the world of present experience” (1933: 108 in Jackson, 2005: 355). He emphasises how stories from the past are received but not imposed, and that people have choices about how they will deploy them, to justify either retaliation or reconciliation (ibid: 358). Further to this, Jackson’s study involves the oral performance of traditional stories (including songs), which of course vary every time they are told. He describes this phenomenon as “hermeneutic openness”. The particular way that the Kuranko people described, perform their story-telling, is a communal one resembling play acting, in which a trio of narrators share the “*action of speaking, singing, sitting together and voicing various viewpoints... referring separate experiences to a common source*” (ibid: 359 [author’s emphasis]). Jackson describes the story telling in great detail, including some ontological differences that Kuranko have in their interpretation of what constitutes violence, but the stories nevertheless do demonstrate, in their content and performance, how different strategies for dealing with violence are articulated in the choices that social actors make. These strategies are vengeance and forgiveness (ibid: 367; cf. Schmidt & Schröder, 2001: 19). This is particularly relevant in relation to the rumours and myths previously mentioned that are often used politically, and not usually honestly, as justifications for violence. It also highlights the aspect of this thesis which wishes to demonstrate the role of particular social actors and the choices they make at key transition points in intercultural (and intra-cultural) interactions that

sometimes lead to violence. Such choices are dependant not only upon the conflict situation and context that may lead to violence, but upon perceptions of identity possessed by the actors.

Identity can be visualised as having a boundary. Glen Bowman points out that where a person or persons are violated and one person's boundary intrudes into another's, the act not only destroys that boundary but creates one as well (2001: 25). Identity usually refers both to an individual and to a cultural or social group. Anton Blok's work shows concern with the social boundaries involved, and the marginal people who inhabit and cross them. These people do social *work* which other members of society want, but do not wish to do, because it would be harmful to their status. Itinerant musicians, pedlars, blacksmiths, rubbish collectors, healers etc. are identified as symbolic boundary crossers between public and private space, and because of their ambiguous position have the potential for being either mediators or trouble makers. Through these possibilities they can thus become implicated in the political structures that enable powerful persons and institutions to suppress and exploit others by violent means. Blok's research looks at the struggles – often expressed in violence – of these ordinary people against oppression. Some such people become bandits whom the state regards as outlaws and their peers may see as 'Robin Hoods'. They do not relieve the oppression but perpetuate it though by aligning themselves with the powerful they risk an opportunity of raising their own status (2001: 14-68). In numerous societies, but notably in Sicily, it can be shown that their actions also help to perpetuate kinship hierarchies, alliances, and performative aspects of honour and vengeance. Where there are perceptions of "violation of reputation, humiliation and subjection" these are seen as needing to be vindicated by violent acts (ibid: 114). Because of their occupations, marginal people are both 'insiders and 'outsiders', parties to 'insider' knowledge and information not usually accessible to other members of their social class. They may therefore be vulnerable to coercion or bribery by élites who wish to enrol them in carrying out violent acts against members of their own class. Hence, they often carry out these acts on behalf of the powerful, even if only by purveying gossip or inside/outside information, as part of events leading to violence. On the other hand they may also be coerced by members of their own social class to spy or inform on their employers and they may equally act as mediators by creating silences about such information. Depending upon the particular circumstances and context, any of these choices could provide a

marginal person with power and status as an actual or performative ‘insider’ of the group with which he chooses to align himself. To understand violence and non-violence one needs to investigate the contextual circumstances, and the individuals who initiate it and who carry it out. Through agency and choice, including that involving violence, people “ create society, culture and history but they also are subject to the unintended consequences of their own deliberate actions and those of others”. According to Blok, neither are they entirely “autonomous... separated from... culture, society [and] history”. People participate in events often intentionally and deliberately, and the outcome is not always intentional or according to plan (2001: 1). However, in this thesis it is argued that whether or not any intentional actions result in outcomes, is dependant upon choices people make, and the number of people and opportunities there are to make them.

The conclusions of all these contemporary studies appear to apply equally to full-scale wars, large riots, coups, and even to small-scale skirmishes. There is great potential here for comparison with some Māori and Polynesian societies, and the previously described empirical studies of others do appear to demonstrate commonalities with the historical cases I have examined for New Zealand’s South Island region. An attempt at this comparison will be made in Chapters five to nine. Such more recent approaches to the study and interpretation of violence; the processual and subjective aspects, which others have demonstrated, are relevant in other places and in the past as well as the present. These other places and recent situations will be used in this thesis to explain the evidence of violence represented in the primary source material of sailors journals, indigenous oral histories, and missionary accounts for New Zealand and certain other parts of the Pacific. The possibly universal characteristics of the violence process described by Das (1997), Schmidt & Schröder (2001), Trnka (2008), and the role of human personality and agency described by Jackson (2005), can be shown as being connected with the ideas of blood, honour and violence described by Blok (2001). Furthermore, all these aspects of violence, non-violence, and its interpretation, provide good comparative material for reflection upon the Māori case involving the principles of *utu*, *murū*, *mana* and *tapu*.

## *Violence in History*

The idea of reconstructing stories and myths through their telling, the role of choice in how they are reconstructed, and how this enables people to live through trauma everyday, has been raised by Michael Jackson in relation to the recent violence in Sierra Leone. It highlights the influence and agency of the storytellers, in enabling a peaceful or violent resolution via the storytelling (2005). This is a key component of the mixture that Veena Das has called “descent into the ordinary” (2007). When people are in the midst of trauma they find ways of surviving it through discourse of various kinds. Das’s finding also intersects with the insights of Susanna Trnka, regarding the Fiji coup (2008), and helps clarify the role of personality, self-consciousness and reflexivity, in the contingent responses that individuals and communities make in violent situations. These insights can be utilised in interpreting the historical situations I examine here. In this section I examine a variety of historical situations – again from various parts of the world – which reveal that insights about them can be gained from using the kinds of recent anthropological analyses of the violence process and actors that have just been described. Amongst the insights is the fact that in all cases I have been able to locate, the interacting factions are not always from ‘overseas’ or ‘outside’, but they may even be from the same culture, society or nation. ‘Others’ can be within one’s own society or outside of it. They can be in one’s family, village, city or country, or outside of it. However, in whatever case, the ‘other’ will be different – in age, sex, social class, occupation, ethnicity, religion or culture, and their world-views will be different. Even if they subscribe to the same epistemology, they may differ in their interpretations of it (cf. Keesing, 1987). Nevertheless, ontological clashes are more likely between cultures as Clammer et al. have described (2004). From a Western interpretive point of view, the ontologies of ‘others’ can be seen as scientifically inaccurate, morally unjustifiable, economically unfair, ‘un-democratic’ and legally ‘wrong’. Therefore the ‘others’ may come to be considered as ‘inferior’. The argument here is that this phenomenon may be used to support one’s own ‘morality’ discourse against an ‘other’s’ and may provoke, initiate and sustain inter-cultural violence, even that between factions within one ‘cultural world’. For this reason there have always been violent incidents between societal factions during *intra*-cultural trading between different adjacent islands such as in the Pacific and North America, just as there has also been the formation of alliances in

those same places. Intercultural violence is not the exclusive domain of ‘first contact’ situations and encounters between Europeans and their ‘indigenous others’. As Jonathan Dean has said (in relation to North America), “Native societies were already engaged in a web of myriad cultures, as groups pushed up and down the river valleys” (1993: 86). Jolly & Tcherkézoff have recently highlighted this issue in relation to a variety of Oceanic territories including Papua-New Guinea, Fiji and Tonga where they recommend that we should “... perceive [historical] relations between Pacific peoples as... mediated through their connections... with each other” rather than principally with Europeans (2009: 1, 25).

In the following examples from a variety of places and historical times, it is possible to identify the people, performances, and elements of the processes identified by Das, Brass, Wilson, and Blok, that I have previously mentioned in this chapter. These examples illustrate how performances, personal identity management, decision-making, anger and fear are basic and universal human components in violent sequences resulting from transactions that have ‘gone wrong’. Of course the interpretive specifics within that decision-making belong to the time, place, culture and knowledge system where the transactions happened. Chapters five to eight are historical studies where processes of transactional violence are investigated using some New Zealand cases.

#### *A. Transactions gone wrong: Captains Gatteschi & Cellisi at Florence Italy in 1599*

The transactions described in this section are between two Italian military Captains in Florence, Italy in the year 1559. They are illustrated here because the conflict situation described is intra-cultural and local. It is also a small conflict when one compares it with the riots and wars investigated by Das, Brass and others aforementioned. Furthermore, this story illustrates the outcome of a conflict situation where agentive choice is seen to have altered the potential outcome. The story was researched, analysed, and described from family papers and state archives, by Donald Weinstein (1994: 204).

Captain Gatteschi had borrowed 37 scudi from the banker Davanzati, for which Captain Cellisi had acted as guarantor. Gatteschi had not paid the loan, and also was a creditor of Cellisi’s brother Piero, so he was not in good favour with Captain Cellisi

on both counts. Gatteschi denied the thirty-seven-scudo debt, saying that he had repaid it. At this point the dispute became public when on the 19<sup>th</sup> April Cellisi sued for the money, but the judge reduced the amount owing and Gatteschi's brother, acting for him, demanded a receipt. Cellisi then *chose* to be offended: "declar[ing] that he is a man of honour, not in the habit of asking for what is unfair" (ibid: 206). This choice was a turning point in the conflict because Cellisi together with an armed retainer, and an unsheathed sword then entered the Church of the Madonna of Humility the following day, 'baled up' Gatteschi's 'offending' brother at Mass, asked him to step outside for a few words, and accused him of being a liar. Permission for a duel was sought from Duc Cosimo de' Medici and was given, provided that the duel took place outside the Duc's territory and fair rules were followed. But the duel never took place. By January 1561, almost two years later, they were still arguing about the conditions for the duel, but " words have altered over the... twenty-two months; where the protagonists once affected a certain lofty disdain, they now indulge in unbuttoned abusiveness, hurling at each other such pleasantries as... *vil feminella...*" (ibid: 210), and Gatteschi accused Cellisi of being a coward and a murderer by referring to his war service. Weinstein likens this Renaissance situation to the legal tradition of the mediaeval judicial duel, when there was a movement away from fighting, and a greater emphasis on honour. There had therefore been a cultural shift within which framework the decision to not fight was made. However, given that permission for the fight *was* given, there was a conscious decision made to convert it into a fight of acrimonious words. The 'satisfaction of honour' was still staged and performed, but using words instead of swords. Thus there is a conflict situation, started by a person with a particular identity, being 'othered' by his friend's brother, who perceived that he had been dishonoured or shamed. He thought that there had been an intrusion on his integrity, so he challenged the 'culprit' to a duel. A sequence of events took place in which decisions to not fight were made. Because of these choices and because of the culture existing at that time, the physical violence was transformed and a performance involving verbal fighting took place.

*B. Transactions gone wrong: Captain Porter & Chief Gamzdop at Nass River, British Columbia in 1811*

In 1811 some coastal Tsimshian ‘Indians’ attacked a ship’s watering party at the Nass River in British Columbia. The situation was described by Howay in 1925 as being quite a common phenomenon, which he attributed to the fact that the crews were small, the locals wanted to obtain goods and armaments, and also to “avenge ancient, or anticipated, or vicarious wrongs by storming vessels” (Dean, 1993: 84). Howay thus reinforced the judgements made by the Europeans and took no account of the oral histories of the locals. However, both the log of the ship *Hamilton* (Captain Porter), and four Tsimshian texts about the incidents have now been examined and compared by Dean. He comments that one of the problems of ‘doing’ this kind of history is that time sequences are difficult to establish from oral traditions, which perform a social role, but “both the document and the traditions may be seen as clichés embodying historical truths, illuminating the processes of history and cultural interaction” (ibid: 96). The log describes the context, the sequence of events, transition points, the number of people, subsequent events, and reasons for the behaviour of the Europeans. It also makes negative judgements about the motives of the Tsimshian. When the ship’s boat went ashore with four crew these people were, along with thousands of Tlingit and Haida people, present for the catching of candlefish at the end of the season:

But just as they got the warter filled they Received a volley of Musquet balls from some Natives Consealed in the woods Which did unfortunately kill the islander died on the spot and shot... Through the boddy & broke his left arm & he fell in the bote & others got off with her safe with the assistance of the ship’s Cannon...[sic]” (Porter, 21 May, 1811, in Dean, 1993: 88).

Dean reports that the log indicates that Joseph Lawrence was also injured, “the boat was pursued by canoes the *Hamilton*... remained in the area... [and] continued to trade for the rest of the day with some Tlingit people”. The journal refers to the native people as being “treacherous and always looking for opportunities to ‘cut off’ small parties” (ibid: 89). The four Tsimshian texts vary in the details of what happened, but share several notable features that appear to be common and possibly universal features of most violence sequences:

- 1... a person or persons carries out an action in the course of a transaction.
- 2... the action is misunderstood by ‘others.’

3... a decision about action (usually more or less spontaneous) is made by one person.

4... some kind of violent response occurs/ doesn't according to the decision made.

5... the event escalates/not according to what the nature of the response was.

6... reports by either party usually cast the 'other' as being in some way 'wrong'.

These stages highlight the issue raised by Jackson and others, that multiple oral histories when compared often display the actors having available to them in the traditional repertoire, a choice of how and why to act in conflict situations. These stories were not synchronic as in the case Jackson describes, but they can, nevertheless, be compared. In the case described by Dean, three of the four Tshimshan stories have a character in common: Chief Gamzdop who inadvertently sits on a skylight on the boat while they are trading skins with Captain Porter<sup>14</sup>. This causes offence to one of the European crew and Gamzdop is spontaneously attacked and thus shamed. The stories offer three options regarding what he did next:

- i. He "seized his attacker and threatened to throw him overboard", but the dispute was resolved.
- ii. He "refused to retaliate, felt ashamed, went ashore and then fired on the boat."
- iii. He "felt publicly humiliated and would have to give a potlatch to cleanse his name... so he removed himself to the waterhole and lay in ambush for the sailors" (ibid: 91-2).

Thus at Nass river, British Columbia, in May 1811, a sequence of events led to conflict, because of perceived humiliation, cultural misunderstanding, retaliation to recoup lost honour, and the decisions made by particular persons about "others' and their motivations. The options were there – at least for the Tshimsham – "to act otherwise" in the way Giddens has described for human agency (1990: 308).

*C. Transactions gone wrong: Captain de Surville & Chief Ranginui, Doubtless Bay, New Zealand 1769*

The situation in the next section of this chapter, describes how Surville and his men interacted with Māori, and the chief Ranginui and his people responded to the violent episode. Decisions they made involved particular personalities and the use,

construction and reconstruction of their own and ‘other’s’ discourse, myth, history, and epistemology. There was a disparity in understanding between two ontological worlds and these issues are key factors in the ‘violence process’. The use of insights from the present to look at the past, the connections of gossip and rumour-creation, morality, honour and context, with violent episodes in early European and Māori societies, may help clarify why and how violence played out between them. One can use the descriptions of the initiating circumstances, precursor events and development of this violent conflict that arose during the two-week visit to Doubtless Bay, Northland, in 1769, of the French ship *St Jean Baptiste* commanded by Jean-Francoise Marie de Surville. Five voyage accounts are available, each of which adds a dimension to the description of the context, actors and process involved in the development of one conflict where violence occurred (Ollivier & Hingley, 1987).

A letter attributed to Pierre Monneron, the ship’s clerk was written to Monseigneur De Boynes, Minister of the Navy. It described the purpose of the voyage as being to search for an island “discovered in 1686 by David where the English have found great riches”. The vessel’s outfitters had “intended her for trade between the Indies [but changed their minds and] wasted no more time... so as to forestall the English [from taking] possession of this island”. However, “the captain alone knew the secret of the outfitting” and the real aim of the expedition was concealed even from the second-in-command, Labé (ibid: 147-8). Prior to their anchoring at Doubtless Bay in December 1769 they had had a difficult voyage. They had lost a boat and four anchors, sixty of the original crew of 172 had died of scurvy, and the remaining crew were in poor condition. Besides, they had lost the most vital equipment needed for manoeuvring their ship. Surville and his men would thus have been anxious, and in poor health and spirits, after sailing through difficult weather. Whilst looking for a fabled island, they were then visiting ‘savage’ shores at Doubtless Bay. Surville, not knowing that Cook had already named it, called it Lauriston Bay.

Comparison of Ollivier and Hingley’s (1987) English translations of the French voyage accounts, and examination of how they are framed, exposes some features of the varying personalities, attitudes, and understanding of the ‘others’, whom the French crew and officers interacted with. There was considerable variation in their descriptions of the transaction events and actors, and of the transition points that culminated in violence. The descriptions also reveal some instances where violence

was averted, more ‘by good luck than good management’, as it seems that coincidence in the interpretation of objects and symbols was an enabling factor.

It is clear from the descriptions, that on arrival offshore, about one hundred Māori, in three canoes, met Surville and his one hundred and twelve crewmen. They exchanged fish for cloth, which was passed between them via a basket on a rope. The chief and some others came aboard:

“A lot of fish [was given]... in exchange for a few rags of cotton” (L’Horme).

“Fish... for a piece of white cloth & a knife” (Labé).

“... a little fish & shellfish in exchange for a little cotton cloth” (Monneron).

“A great deal of fish exchanged for some cloth put in a basket which they then filled with fish” (Surville).

A “... Chief came aboard & was given a jacket of coarse red cloth & red trousers in exchange for his cloak” (L’Horme).

“... the jacket was put on him first & he put the breeches under his arm & gave the cloak to Surville, though he had tried to give the cloak first” (Monneron).

They also gave the chief a shirt. There was apparently no violence on this occasion. It seems that the coincidence in their similar-though-different interpretation of objects and symbols was an enabling factor in the appeasement process. However, the arrival on land the following day presented some difficulties, as the next paragraph will show, and Surville’s problematical attitude is revealed in the various journal interpretations. The French longboat had to travel some distance to land and almost throughout the journey was treated to a prolonged *pōwhiri* (welcome) with waving greenery, which L’Horme says “ must have been tiring for them”. Surville stated that he was not sure whether it was a welcome or was telling them to leave. The local Chief came down to meet them at the shore, welcomed Surville with the *hongi* (greeting), and eventually permitted them to collect wood and water. Although no violence occurred, the potential for it became apparent in Surville’s attitude. This is clear when the journal representations of Monneron (the ship’s clerk), and Lieutenant Pottier de L’Horme, are compared with those of Surville, the commander:

The chief came to receive him accompanied by a certain number of men scattered about on one side and the other... they gave the impression that their demonstrations were intended to honour our captain (Monneron).

He went forward with the chief... some men and women gathered around them unarmed with a fairly peaceful demeanour... (Pottier de L’Horme).

A lot of savages gathered there some with spears, others with clubs. They occupied all the heights... assembled in squadrons... I got the soldiers to disembark and told others to stay in the boat, which I had kept afloat in case of treachery... for us, neither their feeble arms nor their poor fortifications are capable of stopping us for a minute... during the whole interview I kept myself surrounded by five or six soldiers who stayed some distance off standing on alert... to watch out for the odd stab in the back (Surville).

In the development of the argument it will be shown that Surville's attitude (which continued in this problematical way throughout the visit) was allied to other impression management factors that will be further discussed in this thesis. Surville had cast his Māori hosts as being much more threatening than did Monneron or L'Horme, and this appears to reflect that he was ambitious, conscious of enhancing his own status (cf. Blok, 2001), and wishing to be seen as brave and cautious. He was following secret instructions that only Monneron's writings allude to. Capturing and kidnapping people and things from the islands he visited, in order to obtain knowledge of them, his constant reference to them as 'barbaric', 'savages', and finally as 'blacks', suggests that Surville was influenced by Enlightenment discourse and practices. This aspect of the French crew's behaviour, along with that of other European visitors in that time frame, will be interpreted in the light of what more recent commentators on the development of violence have to say, about the concern of actors for their own impression management and status, and also of the role of public discourse, rumour and myth in inciting violent events (cf. Clammer et. al. 2004; Das, 2007; Trnka, 2008; Jackson, 2005). All the issues discussed by these commentators on recent violent events, are revealed also in the journals of Surville himself, and of other officers and crew who observed him interacting with Māori at Doubtless Bay. It is also clear that not all his officers agreed with him.

Further to Surville's attitude, close analysis and comparison of the five journals for the same visit make it possible to identify all the transition points and actors leading to the final disaster briefly summarised here. Surville thought that a yawl, which they had lost in a storm, and was washed up on a beach, was 'stolen' by the Māori people who retrieved it. He therefore enacted violent retribution by capturing Ranginui, a chief who had helped them during the same storm by feeding and sheltering their sick. He burned their canoes and houses and kidnapped Ranginui (cf. Salmond, 1997), taking him on board where he had him clapped in irons. Comparative attention to the varying eyewitness accounts reveals important information about the motivation that Surville had for doing this action, and how his officers viewed it:

This morning I had the least damaged boat put in the water, wishing to land with the fittest of the sick, and also to see if I could not capture a native in order to extract from him afterwards whatever knowledge it would be possible to obtain about his country (Surville, 30<sup>th</sup> December 1769).

We had not gone a third of a league when we saw a lot of blacks... some running up the heights... more sitting in squadrons...one even made signs for me to approach. I stopped and signed for him to approach myself. He hesitated for along time. At last he came straight to me unarmed. I reproached him for the theft of the yawl and ... said to a few sailors whom I had expressly brought along to arrest him... [and] led him to the longboat... wishing to extend the revenge further I [set alight a beautiful canoe and] five or six groups of fishers huts... storehouses of fern root... setting fire to things all around... a little village... we arrived on board at 4[pm] I had the longboat and the captured canoe hoisted at once, having in addition just what I would desire, a savage and a native canoe... (Surville, 31<sup>st</sup> Dec. 1769).

These comments by Surville need to be compared with those of Monneron and L'Horme who were both present. They depict a different story:

Following the river marked 6 on the plan of Lauriston Bay... there he found a few savages... getting into their canoes and he called out to them. One of them approached and we arrested him on the spot. The others took flight. We were able to arrest only one man and his canoe... We came back on board and our surgeon-general recognised him as he who had offered asylum to our sick and who had even given them food. We should no longer expect to receive any help from the inhabitants of this country (Monneron, p.187).

Mr de Surville, not finding [the yawl]... spoke to the savages he met there, where there was a fairly big village, and asked them what had happened to her. But as he could get no satisfaction out of them he got angry with them, had one captured by force and taken to the boat by force with his hands tied, to be watched over, and had the village, the canoes and the nets... all set on fire. After that he covered all the surrounding area looking for the yawl, which he could not find. He came back to the ship in the afternoon with the prisoner who turned out to be the same man who had had dried fish brought to me when I was without food at Refuge Cove in the bad weather...

I was touched with the greatest compassion when this poor wretched man came on board. Recognising me, and not knowing what his fate would be, he flung himself at my knees, embraced them fervently... with tears in his eyes. He said some incomprehensible things... but indicated by signs that he was the one who had had fish brought to me... This man appeared to be asking for mercy, or begging me to ask it for him. I did my best to console him, and explained that we had no wish to harm him... (L'Horme, p.119)

It thus appears that not only did Surville *plan* to 'capture a native' and a canoe, as he had already done in the Solomon islands, but he lost both his yawl and his temper and had no inkling that perhaps the retrieval by the 'savages' of the remains of the boat that had been washed ashore may have been a legitimate salvage in their eyes, rather than what Surville considered as a 'theft'. Surville had, after all, admitted in his journal on the first day of their welcome, that he was unsure of what they meant. This issue can then be considered by reference to local Māori customary practice, where items washed ashore were gifts of Tangaroa (God of the Sea) and then became the 'property' of the person or group who had found them, as outlined by Salmond (1997). Herein lies an example of an inter-cultural ontological disjunct which has led to violence being visited upon a particular Māori community in 1769, and whose descendants still tell the story of Ranginui's loss, their puzzlement as to why it occurred, and the justification for their subsequent actions:

... *kahore kau he take a aua mai tai i herehere kau ai i a te Ranginui a i maua noatia ai aia ki waho ki te moana, na aua mahi nei te Māori i mahi raruke ai i te mai tai, u noa mai ki enei motu, kia taea ai te utu mo ana mate ano a te Maori i te mai tai* (Salmond, 1997: 542).

[*There was not any cause for which Ranginui was made prisoner by those [sailors], nor was there any reason for his being taken out to sea, but for such acts as this Maori retaliated on the [sailors], who might come to these islands, that the Maori might have revenge for the evil bought [sic] on them by the [sailors] or those from over the sea*](Salmond, trans. 1997: 209-10)[my emphasis]

Thus one can identify in Surville's interactions with Māori the same issues occurring as have been observed in modern studies of inter-cultural conflict. The place is different, the people are different but the interactions play out in a very similar manner. They involve understandings of the actions of people and things; both spontaneous and planned decisions being made which dramatically alter the course of proceedings and sometimes lead to violence. Behaviours are also shown to reflect the cultural backgrounds and ontological worlds of the actors.

## Summary

Conflicts are processual. They have an initiating circumstance or context. If the conflict is intercultural it will have more than one context because of the differing world-views possessed by people from the different cultures involved. The process proceeds stepwise, and at each step there is a corresponding transition based upon a decision made by someone. The decision is based upon perceptions of the conflict – its origin, its process thus far – and its potential future outcomes. It is also based upon the kind of person or people who make the decisions. They decide whether to negotiate or whether to use violence to resolve the conflict at any stage in the conflict. I see the issue of identity, personhood and self-perception as of primary importance in these transition-point decisions. They change the course of the conflict and constantly reconfigure it by generating new discourse, and in whatever course is chosen, invoking myth and creating it.

However, returning to the issue of what violence is in the context of this thesis, and Garver's previously mentioned definition: "violence in human affairs comes down to violating persons" and also their property, it is possible to combine this with the idea raised by Blok for the Sicilian Mafia of his early fieldwork, that incorporates all kinds of intrusion (not just physical) on the integrity of the 'other'. In addition to obvious acts of physical violence there are then, three other categories of intrusion or

violation, which should be included in any conception of human violence. These consist of various types of threats to the integrity and self-perception of the decision maker or those he represents. They encompass the following categories:

- Slander/accusation/lies/rumours/ideologies perceived as embodied lies
- Threats to honour/reputation/status/identity/autonomy
- Dishonesty, deception, theft, and silencing of truths

These threats concur with Blok's thesis that Honour and Violence are closely entwined in the human imaginary, and indeed loss of honour could be interpreted as social death. It would influence the prestige, social and economic capital of a person, and have the potential to deprive their families and descendants of resources in the same way as physical death might. Weinstein has pointed out that "to uphold the chivalric ethos was to be entitled to the world's esteem and its high rewards; to fail that test was to suffer social death" (1994: 212). Thus, if a decision maker perceives a situation having the potential for *real or social death* as an outcome, then this potential begins to inform the decision-making process and may lead to pro-active violence, in order to stem that potential. The categories described above, can therefore actually be perceived in certain contexts as death threats even if this is only imagined. Then violence may erupt as a result of their deployment by human actors, responding at key decision-making transition points in a conflict sequence. In the context of the operation of both cultural schemas and human agentive and contingent action, the issue is choice, as has been demonstrated by Das, Brass and Jackson. The choices made will depend not only upon the perceived nature of the threat, but also upon imagined scenarios of how the conflict might play out. There is a strong component of performance related to the issue of status and honour in this imagining, as Denning has revealed in his interpretation of the courtmartials following the mutiny on the *Bounty* (1992).

What would appear from one ontological viewpoint to be a choice for negotiation rather than violent action may not be effective interculturally because of ontological disjunction with the 'other'. Chapter three then considers this matter of differing ontological worlds.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Seeing and Knowing: Mātauranga Māori & Conflicting Ontological Worlds

Where...conflicts are identified at all, whether between indigenes and the state or between competing groups within... societies, they are often explained in terms of what are actually lower-level concepts such as ethnicity or identity (Eriksen 1998), rather than through a more fundamental... uncovering of [what Holland et al, 1998] called 'figured worlds' – the cosmologies or ontological conceptions upon which culture is ultimately based, and in the friction between which, in a pluralistic world, conflict is generated... (Clammer, Poirier & Schwimmer, 2004: 3)

In the above quotation, Clammer et al. were considering how ontological disjunctions in the modern world could cause conflict situations to arise. However, the purpose of this thesis is to examine the causes of Māori-European conflicts in pre-colonial times, and here also, the issue of ontological disjunction may constitute one fundamental aspect of those conflicts. The intention is, therefore, to explore some of the theoretical and methodological pathways that have been used previously to illuminate conflict situations between Europeans and other indigenous peoples. As far as is possible, the state of knowledge in relevant aspects of Mātauranga Māori, and in the English and European philosophical fashions of the time is then examined, and these two knowledge systems are compared. The fundamental bases of the two epistemologies will be shown in contrast to each other, despite the fact that they also exhibit some commonalities. A glimpse of how Clammer's thesis regarding the modern world may also be applied to early Māori-European conflicts has already been suggested in Chapter two. In that chapter the worsening relationship of Captain de Surville and the Māori people at Doubtless Bay in 1769 eventually became conflictual, and this situation was described as being due at (least in part) to cultural misunderstandings. Succeeding chapters in the thesis will then describe various conflict situations where the same phenomenon is shown to be at least one of the contributing factors to the development of conflict. Of course, such epistemological matters could be regarded in each case as part of an overarching social and religious belief system, but the thesis will also discuss the role of human agency and the agency of things, in the interpretation and praxis of living out such a belief system. These also contributed to the development of violent sequences.

## Epistemology and ontology

In any study of the development of violence during inter-cultural transaction sequences there are a number of general issues that need to be addressed, such as; *what counts as knowledge? Who should decide what counts? Whose version of truth should be privileged, or can there be only one truth and one reality? Who has the right to investigate these matters and interpret them?*

All human societies have creation stories that seek to explain their relationships with the physical and social environments in which they find themselves. All peoples have wondered about things over which they seem to have some personal control, and also things they interact with, over which they do not feel in control. Thus by trial and error and by guile as well as informed decision making they have formed patterns of understanding or epistemes of their lived worlds that they constantly test and modify – as Popper has pointed out – coming closer and closer to a ‘truth’ which explains the observed phenomena of those lived worlds. These patterns of ‘truths’ then come to form a knowledge framework or epistemology, which usually includes a moral component that dictates how people should interpret what counts as truth, honesty and proper behaviour towards other beings and their environment. Problems occur when societies have different frameworks based on different truths in which what count as ‘other beings’ vary widely, and are differently interpreted. Furthermore, when individuals or groups from such societies meet and become involved in transactions, they often do not comprehend the actions of the ‘others’ because they have no understanding of the knowledge framework upon which their behaviour and decision-making is based. Indeed it can be expected that even within a society whose members share a common epistemological framework, a variety of responses and interpretations of that knowledge system can occur. Keesing has noted this for the Kwaio people and that knowledge can therefore be used hierarchically, so that ‘experts’ become privileged and powerful (1987: 161-2). They are also in a position to interpret and decide what constitutes ‘truth’ and proper responses to it. Therefore even in societies that have no ‘law’ (in the Western sense) there are still rules incorporated within the epistemological framework. These rules are understood more or less well by different individuals within that society. For example, in his criticism of Sahlins’ interpretation of theological and mythical themes in the Kumulipo chant – which was supposed to have contributed to Cook’s death in Hawai’i – Lanman refers to knowledge being

either ‘cognitively optimal’ (relatively easily understood) or ‘cognitively costly’ (not as easy to understand, remember, or transmit), and thus differentially accessible to certain members of society (2007: 116-7). Epistemology is, then, about certain knowledge, a framework of truths that explains the relationships of a people with and in their environment. It is constantly subject to testing as Popper has said, and what has stood for long as ‘truth’ may consequently need to be modified.

In alignment with ‘knowing’ “(an epistemological state of reflection on the world)”, is the issue of ‘seeing’ “(... an ontological state... [of having the cognitive ability to adopt one or another] species-specific perspective[s] on the world)” as Vivieros de Castro has described it (cited in Pederson, 2007: 161). Put another way, Amiria Hēnare said, “ While [epistemology] seeks to find ways to apply concepts that are already known to unfamiliar instances, [ontology] treats the unfamiliarity of those instances as an occasion to transform concepts... to give rise to new ones” (2007: 18). Thus, on this reading, ontology is seen as a matter of how people can, through praxis and cognition, ‘see’ and ‘know’ their own relationships with other things and beings in the physical, social, (and even possibly) metaphysical worlds they inhabit (Clammer et al, 2004: 4; Metge, 2002: 320). In any society, because praxis and cognition vary situationally, and can “transform concepts” they can also challenge received knowledge. Subject to public discourse, and filtering through ‘experts’, they can potentially change ‘truths’. Within any one culture there is, then, a high probability that age, degree of education, intelligence and rank will influence the interpretations and agentive actions of any particular individual, and, through discourse, any number of individuals, because of altered cognition in relation to realities of the world and of the knowledge framework. In the case of an historical investigation such as this thesis, accessing the texts, oral histories, art, poetry, myths, narratives and music of a society can provide a rich mixture of insights into how they perceive and conceive their own ‘figured worlds’.

However, when anthropologists investigate interactions between two societies with disparate knowledge systems, praxes, and conceptions of reality, this then raises the issue of representation, power, and ethics; the questions already posed of *who has the right to investigate these matters and interpret them?* and *who should decide what counts?*

### *The position of the scholar*

Linda Tuhiwai-Smith, and other writers of indigenous descent invoke the spirit of ‘*tinō rangatiratanga*’, which is an ethical position negotiated between Māori and the British Crown in Aotearoa-New Zealand’s 1840 Treaty of Waitangi. It encompasses the special relationship of indigenous peoples with their land. This relationship is part of their ‘figured world’ and includes realities ‘other’ than those usually accepted by Westerners as ‘real’. As Metge has described, there are metaphysical components to these Māori realities (ibid.). Clammer et al. quote Smith: “It is one of the few parts of ourselves which the West cannot decipher, cannot understand and cannot control... yet”. However, they also point out that the need to include indigenous ways of ‘seeing’ can be addressed by initiatory participation in a culture, as Poirier has done amongst the Kakatja Aboriginal people in Australia. This is not about control but about understanding and embodiment (both cited in Clammer et al: 10-11). It describes an ethical methodology that fits the requirements of ‘seeing’ and ‘knowing’ and is a model of the kind of commitment that Amiria Hēnare advocates when she says: “On this view, anthropological analysis has little to do with how other people think about the world. It has to do with how *we* must think in order to conceive the world the way they do” (2007: 15).

Hēnare’s approach owes much to the influence of Amerindian perspectivist philosophy as espoused by Vivieros De Castro. Anthropologists need to take seriously the claim that indigenous articulations of their ways of ‘seeing’ are, at least to them, “enunciations of different worlds” (ibid.). In them, voice and meaning are given to concepts whose truth is foreign to, and not recognised by most Westerners for whom what counts as ‘truth’ therefore becomes epistemologically contested. Furthermore, no one culture has a monopoly on truth, for truth in this view is about the perception of the people whose ‘figured world’ is under consideration. This, then, makes allocating the power of decision-making and representation of such perceptions of the world a difficult matter because it involves assigning the power over deciding which epistemological position is ‘correct’. For *inter-cultural* study this assignment then becomes even more problematic. However, Vivieros De Castro has recently suggested a method of comparison between anthropologies that gives full credence to the ontologies, and to the perspectival positions of both cultures being compared. He has identified the problem as one of “translation of the ‘native’s’ practical and discursive

concepts ...[in a way that] allows the alien concepts to deform and subvert the translators conceptual toolbox so that the intention of the original language can be expressed within the new one". His proposed solution is a method called *equivocation*, that "... allows communication between perspectival positions", and the objective for the translator is to remain in with the objective equivocation, allowing space for different understandings to co-exist (2004: 5). The equivocation then becomes "a tool of objectification" between indigenous and anthropological discourse where it becomes apparent that *different people misunderstand things differently*. That is, the investigator identifies an object, being, or conceptual expression, which both the 'native' and the 'other' can 'see'. Then s/he attempts to 'see' and translate it from both subjective perspectives. If this is done by personal *involvement and dialogue* of both peoples, then the perceptual and conceptual differences in 'seeing' and 'knowing' can therefore be objectified.

Despite such methodological efforts to eliminate the tensions, they are always present, especially if one party alone is making interpretations about the behaviour of the 'other', and particularly if it is across time, using early documents and oral histories, as is the case for this thesis. However, it is worth considering the opinion of Richard White:

Descendants of Europeans cannot claim a special knowledge of what their ancestors thought centuries ago simply because their ancestors in some collective sense created these documents, nor can descendants of native peoples claim privileged knowledge because of accounts of contact that survive amongst them (2000: 170).

Nevertheless, though biased and incomplete, these 'documents' can help elucidate what happened when Māori and Pakeha interacted in pre-colonial times. They reveal at least to some extent, how and why people behaved as they did, and, with the objects exchanged, may explicate their ways of 'seeing and knowing'. Different behaviours and objects may themselves become *equivocations*, as Chapter four will illustrate. Because a 'thing' is 'seen' as inanimate by Europeans, and could at the same time be 'seen' as the instantiation of an *atua* or spiritual being by Māori, then it is an equivocation. It highlights in an objective way, differences in 'truth' which co-exist between knowledge systems. For the Māori and European groups being examined in this thesis, the records differ, and these differences are a reflection of their ways of 'seeing and knowing' as much as they are a reflection of the technologies available to them. What they *chose* to remember and *how* they did this

was a matter of perception and conception, about their own identities, about what counts as truth and under what circumstances. For Europeans there are diaries and other archival material, and for Māori there are oral histories, oratorical practices, myths, *waiata* (songs & chants) and *karakia* (prayers & invocations), which persist and can help reveal those ways of ‘seeing’ that existed at the time being investigated. European and indigenous experts who now live in both ‘figured worlds’ can assist in their interpretation. Some form of detailed lived experience within the culture in question can also provide an ethical platform where indigenous people can guide and keep investigators under surveillance whilst they learn “how we must think in order to conceive the world the way they do” – or indeed the way they may have done in former times (Hēnare, 2007: 15; cf. Ingold, 2009: 23<sup>15</sup>). Following Hēnare’s recommendation that no reality or truth should be privileged over any other, this then makes possible translations and representations about why situations of conflict, for example, arose between them. Moreover, just as indigenous scholars and their ‘figured worlds’ can provide insights into Western ontologies, so can ‘Western’ scholars provide insights into understanding indigenous ontologies. In true collaboration, the method of *equivocation* suggested by Vivieros De Castro could well be used for translation of aspects of the ‘figured worlds’ being compared, for, in his words: “As in stereoscopic vision, it is necessary that the two eyes not see the *same* thing in order for *another* thing (the real thing in the field of vision) to be able to be *seen*, that is constructed or counterinvented... to translate is to presume difference” (2004: 20).

New perspectives on truths are always valuable for any society, and food for debate. Truths can be shared, tested in both realms, and both can benefit from the insights thus revealed about human ‘worlds’. Ethnocentrism does not belong only to Westerners, and the problem that needs to be solved is actually in the domain of ethics, which is the basis for decision-making about how and by whom understandings about truth in inter-cultural transactions should be negotiated and represented. For this present time, Borofsky recommends: “... conversations across differences... as a way of collectively thinking with the region’s varied pasts, [is]... a way of weaving new narratives and new conversations” (2000: 29-30).

Hau’ofa repeats that this has always happened in the Pacific and elsewhere – humans are forever constructing various kinds of narratives – “... every generation rewrites its history...”. He urges Oceanians to participate in these historical

reconstructions and interpretations, that they will gain from them a greater autonomy. The Māori and Polynesian way of seeing ‘*nga wa o mua*’ (times gone before) as being alive in us, is a promising and reflexive way for all inhabitants of Oceania to interpret our lives moving forward into the future (2000: 454-6).

Therefore, in the spirit of having ‘conversations across differences’, and across time, the next two sections of this chapter seek to outline the two ways of ‘seeing and knowing’ which contributed to much ill-informed decision making by Māori and European participants during early transactions on the real and metaphorical beaches of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Aotearoa-New Zealand (cf. Denning, 1980; 2004).

## Mātauranga Māori

What Māori now call ‘Mātauranga Māori’ may be translated as ‘Māori Knowledge’ or ‘Māori Education’. It is both these things, but it is more, and would more rightfully be described as an epistemology (Salmond, 1985: 241-263; Tau, 2001 a: 61-75; 2001 b: 131-152). It is a system of knowledge that has survived in its fundamental entirety into the present through oratory, song, poetry, chants, prayers, invocations, narrative history, visual art, weaving, carving, tool/weapon-making and building construction. These *practices* are repeated regularly at times of life crises and celebration in the present day. Each *iwi* (tribe) and *hapū* (sub-tribe) possess versions or interpretations of the overall framework and various elders, even within one hapū, may ‘see’ and ‘know’ different details or praxes of ‘truth’. Nevertheless, some aspects are beyond question, and such elders may, whilst following accepted protocols, and at appropriate times and situations, reveal their individual interpretations of the basic ‘truths’ that have been recorded and are accepted by all. They may publicly declare their differences with others in open debate on the *marae* or in the *wharenui* (traditional meeting house). Many books can and have been written about each of these individual aspects of *Mātauranga Māori* so there is no intention here to explore any of them in detail, but to provide an outline of the framework and how it may have related to the lived lives of the people during the inter-cultural transactions and conflicts being investigated in this thesis. A number of historians and anthropologists both indigenous and European have undertaken such comparisons<sup>16</sup> but their findings (not elaborated here) show that, via different versions of creation stories, and oratorical practices, it is possible to access their core features and begin to ‘see’ how

Māori ‘remember’ and ‘know’ their ‘figured worlds’. Ngoi Pewhairangi of Ngāti Porou has described how she was taught: “... Māori things involve the whole of nature... They don’t actually teach you... when you’re asleep in your room on your own, they’re singing waiatas [sic] or reciting genealogies... before you realise it you’ve learned to recite too, and you’ve learned the words of a certain song... by heart” (in M. King, 1985: 7-10).

The ‘core truths’ of the Māori epistemological framework must, in European terms, be regarded as axiomatic because, they physically exist and can be seen even though they cannot be fully explained. They are the universe and the physical world around us. They can be experienced. The land, the sky, sun, stars and moon, the rivers lakes and sea, and the living things in and on them are all visible, so this is *evidence that they are true* (cf. Engelke, 2009: 16). Humans can ‘see’ and ‘know’ them because *tāngata* (humans) depend upon them, so they have a relationship with them. Yet, unlike the situation in relationships between humans, the features of the natural world may be ‘supernaturally’ powerful, unpredictable, and fearsome. So they are ‘as humans’ but they are ‘not like humans’. Therefore, though related to humans they are more difficult to understand or predict, and their relationship is more distant and mediated by gods. The framework usually described to explain this relationship has been illustrated by Tau via an hierarchical genealogical model (2001: 136-7). There are no exceptions known by me, to the *genealogical and hierarchical basis* of this model that exists throughout Polynesia, though the particularities and rank orders of certain gods, heroes and persons vary amongst islands, tribes and families. All Māori tribes have chants documenting the stages of creation from darkness (Te Pō), to ‘nothingness’ (Te Kōre), to light (Te Ao Mārama). Salmond quotes one such chant, from Te Kohuru of Rongoroa, in 1854 (1985: 244-5; cf. Shirres, 1997: 24). This chant is one of several that recall how thought, memory, mind, desire and conscious knowledge are seen as being present very early in creation, even before Te Pō (darkness) appeared:

Na te kune te pupuke	From the source of growth the rising
Na te pupuke te hirihiri	From the rising the thought
Na te hirihiri te mahara	From thought the memory
Na te mahara te hinengaro	From the memory the mind
Na te hinengaro te manaako	From the mind the desire
Ka hua te waananga	Knowledge became fruitful
Ka noho i a rikoriko	It dwelt in dim light
Ka puta ki waho ko te po	Darkness emerged... <sup>17</sup>

Thus, thought, memory, mind, desire and knowledge all appear to have been seen as closely associated from the beginning. There is no mind/body dualism, and since the chant goes on to describe the emergence by the same process of the winds, the atmosphere, the moon, the land, gods and humans, there appears to be no nature/culture dualism either. The chants also contain what Salmond calls: “cosmological speculations... [They raise] an acute problem... [and] it is extremely difficult to sort out literal from figurative meanings in what they say”(ibid.).

However, these matters involve poetic interpretation, and do not alter the fundamental framework of the creation story including that humans had two original parents named in the standard version as Ranginui and Papatuanuku<sup>18</sup>, and that their children became the departmental gods of the human and natural worlds. The issue is that the *genealogical and hierarchical* model, illustrates the descent relationship amongst humans, their ancestors (including *atua*/deities or spirits), the natural world, and their cosmogenic evolution in the universe. Tau (2001: 136-7) has stated that it is an ego-centric model, placing humans as the basis, and including in it the Gods and the natural world, all of them therefore being related. From these, the mythical and historical generations down to the present can be named. According to chants of several traditions, the *knowledge* had its source in creation, was held in the repository of the gods, and was obtained from them by humans. The pattern is universal amongst tribes, though the actual characters who climbed into the heavens to obtain it, are differently named in some traditions. For example some myths name Tāwhaki, whilst most name the demigod Tāne. “*Nga Kete e Toru*”, the three baskets obtained from the heavens, each contained different categories of knowledge, and whilst their names vary amongst the tribes, the three categories involved were basically:

1. Esoteric, ritual and transcendental knowledge needed for communicating with the gods.
2. Knowledge of *whakapapa*, the stars, and *tikanga*, and “... knowledge... behind the world perceived by our senses...” (R.Taylor, 1855, in Shirres, 1997: 17).
3. Knowledge of the phenomenal world and its practicalities: agriculture, building, war.

Such genealogical and cosmological knowledge was taught to selected students in the *Whare Kura* or *Whare Wānanga* through ritual, *karakia*, and the memorising of *whakapapa* (genealogy). In the 1860s, for example, Otago Ngāi Tahu had separate schools to transmit these categories of knowledge to different students. One school

was held at night during the winter months and the course of instruction was 4-5 years long (White, 1887, Vol. 1: 4-10). The knowledge gained was regarded as "... enabling its possessor to communicate directly with the ancestor-gods and to activate their power", or *mana atua*, to help them survive in the world. Body parts associated with cognition, memory and emotions were 'seen' differently than they were by Europeans, and the seat of knowledge was not the brain but the abdomen. The head including the hair, was exceptionally important as the part of the body linked to a person's descent lines through which communication with the ancestors took place and cosmic energy and growth were accessed (Salmond, 1985: 241; Tau, 2001b: 67). Māori students learned to understand the phenomenal world of their experience and thus to 'know'. They learned the hierarchical and genealogical cognitive framework onto which to scaffold the understanding of what was 'true' to their own experiences, and they practiced strategies for remembering it by ritual and chant.

The next section of this chapter describes particular dynamic aspects of the Māori 'figured worlds' that were crucial to the inter-cultural misunderstandings between them and Europeans in pre-colonial times. These dynamic aspects are: *atua(s)*, omens, *mana*, *tapu* and *utu*.

### *Structural Restrictions and Empowerment*

The cognitive scaffold upon which *Mātauranga Māori* is built, is an hierarchical genealogical one. Understanding the structure of the knowledge system therefore involves understanding *relationships* and their operation. However, understanding at the subjective level of social praxis is needed if we are to find out "how we must think in order to conceive the world as they do" as Amiria Salmond-Hēnare has advised (cf. Marsden, 1992: 136; Tau, 2003: 65). For example, subjective participation or observation of actual *tapu* laying/lifting has no substitute, because of the palpable ritual ambience. However many aspects can be experienced by listening to, or reading traditional chants, myths and *karakia*, especially where there are detailed explanations suggesting their metaphorical meanings and connections. It is through the oral version of this medium that they are passed on in homes and public spaces on important occasions. Similarly ordinary everyday life for Māori involves constant awareness of the *tapu* and *mana* of things and people, and the spiritual dimension of relationships of which *tapu* and *mana* are a part. The relationships involved are not only between

people and things, but with the gods, the *atua* and the natural world that are co-present ritually.

This section examines four interwoven conceptual praxes that, in the time frame being examined, are seen to have both constrained and empowered Māori in their social relationships with others, including the ‘others’ of the natural and spiritual realms. They are the same conceptual and social praxes that were most *mis-*understood during interactions with Europeans in early colonial times. While the chants and myths are not repeated here, the comments about *mana*, *tapu*, *utu* and *nga atua* derive from the interpretations of other scholars with the linguistic and cultural knowledge required to understand them. I use their interpretations here as they might expose some of the inter-cultural misunderstandings that I describe in succeeding chapters.

### *Mana & Tapu*

Within the conceptual framework of the Māori knowledge system, *relationships* best explain how *tapu* applied to the operation of social life, and, in the case of this thesis, to *conflict* between individuals and groups. The conflicts documented here concern two main iwi groups: Ngāi Tahu-Ngāti Māmoe, and the ‘Waikato-Tāranaki alliance’, so an attempt has been made to ensure that conceptual interpretations made originate from their traditions, in preference to ‘pan-Māori’ ones. However, Schirres, who has developed an extensive understanding using early manuscripts, has expressed the hope that: “... mutual sharing [of our thinking]... should renew and enhance the *tapu* of each people” (1997: 33). With this intention, some aspects of *tapu* are exemplified by the traditions of other northern tribes when there is an absence of published material from Te Wai Pounamu. The writings of Schirres (1997), Māori Marsden (1992), and Tau (2003) have influenced my interpretation because each of their approaches to the concept has a different focus. They each illuminate differently the aspect of *tapu* investigated here (which is *relationships*). They also provide comparisons with what Head has written more recently: “The relationship between humans and the spiritual universe was not one of benign communion but full of threat... *Tapu*... meant restriction, fixity, fear and retribution, and the Māori attitude to the world was one of wakeful vigilance” (2006: 94). Māori Marsden described *what tapu is*, how Māori children were dedicated to a deity – most frequently Tū (god of war) or Rongo (god of peace) – and “set aside for that deity” by ritual declaration of

their life purpose. They were then consecrated by ritual and sacrifice and thereby entered into a “*contractual relationship*” with the deity, which provided them with protection and the ability to manipulate and survive in the environment. People were thereby “put into the sphere of the sacred”, made *tapu* and restricted/untouchable. They were watched over by *kaitiaki* or guardians, instantiations of whose spiritual power were sent as *aria* (birds, animals, or even rainbows, comets or meteors) to warn or punish them against transgressions of their covenant with the deity. The covenant could be broken, if its terms were not fulfilled. Objects and places could also be made *tapu* by ritual and by contact with *tapu* persons or things (1992: 119-121).

How one can ‘see’ and ‘know’ *tapu* and scaffold the knowledge onto the epistemological framework, is described by Tau. He emphasises that this is performative and embodied, and must be understood through psycho-social imprinting and participation in ritual (2003: 65). This involves listening to and studying chants and myths containing the internal logic of the framework, and how the performance of genealogy and hierarchy play out ritually and socially. In particular, Tau has interpreted Ngāi Tahu creation myths and *karakia* for laying and lifting of *tapu* to demonstrate that the state of *tapu* originates with the gods, and is also associated with conception, the origin of life. Metaphorically it is, then, a state existing in the womb. When the *mātāmua* Te Rēhua was born of Papatuanuku he had this *tapu*, which was subsequently obtained from him by Tāne, and instantiated in the first woman Hine Tītama. Each human has therefore to obtain it from the Gods by dedication and consecration, as Marsden has said. When *tapu* is removed, it ritually returns to the womb, either of a young girl or a *ruawahine* (old woman). Metaphorically, and spiritually it returns to the origin of human life – Hine Tītama (the Dawn Maid) – who is also Hine-nui-te-Pō (Hine of the Darkness) (Tau, 2003: 74).

What *tapu does* is elaborated by Shirres, again through study of chants, myths and *karakia*, which foreshadow what can happen to relationships when the *tapu* of different individuals comes into contact. He says:

The story of Rangi and Papa can be seen as a story of the meeting of *tapu* with *tapu*, and the working out of that meeting largely to the satisfaction of Tū. After a great struggle Tū became master of Tangaroa, Haumia, Rongo and Tāne [his brothers]... by eating the fish... fern root... kūmara... and birds, thus destroying their *tapu*. But he was not able to master the winds and storms, the domain of Tāwhiri [who] retained his *tapu* (1997: 33).

Because all living beings originate from the gods they all have *tapu* that originates from the gods. Shirres calls this “intrinsic *tapu*”, the kind that Tāne obtained from Rēhua. It has to be distinguished from that described by Marsden and obtained by association or contact with other *tapu* things, persons, or situations, the clothing of chiefs, a person’s head/hair; also connections with illness, death, birth, construction, weaving, and activities exclusive to women or to men, and so on. Marsden and Shirres have emphasised how the *tapu* of humans is different from that of other things and beings. The *tapu* of humans remains after death, and if diminished (as for prisoners), or if having been made *noa*, it can be ritually re-established with the correct procedures. Thus the situation of “extensions of *tapu*” illustrates how, though *noa* is, in a sense its opposite, *tapu* can be greater or less, depending upon the individual and situation involved. Women have intrinsic *tapu* but it is lesser than that of men. The situation of *noa*, means ‘free from *tapu*’, and this can be achieved, for example, by particular rites and *karakia* performed when a war party returns from battle, or when an area was made temporarily *tapu* by a drowning and is being returned to normal use after a time. A standard way of removing *tapu* is by being exposed to cooked food. These “*tapu* extensions” are forms that also affect social life in the same manner as “intrinsic *tapu*”. If violated – even unknowingly – punishment from the gods would be likely if it hadn’t already been dispensed by the ‘owner’ of the *tapu* place or thing. Therefore the likelihood of violence or of conflict arising from “*tapu meeting tapu*” remained.

Of the writings on *tapu*, all identify the inseparability of *tapu* and *mana*, and some tribes use the words interchangeably, because *tapu* originates from “the mana of the spiritual powers”. The source for the *tapu* of the forest trees and birds and of humans is the *mana* of the god Tāne, for example (Schirres, 1997: 34). On this view *tapu* is a state of being, whilst *mana* is the source of that state. Shirres said, “Where *tapu* is the potentiality for power, *mana* is the actual power”; both of them originate from the spiritual dimension (ibid: 53), and are “manifest in the world of human experience” (Metge, 2002: 320).

In this section the mythology of the seeking of *tapu* from Rēhua by Tāne has been described, with the genealogical connection through descent lines of all beings (including Pāpātuanuku, the ‘earth mother’, and the source of the winds, Tāwhirimātea), so in Pākeha logic also, they are born with *mana*, and the closer in the descent lines they are to the gods, the more *mana* they would be perceived to have.

Marsden has stated that from the theological point of view, *mana* “may be translated as charisma” (1975: 118). It is about power and spiritual authority inherited at birth, and is an active and palpable personal emanation. Metge has emphasised that persons and groups have a ‘store’ of inherited *mana*, but that this can be “increased or diminished by the holder’s and other’s actions, and by the vicissitudes of life” (2002: 321). *Mana* can thus be accrued (and displayed) by relationships with people and things of *mana*, such as by marriage to a higher ranking person, accompanied by wealth in material goods and land; also by generosity including *manaakitanga* (hospitality), by giving assistance in time of difficulty, saving a life, by displaying courage and leadership on the battlefield or in the peaceful arts and oratory, and so on. Thus *mana* came from the gods (*mana atua*), from people (*mana tāngata*) and land (*mana whenua*). Those best able to access *mana atua* were *tōhunga* (priests). *Mana tāngata* was acquired at birth and could be increased as described, and *mana whenua* was the same – it could be acquired by inheritance, conquest or marriage. Thus *mana* could be increased, by increasing the number and value of *relationships*. It was an active force in those relationships, and a source of prestige and spiritual power. Kaiapoi elder, the late Te Ari Pitama described how *mana* was transferred from the *tōhunga* Hamiona Tūroa when he nominated four people to receive his powers by succession (quoted in Binney, 2004: 257-258). Hence, Tūroa not only demonstrated the extent of his *mana*, but also conferred on each of his successors the potential to enhance and multiply it for the benefit of his people. This would be in accordance with Metge’s statement just quoted, that *mana* “could be increased or diminished by the holder’s or other’s actions”(ibid.). Conversely, *mana* could be diminished by immoral acts including failing to respect *tapu*, and failing to uphold the covenant with the *atua[s]* to whom one had been ritually consecrated. Furthermore if one’s relations by kinship or association exhibited these failings, this also, could diminish the *mana* and the *tapu* of the whole group.

In all the conflict situations described in the succeeding chapters of this thesis the fundamental Māori concept of “the meeting of *tapu* with *tapu*” was therefore involved. Because such an issue has dynamic possibilities, both positive and negative, the role of particular Māori individuals and their own interpretations of the rules governing *tapu* and its removal would have been crucial for whether situations developed into conflicts. Conversely European ignorance would have been even more problematical.

## *Utu*

Since situations arose in the socio-religious realms, where *tapu* met *tapu*, and *mana*, with its spiritual dimension, delivered socio-political power and prestige, then individuals and groups strove for *balance* in transactions. Bound socially by each other, and each in their covenant with the gods, they sought *utu* or payment for anything that might cause *mana* and *tapu* to diminish. If two chiefs, each with *mana* and *tapu* met socially or to discuss political affairs, arrange alliances, or exchange commodities, and one was being offered *manākitanga* or hospitality, many *utu* or balance/imbalance issues had to be considered:

1. Was the host's hospitality sufficiently generous to honour the *mana* and *tapu* of the guest?
2. Was it at least equivalent to that offered to him when he had been a guest of the other?
3. Was the host's behaviour and that of his family and tribe honourable in every way, and not offering anything that might be considered an insult? Was he reducing the *mana* of his guest?
4. Did the guest accidentally or deliberately walk in a *tapu* place, or touch *tapu* objects belonging to the host, thus diminishing his *mana*?

If a host failed to meet obligations, then imbalance requiring *utu* or balanced payment arose. It was very serious, because if the imbalance in *utu* was not paid it could be corrected by the gods who had originally bestowed their *mana*. Each had been consecrated to the gods, and if they failed to ensure the *utu* was paid, the gifts from the gods might cease to flow. Complex situations arose when Europeans entered Māori spaces and began to interact socially and politically. Missionary Creed at Otago c.1840 wrote how Europeans inadvertently cut down some *tapu* trees and shrubs and burnt them in a common fire. They were threatened with death:

... Perhaps a blanket is demanded as *utu* payment or a little tobacco, or some article of household furniture. After a great discussion the matter is adjusted a small present is given the offended Native [who] walks moodily away... dreading the anger and vengeance of the gods for the desecration of the wahi *tapu*. (in White MSS, c.1880, my emphasis)<sup>19</sup>

Unpaid *utu* not enforced by humans, made everyone answerable to the gods who would wreak vengeance for desecration of the *tapu* and *mana*, which they had originally conferred. Thus *utu* in this form has been termed by Europeans 'revenge', and has negative connotations. However *utu* could equally well involve the

presentation of *tāonga* (precious items) to *honour* and increase the *mana* of a chief because he is admired, and the community values his contributions and those of his group (cf. Tapsell, 1997: 365; cf. Buck, 1949: 371). There is a long tradition of presenting or returning gifts at funerals, weddings, and peace-making ceremonies, after generations of ‘utu debt’ or ‘imbalance’. Such gifts<sup>20</sup> are ‘wrapped’ in sacred protocols that increase their *mana* and that of the recipient group. Metge would call this “positive” *utu*, in contrast to the “negative” variety that ‘Westerners’ call revenge. She has emphasised that *utu* is a socio-religious reciprocity mechanism for maintaining relationships amongst groups, and with the *atuas*, its aim being to attain a constant state of *imbalance* that maintains the relationships (2002: 333).

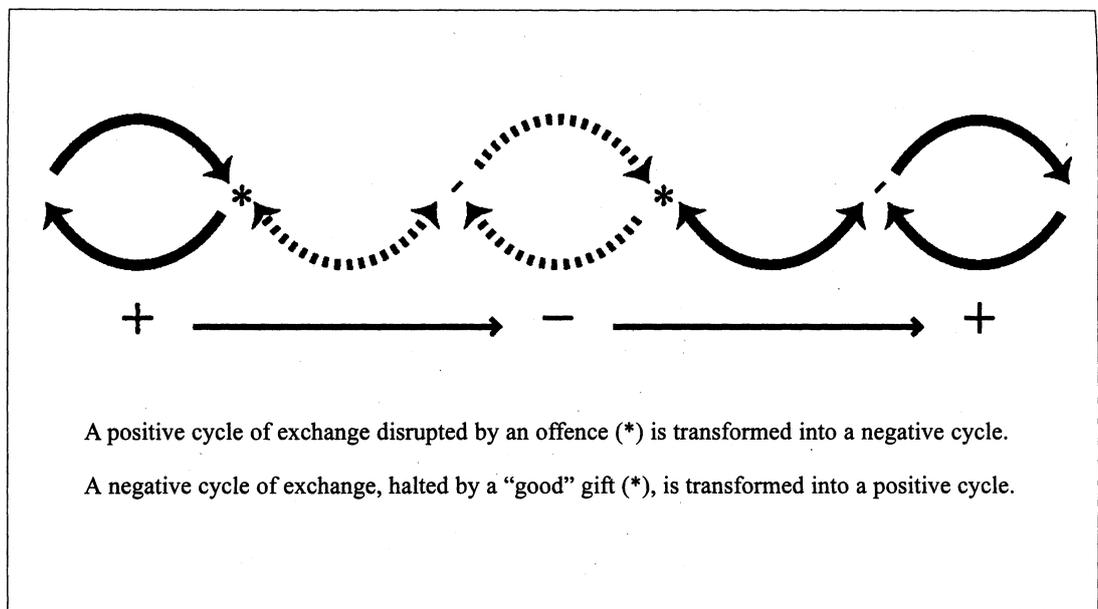


Figure 4: From the exchange of “good” gifts to the exchange of “bad” gifts to the exchange of “good” gifts

(Metge, (2002), in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol.111, No. 4: 333)

Metge’s investigations of the 200-year-long feuds between Te Aupouri and Te Rārawa in Northland demonstrate how they have “ alternated between periods of peace and periods of hostility and war”. One of them finally “... won *mana* by their persistence, their honourable behaviour and their gifts of two highly valued women” (2002: 331).

The succeeding chapters of this thesis will demonstrate in case studies how the religio-social mechanism of *utu* played out in intra-cultural situations between Māori and other Māori, and also inter-culturally between Māori and Europeans, who misunderstood the logic underpinning it. It sometimes became conceptually entangled, with what Europeans call ‘theft’ and ‘revenge’, because they ‘saw’ and ‘knew’ a different ‘world’. Both these issues and the situations to which they apply can then be framed as *equivocations* according to the method of Vivieros de Castro (ibid.).

### *The Pae, Atua and Tōhunga*

The *pae* was a real and metaphorical liminal place, where relationships were ritually enacted. All matters connected with the concept of balance in spiritual and worldly relationships were discussed and performed there. Salmond has described the: “... preoccupation with balance expressed in terms of *utu*... Attack... by violence, magic or gift... must be forestalled by propitiation or met by a counterattack, so one can say ‘*ka ea te utu*’ (the price has been paid) and ‘*kua rite*’ (it is balanced)”(1976: 15). However, there is a fine line between balance (which is the aim), and imbalance, and whether balance has been achieved or slightly disrupted is a matter of judgement, which allows for Metge’s interpretation of *utu* as a reciprocity mechanism that can be either positive or negative according to the choice and judgement of the interpreter. An application of this issue will arise in Chapter eight.

Because the *pae* is where relationships with the gods and with ‘other’ humans are enacted, it involves dangerous boundary crossing, requiring persons of exceptional *mana* and *tapu* to perform the rituals. First-born *āriki* chiefs or *tōhunga* (priests), as repositories of esoteric and ritual knowledge, performed this duty (ibid: 20). They could perform rituals, and make offerings<sup>21</sup> to the gods at any “place made *tapu* for the time being”, or at a *tūāhu*<sup>22</sup> marked *tapu* by a post or stones in a secluded place (Buck, 1947: 480-81).

Shirres, from investigation of early accounts of ritual, has described it as having three essential stages:

1. *Karakia* (invocations to the *atua*) and the setting up of spiritual conduits – rods, branches or long leaves near a river – to promote their presence.
2. *Karakia* to ‘loose’ unwanted *atua* from the “subject of the ritual”, and to *pure* (bind) the desired ritual effects.
3. *Whakanoa* (remove *tapu*) by ritual consumption of food (ibid: 73).

Beattie interviewed the Ngāi Tahu chief Rāwiri Te Maire regarding his induction about 1868 into Haereroa's Whare Wānanga at 'Moorak', and the description conforms to the pattern described by Shirres from Grey's manuscripts: "... he was taken to the Kawa Creek, where the *tōhuka* dipped a *peka* (branch)... of... *tārata* into the water and shook it over his head... [and after two days and a night in the Whare Tapu he was taken outside] to eat cooked food... "*Whakai koe kia noa ai koe*" [feed him to make him noa again]" (quoted in Anderson, 1994: 205).

Thus *tōhunga* were the persons charged with negotiating the horizon (*pae*) between metaphysical and ordinary realms that were co-present during ritual. They were seen as having extraordinary powers by accessing *mana atua* and using it to solve difficulties in the ordinary world. Their involvement in any form of exchange was essential, because of the dangers of boundary crossing when interacting with 'other' persons, things and situations. They could interpret signs and omens, make prophecies, and ensure safe outcomes for journeys and war expeditions because of the *relationships of identity and alterity* that they maintained. The *tōhunga* interpreted what was happening in the present and made predictions from "natural and human phenomena" known to be *tohu* (signs) from the gods, embodied in myth and oratory, where heroes also formed relationships of identity and alterity, and where the past and future became evident every time they were performed in the present (Tau, 2011: 50; cf. Hau'ofa, 2000: 454-6).

The role and perceived efficacy of *tōhunga* will therefore appear frequently on the pages of this thesis, because no activity – including conflict and warfare – took place without their mediating influence. There was no Cartesian dualism in Māori religion because just as thought, memory and emotion were present in Te Kōre they were co-present in the realm of the everyday where the past and present are always before us and amongst us.

Hence the hierarchical genealogical knowledge framework of *mātāuranga* Māori, centred upon relationships between people, their natural environment and the gods, and provided a way of 'seeing and knowing' their worlds. The holistic way in which this was *seen* to operate through the actions of all its components 'made sense' and thus was 'seen' to be 'true'. *Whakapapa*, *mana*, *tapu* and *utu* operated not only in a metaphysical dimension but provided social controls that, in European thinking, equate to a multifunctional legal system, in which high chiefs and *tōhunga* were the interpretive experts. A chiefly person could protect 'others' (including things) by

declaring them ‘*tapu*’ or ‘under his/her *mana*’. Failure to honour agreements or discounting the *mana* and *tapu* of these required payment by *utu*, which resulted in loss of *mana* by death, social or material deprivation. This was not simple revenge, but a social *and* spiritual matter of prestige and power.

## Enlightenment Discourses and Knowledge Frameworks

Today, a number of European epistemological models are on offer for imagining and interpreting the world. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was no single interpretive view either. Ideas being discussed in academia, in the coffee shops, pubs and pulpits of Georgian and Victorian England belonged to a variety of knowledge systems inherited from Greek, Roman, Alexandrian, Jewish, Christian and even Norse and Celtic philosophical traditions and mythologies. What counted as ‘truth’ and ‘knowledge’, and who had the right to determine these and purvey them had gone through a number of changes from Greco-Roman times before the re-adjustment of the Enlightenment period in Europe and Britain. Where Plato in the caste society of Athens in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, had thought that truths were to be discovered only by reason and logic, Aristotle applied these methods to his empirical observations, seeking universal common elements, as well as classificatory differences in groups of things and beings. Truths, in his view became observations that were “facts that had been explained”, the soul was a vital principle, and God was not personal, but was the purpose of all beings (Lewis, 1954: 27-40). By 271 AD, discourses about truth and knowledge of the world inherited from philosophical ancestors such as Aristotle had been adapted and incorporated with Christian philosophies, folk ideas about witchcraft, magic, and the occult, resulting in a belief in a hierarchical world order originating from God “in decreasing degrees of perfection the farther one gets from the source...” (ibid.). Hence, some philosophical origins of the ‘natural’ and hierarchical classifications and perceived ‘truths’ concerning the relationships of people and things, informed Enlightenment discourse in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that are being discussed here.

Many of those received ‘truths’ then in circulation, were challenged by *practical* (rather than theoretical) investigators and contributed to emerging ‘scientific’ ways of ‘seeing and knowing’. Their interpretations of the natural world were based upon systematic field observations and experimentation in disciplines such as astronomy, which enabled received wisdom about the stars, planets, and sun to be challenged, and

the science of navigation to develop. Their over-riding purpose was to seek, through sensory observation, the ‘truths’ of relationships between humans, other beings, and the inanimate world and to identify what it meant to be human. It was an era of travel and exploration, with competition amongst the major powers of the known world for control of resources and people in other lands. There were therefore dilemmas to be resolved about how ‘human’ these ‘others’ were; whether or not they were ‘civilised’, and what ‘ownership rights’ they had over the resources, which Europeans were setting out to ‘discover’. These issues were complicated by the dogmas of the Christian church and its uncritical acceptance of those philosophies upon which classical education at that time was based. Some practical investigators and philosophers did not agree that the alleged ‘truths’ could be ‘seen’ as true to their observations of the natural world. Yet, as in ancient Greece and Rome, these investigators – for the most part – originated from the privileged classes and so their versions of ‘truth’ constituted ‘what counts’, and *they* decided this. Churches as well as politicians resisted the acceptance of new discoveries and what they might mean for humans and their rights, especially ‘other’ humans in newly ‘discovered’ lands. It is these two aspects of epistemological debate during the ‘Enlightenment’ – what it is to be human, and whether all humans had equal moral and territorial rights – that this section of the current chapter examines, because they provide insights into how, through exposure to Enlightenment discourse at home, European visitors to Te Wai Pounamu could have interpreted and experienced their interactions with Māori.

Four categories of European visitors to the South Island of New Zealand were involved in transactions with Māori: naval officers & captains; supernumerary scientists; sailors; sealers, whalers and missionaries. They were all in some degree exposed to ‘Enlightenment’ thinking, and also to some ideas persisting from at least the late Renaissance. These ideas influenced the experience and writings of gentleman naturalist Joseph Banks, but influenced sailors and missionaries in a different way. They were included in ordinary public discourse, in what people on land heard in church, and those at sea from the Captain, on Sundays (cf. Beaglehole (1955: 513-519). Sailors, sealers, and whalers may not have thought much about Enlightenment philosophies, but lived with their socio-political effects, which would have coloured their attitudes and responses to other seamen and officers, as well as to Māori (Boulton, 1828: 16). It is inevitable that folk traditions persisted in shipboard culture, agricultural villages and ports that many of the sailors came from, and contributed to

their interpretations. They were discussed in pubs and churches, and helped reconfigure enlightenment discourse within their own worlds. Glimpses of this reality are rare in archives, but are visible where sailors recorded their fears and apprehensions about the physical and cultural unknowns of their journeys. There is no room here to discuss the various ideas of the *philosophes* at any length but I take the viewpoint of Thomas Munck that:

... even though we recognise all the variant 'national' forms of enlightenment in Europe, we need to remember that to many contemporaries the fundamentals of reason and enlightening were valid throughout Europe and North America irrespective of national boundaries... [and] for all the deep social divisions in European society, the enlightenment was not merely an élite intellectual pastime, but a real process of emancipation from inherited values and beliefs, with... much potential impact on ordinary Europeans.  
(2000: vii)

What follows here is therefore an outline of some dominant discursive and political realities of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century England, since most of the mariners originated from there. These realities are entangled with some Renaissance and Enlightenment discourses', and concern moral philosophy: the perceived need to establish secular moral systems, perceptions of what it means to be 'good and honest', the natural world, man's place in it, his nature, the advancement of science, and intentions to increase knowledge of the natural world, "to lighten workloads and increase the volume and efficiency of production" (Hyland et. al, 2003: 126). This attention given to concepts of what constitutes human nature, how humans are positioned in the natural world, and in relation to each other, shows that their knowledge-system was *human-orientated*. They explained the world and human relationships to it, in terms of ideas inherited from their Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian forbears. 'Knowledge' and 'truth' were therefore being scrutinised, as were their socio-political implications, including the doctrine of the 'Divine Right' of kings. Some key aspects of debate which contributed to what was seen as 'truth' and 'knowledge' during the Enlightenment, were discourses on the 'Great Chain of Being', the 'Noble Savage', the slavery movement, 'cannibalism', and concepts of property ownership and theft that were implicated in a contemporary concern for re-evaluating one's understanding of what it is to be human, and to live an ethical social and political life.

### *The Great Chain of Being – relationships, God & the natural world*

This feature was inherited from its Greco-Roman, Judeo-Christian and Neo-Platonic epistemological forebears, whose ideas of ‘truth’, ‘knowledge’, and the way these could be accessed was centred more on theoretical speculation, than around real empirical observation. Aristotle had focused on the need to classify known phenomena, including humans, and to arrange them hierarchically. The Judeo-Christian world contributed a genealogical component to Aristotle’s model. It was based upon the Genesis story. Both possessed frameworks in which a position was allocated for humans, in respect to the Gods and ancestors, and also in respect to other living things and to the natural world. Hence the Mediaeval Christian Church espoused a kind of syncretic socio-religious episteme that encompassed all ‘things’ and was known as the “Great Chain of Being”. It comprised: “... God, through cherubim and seraphim, archangels, kings, princes of the church, magistrates and merchants to the great mass of peasants and labourers... to animals... plants and finally stones and earth which had no soul at all” (Salmond, 1991: 52). They were successively of decreasing significance and power within this system created from perceptions of experienced phenomena. At the time that Christians took up this idea of hierarchical patterns in nature, these were interpreted as having all been created out of Chaos by the Creator God as described in the Book of Genesis. The system that explained the world was genealogical and hierarchical, attributing the greatest amount of ‘soul’ to kings and princes, and less to ‘other’ humans. Hence, as a framework for understanding relationships, the ‘Great Chain’ began its life as a system of classification, rather than of biological descent, but the two became conflated. They became further conflated when the Swedish naturalist Carl von Linné published his book *Systema Naturae* (1735) setting out a new standardised system for the classification of ‘natural’ things. Linné’s classification system included minerals, plants, and animals, and was adopted enthusiastically by naturalists. It was one way of ‘seeing’ and ‘knowing’ about the natural world and relationships within it. Furthermore, Scottish philosopher David Hume said, “Tis evident, that all the sciences have a relation, greater or less to human nature” (1739, quoted in Hyland, 2003: 3). Linnaeus included humans in his system, having studied ‘others’ in Lapland where he said of the Saami: “The tranquil existence of the Laplanders answers to Ovid’s description of the golden age, and to the pastoral state as depicted by Virgil. It recalls

the remembrance of the patriarchal life, and the poetical descriptions of the Elysian fields” (1732, in Ellington, 2001: 133). Linnaeus said that “Man, the last and best created works; formed after the image of his Maker, endowed with a portion of intellectual divinity, the subjugator of all other beings, is by his wisdom alone able to form just conclusions from such things as present themselves to his senses” (ibid.).

Church people were therefore able to ‘slot’ the Linnean system into the Great Chain of Being, and some early ‘anthropological’ views about ‘other’ humans arose, whereby some were seen as being closer to the spiritual realm than others (in Hyland et al. 2003: 104). Besides Linnaeus, others commenting on the place of humans in the ‘natural’ world, and contributing to the debate, were Buffon, Diderot and Rousseau, whose varying opinions about man’s nature influenced the early anthropological discourses known to ‘naturalists’ like Banks, Solander, J. R. and G. Forster, Sparrman and even James Cook. Buffon (1753) considered that humans are “inspired, enoble[ed] and animate[d]” by a “ray of divinity” from God, but that species were not immutable. “[T]he monkey is a man degenerated... sprung from common stock” (in Hyland et al. 2003: 108). The origin of his ideas could be seen in the ‘Great Chain’ excepting that he allowed for species to change, contradicting any biblical interpretation of separate creation or immutability. This allowed for conceptualising that within the human species, some races/‘others’, may be degenerate in comparison with other groups. The Enlightenment era *philosophes* engaged in this discourse, as did gentleman amateurs and naturalists, who had access to their works on board ships like the *Endeavour*. Hyland et al. explain that Diderot in his *Thoughts on the Interpretation of Nature* (1754) expressed evolutionary ideas also, “... that nature is still at work” and “what we take for natural history is... the far-from-complete history of a single instant” (2003: 102-12). Hume (1748) considered the white variety of humans was superior, and Blumenbach (1798) that there were five different varieties of humans and “four were of degenerated stock” (in Hyland, 2003: 7). Some humans were physically inferior in this hierarchical taxonomic system, at least in some Enlightenment discourse. Moreover, humans varied socially according to what kind of societies they had, whether they were deemed to be ‘civilised’, ‘savage’, ‘barbarous’ or ‘primitive’ (ibid: 7). These ideas persisted into the early nineteenth century when explorers like d’Urville were in New Zealand waters in the late 1820’s and 1830’s. Debates raged between those who thought that: “human nature was the same at all times and places”, and those looking for racial differences (Hunt, 2003: 16). On

d'Urville's 1840 visit, Dumoutier made life masks of Ngāi Tahu chiefs 'Taha Tahala' (Tangatahara) and 'Poukalem' (Pōkene) at Otago (ibid; Thomas, 2003: 54-5; Terry, 2003: 76). It was thus usual for naturalists like the Forsters and Joseph Banks to make value judgements about the level of civilisation and physical characteristics of Māori and Polynesian 'others'.

### *Power, Ownership and Social control*

Christian notions such as the Great Chain of Being were combined with contemporary debates on the 'nature' of humanity, and with secular and religious views of their spiritual relationships in Georgian and Victorian Society. These discourses were used to justify the making of new property law, and to exercise social control, by those most privileged and educated. Though common law dating from 'time immemorial' (AD.1189) existed for the protection of commoners as well, property ownership laws in Europe and Britain favoured those of higher rank and birth such as the nobility who, in Māori Society would have been seen as having the greatest *mana* and *tapu*. In the European concept of the Great Chain of Being, and of Linneus's classificatory system these people would have been both 'superior' and have more 'soul'. However, some Enlightenment discourses also challenged these notions of 'truth', and the Divine Right of Kings had already been abolished. In the European system ownership of land and resources reflected rank and birth, but the property was not protected by the *mana* and *tapu* of its owners, but by laws based upon a Roman concept of privilege.

'Theft', and its associated 'punishment' are repeated components of the Māori-European exchanges described in this thesis. They are implicated in Georgian and Victorian ideas of ownership, 'law', 'human nature', and what constitutes a good person in the Christian sense, so what follows, immediately raises issues that probably influenced people reporting their cross-cultural experiences in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century New Zealand. They also, contributed to misunderstandings on the same occasions, and the *utu* that they engendered could not be interpreted as 'punishment' in the European sense. For example, it would not have entered the heads of European mariners, that verbally insulting a chief, and not being punished for it might be understood as diminishing *his* spiritual powers, and be a justifiable cause for *utu*.

Entwined with eighteenth century discourses on human nature (some persisting today in Western popular discourse), is the understanding of how ownership relates to our concept of the human person. Pocock traced these ideas via Edward Gibbon's *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776) to Tacitus and the "biblical paradigm". He saw the "history of any society... as part of the search for its natural law... the history of its jurisprudence... land tenure and... property" (Pocock, 1992: 34). In the early seventeenth century it was thought that 'natural humans' in their primeval state were individuals with no rights, property, justice or government and therefore not 'fully human'. The assumption was that to be fully human, a legal system to arbitrate and a technology such as a plough to demarcate the land were required to provide a sedentary lifestyle. This would then promote sociality, language and government. People without these were not fully human and this "discourse of possessive individualism... a great deal older than market relationships... can be found in Roman jurisprudence." A Roman citizen owned his land, slaves, weapons and home. The Enlightened equivalent of this person was paid money for services and property and could spend time on public duties and artistic pursuits. This idea caused problems for some like Rousseau, who thought that a 'self' too socially engaged would lose its individuality (ibid.). There was a choice between savagery, and corruption, as the next section of this chapter suggests. Many educated eighteenth-century people thought the savage individual was the "... original individual born on the earth and living on it", a conflation of the "wild men of the woods" and hunter-gatherer peoples without western agricultural technology or "civil government by consent", whom Westerners saw on their travels (ibid.). If people had no property, law or government to reinforce its ownership, exchange or commerce, then they were savages (ibid: 34-5)<sup>23</sup>. Some voyagers to New Zealand gave Māori the opportunity to become 'civilised', but doubted their capacity to be 'improved':

We also gave them two young pigs, male and female, hen and a rooster... if they know how to take care of these things there are enough of them to reproduce... But the laziness of these people is so great that it is to be feared that our seed fell on very unproductive ground (L'Horme, 1769, in McNab, 1914, Vol 2: 343).

But naturalist J. R. Forster, surgeon-ethnographer Savage, and missionary Marsden all described how Māori could be to be trained ('improved') to raise themselves above the savage level, and made efforts to help them to do so:

I shall now proceed to notice the first dawn of the rising of the sun of righteousness upon the poor benighted heathen of New Zealand... I have always considered this circumstance as one of the first apparent steps, adopted by divine providence, to prepare the way for the introduction of the gospel to New Zealand... He [Governor King] saw them safely landed amongst their friends... gave them some hogs... instruments for agricultural purposes... axes, spades, &c... as he thought conducive to their future good.  
(Samuel Marsden, 1814 in McNab, 1908: 333)

[T]he natives of New Zealand are of a very superior order, both of personal appearance and intellectual endowments [p16]... their intelligence is such as to render them capable of instruction, and I have no doubt that they would prove as essentially useful to a colony established in their country, as the natives of India prove to our Asiatic Dominions.  
(John Savage, 1807: 93)

Gasgoigne says that ‘improvement’ was a goal in which agriculture would civilise people, and was “at the heart of landed society” (1994: 185). Savages could become human by gaining possessive individuality and then civil government, but fully human beings could also lose these characteristics by practising a nomadic lifestyle. Goguet’s gentiles in *De L’Origine des Loix des Artes et des Sciences* (1758) forgot their morality, natural laws, agricultural and pastoral practices as they wandered and became nomads like the Kaliharians and Tasmanians. They could even have become cannibals (the ultimate form of savagery). For Goguet, hunter-gatherers were savages and civilisation was promoted by agriculture, because it kept people in one place, making possible the exchange of ideas and things through language and socialisation (Pocock, 1992: 36). It is this kind of exchange which some mariners and missionaries attempted to achieve as their writings above suggest. The notion of individual property ownership accompanying Enlightenment discourse about the ‘natural laws’ of humanity, helps explain the misunderstandings their participants had, about Māori-European transaction behaviour in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century New Zealand.

Europeans grew up with this property ownership discourse, and its legal implications. Some had experienced the consequences of not abiding by those implications, despite not always having the real possibility of doing so. However, they knew about them, no matter how unjust they felt them to be. Moreover individual property ownership ideas were enshrined in the bible, which, through Puritan sects and dissenters like Methodists, became increasingly accessible to ordinary people. Their programme of developing an ‘inner compulsion’ to keep the ‘ten commandments’ developed a fine sense of guilt that reinforced the still harsh legal system and enforcement of property rights (cf. E.P. Thompson, 1968: ch. 11). I am

referring here to a system that condemned fourteen-year-old George Bruce to death for stealing two handkerchiefs (in Whitley MS., 1898: 8-10), a phenomenon quite an everyday occurrence in Georgian Britain. Māori initially had no idea of these things. They had different notions of ownership and of theft, based on different discourse altogether: the concepts of *mana*, *tapu* and *utu*.

### *The Rules of Transaction*

In Georgian England, along with the imperative for discovery and exploration, there were other motivations for the desire of Europeans to meet and form relationships with ‘others’ in far-flung parts of the world, including the Pacific. Cook’s instructions on the Resolution voyage in 1769 were to seek out the fabled Great Southern Continent, and to observe the Transit of Venus. But in the course of doing so it was necessary to re-supply his ships, rest his men, to record details about the wildlife, land resources, navigational possibilities, and to gather ethnographic information about such peoples as he met. For his 1776 voyage, the Admiralty instructions required that he should:

... likewise... observe the genius, temper, disposition, and number of the natives and inhabitants... making them presents of such trinkets as you may have on board... inviting them to traffick, and showing them every kind civility and regard, but taking care... not to suffer yourself to be surprised by them, but to always be on your guard against any accidents. You are also, with the consent of the natives, to take possession in the name of the King of Great Britain, of convenient situations in such countries as you may discover... (Palliser, 1776, in McNab, 1908: 27-28).

In a similar way to Tasman, his instructions were to treat the ‘natives’ encountered in a humane way, but at the same time the dominant discourse aboard Georgian ships was that they should at all times ‘give no quarter’, and should demonstrate the superior power of their weapons amongst those who had never experienced such weapons before. This, together with the idea of giving away ‘trinkets’ to encourage ‘traffick’, indicates that whilst they were supposed to be humane, they were dealing with a ‘lesser sort’ of human who would predictably not understand value as they did. Chiefs were encouraged aboard ships, but their attempts at oratory and welcoming rituals were neither understood nor respected (at least in the first instance). Banks, on Cook’s first voyage described one chief’s welcoming oration as a “long harangue”. Their gestures were interpreted as being threatening, because what they said was not understood. Thus the rules of encounter with ‘natives’ were not any different than they were with each other: to maintain the ‘upper hand’ by

violence if necessary, and to match exchanges fairly and equally – fairly and equally, that is – according to *their* perceptions of value, and preferably to get the ‘better end of the bargain’. Value was the most important aspect, and excepting in cases where there was an element of bribery because they sought the social influence of chiefs, ‘native’ persons of any rank received the same ‘value’ for the same item in transactions as anybody else. There is nothing here that acknowledges the *mana* either of the recipient or of the item given. Conversely, if Māori did not give ‘equivalence in value’ they were regarded as thieves and punished, by being shot at, or subjected to naval discipline by lashes:

... In one of the canoes... a very handsome young man... seemed by the variety of his garments which he sold one after the other till he had but one left, to be a person of distinction; his last garment... black and white dogskin... the lieutenant... offered him a large piece of cloth for it... as soon as the young man had taken it his companions paddled away [the young man was shot]... what a severe punishment of a crime committed, perhaps ignorantly!  
(Parkinson 9/11/1769)

This is hardly different to the way that British citizens would also have been punished. Being subjects of the aforementioned philosophies that the Christian commandments should always apply regardless of the rank of the person concerned, because all humans were equal in the eyes of God. In Georgian England a person’s rank was interpreted from the clothing he wore, the way he was treated by his colleagues and servants, and so on. They therefore treated Māori persons in the same manner. A chief was identified by his clothing and bearing, which Māori would have thought superficial and not a reflection of any spiritual superiority that they considered should be acknowledged when ‘*tapu* meets *tapu*’ in transaction situations.

One cannot ignore either, the ordinariness to British sailors of punishment by death, for theft. It was part of their culture on an almost day-to-day basis in Georgian England, even though contrary to the popular discourse on what is right and just because God considers them equals. In ports and towns, they knew in the later eighteenth century that hanging was real. Children and desperately poor people were transported in appalling conditions to New South Wales for stealing a loaf of bread<sup>24</sup>. Sailors sleeping in hammocks or eating meals in the middle decks of naval vessels were constantly reminded of the brutality of naval discipline by the cat-o-nine-tails hanging on the wall there. Therefore the fear of the savage retributive justice of ‘others’ amongst their own people cannot have been far from their minds. To some

extent also they must have become immune to ‘rough justice’.

There is no evidence either that European sealers or whalers in the early 1800’s had any differences in their ‘rules of transaction’ or of punishment, excepting that because many had met Māori at Port Jackson and crewed together on ships they were closer in rank as workmates. Some had lived ashore together, so their mutual understanding may have been greater, though this thesis shows that inter-cultural misunderstandings about transaction rituals and boundaries between Māori and European sailors persisted.

### Navigating the Horizon – a comparison

When James Cook went exploring at the end of his first week at Dusky Bay, New Zealand, in 1773, he noticed that he was being watched by an elderly Māori man waving a green branch. Cook went ashore alone from the ship’s boat and walked forward to greet the man and *hongi* with him. John Marra described what happened next:

The old man made signs as if he wanted to know from what country the strangers came & what their intent: the Captn pointed to the heavens and gave him to understand that they had sailed more than double the space of all that wide expanse which he saw above him: that they had travelled with the sun, & that they came from that region where the sun lay hid o’ nights... (3/4/1773).

On the previous voyage in 1769 Cook had not visited Dusky Bay, but he had travelled extensively in the Pacific and New Zealand with the Ra’iatean *arioi* navigator-priest Tupaia, and would have known that Polynesians navigate by the stars and understood distance in terms of them also. He knew also that Tupaia made offerings to his *atua*, who in this case happened to be Tangaroa, god of the sea<sup>25</sup>. By 1773, it is likely that Cook and the old chief were thus on some common ground in that both European and Polynesian navigators watched the stars. In this reading, the heavens were therefore a possible *equivocation* in the terms of Eduardo Vivieros de Castro’s interpretation (2004: 20). The existence of the heavens provides *true knowledge* that can be ‘seen’, about one’s place on the surface of the earth, and also about where one came from. Sea and sky meet at the horizon or *pae* – a moving boundary that has to be crossed to visit new lands and beings. Each party to the conversation, Cook and the chief, both saw them. *But did they each understand them fully in the same way, or in both ways?* It is suggested that the heavens could be regarded as an equivocation because though Māori and Europeans ‘saw’ them, they

‘knew’ them differently because they were informed by different knowledge systems that overlapped only *to some extent*.

James Cook’s initial appointment by the British Royal Navy in 1768 was to command the Endeavour instead of Alexander Dalrymple, whom the Royal Society had proposed for “making observations of the passage of the planet Venus over the disk of the sun”. Sir Edward Hawke had insisted that a “King’s officer should bear the royal commission”<sup>26</sup> and that “Mr Cook was fully qualified... being a master... and distinguished as an able mathematician” (Admiralty letters, in McNab, 1908: 46-7) who had already published his observations of a solar eclipse (Salmond, 1991: 98). He had also served in the Seven Years’ War (1756-63), where France and England vied for control of Canadian territories, and had carried out some North American hydrographical surveys and mapping. It was against this background that he set sail for Tahiti and eventually New Zealand, with astronomer Charles Green, a former assistant to the Astronomer Royal. Other appointees of the Royal Society included naturalists Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander. These men were all influenced by their affiliation with the Royal Society and its philosophies to encourage empirical investigation and the practical application of science. As the discursive environment of the Georgian Enlightenment period also encouraged free-thinking and secular views on scientific matters it also seems unlikely that either Cook or his navigational and astronomical assistants paid much attention to any spiritual aspects of the stars and planets they were observing. They would not have viewed the horizon or any other phenomenological aspect of the earth’s geography, astronomy or meteorology in any metaphorical way connected with boundary crossing of a spiritual kind. In this matter they differed from Māori for whom the *pae* was a ‘real’ place in two senses of the word: a physical space of identity *and* of alterity, where humans met but where rituals connected with the *atua* were also carried out.

For Māori, those carrying out the rituals were *tōhunga* – individuals like the aforementioned *ariori* priest, Tupaia; trained persons of high rank, status and ancestry who had the specific ability to cross boundaries and mediate between the realms of *tapu* and *noa*. As has already been stated, they did this by rituals that involved the setting up of rods intended as spiritual conduits in specific places. In this context, how might Astronomers and Ship’s Captains have been regarded if they were watched at their work? Each was differently and more elaborately dressed than the ‘men’, and they had servants. They occupied separate living quarters. In the case of the

astronomers ashore, this was a separate tent, often on a promontory or in a cleared space, away from the general accommodation to avoid light pollution or disturbance and with a clear view of the stars and the horizon. Astronomers, captains and officers had tube-shaped instruments that were taken out at specific times in order to observe the horizon and the angular positions of stars and planets. These instruments were kept in particular containers. They applied the instruments to their eyes, in contact with their heads (the most *tapu* part of the body and close to another spiritual conduit – their hair), and they used other rod-like objects to make marks on white paper from time to time during the ‘rituals’. As will be shown in Chapter six, they were actually seen making records of a solar eclipse and a meteor, both of which had been observed by local Māori at Queen Charlotte Sound, and most likely interpreted as auspicious for themselves. It is suggested here that astronomers and ships captains may have been seen as carrying out rituals of a spiritual kind, in places akin to *tūāhu* (shrines), and their instruments as performing the role of the rods that *tōhunga* use. Extending this concept to the Pacific more generally, it is worth considering Greg Denning’s comments about Tupaia, priest of the Tahitian god ‘Oro, who accompanied Cook on the first voyage:

... ‘Oro’s temples were places of crossings. They stood on points of land looking to an opening in the reef... the ari’inui would be wrapped in the feathered symbols of ‘Oro, be given his titles and established in his authority by the seaward side. On the landward side was a place of communion and sacred paraphernalia... (2004: 171).

In the cases investigated in the following chapters, this analogy becomes more apparent in earlier visits of navigators such as Cook because they had astronomers aboard as supernumeraries. However in the two cases involving sealing personnel, there still remains a distinct difference between Ship Captains, and their men. Captains were superior in their dress and demeanour and also possessed ‘ritual paraphernalia’ such as telescopes, sextants and so on. Because the time frame of the sealers’ arrivals was later, however, it is likely that any disjunctions between interpretations of the astronomical components of their mutually different “figured worlds” would be due to other factors than misconceptions about their ritual positions in European society. These other factors will be explored in the chapters that follow.

## Summary

In this chapter the differing knowledge systems of Maori and Europeans at the time of the early encounters have been described and compared. Some possible ontological differences which could have contributed to misunderstandings about the behaviour of others, have been considered, and some ideas about who should be permitted the ethical rights to investigate and interpret early inter-cultural transactions has been explored. A variety of perspectives on these issues have been used to suggest a solution to this socio-political dilemma.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Māori Material Records: things as social actors

Each taonga's ancestral pathway has woven a pattern of human interconnections upon the land for generations, forming a korowai or cloak, of knowledge.

Paul Tapsell, 1997: 335.

This chapter illustrates how “things” have inscribed on and embodied within them, a record – albeit not a written record – of their own histories, whose meanings are revealed by the way they are treated, used, and imagined in peoples’ social and political worlds. The things being discussed include religious and secular objects, clothing, tools, ornaments, canoes, weapons, and instruments used to enhance understanding and interpretation, and for recording natural and social events. Categories such as these exist in all societies regardless of their sophistication or supposed intellectual or scientific ‘superiority’ or ‘modernity’. In the western world, books, and now film and audio-recordings can capture moments in events, and be used legally by historians and lawyers as supposed evidence of ‘what happened’. Such documentary evidence can then support legal and historical viewpoints about, for example, the actualities of violent situations during ownership issues as described in this thesis. This production of documentary evidence, during discussions and disputes about ownership and violence, can be regarded as a universal phenomenon – including in the western world now. However, for peoples who had no written documentation, their oral histories have until recently been considered to have little validity, because they have not fixed the exact words ‘in stone’ in the modern legal sense. I have argued elsewhere (Chapter one) that oral histories can be compared with each other in the same way as written historical documentation. Diaries and journals of British sailors and their captains are thus no more valid as historical records than are oral histories, especially in dealing with events that are within the living memory of their narrators. Such oral history evidence is now most recently being allowed in legal situations like the ongoing claims about land and property before New Zealand’s Waitangi Tribunal. During the hearings, oral histories regarding ownership-related violence and peace making are crucial and accepted forms of evidence where the focus appears to have been on social actors and what they did. The purpose of this chapter is to focus on some other specific social actors, which, like England’s Magna

Carta, are not people, but which nevertheless ‘do things’ in transactions regarding property. This includes their presence and social actions involved in the inscription and social embodiment of those events taking place (cf. Verdery & Humphrey, 2004). These social actors are, and have been regarded by many of the European participants, as property – perhaps ‘valuable’ property – but their role as social actors (although it is present in the archival and oral histories) has not been sufficiently considered.

In this chapter I examine the role as social actors and mediators, of weapons (particularly *patu* [stone/ whalebone/wooden clubs], *taiaha* [wooden staffs/thrusting weapons]), *kākahu* (cloaks of various kinds), and *waka* (canoes). When tracing archival or oral histories about transactions that have become violent, or where the outcome has been peaceful, it is virtually impossible to ignore the constant mention of these ‘inanimate’ social actors whose ‘lives’ are entangled with those of humans and gods, as the following account will describe. They have had a potent agency in the social lives of generations of Māori, and their effect in European-Māori encounters has been underestimated as much as it has been misunderstood by many Westerners, especially in the early encounters about which I am writing.

I have examined some particular named objects, and followed their social and politico-economic trajectories through time and space. What follows therefore also includes:

1. An exposition of the *whakapapa* (genealogies) of some of these ‘things’.
2. A theoretical discussion about how the objects, their *whakapapa* and the way in which both are used in transactions, reveals such things to be social actors in their own right, with an agency additional to that of the people with whom they are associated. This argument goes further than that of Alfred Gell (cited in Henare, 2007: 17), and also Godelier which both suggest that the agency of things “cannot be outside of that of the human actors who make and use them” (1999: 102-5). Instead it follows the viewpoint expressed by Hēnare, Holbraad & Wastel, that the objects do not carry meanings “but just are identical to them.” In interaction with them we should allow them to “speak for themselves...” (2008: 4).
3. The insights thus revealed about Māori ontologies and how they impacted upon some inter-*iwi* sociopolitical interactions during the late 1700’s and early 1800’s.

4. A brief example examining how these ontological worlds interacted during intercultural Māori-European transactions in the same time period.

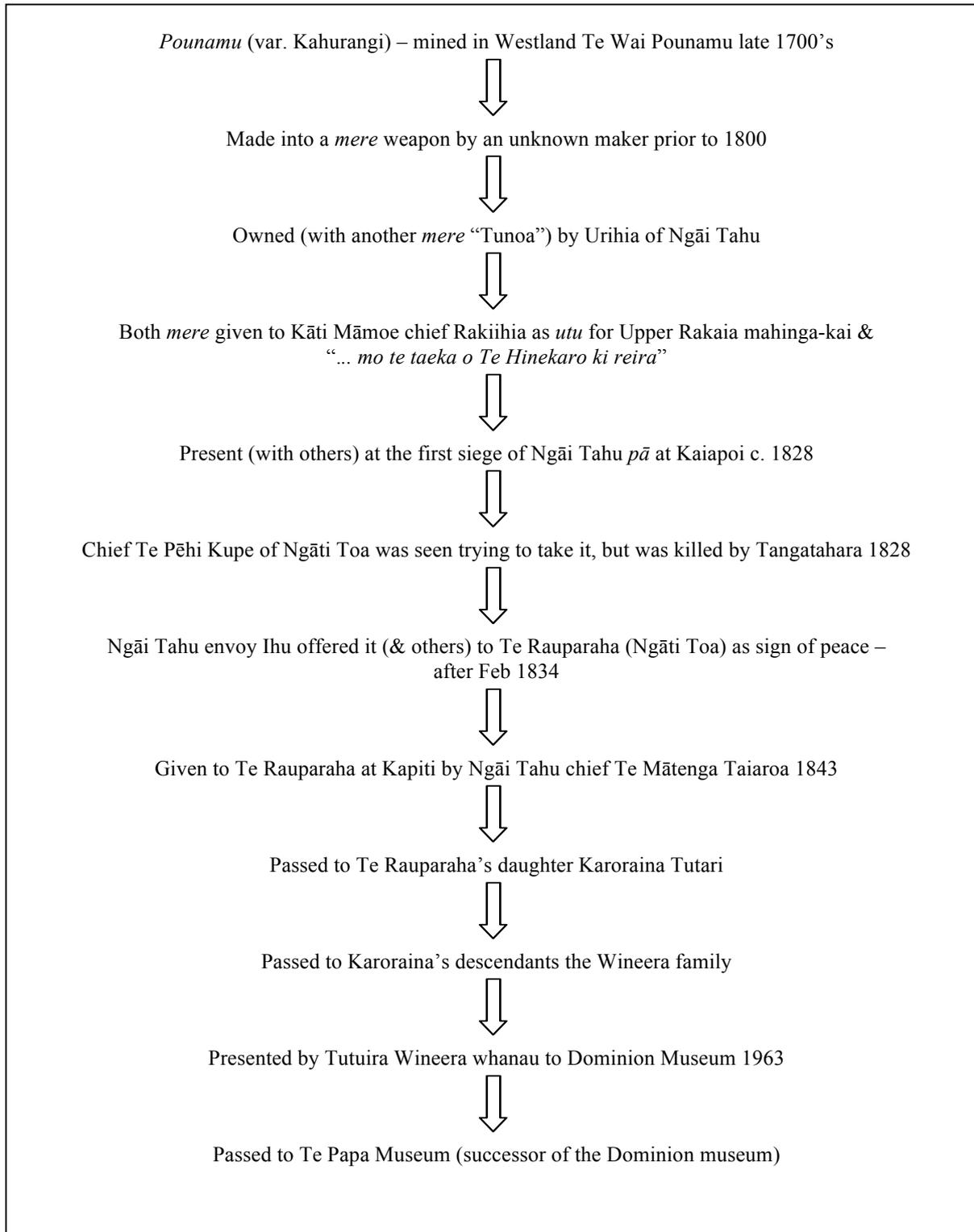
## Genealogies

The objects, whose social trajectories through time have been investigated so far, are limited at present to those already in the public arena – mainly those currently inhabiting museums and art galleries. This can be because *iwi* have placed them there on loan for safe keeping because they do not have suitable security for them at home, because there is some contest about their ownership or *kaitiakitanga* (guardianship), or because they have entered the European economic domain, having been stolen or traded and sold by those to whom they were formerly gifted. An attempt has been made to seek out *tāonga* that have been named in the local histories as having been involved in or present at inter-*iwi* wars and skirmishes in Te Wai Pounamu. They have been specifically named in the oral histories, and many of them still exist. Because these inter-*iwi* wars have also included groups from the North Island, many items connected with Te Wai Pounamu have also been connected to those people, with whom the things have travelled between islands. These *iwi* include some from Wellington and the Wairarapa Coast, Horowhenua, Manawatū and as far north as Waikato and Kāwhia. Many of them came to occupy the northern part of the South Island known as Te Tau Ihu a Te Waka o Maui. Their migration southward had already begun and was documented at the time that Cook arrived in Queen Charlotte Sound in the Endeavour. Included also, are tribes with whom these people have interacted in the domain of war and alliance. Even peoples as far north and east as Tūhoe, Ngā Puhī, Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Porou have *whakapapa* connections to Ngāi Tahu. Many named *tāonga* from these interactions have not been located yet, and are still being traced, but an effort has been made to seek out all archival and historical references to them, the contexts and activities in which they have been involved, and the people with whom they have been associated. There is a variety of *tāonga*: *pounamu* weapons, *hei tiki*, wooden *taiaha*, canoes, and fine cloaks. All of them have names, their life histories and actions being related in oral histories. They are matters of pride to both their legal owners and to their human ‘kin’.

Three items, whose life trajectories have been closely studied, are illustrated on the following four pages. They are the *mere pounamu* (greenstone club) “*Tuhiwai*”,

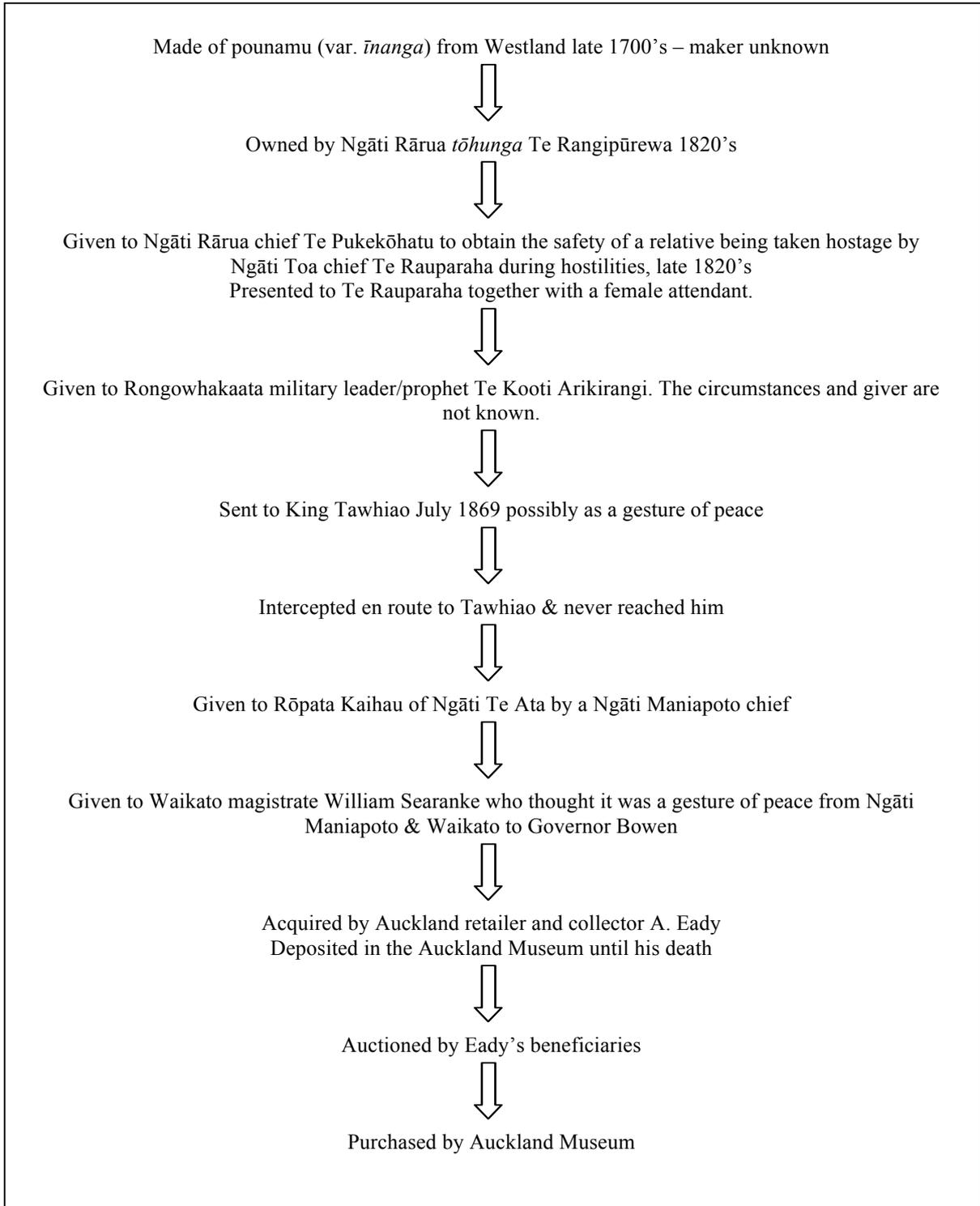
the *kahu* (dogskin cloak) “*Te Kahumamae o Pareraututu*”, and the *pounamu hei tiki* (greenstone neck ornament) “*Te Maungārongo*”. It can be seen that despite the *tāonga* belonging (in the western viewpoint) to quite different functional categories; one being a weapon, one an item of clothing and one an ornament, they nevertheless have certain commonalities in their life history trajectories. These commonalities and what they can tell are illustrated and discussed in the section that follows.

## LIFE TRAJECTORY OF “TUHIWAI”



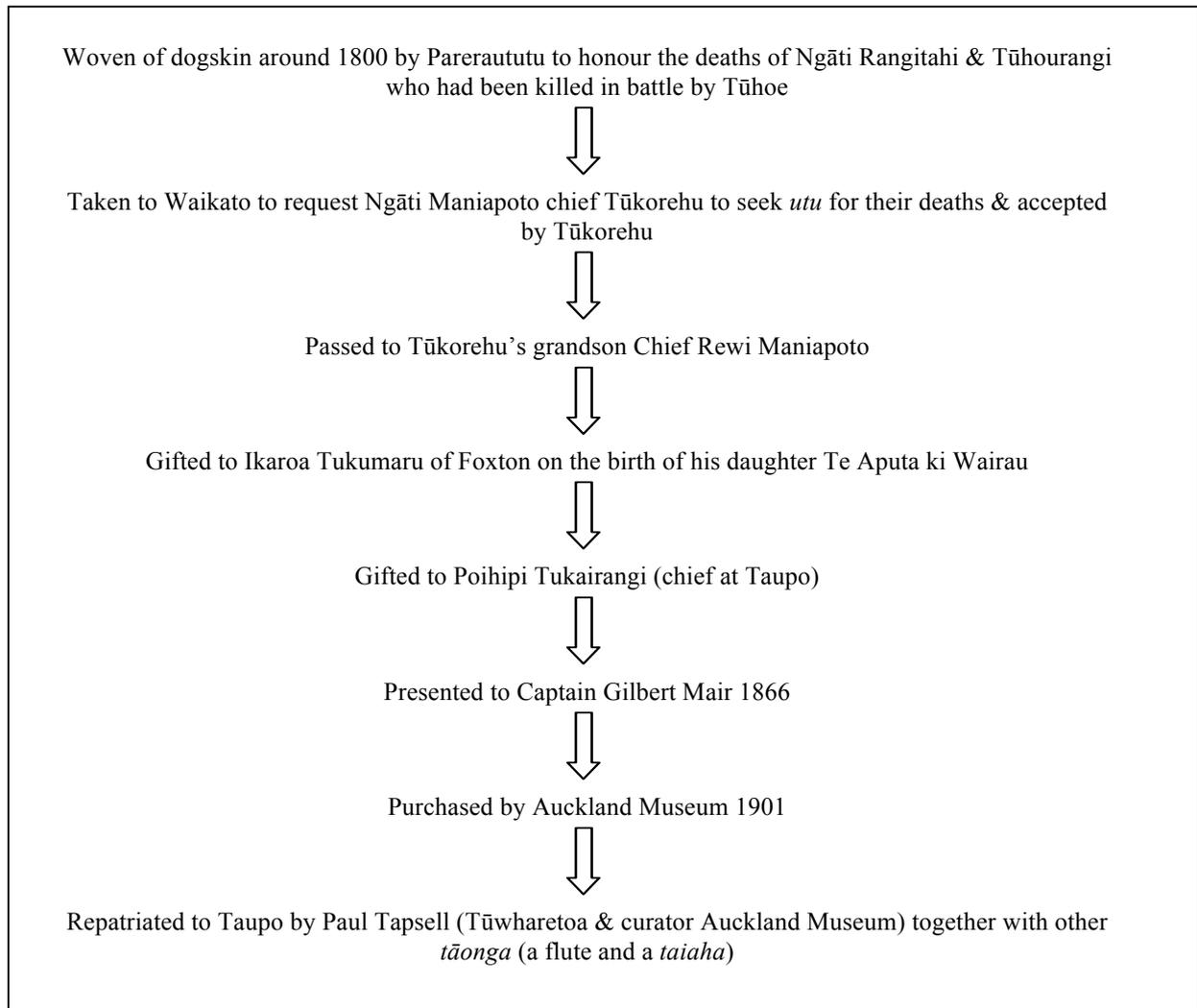
(Sources: Te Papa Website & R.T. M. Tau pers. comm.)

## LIFE TRAJECTORY OF TE MAUNGĀRONGO



(Source: Te Kāmano website Auckland Museum)

## LIFE TRAJECTORY OF TE KAHU-MAMAE O PARERAUTUTU



(Source: Te Kāhano website Auckland Museum)

The life trajectories of *Tuhiwai*, *Te Kahumamae o Pareraututu*, and *Te Maungārongo* illustrate the varying circumstances of their movement between places, and between *iwi*, and demonstrate the polyvocality of their agency in the transactions in which they have participated. From the point of view of the events in which they have been involved, they have become different things at each transaction. The *mere Tuhiwai* that was presented as *utu* for the weka hunting grounds in the Upper Rakaia in the late 1700's was the same physical item, but not the same conceptual item as that which Taiaroa eventually gave as a peace-making gesture to Te Rauparaha at Kapiti in 1843. The role it was playing was different. It appears that in their trajectories, each of the three items; the *mere*, the cloak and the *hei tiki* were firstly made, and then

during their social lives were capable of being gifts, given as expressions of gratitude or as presentations, bribes, ransoms, or to seal, embody and memorialise contracts, actions and people. They were equally capable of being stolen, borrowed, lent, sold or inherited. All the *tāonga* examined thus far have passed through a selection of these transaction types, and become involved in both negative and positive *utu* situations as is illustrated in Metge's Figure 4 (p.38). It is notable that only very few of the specific makers have been remembered, and that the social associations of these 'things' have mostly been remembered by transactions subsequent to their passing from the maker to the first 'owner'. One explanation for this is Tapsell's comment:

... the artists... who are seen as merely fulfilling the creativity of the *atua*, relinquish the items to their host tribe and thereafter wield no control over their fate. The items are privately transferred to the collective authority of the kin group, its tribal leaders (the elders), who decide the *kaupapa* (charter) of each item and under whose *mana* it will be controlled... Through the more public recitation of *karakia* the *tōhunga ahurewa* (... priests) then empower the items with the wairua of certain ancestors, which transforms them into *tāonga*. The identities of the individual artists are quickly forgotten... (1997: 363).

The issue is, as Tcherkézoff has also noted for their Samoan equivalents, *tāonga* such as cloaks and weapons have: “ become through ritual, the incorporation of the presence and powers of ancestors, and... in the Maussian sense... a receptacle for the link to group origins, indeed a vehicle for *mana*” (2012: 322; cf. 2004: 157-163). One constant in the changing identities that *tāonga* experience throughout their *whakapapa* (genealogies) is therefore their continuity in contributing to the life of the group which they are inhabiting at any one point in time.

The life trajectories of the greenstone weapon, the dogskin cloak and the *hei tiki* exhibit many commonalities. Firstly, they have all been made by a person, from natural products of the land, and therefore from the gods. Greenstone weapons and ornaments are made of *pounamu*, a stone that can only be sourced within New Zealand from the South Island, as the name for this island, *Te Wai Pounamu*, suggests. The stone has therefore been 'mined', and its social trajectory has begun, in territory now occupied by Ngāi Tahu-Ngāti Māmoe and their ancestors. It has been transported as blocks as well as worked pieces, by workers whose names have usually been forgotten. Heaphy, who travelled with Brunner in Te Tai Poutini (West Coast, South Island) observed that greenstone is mostly worked by very old men, “past their fighting days”, and small 'off-cuts' were worked by women and children into ear pendants (in Chapman, 1891: 498). Neither are the names of these crafts-persons

mentioned when the stories about them are told, and it is suggested here, that this is because what is remembered about the objects relates more to what they have *done*, in association with particular human actors. For cloaks the issue is the same. The fibres have come from the natural world as has *pounamu*, and the maker is a link in the chain, which brings these objects into being as social actors. The motivations of the craftsperson can be explained in weaver Rokahurihia Ngarimu-Cameron's words:

the gifting of korowai [cloaks]... has been an expression of my tinorangiratanga (sovereignty) as a weaver, knowing that I am giving unreservedly and upholding an important essence of our culture, that of aroha ki te tangata (love for mankind), reaffirming that I have laboured honestly and lovingly in their creation to honour the mauri, life force, of the cloak and cloak our loved ones as rangatira ...” (2008: 44)

In the case of this cloak – made to wrap the *tupāpāku* of a loved one on part of its last journey – there appears to be an element of humility whereby the craftsperson subsumes any notion of the importance of his or her associated personal identity, to the potential agency of the product (via its *mauri* or life force) in the interest of the deceased person through whom the agency may be given effect. Setting it free in the social world may be achieved by naming the weapon, cloak or ornament after a person of high *mana*, or an intended or past action with its associated *kōrero*. Then, although the maker's name may not be remembered, he or she may have the agency in deciding what the item is to be named, though as Tapsell has suggested this agency may be the prerogative of the elders. This name will then cause layers of *kōrero* to accumulate around the object, every time that it performs or acts, giving it increasing *mana* and perceived efficacy. In most cases *karakia* will be used and the object will then become (in the eyes of participants) an instantiation of the gods and or ancestors. It is useful to reflect upon whether it is not actually the same for persons, when they are created, named and introduced to the social world.

All of these *tāonga* have at some stage been gifted or presented, either to show gratitude or respect, or for ransom or bribery. All have also at some stage, been threatened by, or actually been stolen, or gone to other than their intended destination. All have been used at some time as evidence of a contract or action, which they are seen to embody. All of them in some way commemorate a person or persons, and are referenced in oral and written histories to actions of those persons in conflict situations, in peace making, and the creation of alliances. As they have passed from

one person and situation to another they have been implicated in different assemblages of people and things and taken on different roles as mediators of social actions and transactions amongst people. As Thomas has stated, “Objects are not what they were made to be but what they have become” (1991: 4), and they cannot therefore be regarded as stable circulating referents (cf. Boltanski & Thévenot, 1999: 370). Even though their physical form has remained constant (apart from ‘wear and tear’) they have become different ‘things’ as they have acquired different ‘owners’ in changing contexts, and in different times and places.

A careful analysis of three *waka* (canoes), five *kākahu* (cloaks), five *mere pounamu*, a *hei tiki*, a *tūpara* (shotgun) and a *taiaha* – all from the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries, indicates the degree to which the same principles apply to all of them. In Māori oral histories and legendary accounts of wars, conflict, violence and *rongopai* (peace arrangements) it is rare indeed for there to be no mention of the active role played by at least some named weapons and/or cloaks, so it is impossible to deny the perception by the narrators that they perform as social actors. The following table illustrates the degree to which these common factors apply in each case.

**Multiple relationship facets of the lives of some *tāonga* as social actors**

Actions/Transformations	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P
Gift (utu in land transfers)											X					
Gift	X	X		X	X						X	X		X	X	X
Gift (deposit/protection)	XX	X			X	X		X	X	X	X		X		X	X
Gift (show gratitude)	X								X			X			X	
Loan (European system)					X	X		X	X	X						X
Kōpaki (respect)					X							X				
Ransom (protect life)									X					X		
Evidence (of a contract)		X		X	X											
Evidence (of a battle)												X		X	X	
Remembrance (of a person)	X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Display honour/status		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Damaged/destroyed			X													
Theft/attempted theft	X		X		X		X		X	X	X		X	X		
Named (people/situations)			X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Sold/Purchased	X				X			X	X	X	X	X		X	X	
Inherited					X			X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X

**KEY to objects transferred/transformed during their ongoing life histories**

- A. *Te Toki a Tapiri* – (waka) built 1836 by Te Wāka Tarakau (Kahungunu). Presented to Perohuka of Rongowhakaata in thanks for his help in battle. Cloak given in return.
- B. *Wai-ka-hua* – (waka taua) Presented to Te Mātenga Tairaroa by Te Rauparaha as part of a peace settlement at Kapiti, 1843. Presented with mere pounamu Tuhiwai in return.
- C. *Te Awatea* (waka) – Captured by Ngāti Koata from Ngāti Apa and Kuia & later taken by Te Hiko of Ngāti Toa. In return he gave his waka Tararua.
- D. *Karamaene* (cloak) – described as a famous cloak given in return for the waka *Te Toki a Tapiri*
- E. *Te Mamae of Pareraututu* (cloak) – woven c.1800 to commemorate a battle in which many losses were sustained by her Ngāti Rangitihī & Tuhourangi people.
- F. *Te Kahu o Tiniraupeka* (cloak) – woven post 1873, in memory of the weaver’s mother. After a colourful history was sold by auction to the National Museum in 1991.
- G. *Te Rārawa* – a dogskin cloak belonging to Te Rauparaha & worn by his wife Te Ākau in a battle as a ruse to convince the enemy that Te Rauparaha’s numbers were greater than they actually were.
- H. *Te Kahu o Tairaroa* – a famous and unusual cloak owned by the Tairaroa family and worn ceremonially is now in the Canterbury Museum.
- I. *Kataore* (mere pounamu) – given by Ngāi Tahu chief Haumatike to his grandson, to be used as a ransom, at the battle of Onawe. Ended up a possession of Te Rauparaha.
- J. *Kaoreore* (pounamu block) – One of a number of pieces of this name; belonged to the chief Tūhawaiki, was offered to Ngāti Toa as a peace offering, but remained with Ngāi Tahu & is now in Southland museum.
- K. *Tuhiwai* (mere) pounamu) – given to Te Rauparaha by Tairaroa in return for the waka taua *Wai-ka-hua* at one of the peace agreements in 1843.
- L. *Tawhito whenua* (mere pounamu) – presented in the early 1800’s by the chief Te Rāto to a neighbouring chief Te Kēkerengū of Ngāti Ira, who later gave it to Ngāti Toa chief Te Rangihaeata for sparing the life of his mother and himself.
- M. *Paewhenua* (mere pounamu) – formerly the possession of Ngāi Tahu chief Tūhawaiki is now in the George Grey collection at Auckland Museum.
- N. *Te Maungārongo* (pounamu hei tiki) – belonged to Ngāti Rārua elder Te Rangipurewa, who gave it to a relative and told him to present it with his wife’s servant to Te Rauparaha as part of a hostage-taking situation; it was later auctioned by a collector.
- O. *Koatarini* (shotgun) – bought by Sir George Grey and presented to the Ngāti Toa chief Te Pūaha – as ‘an expensive and ornamental present’. Grey received many *tāonga* in return.
- P. *Kimihia* (taiaha) – belonged to Te Rauparaha and accompanied him on all his battle quests. It is named after his paternal grandfather

## Things as Social Actors

It is in the situational and socio-political contexts in which the ‘possession’ of these canoes, cloaks, weapons, and ornaments has changed, and in the behaviour of their human co-actants, that one can detect the meanings that may be inferred from their actions. Amongst the actions-and-meanings described or implied in their life history narratives are:

1. They are made from stone, wood and/or fibre/feathers – all products of the natural world and connected via it to the gods whose domain ‘*te āo tūroa*’ (the natural world) they originated from.

2. Through their manufacture and use they display traditional practices, reinforcing relationships with past times, people and situations.

3. They are launched on their trajectories with a name, often conferred by the maker – whose name may be soon forgotten – but the naming confers potential agency on the object.

4. Each may function as a *tohu* (sign) by which individuals can be recognised (Certain cloaks, mere, ornaments and canoes are associated with particular persons or families).

5. When given or used they emphasise the *rangatiratanga* of the giver or user, and thus also display respect for the recipient (the donor and recipient in most transactions recorded have been high ranking).

6. They display *mana* and are status symbols (they are worn/used on ceremonial occasions by high status persons).

7. They appear at important occasions such as in ‘life crisis’ situations – ‘births deaths and marriages’ – where the formation or nurturing of alliances occurs.

8. They may protect the person of the owner or recipient by ‘wrapping’ their *mana* (on particular auspicious occasions chiefs or brides may wear multiple cloaks, or greenstone ornaments, or chiefs may protect captured enemies by covering them with their *kākahu*, for example).

9. They have efficacy in situations where they are associated with persons, things and actions (important cloaks may be used to wrap or enhance gifts or transacted items; important weapons may be used to determine the omens prior to battle, for example).

10. In their turn they are enveloped by *korero* that reiterates their exploits and valorises them as it does also for their current owners.

Documented anecdotal evidence is also available regarding their agentive efficacy in war and peace and in various critical times in the lives of their human associates. That ‘inanimate’ objects can have agency in the sense of being able to carry out deliberate actions or to respond to the actions of others is a contentious issue which will be discussed in the last part of this section, but in order to prepare for such a theoretical discussion I set out some empirical evidence that this form of agency is at least a perception, and a concept that enters into the Māori world-view. These objects can be seen and felt to have certain effects, and the effects are thus interpreted to originate from them, or from the gods and ancestors operating through them as instantiations. This phenomenon is by no means restricted to the three cases used here as examples.

The *mere Tuhiwai* is named for the action ‘to strike the water’ and is supposed to have been used thus by Te Rauparaha of Ngāti Toa to predict the possible outcomes of his decision-making in wartime. After being presented to him by Te Mātenga Taiaroa of Ngāi Tahu at Kapiti in 1843, *Tuhiwai* passed on Te Rauparaha’s death to his daughter Karoraina, and then to her descendants, the Wineera family. Two other kinds of responsive actions have been attributed to it. *Tuhiwai* is said to sometimes change colour when a member of the Wineera family dies, (www.collections.tepapa.govt.nz, 23/3/10), and prior to its being gifted to the Dominion Museum, *Tuhiwai*, when kept at the Ngāti Toa *pā* in Porirua, had the reputation of moving about, for which reason it was kept under the verandah rather than in the house. The late Paeroa Wineera is reported to have said “ It would be found halfway under the house every time we looked for it. We called it ‘the one who walks’”. (rangiatea.natlib.govt.nz/TeRauparaha, 23/3/10). Likewise the *mere* of Te Rauparaha’s uncle, Te Aratangata, shattered as he ran out of the *pā* during the first battle of Kaiapoi where he was killed. He interpreted this as foreshadowing his own death. There are two stories about the reason it shattered. Tiniraupeka said also that Aratangata had killed a woman with it, and because of this polluted its *tapu* – hence the response of shattering (1943: 46-64). In a similar vein, the dogskin cloak, *Te Mamae o Pareraututu* (the pain of Pareraututu) was returned home from the Auckland

museum to her Te Arawa people after more than a century of moving in different contextual environments and amongst different people. The widow, Pareraututu, had woven the cloak which now bears her name and is seen to embody her being. The journey home, and the responses of her people have been documented and interpreted by Paul Tapsell, whose moving description of the welcome-home clearly indicates the way in which ‘she’ is seen as having agency:

...when almost everyone had left the exhibition space, that the *koro* was finally able to reunite himself with his *kuia*. I watched the tall old man quietly collapse to his knees in front of Pareraututu. With great reverence he leaned forward and completed the hongi *with his great grandmother*. A lifetime of energy abandoned him and tears rolled down his cheeks onto the cloak as his family helped lift him back to his feet... (Tapsell, 1997: 343)[my emphasis]

Furthermore, together with the *korero* and *karakia* in which she is ‘wrapped’, Pareraututu is seen as ‘doing something’ – something efficacious – because in certain situations, including life crisis situations, such as being presented as *kōpaki* (‘wrappings’ or grave goods) at *tangihanga* (funerals) she “help(s) refocus the descendants, their ancestors and lands back into one tribal identity” (ibid: 345). One could add further, that she also embodies the *utu*, which her maker sought when she sat on Tūkorehu’s marae seeking his assistance in having her grandfather’s head returned after the conflict with Tūhoe. The head was returned to the ancestral mountain, Tarawera, and the Waikato chief was able to broker a peace between Te Arawa and Tūhoe (ibid: 348), which is further evidence of her agency. Therefore, like *Tuhiwai*, *Pareraututu* has, in her life trajectory, acquired multiple experiences and *korero* (stories), which could be considered to confer on her, ‘layers of meaning’. Her *mauri* and her efficacy as an agent have thus been enhanced with changes in time, place and human connections.

Thirdly, *Te Maungārongo*, originally Te Rangipurewa’s *hei tiki*, displays a further aspect of agency that is evident in all of the *tāonga* examined thus far. This is its name; “Te Maungārongo” means ‘lasting peace’. When one considers the role that it has played in all the recorded transactions where it has acted, peacemaking appears to have remained its agentive function, regardless of whom the transactions were between, and whatever additional meanings they had. Te Rauparaha was presented with a slave girl who was wearing it, and he was ‘moved by the sincerity of the gesture’ into releasing Te Pukekōhatu’s captive relative as *utu*

(collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object 23/3/10). Therefore, in this case as with *Tuhiwai*, the name of the *tāonga* reflects its intended or perceived agency. As the two preceding cases suggest, this would be enhanced by the accumulating *kōrero* about its name and actions. *Te Maungārongo* ended up being sold in the European exchange system, and this would seem to suggest a lack of understanding or regard, for the intention that its presentation to Governor Bowen had for the Ngāti Maniapoto and Waikato people who gave it. It is just this kind of disjuncture between ‘world-views’ and knowledge systems that is being considered in this thesis. On this occasion such ignorance did not lead to a particular incident of physical violence, but obviously the ongoing structural violence of colonialism was implicated.

Thus examination of a variety of primary sources, including unpublished accounts of associated *iwi* members and *hunga tiaki* (guardians), as well as early ethnographic archives and publications associated with the various *tāonga*, has revealed the range of ways in which they have changed hands, and how these transfers have been understood by generations of Māori people into whose lives they have entered. Oral histories and early European and Māori narratives – often several accounts of the same incidents – have been used to help interpret the meanings of these transfers between people, places, and times. Acceptance is now eventuating, that indigenous interpretations of *tāonga*, when laid alongside, and incorporated into them, can add another perspective to the academic understanding of objects in many ‘other’ societies. A number of authors (eg. Reed, 2007: 42) in the collection of Hēnare et al. (2007) have acknowledged that for some peoples, one physically identical item can change its significance when it passes between worlds of signification, as in the cases I have just described. Like the persons whom Marilyn Strathern describes as having multiple identities, so can objects have multiple identities different parts of which can be mobilised depending upon the assemblages, associations and situations they are occupying at the time (cf. Strathern, 1991: 25-7). It is this adaptive and polymorphic identity that gives people and things, separately and as actant assemblages, a more potent agency than they would have if their identity were fixed and unchanging (Latour, 1999; Strathern, 1991). Furthermore, Hēnare, Reed, Pedersen, Leach and Holbraad (in A. Hēnare et. al, 2007) have each documented further examples supporting the view that in some societies, things may be understood to have an agency that “does not originate from humans” (Reed, 2007: 42). This adds complexity

to their agency in actant assemblages, and allows them the possibility of contributing to a reconfiguration of cultural schemas as people may do (Wilkes, 2008:16).

Following Hēnare (2007:16-19) I see ‘things’ as capable of being used heuristically by anthropologists because that is how they operate in the worlds of some of our ‘others’, including Māori. In contrast with Godelier’s view that “a gift object does not move without reason [or]... of its own accord [and is] always set in motion by human will” (1999: 102-5), I take the view that Māori people (and others who choose to) may live, sometimes simultaneously, in ‘real’ worlds, imaginary worlds, and alternative cultural worlds as Vivieros de Castro has suggested (2004). Hēnare has said “these ‘different worlds’ are not [necessarily] to be found in some forgotten corner of our own ... [and] alterity can quite properly be thought of as a property of things – things, that is, which are concepts as much as they appear to us as ‘material’ or physical entities” (2007: 10-13). Sometimes Māori people may not distinguish between these worlds whilst living their lives. What is true for them, is true for them, and if in certain circumstances some of them perceive that ‘things’ can be set in motion of their own accord, or respond to circumstances by changing colour, then the social effect will be the same, whether this is real to a Westerner or not. I repeat, “ ... things are what they have become” (Thomas, 1991: 4). They are invested with meaning from the layers they have acquired in the course of their lives, which changes them with time and experience. In some peoples’ worlds they actually have become what they once symbolised. If a Catholic woman actually ‘sees’ the statue of Mary crying, then that is what she experiences. It is real to her and she responds accordingly. I have therefore stated before, that the agency of the ‘thing’ may include the agency of the giver and vice versa, but in the Māori world a ‘thing’ may also be considered to have a separate agentive force of its own (Tapsell, 1997: 362; Tcherkézoff, 2002: 28; Wilkes, 2006: 35; Hēnare 2007: 47-8). Tapsell described how a cloak for example, is made by a female artist who is seen as “fulfilling the creativity of the *atua* (god)”. She then gives it to the kin-group “under whose *mana* it is controlled”. It becomes imbued with the *mana* and *tapu* of those who have worn it. It may “eventually become [a] physical representation of the collective identity” (1997: 362) and may even be seen as the ancestor:

... the *koro* [old man] was finally able to reunite himself with his *kuia* (grandmother/old lady/great grandmother). I watched the tall old man quietly collapse to his knees in front of Pareraututu. With great reverence he leaned forward and completed his hongi with his great grandmother. A lifetime of energy abandoned him and tears rolled down his cheeks onto the cloak as his family helped lift him back to his feet... (Tapsell, 1997: 343).

To Māori, ‘things’ in some situations, may be actors in transactions as much as their human counterparts are, and one of the properties of things is that they may also be concepts “as much as they appear to us as ‘material’ or ‘physical’ entities” (Hēnare, 2007: 13). In this interpretation they contain the concept (usually more than one concept), and usually act together with people. What remains is to show how this might be understood theoretically.

The approaches of Marilyn Strathern and Amiria Hēnare provide some theoretical insights. Referring to the Mt Hagen people of Papua-New Guinea, Strathern famously remarked that “women are like tradestores”, because a woman is both a “repository of nurture from her kin” and “repository of nurture due to her kin in return” and she thus benefits the relationship between her relatives (1996: 127). In some ways she has the properties of a ‘thing’/commodity and the exercise of power is dependent on who is able to control the flow of this wealth (ibid: 517-9). Viewing humans as ‘things’ or commodities could also be seen as applying in some situations to Māori. One could say that people can be ‘things’ and things can be like ‘people’ in the Māori world, and the circumstances for this are situational. Hēnare writes:

A *tāonga* might equally be a historic whalebone weapon, the Māori language, a native plant, a body of knowledge; distinctions between the material and the ephemeral are not relevant here. Nor are ideas about animate versus inanimate entities; women and children may be exchanged as *tāonga*, and *tāonga* such as woven cloaks are often held as ancestors or instantiations of ancestral effect (2007: 47).

Strathern acknowledges Latour’s project of describing actor-networks where human/nonhuman hybrids act, but says that she wants to “extend them with social imagination”, using them to think about Coppel’s ‘Are’are (Solomon Island) people who are both ‘dividuals’, i.e. ‘divided’ persons and ‘hybrids’. At death they become separated into three different elements: the body, produced by nurture (eaten as taro), breath, (taken away in slaughtered pigs), and image, (which becomes an ancestor who endures). “A human being is... conceived of as an aggregation of relations”. Non-human substitutes exist for each of these forms: taro for body, pigs for body & breath, and shell beads for ancestral image. Events are marked with the exchange of shell

beads, which “builds up a person as a composite of past transactions with diverse others”, and when death occurs there is one last series of exchanges which stops the flow. Thus ‘Are’ social relations are condensed into things as well as people, and things have some of the properties of people, who are equated in some of their properties with taro and pigs (1996: 525-7). That ‘things’ in the Māori world may have identity and agentive force in the formation of social relationships thus seems to be possible, considering the parallels in Polynesia.

Therefore, I have shown in this section, from the archival and published documentation – Māori and European – that objects of Māori provenance that have been transacted intra-*iwi*, inter-*iwi* and with Europeans, have an agentive force that can be attributed to their life trajectories and the fact that they *embody the social relationships* between humans, gods, the natural world and conceptual understandings of these. Included in these relationships and understandings that *tāonga* and other ‘things’ embody, are *actions in which they have participated*. The conceptual understandings of what these ‘things’ and ‘actions’ embody have changed over time according to how the recipients of the objects have related their stories, sometimes deliberately inaccurately, or mistakenly, and especially inter-culturally. This has sometimes led to contested outcomes during transactions, some of them violent in nature. In a sense, as each object has participated in a transfer of ‘ownership’ or other ‘action’, it has become part of an entirely different social assemblage, and has thus become a different ‘thing’, differently understood in its new context. The following section examines the implications of this issue.

### Impacts on inter-*iwi* socio-political interactions

Here some particular *tāonga* are examined. As already described, they embody the human social relationships in which they have been involved, as well as the actions where they have themselves been social actors. They also embody the internal socio-political discourse surrounding these human social relationships and actions, and the localities where the actions took place. Earlier in this chapter I referred to the fact that I have focused particularly on interactions of Ngāi Tāhu with Ngāti Māmoë on the one hand, and the Ngāti Toa alliance on the other. I have suggested, that the dynamics of these interactions, would have been informed by the cultural schemas of *iwi*,<sup>27</sup> and therefore their inter-cultural transaction behaviour with Europeans would

also have been affected by that. This does not deny that members of these *iwi* could also have acted contingently and agentively in such interactions. These kinds of actions will be described here in the examples of greenstone *mere* and cloaks that have ‘participated’ in both war and peace amongst them.

There are two issues here. Firstly, there are the *narratives about the origin* of the objects; and secondly, the *names* they carry. Both, complicate the socio-political dynamics surrounding the *tāonga* in much the same way as happens for the stories and names of the people with whom they are co-actants. Also in the same way as for people, their names, and reported actions, it is possible to examine a variety of narratives, both Māori and European, and search for commonalities and discrepancies, that will help unveil their likely ‘accuracy’. It is, however, important also to be cognizant of the fact that ‘accuracy’ is not what social behaviour is always based upon. In the course of history, it is hearsay and ‘believable’ stories that feed into public discourse and these are the more frequent determinants of peoples’ decision-making and action than are ‘certain truths’.

Amongst the reasonably well-documented battles in nineteenth century Te Wai Pounamu, was Te Rauparaha’s invasion of the Kaiapoi *pa* in 1820. Tau and Anderson’s “Carrington text” (2009), published eyewitness accounts and interpretive comments including reference to a number of *pounamu* weapons which were of great interest to Ngāti Toa, and are represented as being the reason for the initial visit to Kaiapoi by Te Rauparaha with his uncle Te Pēhi Kupe. Amongst the surviving eyewitness accounts, is the joint account of Ngāi Tahu’s Hēnare Mahuika and Īhāia Tainui, who told H. K. Taiaroa in 1880 about the intentions of Ngati Toa when they arrived at Kaiapoi *pa*:

... The leaders went into the *pa*, their intention being to *acquire Ngāi Tahu’s greenstone weapons by stealth* and to take them for themselves. But they still went in fighting for the right to take the greenstone weapons that they wanted. The names of the weapons were Kaoreore, Papatahi, Tuhiwai and Rakauparawa, among others. From the time that Te Peehi proceeded to leave with the greenstone weapons, he said that the weapons were his... (in Tau & Anderson, 2009: 181)[my emphasis].

Ngāi Tahu understood that their motive was to trade in greenstone, which is confirmed by another eyewitness, Pāora Taki, who told Taare Tikao’s daughter that Te Rauparaha had said their would be no trouble by repeating that:

“ It is well - as they went into the pa to trade guns, powder and flint with the residents for blocks of greenstone and articles of pounamu. Tamaiharanui himself traded for guns... (ibid: 180)

Again, this intention of going to Kaiapoi for greenstone, is confirmed by Katu (Tamihana) Te Rauparaha of Ngāti Toa, who (being a child at the time of the battle) relied upon his father’s dictated narrative, written up c. 1880:

Te Rauparaha said to his friend Tamaiharanui at Kaiapohia “ Let all be peaceful”. Tamaiharanui agreed. Then Te Pēhi and his friends went into the pa. Tamaiharanui and Te Pēhi greeted each other... having met previously at Port Jackson. For this reason Te Pēhi requested to have *Paewhenua*, a block of greenstone that had yet to be made into a weapon... Te Rauparaha asked Te Pēhi to be careful...” (T.Te Rauparaha, in Butler, 1980: 35)

Te Rauparaha went only into the outer ramparts of the pa, and on the thither side of the palisading to look on at the bargaining proceeding for guns in exchange for greenstone. One weapon was acquired by Te Rauparaha – *Te Kaoreore*. Being asked for by one of his younger relatives (*taina*) to carry about – he gave it. Then the *taina* went into the pa to Te Peehi and others...” [Tamihana Te Rauparaha, G.Graham trans., in Tiniraupeka, c.1918: 57)

However Taare Wētere Te Kāhu of Ngāi Tahu told Tame Parata that:

They asked for pounamu; some was brought, but those people despised the pounamu with angry words; they quarrelled with the people of the place about it. After a time it became serious, and Te Peehi called out to the people outside the pa to... assault it... (1910: 95-6)

So, from the first invasion of Kaiapoi c.1828, Māori oral histories generated were written down within the lifetime of eyewitnesses belonging to *iwi* on both sides of the conflict. These confirm that named greenstone pieces were at least stated by the Ngāti Toa attackers, as a motivation for their visit; a reason initially believed by Ngāi Tahu. The fame of the greenstone had preceded the arrival of Ngāti Toa, because they had been told at Omihi about its existence, when they asked slaves they had captured at Kaikōura, and were told, “Yes there is plenty at Kaiapoi” (Te Kāhu, in Parata, 1910: 95). Comparing the Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Toa narratives establishes the names of three specific *pounamu* pieces that both parties mention as being under contention: *Tuhiwai*, *Paewhenua* and *Kaoreore*. Both parties also mention that there were others. On reading all the complete accounts, it is clear that these *pounamu* were social actors, as crucial to the proceedings of the battle as were the named human participants, Te Pēhi Kupe, his opponent Takatahara, and so on. Additionally, the issue that sparked the assault on the *pā* was, in the first instance, a *perception* about the *pounamu*. I therefore return here to these issues of ‘accuracy’ and perception, in order to examine in hindsight from the available primary sources just what aspects of

*Tuhiwai*, *Paewhenua* and *Kaoreore* could have made them desirable to Ngāti Toa. The life trajectory of *Tuhiwai* has already been described in the previous section, and will be revisited here along with that of *Paewhenua* and *Kaoreore*. All three have by now accumulated some narratives that differ between Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Toa. Some European eyewitness references from the same era, as those of the Māori eyewitness accounts, can provide some clarification. Amongst them is the diary of Arthur Wakefield a New Zealand Company representative killed by the Ngāti Toa chief Te Rangihaeata at the Wairau affray in 1843, and the journal of J. Barnicoat, surveyor who observed his death. Ngāti Toa also have a story about *Tuhiwai* being involved at Wairau in 1841 (Mātini Te Whiwhi, 1872; online). This cannot be so because it was still in the possession of Ngai Tahu in 1843 when Taiaroa presented it to Te Rauparaha at one of the peace ceremonies.

## Perceptions of objects

1. Names are important. Study of a number of Māori weapons from throughout New Zealand has revealed that there are in existence a number of items named *Paewhenua*, and even more named *Kaoreore*, and they are associated with different tribal areas, historical periods, situations and people – which complicates the issue as far as researching those that acted at Kaiapoi are concerned. It has also led to the publication in secondary texts of inaccurate and impossible interpretations about the life histories, and therefore the perceptions of these weapons, and the roles that they have played in inter-*iwi* transactions. It is not surprising that both these weapons and their ‘namesakes’ have been given such names, for *Paewhenua* derives from the words ‘*pae*’ meaning both ‘the horizon’ and ‘a place for oratory and contested discussion where issues are discussed and resolved’; and ‘*whenua*’ meaning both ‘placenta’ and ‘land’. Since most famous weapons have been involved in matters where land was implicated– *raupatu* (conquest); *rongopai* (peace settlements); alliance formation including *takawaenga* (interiwi marriages), and the conferring of land with the ‘bride’ – this name seems an appropriate one for the *pounamu*-as-actor and evidence-of-contract. Having been given such a name, perceptions that the weapon embodies those functions, and has the efficacy to carry them out in similar future scenarios, would be reinforced with every performance in which they were involved. The weapon would have increased its *mana* and therefore its desirability

and, in these terms, its value. By association it would enhance the *mana* of its owner, user, or recipient. Similarly, *Kaoreore* comes from the term ‘*oreore*’ (to search out, incite, be alarmed or agitated). For it and others with the same name, the issues are very similar. Their effective agency would be *enhanced by the way they were viewed*, because of the name by which they were known, and, with success in battle, or in other transactions, their *mana* would therefore be reinforced and further enhanced. *Tuhiwai*’s name and perceived agentive abilities in helping to ‘read the omens’ have already been mentioned. Therefore weapons may be named for what they do, have done previously or may potentially do. Other weapons (such as the famous mere *Kaikanohi* taken along with his daughter by Ngāti Rauru as a ransom for the life of Ngāi Tahu chief Tūhuru) may be named for the mythical or other circumstances surrounding the discovery of the stone (Hongi, 1896: 236). Even others, like Te Rauparaha’s *taiaha kura*<sup>28</sup> ‘*Kimihia*’ (meaning to seek), are actually named after persons (Kimihia being the name of Rauparaha’s paternal grandfather), but its double meaning would confer extra possibilities for agency and perceptions of efficacy. It too was used to ‘read the omens’, when (reportedly), it used to turn over in response to questions. I would suggest that the inclusion of its name in *kōrero* would allude polyvocally both to who it was named after, and to its potential for efficacious action. Tiniraupeka has stated that the Ngāi Tahu version of *Kaoreore* is a different *mere* than the Te Arawa one given to Captain Gilbert Mair in 1866<sup>29</sup>. By tracing its trajectory and examining it this is certainly true, and it also raises the issue that weapons are not only named after people, but also after each other. Since the prior name had acquired a certain *mana*, then some of this might be conceptually transferred to the newer version, enhancing both its *mana* and its actions. Another matter arising from this detailed examination of a number of *pounamu* named *Paewhenua* and *Kaorerore* is the issue of whether or not the naming of two objects with the same name might arise from their being cut from the same block of stone. There are precedents for this happening (Nekerangi Paul, pers.comm); however, there are equally records of such objects being differently named. For example, the Te Arawa version of *Kaoreore* was cut from the same block as the pendant *Te Parakore* and the adze *Tamapinaki* (in Tiniraupeka, 1943: 46-64).

2. “Eyewitness” accounts were written down many years after the events. However there is a surprising concurrence in the accounts. Nevertheless, each account has

failed to mention some issues that are present in others. Whichever historical documentation one chooses to look at, can be criticised in this manner so this is not a reason to discredit some accounts or favour them over others, especially if they are the only primary sources we have. Cross checking is nevertheless important, and a comparison of the narratives of Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, Pāora Taki, Mahuika & Tainui, and Te Kāhu has shown that their perceptions of *pounamu* as social actors, how they acted, and which ones were involved, appear to be in agreement. The interesting part, is what has happened subsequently to the concepts surrounding them and their actions, and what implications these have for discourse in the changing socio-political environment. These issues well illustrate how mistakes and deliberate changes in the discourse surrounding objects change the public perceptions, not only of the objects themselves, but also of their co-actants, the people who ‘bring them forth’ on suitable occasions, and in whose care they reside. This in turn influences the *mana* of each object and person, and the cultural capital that they embody. It is a fine reason to continuously re-examine the primary sources and interpretations of them, especially as more of them become available.

3. Con-sequences: The *mere Paewhenua* was recently (2010) on show at the Canterbury Museum in the exhibition “Ngai Tahu: Te hokinga mai”, after its lengthy display over several years at Te Pāpa o Tongarewa. *Paewhenua* is described in the museum database as being part of the Grey Collection at Auckland Museum, having formerly belonged to the esteemed Southern chief Tūhawaiki at Ruapuke Island. We know that this distinctive *mere*, before it entered the Grey collection, was last heard of in Murihiku, being offered to Te Rauparaha at Cloudy Bay in about 1834<sup>30</sup> “with various other weapons” by Te Whakataupuka and Taiaroa’s envoy Ihu. It was thus in the hands of Murihiku Ngāi Tahu at that time. Tāmihana Te Rauparaha has described this incident (1980: 72). He also described *Paewhenua* at the first raid on Kaiapoi, as being a “greenstone block... yet to be cut”, and requested from Tamaiharanui by Te Pēhi (in Butler, 1980: 25). It was either a greenstone block or a *mere* at Kaiapoi in 1828, and it was presented in 1910 to the Grey Collection at Auckland Museum as a *mere*. However, the Te Ati Awa chief Ropoama Te One is famously reported to have presented *Paewhenua* to land commissioner Donald McLean in 1856, as evidence of a land sale contract, saying:

Now that we have forever launched this land into the sea, we hereby make over to you... this *adze* named *Paewhenua*, which we have always highly prized, from having regained it in battle, after it was used by our enemies to kill our two most celebrated chiefs *Te Pēhi* and *Pōkaitara*. Money vanishes and disappears, but this greenstone will endure as a durable witness of our act as the land itself... which we have now transferred to you forever.” (Skinner, 1907, JPS, Vol. 16: 226; McKay, Compendium of official documents relative to native affairs in the South Island, 1856, Vol. 1.)[my emphasis]

Clearly the land commissioner believed this to be true, and Te One stated that the *pounamu* being given, was the same item used by Ngāi Tahu to kill Te Pēhi and Pōkaitara; ie. it was the same *Paewhenua* that was present at the Kaiapoi battle, where it was seized from Ngāi Tahu in battle. Now it cannot have been an uncut block (described by Tāmihana Te Rauparaha) if it was an *adze* (given by Te One), or a *mere*, available in 1834 or thereabouts, when Ihu offered it to Te Rauparaha on behalf of Whakataupuka (again, described by Tamihana). Clearly it never was captured in the circumstances described by Te One. Nor could it have killed Te Pēhi and been captured, because eyewitness Pāora Taki stated that Takatahara killed Te Pēhi with a *pātītī* (hatchet) and Ngāi Tahu were still using it after Kaiapoi because otherwise Whakataupuka’s envoy Ihu could not have offered it as a *tohu* of peace in 1834.

Thus, there are restrictions upon the accuracy of accounts because people writing or dictating them may contradict themselves, as Tamihana did in regard to *Paewhenua*. People remember aspects of events that seem important to them at the time, and they forget other things. Alternatively, they might accidentally or deliberately silence information, or misrepresent it for effect, or to enhance their own *mana* or that of others. Te One’s famous oratory does not appear to represent the ‘facts’ as eyewitnesses described them, but it does, however, recall how Māori people at that time regarded their lands, and also how they perceived the ability of *tāonga* to mediate and commemorate transactions. The complication of inaccuracies in the *kōrero* now enters the discourse surrounding the life trajectory of *Paewhenua*. These inaccuracies then enter secondary texts and become magnified, contributing to further discourse about land and *mana*, as in the quote from Mitchell & Mitchell (2004: 119-121):

In 1848 ‘*Paiwhenua*’ was given to the Land Purchase Commissioner, Donald McLean, by Ropoama Te One as a symbolic gesture to mark the sale by Te Atiawa of Waitohi (Picton) to the Crown” (2004: 119):

“ Among the spoils taken at Kaiapoi were a number of famous greenstone mere. One fine weapon, named Te Rauhikihiki<sup>31</sup> was given to Te Rauparaha by Te Koreke as a ransom for his life and *Paiwhenua* became the property of Puketapu Te Atiawa of Queen Charlotte Sound.”

These are only some of the ways that *kōrero* and re-configuration of relationships reflect the socio-political agency of weapons and ‘other things’ in the inter-*iwi* and inter-cultural transactional world. It also shows that for the reason that *kōrero* surrounding objects changes with the assemblages that they inhabit, they cannot therefore be regarded as stable circulating referents, unless all the *kōrero* are transparently available for perusal. They are only temporarily stable when their circulation is interrupted, and there is then room for reflection and re-examination by all concerned.

There also is some pertinence in discussing here the previously mentioned Ngāi Tahu *tāonga Kaoreore*, now displayed in the Southland Museum. It reveals that misunderstandings and mis-representations of things and events may also happen within *iwi* on a very small scale indeed, and that even then may provide potential for *raruraru* (small troubles/ disputes). It should also be noted that I am not arguing that this is unique to Māori, for the capacity to misunderstand is a universal human phenomenon! What I shall argue, though, is that this capacity increases when one’s understanding is informed only by a different knowledge and value system, such as the European one.

This *Kaoreore* has a plaque stating that it too belonged to the chief Tūhawaiki – given by his first wife<sup>32</sup> in connection with the *tangihanga* (mourning ceremonies) on the death of their eldest son Wharawharateraki ([www.maori.org.nz/papapanui](http://www.maori.org.nz/papapanui)). Since Tūhawaiki is described by Boulton as being of a similar age to his uncle, Whakataupuka (c. 34 years in 1827)[in Stark, 1986: 78], Wharawharateraki could have been a youth at that time, and could have died any time between 1827 and 1834. These dates, and the prior history of *Kaoreore* may possibly be clarified, if one could establish with some certainty the identity of Tūhawaiki’s ‘first wife’, the mother of Wharawharateraki. Unfortunately several *whakapapa* (genealogies) appear to differ on this point – and there are multiple contenders – which may be a reflection of the high esteem in which Tūhawaiki was held. It is thus possible for ‘mistakes’, omissions or gaps in *whakapapa* (including those of objects which I have previously called ‘life trajectories’) to complicate the interpretation of their meanings, whilst simultaneously exposing issues of power, *mana* and socio-political positioning. Moreover, these matters are not confined to inter-*iwi* social transactions like those involving

*Paewhenua*, previously described. They also happen *intra-iwi*, and even between close *whanau* (family) – a fact that formerly could result in the item concerned being secretly buried (Chapman, 1891: 508). These days it might have them deposited in a museum, whilst the contentious issues are sorted out and clarified (Wesley-Evans, 2008, pers.com). Like *Paewhenua*, *Kaoreore* was present at the first battle of Kaiapoi (1828), and Tamihana Te Rauparaha said that it was offered to his father [c. 1834]<sup>33</sup> by Whakataupuka’s envoy, Ihu:

When Te Ihu arrived at Karauripe [Cloudy Bay] a messenger was sent to bring Te Rauparaha across to listen to his message. So Te Rauparaha came... he heard what Te Whakatau Punga had said: ‘Oh Ihu, go to Te Rauparaha and say to him: do you not agree that you should change your plan to come here, as has been rumoured? Tell him what I say that if he still comes there is waiting for him the greenstone *patu-mere* called *Paewhenua*; also *Kaoreore* and various other weapons.’ (1980 in Butler: 72)

Yet Tāmihana had also stated that Te Rauparaha had obtained this *mere* by trading or exchange for a gun at Kaiapoi, and had given it to a *taina* (nephew):

Te Rauparaha went only into the outer ramparts of the pa, and on the thither side of the palisading to look on at the bargaining proceeding for guns in exchange for greenstone. One weapon was acquired by Te Rauparaha – *Te Kaoreore*. Being asked for by one of his younger relatives (*taina*) to carry about – he gave it. Then the *taina* went into the pa to Te Peehi and others (Tamihana Te Rauparaha, G.Graham trans., in Tiniraupeka, 1943: 57).

If this was so, then the weapon must have been re-taken by Ngāi Tahu, for them to have still had it to offer at Karauripe, and therefore, like *Paewhenua* it never left Ngāi Tahu territory. *Kaoreore* is a partly worked but uncut block and could not be described as a weapon. Yet in 2003, Ngāti Toa Rangatira quoted their acquisition of this *mere* amongst evidence to support their case for grievances regarding the lands at Wairau.<sup>34</sup> This raises another issue: the creation of secondary sources (such as the Waitangi Tribunal evidence) using primary reports in isolation from the object itself. It also reinforces the argument about *Paewhenua* and the Te One case, but as in that case, it highlights again the importance of objects as mediators and embodiments of land ownership. As Ropoama Te One and Teone Wiremu Metehau have both shown, and as the earliest written records of *Tuhiwai* demonstrate, it was common that land could be represented symbolically by *pounamu* objects, and also by people:

Money vanishes and disappears, but this greenstone will endure as a durable witness of our act as the land itself... which we have now transferred to you forever (Te One, 1856)

“A Rakaia kiuta e kaiaka wakataki weka i utua kia Rakiihia e rua rakau pounamu. Ko Tuhiwai tetahi Ko Tunoa tetahi. Ko te timata mai o te utu tae noa mai kia te Aritaua raua ko Tuhakararu...”

“te take i utua ai tera wenua e urihia kia Rakiihia mo te taeka o te Hinekaro kireira”

(The mere, together with another called Tunoa was given to Rakiihia as utu for weka-hunting lands in the Upper Rakaia. It was the beginning of the purchase which is to Aritaua and Tuhakararu...) [Teone Wiremu Metehau (1876)MS:1-2]

Cloaks also could be seen in the same light, for they too are noted as having been captured during a war aimed at conquering land. In yet another example of the perceived agency of certain objects that embody the *mana* of persons and historical actions, a letter by the Kāwhia chiefs to Governor Grey describes in one and the same sentence how a cloak and a greenstone weapon were captured along with their owner. This was partly as *utu* for his previous actions at the battle of Waiorua, in challenging their authority over the land in Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka (northern South Island):

... Haere atu; Motu-eka, ka hinga toona rangatira ko Pakipaki, ka mau te mere pounamu ko Kokopu. Haere atu Te Whanganui, ka hinga toona rangatira, ko Kootuku, ka mau a Te Rarawa, he kahu...

[Going on to Motueka its chief Pakipaki, was killed and the greenstone club called *Kokopu*<sup>35</sup> was taken. Going on to Te Whanganui and its chief Kōtuku was killed and a cloak called *Te Rarawa* was taken ](1852, trans. in Biggs, 1967: 263-276)

As “Te Kōtuku”<sup>36</sup> was formerly an ally of Te Rauparaha, it is possible that this cloak *Te Rarawa* is the same one that was worn by Te Rauparaha’s wife Ākau, in the defence against Ngāti Maniapoto at Mokau river mouth. Te Ākau donned a dogskin mat of the same name. Tiaia, Te Pēhi’s wife did the same with another cloak, *Hukeumu*. The women stood up and pretended to be men when their party were outnumbered. Usually, only men wore dog-skin cloaks (Te Rauparaha, in Butler, 1980: 16). Thus the cloak was used in war as a deception, and its agency was being used to get them out of a difficult situation – a strategy that ‘worked’.

Metehau’s manuscript also mentions cloaks ‘in the same breath’ as *pounamu* being given – not by conquest, but by agreement as *utu* for land:

E Whenua utu tenei kia... e rua utika e kakahu ka utu I utua ai, kotahi Rakau Paraoa e torua Putea 4 kakahu o tetahi Putea, he Parawai Taniko. No to muri ka utu e rua Putea tekau ma rua kakahu me te Rakau Paraoa

[...this is a land paid for to... two payments of mats were made, one Club of Whale’s Bone.. 3 baskets, 4 mats in one basket, Parawai taniko mats [cloaks] of the latter of the two payments, 2 baskets, twelve mats and the club of Whales Bone] (Metehau, MS, 1876: 5)

Unfortunately it is not possible to follow the trajectories of many cloaks from the early nineteenth century because their fabric is too vulnerable to wear and tear, the action of light bacteria, fungi, moisture and chemicals, and they generally disintegrate over time (Ngarimu-Cameron, 2008: 23). However, some valuable cloaks have survived in families where their *mauri* continues to have effect in the social and cultural lives of the *whānau* who care for them. They have accumulated *mana* and this is performatively reinforced at each event where they participate, as the previously mentioned *Pararaututu* does. Some cloaks have survived because they are left in the care of museums under ideal preservation conditions for most of the time, and ‘come out’ for particular events, which the renowned cloak of Ngāi Tahu chief Te Mātenga Taiaroa does. It could be said that on occasions when they are on display they carry out many actions of mediation, including with Pākehā, but they also serve to connect the young people in the manner described by Tapsell (op.cit: p. 345). Other cloaks have been presented as *kōpaki* (shroud/wrapping gifts) at *tangihanga*, where they are usually accompanied by a *pounamu* item, to “honour the deceased, his family, and his tribe, but... always involved the serious obligation of making an adequate return (*utu*) when the occasion occurred of a chief’s death in the donating tribe”. If this debt was not honoured a “loss of prestige” resulted (Buck, 1949: 420-421). Buck states that although these cloaks are described figuratively as ‘shroud’ gifts they are never buried with the *tupāpāku* (corpse) but are removed at the *urupa* (graveyard). However, two sources would seem to suggest otherwise. Artist G. F Angas depicted, and ethnographer Savage who visited the areas occupied by Ngāti Toa, described visiting the grave site of the Kāwhia chief ‘Te Pahe’ where the “decaying remains of *tapued* property” was “elevated on a framework of raised sticks [and] the weatherworn garments were fluttering in the wind” along with a variety of other things belonging to the deceased. A similar situation obtained for the tomb of Te Rauparaha’s mother, upon which a “splendid *kaitaka* mat is seen” (1847: 82-4). Ngarimu-Cameron, a contemporary weaver of fine cloaks has recorded how several of her *korowai* have been buried, as the ultimate mark of respect and love, and that this is a way of giving back to Papatuanuku, honouring, through her work, “the *mauri* of the cloak that sends the person on their spiritual journey” (2008: 49). Therefore while cloaks do survive, they are shown to have agency at critical times in human lives, and accompany their wearers in the same way as *pounamu* weapons and ornaments may. Because of the

less durable nature of their fabric they do not survive as long. It would therefore seem that in some cases those which do survive, might be seen as having a *more* dense value in the sense that Annette Weiner has described (1994: 391-403), but it also explains why cloaks are mentioned less frequently in the oral histories of battles. Because they have not usually survived over as many generations as have *mere pounamu*, for example, many of them no longer exist as evidence in the same way as stone objects do. They cannot therefore be continually re-assembled, and displayed on the marae over such a long period of time, to remind people of their existence, and continually embed the *kōrero* about their exploits. But Paul Tapsell's statement explains the real reason that *tāonga* including *mere pounamu* and *korowai* are given such an important place in Māori historical discourse, and why their role as social actors is a crucial one. It appears to be the reason why they figure so highly in the oral histories of migrations and battles:

“The traditionally accepted role of *taonga* is to represent the myriad ancestor-land connections, reinforcing the kin group's complex identity and authority over their estates. *Taonga*, however, are more than simply identity markers to certain ancestral estates; they are also accredited with possessing *mana*” (Tapsell, 1997: 327).

Finally, this section of the chapter has been an attempt to explore some of the dynamics of how these ‘things’ perform as social actors in *inter-iwi* socio-political interactions, and what the results of their performances can be.

### Potential impacts on Māori-European Transactions

This same period in which the Ngāi Tahu-Ngāti Toa conflicts were happening was also a period when contacts with European traders, whalers and settlers were taking place. Many *inter-iwi* conflicts were contemporaneous with these Māori-European conflicts. As it is the purpose of this thesis to examine these conflicts, and to consider the role of misunderstandings of objects within them, it is relevant to examine how Māori and European people at that time understood both the objects transacted, and what would be the ‘appropriate’ protocols for peoples’ behaviour towards them. The relatively small conflict that has come to be known as the “Wairau Affray”, and which was described in the colonial literature as the “Wairau Massacre”, is therefore an appropriate one in which to observe ‘things’, both Māori and European, and their roles as social actors within that framework. This altercation has already

been foreshadowed in the Introduction of this thesis. The aim in the current chapter is to observe how the ‘things’ were understood, in order to tease out some of the understandings and mis-understandings of their roles as social actors, and how they contributed to the violence.

Because the Wairau affray involved an attempt by New Zealand Company officials to force Ngāti Toa to sell land, which they were reluctant to part with, and understood that they had not been paid for, Māori and European eyewitness accounts of the conflict, and the historical contextual situations, have been well documented by colonial officials *and* by Ngāti Toa. There is no intention here to detail these complexities in this section, but to consider only the ‘things’ that were co-actants in the conflict, and how they were understood by both parties to the actual violent incidents. Examining these ‘things’ and their ‘actions’ exposes very well the understandings and misunderstandings that members of each party had of the other’s intentions and actions.

The leading human protagonists in this affair were: the Ngāti Toa chiefs Te Rauparaha, Te Rangihaeata, and Rāwiri Pūaha (who was a Christian); as well as the Nelson magistrate Thompson, and the New Zealand Company officer Captain Arthur Wakefield (Wiraweke). In this thesis I propose to examine both the personalities and characters of these people, and their understandings of each other’s motives and meanings. I am trying to understand these motives and meanings firstly, through the way they used ‘things’<sup>37</sup>. Each party was accompanied by fighting men. In the case of Ngāti Toa these were trained warriors, but those accompanying Wakefield and Thompson were really civilians commandeered for the job. Caught in the middle were some Māori women and some European surveyors, including Cotterill, and Barnicoat who wrote an eyewitness journal about the affair. As indicated in the Introduction, Māori had been resisting the sale and occupation of their lands, so, after attempting to dissuade the English by unsuccessful dialogue, they began a tactic of non-violent but physical resistance. The objects involved in the fray were:

A large military cannon, guns, pistols, cutlasses, tomahawks, *mere*, some surveyors ranging rods and survey pegs, ‘things brought from England’, a bible, a watch, a white handkerchief, a European coat, a document, 2 boats (a brig and a whaleboat), some sea-going *waka*, a hut and a piece of damper bread.

Tāmihana Te Rauparaha claimed that Captain Blenkinsopp (Kāpene Piringatapu) had given the cannon to Te Rauparaha who did not understand the full impact of the document that accompanied it, because Blenkinsopp had told him to show it to any passing ship's captains "so that [they] may see that Te Rauparaha and his friends are chiefs". The document was written in English. Wakefield correctly thought it to be a contract for the sale of the Wairau. Te Rauparaha, checking with his European flax buyer, found that this was true, so he and other chiefs ripped the document up, burned it, and went to Wairau by *waka* with a party of warriors, to check out whether there were any signs of surveying going on there (T. Te Rauparaha MS: 110; in White, 1890, Vol. 6: 43). This is the first series of misunderstandings of 'things'. Initially, Te Rauparaha did not understand the meaning of having accepted the cannon, or the meaning of the discourse surrounding it (in the form of the document). Blenkinsopp fully understood it because he mortgaged the document in Sydney and told deliberate lies to Te Rauparaha about what it meant. Arthur Wakefield and magistrate Thompson thought it to be a legal contract, that they had a right to forcibly buy this land because Māori were not using it for agricultural purposes, and that this could be achieved by giving a few presents: "... I maintain it is in your deed & also in Mrs Blenkinsopp and that I shall only give presents upon settling as in the case of Motueka" (Arthur to William Wakefield, March 1843).

Arthur Wakefield was operating on quite a different value system – that of English law, involving a misunderstanding which categorised the Māori as 'savages' because they were not cultivating the land, and therefore had no right to claim it as their own – a philosophy originating in 18<sup>th</sup> century Britain (cf. Burns, 1980: 240). The Māori concept of '*ahi kā*', where occupation of lands did not necessarily involve permanent habitation or cultivation was obviously foreign to him.

When Rauparaha and his party arrived at Wairau, they found that the European surveyors had erected a hut and begun the survey, so Rangihaeata told his men to remove the ranging rods, and equipment from the hut including "things brought from England", and put them outside. He then burnt the hut. Surveyor Barnicoat said that it was "... built of *raupo* and poles put loosely and hastily together" (in Burns, 1980: 240). Rangihaeata correctly interpreted the hut for what it was – a structure that was, along with the surveying equipment acting as part, of a land claim. Yet he appealed to any sense of justice that the Europeans might have by claiming that the materials it

was made of were his, and not paid for: “Do not be angry. This *toetoe* belongs to me; it grew on my land... it is right that I should burn it. All the things belonging to you Europeans have been taken out of the house, and I am acting in accordance with just law” (T. Te Rauparaha, in White, 1890: 138).

The Christian chief Rāwiri Pūaha had fallen out with Te Rauparaha and headed away towards the mouth of the river where he came across Wakefield, Thompson and about 50 others “armed with guns, pistols, and cutlasses”. Some of them tried to bully him into revealing the whereabouts of the Ngāti Toa, but he managed to elude them and warn his people (Tāmihana Te Rauparaha 1890, in White, Vol. 6: 141). When they finally met, the altercation was initially a verbal one, where Thompson, Wakefield and company tried to arrest Te Rauparaha as being responsible for the burning down of the hut, and attempted to persuade him to go on board the government brig. At this point Pūaha leapt to his feet with a New Testament in his hand and announced that most of them “professed to be bound by [its] precepts... and did not wish to fight” (ibid: 143). This of course suggests that all the ‘things’ present at this stage were not equally understood by both parties in their roles as social actors, any more than were the cannon, the document, and the surveying equipment. The guns, pistols and cutlasses were weapons to Māori and to Europeans, but it seems doubtful that these weapons of a group of largely untrained men would have been perceived by the Māori warriors as having any other purpose or agency than the ability to kill or maim in the same manner as a *pātītī* or hatchet. They are unlikely to have been thought of as having the *mana* and efficacy attributed by Māori to the *mere pounamu* “*Heketua*” which Rangihaeata had with him, for example (in Temple, 2002: 317). *Heketua*’s *mana* would have enhanced Rangihaeata’s ability to dispatch Arthur Wakefield and others, as *utu* for the death of Te Rongo from a stray bullet at the outset<sup>38</sup>. At least it could have been perceived as such. It is unlikely that this notion would have entered the imagination or understanding of Arthur Wakefield, for whom the symbolism of the New Testament and peace may have had more of an equivalent meaning, as would also their raising of a white handkerchief as a sign of peace – something widely understood in the Pacific and from the previous century<sup>39</sup> (Te Rauparaha, Morgan, 1890, in White Vol 6: 145, 147). After Wakefield had been killed, Te Rauparaha’s party did not follow their usual procedure of stripping the bodies of the slain but took Wakefield’s watch, and buried it with Te Rongo.

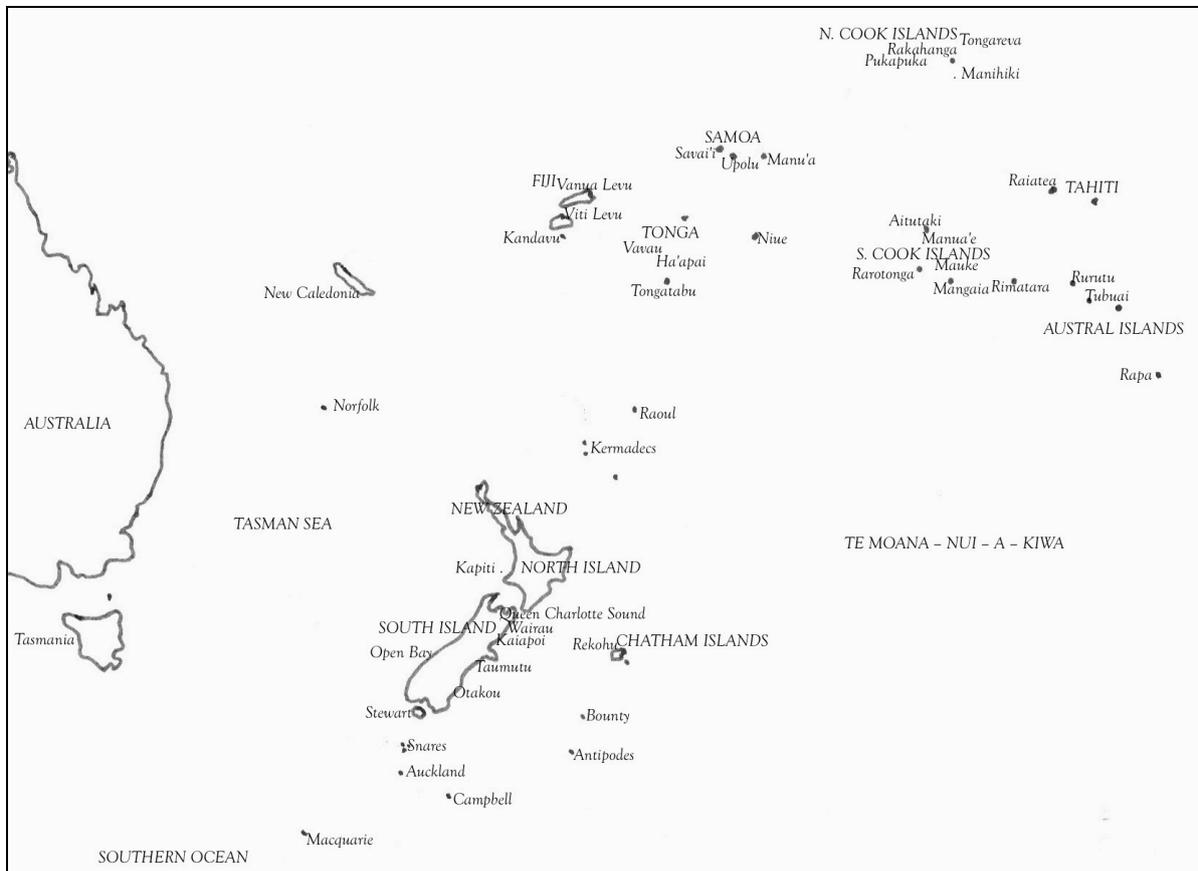
Wakefield was left on the field with his skull split open and a piece of damper bread for a pillow – something that would have puzzled the Europeans who found him, but from Māori, was the ultimate insult: to degrade his *mana* (and that of those whom he represented ie. the New Zealand Company) by putting some *noa* cooked food in close contact with the most *tapu* part of his body. The concept of burying with one's family member an object that had belonged to the enemy seems an unlikely thing for a European to do, but for Māori, as the trajectories of objects already mentioned would suggest, is an understandable form of *utu*.

It can therefore be seen by considering the “Wairau Affray” that European objects and Māori objects had at least some characteristics that differed in terms of how they were understood between Ngāti Toa and the English settlers. Even at this late stage in the interactions between Māori and Europeans, there continued to be differences in comprehension of each other's behaviours and discourse, around the meanings and significations of objects. None of these were as straightforward as is usually assumed. Tracing the trajectories of some of these objects as well as observing the manner in which they are treated at different stages of their life histories, enables them to be ‘read’, because they embody not only their physical selves, but also the *kōrero* or discourse surrounding them elucidates their actions, and the social lives of their human co-actants.

## Summary

This chapter has described various facets of how material objects such as weapons, clothing, and ornaments, were (and are) perceived differently by Maori than by Europeans. Because of this, transactions and interactions between them frequently led to misunderstandings and violence. Examples of this have been described. An examination and comparison of the life trajectories of a number of Maori *tāonga* has been used to illustrate the ways in which they are understood to embody relationships amongst people, and between people and their lands and gods. *Tāonga* can therefore be considered as ‘vehicles for *mana*’, which accumulate *mana* by association with people, events and places where they have been present. Thus, in conjunction with the consequent *kōrero* that comes to surround them, such objects acquire an agency and efficacy of their own that is additional to any agency that they may have by association with particular people. They are therefore seen as producing an effective

socio-religious force. Because they may sometimes be misrepresented in stories where they are used to enhance the *mana* of persons, even if the stories are not ‘true’ they may continue to perform a socio-political role in interactions between iwi. How they are used helps to expose the meaning behind the actions in which they are social actors, and this is how they are being used in this thesis – to help clarify why Maori behaviour was frequently misunderstood by Europeans, and violence was so frequently the result.



The places where people and things interacted & violence occurred

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Why did violence happen? A New Zealand case

... even more basic is the question of what these resources themselves mean and how they come to be resources in the first place. For one society this may be land, for another game, for yet another the sacred places and paths that particular spaces contain and, indeed embody... questions that involve... understandings of identity... and the relationship of people to the physical world... (Clammer et al., 2004: 4).

The previous chapter has described how an understanding of *tāonga* as social actors assists in any interpretation of social interactions where they are presented or exchanged. It has also emphasised how *tāonga* represent and embody relationships amongst persons and with the land. Hence Tapsell has described how many of them represent “authority over estates”, and therefore they have an economic value to Māori that is enhanced by their perceived spiritual efficacy. Earlier studies of conflict have often used models where competition for economic resources was the main framework within which violence was thought to operate. However, more recent anthropological studies are moving away from the earlier approach and have begun to analyse the triggering factors (including context) for violent behaviour and ‘violence as a social process’.

This chapter describes the first attack on the Ngāi Tahu pā of Kaiapoi, North Canterbury, in about 1828. It demonstrates that issues of land and *pounamu* resources were component factors in the violent episodes there between the Ngāti Toa alliance and the Ngāi Tahu defenders. However, newer approaches to investigating the causal factors in violent sequences will also be utilised here. The newer models consider that the responsibility, agency and action of individuals as members of a society, and not only economic resources, can initiate and continue the process of violence (Brass, 1997; Schmidt & Schröder, 2001; Wilson, 2008). Wilson’s view is that the “points of transition in a conflict need to be analysed” (2008: 25). These points of transition are places in a violent sequence where decision making about on-going action happens. The decision making is often contingent, but also based upon the agency and perceptions of particular individuals, who may sometimes be misinformed about the people and context with whom they are engaging. Ontological disjunctions between

knowledge systems may be one aspect that determines the points of transition. Schmidt & Schröder's view that "no violent act can be fully understood without viewing it as one link in the chain of a long process of events" supports this stance (2001: 7). Brass sees that in some societies there may also be a "grand interpretive framework" in which the violence is played out (1997: 8), whilst Schmidt & Schröder emphasise that contextual features of violence are "social imaginaries that shape collective practice" which is "performed [and] imagined by reflexive, socially positioned human beings under specific historical conditions for concrete reasons" (2001: 19). The actors who play out the violence 'live' it, as part of their ordinary lives – an issue that has been raised by Das et al. (1997). Trnka (2008) in her study of the year 2000 Fiji coup has shown how the 'social imaginaries' of rumour and gossip become urban myths, in small communities that are trying to cope, and find meaning in their lives, amongst the trauma of conflict. Rumour and gossip have the potential at every transition point, of reinforcing errors and magnifying them, so that discourse influences any rational judgements or contingent actions that participant individuals may make during the course of the sequence. This frequently historicises and perpetuates violence through narrative, which can, in its turn, be "used to animate feelings of hate and anger" (Das et al, 1997). Additionally, it emphasises the point made by Wilson, that the transition points are what need to be examined in any study of the process of violence (ibid.).

The authors of all these recent works therefore consider that violent episodes have overarching structural features present as part of the context, whether these structures be " grand interpretive frameworks" of meaning as Brass describes for the religious ideologies of his 1983 study in Uttar Pradesh, or "social imaginaries" as Schmidt describes for worldviews of cannibalism as they apply to the Caribbean (2001: 76). Yet all these writers also emphasise the agentive role of human social actors, who are the ones who do the social imagining. That they *create action*, as Blok said, is one of the key things; and interpretation and imagination is part of that action (ibid: 21). The action is also frequently performative and theatrical, "in which things are 'said' as often as they are done", and what is being said often has some connection with honour, status, identity and reputation, represented as morality (Blok, 2001: 49, 111; cf. Parkin, op.cit: 3). Morality, in the situation of inter-cultural (and intra-

cultural) violence is one way of casting the ‘other’ as different or inferior and a suitable target of violent action.

For specifically New Zealand contexts there is a long history of historical and ethnographic writing about Māori warfare. Most of it has been interpreted from a colonial perspective, and was reviewed with its deficiencies and strengths evaluated by Angela Ballara in her book on musket warfare (2003). From the perspective of this time and thesis her critiques seem fair, timely and culturally accurate and the aspect of her own thesis that musket warfare was, until about 1860, carried out within the traditional framework of warfare where traditional hand to hand combat had occurred, is not questioned here. Her criticism of Lyndsay Head’s (2001) proposal that musket warfare had become a ‘modern’ phenomenon in which the traditional roles of *mana* and *tapu* had become diminished appears, from my reading also, to be a valid one (cited in Ballara, 2003: 64-5). Both Ballara and Head fully explored the roles of cultural schemas using understandings informed by Māori ways of being and interpreting the world. This world included *mana*, *tapu* and *utu*, in an integrated world-view and “system for regulating affairs” that differs markedly from nineteenth and early twentieth century European ones (Head, quoted in Ballara: 2003: 63). I too, have explored this perspective in a different way in Chapter three of this thesis. My conclusions on this structural/functional aspect of interpretation concur with Ballara’s because evidence I have examined confirms that the traditional belief system including the retention of *tapu* persisted as a motivating factor in decision making and action until later than Head claims. However, neither Ballara nor Head have emphasised the significance of human agency, and the way that particular persons and personalities gave differing interpretations to their own cultural schemas, rules and practices, and therefore influenced the outcomes by their alternative responses, even though they could be seen as operating from the same general world-view. It is clear that they exercised choice in their judgements and actions and sometimes chose to do otherwise than following their cultural schemas in the usual way. Furthermore, as in all conflict situations, decision-making was not only motivated by rational thinking, but by emotional response, and some individuals, not always of high rank, mature age or male gender, acted contingently and spontaneously to produce consequences that were unforeseen when the actions occurred. These kinds of responses to perceived threats are not restricted to ‘individuals’ of the ‘modern’ kind, but I claim that they are

part of a universal human capability for action that we have all inherited from our very distant socio-biological past. Human beings have the capacity to create action as Blok has said, and this capacity had operational and socio-political outcomes prior to the adoption of European ways-of-being, as much as it has since.

In this chapter the aim is to identify within particular violent sequences, their evolution, spread, transition points and cessation; as well as the actors, their motivations, behaviour, the discourse they generated, and the socio-political outcomes of the episodes. It examines firstly some inter-*iwi* Māori conflict situations in which Māori customary practices of ‘doing violence’ in eighteenth and nineteenth century Southern New Zealand are considered. These will then be compared in subsequent chapters with trans-cultural situations where Europeans were involved, and in their turn with two early Pacific cases. Comparing violent transactions across cultures and times should enable a better understanding of any universal features and also any cultural or local variations in the rationale for violence in transactions when the possibility exists for them to have peaceful outcomes.

### Inter-*iwi* conflict in Te Wai Pounamu

There are many violent sequences within the oral and written recorded histories of *iwi* now occupying the South Island, where the protagonists could be identified as being related to each other in some degree. An example would be the well-known *Kai Huāka* feud amongst Ngāi Tahu *iwi* groups in the early nineteenth century when a number of Europeans were already living here. This feud between Ngai Tahu *hapu* is supposed to have begun over a matter of a dogskin cloak, the property of the high chief Tamiharanui, being worn in his absence by a person of considerably less *mana*. The *utu* was paid by the killing of a relative of hers, and a long series of *utu* retaliations followed which traversed the spaces and involved the people of Kaiapoi, Banks Peninsula, and all the South Island East Coast down to Otago. However, Tau & Anderson have pointed out that the *iwi* now known as Kāi Tahu were never a permanently united group until around the 1830’s, and many of the troubles amongst them stemmed from *raruraru* (small quarrels) between extended family groups known as *hapū*. Many of these *hapū* also had kinship relationships with *iwi* like Kāti Māmoe, and Waitaha who had preceded them as *tāngata whenua* in Te Wai Pounamu and against whom they had fought and eventually intermarried. Furthermore, Ngāi Tahu

groups formerly originated in the North Island where they interacted with other related groups such as Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Porou, for example, with whom they shared some common ancestry. Like all families, they sometimes quarrelled. It is therefore within this framework of kinship relationships and the accompanying aspects of social life such as impression management and, in the Māori world, *mana*, *tapu*, *utu* and *muru*, that such quarrels need to be viewed, even when they are between tribes which were all to some extent inter-related. These issues appear to have determined when, where, and how the transition-points in the transactions and interactions occurred. When Tasman visited the northern part of Te Wai Pounamu in 1642 the *iwi* occupying the coastal areas of what is now Nelson province were a group of inter-related Taranaki tribes now known collectively as Ngāti Tūmatakōkiri (M. King, 2003: 100). During Cook's visits (1769, 1771, 1773) to Queen Charlotte Sound, there was clear evidence of inter-*iwi* troubles over land and resources, with Cook's crew witnessing the human aftermath of some of them as well as being involved in some troubles of their own. Thus how Māori 'did' violence with Europeans needs to be seen in the context of its prelude – how they 'did' violence amongst themselves, and between themselves and their relatives.

The Carrington text about Ngāi Tahu migration histories, edited by Tau and Anderson (with commentaries), is informed by Māori oral histories and early texts, some from eyewitnesses of the events described. It documents the major conflicts those groups have been involved in since immediately prior to their initial migrations from the North Island. Mitchell and Mitchell, in *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka* (2005) have also documented migration histories, but from the perspective of groups that originated primarily from the West Coast of the North Island and Taranaki. Burns, whose scholarship was also informed by eyewitness accounts, has supplied another relatively recent interpretation regarding the Ngāti Toa alliance (1980). Where Ngāi Tahu and the Ngāti Toa alliance have been in conflict, the two perspectives then provide a useful comparison for interpretation of the same conflict sequences, the personalities involved, the initiating circumstances, the transition points in the conflicts, and their resolutions. Comparing and contrasting them, and re-evaluating the primary evidence that each has used, has helped me to interpret these issues in terms of the participants, personalities and their actions. I have therefore investigated fourteen Māori-Māori violent conflicts that Ngāi Tahu participated in, in order to

determine the reported initiating circumstances and so on. What has survived in the records, oral histories, waiata (songs) and genealogies should be regarded as politically positioned, as O'Regan has stated: "... One has to recognise... any history... has been recorded in its particular frame for a particular purpose" (1992: 24); but multiple stories can be compared as with any other histories, and in some cases can be cross-checked with European accounts. Thus some evaluation of multiple accounts can occur. In order to establish examples of the range of factors that provoked violence amongst Maori, the following fourteen situations were analysed for their place, iwi/actors, context, motives and agentive actions:

Te Huataki's Hataitai shipwreck – fear of *murū*, alliance formation via women  
 Puharakeke battle, Petone – *tapu*, jealousy, insult, provocation, *mana* of a cloak  
 Te Whae a Niho battle, Marlborough – *utu/utu*, trickery, bones to fish-hooks  
 Tawiri-o-te-mako battle, Mahinapua – jealousy/women, *pounamu*, *karakia*  
 Waiorua battle campaign, Kapiti – *utu*/recoup lost land/*mana*, alliance, omens  
 Kowhitirangi battle campaign, Hokitika – planned conquest/*utu*, *pounamu*  
 Niho Manga battle, Kaikoura – insult/*utu*, land/resources, trickery  
 Kaihuaka feud, Canterbury – *takahi mana/utu-utu* sequence  
 Kaiapoi first battle – *pounamu*, trickery, omens, provocation  
 Onawe battle – retribution/*utu* for death of Te Peehi  
 Takapuneke raid – *utu*, trickery, alliance with pakeha  
 Kaiapoi second battle – *utu* for Te Peehi, *pounamu*, *tohunga's karakia*  
 Wakapuaka attack, Nelson – insult, *utu* for alliance with enemy  
 Tuturau battle campaign – *pounamu* & women, *utu*, gain territory & slaves

In these fourteen accounts of inter-iwi conflicts analysed, there were four main factors that appear repeatedly as being implicated in *initiating* transactional sequences that became violent. These were:

- Personality issues, including jealousy, arrogance, ambition, deception and betrayal, warning and dissuasion, loyalty, choice and risk-taking.
- Kinship issues, including personal relationships, women, alliance building, and the role of non-kin or ‘outsiders’.
- Resources, such as land, food, valued objects (*tāonga*), slaves and women (which could all be regarded as social actors representing relationships).
- Strategic provocation, such as threats, insults, deliberate mis-interpretation of events or actions of the ‘other’, and the requirement for *utu*.

During the episodes there were certain *transitional* ‘*tipping points*’ when decisions made caused the transactions eventually to become violent. As already mentioned some of these decisions were spontaneous and reactive emotional responses, especially by lower ranking or young people, but others were more measured and rational in accordance with the ontological framework of the Māori world-view, and based upon such things as:

- *Tōhunga*’s or chief’s comments about the social world and interpretations of natural environmental phenomena such as rainbows, for example being regarded as omens or providing directives for action.
- *Tōhunga*’s *karakia* and their interpretation.
- Chiefs’ and *tōhungas*’ *dreams* and their interpretation as omens.
- Responsibility of leaders to uphold and preserve the *mana* and *tapu* of individuals and of the group through seeking *utu*.
- Hearsay and its interpretation.

In times of stress or anxiety, hearsay frequently assumes the status of truth, depending upon the purveyor and his/her motivations. There can be deliberate changing of the truth by a person choosing to misinterpret or mistakenly misinterpreting, or by the intention to deceive for personal or community gain; or indeed by ignoring the hearsay and declaring it to be invalid as a cause for action. The matter of hearsay is thus linked to the initiating circumstances mentioned above, and especially to the personality characteristics of persons with the power to action their judgements.

In the succeeding section the case of the first Kaiapoi battle is examined. Tau and Anderson have already laid out various eyewitness accounts in Māori, together with English translations, all of which have been preserved in texts as well as in oral histories. They have left them intact to tell their own story, but have also included their own evaluations and interpretations that are informed by Tau's 'insider' knowledge and experience as a member of Ngāi Tūahuriri, who were the main occupants of Kaiapoi pā at the time of the invasion by Ngāti Toa and their allies. The North Otago Ngāi Tahu chief Te Kāhu (a.k.a Taare Wētere Te Kāhu) has also left a narrative of the warfare between Ngāi Tahu and the Ngāti Toa alliance (1901: 94). Katu Te Rauparaha (a.k.a. Tāmihana), a son of one of the invading chiefs also recorded Ngāti Toa interpretations of the battle. He was present at the battle site as a child of about 5 years, and received the narrative from his father as an adult. However, neither he nor his father were actually present in the pā during the fighting and negotiations, and witnessed them from outside. Of course they did participate in some crucial contextual situations leading up to it, in the transition points, and after it. All the eyewitness narratives available were recorded many years after the battle but there is a surprising amount of concurrence in the accounts from both sides, as to who and what the social actors were, and their declared and perceived motivations. A hundred and ninety years or so later it remains possible, therefore, to identify some personality, kinship, resource, strategic provocation and transition point issues involved, and to construct quite a detailed 'who dunnit' using all the narratives from both 'sides' of the conflict. That is, although a full 'running-account' of the fighting (in the manner that we might be able to construct today from current eyewitness accounts), is not possible, there *is* sufficient detailed information to analyse the sequence from beginning to end of this inter-*iwi* transaction that led to violence. It can be viewed in terms of *who/what* the actors were, and the transitional turning points (including the role of hearsay), and Māori ontology. It is then possible to use this as a point of comparison with situations where Māori 'did violence' with Europeans around the same time period.

## The first battle between Ngāi Tahu and the Ngāti Toa alliance c.1828

### *Contextual background and preludes to the Kaiapoi battle*

In the mid eighteenth hundreds, Kaiapoi *pā* in North Canterbury was located close to what is now the north-bound highway, past the modern town of Kaiapoi, on the seaward side of the road between Woodend and Waikuku. It was quite a large *pa* that was well defended by a swamp on three sides and by extensive palisades, and it was well provisioned. The site with its ditches and banks remains visible, although the swamps have been drained. Ngāi Tahu had been the principal *tāngata whenua* of the area for some generations prior to the visit from Ngāti Toa, and, being in the South Island and in contact with relatives living at Arahura on the West Coast, and also in Murihiku, they were known as having a good supply of *pounamu* weapons. They were also known for their skill in using them. At the time of the battle, the highest ranking chief at Kaiapoi was the paramount chief of Ngāi Tahu, Tamaiharanui, whose influence and kinship relationships extended over a very large territory and a number of *hapū*, down to Otago and Southland, as well as Banks Peninsula. Also at that time, Ngāi Tahu had just begun to recover from an extensive period of inter-necine warfare known as the *Kai Huāka* ('Eat-relation') feud, which had severely decimated their numbers. The period was also one in which New Zealand was beginning to be colonised by European sealers, whalers and flax traders, who also traded in guns.

Ngāti Toa, under their talented war leader Te Rauparaha and his senior and higher ranking relative Te Pēhi Kupe had migrated southwards over a period of years from the Kāwhia area on the North-West coast of the North Island. Like other *iwi* from that island they had come under population pressure for resources and had gradually fought their way south forming alliances with tribes from the Taranaki and Whanganui areas, and finally settling at Kapiti Island and adjacent areas of the mainland such as Waikanae and Ōtaki. By the mid 1820's they had ventured south to the northern part of Te Wai Pounamu, attacking some other tribes such as Rangitāne who had preceded them in the southward move from the Wellington area, and were occupying what are now known as the Marlborough Sounds and Blenheim areas. The visit to Kaiapoi in about 1828 of a *taua* of the Ngāti Toa alliance cannot be seen in isolation from this general, yet very complex southward *heke* and battle campaign. Therefore the contextual initiating circumstances for the Kaiapoi battle were of very long standing, involved, and intergenerational. This analysis begins with the interaction sequence that immediately preceded it: the battle known as "Niho-manga" that took place between the

invading Ngāti Toa alliance and Ngāi Tahu near Kaikōura on the east coast of the South Island. Both Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Toa sources declare that the two immediate justifications given by Te Rauparaha for the attack were “*utu*” matters, in the sense of retribution for insults to their *mana*. The first ‘justification’, has been described by Ngāi Tahu chief Te Kāhu:

“Ko te pūtake i timataria ai ka kino i waekanui o Kāi-Tahu raua ko Kāti-Toa, kai te puremutaka a Kēkerekū i a Topeora, wahine a Te Rakihaeata. Ko Kēkerekū, no Kāti-Kahu-kunu, ekari he pirika ano a ia no Kāi-Tahu.” (Te Kāhu, 1901: 89)

[The cause of the commencement of the troubles between the Ngāi-Tahu and Ngāti-Toa tribes was the debauching of Te Rangi-haeata's wife – Topeora – by Kēkerekū, of the Ngāti-Kahungunu tribe, who was related to Ngāi-Tahu. (trans. Parata, 1901)].

Te Rangihaeata was a close relative of Te Rauparaha, and Kēkerengū’s mother was a very high-ranking Ngāti Ira captive from near modern Wellington, whom Rangihaeata had protected at Ōtaki along with her son. Ngāti Ira and Ngāi Tahu shared a common ancestry. Kēkerengū had grown up and was a handsome youth with fair skin and hair<sup>40</sup> whom the locals are likely to have been jealous of, for it is reported by both Burns (1980: 145) and Mitchell & Mitchell (2004: 115) that the accusation that he had seduced Rangihaeata’s wife Topeora was not true. *Here is an initiating circumstance for what became a violent sequence and was possibly founded on hearsay.* Regardless, Te Rangihaeata’s response may have been an emotional one, though it was also considered, because it could be justified philosophically by the requirement for *utu*. This need for *utu* could predictably have dire consequences for the chief and his group if the *utu* balance was not redressed. *Utu* was thus a motive for action in the Māori world at that time, and even if he didn’t believe the story he was *compelled* to act in order to protect his own *mana*. For the same reason, Kēkerengū also had to act, so he left for Kaikōura with his mother, and was protected there by the local chief Rerewaka to whom he was related through common ancestry, and who was also of Ngāi Tahu and Rangitāne descent. That this story eventually reached Ngāi Tahu ears shows that it was likely to have been common knowledge; it had entered the realm of gossip or public discourse at Ōtaki and Kāpiti where Te Rauparaha also lived. Then there are four key actors in this particular sequence: Te Rangihaeata, Te Kēkerengū, Te Rauparaha and Te Rerewaka, connected by kinship and social relations of various kinds, making key decisions and influenced, therefore, by emotions as well as the logic of their own knowledge system. Their resulting actions constituted transitional tipping points in moving the sequence to the next stage, and they are likely, at least in the first instance, to have been based upon hearsay that was untrue. HOW they decided what to do with the hearsay, would have been a function of the cultural schemas within which their lives

operated, but also of their individual personalities. Therefore, I argue, hearsay, personal interpretation of that hearsay, decisions for acting on those interpretations, and personality or identity issues, can all facilitate transitional tipping-point situations where there is a potential for violence.

Te Rauparaha's second 'justification' for exacting *utu* from Rerewaka was, in a sense, also initiated by hearsay, which this time can be shown to be accurate. White (1890: 75) describes how. The battle of Wai-o-rua was an attempt by the Kurahaupō alliance (that included Ngāti Ira, Ngāti Kahungunu and Rangitāne) to re-capture Kāpiti and adjacent lands that had been taken from them by Te Rauparaha and his allies. They were defeated and Rauparaha sang a victory *waiata* of which Te Rerewaka of Kaikōura heard a rendition. As he was related to the Rangitāne contingent of the allies, Rerewaka was sympathetic to their cause and made a statement voicing his resentment of Rauparaha's victory: "If Rauparaha dares to set foot in this country I will rip his belly open with a *nihō-manga* (shark-tooth knife)".

This statement reached the ears of Te Rauparaha via an escaped slave, and was *interpreted as a curse*. So in this second situation, one actor (Rerewaka) made an emotional and probably unwise response to unwelcome news. A slave (a key actor) *chose* to purvey the news, and this in fact was the first tipping point leading to violence, because on receipt of the news Te Rauparaha showed *no immediate response* but later *chose* to regard Rerewaka's remark as a curse rather than as a simple challenge, or irritated comment, and *decided* that it was a just cause for a battle campaign to exact negative *utu*. Again, hearsay about Te Rauparaha's plans and the reason for them would, through oratory, have entered the everyday lives of ordinary people as gossip, and become fuel for support of the proposed campaign. It resulted in a war party that Tāmihana Te Rauparaha described as having 300 warriors as well as slaves and caused the immediate death of six hundred warriors and over a thousand women and children on the Kaikōura coast then, and also subsequently to the unsuccessful 'mission' of Ngāti Toa's *taua* to Kaiapoi *pā*.

One further component of the context for the voyage to Te Wai Pounamu, could be attributed to the kinship relationship, ambitions and personality characteristics of Te Pēhi Kupe who had accompanied Te Rauparaha throughout the campaigns of the eight or nine-year period of the North Island *heke* (migration), and had recently (in the previous year) returned from a two-year visit to England. He had also acquired some firearms at Port Jackson on his way home. Te Pēhi was, in European terms, Te Rauparaha's uncle, older than him, and from a more senior line. In some earlier campaigns he had foregone this seniority and leadership for

Te Rauparaha's ability and *mana* as a military strategist. However on this occasion having recently returned from England and Australia he could have considered himself (and been considered by Te Rauparaha) as now much better educated in the ways of the 'new' world. He was then able to convince Te Rauparaha to over-ride any reluctance to proceed south to Kaiapoi after Ngāti Toa's rout and massacre of the Kaikōura people (White, 1890: 31). The fight had been over the twin issues of *utu* for the actions of Kēkerengū, and Rerewaka's '*niho manga*' comment that they considered as a *kanga* (curse). In fact Hēnare Mahuika and Īhāia Tainui told H. K. Taiaroa that it was actually Te Pēhi's war party (rather than Te Rauparaha's) that was destroyed at Kaiapoi: "*Ka horo te taua a Te Pēhi*" ["The war party of Te Pēhi was annihilated"] (1880, in Tau & Anderson, 2008: 181).

As will be shown in the following analysis of the first Kaiapoi battle, it appears that Te Pēhi's *personality*, *relationships*, and *mana* were crucial in provoking the transitional 'tipping points' in the transaction sequence that led to violence, and also in the way that these have been represented in the varying accounts of what transpired. Two of Te Pēhi's relationships in particular are relevant contextually: Firstly, the kinship relationship between himself and Te Rauparaha, already mentioned, and secondly, the supposed relationship between Te Pēhi and Ngāi Tahu's paramount chief Tamaiharanui, who are purported to have met each other previously (Buick, 1911: 127). Tāmihana Te Rauparaha says that they met at Port Jackson, that their meeting at Kaiapoi was not therefore their first, and that they were 'friends' (in Butler, 1980: 35). Ngāi Tahu records do not mention this<sup>41</sup>, and there is no clarity at all whether or not their relationship was amicable or that it extended beyond that of normal courtesy. However, there is a suggestion that they had met at Akaroa when Te Pēhi was on his way back from Port Jackson, that Te Tamaiharanui travelled aboard the ship he was on, up the east coast to Te Kāraka (Cape Campbell), but though encouraged to do so, refused to continue on to Kāpiti (Mitchell & Mitchell 2005: 116). Te Pēhi had just bought guns and ammunition in Port Jackson, so if the claim that they met at Akaroa is true, this issue of guns is likely to have been a source of discussion between them. There is also the question of why Tamaiharanui refused to travel on to Kāpiti with him.

*The first Kaiapoi battle: Transition points*

As already suggested, an analysis of the progress of the battle has involved identifying the transition points in the course of the action which each time facilitated its processual development towards the next stage of the sequence. It has involved also identification of the key actors, the decisions they made, and what they said or did indicating their possible motives and intentions. The Waitangi Tribunal Report has noted that: “Various accounts suggest starting dates and a sequence of events, as well as motivations for the various stages of the *taua*, and Ballara’s conclusion is that it will never be possible to settle the exact timing and sequence” (2007, WAI 785: 48). However, an examination of all the accounts does identify certain key actors and scenarios about which there is no debate. Then the actors’ possible motivations can be suggested from available accounts of their other activities reported from elsewhere, in narratives from both their ‘own’ *iwi* and those of ‘others’. That is, a forensic examination of their personal proclivities and actions as reported by others and also declared by themselves enables some reflection upon these issues to happen, especially when taken in the context of Māori ontologies. Further, there are specific details in the transaction sequence noted by certain reporters, which seem unlikely to have been fabricated, because there is no apparent advantage to the narrator in providing them, as they do not change any perceptions about the motivations for actions. The best documentation is that provided about themselves by the actors. This may be obtained by observing performative aspects of their actions, by their own declared interpretations of the context, and the actions and the speech of others.

*The immediate initiating circumstance* was the decision to continue on southwards to Kaiapoi. The trip south from Kaikōura was Te Pēhi’s:

“Now that the people of Kai-koura and O-mihi had been beaten by Rauparaha, Te Pehi persisted in going to Kai-apohia; but Rauparaha said, “Do not go; let us return home. We have conquered this tribe; let us go home.” But Te Pehi... persisted in his plan, and eventually Rau-paraha consented and the war party went by land to Kai-apohia...” (White, 1899: 31)

After the massacres on the Kaikōura coast they had asked the slaves about the availability of greenstone and were told that there was plenty of it at Kaiapoi (Te Kāhu, 1901: 3). Also, accepting Tāmihana Te Rauparaha’s contention on behalf of Ngāti Toa that their arrival at Kaiapoi was to trade greenstone for guns, then they obviously had greenstone on their minds, but the question is, why? It is known that Te Rauparaha had quite recently warned his warriors to avoid close quarters combat with Ngāi Tahu (and therefore their stone weapons) because of their expertise in this area. It was then Te Pēhi who at Kaiapoi has been

remembered as the most persistent in trying to obtain *pounamu*. Yet Tāmihana said they had peaceful intentions.

With the establishment of their encampment and sleeping quarters<sup>42</sup> outside the *pā* the *first tipping point* involved a *decision by Te Rauparaha*, who called Hakitara and Tamaiharanui out of the *pā* to speak with them (in Butler, 1980: 35). They apparently were also encouraged to do so by the elders in the *pā* (Ngāi Tahu letter quoted in Travers, 1872: 77). This speaking took the form of Te Rauparaha’s oratory and a chant in which the meaning he intended to convey can only have been interpreted either as a threat or a warning. Ballara has said that it was not unusual for “messages, warnings and hints to be dropped by compassionate or kin-related enemies...” (2001: 120). Two versions of this chant exist:

Anga atu au ki te uru, e tuai, e tuai;  
Anga atu ki te tonga, e tuai, e tuai;  
E kahua ina te riri, tewhatitawhati,  
Taku ngakau to riri.

(Stack, 1893: 58)

Aka atu au ki te uru, E tu ai, e tu ai.  
Aka atu au ki te toka, E tu ai, e tu ai.  
Ka huaina te riri; Te tawhatiwhati  
taku kakau ki te riri.

(Te Kāhu to Parata, 1910 : 89)

Apart from the Kāi Tahu dialect used in the second version, the words are practically identical, and *the last line* ‘taku ngakau (or taku kakau) to riri’ has an indisputable meaning that ‘my heart (or body) is agitated (or angry)’, yet the two translations of this particular line offer two completely different interpretations:

“Look to the clouds in the west, there is nothing but darkness;  
Look to the clouds in the south, there is nothing but darkness;  
They have the appearance of combat, the form of death,  
My body tingles to enter the fray”

(Stack).

“I turn me to the west, There stands! there stands!  
I turn me to the south, There stands! there stands!  
War will be commenced, My weapon will not be fractured  
in the war

(Te Kāhu trans. Parata)[my emphasis].

These different possible interpretations raise the issue that language is always capable of multiple ‘readings’. Its polyvocal potential during transactions across boundaries – such as in the situation described here – may sometimes mediate the transactions, but it may also cause confusion and dismay, for how can the ‘others’ make sensible decisions whilst being informed by ambiguous counsel about a matter, in this case, of life and death? Te Rauparaha’s piece of

oratory, no matter how different the poetry between the two versions, clearly relates (through metaphor) the prevailing social situation to the prevailing weather conditions on that day. From the point of view of the weather, this particular configuration of clouds and winds is very familiar to Cantabrians who know its palpable manifestation as the fine, warm wind and ‘nor’west arch’ that will be followed by threatening dark cumulus clouds from the south and west, with the arrival of the cold ‘sou’wester’ wind, southerly front, and rain. From the perspective of Te Rauparaha’s declared interpretation, he is comparing the weather to his analysis of the social situation of the day. Considering this together with what Nihoniho has written of weather signs and omens (1913: 47-9), it is possible to infer here that Te Rauparaha saw this weather event as an *omen* presaging the future outcome of their interactions with Ngāi Tahu; a threat to both parties, a warning to both parties, or to either party. This may have been a choice of opportunistic performative behaviour on the part of Te Rauparaha, but nevertheless he was predicting war, or considered that the omens were predicting war. If this concept is now combined with the fact that they had arrived with a war party then here is some convincing circumstantial as well as declared evidence that their intention was not peaceful.

On the same occasion as he made this apparent declaration of war, Te Rauparaha also made a declaration of peace, that they had come to trade greenstone for guns:

“ Te Rauparaha said to Tamaiharanui... ‘Let all be peaceful.’ Tamaiharanui agreed” (Tāmihana, in Butler, 1980: 35). Both Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Toa sources agree that they bartered greenstone for guns outside the *pa* for several days (Wairewa informant, 1900: 2; Te Kāhu, 1910: 6; Tāmihana, in Burns, 1980: 149) but when some Ōmihi survivors arrived, they reported what had happened to them beforehand. It was also common knowledge at the time that trickery and treachery were strategies that Te Rauparaha had used before (*ibid*: 150) so it is not surprising that Ngāi Tahu became wary. They would definitely have been uncertain.

A key actor in the whole affair, the ‘outsider’ Hakitara, then interpreted the oratory as a *warning or threat*, and considering also the stories of the slaughter en route at Ōmihi, Tamaiharanui and Hakitara *decided* to *relay* these, to the people in the *pa*. This was *the second tipping point* in the course of the transactional sequence that ultimately became violent. The decision to warn their people and protect their *pa* was reinforced by the fact that both Tamaiharanui and Hakitara had separate personal *utu* motives for distrusting Ngāti Toa. Tamaiharanui had also *heard* from a slave that on their way to (or whilst at) Kaiapoi, Ngāti Toa had desecrated the grave of his great-aunt at Tuahiwi, and eaten her. He was therefore extremely *emotional* about this news and anxious to act immediately but was dissuaded by his

elders ‘O son, do not lest evil follow your footsteps’ (Travers, 1872: 77; cf. Carrington, 2008: 176). Te Kāhu says that Hakitara was Ngā Puhi, but S. Percy Smith says that he was Te Rōroa from northern Wairoa and had seen the actions of Te Rauparaha before, when they had killed his relative Te Waero at Motu-tawa, (Roto-Kākahi lake, near Rotorua) in the North Island. Hakitara was a visitor at Kaiapoi, who, according to the Te Ati Awa chief Te Rangi-pito-a, had been ‘on a whaling cruise’ and then made his way to Kaiapoi from Banks Peninsula (in White, 1887: 277). He acted as a go-between or mediator, accompanying Tamaiharanui into the Ngāti Toa camp and then on the third day escorting Ngāti Toa chiefs into the *pā* to trade for greenstone (Te Kāhu, 1901: 9). On the other hand Pāora Taki indicated that Hakitara stayed at night with a woman in the camp of the *taua*. Tamaiharanui returned to the *pā* at night but Hakitara remained in the camp. As a result he overheard some plans that the *kaumātua* were making: “... discussing ways and means of how people in the *pā* could be duped and killed... in the morning a war haka (*whatutu ngarahu*) was to be performed in the shelter, then later in the marae” (Taki, MS: 3). They planned to assault the *pā* by surprise during the course of the guns-for-greenstone transactions the following morning (in Tau & Anderson, 2008: 179). On returning in the morning Hakitara woke those in the *pā* warning them: “*Kia tupāto! Kia tupāto! He tāware tenei* – be careful, this is a trap” (Te Kāhu, 1910: 9). If they weren’t already in a “constant state of heightened alertness...” as described by Head (2006: 94), they must have become so, and would have been watching out for any suggestion of a natural or supernatural kind that some violence was about to ensue. Again, *interpretations* of what Hakitara conveyed are likely to have been different according to the persons who heard them, and the words would have been moderated in peoples’ minds by the actions of the visiting chiefs. The locals would have discussed these things and reacted accordingly, some motivated by a range of emotions including fear and resentment, and some more experienced persons perhaps by logic.

The *third turning point* was constituted by a series of *actions* of members of the *taua* – actions that had active force because of the way they were interpreted. Eyewitnesses Taki, and Mahuika & Tainui reported them. They were:

- ... the performance of a haka by 20 Ngāti Toa youths after they had already performed a haka outside the *pā* in the early morning. Listeners thought that it sounded incorrect in some aspects (in Tau & Anderson, 2008: 179). Two differing accounts refer to a haka, but both agree that it was to be a diversion<sup>43</sup>.

- ... the aggressive behaviour of chiefs such as Te Pēhi who made insulting remarks about the tattoo of chief Moimoi (Buick, 1911: 138), when he objected to Te Pēhi taking a greenstone block named *Paewhenua* without permission (in Tau & Anderson, 2008: 181)
- ... the imprecision of the war dance was seen as presaging a bad outcome for Ngāti Toa.

Hence the *fourth turning point* was when Ngāi Tahu *interpreted these actions as a threat, and violence erupted*, beginning with what appears to have been a contingent *decision* made by *kaumātua* Te Whakatuka to fire a blank warning shot that sent the Ngāti Toa youths and their chiefs running off<sup>44</sup>. Ngāi Tahu attacked them as they left. It appears that after this stage ritual behaviour took over. It does not seem that at this point any individual decisions about hearsay or interpretations of words or actions would have changed the overall outcome of the battle, although some individuals may possibly have been (and probably were) saved.

The *fifth turning point* would surely have been when Takatahara, Tamaiharanui's uncle, killed Te Pēhi Kupe with a hatchet<sup>45</sup> and announced him to be "*te ika o te ata*" or 'first fish' of the battle. It was a defining moment for Ngāti Toa as the emotional and political effects on them in the loss of their most senior chief would have been seriously demoralising and a bad *omen* to boot. Rokotara, an elderly man, had an *utu* issue with Pōkaitara because Rokotara's relative<sup>46</sup> had been enslaved by him at Kaikōura, so he killed Pōkaitara with a greenstone weapon and announced that he was '*te ika o te ahiahi*' (fish of the afternoon). Clearly there must also have been *anger* as well as ritual and *utu* involved, as both Te Pēhi and Pōkaitara had insulted someone's *mana* as well as their person and it was not simply a matter of an *utu* response. *Emotions* would also have been motivating factors, *as well as logical decisions being made*. Led by Tamaiharanui another eight Ngāti Toa chiefs were also killed (Wairewa: *ibid.*) including Te Aratangata, Te Rauparaha's young half brother. According to Ngāi Tahu a shot fired at him from Puaniwaniwa's gun missed and broke his weapon, disabling him. Then others killed him (Taki, in Tau & Anderson, 2008: 180). However comments from Ngāti Toa and Te Arawa have revealed that Te Aratangata had killed a Ngāi Tahu woman with the *mere*, polluting its *tapu* and rendering its *mana* ineffectual. This then provides another reason for his death:

Te Aratangata fled killing as he went the men of Ngai Tahu. A certain woman was slain by him on the pathway as he was running to the gateway or portcullis of the pa. This was a mistaken act of his, for this was the reason that he perished. For then his weapon Nga-aorere was shattered. He had then no weapon whatever as a protection for him. He was pierced by the spears and other various (weapons) of his very

numerous adversaries... he fell and so died. If he had not struck a woman with Nga-aorere, he would have escaped. The Maori does not strike women or persons of low status with greenstone, lest the greenstone shatter, and also that it be without *mana*” (Graham trans. in Tiniraupeka: 61).

Aratangata and others saw this scenario as an *omen* presaging his death (Tiniraupeka, 1943: 46-64; Mitchell and Mitchell, 2005: 119). Thus for at least some of the participants in the battle, these matters of *tapu*, *mana*, omens and therefore the potential agency of the *pounamu* objects could also have been regarded by them as creating transition points in the course of the violent sequence – especially since their stated object had been to trade for *pounamu*. As has already been discussed in Chapter four, objects were regarded by Māori as social actors with the ability to create ongoing effects, including that of initiating events, being actors that influenced or created transition points in sequences that led to violence, and even being responsible, or partly responsible for causing such sequences to cease, as in the case of peace-making for example. It is suggested that when Ropoara Te One stated that the Ngāi Tahu *tāonga* “Paewhenua” had killed Te Pēhi Kupe and Te Pokaitara, that rather than it being used as a weapon against them, it had actually lured them to their deaths, because they were seeking it, along with a variety of other named weapons, each of them possessing *mana* and efficacy in war and peace. This view is supported by Te Rangi-pito-a who said, “Ngāti Toa had been induced to enter the *pā* by someone holding out a mere of greenstone – *hei whakapataritari*, or bait” (in White, 1909: 201). If this interpretation is correct then the ‘bait’ could be also be intended as a threat as much as it was an inducement (R.T.M.Tau, pers.comm.).

Finally, there is a *sixth turning point*, the one at which Te Rauparaha made the *decision to withdraw* from the battle. He had never entered the *pā* proper and is likely to have been influenced in that, by a *dream* he had before Te Pēhi went in the *pā* for the first time. In the dream he saw “my hand being eaten by the rat Pouhawaiki”. Te Rauparaha interpreted that as a bad omen, and Te Pēhi ignored him (T.Te Rauparaha, in Butler, 1980: 35). According to Te Kāhu, before he was killed Te Pēhi called for reinforcements, and an assault took place from outside the *pā*. When it was unsuccessful Ngāti Toa lamented their dead and Travers reports that the outcome was so “devastating to Te Rauparaha” when he had lost a number of his most influential chiefs including several close relatives<sup>47</sup> (1872: 75), they returned to the place where they had left the slaves and prisoners near Ōmihi, and killed them all. Te Rauparaha departed, threatening Ngāi Tahu that “they should cherish their children because they would surely die in the future”(ibid.), a curse whose effect did come to pass two years hence at the

second battle of Kaiapoi in 1830. That is another story fully explored by Tau and Anderson, and which can be explained in a similar manner as this violent sequence, in which unbalanced negative *utu* as Metge has described (2002: 311-338) continues to be played out in the ongoing political aftermath, where battles are not now on the field but in the courtroom of the Waitangi Tribunal.

### *Social actors*

Analysis of the kind being undertaken here often reveals that key actors in a violent sequence – particularly a battle – are not always the ones who are remembered in the histories, which are, as O'Regan has said, “politically positioned” (ibid.). They may not necessarily be named, and the outcomes of the battles are frequently attributed to the higher-ranking players. However, by examining the transition points it is easier to see who was responsible, or at least which persons took the key roles in the drama that unfolded. The decisions and actions of these persons were frequently contingent, made with split-second judgement, and were sometimes an emotional as much as a considered response to the unfolding situations in which they found themselves. All these actions “make statements” that when viewed through the lens of performance, can be more readily interpreted for their socio-political significance, including what they say about “honour, reputation, status, identity and group solidarity” (Blok, 2001: 100-13).

According to currently available evidence, the three outstanding Ngāi Tahu examples of actors-who-controlled-transition-points at Kaiapoi were not the major chiefs such as Tamaiharanui, but the ‘outsider’ Hakitara, the two elderly chiefs Te Whakatuka, and Rokotara, and the slaves or refugees who passed on the news of what had happened at Kaikōura and Tuahiwi. A possible candidate for this role may have been the young Kaikōura chief Ihu. In all cases these apparently minor actors have taken great personal risks and acted on personal judgement rather than necessarily following orders or game plans exactly. However, this kind of agentive action is not confined to low ranking individuals, though it does seem to be associated with personality types who are prone to risk-taking, use it as part of their performative style of intimidating others, and perhaps rather enjoy it. Both Te Rauparaha and Te Pēhi are known to have been this way inclined, though Te Pēhi would seem to have been more so than Te Rauparaha at Kaiapoi. He ignored his nephew’s advice, and proceeded to enter the *pā*, demanding – rather than negotiating – a barter transaction. His impetuous behaviour was also implicated in *turning point five* and resulted in his own death and that of

others. Tamaiharanui, however, obtained the *mana* of the victory, but also subsequently bore the responsibility for this when Te Rauparaha returned in 1830 to exact the negative *utu*.

This particular battle sequence has revealed that the key actors had certain personal circumstances and characteristics that enabled their influence on where and when the transitional turning points occurred, and whether or not violence erupted. They may also have influenced the low number of casualties experienced by Ngāi Tahu in that particular battle. It remains necessary to examine what is known of the personality traits of these actors:

*Te Rauparaha*, at Kaiapoi, was an experienced commander and strategist who had just completed a fighting circuit down the length of the South Island as far as Ōmihi, south of Kaikōura. He was, in parts of his lineage, not of high birth, but was determined and confident from childhood, and was the nephew of Te Pēhi Kupe; the brother of Te Aratangata; and the uncle of Te Rangihaeata. It is understood that as a child he followed instructions from an elderly slave whom he respected, which is not something that was usual for a child of chiefly lineage (T. Te Rauparaha MS: 2). Born at Kāwhia into difficult times when his people were under population pressure, with his uncle Te Pēhi Kupe he led the *heke* to find a new home, settling at Kapiti Island, but remained embroiled in warfare seeking new lands and the associated *mana*. Rauparaha was also known at Kāwhia for abolishing the practice of labourers forfeiting their food to visitors as part of *manaakitanga*, indicating that when it suited he was flexible about following conventional practices. He was thus not a fundamentalist in the cultural sense, excepting when it suited his purposes, such as in the frequent cases of invoking *utu* as a cause for attacking a targeted ‘enemy’ like Rerewaka. Rev Richard Taylor described him as having an inscrutable countenance, that it “seemed impossible to take him by surprise...[and] even when he was clad in a blanket, few could look at him without being impressed that he was no ordinary person” (in Carkeek, 1960: 10). Thus Te Rauparaha, a man of small physical stature, but non-the-less of imposing countenance and bearing, together with his *taiaha* ‘Kimihiā’ were daunting foes, as he appears to have had personal characteristics that would have made it difficult to predict or evaluate his intentions. At Kaiapoi, this was evident from the beginning when he made ambiguous declarations about the purposes of their visit.

*Hakitara*, as already mentioned, had been raised in the North Island, and was familiar at first hand with the tactics that Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toa had used previously. He had also worked on a whaling ship, so would have had experience in mediating between groups and their ‘others’. Boundary crossing was a particular skill possessed by Māori (and Europeans)

who worked on those ships where they had ample opportunity to practice such skills (Wilkes, 2009: 135). Hakitara must have had the respect of Tamaiharanui (who was a chief of such high rank that his *tapu* was avoided by ordinary persons), for Hakitara accompanied and gave advice to him that was listened to and acted upon. It certainly seems that Tamaiharanui and he acted in concert when they decided to warn the people in the *pā*. As Blok has stated in relation to some European cases, ‘outsiders’ frequently have the role of mediators in a society because they are often able to enter the private spaces of others and make decisions either to convey information or keep quiet about it. In this way they must be circumspect about what they know, whilst at the same time having the potential to be ‘double agents’ (2001: 4, 49). Their personal interests or beliefs might, however, sway them in their decision-making, as in this case where Hakitara had a personal *utu* issue to deal with in regard to his uncle Te Waero’s death. Hakitara’s decision with Tamaiharanui, to interpret Te Rauparaha’s speech as a threat was a crucial tipping point in the action sequence.

*The slave or refugee* who was the bearer of the bad tidings from Kaikōura and Ōmihi is not recorded by name although his/her position as a slave does not necessarily mean that s/he would always have been a slave whose name would not therefore be remembered. This person *decided* to pass on the bad news and warn his/her kin of Ngāti Toa’s exploits, and was thus a key actor at *transition-point two*. It is not unrealistic to speculate that it may have been Ihu, brought as a slave by the war party from Kaikōura. Rāwiri Pūaha of Ngāti Toa shot him down outside the *pā*, and as he was dying, Tamaiharanui delivered a final blow and declared it to be for *utu* reasons (Taki, *ibid.*). Pūaha would also have had *utu* reasons because he may have known that Ihu was an informant or a potential traitor to his captors. Tamaiharanui may have felt that he had brought bad news and was thus responsible in part for the situation. Though this is speculative it is also a realistic scenario that emphasises the *personal risk* that informants took to help their relatives.

*Te Whakatuka* who fired a blank shot when the *haka* party started to perform, was a known risk taker, for possessing a gun with no bullets when surrounded by people with hand weapons is surely a risky business. Yet this is not the first recorded time that he had taken risks. White (1887: 277) records that he was the eldest brother of Hākopa Te Ata-o-Tū, another Kaiapoi chief who was subsequently taken prisoner at the second battle of Kaiapoi<sup>48</sup>. Te Whakatuka had, on a prior occasion, challenged Tamaiharanui in a ‘stand-off’ at the battle of Taumutu<sup>49</sup> in order to protect Te Rehe, until they were ‘parted by some old chiefs’. He also, at the same battle, saved Tamaiharanui’s life by pulling him down and telling him to “sit still

and “keep quiet. Wait till I stamp my foot and then rise”, when Tamaiharanui was endangering them all by panicking. This was something quite courageous (and foolish) to do to such a *tapu* and high-ranking chief. It is clear that Te Whakatuka found Tamaiharanui to be a frustrating person and he had, on the same day, threatened to leave the war party and go home.

Tamaiharanui resented this and responded in quite a fundamentalist way by killing his own relatives because he “could not permit you to boast that you had either slain or spared any of my family”. Otherwise, on this occasion Whakatuka would have done both, and then Tamaiharanui’s *mana* would have been challenged. Thus, Whakatuka appears to have made personal decisions to take risks and, at Kaiapoi, to over-ride the general decision to wait for Tamaiharanui’s order (Pybus, 1954: 46). Unlike Tamaiharanui he seems on this occasion not to have put honour before mercy, and his personal decision to fire the blank warning shot was again, a crucial transition point in the sequence of events that followed it at Kaiapoi. It was also another opportunity to ‘*whaimana*’ at Tamaiharanui’s expense.

*Takatahara* was an uncle of Tamaiharanui, senior in age though from a more junior line. Where Whakatuka had warned, Takatahara declared war – according to Pybus, before Tamaiharanui had given the signal”(ibid.). Carrington described how Takatahara, like Tamaiharanui, was grieving for his relatives who had been victims at Omihi and Kaikōura, and was seeking *utu* for them (in Tau & Anderson, 2008: 176). Takatahara was put in charge of the Banks Peninsula people gathered at Onawe after the fall of Kaiapoi when Te Rauparaha returned in 1830. He was later captured and then allowed to go free by Te Hiko (son of Te Pēhi of Ngāti Awa) in response to the interference of some Ngāti Toa women demanding that he be put to death – a behaviour that Te Hiko considered was a challenge to his own *mana* as the captor (Pybus, 1954: 52)<sup>50</sup>. Takatahara’s action in killing Te Pēhi, and not waiting for the signal from Tamaiharanui is possibly not surprising, given their relationship, and also because it must have been a contingent action based upon the situation rapidly evolving before them.

*Te Pēhi Kupe* was older and from a more senior line than Te Rauparaha. He had quite early (and well before the South Island campaign) allowed Te Rauparaha to take the dominant position as war leader, but as Travers has stated, “greatly assisted him as a wise counsellor and valiant leader” (1872: 77). He was one of the three leaders who were very experienced in musket warfare, having fought with Te Rauparaha, Te Rangihaeata and Pōkaitara in defence of their original lands at Kāwhia, when they were invaded by Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto at Lake Taharoa before their final migration southwards (Oliver, 2012, in Te Ara, online). He realised the importance of having guns, and was *very courageous and determined* in his bid to

board the *Urania* in Cook Strait, asking for guns, and when none were forthcoming, physically resisting attempts to remove him from the ship. Te Pēhi travelled with them to England in 1824, returning in 1826 via Port Jackson where the ‘carpenters tools and agricultural utensils’ he had been given were converted into guns (S. P. Smith 1910: 403-5; McNab, 1909: 273-4). His determination also shows through in the way he ignored Te Rauparaha’s wishes to return to Kapiti after the ‘*Niho manga*’ battle, and insisted on continuing on to Kaiapoi, allegedly to seek greenstone. Again, at Kaiapoi he continued to *take risks*, in *ignoring the omens* reported to him by Te Rauparaha, who considered entering the *pa* as a big risk because of the omens. Te Pēhi showed some signs of *arrogance* too, when he indicated that he despised a chief who was not giving him the particular *pounamu* item he wanted, and began to run off with it<sup>51</sup>. It is suggested here that this particular action was of a performative nature in order to enlist the assistance of other Ngāti Toa present, because although Tainui and Mahuika say “*No te haerenga atu o Te Pēhi ki aua patu pounamu...*” (in Tau & Anderson, 2008: 181), more than four items are mentioned, and it is unlikely he could easily have run with them and defended himself, so he needed assistance from others. Each action he chose had an effect on others present, friend and foe – just like a verbal statement, and the effect would have spread like wildfire amongst the observers, creating the social context in which they re-acted. Although Te Pēhi’s actions were not the direct triggers of the transition points, they set up the circumstances for them to happen, when he *pressured* Te Rauparaha to continue on, when he *ignored* Te Rauparaha’s advice and intuitions about not engaging with Ngāi Tahu inside the *pā*, and when he *tried to take* particular *pounamu* objects against the wishes of the owners. If this was meant to be a peaceful transaction the Ngāi Tahu *tangata whenua* there would have seen it as their prerogative to refuse or offer, but he insulted the owners by *attacking their personal mana*. This could be regarded in Māori terms as a form of theft<sup>52</sup>. These forms of behaviour can be explained in terms of Te Pēhi’s personality, earlier exploits and apparent attitudes; and the contexts he created thereby, explain his motives. Acquisition of *pounamu* appears to have been the *desire*, but only an examination of the *pounamu* objects themselves can explain the real motive, because they can tell their own story. They embody the context.

### *Things as social actors*

As has already been inferred in Chapter four, the aforementioned *pounamu* weapons played a crucial role in the transition points of the battle. They were at the centre of the action in *transition point three* when Te Pēhi is reported to have tried to run off with several of them.

Like people, they each had *mana* and a *whakapapa* of their own. Both alone and in combination with the people who used them they were perceived by at least some people, as carrying out actions. Such perceptions of the agency of objects are in conformity with the Māori ontological world of the time. It is likely that then, as now, there was a range of beliefs in the ‘powers’ of things from both the human and natural parts of the world. For Māori, both human and non-human things inhabited a holistic world in which they were all connected, and related in different degrees to the gods, which could act through them. It is also likely that chiefs and others used these perceptions to strategic and political advantage in the same way as they could use the concept of *utu*, by *choosing* to utilise the necessity for negative *utu* payment as justification for violent attacks on individuals and tribes for political advantage. Two examples involving Te Rauparaha illustrate this point:

1. When the slave reported to him that Rerewaka had made the disparaging comment now known as the ‘*nihō manga*’ curse, Te Rauparaha is said *not to have acted immediately*, but to have *postponed his action in order to use it more strategically at a later date*.

2. Whilst at Kaikōura, Te Rauparaha is said to have had with him his *taiaha* (wooden fighting staff), ‘Kimihia’ – a weapon of great *mana*, that was *said to turn over of its own accord in response to questions* about the likelihood of success in battle, or in reading omens. Such a reputation would enhance the likelihood of success by intimidating the enemy and providing courage for the wielder. When Te Rauparaha walked up the beach on the Kaikōura coast ‘Kimihia’ is said to have killed four people with one blow, and then to have defeated Rerewaka in single combat. In Māori terms, the agency of ‘Kimihia’ was natural, because the gods, which acted through it and through Te Rauparaha who used it, governed the natural world.

Given that Ngāi Tahu of the various *hapū* occupied most of the South Island, and were closest to the known *pounamu* sources, they had a ready supply from which they made a number of prestigious weapons, tools and ornaments. It is therefore important to remember that all *pounamu* objects known to any New Zealand Māori originated from Te Wai Pounamu (South Island), and hence from the territories of South Island Ngāi Tahu and Kāti Māmoe with whom they had intermarried. They were thus highly prized because of their rarity, and those that were old, and had lengthy *whakapapa* had generally been associated with many transactions and actions – as has already been described in Chapter four. These transactions will have ranged from peaceful land transfer, to participation in battles, peacemaking, alliance building, and other ways of displaying *mana*. In these actions and transactions those *pounamu*

with the most prestigious associations and therefore the greatest *mana* would be expected to have the greatest efficacy and therefore would provide a better guarantee of success for any enterprise or activity in which they participated. This would include the possibility of participation in a *mau-ngā-rongo* (lasting peace). Because such objects are expected to achieve these goals, in the case of weapons, such as *mere*, experts at wielding them in combat would be feared, and this is why Te Rauparaha told his men to avoid single combat with Ngāi Tahu. This would be a good reason to persuade them to *trade* their greenstone weapons for guns especially if the guns were not enabled (Taki, in Tau & Anderson: 179).

Furthermore, the fact that both Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Toa *remembered their names* even sixty or more years later (and they both remember the *same* names), is testament to the fact that these *pounamu* were renowned throughout the land for their beauty and efficacy. They could be expected to enhance the *mana* of their owners, as display items and as effective weapons, having the ability to embody all the actions and transactions in which they had participated and would participate. Since *pounamu* comes from the land, and in all instances the pieces embody land transactions or human transactions that represent land, then in obtaining *pounamu*, one is obtaining a symbol of land with its associated *mana*. Mahuika and Tainui spoke in their report to H.K. Taiaroa, about Ngāti Toa's leading chiefs as '*nga rangatira whaimana*' which linguistic turn emphasises what being a 'leading chief' involves – seeking *mana*, and in this case, land – so it is no surprise that Te Pēhi was keen on obtaining these renowned pieces, became irritable when their owners did not want to barter them, and ended up insulting Moimoi's *mana* to facilitate the enhancement of his own. Three of the greenstone items listed as participant social actors, and which Ngāti Toa were seeking at Kaiapoi were: *Kaoreore*, *Tuhiwai* and *Paewhenua*. All of them still exist, and they all represent land and relationships to land. The *kōrero* surrounding them has already been discussed in Chapter four, but it is useful to reconsider this issue of greenstone representing land, in this chapter, because it is relevant to Te Pēhi's desire to "*whaimana*" through seeking it. Te Pēhi, his relatives Te Rauparaha, Te Rangihaeata, and others in their alliance had been moving southwards for years, acquiring land by *raupatu* (conquest). Their stated motive for coming to Kaiapoi was to barter for greenstone. Of the three *pounamu* mentioned above, there is more clarity around the early part of Tuhiwai's life history, which I discuss again here, as an example in the context of land transfer. Though they were seeking it, Tuhiwai was not acquired during any of Te Rauparaha's forays into the South Island but was ultimately presented to him at Te Rauparaha's Kapiti home by the Ngāi Tahu chief Te Mātenga Taiaroa in 1843, as part of the

*rongopai* (peacemaking). Te Rauparaha gave the canoe ‘Wai-ka-hua’ in exchange. Tuhiwai began its life, like all *pounamu* in Southern New Zealand, in this case in Westland, and the first written record of its transaction is when it was presented prior to 1800 by Urihia of Ngāi Tahu to Rakiihia of Kāti Māmoe as *utu* for Canterbury weka-hunting lands and for “te taeka o te Hinekaro ki reira” (Metehau MS: 1-2). The transaction contract thus embodied in Tuhiwai, consisted of three parts; the transfer of hunting lands, a woman, and the sealing thereby of an alliance between two *iwi*, Ngāi Tahu and Kāti Māmoe, who had recently been at war. Through this alliance with Kāti Māmoe, Ngai Tahu acquired the *mana whenua* (*mana* of the land). Now kept in the national museum Te Papa Tongarewa, Tuhiwai, as all other named *pounamu* continues to embody the relationships between the lands and the people it has been associated with throughout its life trajectory. Since the *rongopai* (peace) this now includes Ngāti Toa.

Thus, in the Māori ontological world, the orders of worth<sup>53</sup> of weapons and other *pounamu* objects are quite different than they would be in the European world-view. It could also be said that the same applies to people, and that in the Māori world both objects and people are connected to land. Examination of the transition points and social actors in the first Kaiapoi conflict reveals the capture, barter or forming of alliances with prestigious weapons and people. They embody, and are symbolic of land acquisition. These methods of land acquisition through social transactions (including conflict) therefore comprised what Tau and Anderson have described as “the principal dynamic of social action, which was *mana*” (2008: 30), and the seeking of *mana*. My contention that the Kaiapoi skirmish of 1828 was an attempt by Ngāti Toa to extend their territorial boundaries through bartering greenstone for muskets, does not negate Angela Ballara’s criticism of Vayda who “saw war was a function of acquiring territory” that “does not give sufficient consideration to political social and religious forces and concepts such as *tapu*, kinship, descent, reciprocity and *utu*...”. Certainly, from the analysis of the transactions and social actors at Kaiapoi, all those issues raised by Ballara are shown to be correct, because they all were visible in every aspect of any transactions. So were other aspects of ‘religion’ such as the belief in the agency of objects, the truth of omens and the revelations of dreams. What neither Ballara nor Vayda have emphasised is the agency of individual human actors in making choices to interpret received information in particular ways, to convey it to others, and to act on hearsay, or not, as the case may be. This particular aspect of warfare (the media representations of their times), and the choice of response by individuals, appears to have been a function of personalities, and the degree to which they were rational, ‘fundamentalist’, strategic or emotional in situations of apparent threat. Neither

do Ballara and Vayda's accounts elaborate to any degree, the emotional and contingent responses made by individuals and thereby the unintended consequences of their actions (cf. Blok, 2001: 2).

### Summary of first Kaiapoi conflict

In this analysis six transitional turning points have been identified, together with the actions and decision making of key actors at those points. To the extent that it is possible, aspects of the personalities of those actors have been examined and an attempt has been made to identify any connections between personality, decision-making, and contingent or emotional responses that they made to situations. This approach has been taken to allow for the possibility that whilst actors may be constrained by ingrained structural features of their own cultural schemas, their actions may also be determined by emotion and by the necessity for contingent responses, where there is either no time for logical considerations, or where rapid prioritising must take place.

At each of the six transition-points in the sequence of events there was also the opportunity for personal reflection and interpretation by onlookers as well as participants, and this also contributes to the discursive social environment. If there is time, *kōrero* may influence the actors or their personal relationships as new situations arise during and after each turning point. This creates the possibility that misunderstandings and accidental or deliberately incorrect interpretations of the motivations of 'others' might arise and these can easily lead to outbreaks of violence.

## Summary Chart

Transitional turning-points	Justifications for action/re-action
Initiator (Toa): Te Pēhi Kupe decides to go south to get pounamu.	Because of its innate value ( <i>rarity</i> ). Because of its <i>mana</i> . To deprive Ngāi Tahu of their most <i>efficacious</i> weapons? Pounamu represents <i>land</i> and relationships.
1. Action (Toa): Te Rauparaha decides to warn/ threaten Ngāi Tahu.	Because it is common procedure? Because of the weather <i>omen and dream</i> ? To <i>intimidate</i> them?
2. Reaction (Tahu): Hakitara & Tamaiharanui decide to tell the people in their <i>pa</i> .	Because of <i>reports</i> on casualties from slaves/refugees. Because of <i>overheard kōrero</i> in Ngāti Toa camp. Because each had his own <i>utu</i> issues
3. Actions (Toa): Ngāti Toa haka; Pēhi's insult & pounamu theft.	<i>Overt aggression</i> of war dance Signals of intention by Ngāti Toa? Deliberate <i>insults to mana</i> of a person and objects.
4. Reaction (Tahu) Whakatuka decides to fire a warning.	<i>Interpretation</i> of Toa intentions by Ngāi Tahu individuals. Likely <i>development of kōrero</i> about this during the haka. <i>Omen</i> (imprecision of haka).
5 Actions. (Tahu): Takatahara kills Te Pēhi; Rokotara kills Pōkaitara.	Pro-active defence? Ngāi Tahu <i>felt threatened</i> . <i>Utu for insult to mana</i> of Moimoi & of pounamu.
6. Suspended cessation (Toa): Te Rauparaha (& Te Rangihaeata & Te Hiko) decided to withdraw.	<i>Emotional</i> devastation. <i>Reasoned decision</i> (depleted forces unlikely to succeed). <i>Unbalanced utu</i> for another day.

Given that the turning points related here are derived from accounts remembered by participant actors after the event, and given that what people remember about events varies according to the roles they took, their position in the hierarchy, their impression management, the age they were and so on, then certain aspects will have assumed greater importance, perhaps, to some participants than they may otherwise have done if one was an onlooker. There are, as Paul Brass says, multiple discourses remaining and none of them “can lay... claim to a special truth” (1997: 21) but considered together, there are common features that agree upon the essentials of what happened and who the actors were. However, the structural issues such as the understanding of fundamental aspects of the Māori knowledge system, and the common practices surrounding those concepts such as *utu*, *mana* and *tapu* are described in

all the accounts, as is a reliance on the interpretation of omens and dreams, though the *relative* importance attributed to these for the outcome of the first Kaiapoi conflict varies in the accounts. Misunderstandings due to ontological disjunction do not appear to have occurred between Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Toa, and there is evidence on both sides of a serious belief in the interpretation of auspices, especially in relation to battles. Whereas chiefs did choose if and when they would invoke *utu* as a ‘just cause’ for murder or war, they appear always to have taken note of auspices. Why else would Te Rauparaha have cited a dream he had to support his refusal to enter the *pā*<sup>54</sup>? Similarly Ngāi Tahu listened carefully to the *haka* of Ngāti Toa’s youths for any signs that might be ominous for them. Interpretations derived from such performative communications could then provide encouragement or discouragement as the case may be, but such interpretations were also subjective.

Therefore, while the Māori knowledge system in its fundamental aspects (at least in relation to this skirmish) appears not to have been a source of misunderstanding between Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Toa, this analysis has highlighted other aspects of the transactional sequence where opportunities for misunderstanding arose. It has also highlighted some key persons who had good opportunities to transmit information: hearsay, gossip, opinion about what other people intended or meant, and who could thereby have influenced the direction in which events developed with the aid of imagination and performance. As Blok has said: “Violence often has the character of theatre and performance in which things are ‘said’ as much as they are ‘done’”(2001:111). Te Rauparaha had an opportunity for this when he interpreted the weather as an omen and told Hakitara and Tamaiharanui about it. They in turn listened to the refugees from Kaikōura and relayed both pieces of information to others. As the “socially-positioned reflexive humans” described by Schmidt and Schröder (2001:16) the recipients had a whole night to discuss and reinterpret it. That both Ngāti Toa and Ngāi Tahu sources agree on Te Rauparaha’s intention, testifies that the message conveyed was understood more or less as it was intended to be, and in this case was not modified essentially by gossip. However it *was* confusing – deliberately so, because Te Rauparaha also said that he came in peace, and since he was a person whose *actions* also spoke, and his prior actions involved deceit and treachery – then there was certainly a mixed message, that appears to have enabled Te Pēhi and other chiefs to be allowed into the *pā* in the first place. The first and second turning points leading to violence were therefore based on the purveyance of confusing information originating from Te Rauparaha. It is not known what the chiefs talked about when Tamaiharanui went back to the *pā* that first night, but it can be inferred from the account of the

Wairewa informant who said that Whakatuka “ *did not wait for the signal to attack to come from Tamaiharanui*”(ibid. *my emphasis*). It seems that there had been some agreement about this, so for this to happen, some discussion must have taken place. Based upon Whakatuka’s reaction, it seems that they must have decided that there was a threat; so the discourse arising from the information purveyed by Tamaiharanui, coupled with Hakitara’s analysis “ *Kia Tupato! Be Careful!*” appears to have been basically accurate.

The first Ngāi Tahu-Ngāti Toa conflict at Kaiapoi was chosen here because it occurred at the time when Māori had begun to write their own conflict narratives and were beginning to dictate them to Europeans also. There was, for this conflict, an abundant source of varied information from which to examine the detailed progress of the conflict. Fortunately also, indigenous interpretations are also available to lend a further perspective to prior scholarship on the matter. However it is the intention here to use the concepts and understandings provided by previous scholars and ethnographers to inform a processual understanding of the first Kaiapoi conflict, in which I examine identity and personality factors regarding the actors, and whether the discourse they created, influenced decisions made. These could then have created transition-points in the transaction sequence that led ultimately to misunderstandings and violence. This same kind of analysis will then be used in succeeding chapters where it will be applied to conflict situations with Europeans in other parts of New Zealand and closer parts of the Pacific. An understanding of how Māori-European transactions became violent needs to be informed by an understanding of how and why conflicts arose between Māori groups in the same period.

## CHAPTER SIX

### Violence between Māori and Sealers: Triggers and Transitions

... there were clearly times when the feud could have been relaxed and peace established; but at each critical point, Tamaiharanui continued to seek *utu* for his family honour (Tau & Anderson, 2008: 169).

Tamaiharanui, one of the chief actors in the first Kaiapoi battle described in Chapter five, was not alone in his conservative thinking and in choosing to use the structural schemas allowed by his culture in order to protect family *mana*. *Utu* is not the same as revenge, and *mana* is not the same thing as honour, but each of these categories of Māori practice contain similarities to those European ideas as *part* of their expression, because like the European one, the Māori world view and praxis also allows for individual choice and judgment to be exercised within the holistic conceptual framework of a social-physical-spiritual universe connected across time and place.

In the two cases that follow, where violence occurred between foreign sealers and Māori, it is as difficult to ignore the centrality of these concepts and practices of seeking *utu* and *mana*, or, in the case of Europeans, revenge and honour. It is equally difficult to ignore the opportunities that the actors in these social dramas had, to choose to do otherwise. Why they made these choices is the matter of interest in this thesis. Other cases already described in previous chapters seem to indicate that those who chose violence were so inclined by personality and habit and it was not simply the context or what the ‘other’ group did or said that was the triggering point.

#### Social actors and their actions

Like the previous one, this chapter seeks to examine the initiation and development of violence within inter-group transactions, and to identify the contribution to that violence of particular social actors via their decision-making and discourse-generation capacities. It is argued that these issues were crucial to whether or not transactions turned violent, whether the violence was perpetuated, and what caused it to cease. Ten instances of how violence played out *between Māori* groups in Te Wai Pounamu have already been analysed (Chapter five, p. 95), and some key triggers that initiated them were found to have been actions that contained some, or all of the following aspects seen to be a threat to personal relationships and *mana*:

- Jealousy, arrogance, deception; also loyalty, choice and risk-taking.
- Close personal relationships (including with women), and alliance-building.
- Resources including land, slaves, women and *tāonga* as representing relationships.
- Strategic provocation, threats, insults, mis-representations of others and the requirement for *utu*.

How these played out in detail was illustrated in Chapter five through available interpretations of the first Kaiapoi conflict between Māori groups. A similar analysis has now been carried out for situations where interactions between Māori and Europeans have become violent. This kind of situation has already been described so far in this thesis for two cases. Chapter two has described the 1769 arrival of J. F-M. de Surville at Doubtless Bay, Northland, where a serious situation arose in which aspects of mistaken and mis-informed decision making by Surville were involved. It resulted in what, from a European perspective, was the kidnap of an innocent chief, accusations of theft, and excessive violent destruction of Māori life and property. All these were exacerbated by Surville's ambition as much as they were by his "Enlightenment" world-view. The introductory chapter and chapter four have described the 1840 intrusion of the New Zealand Company representative Arthur Wakefield onto the Wairau lands, the *mana whenua* of which was held at the time by Ngāti Toa who had not sold them. The situation that arose from the surveying of these lands was resisted by Ngāti Toa leaders Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata, and resulted in an invasion by Wakefield with armed conscripts, the death of some innocent bystanders, of some European conscripts, and of Wakefield. Again, it was a situation of mistaken, mis-informed decision-making, and generation of biased discourse by one ambitious and (in one sense) well-meaning man having 'Enlightenment' world-views that contrasted with Māori ones. These two cases – Surville's visit to Doubtless Bay and the "Wairau Affray" – appear to have had similar initiating circumstances in common with the inter-*iwi* conflicts already described; decision-making by individuals with particular ambitions, motives and *modus operandi*.

For this current Chapter six, ten further (Māori-European) conflicts were analysed to establish whether or not the same set of initiating circumstances also held true for them. The cases were:

Tupaia & Cook at Turanganui – Fear of theft, shooting, *utu*

Surville, Labé, Ranginui at Doubtless Bay – perceived theft, kidnap, fear

Tupaia, Cook, Banks at Queen Charlotte Sound – shooting, theft, misunderstanding  
 Du Fresne at Bay of Islands – Theft, *tapu* infringed, *tohu*, *utu* because of *wehi*  
 Cook & J. R Forster at Dusky Sound – no violence- dialogue, chief removed *tapu*, no *utu*  
 Furneaux, Bayly & Burney at QCS – perceived threat, theft, *tohu*, *utu*, *wehi*  
 Caddell, Tokitoki & Te Pahi at Foveaux – murder, *utu*, saved by *mauri* of cloak  
 Kelly, Tucker, Matehaere for perceived wrongs & Korako at Otakou- *utu*  
 Perkins, Boulton, Tutoko & Kahaki at Open Bay – fear, death, *utu*  
 Rangihaeata, Rauparaha, Wakefield, Thompson at Wairau – land theft, *utu*

With any analysis of conflict sequences the historical and intergenerational contexts are important, but in the analysis of the fourteen examples used to establish the range of initiating circumstances, it was primarily the *immediate* circumstances that were used as a basis for comparison. For all the Maori- European examples, the key trigger initiating factors are within the same range, as for the inter-*iwi* conflicts. The bias they have been given within the largely European records is different, as would be expected because of the European frame of reference used by their narrators. Nevertheless, the possibility of indigenous interpretations of the actions of particular actors is clearly evident, and some local Māori interpretations are also available. Particular personality characteristics and personal relationships, including those of ‘outsiders’ play key roles in the initiating circumstances, as do resources and *utu* or payment. Provocation as a deliberate strategy although it is still present, becomes less evident, and is frequently replaced by an assumption by both parties that each had the same value and knowledge systems (which they didn’t). Evaluation of the detail for particular cases where the data is richer reinforces the role of ‘outsiders’ as mediators at transition points in the violent sequences. These people may be insiders as well, as in the case of *tōhunga* for example; they are peoples’ relatives within the tribe, but they are not ‘ordinary’ members of the tribe. The same would apply to ship’s captains. On the other hand they may be of lowly rank, but move between ranks entering the private spaces of both parties because of their position (as do slaves, for example). In the inter-cultural arena they are even more valuable. Hakitara at the first Kaiapoi skirmish already described in the previous chapter was a visitor at Kaiapoi, but in a sense he mediated their defence because he overheard and exposed the plans of their enemies. Blok’s view that these people have the potential to make contributions as translators and mediators, in a social as well as a linguistic sense, is illustrated in the case studies that follow.

## Transitional ‘tipping points’ points progressing to violent outcomes

The first Kaiapoi battle described in Chapter five, referred to the oratory and dreams of Te Rauparaha, and the alleged ‘mistakes’ in performance of a war dance by the Ngāti Toa *rangatahi* (young men). As Nihoniho has stated: “... it is a bad omen if the singers do not keep time, or some are out of tune, or some other error is committed” (1913: 54). These *tohu* (signs) were interpreted by the chiefs and *tōhunga*[s], who made decisions at various stages about the proposed course of action and this often led to violence. In some cases, such as Te Rauparaha’s dream about the rat, Pouhawaiki, gnawing at him, the interpretation of Te Rauparaha that this indicated that they should not continue was ignored by Te Pēhi and had a violent outcome. Tipping points in inter-*iwi* conflict were therefore frequently influenced by interpretations, dreams, *karakia* for forecasting the future and explaining current circumstances, and how these might evolve. In these interpretations and omens, weather and astronomical events were also paramount, as these constituted messages from the gods and ancestors. Cloud formations, rainbows, storms at sea and on land, earthquakes and astronomical phenomena like meteors, eclipses and the seasonal appearance or disappearance of certain star constellations; all aspects of the natural world, were the domain of the gods and their presence during any transaction events could be noted and interpreted as guidance for actions.

European navigators were interested in these things too; for their own safety at sea, as well as for navigational purposes, and their interest in the sky and their possession of instruments for observation did not go un-noticed by Māori, as examples in the next chapter will show. It is likely that this coincidence would, for some Māori at least imply that European interest in these phenomena and their interpretation was the same as it was for Māori. In sociological parlance they could be regarded as boundary objects<sup>55</sup>, the understanding of which was different for each, but they had some features in common between cultures (Star & Griesemer, 1999: 509). This can serve to enable the development of inter-cultural understanding, and also has the potential for promoting mis-understanding when either party assumes that the interest that each group has in the object or phenomenon has the same meaning for both. Furthermore, because these things were recorded in the navigational logs and date-indexed mariner’s journals, it is possible from the perspective of the present, to work out whether or not certain astronomical and weather events could have precipitated decision-making by Māori which led to violent *inter-cultural* outcomes in the same way as happened at

Kaiapoi. Use of the predictive capacity of 21<sup>st</sup> century computer software, also makes it possible to examine the astronomical situation pertaining on certain dates in the past, so this, when combined with mariner's journal dates can also be a useful tool in the investigation of transition-points for violent sequences. Again, analysis of the fourteen Māori-European transactional events that turned violent has shown that all of them had in common elements of serious anxiety and threat from 'other' Māori groups present, and unusual weather and/or astronomical events that had the potential to have been interpreted by Māori as omens. One involved an earthquake, one a full eclipse of the sun, one a meteor, at least two extraordinary storms at sea resulting in loss of life and equipment, and one involved bad news about the death of the Tahitian *ariori* priest, Tupaia. The arrival of newcomers bearing bad tidings (such as being cast-away or shipwrecked), or bringing news of the death of esteemed persons was also regarded as a bad omen bringing potential danger to the community, and such persons were frequently killed or sent away, as for example after the siege of Kaiapoi (Tau and Anderson, 2008: 188).<sup>56</sup>

The remaining section documents two cases, one from 1826 and one from 1817. These European-Māori transactions turned violent, just as the first Kaiapoi conflict between Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Toa, around 1828 led to violence between Māori groups (Chapter five). This chapter examines the European-Māori conflicts for their initiating circumstances, for personality characteristics and for the perceived decision-making of their social actors, as this has been recorded in the archives. It examines also the transition-points at which this decision-making led to violence, and it evaluates in terms of both Māori and European world-views, the possible reasons for why violence was the outcome.

The two cases described in detail both refer to European sealers, and occurred in roughly the same period as the Kaiapoi conflict. Many of the same Māori actors were alive during, and even participated in, the first Kaiapoi skirmish. Southern chiefs Te Whakataupuka, and his nephew Tūhawaiki who participated in some of the consequential events to Kaiapoi were well known to sealer Boulton, who appears as a social actor in the 1826 example described here. Māori could therefore be expected at the time of this skirmish, to have been operating within the same knowledge framework as that pertaining at the first Kaiapoi battle – substantially free from Christian religious influences. It could be suggested that as European Christian missionaries had begun arriving in New Zealand in the early 1800's<sup>57</sup>, their influence would have begun to be felt amongst Māori by the 1820s and especially amongst those who had crewed on whaling, sealing and trading vessels that had travelled internationally. However,

Ballara has pointed out, and the evidence at least in the South Island situations described here, does appear to demonstrate that Māori ways of justifying and executing violence in conflict situations were not substantially modified by Christian components (2003: 72). Some southern Ngāi Tahu women had formed marriage relationships with sealers and whalers and some such as Teanau Anglem of Rakiura, had been married at Port Jackson in Christian services, but direct missionary activity in Te Wai Pounamu really only began around 1840. It has thus been possible to observe, in the period 1800-1840, Māori ways of pursuing violence with Europeans as a resolution for conflict situations at this time when a few educated sealers, whalers and traders recorded their experiences in voyage journals and ship's logs.

May 1826. The Brig Elizabeth, sealer, at Open Bay Westland.

*Contextual background and preludes to the conflict*

... I am of the opinion, it is necessary in some cases to comply with the manners & customs of those people amongst whom, it is one's fate to be placed... (John Boulton, sealer, 1827)

John Boulton was an ordinary crewman, recruited at Port Jackson by Commander John Rhodolphus Kent, an ex-Royal Navy officer, now trader and sealer, sailing out of Port Jackson to South Westland and Foveaux Strait. Though Boulton was referring in his journal comment (above) to 'other' members of his own sealing gang, he later came to feel similarly about the Southern Māori amongst whom he finally lived on the north coast of Te Ara a Kiwa<sup>58</sup>; that he should comply with their manners and customs.

On his first visit to Dusky Bay in 1769 James Cook had reported the presence of seals. In his reflections upon the voyage, Joseph Banks, and later, on the second voyage, seaman John Marra both had reported the suitability of Australia as a place to send convicts. It is therefore no surprise that both issues were noticed by British authorities and came to fruition within the following twenty years. A convict settlement was established in Port Jackson (Sydney) in 1788, followed soon afterwards by the exploitation of seals in Australia's Bass Strait in 1798, and soon after that on the Antipodes Islands and the South Western shores of New Zealand's South Island (McNab, 1907). Pressure at the Port Jackson settlement for cargo to backload on 'immigrant ships' bringing convicts to Australia, meant that sealskins and, by the 1820s, whale products and then flax were in demand to help defray the transport costs. As the Australian

seal industry began to diminish, seals that were abundant on the south and west coasts of Te Wai Pounamu were seen as relatively easily accessible from Australia. Sealing ships began to range further afield as the Australian seal supply became increasingly scarce. Poverty-stricken men – many of them ex-convicts, and children of convicts – were put ashore with minimal provisions, often for extended periods in remote locations to fend for themselves while they hunted seals. From 1810 a gang was marooned at Open Bay Island for several years, because their captain failed to return to collect them. Most sealers were illiterate, but John Boulton was a literate ‘outsider’ and risk-taker from a middle class family. He hated school, so went to sea, becoming a sealer who recorded significant ethnographic observations of the southern way of life in the 1820s. He was one crewman on Captain Kent’s brig *Elizabeth*, and it is the experience of violence between them and Ngāi Tahu Māori at Open Bay, Te Tai Poutini, that is described here.

May in South Westland is a cold time of year and early winter; the seas are frequently very rough. These conditions were fine for seal hunting, and Captain Kent disembarked *Elizabeth*’s three whaleboats on the coast between Dusky Sound and Bruce Bay, South Westland. Today it is still a frightening environment for sailors who know these waters intimately. De Blosseville (1823) had stated that seals would be more numerous in such conditions (in McNab, 1907: 220). According to Taylor, sealers reported during the years 1826-7 that there was also “an almost constant succession of earthquakes, sufficiently violent to throw men down” that completely altered the landscape “about 80 miles north of Dusky Bay” (cited in McNab, 1907: 349; cf. Best, 2001: 24). This earthquake sequence originating from the Alpine fault would have created fear and also could have been regarded by Māori as premonitions, omens, or warnings (as described in Chapter three and five). It was also a time of internecine strife amongst Ngāi Tahu and between them and their neighbours from Northern tribes. Thus the environment was a demanding and worrying one for the sealers and for the local Ngāi Tahu *hapū*. Boulton wrote: “... We hauled up our boat on Open Bay island... a most difficult task we had, the place being steep... broken rocks... high water the surf beating against the boat so as to endanger her...” (in Starke, 1986: 39-40).

Therefore, as was the case at Kaiapoi, *relationships* of various kinds were crucial components of the context; relationships with land, sea, and weather conditions as well as those between people, including with Māori women. Fear and anxiety also, were features of both and would have manifested in gossip, rumour and *kōrero*, in much the same way as the discourse about cannibalism within the ranks of the British navy was a result of reports from

previous visitors to these shores. This was often exaggerated and misconstrued, as Obeyesekere has suggested (2005: 2-3). For the Europeans, some of this information came directly from other crewmen. Captain Kent had been trading amicably with Māori in various parts of New Zealand for some years, and on his 1823 visit to Stewart Island he:

... was much pleased with the manner of our reception by those Southern savages, they with great warmth told me they did not intend to kill any more white men now that they had become friends by commencing trade (Mermaid journal, 31/5/1823).

On the other hand James Caddell, an English ship's boy had recently told him that in 1810 he was the only survivor of a sealing crew of six from the *Sydney Cove* who had been killed, and many similar examples existed (Kent, MS: June 10<sup>th</sup> 1823). It was common knowledge also that Foveaux Strait sealer Jack Price, a member of an American gang in Fiordland, reported having lost four members who were "killed and roasted" by a large party of Māori, before the remainder were rescued at Martin's Bay in 1821 (cf. P. Madgwick, 1992: 67; S. Cormack MS. papers, 1978). Kent's sealing gang included 'Captain' Perkins, who, from prior experience of sealing and discourse (or both), warned them of the possibility of being attacked by cannibals, and which strategy to adopt if that eventuated. For the West Coast Māori, battles with other *iwi* were also within living memory, and there would similarly have been multiple discourses about the relationships that each group had with Europeans; rumours about which ones of them were allied with enemy tribes or *hapū*, which could be trusted, what their motives were, and so on. Specifically, how Kent and Perkins instructed the crew of the whaleboat that Boulton was on, and his relationship with them as a relative 'outsider' in terms of his social class, constituted contributing factors in how the interactions with Māori played out. It is therefore uncertain how local Māori regarded Perkins or Honoré whose Māori wives resided in Murihiku (cf. McNab, 1907, 349-50).

There is also the issue of seal killing itself. Reports in the *Colonial Times* and *Sydney Gazette* gave details of the numbers of seal skins being delivered from New Zealand. These numbers were extraordinarily large and the wholesale slaughter of seals and pups to the extent that occurred must have seemed excessive to the Māori people for whom seals were an occasional food source, and their skins were used for a few cloaks. Captain John Grono was 20 "years in the trade" and in December 1813 arrived at Sydney with 14000 sealskins and about 5 tons of sea elephant oil representing around one year's work by about 10 men. The hunting was so excessive that within 20 years numbers were in severe decline, resulting in reports and letters to the newspapers in Sydney expressing concern about the foolish lack of consideration

for the resource as well as the killing of seal pups and seals in pup, where carcasses were left to rot (McNab, 1907: 269-271). This is not how Māori treated resources. They used what they needed. Furthermore, the brig *Elizabeth* on which Captain Kent brought Perkins, Honoré and Boulton had been delivering sealing gangs to South Westland for about twenty years under different Captains: in June 1824 with John Grono, and in March 1825 with Alexander Books, for example. Perkins was with Grono in 1824. The whaleboats ranged along the coast, and it is likely that Māori would have recognized the mother ship and perhaps associated the behaviour of the different gangs with the vessel. Both the threat to personal relationships embodied in women, and the taking of seals could be regarded as a form of theft. The government agent later reported: "... when European sealers first began to frequent the coast... frequent disputes arose [with local Māori] relative to women or thefts, and blood was at times shed..." (Shortland, 1844, in Richards, 1995 b; Entwisle, 2010: 209)

Therefore what is certain from the South Westland Māori perspective is that they had had a number of years interacting with sealers, had watched them decimating the resource, and had killed a number of them. Their concept of ownership and relationships with their women, their natural resources (seals), and unattended or wrecked boats, was not in accordance with the European practice and understanding, even at this late date, after their Southland relatives had reassured Kent of their peaceable intentions.

### *Transition Points at Open Bay*

Of the three sealing parties set down by Captain Kent, a continuous record of the immediate development of the resulting skirmish is available only for one boat, and this is found in the journal of John Boulton. Some sketchy Māori oral narratives are also available for comparison. Herries Beattie recorded them from descendants of Perkins, Honoré, and the Māori chief Kāhaki (in Starke, 1986: 42-3; 1919: 219-20). However sketchy, they contain unusually detailed facets that concur with Boulton's account. They reveal detail that is significant to Māori and enable some reflection on issues such as *utu*, *tapu*, a Māori view of ownership, and the likely role of gossip and *kōrero* that had entered the general discourse in both communities. Particular actors and the points when decisions were made for actions to proceed remain identifiable, and these can be linked to certain individual characteristics, which those actors are reported to have exhibited. In Boulton's case he reports reflexively upon his own motivations and decision-making as well as that of others, as the quotation at the beginning of this Open Bay account shows. Inferences can also already be drawn about the

character and motivations of the other known actors William Perkins, Joseph Honoré<sup>59</sup>, John Kent, Ngāi Tahu chiefs Kāhaki, and Toko.

The decision to set down the sealing gangs was that of Captain Kent's employers, Cooper and Levy of Port Jackson. Kent had an intimate knowledge of the New Zealand coastline and had been in the southern waters on a number of occasions since 1820 surveying and flax trading, and as a trader, he had a good working relationship with Māori. Where the boats were set down was *his* choice and the objective was clearly to kill seals and obtain skins for the New South Wales markets. This was about obtaining natural resources for which no payment would be made to Māori unless they were working as sealers. At the time, sealing and sealers were not new to the Māori of Te Tai Poutini<sup>60</sup>, so for this particular expedition, the arrival of Kent's gang would have been regarded as 'more of the same' unwanted European activity on their coastline. Perkins, the 'boat-steerer'<sup>61</sup>, had been a member of an earlier sealing party that had arrived on the *Elizabeth* in 1824. This highlights the issue of prior experiences for Māori, their possible recognition of Perkins, and the brig *Elizabeth*, their opinions of them and any outstanding *utu* they saw as needing to be paid. It also highlights the persistence of stories about Perkins's negative experiences, which (as with Māori also), when combined with stories from other Murihiku sealers such as Price, would have resulted in heightened anxiety for all the human social actors.

The *immediate initiating circumstance* to the Open Bay conflict was, then, Kent's decision to set the boats down in the particular place he did, amongst Māori he did not know, and the decision to employ Perkins who appears to have been in charge. This choice was probably intended to be helpful because of William Perkins's prior experience in that environment, and amongst Māori, rather than an impediment to the expedition (which it turned out to be) because of what had happened the last time that he was there. The sealers were given 6 months provisions, 6 muskets and an Australian hunting dog, although they declined the three further muskets offered because Perkins said they would make the boat too heavy. Their instructions were to range about 100 miles northwards catching seals. Another crewman was John Boulton, and there were two others (Starke, 1986: 40). One, Joseph Honoré was an experienced sealer from Foveaux Strait.

The *first transition point* after the boat left the *Elizabeth* at George's Harbour was when Perkins issued the instructions, and *the nature of the instructions*. Boulton described how they had a "keg of gunpowder, 200 or 300 balls etc...[and Perkins said they should] make a few cartridges". They hauled up from time to time on the coast and arrived eventually at Open Bay

where they saw the first evidence that Māori were about – a broken spear and some flax sandals. This impression was reinforced the following day when they pulled ashore at the northern headland of Open Bay Island where Perkins had been before, and he said that on that occasion he had seen natives there. At this second place they also saw footprints of about 30 people on the beach. Perkins told them that, as they could expect to be attacked by cannibals, they should hide their sealskins and salt on an islet, in case they had to leave quickly, if attacked. Boulton noted:

The natives about this place are a set of runaways from the settlements... about Banks's island who have... formed a tribe of about 500... lead a life of predatory warfare, plundering and murdering, alike, boats crews, and defenceless people of other tribes (in Starke, 1986: 39-42).

The effect of Perkins's information, combined with the knowledge that there were a number of locals about, would hardly have inspired confidence in the new members of the sealing gang, but is likely to have been pragmatic just the same. However, as this account will show, anxiety engendered by these warnings from Perkins, did affect their next acts and enhance the likelihood that any interactions with Māori would eventually turn violent. They in fact did result in Perkins's death.

The *second transition point* in the progression towards a violent outcome was again a *decision to camp on the mainland in a cave*, which they did on two occasions, having two people as guards, but though they had loaded muskets, they had no ready-made cartridges<sup>62</sup>. Perkins warned them that in the possible event of an early morning attack they should run to the boat and fire at them from offshore once the boat was launched. Nothing untoward occurred on the first night in the cave, and the “day but one following” was spent exploring an offshore island<sup>63</sup> and killing seals. They eventually stopped for a night at a hut upriver, and were disturbed by the dog barking and ducks being disturbed, which they interpreted (correctly, it turned out) as being evidence that there were other people around. After two days of killing seals, the gang returned southwards to the same cave that they had occupied before. There was some discussion about whether this was wise, as they again saw footprints in the sand, but because one man said that he was too tired, they pulled their boat up on the beach about 30 yards away, and settled in for the night. The identity of this man is not known, but he was a key actor at this turning point because his reluctance to ‘pull an oar’ was a form of risk-taking that endangered them all. It is likely that it was at this time that Māori were watching them for several days and opportunistically made the decision to steal the boat.

Whilst asleep the sealers heard a musket-shot and voices, jumped up and ran out towards the boat. Boulton loaded his musket and fired it into the darkness towards the approaching Māori. This was the *third transition point*, precipitated by the situation, and the fear, but it was Boulton's contingent action of *going against* Perkins' original *instructions*, by firing at the Māori before reaching the boat when he "could not distinguish individually, they appearing like a cloud at the time" (in Starke, 1986: 49) that probably was the cause of death for Perkins, because he *decided to return* to the cave to retrieve his gunpowder and was killed with a *taiaha* (longstaff club) by Toko (in Beattie, 1994: 58). This spontaneous decision by Perkins to prioritise the retrieval of the gunpowder lost him the precious time needed to escape, and he may have been targeted because he was perceived as the leader, or was known from the previous visit to Open Bay. Both reasons seem likely. Boulton's premature firing could have hastened the arrival of Toko and his party, as Māori sources told Beattie that the cause of the noise on the part of Māori, was that they were trying to steal the sealers' boat, possibly not realizing that the owners were close at hand. Such an explanation would be consistent with the Māori view that wrecked or abandoned boats belong to the salvager. It was in Boulton's nature to be proactive and vigilant, and his actions may have saved most of them, but we will never know whether, if he had followed Perkins' instructions, things may have turned out differently. Nevertheless, for the Europeans, *the unfolding of the violent sequence, was precipitated by the firing of Boulton's musket 'into the crowd'*, and it could be argued that this was triggered by fear and exaggerated stories from the past experience of Honoré, Perkins, and even possibly Kent and Caddell. From a European point of view, Toko's decision to kill Perkins does not appear to have been a transition point in the sequence for the Europeans, because it did not alter the course of the interaction once it had started, though it did form a starting point for a European revenge at a much later date. However, it may have been triggered by Boulton's anxiety and it serves to emphasise the role of hearsay and fear in violent sequences. The death was only discovered at dawn and the skirmish had been proceeding apace despite it, and in the absence of knowledge by the sealers about it. However, from the Māori point of view it may well have been a transition point because it would have been encouraging, to have killed the apparent leader of the opposing faction, thus reducing his *mana*, and that of his group. Furthermore, Toko is reported by Beattie's informants to have killed Perkins "to pay for Nukutahi", ie, as *utu* for the killing of a Māori that had taken place at a previous time<sup>64</sup>. This would seem to support the view that Perkins was targeted, either as the leader of a generalised sealing gang, or as a particular person known to them already. It could

also have been seen as presaging an imminent positive outcome. He was, after all the ‘first fish’ (if in a small skirmish such as this it could have been regarded so).

The sealers ‘made it’ to the boat but were unable to move it, so ended up having to retreat for cover. The incident became more and more violent as Māori tried to obtain the boat and the sealers to retain it. Boulton lost self control and:

... snatched up the after oar... swung it with all my strength... in this state of desperation and struck the native on the arm with the blade... fear had left me... I had also the satisfaction to hear two of my boatmates, firing amongst the natives... our kangaroo dog biting... the darkness of the night preventing them from seeing the smallness of our numbers... we had the satisfaction to see ourselves afloat once more... [but] two of our party missing... we were now only four in number... (Boulton, in Starke: 48-9).

This final withdrawal from the fray, the launching of the boat and the departure of these remaining four sealers represented the fourth and *last transition point* of the violent episode for them. They eventually met up with the other sealing gangs and set off for Dusky Sound. According to Beattie’s informants, when the boat was launched, the Māori group *raided the sealer’s camp and gained some freshly baked bread*, some clothes, and a camp oven. Kajaki [sic] (Kāhaki), Mrs Barrett’s ancestor, got the bread and is reputed to have danced a *haka* with it in his hand (Beattie, in Starke, p. 43). All these situational facts are supported by Boulton’s journal narrative. The issue of Kāhaki dancing with the bread is reminiscent of the previously described placing of bread under the head of Arthur Wakefield at the Wairau Affray. It was a matter of the *tapu* of battle, and *whakanoa* (*tapu* removal) by exposure to cooked food. For Māori this would be the *third transition point*, at which they estimated that *utu* balance was restored and the conflict ceased for them. Boulton’s crew pulled away to the Open Bay island of Taumaka to rest before they headed south to report their experiences to the other two of Captain Kent’s crews. Kāhaki nursed a broken arm or damaged hand as a result of having been fired at from the boat as it pulled away. This result was in accordance with the advice Perkins gave before his demise: that the crew should “fire at them from the boat” (in Beattie, 1919: 220).

### *Social actors*

In the grand scheme of things the skirmish at Open Bay is a mere snapshot illustrative of the numerous times that sealing gangs had altercations with the local Māori of the areas they visited. It was followed quite soon afterwards by some violent retribution by the famous sealer Tommy Chaseland, on other Māori which, from a European point of view, was unjust because

those Māori killed were unconnected with the incident. Māori would have understood it as *utu*, which did not have to be carried out on the original perpetrators. All that mattered was the social relationship or kinship connection, for the requirements of *utu* to be satisfied. The archival records about such interactions are generally very brief and one-sided, being confined to a few lines in a ship's log, or a brief report in the shipping news of the *Sydney Gazette* that, for example, between six and ten men from a particular ship had been attacked on the New Zealand coast, killed, and eaten whilst going about their business of killing seals for their skins. The boat carrying the men was often the focus of the altercation, and was usually taken by their captors. The ships' captains were not directly involved as they left the men with few provisions and went away for months or sometimes years. Most of the men were as illiterate as they were poorly paid and provisioned, and they were forced to 'live off the land'. Records of their activities are therefore slim. However, the risk-takers and outsiders are still visible, choosing to do things differently, changing the course of the action, and changing the way that the violence progressed. Although the numbers of Māori participating directly in the episode are not mentioned by Boulton, it seems that there were at least an equivalent number as there were Europeans and that the main target of the exercise was the boat. The reason suggested here is the ongoing *utu* relationship connected with past interactions they had each had with their 'others'.

*John Rhodolphus Kent* was 38 years old when he delivered Perkins and crew to Dusky Sound for their sealing expedition. After serving in the English Royal Navy he was employed on the colonial vessels of the New South Wales administration, and then by 1826 was working for a private employer. He was known as a good navigator and explorer, described by J. O'C. Ross as "a man of character, always willing to assist travellers and missionaries and always careful not to offend Māori by disregard of their customs or sacred places... and... lived and died a Pakeha Māori" (1978). At the time he was operating it was common for captains of sealing vessels to keep the exact location of their killing grounds secret, which sometimes led to them being described as opportunistic "loners" and "ruthless and self-interested". It is therefore likely that both comments are true, which lends credence to the view that Kent chose a crew whom he thought could negotiate the contingencies of the sealing situation; dealing successfully with the locals, perhaps being able to make themselves understood in the Māori language, and being able to live off the land. This enabled the captains of the mother ships to maintain a distance from the workplace and its difficulties, so that they could not be blamed when things went wrong, as they often did. He wrote regarding Māori groups that there was "a

very great jealousy between them” [and it was necessary for] “circumspection to keep in with both” (Ross, 1975, MS-papers: 5, ATL). Because of this attitude it seems likely that whilst Kent kept at arm’s length from the actions of his crews, he chose them with the intention of minimizing cross-cultural misunderstanding or cultural offence. In the Open Bay situation it seems that fatigue engendered by the demands of the job and the harsh environment, the pervasiveness of warnings and hints of ‘savagery’ and ‘cannibalism’ in sealers’ discourse, and the inexperience of crewmen such as Boulton could still undermine his intentions. It was these issues, and an incomplete understanding of the Māori ontological world that caused the interactions between Māori and European sealers to become violent at Open Bay.

*John Boulton* was an educated man in his late twenties, of middle class background, who recorded the experiences of his gang reflexively and in vivid detail with amateur drawings to support the text. This reveals the Open Bay episode as a skirmish which though small and having only few actors, nevertheless had the same processual characteristics as the Kaiapoi battle, with particular characters generating anxiety through their personal interpretations of the behaviour of ‘others’. Like Kaiapoi, the Open Bay skirmish had its ‘outsider’, who was Boulton himself. He took personal risks, broke the rules, misinterpreted Māori motives and influenced where the transitional turning points were, by deciding to shoot before it was necessary. Similarly to the situation at Kaiapoi, although four of the six Europeans escaped with their boat, the *mana* of the victory can be seen to have been with the Māori locals who had driven them off leaving behind some clothes, food and cooking implements as the ‘spoils’ of the altercation.

*William Perkins* was a seasoned sealer who had visited Open Bay with Captain Grono’s gangs, and was the ‘boatsteerer’ in charge of the sealing gang. Because he knew those waters as well, and could anticipate what local Māori might do when things went wrong, his knowledge of the territory and advice regarding preparedness in case of attack was valuable. He was also a boundary crosser, negotiator, and risk-taker, allowing the men to sleep in the cave on the second night, against his better judgement, and failed to ensure that the boat was drawn up at a safer distance than 30 yards. Precautions could have been taken to hide it, given the well-known desire of Māori to acquire whaleboats. Perkins also relied upon the men to know where the muskets and ammunition had been stashed on the night he was killed. It is probable also, that the local people knew him from his previous visits, and through his affinal connections to Ngāi Tahu. That he was deliberately killed by Toko, (and others were not), suggests that these matters may have influenced his death.

*Joseph Honoré* arrived at Big South Cape Island in Foveaux Strait and ultimately had two Māori wives so that when the missionaries arrived he could not be baptized (Middleton, 2007). He is not named in Boulton's narrative, but Beattie discovered his identity through his descendant Mrs Haberfield. His experience in two worlds, like Perkins, would have been advantageous for the communication with Ngāi Tahu during the sealing. He was one of the survivors of the Open Bay incident, perhaps by chance, but possibly for a similar reason to that which resulted in Perkins's death. It may not have been a matter of chance.

*Kāhaki and Toko* were, at the time, Poutini members of Ngāi Tahu. The Westland area was constantly subject to pressures from Northern *iwi* who sought access to the *pounamu* found there, as the story of the Kaiapoi battle suggests. In the late 1700's and early 1800's war parties from the Eastern side of the island were always likely to arrive. Within two years of Boulton's visit, Niho and Takarei, chiefs having links with the North Island West Coast, attacked them and their chief Tūhuru. Pressure for resources was thus great – the same pressure actually, that came upon Kaiapoi – and often the reason cited was *utu* for some perceived or contrived insult or misdemeanor. Pressure from European sealers would have complicated the issue and caused further stress. Furthermore the Coast was then, as now, not on the main sea routes for traders and without the same access to muskets and other European items that were becoming valuable for self-defence, and for seeking *mana*. A whaleboat would have been an attraction indeed.

### *Things as social actors*

Throughout the Open Bay episode, and aside from the things in the natural environment that must have created anxiety in their own right, the 'things' around which the altercation was centred were seals and their skins, a whaling boat, muskets & ammunition, a camp oven, some clothes, and some bread. As for the situation at Wairau already described in Chapter two, all these things had functional features, the understanding of which was likely to have been held in common between both parties to the affair. However, given that this was prior to the first Kaiapoi battle between Ngāti Toa and Ngāi Tahu, the same knowledge system would have been operating for Māori as was operating at Kaiapoi, because Kāhaki and Toko were of Ngāi Tahu lineage. Things, including clothes, weapons, and boats in particular, were consciously viewed by Māori as having a role as social actors that was additional to their functions. They all had their own *whakapapa* associated with the places they had been, the events they had participated in and the people they had been associated with, and their perceived value was

thus enhanced by the layers of meaning they had thereby accrued. For Māori the ‘things’ that participated alone and with their ‘owners’ thus would have been regarded as having a *mana* and *tapu* of their own, and as previously mentioned the cooked food was *noa* with the ability to, by contamination, remove *tapu*. All of them were present and ‘acting’ at the time of the transition points in the sequence that led to violence. Without the seals, the Europeans are unlikely to have been there. The whaleboat, with or without its ‘owners’ was a desirable item for Ngāi Tahu as much as it was essential for the survival of the sealers, and the same could be said for the camp oven and the muskets. It needs to be re-emphasised here that, although both Perkins and Honoré had lived amongst Māori, had Māori wives, and probably understood a substantial amount of the Ngāi Tahu dialect and customary practices, Boulton was a more or less ‘raw recruit’ who had served in the British navy, attended a private school and learned about ‘savages’ (which made him apprehensive) and ‘south sea islanders’, which gave him rather different expectations of New Zealanders at this early stage when he had just arrived aboard the mother ship of the ‘agent’ responsible for his being in New Zealand (Ross, 1978). He certainly would not have appreciated fully, for example, the risk that they took leaving the boat 30 yards away on the beach when there were Māori people wandering around. Perkins and Honoré should have known better. This goes some way to explaining Boulton’s quick reaction to perceived threat, and his over-riding of Perkins’s recommendations to ‘run to the boats first’. Thus, as in the situation Surville had found himself in at Doubtless Bay in 1769 (Chapter two) where an unattended boat was a source of misunderstanding that led to violence, so the negligent behaviour of Perkins’s crew in leaving their boat some distance away, also led to violence. It is suggested that this was partly because they both failed to understand *how* Māori regarded unattended items and especially boats, when they are in the domain of Tangaroa, god of the sea.

The oral histories told to Beattie almost 100 years later by the Māori descendants of Perkins, Honoré and Kāhaki expose a different view of the situation than that recorded by Boulton. As already suggested they reveal a different worldview of both the objects and of the social behaviour and motivations of the actors. At this location an incident had occurred previously where some sealers had told the local Māori that they were hunting seals, so they left some in the care of the locals who were “... to skin the seals... and to do what they liked with the carcasses”. The Māori “made a big fire and singed the hair off as they usually did” which infuriated the sealers when they returned. Kāhaki’s name and the broken arm he suffered are mentioned but it is not possible to be certain whether the incident described refers

to the two days when Perkins's gang was there, and the "Open Bay incident" occurred. However it did occur prior to Perkins' death [as *utu*] "for Nukutahi", and even if a conflation, the story does reveal how surprising it must have been to Māori when they were attacked for the singe-ing and skinning of some captured seals. Some necessity for *utu* would have been identified. It would also have provided a rationale for the attack that Boulton and company experienced, even if there were two separate incidents:

... up at Arawhata or Okahu... on the West Coast was a kaika with about 200 or 300 inhabitants. The sealers were then at Arnetts Point further north... and one night some canoes went up to the sealing station on a *raid to try and acquire some of the white man's treasures*. The Europeans were alert however, and fired on them without killing anyone... (in Beattie: 219. [*my emphasis*])

Thus the essential components of the Open Bay altercation involved different understandings of things and what they represent, different views of ownership rights and of what constitutes theft, and different rationale's for commencing violent action.

### Summary of the Open Bay conflict – transition points and actors

In contrast to the analysis of the first Kaiapoi conflict between Ngāi Tahu and the war parties of the Ngāti Toa alliance, the Open Bay conflict is but a small affair, involving far fewer numbers, and was in many ways much less complex in the way it played out. However the *context* was just as complex and involved two groups who were much more disparate than at Kaiapoi. Each 'saw' and 'knew' the world quite differently. They had differing life trajectories – even between themselves – and different ideas of what constitutes honesty, honour and justice, as has been alluded to above. It was thus a simple conflict on one level and a very complex one on another. Transition points are like places where the pathway divides into two or more separate paths and an individual or group has the opportunity to choose which of the smaller branches to follow. The choice made will depend on a number of factors that include the speed at which it is necessary to make a decision, precognition, the contextual situation, prior learning, and the cultural schemas under which the person or group is operating. Any transactional sequence may become more complex if it is inter-cultural because interpretation and decision-making would rely upon the ability to guess the 'others' next move. What may then happen at transition points is therefore difficult for the participants to predict. However, what must happen is decision-making; and it is contingent decision making that determines whether a sequence turns violent or not. By following the same analytical procedure as has been followed for the Kaiapoi battle sequence, examining the key actors,

their motivations and the contributions they made at the key transition points, it has been possible to understand better the role that has been played by the agency of these individuals who chose to interpret and act on received information in particular ways. It has become more clear also that in some cases they acted spontaneously out of fear and panic, rather than rationally, and that this possibility is potentially present in any inter-cultural transaction, or situation that could become violent.

## Summary Chart

Transitional turning points	Reasons for Action
Initiator (Sealers) <b>Kent</b> decides to set down <b>boats</b> and catch <b>seals</b> .	a. Strategically <i>distancing himself from any repercussions</i> . b. <i>Monetary value</i> of skins on European markets.
1. Action (Sealers) <b>Perkins</b> warns crew of danger of <i>theft</i> and to personal <i>safety</i> posed by locals. Recommends they make <b>cartridges</b> .	a. <i>Paid more</i> personally for success of job <sup>65</sup> . b. <i>Display own pride/experienced person</i> [cf. <i>mana</i> ]. c. <i>Safety</i> of persons and property.
2. Action (Sealers) <b>Perkins</b> decides to <b>camp</b> in a dangerous place. Neglects own rules to conceal <b>property</b> .	a. Wanted to keep the <i>peace</i> . b. Wanted to maintain <i>good crew relations</i> . c. Result of <i>risk assessment</i> .
3. Reaction (Māori) Māori watch for 2 days & decide to capture the <b>boat</b> .  Reaction (Sealers) <b>Boulton</b> decides to act against Perkins instructions & <b>fire</b> into oncoming Māori crowd. Reaction (Māori) <b>Toko</b> decides to <b>kill Perkins</b> & they all tussle for the <b>boat</b> .	a. <i>Strategy</i> for positive outcome. b. <i>Mana</i> of owning a boat. c. Boat's <i>value</i> in Māori exchange system. a. <i>Panic &amp; fear</i> (re. Perkins' warning, developed from <i>gossip</i> & anecdote). b. <i>Pro-active defence</i> strategy.  a. <i>Targeted</i> the leader. b. Enhance <i>chance of taking</i> the boat etc. by <i>strategic</i> reduction of enemy numbers. c. <i>Utu</i> for Nukutahi killed previously & development of <i>kōrero</i> about this. d. <i>Increase own mana</i> by taking 'first fish'. e. <i>Mana</i> of victory and <i>mana of the boat</i> itself.
4. Action & Suspended cessation (Sealers) <b>Boulton</b> injures <b>Kāhaki</b> & Māori lose control of the boat & sealers pull away still firing from the <b>boat</b> . (Māori) – raid the camp & challenge them by <i>haka</i> with the spoils – <b>clothes, camp oven &amp; bread</b> .	a. <i>Fear</i> , desire for survival. b. <i>Following Perkins's advice</i> to fire from the boat. a. Retreat of enemy. b. Pleasure of <i>mana</i> of spoils. c. Jubilation of survival and <i>utu</i> achieved.

Being reliant upon one primary account does not make for a balanced narrative. However, the remainder of Boulton's journal shows him to have been a really reflexive amateur ethnographer whose observations can be compared with indigenous and missionary accounts over a range of aspects of southern Māori life in the early to mid 1800's. His work has been frequently quoted by Māori sources, and by the contexts in which this has happened, it appears to have been considered reputable by them<sup>66</sup>. The details of his account of the Open Bay affair appear highly probable, because they describe aspects of Māori behaviour that Boulton, at that early stage of his arrival here clearly did not comprehend, but he recorded them just the same. However, reading them 'against the grain' in the light of known facts of the Māori world-view, makes it possible to better understand their implications. It also makes it possible to see why contingent decision-making by the Europeans caused their interactions to result in violence. The oral histories collected by Herries Beattie have been very useful in clarifying these matters, because the situations and people named in them concur with what Boulton has written, and there are additional details, none of which contradict Boulton's narrative; they support it and provide clarity. Sahlins has said that multiple narratives "which all detail the same event but differently... would serve to confirm their authenticity" (2003: 3-5; cf. Ricouer, 1979: 78-80).

This examination of a transactional sequence that became violent between sealers and local Māori, was chosen for its size, being smaller than the first Kaiapoi battle sequence; that it happened within about 3-5 years of Kaiapoi; that it was cross-cultural, having Māori, European, and Pakeha Māori participants and therefore having a range of cultural understandings about each other. Some 'thick descriptions' were also available that could be compared with oral history accounts. As was the case in Chapter five for the Kaiapoi battle analysis, issues of personality and decision-making by human actors, social relationships, 'outsiders', emotional responses, rumour and mis-understanding or mis-representation of 'others' have been shown as implicated where the progression of social interactions have become violent. There was always a choice that they could have had a different outcome. The choice was when, by whom, and how decisions were made at particular points in the sequence. I have called these decision-making times "transition points" (after Wilson, 2008: 25).

12th December 1817 – The Brig *Sophia* at Port Daniel (Otakou).

*Contextual background and preludes to the conflict*

The background here goes back to the beginning of the sealing ‘industry’ on the Western and Southern Coasts of New Zealand and islands in the Southern Ocean, after Cook, Banks and Marra had made their reports to the British government prior to 1800. This issue has already been outlined in the prelude to the first section of this chapter regarding Captain John Rhodolphus Kent’s sealing visit to Open Bay, Te Tai Poutini in 1826. Things were no different in 1817 when the *Sophia* arrived at Otago Harbour excepting that the weather would have been more amenable, being the beginning of the southern summer and the pupping season for seals. Social and bartering interactions with Māori were no different either, because prior to Captain Kelly’s visit (and unknown to him) a number of sealing boats had deposited their gangs in the Foveaux Straits environment and along the western and south eastern coasts and islands in conditions that remained demanding even in Kent’s time: a few month’s supplies only and no real shelter or facility for interacting with or understanding Māori. Because there was competition for the sealing resource, captains were not usually exact or truthful in their reports about where the grounds actually were, so precision in official reports from Sydney and Hobart is wanting, and many vessels shipped out of these ports with quite vague destinations. Between 1810 and November 1817 when *Sophia* arrived, there had been at least nine other sealing vessels around our southern coasts, some also interested in flax trading. All of them provided opportunities for cultural misunderstanding and opportunistic behaviour by both Māori and Europeans including theft – of things, resources, peoples’ labour, and their reputations. Theft in any culture has consequences that may not necessarily be understood in advance by the ‘thief’. Sealing gangs from the *Brothers* (1809), *Sydney Cove* (1810) and *Matilda* (1813-14) are notable in that crewmen from open boats had been killed and eaten, and for this reason accounts about them have become conflated over time. What is not in question, however, is that these things happened and many of the men concerned are known by name. It is the issue of *why* it happened that is important, and in this thesis investigating the processual aspects of violence, *what the sequels were* and what caused the violence eventually to *cease* that are the goal of this analysis.

The *Sophia* incident described here, preceded both the 1827 ‘Boulton’ visit to Open Bay (already described) *and* the 1828 Ngāti Toa-Ngāti Tahu conflict at Kaiapoi, where I have

already shown that traditional cultural schemas involving *mana*, *tapu* and *utu* continued to influence Maori decision-making. The social and cultural environments for interaction with Maori in 1817 when the *Sophia* arrived were therefore at least as ‘traditional’ as they were at Open Bay and at Kaiapoi.

Captain Kent of the brig *Elizabeth* had already been sealing and trading in the Foveaux strait area of Southland for about ten years when this incident occurred, and it is almost certain that the two captains knew each other. Although he was a sealing captain, James Kelly’s venture ashore did not involve the taking of seals per se, but was intended as a brief provisioning visit for his sealing expedition. As with Kent, Captain Kelly had aboard some crew who were already known to the locals. At least one of them had lived for extended periods amongst Māori. In this respect there are some other similarities with Boulton’s companions, in that conjugal relations had previously been formed with Māori women, locals had had the opportunity of assessing their reliability, and were justified in expecting them to understand Māori protocols to some extent. As the analysis of the visit will show, it seems that one of the crew was knowingly flouting these protocols and was also a thief of the European variety. Moreover, there were prior issues regarding Europeans ‘on the minds’ of local *iwi* and these are also described here. The influence of gossip and *kōrero* is thus likely to have influenced Māori in their decision making at key transition points as the violent episode proceeded. Aside from the European sailors there was another ‘outsider’ purportedly involved in the mediation and the decision-making: the Lascar (Indian seaman), Te Anū, a survivor of the 1814 *Matilda* ‘massacre’<sup>67</sup>, who was then living as a Pakeha-Māori at Whareakeake. The social environment was thus different from that when Ngāi Tahu were interacting with Ngāti Toa at Kaiapoi. It was complicated by the presence of people from different ethnicities and nationalities. Yet there remain commonalities including the contribution to decision making of certain persons and personalities, and their concern with property rights, *mana* or honour, and *utu* or retribution. It is clear that the Europeans had no real understanding of the differences between these European and Māori concepts, even though some of them had lived amongst Māori and should have known better.

Also in contrast to Open Bay on the south *west* coast of Te Waipounamu, Otago is a sheltered harbour on the southern part of the *east* coast. Inside the Harbour heads was the Māori settlement of Otākou, and not far distant outside the harbour, a large settlement known then, as Whareakeake and now, as Murdering Beach. It was a centre of population for Ngāi Tahu at that time, although there was political tension between different *hapū* at the two

settlements, based upon their *iwi* connections and a competition for *mana*, which is illustrated by Captain Kent's statement about the relationship between Taiaroa and Te Wera:

...Tyeroa on the other hand speaks much against Te Whera, and all the southern natives, proclaiming himself a much greater chief, possessing a vast and greater extent of country which he says abounds with green and manufactured flax. There is certainly a very great jealousy existing between the party's (sic) and their only care at present seems to be in watching each others motions ( 27/6/1827 in Howard, 1940: 348).

Taiaroa and his father Kōrako lived at Otakou, whilst the elderly chief Te Matehaere and his sons (described in the *Sophia* episode) were apparently the dominant figures at the settlement of Whareakake where the initial outbreak of violence occurred. It was early summer in the pupping season for seals, so it is unlikely that the sealers arriving in Otago harbour were under any great pressure, arriving with four Māori women whom they had taken aboard at Port Molyneaux, further South on the way from Foveaux Strait. The reason given for not putting the women ashore again was that a brisk wind had come up, and they sent them back overland.

### *Commentary on the Sources*

This particular affray has received a large amount of attention over the years from Peter Entwisle (2010: 15) who claims that the 'discovery' of the 'Creed manuscript' in the Turnbull library archives now enables an entirely new interpretation to be made of the source material. He has examined this thoroughly to determine just who the 'culprits' were and which precise places and situations were involved. There is no intention here to revisit what Entwisle has done, as this thesis is about social practices and discourses generated, as much as it is about identifying the particular actors responsible. The identity of most of the key actors is not really in question, and the alleged disparities in the source materials do not alter the Māori and European cultural schemas and praxes that enabled the nineteen known accounts in all their variations to appear sufficiently plausible to have entered the public discourse and understanding of the affray. The 'Creed manuscript' is contained within some notes in the papers of John White relating to his *Ancient History of the Maori*, and at the beginning there is a note from Creed's son who had sent them, stating that his father's informants were some respected elders who knew at first hand of the matters described in them. The relevant part of the manuscript is presented in Entwisle, 2010, Appendix V1: 193. I do not consider that it is actually possible to clarify some of the issues that Entwisle says are clarified by the 'Creed manuscript', which is open to the same criticisms as I have already identified for the Māori source material for the Kaiapoi battle: the manuscript attributed to Creed has some pages

missing and contains a marginal annotation written on the film “appears to be in Creed’s handwriting”. It was allegedly written c. 1848-50, about 30 years after the *Sophia* incident, and narrated to Creed by one unknown Māori informant<sup>68</sup>. It still has the possibility of the informant forgetting things, giving more emphasis to some situations and actors than others, misidentification, conflation, secondary interpretation for personal reasons etc., before it was written down and this is no different from the criticism Entwisle levels at other interpreters. Further to this, although the so-called “secondary” sources are designated such because they have appeared in the public domain *after* others and may contain the same information or parts of it, this is no reason to discredit what they say. In the case of sealing accounts, it is usually quite clear where reports have been conflated or confused, but the very fact that this has happened shows the role of gossip, rumour and interpretation in the organic creation of public discourse about events. The socio-political behaviour of people is then frequently based upon such discourse, even if aspects of it have been exaggerated or silenced. It also shows that, despite conflation, core truths usually survive because they are reinforced by each other in various accounts. Those who are affected by them remember the particularities. For example, William Spencer remembered that his ancestor Tukarekare “... fought the sealers at Murdering beach” (in Beattie, HL. MS.05082/E/12; Entwisle, 2010: 230).

### *Transition points – a comparison*

While at the Open Bay conflict where sealers Perkins, Boulton and their companions interacted with Kāhaki and his kinsmen over the ‘theft’ of a boat, so at Whareakeake, Kelly, Tucker, Violen, Dutton and Whallon interacted with Te Matehaere over the exchange of some potatoes. Later, at Kaiapoi (Chapter four) Te Pēhi Kupe, Te Rauparaha and their *taua* (war party) interacted with Tamaiharanui and Hakitara over the bartering of greenstone. In each case the interaction developed into a violent episode because of particular points in the discussions where an individual or individuals decided to act in a certain way, and eventually decided to act violently. The transition points are those at which decisions are made to change the mode of action and therefore move the interactions to a situation that may lead to violence. Where these points are located in an interaction sequence have been shown for Kaiapoi and Open Bay to hinge around matters of personality, kinship, rights to resources, strategy and provocation. The *Sophia* affray confirms this. What eventuates from the decision-making transition-points depends greatly upon how the actors understand the transactions and the motivations of those with whom they are interacting. When the interaction is intercultural the

potential for misunderstanding is high, and in the case of Europeans interacting with Māori, the key issues are their deficiencies in understanding around the Māori practices of *mana*, *tapu*, and *utu*.

One specific *preliminary initiating circumstance* for setting in train a possible violent response for the *Sophia* affray has been identified by Entwisle as a ‘theft’ when some sealers were trading in pigs and potatoes aboard the sealing ship *Sydney Cove* on a prior occasion. One Māori chief took a red shirt and a knife belonging to a sailor, which suggests that Maori perceived that the barter was unbalanced. After failing to respond at the time, and waiting till the chief was back ashore, the sailor and other crewmen carried out some extravagant revenge attacks, disembowelling and killing the chief with a cutlass. The killing took place either at Port Molyneux or the village of Whareakeake, later the scene of the *Sophia* tragedy. They then went by boat to another village and killed another chief, for which Maori exacted *utu* in the form of two Europeans killed (‘Creed’ MS). Neither Kelly nor his crew were involved in this prior issue of the ‘red shirt’, and neither was their ship, but they were Europeans and therefore liable for *utu* retaliation because in the Māori world they were guilty by kinship association. One of Kelly’s crew (Tucker) had also been involved in the theft of a tattooed head from Riverton in 1810. This was later sold at Sydney and Entwisle has investigated this matter also and suggested that it may have come to the attention of Māori in Sydney. If so, this would also have been a cause for *utu* (2005). However, the Creed manuscript appears to negate these two reasons as initiating circumstances because it describes a completely different issue:

About 1 year another Ship came from Hobart Town. Anchored in Otago the European (Taka) chief... lived 2 years at Wariakiaki – sheep & goats – afterwards went to Hobart town remained a long time 3 or 4 years – Another ship came – another, the Captn afterwards he returned called in at Molyneux – took in 4 women the wind increasing brought them on to Otago sent them home overland...(my emphasis).

If Tucker was seen as having been involved in the European retaliation over the red shirt affair, or the theft of the tattooed head was known about, it seems unlikely that the people of Whareakeake would allow a man who had committed such grave errors to stay and live in their village with one of their women for several years, setting up and building a house with livestock (as the marginal note says) if they considered that they needed to exact *utu* for his misdoings. These facts appear to eliminate the ‘red shirt affair’ and the ‘tattooed head affair’ as the cause of Te Matehaere’s apparent ‘*utu* attack’. The initial triggering circumstance appears to me, to conform to Ellison’s analysis: “The trouble at Whareakeake was through Captain Kelly’s men interfering with the Māori girls” (in Beattie, 1920: 229; Entwisle, 2010:

230). After all what were the 4 women doing aboard the vessel at Molyneux when no men are mentioned? Furthermore, the quote from Creed (above) seems to me to imply that since he had been living several years with a Māori woman in the village, she was waiting for him to return – hence the counting of the boat arrivals until he did. The time was described as long because that is how it seemed to her, because she was waiting. It should be noted also that this was the village whose patriarch was Te Matehaere who became *the* key actor in the whole *Sophia* affair.

Never-the-less whichever of the arguments is invoked as the cause of the *utu* attack against Kelly in Matehaere’s whare, each possible initiating scenario, involves a perception of some kind of *theft* – of a shirt, a knife, a human life, unfairness in barter, or attacks on integrity of human relationships. All of them required the *utu* to be balanced – and hence had the potential for provoking violence if the human actors chose to make that interpretation. As the turning points and actors of this violent sequence are identified in this next section it will be possible to see their role more clearly and the implication of discourse in provoking their violent responses.

In this period there were also several instances of sealers absconding with ships’ boats, and either disappearing, being “killed and devoured” (Entwisle, 2005: 69-71) or living as Māori. The issue here is that these kinds of activities appeared in reports of the *Hobart Times* and *Sydney Gazette*, and would have been well known to the sealers visiting Southland. Some had never been there before. Such stories increased their anxiety, and became embellished with a Western interpretation about barbarity and savagery.

The *immediate initiating circumstance* was the decision by Captain Kelly to go ashore at Otākou. Captain Kelly of the brig *Sophia* had therefore taken precautions by bringing a trusted and experienced man, William Tucker, who had been to Otago previously with an 1809 *Brothers* sealing crew. At 26 years old Kelly was a reasonably experienced sailor, having already been at sea since he was 13. His motivation for going ashore was to barter iron for potatoes, so, leaving seven of his crew aboard, Kelly took a boat ashore with three officers and six crewmen. They first visited the settlement of Otākou where they were welcomed, believing that this was because one of their men, Tucker, had lived in the vicinity previously and was an esteemed visitor. A number of other Māori from nearby villages on the other side of the harbour had gathered there when they saw the ship, and a request was made to Kōrako, the senior chief of Otākou, to provide canoes for them to come across, but this request was

refused, so after waiting two days for a response Kelly and his men rowed over there and round to the village of Whareakeake which had formerly been Tucker's home.

*The second transition point was the decision* of what and whom to take along. After some discussion, and according to Tucker's recommendation, it was decided that they would take no guns but Kelly took the precaution of bringing along a sealers billhook. One crewman, Nathaniel Robinson, was left to look after the boat and Kelly and the other five crewmen proceeded on to the home of chief Matehaere where the intention was to barter for potatoes.

*The third transition point* was the decision by Captain Kelly to separate from his crew. It seems that Kelly went inside the chief's house while the crew waited in the gated yard outside, along with a large number of locals. Inside the house was a former Lascar sealer who had survived the 1814 *Matilda* tragedy, when they had absconded with the ship's boat and most of the remaining crew had been killed and eaten. Lascars had had a raw deal on European boats, being underfed and underpaid in relation to European crew, so those that survived stayed on and assisted Māori with undermining the functioning of the sealing enterprise. De Blosseville reported that they "taught the Māories how to dive and cut the anchor cables of ships", for example (McNab, 1907: 216). It is therefore uncertain how Te Anū regarded the *Sophia's* crew or their mission and whether he was mediating or being a double agent. When Captain Kelly asked about the *Matilda's* boat that had gone missing, he was told. Te Anū spoke Māori and offered to negotiate and interpret the bartering process. Almost exactly one month prior to their visit, there had been a total eclipse of the sun visible from the village, which could easily have been interpreted as a premonition of danger and put Māori on alert for ships that might be visiting to exact *utu* for the killing and eating of the *Matilda's* crew. The reports about the visit to chief Matehaere's house are accompanied by a loud silence about what else was talked about, and as with many translators, there is often no way of knowing what Te Anu or Matehaere actually said. Needless to say, no potatoes were obtained. Tucker did not have the opportunity to report because he died in the fracas that ensued. It is argued here that the reason why the bartering deal 'fell through', most probably had complex origins, including apprehension about possible retribution for the *Matilda* deaths, and *kōrero* that Tucker, but also other crew members, and even other sealers from prior expeditions had been 'dishonourable' according to both Māori and European understandings of the world at that time, and *utu* was required to address the imbalance. It is suggested here that what has been described as dishonourable behaviour, is actually a form of theft.

The *fourth and key turning point* is when, for whatever reason during the discussions in the house, Te Matahaere became distressed and it seems that his behaviour was sparked off by Tucker entering the house:

Ko te Matehaere i pouri tona ngakau<sup>69</sup>. *When Taka went into the house to see the things the old man seized the Capt'n to kill calling and then to kill at length the Captain his billhook (sic) and struck the old man on the head – the old man lost his hold – the Capt'n fled to his boat. The son of the old man seeing his father wounded slew two Europeans a third wounded ('Creed', c.1849, ATL. MS-Papers-1187-201) [my emphasis].*

There are several versions of what happened based upon one European narrative, probably Kelly's<sup>70</sup> published a year afterwards, and ten Māori sources including the above which was collected (probably) by the missionary Charles Creed at least 25 years afterwards. Peter Entwisle's extensive re-examination of all the available related eyewitness – and what he calls 'primary' and 'secondary' – sources (2010: 210-231) have all been considered in this interpretation, as has the so-called "Creed manuscript" (ATL. MS-papers-1187/201-2). This excerpt, from the earliest European version, was published in the *Hobart Town Gazette* on March 28<sup>th</sup> 1818:

Mr Kelly went in his boat with six men... to Small Bay – outside the harbour's mouth and distant from the vessel about two miles. The natives... received them kindly... Tucker...[who was known] by the name of 'Wioree'[sic.]<sup>71</sup>. Mr Kelly made the chief of the village a small present of iron and proceeded to his dwelling to barter for potatoes – leaving one man to look after the boat. On reaching the house... Mr Kelly was saluted by a Lascar, who told him that he had been left there by the brig 'Matilda'... [from which, seven] men had been killed and eaten... The lascar then offered his services in bartering for potatoes and appeared familiar with the native tongue. By this time... about sixty... were in the yard of the chiefs house where the boat's crew were standing...

The story goes on to say that Kelly fought his way out of the ensuing fracas with a billhook, they ran and got away to their boat, where Nathaniel Robinson who had been guarding it had a head wound. Tucker and two others were killed, Tucker being dismembered. Then they rowed quite some distance to the main ship from Whareakeake. There they found about 40 natives and the Otākou chief 'Corokar' [Kōrako] on board the *Sophia*.

*The fifth transition point* was when the ship's mate Kirk *informed* them that Māori meant to take the ship. *Based upon this information* a meeting was held in the Captain's cabin and they decided to defend the ship, so formed up and fought the Māori off with sealing knives, killing a large number and "after cleaning up and washing down the decks we sat down and congratulated each other on the very narrow escape we had from being taken and murdered by these savages...". Their chief Kōrako was shot through the leg the next morning as he jumped overboard and into a canoe of his kinsmen Tukarekare, to affect an escape. Māori sources are

silent about whether or not they intended to take the ship, but there is evidence from a later period in time that Kōrako's son Te Mātenga Taiaroa spent time and resources purchasing such a desirable item as he was one of the southern chiefs who perceived great benefits would accrue if their people could participate in the 'foreign' economic world (Thompson papers, HL. MS-4140/011). But with the retreat of the Māori boarding party, this was not the end of the affair.

*The sixth transition point was the retreat of the Māori and it was followed soon afterwards by violent retribution of the European kind, in the form of attacks on villages, breaking up and burning of canoes and the destruction by fire of homes:*

... we determined at once to land, set fire to the town and burn it to the ground... We landed nine men, but kept the boats afloat... the natives all ran to the rising hills..." (Hamilton, 1895: 145)<sup>72</sup>

The following day they set sail for the Chatham Islands. The *utu* was again unbalanced from the Māori point of view, but the Europeans had carried out their excessive revenge in which, apparently, no lives were directly lost.

They had missed the point really, because *utu* is about balance and not simply revenge.

### *Social Actors*

In comparison with the Open Bay affair already described, the colonial brig *Sophia's* visit was actually on a similar scale; a mother ship brought the equivalent of two sealing gangs, ie, 16 men, including the Captain. They were a similar crew, with similar backgrounds: Australians and some people of other nationalities such as Italian Vito Viole (who was killed). Part Australian aboriginal Henry Whallon escaped. Their working background and environment was the same as that of the Open Bay gang, yet, from a Māori perspective they arrived 'officially' by anchoring off Otakou settlement, going ashore there and interacting with the senior chief Kōrako who actually took control of what they wanted to do by refusing to facilitate the arrival of their friends from Whareakeake. This would have been seen as acknowledging Kōrako's *mana* and that of his people. As Kent has reported there was a tension between rival chiefs on account of *mana*, so it is unlikely that Kōrako was very pleased when they went away to Whareakeake. There the sealers were attacked – apparently in a matter of *utu* – because of misdemeanors showing disrespect for persons (women, the chiefs connected with the 'shirt' affair, and the owner of the *moko mōkai* stolen by Tucker). All or any of these 'sins' could have been regarded as a type of theft of *mana*, which had to be paid

for, and it was, by the deaths of Tucker, Viole and Griffiths, and the wounding of Kelly and Robinson.

*John Kelly* was a celebrated Australian captain of humble origins who later became a wealthy landowner. He was the son of a convict, born in Australia and was apprenticed to sea at about 13 years. Thus he would have been accustomed to hardship, but like all sea captains in the southern ocean he was to some extent a risk-taker, though he appears to have taken precautions when dealing with Māori because of the experiences that sealers had had at the time. Kelly subsequently discovered that on a previous voyage in 1811 Tucker had stolen a preserved head from some people at Riverton and sold it in Sydney. Entwisle has expanded upon the story of Tucker's 'checkered' career in Sydney as a European thief (2005).

Captain Kelly regrets having listened to the persuasions of Tucker and the wish of the other men to go on shore the second day without firearms, to which the loss of three unfortunate men may be attributed. Tucker's confidence, however deceived, was founded on some experience, and Captain Kelly has some reason to believe that these natives... were fired in their revenge by the recollection of two or more of their people being shot by Europeans  
(*Hobart Gazette*, in *Transactions & Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, Vol. 28: 141-7)

*William Tucker*, at age 14 was a London pickpocket, transported to Tasmania where he became a labourer and sealer. Entwisle has described him as having "an element of contempt for people" (2005: 80) with his petty thefts of a woman's cloak, owing his landlady money for food and drink, and for living beyond his means. Kelly, who seems to have initially trusted his judgement and experience, subsequently discovered the matter of the preserved head. He was a key actor in this whole affair, having advised his Captain not to take weapons, being overconfident of a good reception after his wife had felt deserted because of his long absence, and after having stolen a *tapu* item. His presence seems to have aroused Te Matehaere's capacity for invoking *utu* by attacking them all. However, Tucker does appear to have resisted running away from the affray, as if he was hoping at the last moment to be able to mediate on behalf of those who hadn't 'made it' to the boat.

*Te Matehaere* was an elderly chief at Whareakeake, a small man, whom Rāwiri Te Maire described as having been "the leader of the relatives at the killing" of the sealers from the *Matilda* who had killed a chief with a cutlass because he had misappropriated a red shirt (T. Parata in Beattie, 1919; F. A. Green letter, 23/10/1890, cited in Entwisle, 2010: 227-228). He was a seasoned warrior having led a large *taua* of 300 men to Tai Poutini via the Hollyford valley and up the West Coast to Nelson (W. A. Taylor, 1951), and he was a relative of

esteemed Ngāi Tahu warriors Rimurapa, Haereroa and Mākere who all fought against Te Rauparaha in the aftermath of the Kaiapoi battles (Tau & Anderson, 2008: 218). It therefore is no surprise that he was *impatient* of sealers and of Tucker in particular, and that he sought *utu* for their inappropriate revenge behaviour in the *Matilda* incident because of *kōrero* about it.

*Te Anū* was an Indian seaman who absconded from the *Matilda* and along with some others was caught by Māori; some of them were killed and eaten. He came from Calcutta. Indian seamen were called ‘lascars’, and were employed in inferior working conditions with less food than other sailors. ‘Te Anū’ was adopted by Māori, was tattooed, and had a Māori wife and child. The *Sydney Gazette* Dec. 2nd 1815 described how the vessel *Matilda* was “manned by lascars who were emaciated by fatigues they had been unaccustomed to; and being for a time without vegetables, or fresh provisions, having a few gallons of water left...”. The crew were hospitably received and helped by the Māori chief Papuee. It is therefore understandable that some of them absconded and as De Blosseville noted, those who survived the incident were “kept alive and taught the natives how to dive and cut the ship’s cables during the night and how to reduce the efficiency of firearms by attacking in wet weather” (in McNab, 1909: 216-8). *Te Anū* was one of them, so what he said to Matehaere in his house may not necessarily have been to the advantage of Kelly. He was a classic ‘outsider’ and boundary crosser in this situation, with the possibility, like Hakitara at Kaiapoi, of being either a mediator or a double agent as Blok has pointed out that outsiders may be, yet having the ability to choose to be neither (2001). He may have been innocent and *Te Matehaere*’s response to Kelly may have been due entirely to the presence of Tucker, and all that he represented, or even to the fact that Kelly had brought a billhook into his house as a weapon. However, *Te Anū* was at the centre of the action in the chief transition point of the violent sequence- even though he apparently took no physical part in that action.

*Kōrako* was the senior chief at the Otākou settlement where the *Sophia* anchored. He was the father of *Te Mātenga Taiaroa*, whom J. R Kent records as being the person who killed two of the *Sophia*’s people (in Entwisle, 2010: 240-242)). It was *Kōrako* who refused to provide canoes to transport villagers across the harbour and was accused of not wanting them to share in the gifts being distributed. Whilst this may not be true, it highlights the point that as one’s *mana* is increased by the esteem of others, there was some enmity between the settlements on the account of *mana* as Kent has suggested (ibid.). *Kōrako* was described by Kelly as “gallant” in his attempt to kill one of the *Sophia* crew with a tomahawk, when he saw

that “ his men were completely defeated”, and he was mourned greatly by his people when they thought that he had been killed during the affray (Hamilton, 1895: 144).

*Things as social actors: Seals, Boats, guns, a billhook, sealing knives and some potatoes*

Again there are strong parallels between the *Sophia* affair and the Open Bay one, even though the interaction between the *Sophia*'s people and Māori was more formal than the Open Bay situation, which was more of a covert operation. Neither of these were intended by the Europeans to cause trouble, hence the reason why Europeans describe these situations as massacres or murders of innocents by savages, rather than what they are: encounters that became violent because their social actors came from different socio-cultural worlds. As part of these worlds *things* played social roles that were different for Europeans than they were for Māori, as has already been referred to in Chapter four. At Open Bay the things with important social roles were not dissimilar to those at Otākou and Whareakeake, and in particular boats: the ship *Sophia*, the ‘ship’s boat’ and the *waka*(s) from the Otākou settlement all had key roles in the affair, which actually could be seen as similar to the role of people. For Māori, they appear to have been connected with the *mana* of their owners because possession of them enhanced this *mana*. In the times being described, it was quite a usual practice for *waka* to be used as ransom for persons, payment for lands and to seal agreements, so having a decked boat or even a whaleboat would have been a very valuable item, not only for its functionality but for its *mana*.

In accounts of the *Sophia* affair it has always appeared that because ‘Māori are Māori’ they are all the same and when they live close by each other that they would be expected to support each other. Therefore the accounts seem to imply that when Kelly and the boat’s crew arrived back at the *Sophia* after being attacked at Whareakeake, the ‘reception’ they got from Kōrako and his group was actually connected somehow with the attacks they had just experienced. However, this is not necessarily so as there is some discrepancy in the dates and they may in fact have been separate incidents with different motives. Kōrako’s group may simply have been ‘after’ the *Sophia*. As Tau has pointed out: “Ngāi Tahu villages were generally multi-*hapu* which means that the village itself was not necessarily in danger as much as the family groups living within it ...” (2008: 168). That is, tension was often related to kinship, and given the tension already described between Tairaroa and Te Wera, and between Kōrako and Matehaere, it seems likely that they may have been acting independently,

Matehaere seeking *utu* for past wrongs by European sealers in general and Tucker in particular; and Kōrako taking an opportunity to obtain a boat, as Mr Kirk, the ship's Mate indicated to Captain Kelly he thought to be the case.

### Summary of *Sophia* Affair at Otakou & Whareakeake

Analysis of the transactional sequence at Whareakeake has shown that the context was at least as important to the way it played out, as were the actors and their actions. Because this was a more formal visit by Captain Kelly and his crew, than at the Open Bay encounter, their actions would have been more predictable to Māori, especially in view of the fact that chief Matehaere was dealing with one person he already knew. This is perhaps a parallel with Kāhaki at Open Bay who was dealing with Perkins, a man likely to have been known to him via extended family connections, though probably lesser known than Tucker was to Matehaere. However, Matehaere was an elderly chief and warrior and this makes it likely that he was, like Tamaiharanui, more culturally conservative in his thinking and impatient with the constant incursions into their territory of improperly provisioned foreign sealers who interfered with their way of life by placing stress on their physical and social resources and had their own ethical rules quite distinct from the Māori way of operating. By focusing on the progress of the interactions and the decision-making transition points it has been possible to clarify some of the ethical issues that were involved in choosing a course of action at any point. This also illuminates the involvement of personality and discourse or *korero* in the decision-making choices, because of these culturally derived ethical constraints, which are relative, and personally interpreted.

#### Summary Chart

Transitional Turning Points	Justification for Action/Reaction
Initiating circumstance (Sealers) Kelly decides to go ashore @ Otākou with 6 men in ship's boat.	a. To trade potatoes for iron. b. Strategy to form trading <i>relationships</i> with locals.
1. Action (Sealers) All decide on Tuckers advice- no weapons but Kelly decides to take a billhook.	a. Tucker already knows them- <i>relationship</i> b. Maintain good <i>relationship</i> with crew. c. Uncertainty & <i>fear</i> . d. Signal that he is prepared – <i>warning</i> .
2. Action (Sealers) i. Kelly decides to go to Whareakeake against Kōrako's wishes. ii. Kelly decides to go alone into Matehaere's house & leave crew outside with locals.	a. Tucker's influence-wants to visit <i>friends</i> . b. Trading might be favourable- <i>expectation</i> . a. <i>Respecting</i> chief's status (chief to chief). b. Crew can <i>warn &amp; defend</i> .
3. Action (Sealers) i. Kelly decides to ask Te Anū about Matilda casualties & Tucker enters house to view 'things'	a. <i>Curiosity</i> . b. <i>Anxiety</i> & reassurance & wanting to be proactive.

<p>Reaction (Māori) i. <b>Matehaere</b> decides to attack <b>Kelly</b>, yelling ‘kill’ &amp; <b>Viole &amp; Dutton</b> thrown down &amp; killed.</p> <p>Reaction (Sealers) i. <b>Kelly</b> hits <b>Matehaere</b> with <b>billhook</b> &amp; runs for <b>boat</b>.</p> <p>Action (Māori) <b>Riri</b> kills <b>Tucker</b> &amp; <b>boat</b> gets away.</p>	<p>a. <i>Anger</i> re billhook brought in – <i>fear</i>. b. Association with Tucker – <i>utu</i>. c. Association with previous sealers – <i>utu</i>.</p> <p>a. <i>Fear</i>-self defence. b. Matehaere’s order – <i>utu</i>. a. Bodies of 3 sealers eaten – <i>loss of their mana &amp; removal of tapu</i> of battle for warriors.</p>
<p>4. Action (Sealers) i. <b>Kirk</b> informs <b>Kelly</b> that Māori intend to take the <b>boat</b>.</p> <p>Reaction (Sealers) i. <b>Kelly</b> decides to fight with <b>sealing knives</b> &amp; then lock up <b>Kōrako</b>.</p>	<p>a. <i>Rumour</i> or warning or perception. b. Negative <i>interpretation</i> of Maori actions. c. <i>Fear</i> of loss of life &amp; property. a. Reduce loss by isolating leader – <i>strategy</i>. b. Displaying own power</p>
<p>Action (Māori) i. <b>Tukarekare</b> decides to save <b>Kōrako</b> by <b>canoe</b> &amp; he jumps overboard.</p> <p>Reaction (Sealers) i. Decide to burn <b>canoes &amp; houses</b> as revenge.</p>	<p>a. Respect for his <i>mana</i>. b. <i>Fear</i> of loss of leadership &amp; protection. c. <i>Courage &amp; fear</i>.</p> <p>a. <i>Anger</i>. b. <i>Revenge</i>.</p>

When comparing the two cases where sealers were interacting with Māori in situations that became violent, there are some obvious similarities amongst the Europeans regarding the kinds of people they were, their occupation and the physical environment that they were operating in. Most of the men were poverty-stricken sailors from Hobart and Port Jackson, willing to take risks to make a living in an occupation that was dehumanizing and cruel. They were paid by ‘lay’, that is, they were given a share of the profits from the trip, but often had to live off the land which actually meant taking resources that belonged to Māori. They had few possessions: their clothes, guns and clubs and the use of a whaleboat to travel between colonies of seals. Such people would not only have become hardened to adversity, but also, after hearing from their workmates of their experiences became both audience to, and perpetrators of stories about Māori savagery, cannibalism, theft and unpredictability. Both the cases described in this chapter, provide evidence that fear of being captured and eaten was a real influence on the behaviour of some captains and crew when they interacted with Māori. It focused them on being pro-active, ‘just in case’. Hence at Open Bay Boulton fired into the crowd, thereby hastening the arrival of Toko, which resulted in the death of Perkins, for example. Similarly, at Otākou Kelly took a billhook to the chief’s house when there had been an agreement that they would go unarmed. The precise outcome is uncertain but the decision was likely to have made a difference to the direction in which the violence proceeded. There is not anything here that is very different to the exercise of choice at particular points in the violent sequence that took place at Kaiapoi as described in Chapter four. Affinal connections

with Māori women made a negative difference for Tucker, because he hadn't honoured his commitments, but could have been the reason why Honoré survived at Open Bay for example. While the dominant feature of all the violent sequences discussed thus far is the Māori requirement for *utu* when any kind of theft – of material things, or of reputation, status, or life – occurred, there is also evidence of its counterpart as Europeans saw it. *Revenge* was always excessive and unbalanced because it appears always to have been entwined with anger, resentment, grief, and a deficiency in understanding of the 'other's' world. Revenge by Europeans did not imply any sense of obligation to the gods for the taking of *mana*. It was more likely to have been about anger and grief for the loss of relationships with loyal friends and workmates. However, it is clear that though both Māori and Europeans could rationalize their decision to act with violence in terms of the normal practice of their own cultural schemas, they also made personal choices that were emotionally based and led to violence, when this was unnecessary for solving the problem and often perpetuated it. Different actors may have made different choices when, although structurally constrained, they could have chosen otherwise.

In his statement regarding the *unintentional* consequences of deliberate actions, Blok has said (2001:3) that:

There are no direct connections between intentionality and the outcome of pragmatic choice, decision-making, active calculating and strategizing of individual actors...plans and intentions, efforts and implementations are mediated, refracted, thwarted, distorted, transformed by powerful cultural forces, human inter-dependencies, contingencies...and chance.

However, he has also stated that violence “says things” and that these things have “some connection with honour, status, identity and reputation” (2001: 111-113). Individual expression of these issues is found in personality, emotional behaviour and decision-making. The first Kaiapoi battle and the Open Bay and *Sophia* incidents all reveal that actors behave in personal and individual ways which often may not lead to the outcomes they intend, simply because their decision-making takes the course of action in a particular direction. At the next decision-making point reached, *another* actor might change the course of the action. Such actors operate within the cultural framework with which they are familiar but make their decisions at particular points that could cause the potential for violence not to be realised. Since life experience is one component of the decision-making process, it seems that assessment of situations at decision-making points is influenced by the ability to predict the behaviour of 'others', and if those others do not operate under the same cultural schemas, then

this is difficult. The one inter-*iwi* and two inter-cultural incidents described thus far do have, however, a commonality between all of the actors. That is in their concern with honour, status, identity and reputation, all of which figure highly in moral judgements made about ‘others’. They are present within the Māori expressions of *mana*, *tapu* and *whanaungatanga*, and all are visible in the discourse and *kōrero* surrounding the transactional sequences described here. They were used by Māori and by Europeans in their relevant cultural forms, to ‘other’ their enemies and to retain the moral high ground as justification for decisions that ultimately had violent outcomes. Coming from a background where there were less cultural constraints, sealers were often unpredictable even amongst their own people. Chief Tūhawaiki was later to describe them as “the scum of Port Jackson”, a comment upon their unprincipled behaviour. As a further comparison with the two small skirmishes between sealers and Māori just described, the succeeding chapter will examine Māori interactions with European naval personnel whose background could be expected to have been more disciplined, and perhaps less individualistic.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### Violence Between Māori and English Sailors: was it fundamentally the same?

2<sup>nd</sup> Nov.1773... abt noon came into Ship Cove [Queen Charlotte Sound]

3<sup>rd</sup> Nov... natives returned... among them was Teiratu... from being an orator... he seemed to be degraded to a simple fish monger... our iron ware and Teheitee cloth were... of such importance... that they resolved to establish themselves near us... [and] lose no opportunity of laying hands on anything that belonged to us...

4<sup>th</sup> Nov... the first intelligence we rec'd from the shore was a complaint against the natives who had stolen during the night a watch coat from the waterer's tent and a full bag of linen...

(G. Forster – ethnographer on Cook's *Resolution*).

On Cook's second voyage *George* Forster was a supernumerary aboard *HMS Resolution*. He was well known to the crews of *Resolution* and her consort ship *Adventure* (Captain Tobias Furneaux), and was party to the discourse amongst them. It is evident from his journals that as an ethnographer, Forster also tried to be an objective observer. Along with his father Johann, the naturalist, he could be regarded as an 'outsider' with respect to the navy. *Adventure's* astronomer William Bayly was also in this position, and their journals therefore provide a useful reflexive commentary on the effects naval personnel had upon the indigenous people they interacted with and how the behaviour of 'others' might be interpreted. Their 'outsider' position as supernumeraries also allowed these men to perform as mediators in shipboard life because they mixed with and observed all of the crew, and were able as well, to act independently. Though they were educated, they had a different perspective from English naval officers and would not have had to maintain naval discipline. Bayly, whose actions are described in detail in this chapter, was able to speak some Māori language, and participated in an altercation resulting from the 'theft' of his tools and his hat.

This chapter describes interactions and transactions between Māori and English naval personnel at Queen Charlotte Sound (Totaranui) during those 1773 visits. It follows the same methodological procedure as was used for the previous two chapters, and analyses two connected sequences of interaction that led to a fatal outcome. Differences between this and the two previous chapters are that in the interactions of Māori with English sailors the scale was larger, and the Europeans were mostly naval personnel. Yet there remain similarities, including the centrality of *mana*, *utu*, revenge, honour, rumour<sup>73</sup>,

interpretations of omens, and perceptions of ‘theft’ that differed between cultures, influenced decisions made, and resulted in violence on both sides.

### *Social actors and their actions*

Though this chapter describes events for which there are more informants than for the Māori-Sealer situations, it has the disadvantage that the narratives are all from British navy personnel and supernumeraries. Any Māori narratives for the situations described have survived within these naval journals and logs. It is argued that because these journal writers came from a range of educational backgrounds, naval ranks, ages and social classes, that they were each differently positioned in their ability and opportunities for visual observation and understanding of Māori; also to hear and interpret shipboard discourse about the situations they noticed. The various journals, logs and the ultimate official Admiralty narratives can be compared and read ‘against the grain’, bearing in mind the Māori knowledge system within which possible Māori motivations for action can be sought. This does not deny that, operating from their own worldview, Māori actors also had available to them the ability to choose how they would act, as much as Europeans also had choices available to them. It is just that the rules were different. Continuing the theme of previous chapters, which have addressed the issues of motivation and decision-making by social actors at key turning points in transactions that led to violence, the questions to be examined in the analysis are:

- Who (or what) were the key social actors?
- What kind of personality or other characteristics did they exhibit?
- What historical, social, or material issues motivated them?
- What strategies did they use that influenced the outcome of the actions in which they participated?

The answers to these questions can be determined partly by examining which tipping points led to violence and which actors were involved. By highlighting disparity in knowledge systems as an important feature of misunderstandings that led to violence, some ill-considered choices made by these social actors can be exposed. Many interactions between Māori and Europeans included the exchange of objects, whose social importance to the donors was often incorrectly interpreted by the recipients. Each object may have had different value, meaning, power, *mana*, *tapu* and agency according to the knowledge system involved. In fact the disparity in meaning between knowledge systems,

and between the separate realms of understanding within each of them was embodied in the things exchanged. They also, could therefore be regarded as *equivocations* as Vivieros de Castro has described (Chapter three). That is, they sometimes exposed how “different people misunderstood them differently” by being a focus of shared experience but different understanding. The manner of their use could have helped to translate the meaning that the donor invested them with, and enabled the recipients to ‘see’ and ‘know’ more about the ‘figured worlds’ of the donors. On the other hand recipients may have been blind to the subtlety of how Māori perceived the agency of objects. This phenomenon has already been described for Te Rauparaha’s weapon *Kimihia*, present at the Kaiapoi Battle, for example. If such an object was transacted with a European person or authority (as it has been), out of ignorance it could have been valued and treated quite differently than it would otherwise be in any Māori setting. Remains of deceased persons might also be in this category, being differently regarded in the ‘figured worlds’ of Māori than in the European world.

Another central feature of the cases in both these chapters is the influence on decision making of other aspects of the knowledge framework upon which indigenous people and *tauiwi* (foreigners) based the logic of their active choices. For Māori this included their perception of unusual natural phenomena as *tohu* or signs from the *atua* (gods or spirits). These were taken very seriously and consulted prior to actions being carried out. Europeans did not perceive them in the same way. What Māori called *tohu* and Europeans called astronomical or natural phenomena, could be regarded also as *equivocations* because they marked different ways of ‘seeing’ and ‘knowing’ things and beings that for Māori, simultaneously inhabited more than one realm. This theme also has been examined in the previous chapters. It features strongly in the Grass Cove incident to be described in the next section of this chapter. In comparison, at Kaiapoi c. 1828, Te Rauparaha interpreted his dream and also the ‘nor’west arch’ or southerly weather front to represent the social situation existing then between Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Toa. Thus he divined his course of action. In 1827 Westland earthquakes were a constant feature of life at the time when the sealers were attacked there. These also, are likely to have had a different influence on the perceptions of Māori than Europeans. In a later time Te Rauparaha interpreted his injury in the 1848 Awatere earthquake as divine retribution for his recent involvement in the Wairau “massacre” (in Chapter two). In this chapter a number of such phenomenological incidents at Queen Charlotte Sound are seen as

implicated in action choices made by Māori in the Grass Cove affair and the preludes to it. After the analyses that follow, their possible interpretation will be elaborated.

### *Transitional turning points leading to violent outcomes*

Determining which were the turning points in a violent sequence first requires the initiating circumstance to be identified. It really is a matter of how far back in time one wants to go in identifying this, as many violent sequences result from intergenerational conflict and traditions about this. These may include an old resentment, perceptions of unethical behaviour, or imbalance of *utu* that have become embedded in rumour or myth and are used to dehumanise people and cast them as ‘other’. Metge has documented one such series of violent sequences amongst Te Aupouri and Te Rārawa over more than two hundred years. The long series of *utu* engagements that maintained an ongoing relationship, including dialogue between the tribes and *takawaenga* marriages, was eventually peacefully resolved (2002: 323-326). The case of Cook’s arrival differs from those described in Chapters five and six: the arrival at Kaiapoi of warriors from the Ngāti Toa alliance, or the arrival of pakeha sealers at Otākou and at Open Bay. These were two situations where the protagonists had been in contact for at least fifty years. For Māori, Cook and Furneaux’s arrival at Queen Charlotte Sound concerned a new group only encountered about six years prior. On Cook’s previous visit in 1769, the Raiatean navigator-priest Tupaia was present. His abilities included mediation and translation; Cook requisitioned them and the visit was peaceful. The sequences described in this chapter, relate to Cook and Furneaux’s 1773 visit, and the circumstance that initiated the violent sequence must therefore be sought in some aspect of the socio-political or natural environment that had changed since Cook had visited in the *Endeavour*.

Both case examples in this chapter relate to a ‘massacre’ at ‘Grass Cove’ that occurred when Furneaux returned from the Pacific after Cook had already departed in November 1773. A set of happenings at the shore camp preceded the incident. They amounted only to a skirmish, though one person was fired at and some of the same social actors were implicated as at Grass Cove. The shore camp happenings shed light in a comparative way on the differing personalities of decision makers, and emphasise that Māori ways of thinking including the role of *tohu* and omens in everyday life was important in their decision-making. In this famous incident, members of a grass cutting party were killed by a group of Māori. There were no survivors and the search party sent

out the next day discovered Māori still celebrating near the beach where the remains of their shipmates were found. In the analysis of these incidents, common features of the two conflict sequences and their transition points are examined. As in the cases described in previous chapters, identification of the social actors who made decisions at these transition points is crucial, because this exposes their possible motivations. It also helps to clarify why violence happened. Amongst the reasons for decisions that led to violence were ontological disjunctions between Māori and European knowledge systems. In other words there were misunderstandings by each party of the ‘other’s way of ‘seeing’ and ‘knowing’ the world (in the manner that Clammer et al. have described, 2004: 3; quoted in Chapter 3: 41). For the Europeans, ‘other’ philosophical and religious belief systems, including Christianity influenced their interpretations of the world, and the assumptions they made about Māori actions and intentions. It is the purpose of this chapter to emphasise these misunderstandings of each other’s rationales for action. For both parties, expectations for the behavioural responses of their ‘others,’ were also due to the personal proclivities as well as the ontological worlds of the social actors concerned.

## December 1773, HMS *Adventure* at Queen Charlotte Sound

### *Contextual Background*

On Cook’s second voyage in 1773, Furneaux arrived first and anchored in Ship’s Cove at about 5 o’clock in the evening of April 7<sup>th</sup>. *Adventure*’s astronomer William Bayly reported that after they moored: “In the evening I observed an eclipse of the moon... the moon was 2/3 of his diameter submerged in shadows” (Journal, in McNab, 1914: 219). For the next two days they were clearing a place on Motuara Island for their tents. They had found the *pā* there deserted, and were visited by two canoes whose occupants were calling for Tupaia. These people were distressed when told that he had died, and sought assurances that Cook or his men had not killed Tupaia. Some others were found to have a wrapped human head in their *waka*, and were very protective of it. Lieutenant Kempe interpreted this situation by stating in his journal that: “The inhabitants here without doubt War with each other, Tribe against Tribe... it can be no longer a doubt that there is traces of cannibalism existing [sic]” (12 April 1773, ATL. MS. Journal. ADM.51/4520/2).

On this day in which there had so recently been a lunar eclipse, an announcement by the mariners of the death of a respected chief (Tupaia), and the death of one of the local people, there then followed on Monday May 11<sup>th</sup>, “two shakes of an earthquake” and “at 7... a large meteor directing its course to this [place]” (William Hawkey, master’s mate, MS. journal 1772-4, Adm. 51/4521/11). These events had coincided with Captain Tobias Furneaux’s arrival, and astronomer Bayly’s occupation of a deserted *pā* site. As there were a number of Maori groups present who were in conflict with one another (Kempe Jnl, op. cit.), the site perhaps remained *tapu*. The record is devoid of any social interpretation of these meteors, either by Māori or European; though the master’s mate William Hawkey suggested that the comet appeared to be “directing its course” (ibid.). Māori are likely to have had an interpretation also. As described in previous chapters such *astronomical and geological events* are likely to have been deemed to be in some way ominous. This also would have been the case with ‘*bad tidings*’ of Tupaia’s death, and the likelihood that the *desertion of the Motuara pā* was also because of its association with death or warfare, and that it therefore remained *tapu*. Additionally, on June 23<sup>rd</sup> 1773, when Cook and Furneaux departed on the ‘winter voyage’, both were expressing their concern that some of their men who had been involved in *sexual encounters with Māori women*, were now exhibiting symptoms of venereal disease which they had probably transmitted to the locals (in Thomas & Berghof, 2000: 135). Even aside from any perceptions by Māori of imbalance in material exchange value ‘payments’, all these issues may then have been a reason for negative *utu* to be invoked during that first visit by Furneaux. Since the necessity for payment of *utu* does not have to be satisfied instantly, these matters are likely to have ‘festered’ as part of local hearsay and commentary whilst the sailors were away on the winter voyage.

On May 18<sup>th</sup> Cook announced his arrival from Dusky Bay and this was replied to when the *Adventure* party stationed at the disused *pā* on Motuara island just described, fired a gun in reply (Harvey, ATL. Adm., Reel 1565). The Captains remained vigilant throughout their visit, despite the apparently ‘good relations’ with the chiefs with whom they continued to ‘trade’. Some remembered Captain Cook from the Endeavour visit in 1769. Nothing really violent happened at this stage, though Bayly reported that a number of Maori men came aboard and interfered with the raising of casks out of the hold. They had to be sent away under threat. In contrast, both Furneaux and midshipman Constable said that they were “trading very peaceably”, but by the end of their stay the fish supplies

were beginning to run low and crews were allowed only two thirds rations (Willis, MS. Journal, May 21<sup>st</sup> 1773, ATL.ADM. 51/4554/119). All these factors preceded the departure of Cook and Furneaux into the Pacific on the “winter voyage” and so ongoing discourse about them would have been in play for both Māori and the Europeans. They would only have required a trigger to set the *utu* cycle in motion again when Cook and Furneaux returned after their subsequent winter voyage into the Pacific. All would then have contributed to the nature of their receptions when they returned separately in November.

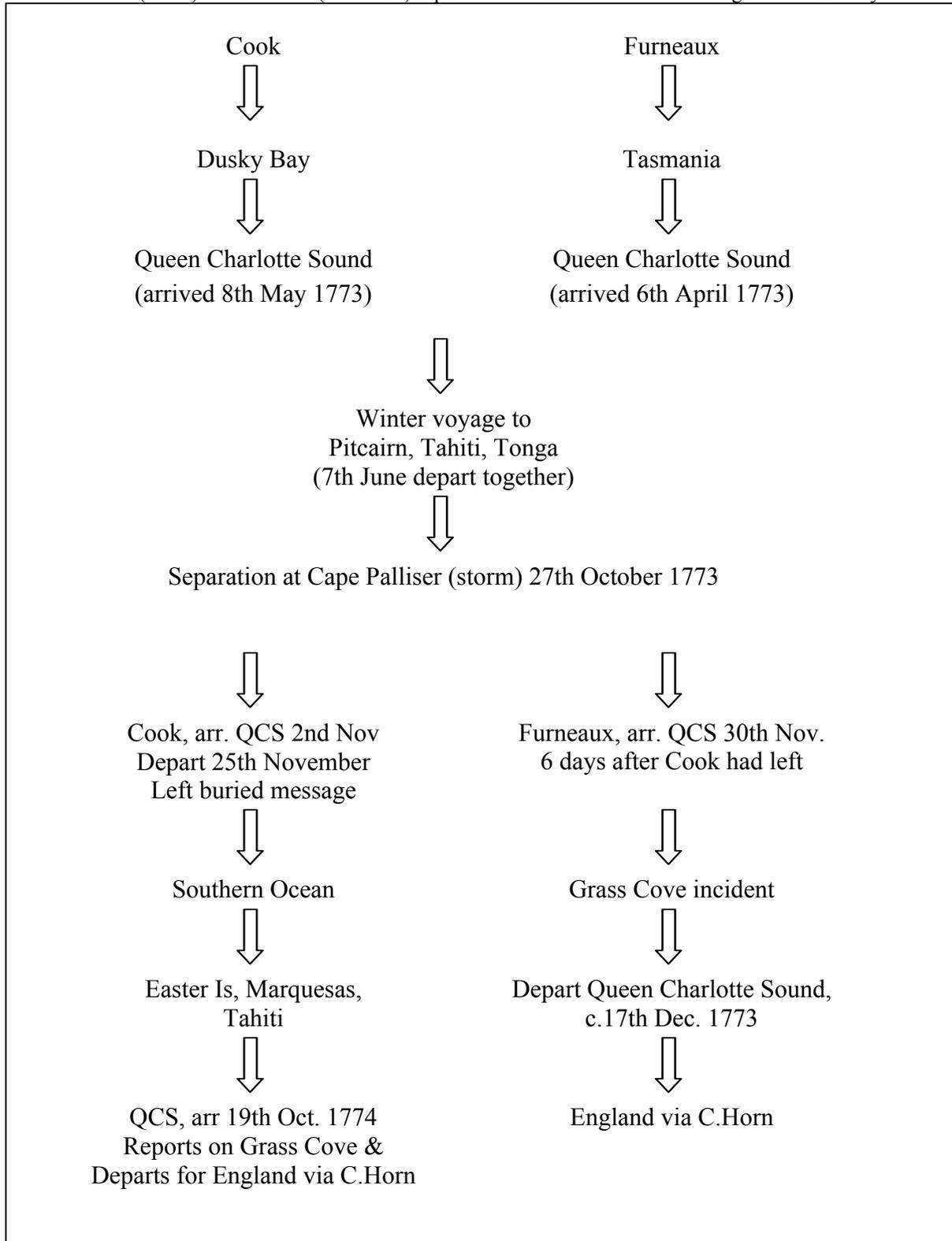
This was therefore the situation when the English ships left for the Pacific on what became known as the “winter voyage”. Furneaux had arrived at Queen Charlotte Sound on the 6<sup>th</sup> April and Cook on the 8<sup>th</sup> May after they had been separated by a storm in the Southern Ocean. Both parties remained at Ship’s Cove, reprovisioning and repairing their ships, ‘trading’ and interacting with the locals, and then accompanied each other to spend the winter in the Pacific. After again becoming separated from Furneaux at Cape Palliser on the return voyage, Cook arrived and departed on the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> November respectively. Furneaux returned on the 30<sup>th</sup> November after Cook had already departed, and the “Grass Cove” incident occurred on the 17<sup>th</sup> December. If Māori had ‘issues’ with anything that happened as a result of the behaviour and dealings of either Cook’s or Furneaux’s men on their first visit, then any remaining *utu* ‘debts’, could have been legitimately enforced since delayed reciprocity is one possible facet of *utu* practice. As noted in the account of the sealers at Open Bay, it may be acted out against any associates or relatives of the group perceived as having contravened the practices of *mana* and *tapu*. Sometimes it could even happen that the *utu*<sup>74</sup> could be satisfied by killing the first person who happened by chance to cross the path of a war party because they had inadvertently invaded the *tapu* space of the warriors. These concepts were not completely understood by the European visitors who saw *utu* as revenge, and equitable payment for goods or services as something else. Nor did they foresee in the same way that their interpretation of fair trading would cause social hierarchy complications within local groups, when they paid the same ‘price’ to all people regardless of their *mana* and intrinsic *tapu*. On the other hand, it is also unlikely that Māori fully appreciated that their ‘others’ were operating under a different knowledge system and power structure than they were themselves. This bears out what Clammer et al. have said about the possibilities of cross cultural ignorance leading to violence because of the different knowledge systems

involved (2004: 3). It should be emphasised, however, that despite the possible *ariā*, *omens* and reasons for *utu* being invoked by Māori, the mariner's journals do not reveal any significant violence during the course of the first visit when Furneaux's party and Cook's were in the cove before the winter voyage.

When Cook arrived back from the Pacific after the winter voyage things began to change. There is ample evidence in the voyage journals of a developing pressure on resources from various tribal entities and Europeans; that tension amongst them was expressed through a number of 'thefts'. Between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> of November a watch coat and some linen, some brewing utensils, and half a dozen water casks were stolen from the watering camp, and the chief Te Ratu 'pick-pocketed' a handkerchief out of Cook's pocket and laughed about it when detected. All but the water casks were returned after Cook demanded them back by talking with Te Ratu, and Cook wrote: "... our casks will be the least loss... as these people were very useful in providing us with fish" (Journal, 6<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1773). More and more valuable 'curiosities' – *pounamu* weapons, cloaks, paddles and other items (that they had not previously traded) – were on offer. The Europeans appreciated and valued these cultural items, but they certainly did not appreciate the deep and complex meanings that *pounamu* and cloaks in particular had for Māori. That is, they did not really understand their *value* or their agency as social actors. It is also entirely possible that the Maori 'internal conflicts' observed by Cook and his men facilitated the provision to them of exchange 'trade' goods through inter-*iwi* raiding to provide the exchange items. Ethnographer G. Forster showed some insight when he wrote: "... I am much afraid that their unhappy differences with other tribes were revived on our account..." (Journal 22<sup>nd</sup> November 1773, in N. Thomas & O. Berghof (eds.), 2000; cf. Orchiston & Horrocks, 1975: 535-6)

### The Winter Voyage

*Resolution* (Cook) & *Adventure* (Furneau) separated in the Southern Ocean in a gale 8th February 1773



The series of scuffles that preceded the ‘massacre’ at Grass Cove will now be analysed, for its actors, sequence, and turning points. It will then be compared, using the same type of analysis for the ‘massacre’ that followed. That is, the development of a situation that Burney ultimately had to deal with when Furneaux’s grass cutters went missing at Grass Cove will be considered, together with this contextual background and the roles of particular social actors, their choices and possible motivations.

### *Social actors and their actions*

For both violent sequences, the social actors, their motivations and actions will be shown to have been influenced by matters of personality, education and cultural identity, as well as by the knowledge systems which informed them. In particular the actions scrutinised will be social and material transactions that ultimately led to violent outcomes. The role of the social actors, both human and otherwise will be considered in comparison with each other and with the previous incidents described in Chapters four and five where violence between *iwi*, and violence between Māori and sealers have been described.

### *Transitional turning points and violence at Furneaux’s shore camp*

One of the first activities undertaken by the crew when they found a suitable anchorage was to set up the shore camp as a base for the ‘wooders’ and ‘waterers’, and for the astronomer to set up his instruments. Initially it involved a boat’s crew and some persons with firearms to act as sentries. A ship’s arrival was usually met with several large canoe parties, accompanied by a chiefly orator. Other groups in smaller *waka* often visited the shore camp to exchange things and observe what was going on. This happened after the shore party set up at Ship’s Cove, Queen Charlotte Sound when Furneaux arrived on November 30<sup>th</sup> after the winter voyage. Cook had been and gone, and Furneaux was unaware of the deteriorating socio-political situation that had pertained prior to his arrival. After finding Cook’s buried message and instructions, he spent just over two weeks refurbishing and stocking the ship for a relatively quick departure. Lieutenant Burney, Furneaux’s second in command, was sent to supervise the shore party, and astronomer Bayly set up his instruments. There were three tents, a ship’s tent, an observatory tent (where Bayly slept) and another small tent for Bayly’s servant. It was here at the shore

camp that four incidents occurred. They seem to have been focused on ‘thefts’ that appear to have been planned. This series of incidents happened over the period of a week.

The *immediate initiating circumstance* was when the shore party allowed a number of locals to sit on the beach in the daytime. This led to temptation, as during their short stay members of the crew were keen to acquire ‘curiosities’ as souvenirs of their visit. During the week they were being watched at night even though Lieutenant fBurney had told the locals that they should not be there after dark, and a sentry was on watch.

9-10<sup>th</sup> December

The *first transition point* was when the sentry left his post briefly, *noticed* a Māori scout sitting by the fire, *decided* to tell Burney and ‘all hands got up’. They called Bayly and he called his servant. Nobody saw anything so they returned to bed, and Bayly instructed the sentry to wake him if there was any further trouble. The sentry *did so* when he saw a canoe crossing the bay and in the bright moonlight *they both saw* another two canoes heading for the bay’s mouth. They went together to the beach where the canoes were under the shade of some trees.

The *second transition point* was when Bayly *risked* sending the sentry to tell Lieut. Burney and the others, and went alone to *verbally threaten* the paddlers in Māori, not to approach: “I told them to go away or I would kill them (in their language)” (McNab. 1914: 215). He *fired a shot over their heads*, causing them to leave “with precipitation”. All the other members of the camp arrived and there were no further problems (Bayly, jnl. 10<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1773).

*14-15 December.* After 5 days of trading on board the ship and on shore, *the third transition point* happened when the occupants of several canoes arrived on shore, seeming to want to “reconnoitre our situation”. The people at the shore camp kept trading as normal, but were on a heightened alert, and continued to post their sentry, warning him to be vigilant. Bayly, focusing on his astronomical observations, stayed up late making star altitude readings. He set his alarm to make further observations, so he was having an interrupted sleep. His observatory and sleeping tent was windy, so he covered the entrance with his greatcoat, weighted down by the metal box containing his tools, and his quadrant.

The *fourth transition point* was when Bayly was woken with a start, not by his alarm, but by the rattling sound of someone interfering with the tools and box containing them. Bayly sat up, grabbed his gun, and asked who was there. He dressed, took his

lantern and gun, found a hatchet, saw and hammer were missing, and went to accuse the sentry of taking them. The man assured him that he was not the culprit, and he and the sentry then returned to the beach. They had one gun between them as the sentry had left his beside the fire. On returning to camp they saw a man coming out of the ship's tent, and they again challenged this. He was carrying a 'load' of things that he threw down, and ran away.

Bayly *decided* to chase him, tried to club him, fell down, still managed to shoot at him, but was unable to catch him before he escaped into the woods. This was the *fifth transition point*. Bayly was focused on catching the thieves. He took one man with him and they both tried to place themselves strategically by the rocks at low water, to cut them off.

*The sixth transition point* was when another person, not understanding their intent, saved the 'enemy' by exposing their position when he ran towards them with a lantern. A second attempt also failed because Bayly made a noise by tripping on a stone and he fired at the 'Indian' whom he saw in the distance. Those on board *Adventure* heard the shot at 11pm and rowed ashore to assist. They "... traced one of the Indians by his blood some distance... he could not be found..." but they located "great quantities of things which they had stole from us" – some on the rocks and some in a canoe – all of which they confiscated. That night Bayly reported seeing a very large meteor that "fell towards the horizon" (Kempe, jnl. 16<sup>th</sup> Dec.; Bayly, jnl 14<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1773).

The *last transition point* occurred the following morning when the 'owners' of the canoe came aboard *Adventure* asking for their canoe back, a request that was granted (Begg & Begg, 1970: 127).

### *Social actors*

*Captain Tobias Furneaux* had Devon-Cornish connections and has been described by Beaglehole as "humane... an excellent executive rather than ruminative... a good seaman... not really an explorer". He had been a second lieutenant in the *Dolphin* under Wallis in the Pacific, and George Robinson, the master described him as: "a Gentele Agreeable Well behaved Good man and very humain to all the Ship's company [sic]" (Australian Dictionary of Biography, online, 12. 6. 2012). These comments by an officer contemporary of Furneaux are borne out by casual references to his actions during the *Adventure* voyage that were recorded by various crewmembers. Whilst he tended to

remain aboard ship at Queen Charlotte Sound when they were not accompanied by Cook and his crew, Furneaux was cautious and conscientious about the welfare of his men, several times sending a boat's crew with assistance when he had the feeling that their help may be required. He intervened when his officers were about to seriously injure Bayly on their voyage across the Tasman Sea. He sent a boat to "Hippah Island" and ordered the astronomer, his assistants and guards to return to the ship when he saw a *waka* heading in that direction (Bayly, Journal March 27<sup>th</sup>; 9<sup>th</sup> April 1773). Although Furneaux seems to have delegated responsibility for the command of the shore camp entirely to Burney, he also sent a boat ashore at 11pm to render assistance when those aboard the *Adventure* heard the sound of Bayly's gun shot (Kempe jnl. *ibid.*). Furthermore he had concern for the effects of venereal disease brought upon the local Māori women, which he shared with Cook when they were departing for the winter voyage (G. Forster, in Thomas & Berghof (eds.), 2000: 135-7).

*Lieutenant James Burney* was the 23-year old son of Charles Burney, musician and author. He was sent to sea at 10 years old as the personal servant of a ship's captain. After enlisting as a midshipman on the *Resolution*, he was promoted to second Lieutenant on the *Adventure* in November 1772, taking the place of Joseph Shank because of the latter's promotion to the *Resolution*: " Burney... is our personality on board the *Adventure*... one of the most interesting of Cook's officers, a thorough seaman... lively, observant... articulate... the great scholar of Pacific exploration... " (Beaglehole, 1974: 288-301). He must have had some facility in the Tahitian language, as he became the interpreter for Omai during his visit to England via Queen Charlotte Sound after the third visit of the second voyage. Mai, in turn was helpful with translating for Cook's party during that visit. Referring to the Māori people at Queen Charlotte, he noted that Furneaux had a 'catalogue of words in their language which they were desirous of having', so it is likely that he could communicate using them. Burney was a figure in the literary world, and became a personal friend of Joseph Banks, Charles Lamb, William Hazlitt and Samuel Johnston. He became a writer on his retirement (McNab, 1908: 113; [www.burneycentre.mcgill.ca](http://www.burneycentre.mcgill.ca), online, 8/11/2007).

*Astronomer William Bayly* was, along with draughtsman Cleveley and secretary Bacstrum, a gentleman employee of Joseph Banks, but was provisioned by the navy. He had been a farm boy from Wiltshire, who excelled at mathematics and became an assistant at the Royal Observatory. Later in life he became the First Master at the Royal

Academy of His Majesty's Dockyard, Portsmouth, and a man of some substance. Robert Mackie, Bayly's servant accompanied him on the *Adventure* voyage. Mackie later became a naval officer. All of them were supernumeraries. In July 1772, Cook notified Furneaux that the Parliamentary Commissioners for the discovery of longitude at sea had appointed William Bayly to "make nautical and astronomical observations, and to perform other services tending to the improvement of astronomy and navigation". Furneaux was to provide suitable accommodation, assistance and support, and Bayly was to:

be furnished with proper boats... sufficient number of men... to protect him from danger during his stay, landing at the same time a sufficient quantity of provisions and necessaries for his use... [and] to cause... Mr Bayly, with his servant to be victualled... in the same manner as the sloop's companies (Cook, letters, Plymouth, 3 July 1772, in McNab, 1908: 101-2).

There were also very precise instructions as to how Bayly was to be assisted in monitoring and winding the experimental chronometers. Burney noted on their first arrival at Queen Charlotte Sound that they had "settled the astronomer with his instruments and a sufficient guard, on a small island called the Hippah where there was an old fortified town that the natives had forsaken" (Beaglehole, 1969, Vol. 2: 119). Bayly wrote that one of the 'guard' who accompanied him was a highland piper, normally a robust person, but suffering seriously from scurvy. According to Bayly's own journal, he was a sober man and apparently did not mix much with the officers. While they were in the Tasman sea having been separated from *Resolution* in the Southern Ocean, the officers had a serious drinking session, and tried to break down his cabin door and force him to give them more alcohol:

... they all came on me and I was forced out of the steerage... felt several blows on my head & the surgeon threatened to strike me with a hammer... but the Captn. coming put an end to the scuffle (Mar. 27<sup>th</sup> 1773, ATL.MS-Copy-micro-0343).

He appears as an orderly man, somewhat of a loner, assiduous in carrying out his astronomical duties and recording his observations. Having taken the trouble to learn enough Māori language to communicate successfully with them, he tried to dissuade them from stealing, by communicating verbally in the first instance. All in all, Bayly does not seem to have been looked after according to orders. His little observatory tent with the 'small tent' of Mackie, his servant, where they slept alone, were a small distance away from the 'ship tent', and there appears to have been one sentry stationed for the whole camp. It is unsurprising that Bayly, when he felt threatened, decided to take the defence of his equipment into his own hands.

*The ‘thief’ – this person – or these persons* (for he was not acting alone, as the arrival of two supporting *waka* crews, and the shadowy figures lurking in the bush testifies) was obviously focused on stealing things rather than on violence. He (or they) could easily have overcome the whole shore camp by force of numbers and surprise, given that the sentries were not exactly being vigilant. On both occasions he was detected the ‘thief’ ran off into the bushes with his booty, and did not turn and fight though he was fired at and finally injured. As Bayly and the sentry discovered, he had a support party in a *waka*; so this was a planned ‘attack’. Orchiston and Horrocks have described it as *murū* or punishment by ritual raiding (1975: 534-536). However this seems unlikely as it was not pre-announced, and stealth was involved. They were not overt about their behaviour. *Utu* seems a possible motivation, but this could also have been to test the strength of Bayly’s *mana* and *tapu*. The scout did not take Bayly’s astronomical instruments, but only his tools. However he did take a *more tapu* item – the astronomer’s hat. This could have been seen by Māori as taking a *tohunga*’s head gear, something that had been in contact with his most *tapu* body region and with his hair.

*The sentry* – There was probably more than one person performing this role at the camp, and the persons normally designated were the ship’s marines. Ordinary sailors may also have been sentries at times. George Forster described them:

... inured... to all kinds of perils... they do not feel for themselves sufficiently to provide for their own safety... must be incapable of feeling for others... they have expressed a horrid eagerness to fire upon the natives on the slightest pretences... (in Thomas & Berghof, 1999: 99).

Yet, it is impossible to generalise. Though this may have been the culture aboard, people acted agentively as individuals, especially in the more unpredictable environment ashore, and Bayly’s journal tells a different story. Twelve marines are listed in the *Adventure* muster – a Lieutenant, a sergeant, a corporal, a drummer and nine privates. Only two have been described: Second Lieutenant James Scott, whom Beaglehole says had “quite a real derangement of the mind which made him a difficult shipmate” (in Beaglehole, 1955: ccxxxii), and the Sergeant, whom Bayly described as an “active sober, good man”. However, Bayly makes other comments about what the sentries were like. They appear to have been quite relaxed about their duties – one leaving his post briefly to “to get some tobacco” and then finding a Māori scout by the fire at night; another doing his washing by the fire at night, and then leaving his gun behind when he accompanied Bayly to the beach looking for a ‘thief’. For a person on watch at night, both these people

seem to have had a casual attitude. Then there is the ‘highland piper’ mentioned by Burney who suffered quite severely from scurvy. If this is so, then one has to bear in mind that the ‘attitude’ of some men may have been a reflection of their state of health. The highland piper was a marine and is unlikely to have been the only one with scurvy. Nevertheless, it appears odd that Burney had not detailed more than one person at the shore camp for these duties, given that the shore party was quite outnumbered by locals who were already known to be in conflict with their neighbours. It also appears that Bayly’s shipmates did not share his concern about ‘theft,’ to any degree.

### *Things as social actors*

Astronomer Bayly was very attached to his ‘things’. In particular his astronomical equipment, Southsea curiosities, manuscripts, books and papers were almost the only items sufficiently valued by him to be left to close friends in his will (Public Record Office, UK, Probate ref. 11/1519). However, Furneaux’s account of 24<sup>th</sup> November 1773 confirms that many ‘things’ helped define the interactions that he and his crew had with Māori at Queen Charlotte Sound:

Whilst we lay there, the inhabitants came on board as before supplying us with fish, and other things of their own manufacture, which we bought of them for nails etc. and appeared very friendly, though twice in the middle of the night they came to the tent with an intention to steal; but were discovered before they could get anything in their possession.

The things that were targeted for ‘theft’ can provide some insights into the motivations of those doing the stealing, and the differing value judgments made by both parties regarding these ‘things’. Bayly noted the things: a hatchet, saw and hammer, the astronomer’s hat, two bags of linen, two muskets and a cutlass. During Cook’s stay just beforehand there was also the ‘theft’ of six water casks, and Te Ratu’s open stealing of Cook’s handkerchief. These stolen items have something in common with what local Māori were interested in exchanging at this time when *Resolution* and *Adventure* had just returned from the winter voyage to the Pacific, and had brought with them more supplies of “Otaheiti cloth”, a very popular exchange item. During their November stay, both Cook and George Forster mentioned this cloth, as well as “Red Baize”, hatchets and nails being what they gave in exchange for fish and greenstone adzes. The value placed upon cloth was described numerous times by Cook and Furneaux’s crew in their journals. That Māori “brought vast quantities for fish” to exchange for this, was perhaps in their view, a

reflection of the labour that Māori thought was involved in its manufacture, and also the other more esoteric measures that they might have applied to it within their own ontological worlds. On the other hand, Bayly had noted that on their April visit, Māori had frequently brought great quantities of fish and “often would receive nothing for them” (9<sup>th</sup> April, 1773) so there may have been an inequity in exchange which motivated thefts at times.

The nature of the cloth and its colour (red and white) being associated with *mana* and *tapu* are also significant here, and so is the symbolic significance of the astronomer’s hat. What also needs consideration is the issue that whenever ‘*tapu* meets *tapu*’ there is always a potential for violence because of the fact that unbalanced *utu* may arise. Shirres has described this situation in respect of the *tapu* of persons, and also the derivative *tapu* that things such as the astronomer’s hat might acquire because of their association with the *tapu* of persons who own and use them (1997: 40). Tapsell (1997: 323-74) has described how some things also have a *tapu* and *mana* of their own, and though Marsden (1992: 120-121, in King ed.) has said that the *tapu* of things is less than that of persons, it is all relative, and conceivable that *some* things such as a chief’s war cloak may be much more *tapu* than a slave, for example. Nevertheless, when objects were exchanged, then the issue of *tapu* ‘meeting’ *tapu* was the same. There was the *tapu* person meeting the other *tapu* person, but also one could have a *tapu* object meeting another *tapu* object, or a *tapu* object meeting a *tapu* person, and so on. There is a potential not only for inequity in value between objects (in the European sense), but also for perceptions of unbalanced *utu*, which could be invoked at any time, in respect of any ‘thing’ exchanged or given. This would include perceptions of the ‘value’ of hospitality given or received, for example. What Europeans considered as ‘theft’ may simply have been an attempt by Māori to redress an imbalance of payment regarding the *mana* and *tapu* of the donor and of the object or thing donated. This could be an insult or failure to respect their *tapu*. *Tapu* was ‘meeting’ *tapu*, an *utu* imbalance arose, and so did violence. To quote Shirres: “The meeting of *tapu* with *tapu* is dynamic. It is constructive or destructive, never neutral... Creature meets creature. Person meets person... Sometimes these meetings are constructive and sometimes destructive as in... warfare.”(1997: 37-8). Māori had different techniques for pursuing *utu*. Not all of them were physically violent. Some simply involved oratory, song, and verbal duelling, whilst others involved a form of ritual plunder or *muru*. This may be what happened when items were stolen from the shore

camp as Orchiston & Horrocks have suggested (1975: 534-536). However, there are other ways of looking at these thefts from the shore camp. Māori would have considered the things as prestigious clothing items and weapons with corresponding *mana* and potential for enhancing *mana*. If they could be obtained by deceit or cunning then the *mana* and *tapu* of their owners would become diminished correspondingly. It should be noted that the astronomer could have been perceived by Māori as the equivalent to a *tōhunga*: living apart in a dedicated tent, with a ‘slave’, well-dressed, respected, paying particular attention to the heavens, having specialized equipment for doing so and also used for navigating the ship, and so on. His instruments, tools and weapons may have been seen as having a certain *mana* and therefore gaining them would have been at least as desirable for local Māori to ‘steal’ as was Boulton and Perkins’s whaleboat (Chapter six). The ultimate archetypal metaphor of this kind of behaviour in Polynesian myth, would be the ‘theft’ by the hero Māui of his grandmother Mahuika’s fingernails to obtain fire and thereby diminish her power by deception: “Katahi ka mohio taua ruahine nei, anaa, he tinihanga taa tenei tangata!”<sup>75</sup> (Te Rangikaheke, 1992: 41; R. T. M. Tau, pers. comm.). It was a meeting of *tapu* with *tapu*, and this dynamic situation ultimately was not constructive or neutral for Māui who failed and was finally defeated by death after he had attempted to conquer it by entering the vagina of Hine-nui-te-Pō to tear out her heart and stop the life-death cycle (R. Taylor, 1855: 31).

In situations of social interaction by exchange and also by theft, things had roles to play both passively as material objects and also in some cases, being efficacious in their own right. Europeans were unlikely to have understood the spiritual and genealogical meanings for Polynesians of cloth, weapons and tools that have their own *mana* in addition to their material usage. It is not any more surprising that these items were sought, if not by exchange, then by ‘theft.’ Like the *pounamu* weapons at Kaiapoi, they can be seen in their life trajectories to have had social effects that went far beyond their initial material ‘value’. Nor is the interest that Māori had in the astronomer’s instruments, tools and clothing surprising for many of the heavenly phenomena they were used to observe were also of interest to Māori. During Furneaux’s first visit and within a day or so of his arrival, there had been a lunar eclipse, an earthquake and a meteor which astronomer Bayly had been observing. Māori would have known this. At certain times, for them, the stars, comets, meteors, and moon constituted *aria* – beings in another realm whose

relationships and interactions played out in the heavens would be reflected as the outcome of other interactions yet to be, where ‘*tapu* would meet *tapu*’:

There is another sign to be observed, which is that of a star assailing the moon. If the star so attacking (approaching) the moon is on the side toward you, and on your right, you know that star to be yours – tomorrow your enemy will be in your hands; but if that star is on your enemy’s side... you at once know it to be your enemy’s star: hence be wary. (Nihoniho, 1913: 52; cf. R. Taylor, 1855[1974]: 42).

Perhaps they saw possession of the astronomical equipment and the astronomer’s hat as a means by which *mana* and *tapu* could, on the one hand be destroyed, and on the other hand be gained. It was a dynamic situation that could be destructive for one person and constructive for another, as Shirres has said (*ibid.*).

### Summary of Shore Camp incidents

Analysis of the shore camp situation at Furneaux’s base in Queen Charlotte Sound, and the transactional sequences that followed, demonstrates how the personal decision-making of one individual can cause a transaction sequence to go wrong and lead unnecessarily to violence. For the Europeans at the shore camp, this decision-making revolved around the conceptualization of what constitutes ownership and ‘theft’. How these were understood became a contested matter because ownership and theft were configured differently within the knowledge system their counterparts were operating from. To return to Chapter two, where theft is presented as a kind of violence (a threat to the safety of a person, their reputation etc.) my linguistic consideration of the Māori and Western concepts of violence shows these were not understood simply as physical manifestations of threat, and this holds true within both knowledge systems. However, non-physical violence does have a different emphasis for Māori and encompasses some metaphysical aspects that are now generally absent from the Western model. These would include the genealogical relationship of persons with the Gods. The *mana* and *tapu* which *tāngata* Māori have thereby inherited must be respected if violence is to be avoided when “*tapu* meets *tapu*”, as it always does during transactional situations where people meet each other (cf. Shirres, 1997: 37).

For the situation that arose at the shore camp, it is argued that *from a European perspective*, the point where the sequence began to go wrong was right at the beginning, when local Māori decided to ignore Burney’s request that they remove themselves from their own beach at night whilst some *tauiwi* (foreigners) camped and were gathering

resources there. As the shore camp was also a place where exchange transactions were taking place, Burney and his men wanted to encourage Māori to be there during the daytime. They were keen to obtain the ‘curiosities’ on offer so people could admire them and perhaps purchase them on their return home to England. They were also interested in the women. There was apparently no consideration given to the possibility that Māori might ‘own’ the land, or have a right to camp where they pleased, and keep visitors under surveillance. *In Māori terms* the occupation of their beach should be subject to their terms of reference when it comes to ‘rules of engagement’ and this certainly would not involve telling them to go away at night. To require them to leave would be to ‘*takahi mana*’ (lit. trample on their *mana* or honour and spiritual power). This could be interpreted as bad manners or insolence depending upon the choice of the Māori decision maker. Theft or raiding (*muru*) could then be regarded as a warning or *utu* (payment), and if not heeded could subsequently be followed by physical assault or death.

Again, from a European perspective, the definitive turning point involved Bayly, when he decided to go down to the beach with a gun, trying to catch the ‘thief’ and recover his property. Given how passionate he was about his astronomical gear and tools, and that he most likely felt very insecure, this behaviour is understandable, but knowing that he was outnumbered, it was quite irrational. Decision-making in violent sequences is not always rational, but is often based on fear or anger. This is then likely to be why Bayly challenged the support party in the *waka* by trying to scare them with a gunshot, and possibly injuring someone else.

## Summary Chart

Transitional Turning Points	Justification for action or reaction
Initiator Furneaux decides to order set up of shore <b>camp</b> .	a. <i>Gives priority</i> to majority of crew & <i>resources</i> on board ship. b. <i>Strategically</i> distances himself from local repercussions. c. Division of labour for <i>provisioning</i> ship.
1. Action (Europeans) i. <b>Furneaux</b> designates <b>Burney</b> as commander & sends wooders, waterers & <b>marines</b> to set up <b>tents</b> & get <b>provisions</b> . ii. <b>Bayly</b> sets up his <b>instruments</b> .	a. <i>Reliable</i> officer, culturally sensitive. b. Always <i>vigilant</i> , from prior experience (navy personnel) & current political situation- <i>pro-active defence</i> . c. <i>Protection</i> for men & equipment. d. <i>Resource</i> exchange – food and ‘curiosities’ for ‘trade’ items (value).
2 Action (Māori) i. <b>Canoes</b> arrive & people settle down on the beach. ii. Local Māori watch what is happening & engage in exchange. iii. <i>Theft</i> of <b>water casks</b> & <b>other items</b> . iv. <b>Māori scout</b> ‘hanging about’ the camp at night.	a. <i>Strategic opportunism</i> -gaining knowledge of the camp & people b. <i>Mana</i> – of gaining new items. c. Potential of <i>utu</i> for unbalanced reciprocity in exchange.
3. Action (European) i. <b>Burney</b> tells them that they can stay during the day but not at night.	a. <i>Risk assessment</i> - wanting to maintain good ‘trading’ relations. b. <i>Anxiety</i> about nocturnal attacks - vigilance. c. Knowledge and <i>discourse</i> re <i>cannibalism</i> and that they are at <i>war</i> with each other. d. <i>Fear</i> of attack & <i>defence</i> - relying on marines.
Reaction (Māori) i. <b>Māori scout</b> ‘hanging about’ the camp at night. ii. Plan to attack by night; sending <b>canoes</b> across the bay to target the vicinity of the camp.	a. Targeted the astronomer’s hat, equipment. Testing astronomer’s <i>mana</i> . b. <i>Strategy</i> for success in obtaining resources. c. Pleasure and excitement ( <i>murū</i> ).
4. Action (Europeans) i. <b>Sentry</b> leaves his post briefly, observes the scout & tells Burney who tells the others. ii. <b>Bayly</b> asks to be woken if it happens again. iii. Sentry alerts Bayly. Both see 2 <b>canoes coming</b> . iv. <b>Bayly sends Sentry to Burney</b> , goes to the beach, threatens crew verbally, & fires a <b>shot</b> over their heads.	a. <i>Risktaking</i> with unexpected consequences. b. <i>Anxiety/fear</i> and vigilance. c. <i>Proactive strategy</i> , responsibility for others. d. Risktaking and evaluation, using negotiating skills and <i>threat</i> behaviour – taking a courageous risk despite being a non-military person (honour cf. <i>mana</i> ).
5. Action (Māori) a. <b>Canoes</b> continue to visit shore camp – overtly ‘spying’. Reaction (Europeans) i. <b>Sentry</b> posted & told to be vigilant. ii. <b>Bayly’s gun</b> beside his pillow; <b>tent</b> closed with a <b>coat</b> weighted down by a <b>metal box</b> .	a. Persistence, <i>confidence</i> in numbers and <i>mana-whenua</i> .
6. Action (Māori) a. A ‘ <b>thief</b> ’ is in the camp. Reaction (European) i. <b>Bayly</b> woken by sound of thief taking his <b>things</b> , grabs <b>gun</b> , <b>dresses</b> , takes <b>gun &amp; lamp</b> & goes to beach with sentry. ii. <b>Sentry</b> is washing <b>linen</b> – leaves <b>gun</b> behind & both of them go to the beach. iii. <b>Bayly</b> chases thief, falls, shoots, hides, trips & thief gets away.	a. Determination to <i>plunder</i> or take things. a. <i>Anger, fear/both</i> , realising his equipment and hat gone- risktaking therefore. b. Sentry <i>not alert</i> , not taking job seriously, thoughtless, risk-taking. c. Wanting to get his ‘things’ back.
7. Action (European) i. 11pm <i>Adventure</i> crew heard <b>Bayly’s shot</b> ; sent boat ashore. Followed a <b>blood</b> trail from <b>Bayly’s</b> location. Find stolen <b>property</b> in a <b>canoe</b> – confiscated. Reaction (Māori) i. They approached <b>Furneaux</b> on board <i>Adventure</i> in the morning and were given the <b>canoe</b> back.	a. Investigating the cause of the shot - Reacted with <i>assistance</i> and <i>retribution</i> . a. Considered a canoe to be of greater <i>value</i> than the goods they had taken ( <i>murū?</i> ).

## A Sequel: Furneaux's Grass-Cutting Party at Grass Cove

### *Contextual background and prelude to the conflict*

On the very same visit to Queen Charlotte Sound as the incident just described occurred, Furneaux, having missed Captain Cook by only a few days, was preparing to leave. The boat's crew who had been sent to collect greens failed to return as instructed and were discovered by Burney to have all been killed. There only remained the sad evidence 'after the fact' for Burney and his fellow boat's crew to examine. However, Cook returned for a third time in October 1777 before returning to England after having again been in the Southern Ocean. It was not until his next voyage then, that he discovered some further truths about the 'massacre', by talking with some of the Māori participants and observers. With him was Mai who had accompanied him from the Pacific and was able to translate to some extent. By this time also he had two Māori speaking crewmembers, surgeons Anderson and Samwell. It is from both Burney's and Cook's detective work that it has been possible to reconstruct some details of the violent sequence involved. What follows is therefore not presented in the sequence in which the understandings emerged, but it is a reconstruction of what appears to have actually occurred. The only *eyewitness* reports of the actual 'massacre' are from Māori informants, who described the incident to Captain Cook and others *four years* after the event. These reports are recounted in the journal of astronomer Bayly (who spoke some Māori) and with the aid of the aforementioned Mai, a Tahitian aboard *Resolution* when they visited Ship's Cove in 1777.

### *Transition Points at Grass Cove*

The *immediate initiating circumstance* was Furneaux's order and the detailing of the men to collect greens. These were John Rowe the master's mate, the quartermaster, the Captain's black servant James Tobias Sevilley and six able seamen "which were the ablest men and seamen on the ship" to row the boat (Arthur Kempe, jnl. 19<sup>th</sup> Mar. 1773). They took with them 5 muskets, 3 fowling pieces and 3 cutlasses, and were ordered to return at 3pm.

The *first transition point* apparently occurred after the greens had been gathered and the men were seated at the beach, leaving Furneaux's servant James Sevilley in the boat to keep it afloat. The local chief Kahura and his people were also sitting on the beach with

them when a theft occurred. *One of them stole something* from the boat. There are several versions of what was stolen and by whom:

Kahura and Tibbarooa both said it was a jacket taken from a European. Cook was told a different version of this Māori story and both he and King reported it. Kahura [aka. Kiwooroo] had offered a hatchet, and when he obtained nothing in return they grabbed some bread. Yet another version told to Zimmerman, describes the theft by a European of something from a Māori hut.

The *second transition point* was when the Europeans reacted violently to whichever theft occurred. Kahura said that the ‘thief’ was “struck across the head by [Sevilley] with a stick or sword in its scabbard... on which the man cried out he was Mattied, viz. kill’d. [Rowe] also jumped up and shot two of his men... he [Kahura] then killed them all but kept the... officer till last” (Bayly, MS- copy-Micro-0343 jnl; McNab 1914: 219). The report of another chief, Pitirau, varied in detail but the key issue that both stories have in common is that theft was the trigger and that the whole scene became violent when Rowe fired his gun and killed two people.

The *third transition point* was when Kahura’s people retaliated. This was Kahura’s land. Samwell was later informed by the youth Tayweherooa that when Rowe had shot the thief: “The New Zealanders immediately sallied out of the woods and got between our People and the Boat... with their Pata patoos... and they were easily overpowered.” (Samwell, MS. Jnl. ATL. Qms 1742)

The *fourth transition point* was when the local population arrived for a cannibal feast of which Burney and his party who were sent out the following morning, witnessed the aftermath:

... a great many baskets (about 20) laying on the beach tied up, we cut them open; some... full of roasted flesh... some... fern root. On further search we found more shoes and a hand... Thos Hill one of our Forecastlemen... marked T.H with an Otaheite tattow...”

“on the beach were 2 bundles of Cellery... a broken oar was stuck upright in the ground to which they had tied their lances... We found no boat... [but] such a shocking scene of carnage and Barbarity... I did not think it worthwhile to proceed where nothing could be hoped for but revenge... We brought on board 2 hands one belonging to Mr Rowe [known by an old injury]... the other Thomas Hill... and the head of the Captn’s servant. These with more of the remains were tied in a hammock and thrown overboard with ballast &[sic] shot sufficient to sink it. We found none of their Arms or cloathes except a pair of trowsers, a frock and 6 shoes, no 2 of them being fellows [sic] (Burney 1773, in McNab, 1914: 52-55).

... and at a small distance off, lay their Entrails which the Dogs were knawing on... the Boat was quite taken away with her masts, oar’s, sails, grapnels...[sic.] (A. Kempe, MS. jnl. Sun Dec 19th 1773).

The *fifth and last transition point* (which put closure to the violent sequence) occurred when Cook returned to Queen Charlotte Sound in October 1777, and was able to discuss the whole episode with chiefs Kahura, Pitirau and the youth Teweheroa. Kahura admitted having directed Māori actions at Grass Cove and Pitirau and Te Weheroa were party to the local discourse about it. Cook also had at this time the benefit of Mai's ability to translate. Cook had *a philosophy* and also his directions from the Admiralty and the Royal Society and had already said:

It has ever been a maxim with me ... their robing us with impunity is by no means a sufficient reason why we should treat them in the same manner... The best method in my opinion to preserve a good understanding with such people is first to shew them the use of firearms and to convince them of the Superiority they give you over them and to be always on your guard... ( in Beaglehole, 1969: 292).

Cook *decided* (against the requests of Mai and some of his crew) not to take revenge on Kahura, though they all agreed that Māori would have seen this as *utu* and therefore a justified action. It is unlikely that the Europeans would have understood this to mean anything more than revenge.

### *Social Actors*

As this episode took place within days of the attempted thefts at the shore camp, several of the same social actors were implicated; namely Captain Tobias Furneaux, Lieutenant James Burney and astronomer William Bayly, whose journal has been one of the more detailed ones in reporting the story.

*James Sevilley* – Captain Furneaux's steward, was black, and according to Bayly's report he defended the cutter when the 'theft' occurred by hitting the thief with a blunt instrument i.e. "a stick or a cutlass in its scabbard". He was obviously not intending to inflict a serious injury. He was a steward, not a fighter. According to King's account, he was the last to fall (in Barber, 1999: 162).

*John Rowe* – had sailed as master's mate, was demoted during the voyage to AB., and then reinstated. Furneaux reported, in relation to this incident that:

As Mr Rowe had left the ship an hour before the time proposed, and *in a great hurry*, I was strongly persuaded that his *curiosity* had carried him into East Bay, none of our ship having ever been there, or else that some accident had happened to the boat... this was almost everybody's opinion (Furneaux, Dec. 1773 in Cook, 1777, my emphasis).

Furthermore, George Forster suggested Rowe's "liberal sentiments" were combined with "the prejudices of a naval education [and] induced him to look upon all natives of the

South Sea with contempt, and to assume that kind of right over them, which the Spaniards, in more barbarous ages, disposed of the lives of the American Indians”. He was also regarded as impetuous because without the dissuasion of Lieut. Burney he would have fired upon some people at Tolaga Bay for stealing a brandy keg (Barber *ibid*; Salmond, 1991: 104-5). All this suggests that Rowe, with his experience in the world of the ordinary seaman, the warrant officer and the ‘ethnic other’ never quite managed to negotiate the divides successfully, although as Forster noted, he had the potential, with his “liberal sentiments”. He was “an unfortunate youth” (in Salmond, 1991: 104). His hand survived the Grass Cove incident also.

*Kahura* – was described by Anderson as a “stout active man and to appearance turbulent and mischievous, as all the inhabitants concurr’d in giving him a bad character”, and Cook said that Omai wanted him to be killed. He was also the permanent occupant of a settlement of 60-100 people at Grass Cove (Orchiston & Horrocks, 1975: 536).

#### Summary – Grass Cove

Transitional turning points	Justification for action or reaction
<b>Initiator (Europeans)</b> Furneaux orders Rowe to take the cutter with a party to collect greens.	a. <i>Distance self</i> from the action & consequences. b. <i>Provision</i> the ship. c. <i>Care for men</i> (scurvy).
1. <b>Action</b> (Europeans) i. Men decide to sit on the beach (at some distance from the boat) & eat a meal (Māori watching). ii. Sevilley is left to look after the boat.	a. <i>Tired</i> therefore not sufficiently alert. a. Servant – <i>not</i> as much <i>needed</i> ashore.
2. <b>Reaction</b> (Māori) One person decides to steal something, (probably out of the boat.)	a. <i>Opportunism</i> , perhaps spontaneous. b. <i>Mana</i> of gaining the item eg. a jacket.
3. <b>Action</b> (Europeans) i. Sevilley or the person aggrieved hits the thief. ii. Rowe decides to kill 2 people with a gun.	a. <i>Fear</i> or sense of <i>responsibility</i> . b. <i>Contingency</i> , inclined to be impetuous.
4. <b>Reaction</b> (Māori) i. All the boat’s crew killed by Kahura’s people. ii. A feast is held- some remains discovered by Burney et al. 5. <b>Reaction</b> (Europeans) i. Burney and party picked up remains, fired at the canoes & ordered them destroyed. 6. <b>Action</b> (Māori) i. Kahura, Pitirau & Teweherooa report to Cook & Omai.	a. <i>Tapu</i> of Kahura’s land not respected, and <i>mana whenua takahi’d</i> . b. <i>Utū</i> , anger or fear. c. <i>Whangai hau/ kairarawa</i> (cannibalism). a. Trying to find the canoe and what happened. b. <i>Fear &amp; anger</i> .
<b>Reaction</b> (Europeans) i. Investigation of what happened Cook & Burney. b. Mai and a number of crew want Kahura killed.	a. Wanting to maintain <i>trading relations</i> . b. <i>Decision no retribution</i> (philosophical reasons).

For this scenario, the question is whether the initial response was by Sevilley, or Rowe or both, and whether the item taken was a coat, a hatchet or bread or all three, or indeed who stole it and from whom. However there does appear to be agreement that Furneaux's men were eating at the time, something was taken, Rowe was the person who fired, and a number of people were killed as a result. There is no question of what happened to them afterwards; they were cooked and eaten, because Burney's party arrived at the scene to find their cooked remains along with some shoes, Hill's tattooed hand and so on. At the time Burney arrived the following day, he wrote that the "whole place was thronged like a fair" and Salmond has interpreted this situation as a *whangai hau* "in which the *hau* of their comrades (and their ancestors) was being fed to the ancestors" (in Salmond, 1994: 102-4). Despite Burney's description, his arrival during a *whāngai hau* rite seems unlikely as such a rite would more likely have taken place immediately after the killing had ended or even during the killing. According to Nahe this would have involved a lock of hair or *hau* taken from the 'first fish' having *karakia* said over it by the priest to enable the warrior who had killed him to retain his courage. Tarakawa said that this was to return the *mauri* (life force) of the warriors to that of their *iwi* (cited in Best, 2001: 186). Best himself, stated that in this rite:

The heart of the first slain is taken as representing the *hau* or vital essence... of the whole hostile party. The *tōhunga* takes out the... heart of the *mataika*, and offers it to the god of which he is the medium... The heart is not really the *hau*... but is used as a medium through which the *hau* of the enemy is affected by the invocations of the priest... It is... the *hau* of the enemy that is... fed to the *atua mo te riri* [war god]. Hence the prestige [*mana*] of the enemy is affected, and if their *atua* is not too powerful, the party of the *whāngai hau* will be the victors... The heart so offered is not eaten... [but waved] towards the heavens (ibid: 187).

Either way, when the parties in conflict have met, *tapu* has 'met *tapu*', and in the ceremony that would have taken place at Grass Cove, the *tapu* and *mana* of one party was victorious, by its thereby having paid the *utu* to the *atua*. Kahura's *mana* would also have been enhanced and that of Rowe's party diminished when their bodies were consumed in the rite of *kairarawa* (cannibalism) where the "conquerors cooked... and ate certain parts of his body where they thought his *mana* resided. By eating his flesh they consumed his *mana*..." (Māori Marsden, 1992: 127, in King ed.).

Barber has said "inequity in [material] exchange was at the heart of the matter" (1999: 161-3) but given the preceding events at the shore camp already described, and those which now happened, there are clearly other components that contain Māori cosmological ideas; the complexity of their concepts of *utu* just mentioned, property

ownership and what constitutes theft. The reported behaviours of both parties expose the understandings that each of them had, and emotions (including fear) are also evident in their contingent decision-making and action. Some clarification can also be gained from considering why Rowe fired, who was armed, the events that led up to it, the Māori raid on Bayly's shore camp and the theft of his equipment. The immediate situation involved the grass cutting party sitting around on Kahura's land, eating without offering the Māori, (whose beach they were sitting on) anything to eat. There are commonalities here between the initial episodes of stealing by Māori from the shore camp and the "Grass Cove" incident that followed it. Māori had been forbidden from staying on their own land for the night, and they had been shot at for taking things from the camp. Food resources were becoming depleted, they were being inadequately paid for the fish they had exchanged, and they had had their canoe confiscated even though it was returned the next day. Their *mana* had been trampled on and no *utu* had been paid. The attempted thefts of what may have seemed to be European *tāonga* (the astronomers gear) in an apparent *murū* raid (to punish them for negligence) or theft of *mana* had failed, and an *ariā* in the form of a meteor had appeared in the sky the night before the ship's boat and its crew arrived at Grass Cove. The *utu* for disrespect to the *mana* of the *tāngata whenua* and their land still had not been paid and the gods were displaying a *tohu*. If they were not paid the *utu*, then local Māori would be made to pay it. A report from a more recent conflict about meteors as *tohu* is an example told to White by Katu Te Rauparaha:

A meteor fell into the pa whilst they were fighting which was considered such a favourable omen for the besiegers that the defenders [of Pa Pakakutu] were disheartened and the pa was taken (in White, 1890: 51).

Thus Kahura's party decided to kill the Europeans, after Rowe had intensified the situation, by deciding to shoot two Māori in retaliation for a supposed theft. It seems that the theft had been actually a mild form of *utu* for the violence of failing to share food, denying rights of *mana whenua* and thus disrespecting *mana*. Furthermore, while the grass cutters were sitting on the beach eating, and not sharing they (simply because they were handling cooked food) could have been seen as *noa* at that point; hence having diminished *tapu*, in comparison with Kahura's people who were not eating. It is as if there was a confluence of spiritual forces favourable to Māori at that time. There had been several *tohu* this day and during the month of Furneaux's stay: a lunar eclipse, a comet, a meteor, an earthquake, imbalance of *utu* in transactions, *takahi mana whenua*, and now

*takahi*<sup>76</sup> *mana tangata* by not sharing food; the Europeans having diminished *tapu* because they were handling cooked food, and now they had shot someone, and one Māori “cried out that he had been ‘mattied’ (injured/ killed)” (Bayly, 1777, in McNab, 1914: 219). It was the time to strike, and this is what Kahura did. Furthermore the opportunity of obtaining a boat had also arisen. It would further enhance their *mana* and help pay the *utu*, especially when the *whangai hau* and *kairarawa*<sup>77</sup> rites had been carried out. This was thus a matter of “*tapu* meeting *tapu*” as Shirres has described it; violence and death were the result. This outcome would then have been perceived by Māori as the *tapu* of the *tangata whenua* having been protected by the gods, and the *utu* now being balanced: “*Kua ea te utu*” (the *utu* has been paid). Though European intellectual discourse in 1773 did not ‘see’ and ‘know’ the same world, amongst the sailors some similar parallel attitudes would have remained. Europeans at that time still used to quote such things as the “Victoria de los Reyes Catolicos...”<sup>78</sup> in respect of military victories against groups belonging to other faiths like Islam. However, although this is a parallel in one respect, there are differences. Whilst the Māori idea of victory was closely entangled with their religious belief system, *mana*, *tapu*, *wehi*<sup>79</sup> and the balancing of *utu*, Europeans with an eye for their own impression management, cast their opponents as ill favoured by God and ethically inferior to themselves. Not only is this a case of epistemological disjunction but it involves a refusal to comprehend or acknowledge the other’s way of ‘seeing’ and ‘knowing’ the world. Consequently, minimizing of the ‘other’s’ morality is used as a reason to perpetuate violence. Since Rowe’s grass cutters were not the ‘victors’ in this altercation, in Furneaux’s official reports the whole episode was described as a massacre, and the Māori ‘perpetrators’ as savages. George Forster, whose book was the first published source of the Māori narrative, said that: “Savages do not give up the right of retaliating injuries; but civilized societies confer on certain individuals the power and the duty to revenge their wrongs.” Māori were thus savages and the British were not. Cook said, “the story of the hatchet was certainly invented to make [the British] look like the first aggressors” (quoted in Barber, 1999: 160-2). On this reading it is evident also that Cook was unaware of the significance of the precursor event at the shore camp where Bayly’s equipment was stolen and he had shot at them in response.

Until Cook’s return on the third voyage in 1777, Māori at Queen Charlotte Sound were apprehensive of what might happen next, and whether the English naval personnel might be seeking revenge (*utu*) as a result of the ‘massacre’. Māori exhibited fear and

uncertainty when Cook returned. Despite his stated philosophy and sailing instructions from the Admiralty, Cook had on a number of occasions shot people un-necessarily, not adhered to his own principles, and behaved as if there was only one philosophy that was *tika* (correct) – his. Fear of *utu* was therefore a realistic anticipation on the part of Māori. However on this occasion Cook made a *decision* to cause the violent sequence to cease. This may have been in part, because after all his transactions and interactions in the Pacific, he had actually come to realize that revenge on his part would only produce *utu* on theirs, though he did not entirely believe their story about the loss of Furneaux's men. It may also have been that, like Te Rangihaeata and Te Rauparaha at Wairau, Cook wanted to sustain any future potential for trade. It was all about agentive choice.

### Theft is a form of violence

In this section of the chapter the relationships between theft and violence are considered through a comparison of the six cases described in this and the previous chapters. They are, in actual chronological order of happening:

- J.F.M de Surville encounters Ranginui at Doubtless Bay Northland 1769.
- Cook & Furneaux encounter Te Ratu & Kahura at Queen Charlotte Sound 1773.
- Kelly & Tucker encounter Te Matehaere & Kōrako at Whareakeake-Otākou in 1817.
- Perkins & Boulton encounter Kāhaki & Tūtoko at Open Bay in 1826.
- Te Pēhi & Te Rauparaha encounter Tamaiharanui at Kaiapoi c. 1828.
- Arthur Wakefield encounters Te Rangihaeata, Te Rauparaha & Te Puaha at Wairau in 1843.

In all these cases, transactions with local Māori began peacefully, but thefts occurred, and violent sequences were triggered when the responses to them by the social actors concerned involved actions that could promote violence. It is significant that these actors were not usually in a position, nor did they have sufficient knowledge of their 'others' to be able to evaluate how those 'others' might respond. The violent sequences continued for as long as further action choices were made at key transition points. Finally the violence stopped; again because of choices taken by particular individuals. As Brass (1997: 21) and Wilson (2008: 20-27) have shown, by identifying who these decision-makers were, it has been possible to understand more easily why the encounters

progressed to violent outcomes. Furthermore, Blok has pointed out that one of the triggers for the eruption of violence is a perception by decision makers of having been dishonoured, potentially humiliated, or having had their *mana* diminished if they did not choose a certain course of action. They may then have become more emotional than rational, suffered anxiety, felt threatened or afraid, and then acted accordingly. Though *mana* and honour are different, because *mana* is related to descent from the gods who have conferred that *mana* (Chapter three), meanings of the Māori and English words both contain the conceptual potential for humiliation and loss of status. This then accentuates any perception of personal insult, violation or deprivation, and can be used to justify a choice of action; that is, revenge or *utu*. All of these situations fall within the range of violent acts for both cultures: “Violence in human affairs comes down to violating persons” (Garver, 1963: 173,179,183; cf. Chapter two).

When reporting to others about their own decisions, aggressors may then cast the ‘other’ as having been deceitful, unethical or savage, in order to justify any irrational decisions they have made to attack. This, after all, is how Forster and others described Māori in their analysis of the Grass Cove affair. In their turn the subsequent ‘battle narratives’, songs and poetry tend to include self-justifications which become valorized over time, and negative discourse about the ‘other’ becomes ingrained intergenerationally. The result is that if people do not choose to silence them, they perpetuate what Metge calls “negative *utu*” (quoted in Chapter three; cf. Das, 2007: 7).

In the first three of the cases listed above, the visits where Europeans encountered Māori were reported as being primarily to provision the ships. Transactions were therefore in the nature of gift exchange (as *manaakitanga* or hospitality) on the part of Māori; also reciprocation and payment or encouragement on the part of Europeans, for items brought out to the ships as they lay at anchor:

... we were visited by three canoes with about sixteen of the natives; and to induce them to bring us fish and other provisions, we gave them several things... In the afternoon, they returned again with fish and fern roots, which they sold for nails, and other trifles. (Furneaux, 9<sup>th</sup> April 1773 [my emphasis]).

They had been extremely well received, and did not hesitate to come on board and eat freely of the sailors’ provisions, showing a particular liking to our biscuits and pease soup. They brought with them great quantities of their clothing, tools, and weapons, which they exchanged eagerly for nails hatchets and cloth. (G. Forster 18<sup>th</sup> May, 1773).

Although the last four cases listed are openly about the acquisition and exploitation of resources (seals by Kelly & Kent/ Perkins; *pounamu* & land by Te Rauparaha & Te

Pēhi; land by Wakefield), it could be argued that all of the cases described were ultimately a scoping search for land as a precursor to its larger scale acquisition. It is uncertain whether or not the local people perceived this, but for Māori *manākitanga* and gift exchange was taken very seriously and carried out within their own *tikanga* or customary procedure. This involved a finely tuned sense of *utu* according to the perceived values of the things being exchanged. These values (apart perhaps from food items that are more likely to have a universal value) were not entirely shared with Europeans who perceived things according to a different ownership and value system altogether. The Māori valuation of land and material objects by their perceived metaphysical and genealogical connections and usage eluded them. According to the longstanding tradition of Europeans even now, the legal definition of land ownership having its origins in Classical times prevailed, and if land was not occupied by permanent settlements with a government and legal structure, it was not ‘owned’ by anyone; the ‘finder’ had the occupation rights. Anyone not having this viewpoint was a savage or barbarian, which was how Midshipman Elliot perceived Māori at Queen Charlotte Sound:

During our stay here, which was near 3 weeks, we saw many of the Natives... They are desparate, fearless, ferocious cannibals... I declare that I have seen a couple of them, in giving us the war song on the Quarter deck, work themselves into a frenzy, foaming at the mouth, and perfectly shacking the whole quarter deck with their feet... Yet with these desparate people [sic] we kept up a friendly intercourse, they bringing us plenty of fish... We saw some of their War Canoes, with 40 or 50 men in each, who in their anger, would strike the sides of their ship with their weapons (MS. Jnl. 18<sup>th</sup> May 1773).

There appears to have been a want of understanding of the Māori practice of land usage. The European view was that if anyone used the land only on a seasonal basis, and did not live there permanently then they had no ownership rights. The same would apply to resources, and so Perkins, Boulton and company did not consider that they were trespassing on Māori land and natural resources at Open Bay. They were, after all in their own eyes dealing with ‘savages’. Perkins had warned them of this. It was the same for Kelly and Tucker at Otago Harbour. They had heard from the Lascar Te Anū about the fate of the crew of the *Mermaid* who had been killed and eaten. Furneaux, Cook, Burney and Bayly at Queen Charlotte Sound had seen for themselves that Māori were cannibals, but they had also been given their instructions to respect their customary practices and rights. Wakefield professed ignorance of these matters, but there was clearly some deception involved in his ignoring of Māori land ownership rights, as Te Rangihaeata and Te Pūaha pointed them out (Chapter two). Wakefield knew that Māori had made

submissions before the courts when he made his pre-emptive strike at Wairau. In each case there were choices being made which ignored the possibility that even under the British rules, Māori may be justified in objecting to any assumption that *mana whenua* did not exist, and that resources were free to ‘all comers.’ Rangihaeata clearly explained that the materials of which the surveyors hut was made had been grown on his land and not been paid for, so he was perfectly justified in destroying them. Thus in all these cases, between knowledge systems there were conflicting notions of ownership, and in some cases when these became triggers for violent action, the choices that decision makers made were based upon their own ‘figured worlds’. Even when they knew better, and had the choice to do otherwise they often persisted in this, for reasons of impression management in order to protect their own *mana* or honour.

The matter of theft was therefore fundamental to all the outbreaks of violence between Europeans and Māori described in these chapters. Chapter two has described what violence is and how it is always connected to invasion of or threat to the integrity of a person or persons. It need not be a physical attack because “... in human affairs” any violence against a person or their things, is still violence (Garver, 1968: 173,179,183).

Māori have three significant words related to theft, which show that it involves a separation of something from its owner, and usually there is deception or trickery as well. Thus Māui was described as a trickster when he tried to get fire from his *tīpuna* Mahuika: “... *he tinihanga taa tenei tangata*” – “this is a piece of this fellow’s trickery” (in Thornton, 1992: 41). *Tinihanga* means deception, cheating, and taking liberties (Nga Moteatea: Ngata: 9, in Williams, 1985: 420).

*Tāhae* is to steal: “... *nga mea i tāhaetia mai a Tamatekapua*” – “... the things stolen by Tamatekapua” (Nga Moteatea: Ngata: 14, in Williams, 1985: 357), a thief is also *tāhae*: “*He haerenga tahitanga no te tāhae ki waho i te pō*” – “travelling together because of the thief outside at night” (Ngata: 114, in Williams, 1985: 357), and adultery is “*moe tāhae*”. There is something secret about thieves, and night or sleeping are involved.

Deception can be achieved also by coaxing and flattery. *Patipati* is the term for this. For example Tainui and Mahuika used this word to describe Te Pēhi’s attempt to take *pounamu* at Kaiapoi as: “... *e patipati na ratou ki nga patu pounamu a Ngāi Tahu kia homai kia ahei ai ratou...*”<sup>80</sup> “but they still went in fighting for the... weapons they wanted...” (in Tau & Anderson eds., 2008: 181).

Thus it appears that for Māori, theft is secretive, but it may also result from deception and trickery, and like any other form of violence there is an aspect of ‘*tapu* meeting *tapu*’, because the ‘thief’ is challenging or invading the personal space or belongings of the ‘owner’, and by extension these are both *tapu*, in the same way as the thief has his own personal *tapu*. As Te Ratu’s behaviour with Cook at Queen Charlotte Sound shows, there may also be some humour involved if one is caught, and there is an obligation to return what has been taken; otherwise the outcome would be some other form of *utu* (cf. Vayda, 1960:44<sup>81</sup>). The incident involving confiscation of the canoe from the shore camp also shows that there is room for forgiveness. Those locals from whom it had been taken (because they had stolen things) had the courage to come and ask for it to be given back. Chiefs would sometimes display their *mana*, being magnanimous and protecting culprits by declaring them to be ‘theirs’, ie, under the protection of their *mana* and *tapu*. It is therefore possible that they expected a similar outcome from Furneaux. As it happened, from their perspective, they were correct.

As a matter of conflicting understandings of ownership rights and accusations of theft, Polack reported another issue regarding boats left washed up or unattended: “When a vessel cuts her chains and drifts from her anchorage to shore, she is accounted as wrecked, and possession is immediately taken by the natives in her vicinity, who plunder every article... when boats are cast adrift, they become the property of the captors” (1838, Vol. 2: 68). This is exactly what happened in 1769 when Surville lost the ship’s yawl in a storm off Doubtless Bay. Local Māori claimed the yawl after it washed ashore and were accused of stealing it. A long violent sequence ensued in which an important chief Ranginui was kidnapped and eventually died at sea. Then there is the Grass Cove incident (1773) where Sevilley was guarding the boat when one of Kahura’s people stole something out of it. Rowe fired and killed two people, then everyone was killed, but the boat was taken either as *utu* for the Māori persons killed or as a spoil of conflict. Yet when Burney returned, it was being considered by the English sailors that the boat had been stolen. Similarly Chief Kōrako was accused of intending to take the *Sophia* while Captain Kelly was ashore at Whareakeake (1817) negotiating with Matchaere. Ship’s mate Kirk said so, and this was the trigger for the attack by sealers on those Māori who were aboard when they returned and had to wash down the decks of blood. Finally, what could have been an opportunistic attempt to retrieve or claim Perkins’s unattended whaleboat at Open Bay in 1827, ended in a violent clash when Boulton fired into the

crowd and in the end Kāhaki was injured. However, it is equally possible, as has already been suggested, that the attempt at taking this whaleboat was also a matter of *utu* because Captain Perkins commanded it. That is, although the boat itself would have enhanced the *mana* of any new owner, it would have done so to an even greater extent because of its association with Perkins who had just been killed by Toko, and was connected to the *Elizabeth* and her principal sealing captain, Kent. Conversely the capture of the boat would have been seen as diminishing the *mana* of the sealers by comparison.

Theft of *mana* such as invasion of personal space by a person of lesser *tapu*, or insulting one's good name appears to have been an even more serious matter and likely to be punished more severely. Because of the dire consequences that were possible from such a misdemeanour, any implication of incorrect hearsay and the purveying of inaccurate information by a third party about someone, is therefore very concerning. Third parties could have been slaves, visitors or mischief-makers who were seeking favour. They could also have been giving a genuine warning. For example, the initiating circumstance for Te Rauparaha and Te Pēhi's attack on Takahanga (Kaikōura) on their way to Kaiapoi, they represented as a response to an insult or curse. Te Rauparaha had been told by a slave about Rerewaka's statement that if Te Rauparaha set foot at Kaikōura, his "belly would be ripped open with a shark-tooth knife". Rerewaka was afraid that Te Rauparaha was seeking *utu* because Kēkerengū, a relative of Rerewaka had escaped after behaving improperly with the wife of Te Rauparaha's kinsman, and was being sheltered there. Thus a story purveyed to Te Rauparaha by a third party set a whole violent sequence in motion. Another piece of hearsay had brought to Te Rauparaha's ears, the story about Kēkerengū. Stories, gossip and hearsay figured in the daily lives of sailors and captains on board ships too, so public discourse about practices of cannibalism and savagery amongst Māori and against Europeans, also played their part in denigrating the *mana* of Māori. These stories and the public discourse they spawned were therefore also forms of violence by theft of *mana*, and those choosing to invent or purvey them were making decisions to carry out violent actions. This type of thing ultimately precipitated panic reactions, such as that of Rowe shooting two people at Grass Cove, and Boulton firing into the crowd at Open Bay, for example. Rauaparaha's decision to invade Takahanga was another more deliberate example. As Blok has pointed out, insults and other attacks on personal honour (or in this case *mana*) could be regarded as likely to cause a kind of social death and are therefore a form of violence, and this point appears to

have universal significance (1994: 212; cf. Weinstein, 1994: 212). From a Māori point of view, it is likely that when insults to the name or integrity of a person or thing are compared, the intrinsic *tapu* of a person would be regarded more seriously than that of a *waka* because of the intrinsic *tapu* and *mana* of humans being much greater than that of things. This has been described by Shirres who represents the *tapu* of things and people as originating from the *mana* of the various departmental gods. For example the intrinsic *tapu* of a *waka* comes from *Tangaroa* and *Tāne*, but the *tapu* of humans originates from all the gods<sup>82</sup> and is therefore of a higher order (1997: 35). However, one must also consider the fact that any thing, such as a *waka* or a *pounamu* weapon, for example *could* have greater *tapu* than a person of low rank, because it has *intrinsic tapu AND tapu by extension* from its owner.

It has been suggested in this chapter that the theft at Burney's shore camp of Bayly's hat and equipment may have been a similar and perhaps more serious attempt to test the astronomer's *mana* because of possible perceptions of his superior or esoteric knowledge and his 'different' activities in studying the stars. His hat and equipment could have been interpreted as having a *tapu* by extension of his personal *tapu*. The scout may have been sent to test this issue, and the fact that he survived, may have encouraged the attack at Grass Cove that followed. To Bayly he was just a thief. This category, 'theft of *mana*' could of course be applied also to the killing and actual death of persons, which occurred on both sides in all these conflicts and would have been regarded by the Europeans as loss of honour. For both Māori and Europeans this was seen as justification for retribution in kind, i.e. revenge or negative *utu*. It was differently understood by each of them, but the effect was the same. Whether violence actually ensued was dependent upon which social actors made the decisions, and whether or not they chose to act violently. Bayly chose to shoot into the bushes because he was upset, unsupported in the first instance, and not thinking straight.

However, returning to the story which opened this thesis: the European invasion and claiming of the Wairau lands by *tinihanga* and *patipati*<sup>83</sup> at the various stages of Wakefield's interactions with the Ngāti Toa chiefs, the significance and finesse of the *utu* that Wakefield paid would have not been understood by the Europeans. He was cut down by Rangihaeata's *pounamu* mere, *Heketua* (a weapon of great *mana* and *tapu*), and lay on the battlefield with a piece of bread as a pillow for his head. To Māori, any *tapu* that he had had before was now removed; the most *tapu* part of his body having been struck by

*Heketua*, and now being in contact with cooked food. He could not harm them now. *Tapu* had met *tapu* and Māori had held their *mana*. To the Europeans, Wakefield was unfortunately dead, and many of them are likely to have seen this death as honourable. The matter would be examined in the courts of law. For Māori the matter of negative *utu* for this was an open question, and in 1848 when the Awatere fault line in Marlborough moved, causing a severe earthquake aftershock that shook Te Rauparaha's bed at Tuamarina (Wairau) so violently that he sprained his hip, Swainson reported that he and other Māori considered it to be retribution [from the *atuas*] for the Wairau raid against Wakefield and company (in Grapes, 2011: 73). Te Rauparaha and his party returned immediately to their home base at Ōtaki, and Te Kanae told Māori on their way through Porirua about the landslides and liquifaction (ibid.).

## Summary

In this chapter two cases of interactions and transactions between Europeans and Māori at Queen Charlotte Sound in 1773 have been examined in detail. Through comparison of these cases with those described in previous chapters, the likely role of Māori interpretations of astronomical events and earthquake as *tohu* or omens in precipitating violence has been considered. Māori perceptions of value and of theft have been contrasted with European ones by comparing cases from previous chapters also. These differing perceptions have been shown as having contributed to misunderstandings, misinterpretations and actions taken by the main social actors. However the connections between honour & revenge, *mana* & *utu*, and their relationships with violence have also been considered, and though these were in many ways differently configured in the Māori and European 'figured worlds' and each party 'saw' and 'knew' things, people and their actions differently, there were also many universal human commonalities between them. It appears that it was predominantly the lack of knowledge of the 'other's' world that led to so many tragic outcomes.

The next chapter aims to consider what happens when decision makers at various points in a sequence of transactions choose to take other paths than purposely violent ones, and act differently. It examines the issue of peace and alliance.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### Choosing another path: Violence between Broughton and Moriori

“Kei whakarongo koutou ki te kōrero iti a te tangata, arā, a Tama-te-kapua. Purua o koutou tāringa, kia turi, kia hoi.”

Houmaitāwhiti’s farewell address in Hawaiki

[“Don’t listen to small talk of the man, that is of Tama-te kapua. Plug up your ears, so you will be deaf, unmoved.” (Houmaitawhiti’s farewell to the crew of Aotea canoe c.1300 AD, after wars in Hawaiki. Tama-te-kapua was his son) (Shirres, 1997: 100)]

“ E tai kotau kit a iik’, me hokomutu ko ro kino, me noho mari kotau. Rura e kei tangat’ taii ke tae i ki reira.”

Horopapa’s farewell address in Hawaiki

[“When you reach the land put an end to evil; dwell ye peaceably. Do not eat men when ye arrive there.” Horopapa to his grandson Moe departing aboard the Oropuke canoe, for Rekohu –Chatham Islands about 1350 AD – also after wars in Hawaiki (Tamahiwaki & Shand, 1896: 73, 82)].

“ Ko ro patu, ko ro tangataa me tapu toake”

Nūnuku-whenua to the Tcha’kat Rekohu (Chatham islands people)

[“ Manslaying and man-eating should cease forever.” Known as Nūnuku’s law. Fighting should cease after the very first injury. Nūnuku said this after the serious warfare when Moe arrived, and it has been followed henceforth (Tamahiwaki, Hirawana Tapu & Shand, 1894: 78)].

By comparison of lineage sequences in Māori and Moriori genealogies<sup>84</sup> it is possible to detect that the three chiefs, Houmaitawhiti, Horopapa and Nunuku lived within the same time period about eight generations down from Toi-te-huatahi in the 14<sup>th</sup> century AD. They had all lived in Hawaiki through the tribal wars of Manaia, Rakei and Tūmoana that are recorded in both Māori and Moriori oral histories (cf. Halbert, 1999: 148-9, 224; Shand, 1894: 76-92; 1895: 33- 46; 1896: 73-91). Only Nūnuku migrated to Rēkōhu and has been described by Shand as having been contemporaneous with the arrival there 27 generations before 1900 of the Rangimatā *waka*. Though they were more or less contemporaries Houmaitawhiti, Horopapa and Nūnuku belonged to different but related lineages and made their statements independently. This chapter examines the interactions of Rēkohū Moriori and Broughton’s British sailors in 1791. These “words of wisdom” from the Māori and Moriori forefathers are used to focus an interpretation of the violence that occurred between them.

The three quotes above raise the possibility that after a long period of what amounts to internecine warfare, these chiefly grandfathers were voicing concern to their descendants about three aspects of violence that are integral to this thesis:

- The role of gossip and innuendo (*kōrero iti* – lit. small talk) as generators of discourse that often leads to violence, and that one’s own son could be the initiator of such things (Houmaitawhiti).
- The idea that killing and eating people could be considered evil and that people could *choose* to live in peace (Horopapa).
- The concept that when ‘*tapu* meets *tapu*’, then *tapu* (and by connection, *mana*) may be maintained more effectively by stopping the killing and consuming of people. Then they could retain their *tapu* forever (Nūnuku henu).

These instructions originated in the same society during about three generations or approximately 70 years. Within that society there had been almost constant warfare, a likely cause for their exodus on voyaging canoes which was a very risky business, but one in which they expected to be protected by the gods. This is confirmed in their numerous surviving chants and prayers for a safe journey, calming the water, celebrating the power of the gods and so on (King, 2000, Appendix 3: 205-211. According to Moriori migration stories –“*Ko Hokorongō-tiringa*” (“Listening of the ears”) – most of the violence in Hawaiki originated from theft of one kind or another; of treasured or sacred objects with their own *mana*, or of human *mana*, by insult, adultery, or by the actual taking of life.<sup>85</sup> Since the taking of *mana* would interfere with the *tapu* and spiritual wellbeing of a person and his or her associates and things, the need for *utu* payment for these misdemeanours was serious and was extracted by violent means. The histories any people remember are a record of events significant to them. Moriori histories record that their people *chose* to leave their homeland because of this violence. However, they were also influenced by discourse amongst their elders who sought another way of satisfying the requirement of the gods for *tapu* and *mana* to be upheld, and for *utu* to be paid without the need for killing each other. The words each used in his *poroporoaki* (farewell address) permit an interpretation that in the generation of ideas and actions one can choose to another course. In doing so they must have acknowledged that tradition involves a form of discourse which one person can change by his own oratorical interpretation and by his performative actions (Shirres, 1997: 86-7). Violence is like any disaster. It may occur at any point where there is a conjunction of circumstances, decision-making, and action, such as one can observe in the idea of a ‘perfect storm’.<sup>86</sup> Such a conjunction is what I have referred to in previous chapters as a ‘tipping point’ or ‘turning point.’ Thus thefts of various kinds

may provide the initiating circumstances for violence to be one possible outcome, but in Rēkōhu, Moriori successfully explored an ‘other’ path for many generations, and influenced what would happen by changing their decision-making at any ‘tipping point’ to comply with ‘Nūnuku’s Law.’

Therefore, this chapter examines the role of social actors and the choices they make when different cultural or sub-cultural groups meet, interact and transact things. It examines also the co-present contextual and motivating factors that influence those choices and help to determine the course of action taken. I argue, as I have done in previous chapters of this thesis, that for Polynesian people, three keys to motivation and choice in decision-making are the intertwined concepts of *mana*, *tapu* and *utu* that are embedded in their social, genealogical and spiritual relationships with each other and with the gods. I argue also that for Europeans the concepts of “honour, reputation, status, identity and group solidarity” are, similarly involved in choices and decisions for action *they* take (cf. Anton Blok 2001: 113). It is difficult to ignore the inter-cultural overlap in meaning that these concepts possess. Like Polynesians, Europeans are also influenced by perceptions originating from *their* ontological world and religious beliefs. However, in contrast with Polynesians, these perceptions include the notion of individual and legal ownership and a quite different legal and ethical understanding of theft.

The next section of this chapter then traces an interaction sequence between a Moriori Polynesian group from New Zealand’s Chatham Islands, and some British naval personnel. This sequence played out differently than those that happened for Cook’s men at Queen Charlotte Sound (Chapter seven). The sequence analysis follows the same method as was used for previous chapters, and by following the social actors and the turning points in the sequence, it is easy to see why any possibilities that existed for the eruption of violence were minimized in this case.

November 1791: William Broughton & Moriori, at Kaingaroa, Rēkōhu.

### *Contextual background*

Captain Broughton aged 28 was in command of His Majesty’s brig *Chatham* on Vancouver’s voyage to seek the North Pacific outlet of the North West passage. They were on their way into the Pacific via New Zealand and *HMS Chatham* was sister ship to Vancouver’s *Resolution*. After stopping at Dusky Bay, where Vancouver had previously

been with Cook, they had encountered no Māori, became separated in a storm just south of Stewart Island and *Resolution* went on to make landfall at Rapa-iti (Opāro) in the Austral islands. Broughton and his crew of 37 with eight marines ‘discovered’ the islands in the Chathams group where they went ashore during one day, and interacted with the people at Kaingaroa beach on Rēkōhu Island<sup>87</sup>. The ship’s master James Johnstone said that the *Chatham* was “without doubt the most improper vessel that could have been pitched upon”, and their instructions “... include [d] an investigation of the whole of the Natural History of the countries... as well as... the comparative degree of civilization of the inhabitants you meet with... manners, customs, Language & Religion...” (Kaye Lamb 1984: 37). It is clear from Broughton, Johnston and Sherriff’s<sup>88</sup> journal narratives that they were assiduous in their attempts to carry out these instructions, and that in their own way (including their European ways of looking at the world) they tried earnestly to be kind and non-violent. As the analysis will show they were not totally successful in either of these contradictory endeavours. However, they have left detailed accounts that corroborate what remains of the Moriori oral narrative documented by Shand & Hirawanu Tapu from elders still surviving in the late 1800’s.

### *Social actors and actions*

As the introduction to this chapter has signalled, some aspects of the transaction sequences between the British sailors and the Moriori *Tcha’kat henu*<sup>89</sup> were different from those between sailors and Māori described in previous chapters, because *Tcha’kat henu* had by then developed a different philosophy. The sequences were different in how they proceeded and in their outcomes. As with the analysis in previous chapters, those aspects being considered are:

- Who (or what) were the social actors?
- What were the possible motivations for the definitive actions they took?
- What were those particular decisions and actions in which each was involved?
- In what way did that decision-making and action reflect the knowledge system under which they were operating?

These matters are important because they usually clarify why violence ultimately did or did not occur. A number of components of the interactions were similar to those that have been described previously, and can be shown as due to prior enculturation and the knowledge systems from within which each group was educated. Thus British sailors

made some decisions in this series that were similar to those of their European counterparts described in previous chapters. Similarly, Moriori behaviour matched quite closely with some aspects of their Māori counterparts previously described. However, this analysis will show that the personality differences and human agency involved in the choices that both parties made at Kaingaroa Bay did not have the same results as those that were described before. They resulted in considerable restraint and some ethically motivated responses hardly seen either in Cook's men, or in Māori at Totaranui and elsewhere. What is clear, is that this set of interactions between Moriori and European sailors was a 'very first encounter' between the two groups, and that whilst many of the Europeans had been in the Pacific before, these particular Pacific islanders had never before encountered a European and are highly unlikely to have ever seen a Māori either. Certain aspects of their reported behaviour reflect this. Current thinking is that Moriori almost certainly shared common ancestry with Māori, having a linguistic dialect very similar to New Zealand Māori, the same fundamental belief system, and many common legends. Ethnographic and archaeological evidence strongly suggests that they had been isolated on Rēkōhu for many generations; their social system had become less hierarchical, and differed in a number of ways from that of New Zealand Māori (Sutton, 1980: 70, 84-5). Their weapons and the use of them had also been modified.

Like all the other situations described in previous chapters there was always an element of transaction expected by the visitors when they arrived, and any material things present during the transactions were always perceived by the Europeans as being possible trade items because they had been, in their visits elsewhere. These material items were social actors in the sense that by their presence, and by the different symbolic meanings that different individuals attached to them, they affected decision-making. In Vivieros de Castro's idea of an *equivocation*, when each looked at them, the items offered an opportunity for each person present to observe how different people 'saw' and 'knew' the same things differently. They provided the possibility for insights about them and about each other's ways of understanding the world. They mediated the interactions. However, this sometimes led to violence because *how* they 'saw and knew' them differently was not always clear to the other party. Yet there were behavioural cues in how owners treated their objects; but as with all the previous situations I have described, Europeans are very unlikely to have appreciated their true symbolism or perceived the pervasive importance of their *tapu* and *mana*. The analytical record of an interaction sequence should make the

relevance and importance of this issue more apparent. Since Moriori were operating from an epistemological position that included the concepts of *mana*, *tapu* and *utu* the spiritual qualities of objects such as clothes and weapons were perceived by Moriori in a similar way as Māori people do. Some objects were seen as having active agency during interactions with other persons and things as described in previous chapters where the issue of ‘*tapu* meeting *tapu*’ was explained. Yet Moriori had modified their conceptualization of how *utu* should be apportioned to address any imbalance in *tapu* during transactions or contact with *tapu* things. Moriori had also developed different behaviours to express this. The resulting modified *kawa* can also be recognized in the interaction sequence that follows.

In 1868, Shand, with the aid of the Moriori leader Hirawanu Tapu, collected a Moriori *hokopapa* (*whakapapa*) from *tōhunga* Minarapa Tamahiwaki. It is evident from this, that like Māori, they traced their descent from the gods and moreover they shared the same principal gods as Māori: Rangī, Nuku (Papa), Tū, Rongo, Tāne, Tangaroa, and so on. The issues and requirements relating to *mana*, *tapu* and *utu* are very similar when it comes to their worldview of relationships between gods, *atuas* and humans. The first fish caught were always thrown on the *tūāhu* (shrine) as an offering or *utu* payment, for example. Despite the fact that they no longer practiced warfare when Broughton arrived, Tū was still recognized as the god of war, and “incantations for war were very numerous, and show a great likeness in general character to those of Māori”. Similarly *utu* for theft was dealt with by *karakii*, adultery by sending a ritually prepared expedition<sup>90</sup>, and for jealousy or curses *utu* was obtained by *mākutu* or black magic (Shand 1894: 78, 87, 90-92). Paying the gods for imbalance in *utu* that had arisen from *tapu-tapu* confrontations and failure to properly acknowledge the *mana* of ‘other’ persons and things was thus as ‘alive and well’ amongst Moriori as it was with Māori. This too, is pertinent to the analytical interpretations that follow.

In the wider Polynesian and Māori worlds natural phenomena could also be regarded as social actors, because their activity could be interpreted as *tohu* or signs from the gods predicting outcomes or recommending what course of action one should take. This kind of action has been described in previous chapters where particular dreams, the position of the moon, appearance of a meteor directed in a particular way, an earthquake and so on, were interpreted as omens and provided motivation and encouragement for certain choices of action. Beyond the legendary departure of Kahu from Hawaiki because

of a dream, very few descriptions exist of the involvement of omens and signs as motivating factors in Moriori decision-making. However there are snippets indicating that they were used. For example, there were interpretations of facial movement of a young child receiving the *pure* rites; if the child laughed it was a favourable omen (Tregear, 1904: 580; cf. Shand, 1897: 15). This has some similarity to Nihoniho's claim that for Māori, body twitchings of a warrior could be interpreted as an omen (1913: 49). Shand refers to the stranding of whales and the rites and invocations required of the *tōhunga* in order to identify who was the 'sender of the fish' (ie. which ancestral spirit it was). The occurrence of the stranding was considered to be a good omen, and when a person died, they lit fires and watched for the spirit to return via more strandings. Moriori had been isolated on the island group for about 20 generations and the attributes of some gods had been slightly re-configured. For example Shand states that 'Rongo<sup>91</sup> appears to have been partly the representative god of Rongo-moana, or blackfish... possibly because the Rongo-moana was an item of food' (1894: 89).<sup>92</sup> Tangaroa was a god of fish and good fortune and food came as gifts from his realm, the sea. Sutton (1980: 84) cites the 1882 Deighton *karakia* collection as containing evidence of a Moriori belief in the "supernatural regulation of hunting, fishing and gathering activity. Careless or ruthless behaviour might be punished by interruption of supply." He suggests that this is because chiefly power for settling disputes was absent; but on this reading a supernatural control of food sources is entirely consistent with normal Polynesian *utu* practice in their relationship with the gods; and the *karakia* manuscript quoted would thus confirm that the Moriori ontological relationship with the gods conformed with what has already been described in chapter three regarding Māori. There are no specific references in the Moriori narratives that their actions towards Broughton's party were motivated by any particular phenomena they regarded as omens, excepting that their departure was accompanied by what was described as very gloomy weather with thunder and lightening "descending the mountain and pursuing them"<sup>93</sup>. However, given their belief that things were sent to them as gifts from the sea, it follows that the European arrival could have been seen in this category also, as representing spirits returning with gifts from Tangaroa. Moriori narratives state that when the sailors fired their guns, someone said, "hear the crack of the kelp of their god Heauoro" (the sound made by the bull kelp in rough seas)<sup>94</sup>. They also commented about them smoking (therefore Mahuika's fire came out of their

bellies), and their ship's rigging was like fishing nets, also associated with Tangaroa's domain (Shand, 1904: 151).

Although the source information for Broughton's visit is quite limited (there are three eyewitness British journals that are sufficiently detailed to corroborate each other), these journals provide a variety of perspectives, and happen to come from three of the key players in the interactions. They thus comment upon their own behaviour and that of the others, such that by comparison, aspects of their motivation are exposed. Additionally, the Moriori evidence was written down about 50 years after the event, but significant components corroborate the British narrative (though some aspects are new, as would be expected under these circumstances). As Ngati Mutunga Māori from Taranaki invaded the Moriori in about 1840, some evidence therefore also survives in Māori oral histories.

### *Turning points and Violence*

The aim of this section is to establish as closely as possible the actions of Moriori and British sailors from the time they first saw each other to the time the British left. Close attention is paid to which social actors were involved, and where the turning points were in the sequence that led to violence, and caused it to cease. Wilson has called these transition points (2008: 25). By identifying the actors at these key turning points it is much easier to see why violence happened and what caused it ultimately to cease.

When Vancouver and Broughton left Facile Harbour in Dusky Sound, the *Chatham*, an armed tender that was always top-heavy had its decks loaded with casks of beer and water, so when they encountered a heavy storm they had to run south with it, and they lost their jolly boat. Bell described how everything became saturated. They went south to about 48 degrees where they encountered the Snares islands and after two days in gale conditions were able to turn towards the Northeast with a "remarkably heavy following sea [that] kept the vessel constantly under water". Under such variable conditions, and after another five days they were at 43°41' and longitude 182° 2' offshore from Rēkōhu which they named 'Chatham' after an Admiralty officer of that name. They saw a white sandy beach, a lot of scrubby low land and a lagoon (all of which they thought looked "very pleasant") some smoke rising and some people hauling up a canoe. After such an ordeal, it is not surprising that they were keen to go ashore. Broughton said: "so good an opportunity might not occur for acquiring some knowledge of the natives", so he was focused on the sailing instructions and collecting knowledge from the start, and they

anchored about a mile offshore. A vessel of that size is unlikely to have been seen by Moriori before, and it is likely that as the crew of Chatham saw Moriori smoke, Moriori also saw them. The situations, interactions and transactions that occurred were unlike those described in previous chapters. Neither party had any history of meeting the other and therefore they could not have been influenced by intergenerational resentments and unpaid *utu* between them. However it should be remembered that for Polynesians this fact would not necessarily mean that the Europeans should not be attacked for *utu* reasons. They could, in a metaphorical sense have been the “flying fish that crossed the bow of the war canoe”, which would in itself, be significant enough for them to be attacked. It was a bad omen not to intercept a party who crossed your path when you were ‘on a mission’, and the *utu* would still need to be paid. This did not happen. Moriori may have been seen as similar to any Pacific Islanders the Europeans had met but they also had distinctive differences. Even their language differed from Māori, they were not tattooed, their boats were different, and their behaviour proved to be different as well.

Thus the *immediate initiating circumstance* was when Captain Broughton *decided* to go ashore at the sandy bay known to Moriori as Kaingaroa. Broughton took the ship’s cutter, and with him went the master Johnstone, the master’s mate John Sherriff, a marine, and at least one seaman. They landed on some rocks near the place where they had first seen some people. Two canoes had been left there and when the locals spotted them looking at the canoes they came running, were very noisy and carried long spears.

*This noisiness sparked the first turning point.* Johnstone described the noise as a “tumult”, that they were “brandishing their spears & clubs with much vociferation” and this indicated their “hostile intentions” for which reason Johnstone got back in the boat. In contrast, Broughton interpreted this behaviour as an enthusiastic attempt to communicate. Johnstone *misunderstood*, and was therefore *nervous*. He was equating noise and waving of spears with violent intention and it appears that he continued to be negative about Moriori attitudes for the whole day of their visit. It actually seems that it was *his* attitude including, perhaps, some pre-conceptions (which may have manifested itself in aspects of his body language) that seems eventually to have caused the end of the day to become violent. However at this initial stage they kept their distance using the oars and gave the excited Moriori some ‘presents’ on the end of their spears, but were *surprised* that these were *not reciprocated*. Broughton described how they “communicated by signs and gestures,” that they were very pleased with the gifts and seemed keen that the Europeans

should land. Master's mate John Sherriff decided to settle the matter courageously by going ashore without a gun. None of the Moriori took much notice of this and about 40 people stayed around and took whatever they could from the boat, while two or three of them accompanied Sherriff, taking "a great interest in [his] person", touching him and pulling him, but he returned unharmed in about 15 minutes. Again, Johnstone persisted with his negative attitude when he eventually wrote in his journal that they had "forcibly detained him" while Sherriff himself reported that "they did not offer me the least violence".

The *second turning point* occurred after Sherriff returned unharmed and Broughton *decided* that they should take up the invitation to go ashore with the intention of trying *to get things in exchange* for what they had given to the Moriori who simply sat on the beach with their spears and watched. As nothing happened they decided to leave, but soon afterwards they changed their minds and went ashore again, examined some canoes and Brougham then *decided* to get one quite serious 'thing' – to take the opportunity to *declare the island British territory* (against regulation)<sup>95</sup> by *raising the flag, turning the soil, burying a message in a bottle, nailing a lead plaque to a tree* and 'drinking His Majesty's health.' Whilst all this was going on, a large group of Moriori was sitting at the end of the beach watching. They would not have failed to understand the principle of what was going on. These were a people whose legendary response to the arrival of Kahu's canoe and the *pou henu* (land marker posts) its people erected was to pull them out. These were also the people now noted in Polynesia for their dendroglyph tree carvings. The Moriori response as the Europeans carried out this blatant territorial act on someone else's land and within their full view, was not violent. They allowed the Europeans to go exploring and when they returned, exercised their *mana henu* (*Māori=mana whenua*) by welcoming the 'tuhoua'<sup>96</sup> and greeting them with the *hongī*. The Europeans gave them 'some trinkets' and they reluctantly exchanged a spear. It is clear from a Polynesian perspective that by their *manaakitanga* or hospitality, Moriori were at the same time signalling that this was their land, and sealing the friendship by gift exchange. Also from a Polynesian perspective, *tapu* was meeting *tapu*, each group was having its *mana* acknowledged and there was no need for *utu*. Violence did not erupt.

Perhaps Broughton recognized that Moriori meant to exert their power and territoriality, because his next act and *the third turning point* and *defining moment* in their interaction was the extraordinary *decision to demonstrate the power of firearms* by

showing them a gun and some dead birds, and firing off the gun. The Moriori response was immediate, and, again, non-violent. There were five Europeans present ashore and four in the boat, all of whom were armed. There were more than forty Moriori. All but a few of them ran away when the gun was demonstrated. An elderly chief came forward, maintained his ground, beat time with his feet, presented a spear sideways and “seemed to notice us in a very threatening manner” (Broughton, Nov. 1791: 384). He was also carrying a *patu* (club) wrapped in a mat. The Māori-style ceremonial challenge is easily recognizable, as is the symbolism of presenting the spear sideways although the *patu* being wrapped in a mat seems unusual but explainable<sup>97</sup>. It was a suitable welcome by the elder to recognize a person of similar *mana* and was not actually a threat. It displayed his *mana* as *Tcha'kat henu* as well as that of Broughton who responded by handing his gun to someone behind him and going to shake the elder's hand. These actions seem to have balanced the situation to the extent that violence between them was unlikely, but Moriori continued to try and obtain Broughton's gun and shot belt, and whenever spears were pointed to they were handed to those behind. This was another instance of avoiding violence, but with potential for misunderstanding by persons like Johnstone. Since Broughton continued to show an interest in wanting to hold things like the *patu*, there may also have been some nervousness for Moriori that theft of valued or *tapu* objects might occur because theft would have meant loss of the physical object, loss of its *mana* and spiritual power, and a resulting *utu* imbalance requiring a response. It would have been a dangerous exercise.

Broughton, Johnstone and the three armed men with him then *decided* to walk along the beach to the Moriori ‘habitations’ seeking food and drink. Four armed men accompanied them alongside in the boat. Broughton had *ordered them not to use their firearms*. Moriori would not have known this and the large group of them who accompanied Broughton decided to pick up driftwood and make improvised clubs, swinging them above their heads, then “retired up the beach to a fire”.

*Turning point four* was when *Johnstone decided to follow them alone. He had a gun*. Broughton reported that “his presence seemed rather to displease them” and he returned. The Moriori narrative says that one of Broughton's people was trying to take a net belonging to a particular person who tried to stop him, and that is how the violence began. Broughton's narrative suggests that Johnstone was trying to find things out about how they made fire and so on. It seems possible that in his investigations he at least

touched a net. However the European party walked along the beach and around the lagoon followed by 14 Moriori armed with clubs and spears, until they reached the boat. By this time the Moriori were again becoming noisy and one man “strutted towards me in a very menacing attitude; he distorted his person, turned up his eyes, made hideous faces and created a wonderful fierceness in his appearance by his gestures” (Broughton, in Lamb, 1984: 386). The *captain pointed his double-barrelled gun* at the young man, who then “desisted”. Broughton then fired a barrel of small shot hoping to intimidate them. The Moriori response is interesting in that it was not Broughton that was attacked in retaliation, but *Johnstone’s musket received a blow from a club*. Moriori were not aiming at people but at their weapons. The initial threatening postures were aimed at the leader of the party<sup>98</sup> i.e. Broughton, but the initial attack was at Johnstone’s gun. If the Moriori narrative is correct; the attempted theft of a net (possibly in association with Broughton’s intention to ‘get some things to take back in exchange’ for the trinkets given earlier) then Johnstone is probably the chief suspect, and a suitable target for *utu* – though not personal violence. There was *utu* required for theft of a thing, and a thing was attacked to satisfy that. It was likely to have been in accordance with Moriori practice at the time. They followed Nūnuku’s law and did not kill people but they still sought *utu* for thefts such as adultery and the taking of personal property like firewood and nets. Sometimes this was accomplished by *mākutu* but not by physical killing (Shand 1894: 90). Following the blow to Johnstone’s gun, in a short space of time *Johnstone recovered his gun and fired it*. A marine, a seaman and the boatmaster all *fired without orders*.

Broughton then ordered the *firing to “instantly cease”* and the Moriori fled. This was *turning point five* but it was not the end of the matter. He thought that he had seen them all go, but was devastated to find that one man had been killed by a shot through the heart and as they walked back to the boat they saw someone come out of the woods and “place himself beside the deceased... and utter his lamentations”. From all the British narratives, it is clear that they had acted from fear and a lack of understanding that the possessions of indigenous people were more than simple curiosities to be uplifted and taken away at their choosing. Yet this behaviour was in keeping with contemporary Western discourse about ‘natives’ at that time. Their land and their things were available to take. However they also tried to compensate for the unfortunate loss of life (in as much as it was possible) by leaving all the trinkets and toys they still had to demonstrate their kind intentions and lack of malice. According to Moriori narratives the items left were

blankets, shirts, and tomahawks, and these were seen – in the same way, as they were intended – as a kind of *utu* to demonstrate sympathy.

Like all violent sequences, it is a matter of choice and interpretation what circumstances are chosen to demark their beginning and end. The beginning may be traced to something centuries and generations before, and their end centuries later, for they are all connected and have trajectories. In such a way, what happened could be traced by Moriori, to the arrival of Nūnuku at Rēkōhu about 20 generations before, and a cessation of the sequence could be seen in the story recorded in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century by someone on an American whaleship on which the Moriori Koche had stowed away. According to Michael King, Koche reported his father's story: as the strangers retreated from the beach at Kaingaroa "the atmosphere became dark, sultry and gloomy and thunder and lightning descended on the mountain and pursued..." them (2000: 45). The *tohu* would have been interpreted by the *tōhunga*, and as soon as the ship had departed the elders held a meeting to decide their response in case the strangers returned. This marked the *cessation of the sequence*. They *decided* that because the sailors had not removed the body of the man whom they had shot, they could not have been cannibals. The elders severely castigated those who had participated in the violent episode and whose actions had worried them at the time (in McNab, 1909). They also decided:

In the event of their return, to meet them with an emblem of peace. Accordingly when in later years a sealer entered the bay of Waitangi, and its boat touched the sands, the natives laid down their spears and clubs, a man advanced and placed one end of a grass plant in the hands of the captain, and holding on to the other, made him a speech of welcome, threw over him his own cloak, and thus established a firm and lasting peace... (Koche, 1873: 547, quoted in Richards, 1982: 6)

This last description duplicates the reported behaviour of Dusky Bay Māori towards James Cook when he went ashore and was also presented with some reeds which both the captain and the chief held as Cook was greeted.

### *Social Actors*

Studying the turning points in any violent sequence, and the particular social actors, gives a much clearer picture about the decision-making that caused violence to occur because the choices they made contributed to those transitional parts of the sequence that led to violence. In all the violent episodes examined thus far in this thesis, personal aspects of the social actors have influenced their decision-making. It has always been

more than the behaviour of the ‘other’, which has triggered their reactions. Their decision-making was always informed by the experience of the individual, including the discourse that he has been party to; also his psychological makeup, age, rank, ethnicity and sometimes even his size. But it was also influenced by contingent factors that emerged at the time of the interaction. For an analysis of why violence occurred (or not) it is therefore necessary to identify the actors at key transitional turning points *and* to look at what is known of their personality traits and social positions.

The previous section showed that all nine members of Broughton’s party were key actors at some point or other in the sequence. Fear was a significant part of their choices for action, and Johnstone was the key player. As for Moriori, the ‘elder’ was undoubtedly their key living human actor. Yet he was acting in accordance with Moriori customary discourse, which originated from another human actor now deceased – the legendary Nūnuku henu. It could even be said that at that time he *was* Nūnuku, because he was acting out his role and ‘performing’ his *kaupapa*, a non-violent act of confrontation. The personal characteristics of these key actors will now be examined.

*Lieutenant William Robert Broughton* aged 29 was the captain of *HMS Chatham*. He was the “scion of a Cheshire landed family” (King, 2000: 39) who entered the Royal Navy at the age of 12 and served in the American Revolutionary war where he was taken prisoner. He had also served in the merchant navy in association with the North American fur trade (W. Kaye Lamb, 1984: 29). His father was a member of the Hamburg Company of Merchant Adventurers, and his maternal uncle, Sir George Young had been a Flag Captain and commander of the Royal Yacht *William and Mary*. Young was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and belonged to an exclusive social network that included parliamentarians and Joseph Banks. Given these illustrious family, socio-political and intellectual connections, Broughton’s keen interest in surveying, taking land in the name of King George, and gathering scientific and ethnographic information are hardly surprising. He exhibited these tendencies in the Chatham Islands, and also later in his surveys along the Columbia River in North America (Mockford, 2005: 33). Broughton’s *Chatham* journal suggests that he also had some ingrained beliefs regarding the ‘natives’ he encountered. These can be traced to Enlightenment thinking and to naval discipline. They include the notion that ‘natives’ might be ‘savages’, one should always be on guard, and should demonstrate the force of firearms just in case. Furthermore, there was an assumption that ‘thefts’ were always likely and that one must always obtain equivalence

in value for items given; equivalence, that is, on British terms. At the Chathams Broughton was quite determined to obtain things in exchange for the ‘trinkets’ that he had given to Moriori, and as his understanding was not initially matched by anything being given in return he went ashore. However “... all our intreaties [sic] were ineffectual in obtaining any thing in return for our presents” (Broughton: in Kaye Lamb, 1984: 383). Broughton continued with this attitude, always making judgement about equivalence whilst trading with ‘Indians’ he met when he later visited the Columbia River. The words “... *bought* of them on *reasonable terms*” and “seemed to know the *value* of them very well...” are reminiscent of Cook’s, and had become standard usage in his journals and those of his officers (Bell, ship’s clerk, jnl.my emphasis). With his connection to the social circle of Joseph Banks, Broughton was also interested in gaining items of scientific and potential economic value to take back. Uncle Sir Charles Young had already written a paper proposing the establishment of an agricultural industry to exploit NZ flax, and development of a port in NSW to trade with China (Mockford, 2005: 17). After these critical comments it should be stated that Broughton’s journals show him as reflexive and empathetic and that he was genuinely sorry that his attempt to scare Moriori resulted in the unfortunate death of one of them. Comments from a number of others of the ship’s company expressed regret for this incident. Broughton was also noted for “giving every man his due” when it came to naming newly discovered places, and not taking the glory for himself. In the end though, Broughton (and other crew who were not present at the time) said: “the hostility of its inhabitants rendered the melancholy fate that attended one of them unavoidable, and prevented our researches extending further than the beach.” This was a repeat of the situation described in Chapter seven, where Cook is reported to have said that when Kahura described theft by Europeans as the cause of the Grass Cove incident, it was a strategy to divert attention from their own culpability and to blame the Europeans instead. In Broughton’s case it was a blatant attempt to blame the Moriori ‘other’ and present oneself as having no implication whatsoever in causing the episode. In Polynesian terms it was a slight upon their credibility i.e. an insult and theft of their *mana*. This is one reason why close reading of several journals, and close analysis of turning points in a violent sequence, exposes the actual perpetrators and flawed decision making that led to the violence.

*James Johnstone* was of similar age (32 years) to Broughton but had less naval experience and was the master of the armed tender *Chatham*; he was in charge of

navigation and sailing the ship. Prior to Vancouver's expedition to the Pacific North-West, Johnstone had served in the Royal Navy for seven years, including on *HMS Nonsuch* in the West Indies where he originally met surgeon Archibald Menzies, a personal friend of Joseph Banks. Johnstone and Menzies both also served on the privateer *Prince of Wales* during Colnett's voyage to the Pacific North west coast seeking seeds and new plants for Kew Gardens, and investigating a possible fur trade. Johnstone became well regarded for his skill in marine surveying and his knowledge of the Northwest Pacific coast, so was appointed as master of the *Chatham* to accompany Vancouver's *Discovery* into the Pacific in 1791. Menzies was supernumerary naturalist aboard the *Discovery* on the same voyage. In his journals and correspondence, as well as in the journals of Broughton, Sherriff and Bell during that Vancouver expedition, Johnstone appears as an objective scientific thinker and a stickler for collecting precise measured information. He made detailed notes and descriptions of people, and measurements of ethnographic artifacts, so it is not surprising that he was 'accused' by Moriori of interfering with or stealing their fishing nets. It may well be that he was just examining them and that his intention was not theft, but was interpreted as such. However, he was carrying a gun soon after the shooting capacity of a gun had just been demonstrated, so this seems to have been an ill advised action. While on the Canadian coast he observed some eight 'poles'. He measured their height and distance apart (Blumenthal, 2007). Among the Bella Coola Indians he studied their house construction (Kaye Lamb, 1984: 139). At Rēkōhu he measured canoes and gave detailed descriptions of their appearance and sailing abilities. Aboard ship he was critical of imprecision around daily tasks, and in a letter to his friend, commented about the daily contention between the marine sergeant and the master of the ship: "The officer of the troops also thinks he has command... on board". He also commented on difficulties with the astronomical quadrant which the "young astronomer condemns its exactness and finds it awkward in the adjustment". In the same letter Johnstone criticized the *Chatham* as a "most improper vessel", for its weight and its slow response in sailing. Vancouver was, like Cook, a naval commander who was impatient of 'scientific gentlemen' and he did not seem to like Johnstone's friend Menzies (ibid: 30). However, it appears that the relationship between Johnstone and Brougham was not acrimonious and they seem to have had similar attitudes to surveying and information gathering as sailing orders required. Firstly, they were navy men who must be on guard. Yet Johnstone – perhaps in accordance with his impatience

with anything not performing properly – was inflexible and nervous when indigenous peoples ashore did not respond as he expected them to, and ‘jumped to conclusions’ about them.

*John Sherriff* started out as midshipman and became a master’s mate on the *Chatham*. He is best known from his journals in the Chathams and the Northwest Pacific. In Broughton’s account of the landing at Rēkōhu, Sherriff appears to have been level headed and non-judgmental, and at Rēkōhu he does not feature in any reports of violence or fear. In fact Broughton commented that during the great excitement surrounding their presence and the ‘presents’ given from the boat on the rocky shore, “we had reason to believe they were very solicitous that we should land”. As Sherriff stated:

I then went ahead unarm’d & stai’d with them a quarter of an hour, they did not offer me the least violence, but seem’d to gaze upon me with the greatest astonishment” (journal 29<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1791).

Thus the apparently naïve courage displayed by Sherriff actually appears to have resulted from his open-minded attitude towards communication. His assignments in the 1792 explorations of the Columbia River reveal that he was not averse to the general British philosophy of demonstrating the power of firearms, but he was reflexive about the indigenous people he met and their motivations for action. Lieutenant Broughton, put him in charge of a boat to explore a tributary for six or seven miles to find its headwaters. Throughout the assignment Sherriff detailed their meetings with Indians. In the vicinity of Chief Shkōwley’s village, where:

I believe they came off... with an intention to attack us and drive us down river again, coming off to the number of about 50 canoes, with 3 to 10 men in each, every man prepared for War, their Bows strung, Quivers full & War dresses on...

Sherriff noted that the Chief attempted to converse by signs and ask what they wanted. They tried to explain, “in the best manner we could.” Their demonstration of firearms and their attempts to communicate resulted in the Chief’s instruction to his men to remove their war apparel. Trading then commenced and they were supplied with salmon and potatoes. Similarly with another group of Indians he said that “we did not find the natives as savage as represented...” and again “I cannot say it might be through fear or it might be their natural disposition, but we were well treated with every civility by them” (David, 1992; 56-9). At Chatham Island Sherriff accompanied Brougham and Johnstone throughout the journeys ashore, but is not mentioned in relation to any of the

confrontations. He remained in the navy, becoming a commander and was killed in a battle with a French cruiser in the West Indies.

*Shipmates*: The previous section described turning points in the interactive sequence that led to violence between the Moriori people and the naval personnel. It showed that Lieutenant Johnstone seemed to have been identified by Moriori as the main provocateur. He was probably afraid, but it was a fear tempered by his desire to find things out and possibly to take them as ‘curiosities’ or scientific evidence. The men who manned the boat and the marines who accompanied him are unknown, but their role as silent guards bearing arms would not have gone un-noticed by the Moriori people present as the Europeans were coming ashore, or while they walked along the beach and then re-embarked. Furthermore, at the final altercation when Johnstone’s musket was attacked with a club, the spontaneous reply by a sailor’s gun, against orders, exacerbated fear and general mayhem. He had *decided* to fire, but it cannot be argued that his firing was a defining moment or turning point in the sequence. The turning point was when Johnstone did whatever it was that disturbed the Moriori and resulted in his gun being attacked. So what of these men? Kaye Lamb said that the surgeon’s mate Hewitt described them as “a ragged Complement of Fisherman’s Boys and Fresh water sailors...” whilst Vancouver and the officers “had high praise for the men who manned the small boats...[their] indefatigable exertion... they frequently laboured from Morning till Night and always performed that Duty with alacrity, not even a Murmer was heard...”(Kaye Lamb, 1984: 210). The important word is Duty. However, some of these men wrote journals; most of them were sparse records of ‘ship work’, but they did mention prominent issues that were part of shipboard discourse purveyed between the ranks as gossip about what had been happening ashore. Lieutenant Heddington simply said “one of the natives was unfortunately killed in a skirmish” (ADM 55/15) but others elaborated, and some qualified the reports that they heard of what had or may have happened:

It was unfortunate, they were driven to such extremities, but what else could be done? surely [sic] it was more prudent to take measures that were taken than hazard, the lives of a boats crew by any ill-timed Humanity... I will not be strictly bound for authenticity of this Account, any more than the Death of one man – for the person who related, I found since made some additions somewhat of the miraculous kind. all of which, I have omitted and diluted the most probable[sic] (journal of unidentified probable midshipman, ADM. 55/13/3)

Yet given that most people, especially naval personnel, were interested in their own promotion, they are unlikely in their journals, to have represented their own shipmates

and officers as having made unethical decisions, and were more likely to make critical comments about the ‘other’. Equally, it is inevitable that mischievous or misinformed stories exacerbated the fear marines and sailors had. They went ashore amongst people whose oral and body language they were unable to interpret, and were also constrained by the orders of their superior officers. In turn shipboard discourse must have been a contributing factor – especially in the unfortunate event just described – where a Moriori man was killed. It was the same for Boulton’s sealers at Open Bay who had heard stories of other sealers being killed and eaten by Māori and this resulted in Boulton shooting randomly in the dark.

*The Moriori persons* who approached Broughton’s party in the first instance were described by him as being noisy, eager to receive presents, trying to communicate by words and gestures, and encouraging the boat crew to go ashore. Some of them were also very curious about Sherriff as he stepped ashore, while others wanted to take things off the boat and were steadfast throughout their interactions in not giving anything in return for the presents they had received. Neither did the Moriori people stop them from examining ‘canoes’ and fishing equipment or walking around their land, and they even welcomed them by ‘pressing noses’. Though he felt cheated by not being able to acquire any of their ‘things’ Broughton never used the word ‘theft’ or ‘stealing’, and instead said that one of them had got overexcited about seeing himself in a mirror. They “seemed to entertain not the least idea of barter”, appeared to be cheerful and “our conversation frequently excit[ed] bursts of laughter.” From a European point of view there appears to be nothing in Moriori attitudes that should have prompted a violent response, so this leaves only Johnstone’s attitude, the demonstration of guns, and the rude assumptions that Broughton and his shipmates made in claiming the land, interfering with property without permission, and trying to exert the upper hand. The one Moriori person, upset because he thought his personal property was threatened, directed his violence at a gun rather than a person, yet Broughton was frustrated because he did not get what he wanted. He exonerated the *Chatham*’s officers and crew: “I have to lament that the hostility of its inhabitants rendered the melancholy fate that attended one of them unavoidable” (in Kaye Lamb, 1984: 387).

*The elderly man*, who welcomed the visiting sailors with a ceremonial challenge, was, by the manner of his performance and the objects he was holding, clearly a person of *mana* amongst his people. Sutton (1980: 83-84) and King (2000: 25-26) have both

pointed out that archaeological, historical and social evidence suggests that on Rēkōhu and other islands of the Chathams Group, the harsh physical environment and small population density meant that they had begun adaptively to move “away from the traditional hierarchical Polynesian model of chiefs and commoners and develop... an egalitarian model”. This does not necessarily mean that they had therefore lost *mana* and *tapu*, and indeed the Taranaki Māori who later invaded them reported that they were a “very *tapu* people” (Shand, 1892). It is also possible that within the egalitarian model they appear to have adopted, *mana* (and the responsibility that accompanied it) were shared for the reasons that Te Ari Pitama described (in Binney, 2004: 271-2). If the *mana* was divided and conferred on several people this provided the potential for its magnification by the agency of several rather than one person. Broughton reported that they saw a few old men who did not appear to have any particular authority over the other people present. While they apparently had by now a non-hierarchical social structure, and had decided to avoid warfare, they retained a strong belief in *mana*, *tapu* and *utu*. The old man was performing an age-old ritual for dealing with the meeting of *tapu* people with *tapu* people. Unfortunately there is no record of what he said, but the manner of his performance – “beating time with his feet” and “noticing [them] in a very threatening manner” has the hallmarks of a ceremonial challenge such as would have been given by *tcha’kat henu* to *tapu* persons when they arrived as visitors on one’s own land. Such a challenge *acknowledged their tapu* and *displayed one’s own*. It provided suitable *utu* payment to the gods and to the person being honoured – so that there was no acrimony to be dealt with – and this avoided violence. He also carried with him his ceremonial *patu* to enhance the *mana* of the situation and display the status and territorial rights of his people. Such a person would surely have known the traditional chants and genealogies that were later collected by Shand and Hirawanu Tapu in the 1860s. They and their associated ‘*Hokorongō tarik*’ that were performed on ceremonial occasions kept alive a record of past migrations, violence and warfare, as well as Nūnuku’s instruction and reason for avoiding these things. This knowledge embodied in the old man was kept alive at ritual times, rehearsed and remembered. Broughton’s comment that he “noticed them in a very threatening manner” fell short of the mark as an interpretation of what was happening (Kaye Lamb, 1984, Vol. 1: 384). He was not actually threatening, but was acknowledging their *mana* and *tapu*, by shaking their hands and eliminating any potential danger for

either of them. That the party continued to walk about with guns must have seemed to them bizarre indeed.

### *Things as Social Actors*

Throughout this thesis an examination of the role of things as social actors is seen as a useful analytical and heuristic tool:

- Because some things are personal property.
- Because all things have value, and that value varies according to the knowledge system from which one is operating, and the way this is understood by the associated social actors.
- Because things are often embodiments of relationships or transactions.
- Because the way things are seen to be used and in what situations is useful in interpreting the actions, reactions and motivations of the giver and recipient.

For any investigation of inter-cultural transactions the things present help to objectify a comparison between ways of ‘seeing’ and ‘knowing’ the world. They are in the world of each of the cultures being compared. They are the same material entities, but they are often culturally interpreted differently, so in some ways they are able to mediate understanding. Even within one culture they may be symbolically polyvocal; yet observing the way that people behave towards them can frequently reveal how they are thinking and how their value and knowledge systems regard the objects. In other words they act as equivocations, where there is an overlap of commonality in understanding, and areas of difference between cultures. Analysis of the objects present and participating at the transitional turning points can assist in establishing and understanding the real causes of violence. At Kaingaroa beach on Rēkōhu Island the objects present and participating in the interactions were at least nine muskets, a shot belt, long spears, a wrapped *patu*, some fishing nets, some *raupo* boats and a ship’s longboat, some paddles, some driftwood, a mirror, ‘trinkets’<sup>99</sup>, a spade, a flag, a bottle, a piece of lead, a message written on paper, a glass, some alcohol, a sealskin coat, some blankets, some shirts and tomahawks, and the land.

*At the first turning point* (when Johnstone was afraid and Sherriff went ashore) the notable things present and ‘performing’ were the guns of all the Europeans there, the spears of the Moriori and the ‘presents’, including a mirror. Both parties would have seen the guns and the spears as weapons, but for Moriori weapons represented something more

than their immediately apparent functional use. They would also have had *mana* and *tapu* associated with their owners and with what both the weapons and their owners may have achieved in the past. Moreover, the ‘power’ aspect of the gun’s *mana* was ultimately demonstrated resulting in *turning point three* where the Moriori response was peaceful, but there was finally a violent outcome. The firing of the gun had signalled what guns are capable of. It ratcheted up anxiety levels for Moriori, and is probably why they were uncomfortable when Johnstone approached with only his gun.

On the other hand, at *turning point one* while spears may have been seen as a threat by the boat party who kept at an oar length away, they were used for ‘giving presents’ to the Moriori. A weapon was thus used to receive things that may have been considered *tapu*. The problem was that Moriori saw the ‘presents’ as gifts, which is what the donors *called* them, but ‘presents’ was not the intention when they were given out. This was made clear when Broughton decided to go ashore and try to get other ‘things’ in return. So what could have been seen as a symbol of friendship became a type of *utu* demand. He had his ‘eye’ on some nets and canoes but none were forthcoming. Moreover he was aiming for a much bigger ‘thing’, to take the land in the name of King George (without permission). Thus at *turning point two*, the spade, the flag, the glass, the alcohol, the bottle and the lead plaque acted as stage props in an English ritual. Apparently without saying a word about it, or demonstrating his intention to any Moriori, Broughton proceeded to dig the land, erect a pole with a flag on it, bury a bottle containing a message, nail a piece of lead to a tree, and drink a toast to His Majesty. There is no doubt of how Moriori must have regarded these symbolic acts. They would have fully understood what was signified in European terms. They ‘saw’ but they did not ‘know’ about the King of England or the British Empire. Drinking might, for Moriori, have been a symbolic act of *whakanoa*<sup>100</sup> after a ritual, or even a symbolic *whāngai hau* paying *utu* to the gods. There was another Polynesian way to understand what was happening. The Europeans were taking possession of the land or *takahi whenua* (trampling the land). This was theft, actually. What they ‘saw and knew’ could have been that this was an attempt to take away the *mana* of the land; equivalent to taking a peoples’ spiritual life source as well, i.e, conquering them. This aspect would have not have been anticipated by Broughton and his party who ‘saw and knew’ land as a material resource. Given Broughton’s family and professional associations he would have ‘seen’ the land as a

possible site for resource exploitation of one kind or another, and his symbolic act as an opportunity for enhancing his own status and promotion in the navy.

*Turning point two* therefore involved the flag-raising, and a peaceful response with Moriori asserting their own *mana*, making the visitors welcome afterwards by touching noses and balancing the *utu* by magnanimous *manaakitanga*. As Shirres has said:

The real sign of a person's *mana* and *tapu* is not that person's power to destroy other people, but that person's power to *manaaki* and look after people... (1997: 47).

Yet it was *turning point three*, the re-appearance of Broughton's gun as a social actor, and the demonstration of its life threatening properties that prompted the Moriori elder to 'stand firm' and challenge them. He displayed his own *mana* by performing the ancestral ritual challenge, bringing with him two objects, his spear<sup>101</sup> and his *patu*, an object so highly *tapu* that it was wrapped. Neither Broughton nor his people were allowed to touch it. The elder had matched the perceived intrinsic *tapu* of the visitors and their guns, with his own intrinsic *tapu* and that of his spear and wrapped *patu*. The wrapping of the *patu* is very significant because of the increased efficacy it was supposed to acquire from being wrapped. It would have become like a *to'o* or godstick. A *tōhunga* could call the particular god into the stick or other object, and whilst wrapped it became an instantiation of the god. Yet "what is wrapped is also bound, constrained... representing man's control of the divine" (White 1887: Vol 1: 2; cf. N.Thomas, 2003 b: 81; Babadzan, 2003: 28-30; cf. Shand, 1894: 90; King, 2000: 34). Such *mana* would have been seen by Moriori people, as a powerful attribute to ensure the success of their elder's challenge. His ritualistic behaviour in this situation where *tapu* was meeting *tapu*, ceremonially, was designed to create a neutral situation where negative *utu* would not be considered necessary. If any fighting *had* occurred at that time, according to Nūnuku's law fighting would stop with the first sign of blood and the person injured would call out: "*Ka pakaru tanganeī ūpoko*" – "my head is broken".

When, exactly, *turning point four* occurred is unclear, because Johnstone was the only European present at close quarters with the large group of Moriori sitting around a fire on the beach, but it soon became apparent to others that they were annoyed and wanted him to go away. Again, it seems there were three kinds of objects implicated in the action: guns carried by all members of the European party (even after they had just scared everybody by demonstrating their power to kill), fishing nets, and canoes. These

could, in Polynesian terms, be seen as ‘luring’ the Europeans who wanted to examine and take them in return for the ‘presents’ they had dispensed. However for Broughton, Johnstone and company they were just ‘things’ that they wanted. They would have been valuable social capital to ‘have’ and display or sell, back in England. People would have admired their owners and the stories they told about them. The received story from Moriori sources said that someone tried to take a net. Moriori verbally abused Broughton as leader of the expedition, for this attempted theft, and Johnstone’s gun was physically attacked, so it seems likely that Johnstone had tried to take the net. Because it sparked off an *utu* response, this act of attempted theft shows how ‘things’ are social actors that can initiate actions leading to violence, because people want to ‘have’ them. In this way things often provide motivation for people to enhance their social or cultural capital and hence their own status or – for Polynesians – their *mana*. Defending things becomes a matter of honour, and theft a matter of violence to the honour, status, or *mana* of the owner. In this case at Rēkōhu it was the Europeans wanting things that would enhance *their* own social capital and socio-political status. At Queen Charlotte Sound, Māori were aiming at the same thing, but they were also seeking to disempower the enemy by stealing things belonging to astronomer Bayly that were probably perceived as having high *mana*. The enemy, that is, Cook and Furneaux, had trampled their land and their *mana whenua* and insulted them by sending them off their own beach, taking resources without giving proper compensation. In terms of theft there appears to be nothing in the Moriori case that is fundamentally different about how theft was regarded and the fact that the need for *utu* needed to be addressed. However Nūnuku had suggested another way by which the fundamental tenets of the Polynesian ‘figured worlds’ could be supported, and at the same time the issue of *utu* could be honoured without the need for war and killing being a necessary component of that.

## Summary chart – Kaingaroa, Rēkōhu Island

Transitional turning points	Justification for action or reaction
Initiator (European) <b>Broughton</b> decides to land at a sandy bay (Kaingaroa) at rocks where inhabitants had been seen.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. <i>Follow instructions</i> to gain knowledge.</li> <li>b. Thereby gain <i>kudos</i> for himself.</li> <li>c. <i>Safe</i> place to land.</li> </ul>
Action (European) <b>Broughton</b> decides to take <b>cutter</b> with <b>Johnstone &amp; Sherriff</b> & attempt to start exchanging.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. <i>Meet and interact</i> with Moriori.</li> <li>b. Obtain things in <i>exchange</i>.</li> <li>c. Observe &amp; <i>learn</i> about them.</li> </ul>
1. Reaction (Mori) Approach noisily, try to communicate, have long <b>spears</b> -used for receiving things on.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. <i>Excitement &amp; curiosity</i>.</li> <li>b. Trying to <i>assess/ establish risk</i>.</li> <li>c. Get visitors onto their territory.</li> </ul>
Action (E) i. <b>Johnstone</b> gets back in boat. ii. <b>Sherriff</b> decides to go ashore alone & leave <b>arms</b> in the <b>boat</b> .	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Johnstone is <i>afraid</i>.</li> <li>a. Sherriff is <i>confident</i>.</li> <li>b. Demonstrate <i>peaceful intention</i>.</li> </ul>
Reaction (Mori) i. 2-3 Mori 'attended' <b>Sherriff</b> towards the <b>canoes</b> . ii. About 40 stayed with the <b>boat</b> & took whatever they could. iii. Watched <b>Sherriff</b> for c.15mins.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. <i>Felt safe</i>.</li> <li>b. <i>Protecting own property</i>.</li> <li>a. <i>Opportunistic</i>.</li> <li>a. <i>Curious</i> about Sherriff.</li> <li>b. <i>Assessing risk</i>.</li> </ul>
2. Action (E) <b>Sherriff</b> returns & <b>Brougham, Johnstone, Sherriff, marine, seaman</b> decide to go ashore with <b>guns</b> & tried to get <b>things</b> in exchange for what they'd given. (Four men left with <b>boat &amp; guns</b> ).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. <i>Did not feel threatened</i> after Sherriff returned unharmed.</li> <li>b. <i>Assumed reciprocal payment due</i> to them, for 'presents' given.</li> <li>c. Wanting 'curiosities' (increase own <i>status</i> at home).</li> </ul>
Reaction (Mori) Sat on the beach with <b>spears</b> , watching. Reaction (E) Decide to leave.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. <i>Neutral</i> behaviour.</li> <li>b. <i>Cautious</i>.</li> <li>a. Having <i>no success</i>.</li> </ul>
3. Action (E) i. <b>Broughton</b> decides to demonstrate power of <b>firearms</b> , showing gun & <b>dead birds</b> . Action (M) i. Everyone except the elder – some people with him retreated. ii. <b>Elder</b> maintained his ground, presented <b>spear</b> sideways, beat time with feet, seemed threatening. Action (E) i. <b>Broughton</b> gave his gun to one of own people & shook elder's hand ii. Noticed <b>patu</b> rolled in a <b>mat</b> & asked to look at it.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. <i>Threat &amp; warning</i> that arms power exceeded that of native weapons.</li> <li>a. <i>Fear</i>.</li> <li>b. <i>Tapu</i> meets <i>tapu</i> (has to be matched).</li> <li>a. <i>Kawa</i> – acknowledging <i>mana</i> of visitor.</li> <li>b. Sideways to demonstrate <i>no threat</i>.</li> <li>c. Demonstrate <i>peaceful intention</i>.</li> <li>a. Demonstrate <i>peaceful intention</i>.</li> <li>a. <i>Curiosity</i> about why it was wrapped.</li> <li>b. Attempt to obtain it ( <i>'theft'</i> ).</li> </ul>
Reaction (M) i. <b>Elder</b> gave <b>patu</b> to is own helper to be taken away. ii. Tried to obtain <b>Broughton's gun &amp; shot belt</b> . iii. <b>Elder</b> handed <b>spears</b> to those behind	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. <i>Protect patu</i> from theft.</li> <li>b. Protect Broughton from <i>tapu</i> of <i>patu</i>.</li> <li>c. Demonstrate <i>peaceful intention</i>.</li> <li>a. Reciprocal demonstration of <i>curiosity</i>.</li> <li>b. <i>Fear</i> they might be used.</li> <li>c. <i>Wanted to acquire</i> them (<i>mana</i>)</li> <li>a. <i>Protect them from theft</i>.</li> <li>b. Protect their <i>tapu</i>.</li> <li>c. <i>Demonstrate peaceful intention</i>.</li> </ul>
4. Action (E) i. Walked round beach to lagoon, <b>armed boat</b> beside. <b>Johnstone</b> alone approached the group by <b>fire</b> & then returned – all with <b>guns</b> ii Asked for <b>water &amp; food</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Still looking for <i>things to acquire</i>.</li> <li>b. Looking for <i>water &amp; food</i>.</li> <li>c. Johnstone <i>trying to find out</i> how they made the fire.</li> <li>d. Trying to <i>obtain things</i> not obtained before.</li> </ul>

<p>iii. Returned to beach &amp; boat  <b>Reaction (M)</b> i. Annoyance at Johnstone's approach  ii. 14 young men improvised clubs of driftwood &amp; followed them back</p>	<p>a. No luck in their mission.  a. <i>Fear</i> – he was armed.  b. He was touching their nets etc- <i>anger</i>  a. <i>Strategy</i> – to match European numbers (9).  b. <i>Curiosity</i>.  c. <i>Reaction to them still carrying guns on shore</i>.</p>
<p><b>Action (M)</b> When Broughton &amp; co. abreast of boat one man strutted towards him-“menacing attitude, fierce, clamorous... ”.  <b>Reaction (E)</b> i. Broughton pointed a gun at the young man.  ii. Ordered boat to take them aboard.  iii. Fired one barrel into the crowd.</p>	<p>a. <i>Hostility/anger</i>.  b. <i>Warning</i>.  c. Reaction to something they did (<i>kōrero</i>).    a. <i>Warning</i>.  b. <i>Fear</i>.  a. <i>Defence</i> –“Avoid being knocked down.”  b. “<i>To intimidate without wounding</i>.”</p>
<p><b>Action (M)</b> Young man hit Johnstone's musket with club – knocked it to the ground.  <b>4. Reaction (E)</b> i. Johnstone recovered &amp; fired a gun, marine, seaman &amp; boatmaster fired without orders.  ii. Broughton ordered firing to cease.  <b>Reaction (M)</b> They all fled.</p>	<p>a. <i>Respond without hurting</i> the person.  b. Divert musket – <i>avoid</i> further damage.  a. <i>Fear</i>.    a. <i>Trying to avoid killing</i>.  a. Also <i>trying to avoid killing</i>.</p>
<p><b>Action (E)</b> i. Broughton walked up the beach &amp; found one man killed, saw a man go up &amp; grieve over him.  ii. Retired to the boat.  iii. Went to first landing place &amp; left toys &amp; trinkets.    iv. Decided to depart &amp; wrote in his journal that this had been necessary because they were hostile.</p>	<p>a. <i>Concerned</i> because had hoped no one was killed – “... to my utter <i>grief</i>, I found” he had been killed.  a. Working out how to make <i>compensation</i>.  a. “<i>To manifest our kind intentions</i>.”  b. “<i>To make atonement</i>.”  c. To show genuine <i>sympathy</i>.  a. Impression management (<i>personal honour</i>)</p>
<p><b>5. Action (M)</b> i. Assembled on the beach and collected the blankets, tomahawks, shirts etc.    ii. Council of elders assembled &amp; decided that if they returned they would greet them with an emblem of peace.</p>	<p>a. Recognized this as <i>utu</i>.  b. <i>Accepted</i> they were not cannibals as they had not taken the body.    a. <i>Acknowledged &amp; understood</i> what had happened.  b. Continued to uphold <i>Nunuku's law</i>.  c. <i>Decided</i> on a non-antagonistic way forward.</p>

## Summary

The main point of this chapter has been to highlight how the course of an interaction or transaction sequence can be changed by one person's decision-making and choosing to interpret traditional codes differently. The example used has been that of two of the approximately 40 Moriori who met Broughton, his two officers and six men at Kaingaroa beach, Chatham Islands in 1791. The two Moriori concerned were key actors: the elder, and the young man who hit Johnstone's gun out of his hand. Although these two people were of Polynesian descent and had a belief system similar to that of New Zealand Māori, they chose to interpret differently those aspects that in New Zealand usually would have required a violent 'negative *utu*' response. Their interpretation was in contrast to the way that Maori at Otākou, Open Bay, and Totaranui had dealt with the various kinds of theft

by Europeans, which had amounted to stealing *mana*, land and resources. This type of theft was described in the previous chapter as a form of violence that upset the balance of *tapu* and *mana* between the two groups. To redress the balance negative *utu* payment was required and was usually satisfied by violent attacks and anthropophagy. However Moriori had a tradition of non-violence that had been instigated by the ancestor Nūnuku. His instruction to them had been encoded in chants, stories and sacred stones handed down by performance for generations. Like his two ancestral counterparts quoted at the beginning of this chapter, Nūnuku attempted to initiate social change for the survival of his descendants by urging them to avoid killing or eating each other; and to enhance their own *mana* without diminishing that of others. Because his view, and the consequences of its alternatives were constantly performed, then they continued as part of traditional discourse. Nūnuku was once an innovator. Like Horopapa, and Houmaitāwhiti, he espoused an ‘outsider’ position as a kind of mediator within the dominant discourse, which up to then had been martially orientated, and inflexible in the way it dictated how *utu* was to be paid. Yet his reconfiguration of traditional praxis in response to the need for *utu* when transgressions occurred became enshrined in legend. The elder then chose to practice Nūnuku’s ‘other way’ when Broughton visited over 20 generations later. For Moriori, the idea of one man had become a part of intergenerational discourse. In this case it was a recommendation to eschew violence. The choice of one man at a turning point in a violent sequence centuries ago, had become a motivating factor in the present via legend and performance. In his paper on the conditions and mechanisms for peace, Stephen Younger describes how small societies such as that at Rēkōhu have “adapted differently to [their] environments” by becoming less hierarchical, and thus having less competition for *mana* (2008: 932). However, in my opinion it is more complicated than this. In the Rēkōhu case case, their adaptation results from a prior cultural determinant and a consequent change in their discourse and ontology. They found a way to minimise perceptions of theft in the broader sense that that it is presented here.

In contrast to the Moriori case, the progression of interactions analysed in this chapter has shown that the immediate motivations of Broughton, Johnstone and Sherriff were determined mostly by the instructions and practices of the British Navy, underpinned by a belief in the righteousness of pre-emptive violence when one was in the presence of ‘savages’. They were also motivated by fear, and seeking to barter ‘things’ to increase their own status, whilst simultaneously shifting the blame for violence away from

themselves to the ‘other’. That is, in Polynesian terms, they attempted to increase their own *mana* by diminishing that of Moriori, which is actually a form of theft. As in the Māori cases described in previous chapters, honour and prestige appear to have been motivating factors in all kinds of violence, including theft of land. In the Māori and Moriori cases that would be equivalent to theft of *mana* and any resulting violence a response for the *utu* thus required by the gods in whom all *mana* originates.

The following and concluding chapter continues to explore the issue of Peacemaking and Violence amongst Māori, and in Polynesia more generally. It explores the *kaupapa*<sup>102</sup> in which human relationships, honour, status, *mana*, *tapu*, revenge, *utu*, *kōrero iti*, gossip and violence are all threads, and considers how the cases described here can be compared with the findings of Anton Blok in his thesis about ‘Honour and Violence’ in Europe.

## CHAPTER NINE

### Where paths cross: violence and peace in early New Zealand

“People... need to fashion an identity and require some measure of recognition and repute, lest they die a social death... Honour and status are implicit in violence”  
(Anton Blok, 2002: 9)

“ Whose son are you?”  
If a warrior, the fame is known;  
If standing at the canoe’s prow,  
    The fame is known;  
    If elevated by the tribe,  
    The fame is thrust on high;  
Likewise he in close combat,  
    the bare-skinned warrior”  
(from Ikaherengutu’s lament)<sup>103</sup>

The relationships between honour, status and violence identified by Anton Blok (ibid.), have been explored in this thesis by identifying sequences of Māori-Māori, European-Māori, and European-Moriori transactions in New Zealand’s pre-colonial period. These sequences have been closely examined for turning points where relationships began to deteriorate and violence occurred. Detailed investigation of the transitional turning points has revealed which particular social actors made crucial decisions, or acted impetuously, thus producing a potential for violence.

The methodology was inspired by the work of both Paul Brass (1997) and Chris Wilson (2008) who, from their contemporary investigations of racial violence in India and Indonesia, have advocated for the identification of actors at transition points in sequences that turned violent. Brass criticizes other approaches that: “... eliminate agency and responsibility from their explanations” and don’t “identify linkages between individuals and their social responsibilities”. Brass considers that it is “far more important to focus on the action than on the precipitating causes, and to look for multiple interpretations and contexts” (1997: 8). Application of these conceptual methods has made other significant aspects of the violence process visible. Exchange items mediate transactions and therefore have a role as social actors because how they are treated by the donors, assists the recipient in understanding how they are regarded,

what their value is in the donor's world, and so on (cf. Chapter four). Personality, acculturation, and attitude towards the 'other's' ontological world affect the motivation and decision-making of human social actors who are involved in sequences. People vary in these aspects of cultural identity and behaviour, so in social interactions and transactions they make different reasoned or contingent decisions. They 'see' things differently, interpret them differently, and report the same things differently, thus creating the "multiple interpretations" that Brass is looking for. These in turn can be compared as Douglas and Sahlins have said (Chapter two) to provide the evidence required to identify linkages between individuals, which ones were implicated, and why. Besides its attention to case analyses of transactions that have ended in violence, this investigation has sought to identify what motivated those who made the decisions. Many of the motivational threads appear to be universal ones. They include culturally interpreted concepts of honour, theft and violence, their embeddedness in human relationships, and their flow-on effects. Therefore this chapter compares and summarises case studies from previous chapters through the common issues that they have raised. Then a brief consideration of Pedro Ferdinand Quirós's visit to the Northern Cook Island of Rakahanga, in a different era, with crew of different nationality, demonstrates how the same analytical method and interpretive approach might be used for a comparative study of historical instances of intercultural violence in the Pacific more generally.

Emphasis on cultural universals and cross-cultural similarities rather than local difference has been recommended by Blok as a way for anthropologists to re-view the issue of violence, and in this thesis I have sought to extend his project to the New Zealand historical context. However, my approach to this involves a greater emphasis on human agency than Blok recommends. He has been critical of the "practice model" for its over-emphasis on individual agency. He quotes Ortner: "The irony is this: that although actors' intentions are accorded central place in the model, yet major social change does not come about as an intended consequence of action however rational the action may have been...(1994: 401; cf. Elias 1969: 221). In short "...plans and intentions, efforts and implementations are mediated, refracted, thwarted, distorted, transformed by powerful cultural forces, human interdependencies, contingencies, imponderabilia and chance" (Blok, 2001: 4). On my reading, his view is that individual social actors have very little control over what finally results from their

decision-making and actions. However without denying that any of those confounding factors mentioned may be present, this study of interactive sequences that turned violent reveals that the decision-making and action of particular social actors had at least the potential for avoiding a violent outcome. Outcomes are a result of chains of decision-making and then subsequent actions, and it is the motivation for the decisions made that needs to be studied (cf. Wilson, 2008: 23; Brass, 1997: 60-89; Schmidt & Schröder, 2001:19-20). In this study two strong motivators have been found to be concern for personal status and honour. These are incorporated (with other aspects) in the Polynesian word, *mana*<sup>104</sup>. In the first of the two opening quotes for this chapter Blok said that the link between identity, and esteem or personal worth in the eyes of others was an essential component of social survival and therefore a motivating factor in violence. Secondly, Te Ikaherengutu's lament emphasizes that the same is true for Māori; how a person is 'seen and known' in the eyes of others in life "standing in the prow of the canoe", and even in death was important because it enhanced the *mana* of family and tribe. There are no cases illustrated in this thesis or found in the research where these connections are not visible for any of the social actors present.

Another component of all the cases described here has been the conceptual relationship between *theft* and violence. From a theoretical perspective, if all violence was cast as a form of theft, then another connection between honour and violence becomes visible, other than the psychological issue of 'social death' mentioned by Blok (ibid.). In Chapter two, I traversed some of the approaches to the topic of violence that have been taken in the past, and because it best describes the situation being dealt with here, Newton Garver's etymological approach was favoured. He looked at the origin of the word 'violence' from the Latin 'violare', and stated that "violence in human affairs comes down to violating persons and... property can be an extension of a person, since in a physical or social sense it is a product of his or her labour" (1968: 173, 179, 183). The concept is extended further in this study, to include spiritual connections with the ancestors. Thus destruction by damaging or removing the *tapu* (even inadvertently) of things or persons that embody relationships with gods and ancestors, is essentially a form of violence against an "extension of a person" and makes this situation also a form of theft. Damaging a person's good reputation or their *mana* could be included in this category. Then there is "metaphysical desecration" (Copet-Rougier, in Riches, 1986: 204, 212-18) or black

magic (*mākutu*), another form of damage to persons or their relationships, which could also be considered as theft. Additionally, for Māori, *kānga* or curses have a metaphysical component not usually included in the English meaning of violence, but they too could be considered as theft, because they are designed to harm or violate persons. Thus all theft could, under Garver's definition be regarded as violence:

- Kidnapping, involuntary incarceration, murder, cursing, *mākutu* and rape are all ways of stealing people by diminishing their health, wellbeing and social connections – taking away relationships they had before.
- Removal by stealth, deception, unequal reciprocity and destruction or damage can all be components in the theft of objects, including land, water and marine resources
- Embarrassment, humiliation, threats, insult and rumour are all ways of stealing a person's honour *mana* and reputation.

All these forms of theft damage social relationships as well as having ongoing socio-economic effects in families and societies. The fundamental aspect of persons that is being violated is the quality of their relationships. People and things, *both* embody the relationships that are under threat of violation. Blood, both actually and symbolically, represents those relationships, and objects such as weapons and clothing embody relationships also. This would frequently include serial relationships through time where the *mana* of giver and recipient were being acknowledged. As Tchérkezoff has said, many objects embody an “imaginary core of identifying references to the life of the group” (2002: 28; cf. Chapter four). Violation of individual persons by damaging aspects of their personal pride and dignity as mentioned by Blok is one thing, but damaging their relationships with each other and with the gods is more serious because such matters can affect the whole community. In the Polynesian case *utu* must be paid in one form or another, to recover a balanced relationship with the gods, so that the gifts from the natural world will continue to flow – gifts, that is, such as rain, food supplies and so on. Even if no physical violence is involved, persons are still being violated and *utu* must be paid. This might be achieved by fighting, or by oratory, presentation of valued objects or people, or by excessive hospitality – all ways of emphasizing, symbolizing and cementing relationships that publicly acknowledge the *mana* of both parties (Chapter three). This may be reciprocal as in the case, for example, of the *waka taua* ‘Wai-ka-hua’, that was presented to Te

Mātenga Taiaroa of Ngāi Tahu by Ngāti Toa's Te Rauparaha as part of the peace settlement at Porirua in 1843, when Taiaroa presented the *mere pounamu* 'Tuhiwai' in return (see Chapter four).

For Europeans the issues of theft and violence are very similar, excepting that in most cases any metaphysical implications in the theft of objects were not really apparent to them. Historically, this led to misunderstandings about equivalence during barter situations and presentations, or as Cook referred to it, "trading". A Māori sealskin or feather cloak would have been seen by Europeans as having equivalence with a ship's cloak because they would not have understood its layers of symbolic and metaphysical meaning and are likely, in Māori eyes, not to have given equivalence in value. Hence one or more of the aforementioned kinds of violence-by-theft were present, or perceived as such by at least one of the parties during each of the transaction events described in this thesis. The perceptions of inequality in reciprocity were sometimes not a correct interpretation of the intention of the other party because of mutual misunderstanding of each other's ontological worlds. However, people of whatever ethnicity or cultural persuasion perceive what they perceive, and they act accordingly in response. Polynesians in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries might have perceived the need for *utu* to be enacted to appease the gods, and also on a psychological level for personal revenge, because of anger and grief, for example. On the other hand the Europeans' diaries usually recorded that they acted more from senses of moral superiority, personal property ownership and 'rights to appropriate' resources, newly 'discovered' things and people. *They* also, expressed feelings of fear, grief, loss, anger and personal revenge, when things went missing or were denied them; but these were not underpinned by the epistemological imperative to seek *utu* for metaphysical or religious reasons. For some of them the notion of forgiveness and empathy was apparent.

Many transactions and interactions described in the previous chapters of this thesis were initiated without any consciously violent intention. Yet physical violence eventually erupted because one or more of the violations of relationships (thefts) was *perceived* to have occurred. I argue that as any situation unfolds, if participants can recognize their own potential for initiating or perpetuating negative attitudes about the 'other', and the possible consequences of this, then the chance of a violent outcome from such events is reduced. Unintended consequences of deliberate actions are

inevitable, but violence and peace are at opposite ends of a continuum, and not in a dualistic opposition. The likelihood of a violent or peaceful outcome from any interaction is a matter of chance and risk, and risk involves ratios of probability. Risk assessment often has very dubious parameters, but is nonetheless possible and there is a difference between a very high risk and a very low risk. Alongside the assessment and prediction of risk probability goes ‘mitigation’. Risks can be mitigated and sometimes eliminated by wise decision-making. In terms of Blok’s statement about unintended consequences for intended actions, it remains possible to see that when people are interacting with each other, risk can be estimated even if only qualitatively.

This study has shown that particular kinds of people with certain personality traits, life experience and training, could, as decision makers, enhance or reduce the possibility that violence would occur. In the cases that have been examined in the course of this research, the probability of violence resulting from any transaction appears to have been lower where participants were analytical, reflexive, and self controlled at every turning point.

### What kind of ‘theft’?

In the previous discussion of theft as a form of violence against personal relationships, the various aspects mentioned were all things that endangered a person’s *mana* or honour, reputation and status. In Polynesian terms it therefore also damaged their spiritual power inherited from the gods. Such issues then frequently provoked physical violence and killing, though this was not an inevitable outcome, as I have just suggested. Nevertheless, aside from any metaphysical components, the Māori concept of theft as an *act* appears, from a semantic viewpoint, to have had the same boundaries as the European, with one exception that is elaborated later. In Chapter seven the associated Māori terms were explored: *tinihanga* is trickery, deception or taking liberties; *tāhae* is theft by taking something belonging to someone else (*moe tāhae* is adultery<sup>105</sup>); *patipati* is deception by flattery in order to obtain something. Garver’s definition covers them all; they would harm the *mana*, honour, reputation and status of the victim, by damaging his/her relationships with people and things. It is therefore not surprising that accusations of deception and trickery frequently feature in Māori reports of warfare with other tribes. Yet Māori are not the only ones involved in this component of violence. James Cook and his officers

accused Kahura of misrepresenting the British at Grass Cove by accusing them of stealing from the Māori. Cook and his officers reported that this would have been to make the British look like the instigators of the killings that had eventuated. As Paul Brass has said “ People with personal knowledge at the sites of... violence continue to generate their own interpretations... it generates competing systems of knowledge concerning inter-ethnic relations” (1997: 4), and the discourse and *kōrero* thus produced can then be used to ‘justify’ violent actions. In themselves, then, these “competing systems of knowledge”, if they are not already violent in the sense of denigrating the good name of the ‘other’, can become so by accretion from rumour and gossip. They are the source of much intergenerational violence, unless someone chooses to ignore, silence or “contain and seal” them (cf. Das, Kleinman et al, 1997: 12).

In this thesis ten cases of inter-cultural transactions have been examined in detail. Six of the cases are from Te Wai Pounamu, New Zealand, and were chosen because they occurred in pre-colonial times whilst Māori still based their daily practices predominantly on a traditional religious knowledge base that began to be eroded soon after. Of these six cases, one involved inter-tribal war, so that the practices and epistemological underpinnings of them could then provide a valid comparison with Māori practices during transactions with Europeans. Then there is one Pacific case which serves as a comparison with the New Zealand cases and suggests an ‘other’ path for resolving perceived thefts. This was the first sequence of interactions between British Europeans and Moriori at Rēkōhu (Chatham Islands, New Zealand) in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. In contrast to this there are two cases from outside the Pacific, one from 16<sup>th</sup> century Italy, between two Italians, and one between Europeans and some Tshimshian Native Americans in British Columbia in 1811. These two non-Pacific cases serve (by comparison with the New Zealand ones) to illustrate the universality of how honour and violence are both inter-twined with perceptions of theft in one or other of it’s previously described guises. Finally, the 17th century first arrival of Spanish Europeans at Rakahanga, Cook Islands, in 1663 serves as an ‘other’ Pacific comparison, examined this time to test the idea that the Wilson and Brass analytical method, and a modified Blok interpretation of violent episodes might be useful for investigating further Pacific cases.

## Comparing the cases

The cases described in the preceding chapters are compared and contrasted here for how they exhibit the aforementioned components of theft, honour, revenge, *mana*, *utu* and violence. It will be shown that in all cases, *both* parties carried out one or more of the versions of theft, otherwise construed as “violating the person or extensions of the person” as Garver’s definition of violence describes it. The cases all describe situations where decisions have been made that led to physically violent acts being carried out. For Māori these have resulted from the need for negative *utu* (Chapter three). It appears to have been no different for Europeans, excepting that their idea of revenge is differently constructed as has already been explained above. Fear, grief and anger are universal characteristics of peoples’ responses that are differently handled by those with different training and personality characteristics, living in different ontological worlds. How they acted when in these states varied according to their enculturation and life experience. British sailors, for example were well drilled, and usually followed orders - which sometimes over-rode their tendency to make rational choices of their own - but at Rēkōhu, they acted spontaneously with devastating effect. They fired their muskets because they were scared and one person was killed. In contrast at Kaiapoi, one Ngāi Tahu warrior fired a blank shot before the agreed order had been issued, yet this warned his people and probably affected the result more positively for them in the inevitable battle sequence that followed. Rational agentive action may sometimes avert or reduce violent outcomes. Theft of honour or *mana* has a high chance of provoking violence because it triggers psychological uncertainty and threatens relationships. Some examples illustrating how theft of honour or *mana* have led to violence are now summarized:

*Stealing honour & reputation by rumour, insult, humiliation, kōrero<sup>106</sup>, discourse and ‘othering.’*

Rumour and insult can be mischievous, observed facts can be wrongly interpreted and the observer has the choice to silence or repeat them, by which method they may enter public discourse and can then be used to question the morality and actions of ‘others’. It is obvious that they can be used to destroy someone’s good

name, question their integrity, humiliate and otherwise steal their honour, reputation, social connections and *mana*, which in turn frequently results in physical violence.

Preliminary to the first battle of Kaiapoi c.1828, Ngāti Toa invaded Kaikōura. The excuse for the invasion was two-fold; a co-incidence of two humiliations and perceived insults to the *mana* of chiefs Te Rauparaha and his son-in-law Te Rangihaeata. A handsome young chief, Kēkerengū, living amongst them was *rumoured* to have had an affair with Rangihaeata's wife. It may have been untrue, but he went away to stay with his relative Rerewaka at Kaikōura. Later, a slave *chose to tell* Te Rauparaha that Rerewaka had cursed him by saying that he would kill him violently if he ventured to Kaikōura. This was a case where the *kōrero* passed on could just as easily have been silenced if the slave had chosen to do so. A long battle campaign ensued because Te Rauparaha and his allies *chose* to believe what they had been told (Chapter five).

At Open Bay in 1826 a sealing longboat master Perkins warned his crew to be careful of the local natives whom he *described as cannibals* who had recently eaten the crew of another boat. They were all *warned* to have cartridges ready in case of attack and the inexperienced man Boulton ultimately fired into a crowd of Māori in the dark, revealing his position and resulting in the death of his master as *utu*. Their fears had been exacerbated by stories purveyed amongst sealers off the southern coasts who had known some people that had been attacked. Local Māori, on the other hand were also responding to rumour about different sealers who had 'killed Nukutahi'. This level of *kōrero* was not informed by direct knowledge of the 'other'. For both parties it was the operation of *public discourse* that informed their choice of action, which was to attack each other (Chapter six).

When Captain Kelly was at Otākou in 1817 to purchase supplies for his sealing ship he was accompanied by a crewman who had lived there before and taken a Māori wife. Amongst Māori the crewman, Tucker, was *rumoured* to have been involved in an attack on a chief accused of having taken a sailor's shirt on a previous visit to the region. The chief had been killed. Tucker had also previously formed a relationship with a Māori woman and then left her for several years, causing anxiety as she waited for his return. He was also *said* to have stolen some preserved Māori heads and sold them in Sydney. All of the above were violent actions- theft of a life, of security in a relationship, and of very *tapu* objects representing relationships within the Māori

community where he had lived. All of them (even if untrue) amounted to threats to *mana* of the tribe, so it is unsurprising that they should have provoked violence as *utu* on the part of Te Matehaere whom they were visiting to trade for potatoes (Chapter six).

In comparison, and in order to emphasise the universality of the issue of stealing reputation, it is relevant here to also re-examine the trading situation between Tshimshian chief Gamzdop and Captain Porter at Nass River, British Columbia, in 1811. Porter had gone ashore to get water and the Tshimshian chief had boarded the vessel to trade furs. The chief felt *publicly shamed* and humiliated when he inadvertently sat on a skylight and was spontaneously attacked by the European crew. Clearly, the chief was afraid of the consequences when word got out, and he reported that he would need to provide a potlatch to recoup his lost honour. He decided to go ashore, lay in ambush for the sailors, attacked the watering party and killed four of them (Chapter two).

Similarly, in a completely different place, time and culture, is another case of perceived insult to honour, between two Italian military captains in Florence in 1559. One Captain had borrowed money and the other had acted as guarantor because the lender was his brother; that is, they had a blood relationship. The borrower Gatteschi, did not pay, denied the debt and demanded a receipt from the lender. The guarantor, Cellisi, was extremely offended by this, stating that he was “a man of honour and not in the habit of being unfair”. He made a public scene about it in the local church and in the courtroom, and challenged Gatteschi to a duel. The duel kept being postponed and turned into a ‘war of words’. The case had a strong potential for violence but this was averted by the choice of the two participants (Chapter two).

*Stealing ‘things’ by unequal reciprocity, deception/trickery, without permission.*

In this context ‘things’ covers a wide variety of items including weapons, tools, surveying equipment, houses, bibles, clothing, boats, *waka*, *pounamu* items, land, water, wood and natural resources such as seals, fish and so on. Some of those had special meanings that, for Māori, included genealogical and spiritual relationships, which have been discussed at length in Chapter four. Because of their role as social actors these contained, as well as symbolized, social relationships. Such things belong

to Garver's category of "extensions of persons" and thus theft of them by any of the means previously mentioned could be regarded as violating a person. This would be so within the ontological worlds of both Māori and Europeans. Depending on the context, any of these items could also be regarded as social actors. In particular contexts Māori could have considered them as having a separate agency of their own, making them efficacious weapons, or efficacious peacemakers. In the Māori world things thus have their own *mana* with both intrinsic *tapu* and 'tapu' by extension' from their owners (Chapter three). Taking any of these items, or parts of them, damaging or destroying them would therefore affect their owners because of loss of their material equivalent value, and also because of loss of the benefits of their spiritual efficacy. Since *mana* is relative, the person acquiring an item would gain *mana* in two ways: by *having* gained the item *and* its *mana*, and by having *diminished* the *mana* of the person from whom it was acquired. Hence the metaphorical example quoted in Chapter seven where the hero Māui attempted to gain the power of his grandmother Mahuika by tricking her into giving him her fingernails that were the mythical source of fire. Māui was threatening the *mana* and spiritual power of Mahuika. Actually it was a confrontation of 'tapu with tapu' in which Mahuika 'won' and this kind of behaviour ultimately caused Māui's death.

In 1769 Captain J. F. M. de Surville, two officers and a boat's crew went ashore at Doubtless Bay Northland to collect wood and water. He obtained permission from Chief Ranginui, who, with his people, had welcomed them in a prolonged *pōwhiri*. Surville was not sure what was going on, and justified his subsequent actions by describing the locals as barbaric savages. From a Māori perspective (and that of his officers L'Orme and Labé) Surville was, by his impression management, attempting to increase his own *mana* at their expense. The French had just managed to land after a severe storm at sea, in which the ship's yawl had broken loose and was washed ashore. As was their traditional custom, the locals attempted to retrieve it. They would not have considered such an act as theft. However, Surville accused them of theft, treated them very badly, kidnapped chief Ranginui and burned their canoes and houses. It appears that Surville either perceived that he was being humiliated or felt thwarted, made false assumptions about their intentions and lost his temper. He certainly acted violently towards people because he assumed that Māori salvage of the yawl was theft. A report to his superiors describing how the yawl was 'stolen', yet not

describing his response as being authoritative, might have diminished Surville's image in the eyes of his superiors and officers, so he caste the Māori as barbarians in his descriptions of them. The innocent, hospitable and humane Ranginui died as a result of the kidnapping and bad treatment he received. Māori did not retaliate but for centuries have nursed a feeling of having been wronged. The *utu* has not been paid (Chapter two).

A few years later in 1773 as part of James Cook's expedition to the Pacific, Captain Tobias Furneaux had become separated from them in a storm at sea and returned to Queen Charlotte Sound to restock the ship. Two violent sequences resulted whilst they were there and both originated from various kinds of theft. The first involved the shore camp officer Lieutenant Burney ordering that local Māori should not be in the vicinity of the camp at night. This act of Burney's in itself was tantamount to theft, being against Māori protocol and equivalent to trampling their land or *takahi mana whenua*, reducing their control over their own territory and challenging their *mana*. Māori responded by sending a scout to observe what was happening. At night the astronomer Bayly had his hat<sup>107</sup> and some of his equipment taken by a scout, and it seems likely that this may have been an attempt to reduce his *mana*, and perhaps to warn the Europeans to be more cautious about their property. A day later, a grass cutting party was sent to a cove nearby, and while a servant was left to care for the boat, the sailors again committed an offence that would have been perceived as damaging to the *mana* of the locals. They sat on the beach eating and not sharing whilst the local people looked on. Then a theft from the longboat occurred and Thomas Rowe fired his gun, killing someone in response. This resulted in all the Europeans being killed as *utu* and the complex rite of *whāngai hau* (feeding the gods as *utu*) being carried out. Thus several people Māori and European stole things. The implications of the thefts in respect of Māori were misunderstood by the Europeans, and vice versa. Yet, they perceived them how they perceived them, and their responses were to act as they thought appropriate according to their own ontological worlds. However, the connections between honour (in the case of Lieutenant Burney, Bayly and Rowe) and *mana* (in the case of the chief Kahura and his people) are clear. Different forms of theft aggrieved both parties, and violence resulted on both sides.

At the Ngāi Tahu defence of Kaiapoi when they were invaded by Ngāti Toa after the siege of Takahanga at Kaikōura, Ngāti Toa chiefs Te Rauparaha and Te Pēhi

claimed to be there to trade guns for greenstone. There was trickery involved right at the start because the firing pins had been removed from the guns before they were traded. Also, from the beginning, Te Rauparaha gave out conflicting messages about this intention to trade and referred metaphorically to the gathering storm clouds as being indicative of the conflict that would erupt between them. The conflicting message was deceptive, as was the plan they had for entering the *pā* by pretending that their young people were to provide a *haka* as entertainment for the locals. Once in the *pā* Te Pēhi was observed trying to run off with a number of *pounamu* items he had demanded. It is therefore not surprising that Ngāi Tahu regarded the situation as theft, felt the need to enact *utu* and killed many of Ngāti Toa's important chiefs including Te Pēhi (who was killed with a hatchet)<sup>108</sup>. Notably, the chief Te Aratangata is said to have lost his life when his stone weapon shattered because it had lost its *tapu* as he had killed a woman with it. The entire episode resulted in a loss of *mana*, for Ngāti Toa who waited a couple of years before they returned to exact their own violent *utu* in response. Thus, again this situation of attempted theft of objects by *deception* resulted in a violent response, in this case to restore the *utu* balance (see Chapter three).

The theft of things by deception was also implicated in the “Wairau Affair” where the New Zealand Company and its agent Captain Blenkinsopp had recently tried to trick Ngāti Toa into selling land by issuing a contract written in English that was not understood by Māori. Te Rauparaha found out and destroyed the document. That was undoubtedly a violent act in terms of Garver's definition. The New Zealand Company then moved to survey the Wairau lands and Māori responded by pulling out the surveyor's ranging rods and burning their hut as a ‘non-violent’ protest – non-violent, that is, because no *person* was hurt. Rangihaeata justified this by saying that the lands had not been sold and the hut was built of his materials grown on his land. Rangihaeata regarded the *mana* and ownership of the land and the hut as his. In the view of Captain Arthur Wakefield the hut was theirs because they had built it and they had a right to occupy the lands because Māori were not constantly living there. This view was in keeping with the different philosophies underpinning their European ontological world. Wakefield arrived with his special constabulary who attacked first. Then Rangihaeata responded violently after his wife, Te Rongo, who was cooking, was killed by a stray bullet.<sup>109</sup> Thus physical violence towards persons ultimately

ensued from what had begun with the violation of *mana whenua* by deception involving fraudulent use of a document by agent Blenkinsopp.

By way of comparison, the sixteenth century Italian case of Captains Gatteschi and Cellisi also contains elements of deception and trickery, and again, it may be more about perception than reality, but it seems that by asking Cellisi's brother for a receipt for the money he claimed to have paid back, Gatteschi's brother was trying to reinforce his claim of innocence. By casting doubt on the guarantor's word, the Gatteschi brothers were not only questioning his 'honour' but also diminishing it in order to save their own. At the same time Gatteschi's brother provided the 'excuse' for Cellisi to challenge him to the duel. The fact that the duel never happened, and ended up with the proponents vilifying each other instead, was a choice of all three social actors avoiding physical violence in favour of violent words. The attempt at avoiding a debt by deception and at the same time preserving one's own honour at the expense of another are two ways of violating a person or (in the case of the money) an extension of a person. They are forms of theft. As Blok has suggested, it seems that this behavioural form linking 'honour and violence' is a universal one, whether it be Te Pēhi Kupe attempting to obtain *pounamu* by '*patipati*' or deceptive flattery, whilst also casting doubt on the quality of the tattoo of the person resisting this, or whether it be Gatteschi deceptively avoiding a debt by vilifying Cellisi's war service, calling him a coward and murderer. It is perfectly possible that the duel could have been fought and one person killed or injured. In Te Pēhi's case, he was killed.

*Stealing a person's life, health or social connections by killing, kidnap, rape or adultery.*

In this discussion about the interconnections between theft, honour and violence, the theft of a person's honour, reputation, prestige and *mana* have all been presented as affecting their social relationships, threatening their social capital and possibly resulting in their 'social death'. Social capital would be diminished because the number, value and *mana* of their relationships (including trading relationships) would be reduced. As a result they may be shunned or ostracised (social death) because their *mana* or honour has been compromised, and in some societies they may also be regarded as bearers of misfortune to the community. In fact this is how Māori regarded the survivors of battles. Similarly, thefts of 'things' – land and resources,

personal possessions, treasured weapons, tools and ornaments – these too have the capacity to affect social relationships since they also embody those relationships.

Taking a person's *life* away from the social setting in which it is normally played out affects the social group to whom s/he belongs even more profoundly than violating his/her person or belongings by theft because it affects other persons as well. It thus involves all of the categories of theft *and* the finality of death or kidnap. These damage the social life and social capital of relatives. All are kinds of theft. Whichever way they are interpreted in one's ontological world, they violate the person; therefore they are acts of violence, and have the potential to motivate others to act violently in return. This would include physical violence. In Chapter seven I described how it is possible for that violent potential not to be realized if the people involved at the turning points of an interaction sequence choose to act differently. All the cases described in this thesis involved the potential for death of at least one person, and in all those European-Māori encounters described here transactions went wrong because one of the aforementioned categories of theft had occurred or was perceived by one of the parties to have occurred. Someone had been killed, kidnapped, or assaulted; their honour and prestige had been affronted in some way, or their property had been violated. However most of the violent episodes were initially caused not by killing people, but by thefts of the variety that in some way or another violated honour and prestige.

At Kaiapoi, when Ngāti Toa arrived from Kaikōura, Tamaiharanui and Hakitara soon learned from captives in the war party that they had left many dead at Kaikōura, that the grave of Tamaiharanui's elderly aunt had been violated and her body eaten. It was therefore clear from very early on that the *mana* of Ngāi Tahu had been trampled on, and this became a feature of the whole visit, the details of which have been described in Chapter six. Rokotara heard that his nephew had been enslaved at Kaikōura so he killed Pōkaitara as *utu*. Physical violence was the response to all the compounded forms of theft they were subjected to – theft of life, enslavement of their relatives at Kaikōura, attempted theft of *pounamu* by deception, theft of *mana* by insult – and so on. These were all ways of intentionally diminishing the honour and status of Ngāi Tahu persons and thus damaging the respectful relationship due to them from related tribes and trading partners. Killing people thus results in social death for the community, because it affects their relationships and diminishes their *mana*, but

added to that was the religious requirement for *utu* to balance the situation and this was the final reason for physical violence (cf. Blok, this chapter heading quote).

At Open Bay Toko killed Perkins “for Nukutahi”; that is, for *utu*, because Perkins was seen as a representative of the group of sealers who had previously been in the area and had shot Nukutahi for damaging some sealskins they had been left to care for. It was a misunderstanding for which he had paid with his life. The relationships and social capital of the group had essentially been stolen by the loss of his life. *Mana* of the group had been undermined and their *mana whenua* had been overlooked.

Chief Te Matehaere thought Tucker, who had arrived at Otākou with Captain Kelly, had stolen some preserved Māori heads, obviously a serious violation of human remains that diminished the *mana* of their former owners and relatives. Furthermore, Tucker was suspected of being involved in the killing of a chief who had stolen a sailor’s shirt. He had also supposedly taken some Māori women aboard the boat without their husbands being present. Tucker and Captain Kelly’s boat crew were therefore targeted for *utu* and killed by Matehaere. Yet the survivors of Kelly’s crew carried out some revenge of their own by burning their village. Revenge therefore also appears to be universal and in the European ontological world results from the biblical idea of ‘an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth’. It does not usually contain the metaphysical component that *utu* has for Māori. However, what both worlds have in common is that the praxis, if determined philosophically, is a counter-action for the loss or theft of a life. If determined psychologically, the action is contingent and spontaneous in response to fear or anger. When revenge or *utu* is enacted both facets are in play but *utu* also implicates a desire to placate the gods and ancestors.

In New Zealand and at the Chatham Islands all the naval captains – Cook, Surville, Furneaux and Broughton – thought it necessary to demonstrate the power of their guns and therefore used physical violence to do this. They either aimed at people to scare them, shot at them to injure them (as Cook did by shooting a man in the knee), shot birds dead, or shot people to kill them. During Furneaux’s visit to Queen Charlotte Sound, even astronomer Bayly fired at a *waka* full of warriors because his equipment had been stolen, confident in his ability and that of his gun to scare them off. Initially at least the Europeans seem to have been determined to show themselves as a force to be reckoned with, even though they were outnumbered by the locals.

Naval reports minimize the issue of how many people were shot, but really it was a common occurrence because they were pro-active about defence and about demonstrating their power. Cook's men fired at the Māori who were trying to kidnap Tupaia's boy as he sat on the ropes exchanging things along the East Coast of the North Island in 1769. This aspect of taking life results from the idea that violence is justified to save life when a threat is perceived.

However, the pertinent feature of all those cases examined here is that none of the transaction sequences that led to violence had any kind of killing as its initiating factor or intention, nor even at the first turning point. Physical violence, murder or kidnap *followed*, usually after four or five transitional turning points where decisions were made that led closer and closer to the point where the only solution seemed to be to kill someone. It was inevitably a matter of *utu* or revenge, unless the decision-maker could see a way of recouping *mana* or *honour* in some other way. To progress this argument it is therefore important to examine what it was in these cases that caused the violence to stop.

### Causing the violence to cease – the role of social actors.

Once a situation had progressed to the stage of physical violence, those at the site of the violence needed to process and interpret the meaning for themselves and for others not present. Brass, from his study of Hindu-Muslim violence in North India, has described the generation of multiple discourses created by “people with personal knowledge at the sites of violence”(1997: 4). The discourses thus created can provoke or perpetuate violence, or they can be deliberately silenced or re-configured to minimize the chance of further violence. Whichever of these pathways is followed is a matter of choice by individual actors. Brass has said that any analysis of violent situations requires the identification of the decision-making actors at key transition points in the violent sequence. This highlights the social responsibility they have in making wise decisions. In the cases described here, all of the decisions had to be contingent and rapid. There was no time for reflection or discussion and so the social actors would have drawn on their instincts and training, and then on their contingent learning.<sup>110</sup> In the case of the British and French this would have been informed by ideas from Enlightenment discourses about ‘savages’, and ‘discovery’, with land and resources belonging to the ‘discoverer’. For Māori, discourses from previous conflicts

amongst *iwi* and *whanau* regarding relationships with each other, with land, and the importance of *mana*, *tapu* and *utu* would have been foremost in their minds. This aspect of decision making in the cases described in previous chapters, highlights the importance of personal character, understanding of the human condition and of the ontological worlds of the ‘other’ for successful transactions that are non violent in every way. It depends on how they ‘see’ and ‘know’ the world.

However if violence does occur, “people at [the] sites” may understand and accept what has happened through accommodation to aspects of pre-existing cultural schemas such as myths, which give meaning to the situation by portraying similar situations being responded to in similar ways. Others might create new interpretations in which the ‘other’ is represented as morally inferior, savage, untrustworthy or dishonourable. These ideas could then become the subject of gossip and rumour that feed into a wider public discourse. In other words the theft of a person or people’s honour or *mana* is taking place in order to hide or minimize one’s own responsibility for the situation. Thus, people who are seeking to enhance their own *mana* or status can then politically manipulate what originally began as a petty opinion. Das and Trnka have both described how women often choose to *silence* rumour at sites of violence in order to repair relationships within families damaged by alignment with one or other competing discourses. Trnka has shown how this happened during the 2000 Fiji coup, when people coped by trying to normalize the lives of their families to protect them from uncertain discourse. This silencing prevents any perpetuation of violent discourse about the ‘other’ and might cause the violence to cease. It also minimizes the possibility of its incorporation to new intergenerational narratives that might valorize the perpetrators.

Another cultural strategy described by Michael Jackson showed how Sierra Leone storytellers acted out the situation in groups, creating competing ‘takes’ on what had happened, presenting a forum of competing discourses. These served to explain and offer wise solutions to the problem that their society was facing at that time. They also fed into public discourse about the events (2005: 355). Similarly, Blok has described the role of marginal people – those in occupations where they are boundary-crossers and are party to information from ‘both sides’. Musicians and traders, for example, have a role to play either as purveyors of gossip or as silencers of it. Since they have no security in either camp, it is usually in their interest to act in a

way that promotes the perceived integrity and honour of whichever group they are with at the time. This often means that though they are of low rank, they side with the powerful, initiate or carry out violent acts on their behalf thus gaining honour/*mana* with the side that they are aligning themselves with. However, they may also become mediators for the same reason, preserving a perception that their employers are honourable.

Thus individual social actors, working from their own individual interpretation of their cultural schemas and in their own ontological worlds, can make decisions that will cause violence to cease. They can also *choose* to perpetuate violence. Both kinds of decision-making may be contingent, and on the spur of the moment, or they may be planned over time. Since all violence is a way of stealing social relationships – theft of reputation and honour, theft of things, or theft of life and wellbeing – then the cessation of violence must compensate for that theft in some way. None of the violent sequences I have examined have begun with physical violence. They have all evolved from one or other form of threat to honour, *mana* or property, all of which constitute and symbolize personal social relationships. Two issues thus arise: in order to cause violence to cease, theft must be compensated, and in order to prevent violence from arising in the first place, theft must be prevented. The aspects of theft which motivate violence have been shown here as those which threaten social relationships: theft of a person's *mana*, life or good name, questioning his/her integrity, insult; and theft of possessions such as land and valued objects that represent or sustain social relationships. In reacting to violent or potentially violent situations, people may choose to valorize and incorporate violent acts into their mythology, silence them, or choose another path where there is no theft of social relationships. Such a choice would provide, as Blok has said for the 'other' in any transaction to be able to "fashion an identity" and have "some measure of recognition and repute" (2002: 9). After violence has occurred these things must be restored.

*Cessation of violence: compensation, restoration of mana honour, status, and value*

In the Māori world there were specific rites, cultural practices and persons charged with carrying out such restoration. They were *pure* rites, *karakia* & *whaikōrero* (chants, incantations & oratory) and *tōhunga* (priests) who dealt with the imbalance of *utu* and restored it in conjunction with the gods. *Utu* could always be

obtained by violent means, or ritually by social and religious means. It was a matter of choice. From a European perspective it is not fundamentally different. Honour, recognition and repute still need to be addressed in order to prevent violence or to cause it to cease. In the European ontological world also, there were mechanisms to address this: dialogue, oratory, symbolic exchanges and peace treaties or punishment, most often as flogging or incarceration. The protocols of the Christian religion and concepts of individual ownership may underpin this, the objects symbolizing the agreements may be pieces of paper or gold rather than precious *pounamu* and people; yet the ideas are the same – payment to prevent loss of esteem that might accompany theft or appropriation of honour or its symbols and the relationships that they represent. Problems occur when the ‘other’ in the transactional world lives only in an incompatible ontological world and cannot comprehend the value differences that their counterpart in the transaction holds, because of his differing cultural interpretations.

The Moriori people of Rēkōhu demonstrated an alternative way for how *utu* or balance in reciprocity could be interpreted to maintain the *mana* between the people and the gods, without resorting to physical violence against the person (Chapter seven). Keesing has pointed out that not all members of a society have the same understandings of their own epistemologies, and that such matters might be politically privileged within their social hierarchies (1987: 161-2). Thus high-ranking members (with more *mana*) could be more likely to represent the ‘proper interpretation’ of protocols in a manner that would advantage themselves. On the other hand they might also have more experience, education and wisdom underpinning their interpretations. This might include oral historical knowledge such as Nūnuku’s invocation to his Moriori descendants to eschew the pathway of violence when they arrived at Rēkōhu: “*Ko ro patu tangata, me tapu to-ake*” – “Manslaying must cease henceforth and forever” (Shand, 1892: 151). In other words cultural as well as genealogical descent and knowledge both provide for enhancing *mana* and contributing to decision-making. Yet the epistemology of New Zealand Māori and their Polynesian relatives is grounded in the idea that one has more *mana* the closer one is genealogically to the gods, so the interpretations of such persons would automatically be privileged and respected. In pre-colonial New Zealand, Māori had several protocols for addressing theft of honour/*mana*, material possessions and life, using methods other than

violence. That is, they already had structural mechanisms for providing *utu* balance through ‘other’ kinds of reciprocity than physical violence. However, whether or not these were used when there was a possibility of violence erupting (or conversely a possibility that they might be used to stop violence), was often due to the interpretations of chiefs and *tohunga* who had the ability, opportunity, and *mana* to *choose another path*. This practice could apply equally to transactional situations where quick decisions had to be made, and to longer-term situations such as battle campaigns that involved strategic advanced planning. Yet one aspect to their decision-making would make it superficially incomprehensible to Europeans. This was the guidance they sought from omens and *tohungas*’ interpretations of them (Chapter six). The choices made by individual actors remained a critical component for averting violence and carrying out peaceful transactions. It has been demonstrated in Chapter six that whilst pretending to be seeking to trade guns for *pounamu*, some actors such as Te Pēhi Kupe at Kaiapoi ignored or interpreted the omens differently than their chiefs and *tōhunga* and made their own contingent decisions. As Te Pēhi’s death showed, this was not necessarily wise. From a European perspective it could be said that though warriors may have thought that interpretations of omens were definitive messages from the gods, they also did contain some interpretive wisdom and experiential knowledge on the part of the *tōhunga*-interpreter. Chiefs also sometimes acted from fear or anger and chose to do otherwise as Tamaiharanui did at Taumutu when Te Whakatuka pulled him down and told him to ‘keep still and shut up’. It is suggested here that how they chose to act depended as much on what kind of person they were as much as it depended on the guidance of their spiritual leaders. Each case study throughout the thesis has contained descriptions of personality characteristics of the key social actors who made the decisions at key turning points that led to violence. Not all the social actors were chiefs and some made decisions that did not end up being a cause of physical violence.

When these humans are meeting and making transactions with each other, then ‘*tapu* is meeting *tapu*’; that is, the *tapu* of a person is encountering the *tapu* of another person or persons. Both intrinsic *tapu* and *tapu* by extension are involved, for people and their possessions (Chapter three). For each person and each item their *mana* is at risk of being diminished. Hence transactional situations in particular are fraught with danger because the situation might happen where an imbalance or inequality of *mana*

or *tapu* would need to be corrected by the reciprocal payment of *utu*. Since *utu* is a spiritual matter between humans and other humans, or between humans and their gods, strategies and protocols for providing *utu* payment (with or without violence) all possessed a spiritual component, giving a liminal quality to the transaction or encounter. Although the encounters described in this thesis usually took place on the land or beaches of one party only, the specific place could be visualized as a neutral space for the purpose of the encounter because it became a '*pae*'.<sup>111</sup> Some of the peace-making strategies and protocols, which provided for *utu* without killing people, could be spontaneously utilized during an unexpected encounter like the arrival of Europeans on a beach. They could equally well be applied in an encounter planned months or years in advance. In those encounters described here the following strategies were used either to avert physical violence or to cause it to cease. Yet, as has already been emphasized, it was the agentive action of human actors that actually determined which way was chosen for *utu* balance to be achieved. These methods could even be used to prevent violence. By them the *mana* and *tapu* of the 'other' could be honoured and the *utu* be balanced without violence. It was therefore the element of choice and risk-taking, and who made the choices and took the risks, which was paramount for the success and peaceful outcome of the transactions.

Some choices available to them were *whaikōrero*, *manaakitanga*, gift exchange and *takawaenga* marriage:

1. *Whaikōrero* (oratory) or public verbal dialogue and ritualized dispute.

This technique could sometimes be used for verbal combat, such as Te Rauparaha engaged in when he arrived at Kaiapoi on his first visit there. However its format contains a set ritual, that addresses the gods, the ancestors and the visitors or hosts, and acknowledges their *mana* by respectful reference to past relationships alliances, and even martial achievements. It allows for the discussion of new matters, including solutions to mutual problems, and usually alludes to things of common interest, such as dispute resolution through citing the shared genealogical relationships of those present. *Whaikōrero* thus enables one method of providing *utu* to settle disputes that might otherwise become physically violent. During the New Zealand visits of Surville, Cook, Furneaux, Broughton, Kelly, Ngāti Toa and Wakefield it was used for welcoming communications and had the potential to avert physical violence if it had been properly understood. The arrival of Surville at Doubtless Bay, and of

Cook at all the places he stopped on his three voyages to New Zealand were all marked by the spontaneous arrival of *waka taua* (war canoes) with one or more ceremonially dressed chiefly orators who addressed them in what Banks described as a “long harangue”, and who, though fearful, subsequently came aboard and greeted the Captains in their customary fashion. There was no acrimony. Gifts such as fine cloaks, artifacts, tools and food had been exchanged; *mana* and status had been acknowledged on both sides, and in Māori terms the *utu* was balanced. People accompanying Surville, Cook, Furneaux and Broughton all initially mistook the performative aspects of the *whaikōrero* as being intentionally fierce rather than simply expressive and oratorical: “... performed several ceremonies the man in the bow sometimes seeming to offer peace, at others to threaten with a weapon he held in his hand, sometimes dancing sometimes singing...” (Banks, 12<sup>th</sup> October 1769). It appears that eventually Cook and later Broughton learned to interpret this and made appropriate responses that minimized physical violence. Similarly the chief who challenged Broughton’s party as they explored Kaingaroa Bay, Rēkōhu, formally welcomed them using his performance and his symbolically wrapped weapon to clarify that violence was not his intention. He and his people were also protected via the *hau* and *mauri* of the weapon, through which the power of the gods became manifest. Conversely, in the case of Ngāti Toa at Kaiapoi it could be argued that the *whaikōrero* of Te Rauparaha was deliberately misleading and led to violence because it was not trusted. Many years later this was rectified when the matter of *utu* was addressed using all those peace-making methods described here.

2. *Manaakitanga*. This was ceremonial exchange and hospitality, sometimes on a grand scale (Tikao, 1939: 130). *Iwi* and extended family groups lived in geographical areas that often contained completely different sets of natural resources so that exchange frequently occurred between them. Groups would travel large distances to exchange specialties from other provinces with their own, and sometimes to pay tribute to a highly regarded group that would form a defence alliance with them or as continuing *utu* for a previous defeat or loss of *mana*. After a dispute they might reinforce their alliances by sharing food in an extravagant ceremony where the food was displayed beforehand on an elaborate platform many stories high. Such a ceremony and such ostentatious hospitality acknowledged the *mana* of the guests and of the hosts, so that the chance of *utu* imbalance through insult to anyone’s *mana* was

minimized. Similarly Ngai Tahu had a long tradition of gifting elaborate ceremonial *poha* or vessels that typically contained preserved flesh of various kinds. They displayed and symbolised the *mana* of the hosts, honoured that of the guests, and protected them. Some *poha* were sacred and their contents could only be eaten safely by persons of exceptional *mana*; by this means they also tested the *mana* of any rivals within or outside their own ranks (Best, 1901: 145-7; Stack, 1898: 59; Tau & Anderson, 2008: 88-89). No such large scale ceremonials were part of any of the interactions described in this thesis, but some meaningful hospitality was exchanged when chiefs and others visited the ships of Cook and Furneaux, exchanging valued goods and gifts, and sharing food. The *mana* of both parties was thus acknowledged and in most cases the reciprocity satisfied the need for *mana* to be acknowledged and *utu* to be balanced. Usually violence was averted. However, in the case of the Grass Cove incident, violence erupted when Kahura was insulted as sailors sat on his beach eating and not sharing – a failure on their part to *manaaki* their hosts – and also, in Māori terms, an insult. Kahura *chose* to follow a pathway of violence to exact the *utu* for that, yet Cook when he found out later, *chose* not to perpetuate the violence, and did not seek the European equivalent of *utu* – revenge. In contrast, at Kaingaroa beach on Chatham Island in 1791, Broughton and his party trampled the *mana* of Moriori by setting up a *tohu* or symbol equivalent to a *pou-whenua* (land marker), carried out a ritualistic ceremony, made speeches, attached a message to a tree, and tried to do appropriate things, as Moriori watched passively. Still the chief welcomed and greeted them in a manner that acknowledged their *mana*, according to the belief system inherited from the ancestor Nūnuku (Chapter eight). It was the actions of two young men – one angry Moriori and one fearful European sailor, that actually caused shots to be fired and one person was killed. There had been no intention on either side for death to be a result, and the violence ceased with *utu* having been paid by the Europeans as gifts, and by the Moriori with the death of an unfortunate youth. From a European point of view it was not balanced, but Moriori decided in their council that further European visits would be welcomed peacefully. This method enhanced rather than diminished their *mana* because it was a form of *manaakitanga* that upheld ‘Nūnuku’s law’ that had been formulated over 20 generations prior in the most recent Pacific homeland of Hawaiki.

3. *Takawaenga, taumau*<sup>112</sup> and gift exchange (Precious objects and land).

At the conclusion of a battle, or to avert battles, exogamous marriages were sometimes contracted between *iwi* and *whanau*. Women were sometimes part of the equation during the visits of chiefs to visiting ships as well, as they were in Māori reciprocity when peaceful outcomes were sought. It was not uncommon in the Māori world that the gift of a chiefly woman as a bride, accompanied by a gift of land, a *pounamu* weapon, or a cloak of great *mana* was made to restore or guarantee peace through alliance. Ngāi Tahu gave the *patu* ‘Tuhiwai’ “mo te taenga o te Te Hinekaro”<sup>113</sup> to form an alliance with Ngāti Mamoe chief Rakiihia and obtain a weka hunting ground in the Upper Rakaia about 1700 AD. Generations later the chief Taiaroa, of Ngāti Māmoe and Ngāi Tahu descent, exchanged the same *patu* for the esteemed *waka taua* (war canoe) ‘Wai-ka-hua’ in a *rongopai* (peace making) with Te Rauparaha after Ngāti Toa had released the Ngāi Tahu captives to return home to Canterbury following the wars at Kaiapoi and Banks Peninsula. One of those chiefs who returned from Kapiti to Kaiapoi was Te Ata o Tū. He later made a *patu pounamu* that was presented to his benevolent captor Te Hiko<sup>114</sup>, son of the chief Te Pēhi Kupe, who had sought to steal *pounamu* during Ngāti Toa’s original invasion of Kaiapoi. For Māori, all of these ‘gifts’ were land, people, or objects that embodied those relationships with the *mana* of their donors and were therefore suitable for acknowledging the *mana* of the recipients to promote or maintain peace, and to remain as “Rongo-a-taketake” (evidence-of-contract for an enduring peace)<sup>115</sup>. Yet, although they became evidence of contracts, they were something more, because of their spiritual dimension. They could be viewed as containing the *hau* and *mauri* – “the core of signifying references to group relationships” that originated with the gods, and is due to them eventually. As referents to the spirit of the giver, the intention therefore is not only material (as in a European document) but also emotional and spiritual (Tcherkézoff, 2012: 320). The longer their *whakapapa*, the more intense this quality is, and the more powerful its efficacy for balancing *utu*. As I have already argued, in order for outcomes or prospects to be peaceful, balanced reciprocity in its human, spiritual and material guises must be maintained. That is, for Māori, *utu* balance must be sustained or restored; for Europeans value equivalence must be obtained. These are matters of perception defined for each social actor by the ontological world that they inhabit, so for each person there is automatically a tension surrounding their judgements of fair equivalence. One of the arguments of this thesis

is that all kinds of violence are forms of theft. If the perceptions of one party to a transaction are that they have not received fair equivalence, then they feel deceived, and they perceive that their honour or *mana* has been challenged. This could be viewed as a form of theft or violence against the ‘other’. I therefore revisit how Garver has represented violence: “...violence in human affairs comes down to violating persons, and property can be seen as an extension of a person”. Garver mentions a number of ways that violations occur and they all amount to taking away something that the person had before – their life, their good name, their *mana*, their property and so on. Such violations could be regarded as thefts that have potential to damage their relationships. Thus theft by failure to receive equivalence is likely to affect *mana* or honour and be seen by the victim as a just cause for retaliation or the seeking of *utu*. Whether or not this happened was largely dependant upon the particular social actors and the choices they made in how or if, they would pursue the *utu* or (in the case of Europeans) revenge.

4. *Taharua*<sup>116</sup>, peacemakers and envoys – Just as peace could be pre-empted and also sealed by the formation of alliances with arranged marriages, so particular people related to both sides were sought for peace negotiations. Buck says that “They were received honourably, their blood providing more safety than any flag of truce... and... peace established by mutual agreement was termed *maungā rongō*” (1949: 402). Peacemakers and envoys could also be people who had a reputation for having done favours or been generous to the enemy chief, and might be treated leniently. However they were also chosen for being suitable by personality. Of the previously mentioned Ngāti Toa warrior Te Hiko, Dieffenbach said “ he was always chosen as a peacemaker... for which office he... is well qualified in personal inclination and talent”. He was also known by Ngāi Tahu to have allowed Tangatahara (who had killed his father at Kaiapoi) to go free, after having been captured by some women at Akaroa; also to have treated his captive Te-Ata-o-Tū respectfully, and acknowledged his *mana* at Kāpiti. William Williams and Augustus Earle are also reported to have said that they had known others: “ a few venerable men truly noble and praiseworthy characters, such as would do honour to any age country or religion” who were peace makers (in Ballara, 2008: 158). It was the task of such people to ensure that any outstanding *utu* would be properly attended to before a *rongopai* could be agreed upon and it may have taken some years or generations before a lasting peace was achieved

(cf. Metge, 2002: 323-326). With the exception of the Ngāi Tāhu-Ngāti Toa conflicts at Kaiapoi and Bank's Peninsula, the cases used for comparison in this thesis were not so long-standing and therefore the resolutions and *utu* settlements were negotiated or enforced more simply and more quickly. However the issues of theft, including that of *mana*, reputation, material goods and land remained the same for both Europeans and Māori, and the threat of physically violent retribution was always there in transactions. Within both the European and Māori groups there were people with particular personalities who exacerbated the situations by making inappropriate choices. There were also those who made wise decisions and minimized the possibility of violence occurring because they honoured the status and prestige of their 'others', and deliberately or fortuitously balanced the *utu* in transactions.

Within each of the preceding chapters case examples of transactions that turned violent have been described, as have their key actors. Some were important chiefs, or in the case of Europeans, ship's captains and officers; but some were also young men and commoners. By their decisions, they were able to reduce the chance of violence, although some other people made things worse because they either failed to acknowledge the *mana* of their 'others', or failed to make allowance that the 'other' might have a different understanding of what was happening. Disjunction between their ontological worlds was always a possibility as Clammer, Poirier & Schwimmer have said (2004: 3). In all the inter-cultural examples described, this same comment applies equally to Europeans and to Māori. There was a similar amount of variation according to personality and individual interpretation of cultural schemas within both groups. In order to summarise this idea, I revisit one conflict sequence already discussed in Chapter two (Wairau affray), and one from Chapter eight (Rēkōhu visit of *H.M.S. Chatham*). In the description I emphasize the character and actions of some human social actors and contrast the Europeans with their Māori counterparts. For interpretive purposes the two key aspects here are what is known of each person's individual personality, reputation, enculturation and social history; also that these matters are dependent to a large extent upon the ontological world(s) that they inhabited at the time of the encounter:

Comprehending the ontological world of the ‘other’ and using it to  
communicate (respecting *mana*)

*Te Rangihaeata & Te Pūaha; Arthur Wakefield & Captain Blenkinsopp*

In 1843 Te Rangihaeata the Ngāti Toa warrior chief was the son-in-law of Te Rauparaha. From their island home at Kāpiti and in Marlborough they had had years of interaction and trading with European sealers and whalers. Their relative Te Pēhi Kupe had even spent time in England and had returned about 1830 with presents that he converted at Sydney into guns. Along with their kinsman Rāwiri Te Pūaha they well understood many interpretive aspects of English law that were required for trading with Europeans. When they found out that Blenkinsopp had deceived them over a supposed sale of their land at Wairau, they were correctly outraged. Their *mana whenua* was being challenged and so they replied in kind and according to English custom. Though this forthcoming ‘theft’ was a form of violence, the ‘reply in kind’ was not initially physically violent towards the ‘invaders’. What is critical to their behaviour was that they understood in European terms what the Europeans were ‘up to’ and challenged them from that perspective. Te Pūaha, a Christian who had been trained under Reverend Octavius Hadfield at Ōtaki, even held a bible and referred to the Christian message in his oratory. He said that the European invasion of their lands together with the presence of armed constabulary was contradictory to the Christian message. Te Rangihaeata also argued with Wakefield as if it was in a court of justice (rather than on the banks of the Tuamarina) and pointed out that he owned the surveyors’ hut because it was built of materials grown on his land and was not paid for. He therefore had every right to destroy it and to pull out the surveyor’s ranging rods, which he saw (and so did the British) as marking out the land. Māori also, mark land territory with *pou whenua* (lit. land posts). It was only after his wife was shot with a stray bullet, that Rangihaeata and the rest of his party responded violently as *utu*, in which Wakefield was the prime target. Te Rauparaha initially advised him not to fight, but the death of his daughter was the ‘last straw’. Thus in their stepwise decision-making Te Rangihaeata and Te Rauparaha attempted to keep the peace in a way that should have been well understood by Wakefield. It is therefore suggested that they were doing this because they wished to continue already established positive trading relationships with Europeans in the Wellington and Marlborough districts. *Utu*

is about maintaining balance in relationships and positive *utu* – obtained from peaceful or non-violent communication – can be just as effective as *utu* exacted by physically violent means. They had used two other appropriate peace-making tools available to them from their own cultural tool kits – *whaikorero*, and Christian peacemakers (Te Pūaha with his Bible) – but none succeeded. In contrast, Arthur Wakefield and Magistrate Thompson had had very little experience amongst Māori whom they firmly believed did not ‘own’ the lands under contention, because they did not ‘occupy’ them on a permanent basis, and therefore had no land rights. In any case they considered them to be savages, and they behaved accordingly towards them. This is fully in accordance with the ontological world of Victorian Britain at the time, and there is a clear ontological disjuncture here (cf. Clammer, Poirier & Schwimmer, 2004: 3). Māori understood the European way of transaction and ownership, and the European understanding of the Māori transactional world was completely lacking in this case. It was their ignorance, their failure to respect the individuality and *mana* of their counterparts and Wakefield’s quest for personal honour that prompted the physical violence.

*Lieut. Johnstone & Mr Sherriff; the Moriori elder & the youth*

The Moriori elder described by Broughton was one of several old men who had met them on the beach as they tried to land. They were looking for water and an opportunity to meet the inhabitants. The old man was not initially involved in the *melée* around the longboat as Johnstone and company pulled alongside and passed presents to members of the group who had come to meet them. Johnstone was the master’s mate of *H.M.S. Chatham* and it seems he was very nervous about how they would be treated. Because they were so noisy and did not return the proffered gifts, Johnstone judged them to be savage and so dangerous that when Sherriff stepped ashore and walked off with two or three Moriori he was concerned that Sherriff might not return. However Johnstone was a stickler for correct naval procedure and was under orders to find out and document as much as he could about the locals, so along with Broughton went ashore with his gun and an armed guard, trying to obtain things to take back. With other crew they planted a flag and other symbols of British sovereignty, whilst the old man and his group watched on. The old man issued a ritual challenge and welcomed them, all the time making his peaceful intentions quite plain

by his gestures and actions. As has already been explained (Chapter nine) the old man's actions were based upon a traditional practice of non-violence towards newcomers, as much as it was based upon his own decision-making. It can be interpreted as a mode for demonstrating and honouring the *mana* of both *tāngata whenua* and visitors. Johnstone's curiosity, however, eventually got him into trouble, and he ended up having his gun knocked out of his hand by a young man who thought that he was trying to steal some nets. This was *utu*, but there was no violence against the person. The situation did escalate into a violent episode where one person was killed, but the killing was a matter of panic by Johnstone and a sailor in the longboat. Thus the personal violence that happened and was regretted by both sides was caused more by fear than any matter of honour. Nevertheless honour did finally enter the equation when Broughton reported in his journal that though he was deeply saddened by the outcome, it was caused by the savage and threatening behaviour of the Moriori. In the eyes of his superiors the report might thereby have saved his honour. After their departure the Moriori council ruled that any further visits would be welcomed again peacefully, and so they maintained their *mana* and satisfied the need for *utu* by their magnanimous peaceful and superior gesture. In this context honour was involved in Broughton and Johnstone's impression management as they sought to please their superiors by symbolic theft of the land, 'curiosities' and ethnographic information to take back to England. It was this form of theft that eventually motivated the physical violence towards Johnstone's gun. Throughout the episode, violence against persons was firmly rejected by the Moriori people who had sent an envoy (the old man with his sacred wrapped club) to honour the visitors and present themselves as holders of the *mana-whenua*. They used the traditional peace-making practices of *whaikorero* and welcome to deal with the situation of the invasion of their land. Afterwards, even when one of their people had been killed, the judgement of the council of elders left no perceived cause for revenge by the Europeans. *Utu*, and relationships amongst humans and with the gods were judged as balanced.

### A Pacific comparison – Captain Pedro Quirós at Rakahanga in 1603

This final case example is addressed briefly here as a type of 'scoping exercise', to explore whether or not the modified Brass-Wilson methodology for investigating violent sequences might be able to be applied to other Pacific cases; to also consider

whether Blok's thesis regarding the intimate relationship between honour and violence might be universal in other parts of the Pacific as they appear to have been in New Zealand. The Quirós expedition to the Pacific left from territories in South America that were considered Spanish (though Quirós himself was born Portuguese and his chief officer Torres was Breton by birth). It was an earlier era than that of Cook's British naval visits to the Cook Islands and New Zealand. In a sense the Quirós expedition to Rakahanga was a private one sent by Spanish King Phillip the Second, and was underpinned by a strong religious imperative.<sup>117</sup> Parsonson said "The motives of the expeditions... concerned peoples much more than lands. The emphasis was always on the conversion of the natives of the austral lands to Christianity [including their humane treatment]" and "For the... seamen... riches might well have been the most compelling motive" ("Introduction", in Kelly, 1996, Vol. 1: 19). One could say that it involved Christian, rather than Spanish imperialism and expansionism; the motive was souls not land. These are all good reasons why this Spanish expedition should provide a contrasting Pacific context in which to consider the application of Blok's thesis regarding honour and violence.

The two ships *Capitana* (60 crew) and *Almiranta* (40 crew), also carried six Franciscan friars and four brothers of St John of God, and there are five surviving narratives and two journals. There are no known traditional narratives from the Cook Islands apart from the fact that the population of Rakahanga in 1606 was supposed to have originated from a single family who had migrated there from Rarotonga about 300 years previously (Buck 1932: 4, 20-3, 65-6). It may, therefore, be possible to interpret the reported behaviour of the inhabitants using ethnographic information from the Southern Cook islands, and even, perhaps, (since many commonalities are suggested) from the New Zealand Māori situations already described in this work. The various descriptions of 'native' behaviour provide sufficient agreement amongst the remaining narratives to build a picture of what happened during the two-day-long Spanish visit. Each narrative (as in other groups of records used in this thesis) also contains illuminating particularities that reflect not only the behaviour of the 'natives' but the attitudes of the reporters. Kelly (1966, Vol. 1.) has provided much information on the personalities of different journal writers including the Captains and pilots of both of the vessels, three priests, and the paymaster-overseer. Because their roles in the expedition were different, then different perspectives and attitudes towards the

‘natives’ are visible in their journals. From this information it is possible to gain insights into what the motivations of these social actors were; similarly of ‘others’ about whom they reported. During their two-day stay at Rakahanga, there was one sequence of five related incidents. Each of them had violent outcomes. Although the sailing instructions and ‘ordinanzas’ of King Phillip forbade them to bring ‘natives’ back from the islands (even if they wanted to come), and they were not permitted to take property from them or their houses, or take them hostage, yet the Spaniards attempted all these things, as well as killing a number of people. Their actual intention had been to go ashore for wood and water. Because of the violent incidents they were unsuccessful in their mission and the local people gained their *utu* principally through resistance rather than revenge. Their only violent acts were in self-defence. Each incident involved a turning point where someone was shot at or killed. Briefly, the five incidents that occurred were:

1. *Offshore when canoes came out to the boats* – Initially two canoes came out to investigate and afterwards were followed by ten small canoes whose crew were chanting as they paddled, led on by a *kaea* (caller). They were described as “making great rejoicings, pointing out the port” but “would not come on board or eat anything” (Leza, pilot). Amongst them was a good-natured and attractive youth who was given a silk dress, and it “was pain[ful]... that [he] could not be kept, to take as proof of the greatness of God in those parts” (Quirós).

2. *As the ships anchored inshore* a group of people boarded the launch and went ashore with the boats. On board the launch were 20 arquebusiers.<sup>118</sup> About 60 ‘natives’ came out to meet them with their lances and “heaved with such force they were turning her over whereupon a couverin was fired into the air and they... loosened their hold” (Fr. Munilla). Iturbe (paymaster) reported that it was *suspected* “that this was being done with evil intentions; our men shot down some of the natives”. At the same time “a very audacious old man... tall, robust... arrogant... brandishing a lance...” (Quirós) was clearly attempting to make a challenge or welcoming speech, which was answered by the firing of two muskets. This was a very long sequence in which the locals “not understanding our reasons any more than we understood theirs” tried to stop them leaving by tying a rope around the cable. The Spanish response was to fire at them, wounding and killing some, after which they returned to the ship

where Quirós and Torres spent the evening making a plan to return for wood and water in the morning.

3. *The natives opposed Admiral Torres' landing party* who intended to get wood and water by *deception* “by good management... to bring on board at least four boys...” in order to achieve that intention. They had difficulty landing because of the heavy seas. Some locals came out to them and are described as being very noisy and attacking them, so they fired at them and killed many as they fled.

4. *Natives flee to their village* – The Spaniards, when they landed, marched towards the village and the people fled except for 10-11 old people who approached them with lighted torches and green boughs as “signals of peace and friendship”. Though fearful, one guided them to water, which was salty, so they were given coconuts to drink, and were welcomed by some beautiful women (Torquemada, priest). One youth expressed humility towards Torres who dressed him in silk, intending to *kidnap* him as a hostage to assist in obtaining water (Quirós).

5. *Recruit goes into a house and people defend their property*: “but Satan who does not sleep at such important junctures, contrived that an ill-conditioned recruit should enter one of their houses. His *intention* had been *to take* mats. The owner opposed his entrance “... by attacking [him] with a club”, but was shot and ‘run through’ with a cutlass. The Spaniards admired his gallantry (Quirós). A complex sequence of violent skirmishes ensued. Three people were killed and it appears that a woman tried to distract them with sexual favours. Torres eventually took three chiefs hostage and sent 12 men to look for water. They were ambushed by the ‘natives’ whom Torres *described as treacherous*, and afterwards he said “the land being in my power, I went over the town without finding anything...” and so they returned to the ships without any water or wood.

Each of these incidents contained a violent sequence in which there was a *perception of theft* being responded to by killing. Initially it was a situation where lives were already at risk from the sea conditions and was probably motivated by misunderstanding or fear. The chief social actors and transitional turning points can be identified. The journals provide evidence of attitudes of the Spanish towards the Rakahangans. Descriptions of their observed behavioural responses could also be used to interpret how the situations were understood. The Spaniards constantly referred to the arrogance, temerity, audacity and violence of the islanders, as well as their

courage, valour and displays of peace. Fr. Torquemada had expected their self-proclaimed superiority of arms and ideology to be recognized, was disappointed, and referred to the Rakahangans as *barbarians*. For the outside world he attempted to represent the Spaniards as more honourable and humane by casting the *tangata whenua* as inferior and as heathen. Therefore by *his* arrogance, he was *insulting their mana* and generating negative rumour about them in his journal. Thus the Rakahangans attempting to welcome them were subjected to attempted thefts of all the varieties described by Garver: theft of life and relationships by killing and attempted kidnap, theft of reputation, and theft by deception. Yet the described reactions of the old people, the chiefs, the women, and the young men can be interpreted as self-defensive and resistant. It is difficult to say how the Rakahangans regarded the Spanish initially and why they were so enthusiastic about getting their boats ashore, but this feature of the day – March 2<sup>nd</sup> 1606 – was something shared in anthro-history with New Zealand Māori, Chatham Islanders and Rapans. Were they enthusiastic about the arrival of visitors and wanting to welcome them; were they wanting to ‘steal’ the boat to increase their *mana* through acquisition of resources; did they perceive the arrival of the boat and its passengers as a ‘gift’ from Tangaroa in the way that Chatham islanders regarded the beached whales, or was it ‘all of the above’? It is a curious fact that perceived theft of boats was a component of most of the other violent sequences described here, yet that perception by Europeans, does not appear to concur with the ontological world of Pacific islanders. Clues have been sought in the cases themselves and in the Māori language for an understanding of what ‘theft’ constituted to them. As far as the cases that have been described are concerned, the two examples offered by Surville’s two landings, taken together with Quirós’s landing at Rakahanga and Vancouver’s arrival at Rapa provide some insights. When Surville first came ashore at Doubtless Bay it was a fine calm day and the occupants of the ship’s boat were greeted with a prolonged *pōwhiri* (welcome). Green branches were waved, and though they were helped ashore there was no concern that the local people were trying to get their boat. However, when the ship’s yawl was washed ashore during a storm, Ranginui’s people recovered it, and Surville was furious. The recovery was done within the view of Surville and his men, so it can hardly be considered as deception. The behaviour was entirely consistent with Polack’s description: “when a vessel cuts her chains and drifts ashore she is counted as wrecked and becomes the

property of her captors” (1838, Vol 2: 68). Earlier, in Chapter three of this thesis Māori words for theft were explored: *tinihanga* (taking by deception), *tāhae* (to steal secretly) and *patipati* (to trick someone by flattery). None of these seem to apply to the case of Surville’s lost yawl as it was done within his view. The arrival of Quirós at Rakahanga suggests that there was some enthusiasm to separate the boat from its chains and anchor, but this may simply have been an attempt to help them in the heavy seas. On the other hand it may have been an exact parallel for what Polack described. Again, there was nothing secretive about it (cf. Kelly, 1966: 85). Similarly, at Rapa-iti where Vancouver’s party did not land, all the crew journals noted that the Rapans were great thieves taking everything they could lay hands on from the ship. Thomas Manby said,

We have every reason to suppose they stole on the Spartan principle, as where success attends them they secure applause. For dexterity in this way few can excel them... they did not hesitate to practice this sleight of hand on each other and if detection took place, they only laughed at the event (journal, 23 December, 1791. ATL. Micro-Ms-Coll-08-0537).

The situation is reminiscent of Te Ratu stealing Cook’s handkerchief at Queen Charlotte Sound and then laughing about it when detected. All of these instances were carried out in full view of others and there was nothing secretive about them; so it seems that this is not the same category of theft as *tinihanga*, *tāhae* or *patipati*. It is a category in which the ‘loser’ might choose to be insulted and seek *utu* for lost *mana* or might choose to react magnanimously and laugh. It would depend upon the person.

There remain more questions than answers, but it is clear is that of all of the varieties of theft mentioned in the preceding chapters of this thesis, the perceived theft of honour, *mana*, and prestige in social relationships, threatens those relationships most. It is therefore more likely to cause violence when those who interact with each other live in different ontological worlds. People who live in those worlds ‘see’ and ‘know’ honour and theft differently. They therefore ‘see’ and ‘know’ relationships differently. Yet this is no reason to ignore the many commonalities that do exist and have been demonstrated through case examples in each of Chapters three to nine of this thesis. English Lieutenant Peter Puget was aboard *HMS Discovery* when Vancouver’s party visited Rapa-iti in 1791. His journal provides some insight into this issue:

I do not mean to accuse these poor Islanders of premeditated Robbery nor should I think myself authorized to sully the fair Character of a set of Men with such an Imputation... totally unacquainted with the Laws and Customs of Civilized Nations & dazzled by the Light of an Article which they saw in such quantities about the Ship, they endeavoured by any Means to get Possession of a Certain Portion of it, but this they did not wish to effect with any Privacy, so far from it, that what things they took was done before many of the Officers. Of People from these circumstances I shall conclude, their Intention could not be so bad as we at first imagined, for I firmly believe if their canoes had contained any article which they might have thought our Equivalent for our Iron they would willingly have parted with it in exchange... [sic] (Jnl. Dec. 22nd, ATL. Micro-Ms-0085).

## Summary

This study of Māori and Moriori-European interactions in New Zealand has demonstrated the connections between theft, honour and violence, and the brief consideration of two Pacific cases suggests that there are many common features in how these issues were involved in the success or otherwise of transactions. The data available, like that used in previous chapters is clearly suitable for analysis by using my adaptation of the Brass and Wilson methods even though their projects were a ‘modern’ ones and the cases described here belong to an entirely different era and cultural context. In the Pacific cases researched, this project has also revealed a number of universal features of the honour-violence relationship described by Blok.

## Concluding comments

Bronwen Douglas's approach to reading archival texts "against the grain", seeking fragments of indigenous ways of being including their "... strategies for handling problematic... experiences, deflecting, appropriating and exercising power in cross cultural encounters" has enabled me to find multiple versions of particular transaction episodes for use in the analysis of why they nearly always turned violent (1998: 281). By reading them reflexively, bearing in mind the conflicting ontological worlds that the transaction participants occupied at the time, it has been possible to 'see' one category of reasons why all the encounters presented in this thesis became violent. That category is described at length in Chapters two and three: ontological disjunction, as Clammer, Poirier & Schwimmer have pointed out (2004: 3). Just as they have used conflict in 'modern' societies as a starting point for their claim of ontological disjunction being implicated in violence, so Brass, working in 'modern' India, has applied the idea that societies in conflict construct multiple discourses about their subjective experiences, which when analysed, expose those social actors who are implicated in the violence. Using his 'discursive' approach and applying it to the multiple narratives present in the archival material has then enabled me to achieve the same outcome in Chapters five to eight. Those actors implicated in the violence have been exposed. However, within those violent episodes there have been other social actors also involved. Although *these* social actors (*tāonga*) are not 'alive' (in the Western sense) they have agency because within Maori ontologies they are perceived on some occasions as being instantiations of ancestors, and therefore are efficacious in conflicts and peacemaking. They have been analysed at length in Chapter four, and, (after Paul Tapsell) I have demonstrated how particular *tāonga* can be viewed as heuristics which enable some intercultural translation of their owner's motivations and intentions during transactional, conflict and peace-making situations. As Vivieros de Castro has suggested, they serve as equivocations which enable those from differing ontological worlds to understand how each 'see's and 'knows' the same things differently.

Thus, using the textual interpretive method of Bronwen Douglas, the discursive interpretive methods of Paul Brass (1997), Paul Tapsell (1997) and Eduardo Vivieros de Castro (2004; cf. Chapters three and four), I have been able to learn much about the actions and motivations of the social actors who have been implicated in the violent episodes described in this thesis. The agency of social actors in transactions that became violent became clearly visible from all these forms of interpretation. Yet, it is the insights that Chris Wilson (2008) obtained from his studies of ethno-religious violence in ‘modern’ Indonesia that inspired the analysis of the violence *processes* I have used in Chapters five to nine. His investigation involved a large and complex series of violent situations. The scale is not comparable to that involved for this thesis, but I found that the idea of interrogating the situation through dividing it into a series of phases, each phase being connected to the next by a transitional turning point at which decisions made by social actors influenced the outcome, was suitable for the small scale situations I was investigating. The outcome of my analysis has therefore reinforced the importance of the agency and responsibility of human social actors in causing violence or causing it to cease, as Chapters eight and nine demonstrate. This then shows that the aspects of Blok’s thesis which gives less credence to deliberate human choice, and suggests that violence is usually an unintentional consequence of human action, is not as robust an argument, at least for the cases I have investigated.

However Blok’s extensive investigation of situations in other parts of the world, and some of them in other times has highlighted the pervasive involvement of the Western concept of honour, in most violent situations. His recommendation that further investigation of cross-cultural situations might help to confirm its universality has been inspirational and influential in this thesis. The study of Māori and Moriori-European interactions in New Zealand has revealed that the connection between honour and violence can be explained through both Maori and European concepts of theft. By considering the range of meanings attributed to both the Maori and English linguistic terms used for violence it has been possible to see the overlaps of meaning as well as the differences. These have been used to demonstrate that theft is actually a form of violence because it violates the person (as in theft of a person’s relationships, for these are all influenced when there is loss of life, health, reputation, self esteem, and property). Conversely, all such forms of theft are likely to cause a violent response because they threaten and damage honour or *mana*. Theft of anything that

damages personal and group relationships has thus been shown in this thesis to be the critical link between honour and violence, and theft involves personal decision making by social actors. That is, its critical component is human agency. In Chapters five to eight a number of transaction sequences have been compared, in order to identify why they became violent. Using the aforementioned methodology adapted from those of Brass and Wilson, it has been possible to show that in every case the stage of the interaction sequence where violence erupted was one where an action by one party, was perceived by the other as one or other of the forms of theft. Whether or not violence actually erupted, and the form it took, was dependent upon the agency of the human actors concerned, what they decided to do, and what their motivations were. In many cases they were motivated by concern for their own impression management, and how they would be seen in the eyes of others. Sometimes their motivation was misconceived because they ‘saw’ and ‘knew’ things differently, but the connection between honour and violence (which Blok has suggested may be universal) remains and has been shown in this thesis to be applicable to the New Zealand cases investigated. For Maori and Pacific people there was an additional concern because *mana* is connected in their ontological worlds, with their *relationship* to the gods.

The brief consideration of two Pacific cases in chapters eight and nine suggests many common features in how these issues were involved in the success or otherwise of transactions. The 1606 landfall of Pedro Quirós at Rakahanga in the Northern Cook Islands – a much earlier era and a more distant place – was chosen as a contrast to the Māori-European cases described in the previous chapters. Yet there may also be some commonalities amongst them. Therefore the Quirós visit to Rakahanga would be another opportunity to examine any possible universal applicability for Blok’s thesis about the relationships between honour and violence, and its extensions in the Pacific region more generally: honour, *mana*, *tapu*, theft and consequently, *utu*. Moreover, this final scoping study of Quirós’ visit to Rakahanga suggests that comparisons with other Pacific cases of inter-cultural transaction would be worth pursuing to further explore the local-universal characteristics of the honour-violence conjunction, including its connection with the concept of theft.

## GLOSSARY

This section explains Māori words and expressions that appear in the text. The meanings used here are those pertaining to the text of this thesis. However, many of the same words have other meanings outside of their usage here. Where quotations from Ngāi Tahu or Kāti Mamoe sources are used, they have not been edited and sometimes use the dialectal form where ‘K’ is substituted for ‘Ng’.

*ahiahi* – afternoon

*ahi kā* – land rights by occupation (even if only seasonally)

*āinga* – violence

*ao mārama* – world of light

*ariā* – manifestation or visible representation of an atua or god

*āriki* – chiefly leader (by inheritance)

*ata* – morning

*atua* – god, ghost or supernatural presence, spiritual guide

*hapū* – sub-tribe (lit. pregnant)

*hau* – breath of life, vital essence

*hongi* – greeting by touching noses

*huanga/huaka* – group of people

*hunga tiaki* – guardian

*ika* – fish

*iti* – small

*iwi* – tribe (lit. bones)

*kairarawa* – anthropophagy – eating selected flesh to consume *mana*

*kaitaka* – type of cloak with ornamented border

*kaitiaki* – guardian

*kākahu* – cloak

*karakia* – (*karakii* = Moriori) prayers and incantations

*kaumātua* – elder

*kaupapa* – subject, topic under consideration; basis (of a cloak)

*kōpaki* – funeral offerings ( lit. wrappings)

*kōrero* – talk and speech, sometimes gossip or hearsay

*koro* – old man

*kūmara* – sweet potato, *Ipomea batatas*  
*kura* – school, as in *whare kura*; red feathers as in *taiaha kura*  
*mākutū* – witchcraft, black magic  
*mana* – power (temporal & spiritual), prestige and influence  
*mātāmua* – firstborn  
*mātauranga* – education/ knowledge  
*mau-ngā-rongo* – lasting peace  
*mauri* – spiritual force, life principle  
*moko mōkai* – preserved tattooed heads  
*muru* – ritual plunder or confiscation  
*pakiwaitara* – stories, slander  
*pā* – fortified settlement  
*pae* – horizon, ritual space for negotiation between groups  
*patipati* – deception by coaxing and flattery  
*pāwhera* – rape (lit. to split open).  
*pō* – night  
*pou henu* (Moriōri) *pou whenua* (Maōri) – land boundary or marker posts  
*pounamu* – greenstone (nephrite or bowenite)  
*pōwhiri* – welcome ceremony  
*pūrākau* – tales, myths  
*pure* – ritual for removing *tapu*  
*rongopai* – peace  
*ruawāhine* – old woman  
*tahae* – to steal  
*tāonga* – treasured item or person  
*takahi* – to trample  
*tāngata whenua* – people of the land  
*tangihanga* – mourning ceremony  
*taiaha* – wooden fighting staff  
*taikaha* – violent  
*tapu* – sacred  
*tārata* – lemonwood – *Pittisporum longifolium*  
*taringa* – ears (Maōri), *tarik*’ (Moriōri)

*taua* – war party  
*tauiwi* – foreigner/stranger  
*tinihanga* – deception  
*tītama* – dawn  
*tīkanga* – custom ( lit. correct)  
*tito* – lies  
*toetoe* – tall sedge grass (various species) for thatch and panels  
*tohi* – rite for purification  
*tohu* – sign  
*tōhunga/tōhuka* – priest  
*to'o* – godstick ( image usually wooden/ woven into which the god is called)  
*touhoua* (Mori) *tauhou* (Maori) – strangers/ foreigners  
*tūāhu* – shrine  
*tukino* – to treat badly  
*tuku iho* – handed down from generation to generation  
*tupāpāku* – corpse  
*tupurari* – quarterstaff  
*tūtū* – cheeky, disturbed  
*waiata* – song /chant  
*wehi* – anxiety about offending the gods  
*whaikōrero* – oratory  
*whaimana* – famous ( lit. to seek *mana*)  
*whakanōa* – to remove *tapu* and make something ordinary  
*whakapapa* – genealogy  
*whakarongo* – listen (*hokorongo* = Mori)  
*whanaungatanga* – feeling/responsibility towards family relationship  
*whāngai hau* – ritual ceremony to ‘feed the ancestors’ as *utu*  
*whare wānanga* – house of learning  
*whatutu ngarahu* – war *haka*  
*whānau* – family  
*urupa* – burial ground  
*utu* – reciprocal payment

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<sup>1</sup> [see [www.theprow.org.nz/te-rauparahas-account](http://www.theprow.org.nz/te-rauparahas-account) a paraphrased version of an article written by Steve Austin, Chief Executive of the Marlborough Museum and published in Wild Tomato].

<sup>2</sup> Theme, topic, or body of a woven cloak.

<sup>3</sup> This chapter has a strong similarity to a similar chapter in my MA thesis.

<sup>4</sup> In this thesis I take the view that both moments in time and the *long durée* are relevant to the situations of early Māori-European contact histories, which, viewed through Hau'ofa's Polynesian lens are on-going today (See Introduction).

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Clifford Geertz (1983) "From the Native's Point of View" considers how Javanese, Balinese and Moroccans see themselves as persons and are contextualised in different ways accordingly.

Victor Turner (1969) *The Ritual Process* considers the processual nature of social dramas with ritual aspects that influence the exercise of power within these dramas.

Malinowski (1953) *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* provides a fieldwork method that attempts to engage objectively as a "positioned observer" with those being studied.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.* Thomas.

<sup>7</sup> Said (1994: 270-276) *Orientalism* – texts can be hegemonic because they use other texts selectively, "affiliate with other works", involve the agency of the author, contribute to wider discourse, and those represented in it may even then use it reflexively upon themselves.

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Ricouer (1979: 75-90) “The Model of Text: Meaningful Action considered as Text” – texts ‘fix’ discourse but how text is read may not reflect the intention of the author of the discourse or of the text. It lacks the visual cues of the spoken word, and author, text and reader thus have a separate agency of their own, giving the text plurivocality.

Douglas (1998: 3-16) *Across the great Divide* – reading ethno-historical texts requires critical and reflexive attention to the political and discursive environments in which they were written.

T.O’Regan (2002) “Old Myths and New Politics” – histories, including traditional ones are “recorded in [a] particular frame for a particular purpose” and their authentication depends very much on the reliability and ability of the transcriber and translator.

<sup>8</sup> The same era as is being considered in this thesis.

<sup>9</sup> As O’Regan shows (op.cit) all writings are politically positioned.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Tau & Anderson (2008: 17) “... almost no history is a chronicle of actuality, and... all history needs to be understood from varying perspectives.” Also cf. Olssen (1992: 76).

<sup>11</sup> Social actors may be non-human, as described in Chapter four.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Amiria Henare et.al. (2007) *Thinking through Things: Theorising Artefacts Ethnographically*.

<sup>13</sup> For cultural schemas see Ortner (1990: 88-91).

<sup>14</sup> The fourth story has the same situation but the name of the chief is different.

<sup>15</sup> “Ingold shows that our understanding of [indigenous] cognitive systems will remain inadequate unless we learn and apply philosophical categories our informants actually depend on. Their systems are not an alternative science of nature, based on Cartesian logical deduction but a ‘poetics of dwelling’, a system of proximate causes and effects” (cited in Clammer et al. 2000: 23).

<sup>16</sup> Buck (1949), Salmond (1985), Simmons (1986), Shirres (1997), Tau (2001; 2003)

<sup>17</sup> in R. Taylor, 1855; quoted & translated in Salmond, 1985:244; also Shirres, 1997: 25)

<sup>18</sup> Tau points out that Rangi/Raki had more than one wife. Ngai Tahu and some other versions name the first wife Pokoharua Te Po whose close descendants were the various winds (2003: 45-57-Te Keepa MS.)

<sup>19</sup> Samuel Marsden, quoted in Elder, 1932: 286 “[if] I might violate their taboos...their gods would not punish me, but he would kill them for my crimes”.

<sup>20</sup> The ‘gifts’ have sometimes been people given in *takawaenga* arranged marriages, to embody the peace.

<sup>21</sup> The first kumara to Rongo, god of agriculture; first fish of the catch to Tangaroa, god of the sea; hair or heart of the first man killed in battle (“first fish”) to Tū, god of war etc. involved sharing food with the gods.

<sup>22</sup> *Tūāhu*- a shrine or altar which instantiated the ancestors at the time rituals were being performed in front of it.

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<sup>23</sup> Cf. Verdery & Humphrey (2004) “Introduction”, in *Property in Question: Value Transformation in the Global Economy*, pp 3-4. “John Locke was a pivotal figure” in the production of the philosophy of ‘improvement’ by seeing property “as present in a state of nature”. He wrote the Carolina Land laws and had “an agricultural venture there”, so could be seen as using his philosophy in a self interested way.

<sup>24</sup> In the case of George Bruce two handkerchiefs (op.cit. Whitley MS, 1898: 2-8).

<sup>25</sup> At Hawkes Bay Tupaia’s boy brought him a fish for his *atua* and Tupaia told him to throw it in the sea (Banks, 15/10/1769).

<sup>26</sup> The Admiralty intended to “Honour this Nation as a great Maritime Power, as well as... the Dignity of the Crown of Great Britain, and... to the advancement of the Trade and Navigation thereof...” (1768, Additional Secret Instructions, Endeavour Voyage)

<sup>27</sup> as they also informed them in their turn.

<sup>28</sup> A taiaha ornamented with sacred red feathers that distract the opponent during combat.

<sup>29</sup> Mair was a colonial surveyor, military officer & Maori linguist held in high regard by some Te Arawa.

<sup>30</sup> See footnote iii below

<sup>31</sup> This may mean more to Ngāi Tahu as Te Ruahikihiki, but does not appear to be mentioned in their records.

<sup>32</sup> Some records say it was her mother.

<sup>33</sup> This date is contested and the reasons for this are described in Evison (1993). It is unclear whether the envoy was sent before or after Te Puoho’s raid at Tuturau (1838) but if it was after, then Whakataupuka was dead by that time, so he could hardly have sent an envoy. Tamihana also seems to infer that it was after the ‘taua-nui’ and before Te Puoho’s raid, which means that it was before 1838. This estimation is confirmed, by both Te Kāhu (1901: 99-100) and John Topi Pātuki (1878: **J3**) as Evison said (1993: 105).

<sup>34</sup> Evidence of Richard Peter Boast : in the Matter of Te Tau Ihu Inquiry (Wai 785).

<sup>35</sup> Pakipaki asked to be put to death by his own mere (Mitchell & Mitchell, 2005: 123)

<sup>36</sup> Named by Te Rauparaha for the white heron because of his frequent movements between the two islands. His real name was Te Rato and he was a full brother of Te Porourangi whom Te Rauparaha distrusted because of his friendship with the famous southern Ngāi Tahu chief Tūhawaiki.

<sup>37</sup> The aspect of ‘what kind of men they were’, and the part that this played in the development of violence, will be examined later in another chapter, when I analyse the processual aspects of some conflict situations.

<sup>38</sup> The view that *Heketua* was used to kill Wakefield conflicts with the report by Rangihaeata’s nephew Matene Te Whiwhi that the mere *Tuhiwai* was used to kill him (Maori Land Court minutes, Foxton, 1872).

<sup>39</sup> See later chapters that examine the meanings of this action, in ‘first encounter’ situations such as with Cook.

<sup>40</sup> Taki MS p.5. Taki reports that Kēkerengū also developed this reputation when he lived amongst Ngāi Tahu.

<sup>41</sup> Although they do mention that Te Peehi had returned to New Zealand on the sealing/flax trading vessel “Queen Charlotte” which was at Port Jackson in March 1828, and had normally operated in the Murihiku area, so the vessel may have stopped at Otākou or Banks Peninsula on its way north – possibly to Kapiti.

<sup>42</sup> “Ka moe atu ia i te puni o te taua i te po” (Taki, in Tau & Anderson, 2008: 178).

<sup>43</sup> According to Taki, Hakitara overheard the plan for the haka. One was to be performed outside the *pa*, and one inside. However the informant from Wairewa (1900:2) said that the plan was to invite Ngāi Tāhu to a performance outside the *pa*. The *pa* would then be “rushed and the guests slaughtered” but Te Pēhi’s demanding actions inside the *pa* “precipitated matters” and the haka never happened.

<sup>44</sup> Dr D. L. Sinclair (quoted in Pybus: 46) suggested that Tamaiharanui had intended to give the signal to attack, when Rauparaha had entered the *pa*, but that Tangatahara had been “unable to restrain himself” and pre-empted the order, allowing Rauparaha to escape. In view of Rauparaha’s prior reluctance, and his dream about Pouhawaiki, this seems unlikely.

<sup>45</sup> See chapter 3- not a *toki* called Paewhenua as claimed by Ropoama Te One of Te Ati Awa.

<sup>46</sup> Some accounts say daughter, some son, some brother, and some that Te Pōkaitara was the first fish.

<sup>47</sup> Te Pēhi (his uncle), Te Aratangata (his younger brother) Te Pōkaitara

<sup>48</sup> Te Ata o Tu was highly regarded by Te Rauparaha and by Te Pēhi’s son Te Hiko and survived his captivity with his *mana* intact.

<sup>49</sup> A prior inter-hapū battle, during the Kai Huaka Feud. (Tau & Anderson, 2008: 170).

<sup>50</sup> Pardoning the man who had killed his father could be regarded as a different way of exacting *utu* and enhancing one’s own *mana* above that of the killer. He also treated Te Ata o Tu very well in captivity and honoured his *mana*. Te Hiko was later well known as a mediator and peace negotiator.

<sup>51</sup> Taki; Tainui & Mahuika, in Tau & Anderson: 177-181.

<sup>52</sup> cf. Blok, 2001:113-5- theft and violation of reputation damage honour (Europe).

<sup>53</sup> See Boltanski, Luc & Thévenot, Laurent, (1999) : “The Sociology of Critical Capacity”, in *European Journal of Social Theory* 2 (3), London. Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi.

<sup>54</sup> It is unlikely that he made the decision because he had his family there, including his young son, because they were all present at the Kaikōura battle to which he had no qualms about taking them. This explanation for his reluctance to enter the *pa* does not, therefore, seem likely.

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<sup>55</sup> Star & Greisemer's concept of boundary objects (based on having some perceptual and actual aspects of commonality) differs from Vivieros de Castro's "equivocations" which emphasises differences in understanding between worlds.

<sup>56</sup> "... ka mutu, ka karaka atu te tohuka, "Whakahokia ka morehu" (When [the tohunga] had finished he called "Return the survivors" (Waruwarutu, in Tau & Anderson: 187-8).

<sup>57</sup> Marsden, Hall and King left London in 1809, and the Bay of Islands Mission was well underway in 1819 (Angela Middleton, 2008: 59-64).

<sup>58</sup> Now Foveaux Strait near Stewart island

<sup>59</sup> If Beattie's account is correct, this was Mrs Elizabeth Noki Haberfield's father who survived the altercation.

<sup>60</sup> South Island, West Coast, New Zealand.

<sup>61</sup> This is the term used by Boulton so must have been in common usage at that time.

<sup>62</sup> It was a smoothbore flintlock musket. Paper or skin cartridges were a way of carrying the powder and ball, but the musket still had to be primed by pouring the powder out of the cartridge (Brian Foote, NZHFA Assn. pers.comm).

<sup>63</sup> "Arnitts island"(Hanata near Paringa)[Starke: 41].

<sup>64</sup> see Starke: 43- over the issue of the "singeing of skins".

<sup>65</sup> Perkins was the boatsteerer, who was paid more as his share of the 'lay' or profit than others were.

<sup>66</sup> Waitangi Tribunal hearings, for example.

<sup>67</sup> 1814 - *Matilda* was sealing ship from which six lascar seamen absconded in one of the boats. They were captured by Maori and three were killed and eaten ( Entwisle, 2010: 209)

<sup>68</sup> Matehaere's relative Haereroa was an informant to Creed's predecessor Watkin, & helped him to learn Maori (Pybus, 1954: 143).

<sup>69</sup> Matahaere's heart was distressed/sad- he felt emotionally upset.

<sup>70</sup> Published in the Hobart Town Gazette and Southern Reporter of 28<sup>th</sup> March 1818.

<sup>71</sup> "Wioree" was the name by which Maori knew Tucker. The mis-spelling is that of the original transcriber and appears in the document.

<sup>72</sup> The settlement appears to have been Otākou, but evidence exists of the settlement at Whareakeake being burned to the ground with all inhabitants – *tāonga* being left behind and a *tapu* left on the place until 1865 (H. D. Skinner, 1959: 219-238).

<sup>73</sup> Journals of crewmen on Cook's ships reveal how gossip & rumour often informed their actions.

<sup>74</sup> Payment to the gods for infringement of *tapu*

<sup>75</sup> "Then the old woman knew, 'Yes this is a piece of trickery of that fellow'..." (Agathe Thornton, trans.). Maui was trying to gain power by diminishing the power of Mahuika.

<sup>76</sup> *Takahi* – to trample on.

<sup>77</sup> *Whangai hau* rite- the *hau* of the enemy is fed to the war god & their *mana* is decreased (Best, 2001:187). *Kairarawa* rite (cannibalism) – “consumption of the life force and psychic and spiritual forces of the enemy which replenished one’s own powers... and depleted the *mana* of the opposing tribe” (Marsden, in King, 1992:127).

<sup>78</sup> “Victory of the Catholic Monarchs”: inscription over the tomb of Ferdinand and Isabella. Granada, Spain.

<sup>79</sup> *Wehi* – “...anxiety or apprehension in case one gives offence to the gods...” (Māori Marsden, in King, 1992: 121).

<sup>80</sup> “their intention [was] to acquire Ngāi Tahu’s greenstone weapons by [devious means/flattery] for themselves...” (Tau & Anderson [eds.], 2008: 181).

<sup>81</sup> “Revenge might be obtained by insulting the offenders without doing them any physical violence... *mākutu* rather than arms might be resorted to.”

<sup>82</sup> *Tāwhiri* (wind), *Tangaroa* (sea), *Tāne* (Trees & birds), *Tū[matauenga]* (war), *Rongo* (peace, kumara), *Haumia* (peace, fernroot).

<sup>83</sup> *Tinihanga* – deception by cheating, trickery, taking liberties; *patipati* – deception by flattery, cajolery or bribery (Williams, 1987: 271, 420)

<sup>84</sup> Tamahiwaki; also Maikoua (Moriōri), 1868 in Shand, 1895: 33-47); Halbert genealogy collection (Māori) 1999: 148-50, 221-2, 224-5, 227).

<sup>85</sup> Rakei stole Tamahiwa’s *pute-a-kura* (sacred red feather container); Papa stole the *mana* of Tama-te-kohuruhuru by insulting his sexuality; Niwa stole Manaii’s *mana* by her adultery with Porotehiti; Taukihimi & Paparakewa took the life of Pukura’s son Tū (Hirawana Tapu in Shand, 1894: 161, 187; 1895: 89, 209).

<sup>86</sup> cf. Sahlins, 1985. However, I argue that there is an element of agency as well as cultural structure involved.

<sup>87</sup> Broughton named it Chatham after a member of the Admiralty.

<sup>88</sup> Master’s mate.

<sup>89</sup> Māori – *tāngata whenua*, or indigenous inhabitants.

<sup>90</sup> They said the incantations for war, but it was more like a *murū* party.

<sup>91</sup> Moriōri used to send out model canoes with wooden images of men as messengers to Rongo takuiti who would respond by sending them seals and blackfish (Shand, 1894: 86).

<sup>92</sup> In the Maori pantheon Rongo was the god of cultivation and peace. However, since Kahu’s pioneering effort to grow kumara did not succeed, there was practically no cultivation on Rēkōhu. Food came primarily from the sea.

<sup>93</sup> Koche’s father cited in King, 2000: 45.

<sup>94</sup> Shand said, “Heauoro and Maru were referred to in connection with war, and this may be assumed to be their principal function”(1894: 89).

<sup>95</sup> Admiralty rules required that they consult with the locals about this as Cook did at Totaranui.

<sup>96</sup> Johnstone’s ‘oft repeated word.’ Maori= *Tauhou* – strange visitor.

<sup>97</sup> The matting would protect anyone coming into contact with it from the *tapu* of the weapon, and protect the weapon itself from ‘other’ *tapu* that might reduce its power or cause an *utu* situation to arise.

<sup>98</sup> The one perceived to have the most *mana* & ability to change the situation.

<sup>99</sup> small objects used to purchase things: beads, mirrors, items made of brass copper or iron, metal containers, nails. Cloth was also given.

<sup>100</sup> Removing *tapu* – especially after a ceremony and speechmaking or prayer.

<sup>101</sup> Probably a *tupurari* or quarterstaff.

<sup>102</sup> *kaupapa*= body of a woven cloak, also topic of discussion.

<sup>103</sup> Lament for a son killed in battle. This was considered a noble death, and its visibility enhanced the *mana* of the warrior, his family and tribe. Te Ikaherengutu was from Ngati Ruanui, a part of Te Rauparaha’s Northern Alliance. Song 181, Nga Moteatea, 1988: xix, A.T Ngata (ed.), Pei te Hurinui (trans).

<sup>104</sup> cf. Chapter 3. *Mana* is spiritual power inherited from the gods, but can also accrue from good deeds, responsible actions and the admiration of others. It is a palpable characteristic of chiefs and their descendants and is closely related to the metaphysical state of *tapu*.

<sup>105</sup> lit. *moe tahae* = sleeping theft.

<sup>106</sup> Gossip- see Tau (2003), *Nga Pikitūroa: 17*

<sup>107</sup> a hat is perceived as *tapu*, being associated with the most *tapu* body part, the hair of the head

<sup>108</sup> a hatchet would probably have less *mana* than a greenstone weapon

<sup>109</sup> in Maori eyes, not a noble death, being ‘caught out cooking’ which is a non-*tapu* activity

<sup>110</sup> excepting in the premeditated and planned expedition of Ngāti Toa to Kaikōura and Kaiapoi.

<sup>111</sup> literally a horizon where the sea or earth meets the sky- a metaphorical reference to the meeting-place of the spiritual realm of the gods and the terrestrial realm ( cf. Salmond, 1976: 15).

<sup>112</sup> *takawaenga* are marriages as truce or for peace between former enemies. *Taumau* marriages are arranged by parents, sometimes with betrothal from an early age.

<sup>113</sup> “for the arrival of Te Hinekaro” – to celebrate the alliance by gifting the land with a woman.

<sup>114</sup> WAI 785 Evidence of Matiu Nohorua Te Rei 2003, Item 74.

<sup>115</sup> Ballara, c. 2003: 157.

<sup>116</sup> lit. two sides – refers to persons related to both sides in a conflict, the logical people to send as envoys.

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<sup>117</sup> Quirós named it Peregrina – see names quoted by 8 authors from 1806-1960 in Kelly, Vol 1: 63.

<sup>118</sup> an arquebus was an early shoulder-fired, firearm, not as accurate as a musket. Invented in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.