

**WHAKAARI (WHITE ISLAND)
AND MOTUHORA (WHALE
ISLAND).**

A report to the Waitangi Tribunal

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Whakaari and Motuhora: a report to the Waitangi Tribunal

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1: The Islands

A. Whakaari

Whakaari (White Island) and Motuhora (Whale Island) are well-known Bay of Plenty landmarks. The two islands form the northern end of a line of andesite volcanoes which continues in a southwesterly direction to Mts. Edgecumbe and Tarawera and the peaks of the central North Island. Whakaari today is almost continually active. The island lies 51 kilometres north of Whakatane and covers an area of 588 acres (238 hectares). The name is said to mean "to show or expose to view."¹ The island is privately owned; legally its status is that of a private reserve.²

A useful description of White Island was published by B.N. Thompson in 1966.³ He writes:

White Island is at the northern end of a line of active or recently active Quarternary andesitic volcanoes trending north-east from Ruapehu. Three of these andesitic cones, Mt Edgecumbe (2,697 ft) near Kawerau, and the two island cones, Whale I. (1,140 ft) and White I. (1,053 ft), form prominent landmarks in the Bay of Plenty. Both Mt Edgecumbe and Whale I. lie within a graben (Whakatane Graben) that narrows beyond the coast and merges into the north-east trending White Island Trench (4M5), and White I. lies about 2 miles north-west of this trench.

White I. consists of three cones. The oldest cone is formed by the outlying islands (Volkner Rocks to the north-west and Club Rocks to the south) and the eroded western part of the island. Troup Head and Pinnacle Head are remnants of the second cone and now form the eastern flank of the island. The youngest cone, built between these two cones, now occupies the central part of the island and contains within the craters high temperature fumaroles and sulphur deposits.

¹ Department of Lands and Survey, *Scenic Reserves of South Auckland: Book One: East of the Waikato River*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1979, 30. Hochstetter, however, says that "Whakari" is the Maori word for sulphur: see Ferdinand von Hochstetter, *Geology of New Zealand*, 1864, English translation C.A. Fleming, 1959, p. 133.

² Ibid.

³ B.N. Thompson, "White Island", in B.N. Thompson, et.al., (eds), *New Zealand Volcanology: Northland, Coromandel, Auckland*, New Zealand Geological Survey, Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, Wellington, 1966, p.68. See also W.M. Hamilton and I.L. Baumgart, *White Island*, (Department of Scientific and Industrial Research Bulletin 127), Wellington, 1959.

Erosion has removed most of the original surface of the two older cones and the planezes of both the northern and southern sides of the island are the remnants of the slopes of the youngest cone. Marine erosion has cut cliffs up to about 100 feet around most of the island, and landings are best made in the bays at the eastern end.

The island is formed of andesitic ash and agglomerate and subordinate lava dikes, and is breached by three coalescing craters, in all about 3/4 mile long and 1/4 mile wide. The sides of the craters are steep, and the topography of the flat floor, which slopes eastward to the sea, is determined by the surface of a landslide of thermally altered surface rock and fresh andesite that slipped from the western wall and filled a crater near the western wall. Within a short time the vent was cleared and in September 1914 a lahar of hot rock flowed around the camp and factory at the eastern end of the crater killing 11 workmen. The small mounds on the southern side of the crater floor are part of this lahar.

Hot water and steam issue from vents over most of the crater floor, but the hottest fumaroles are a number of small pits or craters, e.g., Noisy Nellie, and the 1933 crater, are confined to the central and western craters. Sulphur is being deposited on the floor and on parts of the walls. High temperatures have been measured in several fumaroles. On Donald Mound several fumaroles glowed red and others blue when visited at night, and a temperature of 580 degrees C was measured on the hottest part of the mound.

B. Motuhora

Whale Island or Motuhora is described in detail in an article by E.O. Macpherson published in the *New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology* in 1944.⁴ This small rugged volcanic island is located about eight miles north of Whakatane and covers about 354 acres.⁵ The island is made up of volcanic rocks, mostly andesite but with some rhyolite and an area of sinter known as Sulphur Valley. Macpherson describes it as follows:⁶

Whale Island is a mile and a half long from east to west and up to half a mile wide; the area is approximately 354 acres. The surface is mostly rugged, especially along the

⁴ E.O. Macpherson, "Notes on the Geology of Whakatane District and Whale Island", *New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology*, vol 26 B, 66-76.

⁵ 143.258 hectares.

⁶ Ibid, 73.

north coast; here cliffs of from 50ft. to 1,000 ft. extend almost continuously and rise almost vertically from sea-level. The highest point (1,140 ft.) is in the northern middle part, about 11 chains from the north coast, and the bare precipitous face to the sea displays an excellent section of the rocks that form the island. The only easy country is an area of 10 acres or 12 acres of tussock-covered dunes in the south-west corner of the island.

The vegetation of the island is mainly pohutukawa and manuka; there is little evidence of a source of freshwater on the island and the inhabitants, at the time of Macpherson's paper, were confined to goats and muttonbirds. At one time there had been a quarry on the island but but by 1944 this had been abandoned:⁷

Pohutukawas and manukas are the main plant cover; the former appear to prefer growing on cliffs and crags of bare andesite, and seemingly derive part of their food from the rock. Flocks of healthy-looking goats live on the island, which they share with innumerable mutton-birds. Fresh water is scarce or absent, and supplies for drinking are brought from the mainland. But there must be an obscure water-supply to sustain the goats. Apparently water was a problem for the quarrymen who formerly worked on the island, for on the eastern end they sank a 20ft. shaft in the rock, presumably in search of water. This shaft is now dry.

The remaining area of comparatively active thermal activity is the place known as Sulphur Valley. Macpherson describes it as follows:

Sinter deposits appear to be restricted to Sulphur Valley. They commence almost at sea-level and extend up the valley for about 15 chains and reach an elevation of 150 ft. It is possible that sinter deposits are present in other localities, especially in the valleys to the east and west of Sulphur Valley, and are now obscured by wind-blown sand; this is suggested by altered andesite along the valley walls.

Thermal activity in Sulphur Valley seems to have been much stronger in the past, as judged by the thickness of the sinter. The sinter has been deposited along the valley floor and is confined by the andesite of the valley walls. In its lower part the

⁷ Ibid.

deposit is only 2 chains wide, but towards the head of the valley it forms a basin-shaped area 7 chains across.

Many small dry fumaroles occur here and there on the sinter. With one exception these discharge a little sulphurous vapour, and sulphur crystals are deposited in the small vents. The observed temperatures ranged from 94 degrees C. to 98 degrees C.

Only one hot spring was noted with a small discharge of water; the temperature here was 98 degrees C. Six inches down in the beach sand south of this tiny hot pool the temperature was 78 degrees C., pH values were not determined. It can be surmised from the volume of sinter deposited that the area was recently alkaline, though the sulphur fumes and sulphur crystals indicate that the area is now acid.

Whale Island was privately owned from shortly after the Land Court investigation of title in 1867 until 1984 when it was acquired by the Crown. It is now Crown land and its technical status is a government purpose (wildlife management) reserve; it is managed by the Department of Conservation pursuant to the Reserves Act 1977.

2: Traditional accounts

Whakaari features prominently in the traditional literature. The earliest manuscript version of the account of Ngatoro-i-Rangi's ascent of Tongariro was written in 1849 Wiremu Maihi te Rangikaheke of Ngati Rangiwewehi.⁸ In this text Whakaari is the place where Ngatoro's relatives kindle the fire which is then brought to warm him on the freezing slopes of Tongariro. Citing the manuscript translation by George Graham:⁹

19. He thereupon arose and directed his mind and spiritual thoughts to Hawaiki, so that his call thereto might reach his ancestors. Thus (he called) "Oh! my grand-dames oh! Bring hitherward unto me some fire. I will perish by the southern winds." Such was his call. (Hence it was that the name Tongariro¹⁰ was given to the mountain).

20. On his second call, behold indeed these old dames came hither across the crests of the ocean waters. Thus then his mind became quite relieved.

21. At Wakaari yonder the fire was kindled by those old women; and thence it spread unto this Island. Thus it was his ancestors came hither to him, and thus indeed was fire brought for him.

22. Then indeed he saw (fire) breaking forth from within that mountain, and thus erupt. And behold! He was now quite recovered. Now, if his companions had not partaken of food, never so intense would ever have been the cold in this island.

23. Hence the name so given, Waiwera (hot water), is "Wai-ariki". For by this ariki (high chief) it was summoned hither, and reached this island, and here kindled. Hence therefore it is named "Wai-ariki", though waiwera is the name (given it) by other tribes and people. (So this finishes the narrative).

⁸ The manuscript is now in the Grey collection, Auckland Public library. The account of Ngatoro-i-Rangi is a long digression in the story of Hinemoa. Wiremu Maihi (William Marsh) Te Rangikaheke was a great Arawa scholar and a leader of the Ngati Kereru hapu of Ngati Rangiwewehi of Te Arawa. He was born about 1815 and became a close adviser of Sir George Grey. See generally Jennifer Curnow, "Te Rangikaheke, Wiremu Maihi", *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 1, 1990, 494-5; and her "Wiremu Maihi te Rangikaheke: his life and work", *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 1985, vol 94, 97-147.

⁹ George Graham, Ngatoro-i-Rangi: his ascent of Tongariro and the neighbouring mountains, translated from the MS. account of Wiremu te Rangikaheke, MS 120, M52, Auckland Institute and Museum Library.

¹⁰ Graham's note 7: "Tongariro: so named from Ngatoro's appeal to his priestess ancestresses to send fire to warm his limbs lest "he perish (riro) from the cold blasts of the South wind (tonga): "Kei riro ia i te hau tonga".

Whakaari features in a version of the story recorded by the Austrian scientist Ferdinand von Hochstetter, which he learned from Te Heuheu¹¹ himself when he visited him in 1859:¹²

The natives have (quite rightly) long connected the ngawha and puia with the centres of volcanic activity that are still active even if they clothe their idea in the form of a strange legend...I reproduce the legend as I heard it from the mouth of the Chieftain Te Heuheu at Lake Taupo. Among the first voyagers who came from Hawaiki to New Zealand, was the chief Ngatiroirangi [sic] (i.e. Heaven-runner, the traveller in the heavens). He landed at Maketu on the east coast of the North Island. Thence he made his way with his slave Ngauruhoe to explore the new country. He travels through the district, stamps springs of water from the ground to succour the barren valleys, climbs hills and mountains and glimpses towards the south a great mountain, Tongariro (literally "towards the south"). This mountain he determines to climb in order to survey the whole country from its summit. He comes to Lake Taupo in the inland plains. Here the bushes tear up his great cloth of kiekie leaves. The shreds strike root and become kowhai trees. Then he climbs the snow-clad Tongariro; higher up, however, it is so cold that chieftain and slave are in danger of freezing. Ngatiroirangi therefore calls his sisters who remained at Whakari, to dispatch him fire. The sisters hear the call and send the sacred unquenchable fire that they had brought with them from Hawaiki. They send it by means of the two taniwha (spirits of mountain and water, living underground), Pupu and Te Haeata¹³, by a subterranean passage to the peak of Tongariro. The fire came just in time to save the chieftain. When, however, the latter wished to offer it to his slave, so that he too could warm himself, Ngauruhoe was already dead.

To the present day, the hole through which the fire rises in the mountain, i.e. the active crater of Tongariro, is known by the name of the slave Ngauruhoe. Since, however, the fire was the sacred fire from Hawaiki, it still burns strongly today,

¹¹ Te Heuheu Tukino III, Iwikau, who succeeded his brother Te Heuheu Tukino II, Mananui, after the latter's accidental death in the landslide at Te Rapa on 7 May 1846. See Elizabeth Hura, "Te Heuheu Tukino III, Iwikau", *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol 1, 1990, 448-9.

¹² E T Fleming (ed), Ferdinand von Hochstetter, *Geology of New Zealand*, 1959 (original ed 1864), 140:

¹³ Also known as Te Hoata: Hochstetter observes that one of the springs at Rotomahana is named Te Rua Hoata after one of the taniwhas which brought the sacred fire: *ibid*, 159.

burning along the whole stretch between Whakari and Tongariro, at Motou-Hora, Okakaru, Roto-ehu, Roto-iti, Rotorua, Rotomahana, Paeroa, Orakeikorako, Taupo, at every point where it shot up when the two taniwha brought it underground. Hence the innumerable hot springs.

Another early version of the famous story comes from the the diary of Lieutenant Henry Stratton Bates, of the the 65th regiment, who visited the central North Island with Alex St Clair Inglis in 1860. Both of these young men left diaries of their journey (Bates' diary was published in the *Auckland-Waikato Historical Societies Journal* in 1969¹⁴ and a copy of Inglis' unpublished diary of his travels is held by the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington¹⁵). Accompanied by Maori guides, Bates and Inglis travelled on horseback from Napier to Taupo, where they stayed with the prominent pro-government chief Poihipi Tukairangi at Nuku Hau. It was here that Bates learned of Ngatoro-i-Rangi¹⁶

The following is the Maori legend respecting the origin of Tongariro and the hot springs. Soon after the immigration of the Maoris to this country from their original home Hawaiki the chieftain priest Ngati-roirangi(sic), with his slave Ngaruahoe (sic) set out to view the country, having bade his companions whom he left on the sea coast not to eat till his return. Coming to Tongariro, he ascended it, but, while he was at the summit of the mountain, his companions, disregarding his instructions, commenced to eat, whereupon the hero and his slave were pierced with intense cold. He therefore prayed to the gods to send him fire. They sent him fire from Whaka ari (White Island in the bay of Plenty) underground to Tongariro by the Taniwhas Pupu and Te Haeata. The fire saved the life of the hero but Ngaruahoe [sic] was dead; the crater was named by the chieftain after his faithful slave and it still bears his name

14 "Lientenant Bates rides to Taupo in 1860", *Auckland-Waikato Historical Societies Journal*, (No.14), April 1969, pp 2-7 [Bates, Part 1] ; "Lietenant Bates visits the Pink and White Terraces in 1860", *Auckland-Waikato Historical Scieties Journal*, (No. 15), September 1969, pp.2-6, [Bates part II]; "Lieutenant Bates returns to Napier from the Pink and White Terraces in 1860". *Auckland-Waikato Historical Societies Journal*, (No.16.), April 1970. pp 22-26 [Bates Part III]

15 Alex St Clair Inglis, Diary titled "Bubbles from the Boiling Springs of Taupo", MS 3784, ATL.

16 "Lieutenant Bates rides to Taupo", *Auckland-Waikato Historical Societies Journal*, No 14, April 1969, p6.

and to this day the sacred fire burns throughout the underground passage from Whakaari to Tongariro.

Whakaari is also referred to in the fullest published version of the story, in John Te H. Grace's *Tuwharetoa*, published in 1959.¹⁷ Grace states that the fires passed both White Island and Motuhora:

After destroying Hapekituarangi, Ngatoroirangi continued to ascend the mountain. He encountered the snow and sleet and the cold winds that had destroyed his countrymen. The black clouds that darkened the sky enveloped him. He turned his face to the south and looked down on the plains below and, as the clouds blotted out his view, he named the expanse Rangipo (the plains of the dark sky). He struggled on. His strength was failing him and he was almost frozen. With great difficulty he reached the summit. He looked out across the land below and claimed it for himself and his descendants. Weakened by the cold and the strenuous climb he cried aloud to his ancestral spirits and to his sisters, Kuiwai and Haungaroa who were in Hawaiki, to come to his assistance and send him fire. he exclaimed: "Kuiwai e! Haungaroa e! Ka riro au te tonga, tukuna mai te ahi!" (O Kuiwai! O Haungaroa! I am seized by the cold wind from the south. Send me fire!) They heard him and, with the assistance of Pupu and Te Hoata, the fire gods, heat was sent him from Hawaiki. It came underground and passed White Island, Moutohora, Taupo and Tokaanu. He then threw down on the mountain the fourth of the five ara (sacred stones) brought from Hawaiki. Where it struck, a burning volcano burst open. The fire and heat revived him and he was saved.

Ngatoro-i-Rangi's name is today commemorated on the island itself in Mt Ngatoro, the highest point of Whakaari.

These versions of the Ngatoro-i-Rangi account come, however, from Arawa and Tuwharetoa (as opposed to Ngati Awa or Whakatohea) sources. There are other traditional accounts explaining the origin of Whakaari which are very different. The trader Joel Samuel Polack visited the Bay of Plenty coast in the 1830s, and he recorded an account of the origin of the island involving Maui:¹⁸

¹⁷ See John Te H. Grace, *Tuwharetoa: the history of the Maori people of the Taupo district*, Reed, Wellington, 1959, 61-64.

¹⁸ J.S. Polack, *New Zealand: being a narrative of travels and adventures in that country between the years 1831 and 1837*, 2 vols, London, 1838, p.329.

Wakari is situated from the river Opotiki north thirty miles. A reef extends three miles in length, between it and the mainland. The island is stated to have arisen from the deep, after Mawe,¹⁹ the paternal deity of the New Zealand theogony, had first touched fire, when, taking up the new element with both hands, he was so greatly tortured by the insufferable pain, that he instantly dived under water to assuage his agony; and in the place where the he shook the fire from him arose Wakari.

There also appears to be a quite separate Tuhoe account of the origins of the two islands. This is referred to in an unpublished paper by Bernard Sladden.²⁰ According to him:

A tradition that comes from the land of Tuhoe (the Urewera country) is rather upsetting to the theory of Maui and the origin of the burning island of Whakaari. It is here stated that Motuhora (Whale Island) and Whakaari (White Island) originated as peaks in the great Huiarau Range near Waikaremoana. Jealous of each other, these mountains rushed headlong towards the ocean, leaving behind them the tracks which now form respectively the valley of the Whakatane and the valley of the Tauranga or Te Waimana. Whakaari taking the latter route outstripped Motuhora and so occupied the commanding position on which it stands today.

Another famous story concerning Whakaari has been published and commented on by Margaret Orbell in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*.²¹ This is the story of Te Tahi o te Rangi, described by Orbell as "one of the best known traditional narratives of Ngaati Awa tribe in the southern Bay of Plenty".²² Her article publishes two manuscript versions of this story written in the nineteenth century by two Ngaati Awa elders and scholars, Haamiora

¹⁹ Maui.

²⁰ Bernard Sladden, "White Island, or Whakaari", unpublished paper presented to the Bay of Plenty Maori Research and Historical Society, 10 August 1937 (not located); extract in text cited in Parham, *Island Volcano*, 28.

²¹ Margaret Orbell, "Two versions of the Maori story of Te Tahi o te Rangi", *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol 82, pp 127-140, 1973. One of the two versions, that of Tiimi Waata Rimini, is also published and translated in Orbell, *Traditional Maaori Stories*, Reed, 1992, 40-47, under the title of "The tohunga marooned on Whakaari".

²² Orbell, "Two versions" op.cit., 127.

Pio and Tiimi Waata Rimini. Her scholarly article, which includes the texts and translations of the two manuscripts, is reprinted in the Appendix. Orbell summarises the story as follows:²³

The story concerns Te Tahī o te Rangi, or Te Tahī, a powerful tohunga, or priest of Ngaati Awa, who was believed by his fellow tribesmen to be responsible for floods that had destroyed their crops. ... Ngaati Awa decide to maroon Te Tahī o te Rangi on Whakaari, an island in the Bay of Plenty which is an active volcano and is now known as White Island. But when Ngaati Awa have abandoned Te Tahī on the island and are paddling back to the mainland, the tohunga summons up a taniwha that carries him across the sea. On the way they pass Ngaati Awa; the taniwha wishes to punish them, but Te Tahī nobly refuses to do so, uttering a saying that has become proverbial. (The two versions of the story differ as to the words of this saying. The one in Tiimi Waata Rimini's version is the better known.)

The importance of Whakaari as a fishing ground is apparent in Tiimi Waata Rimini's account. The supposed reason for the expedition to Whakaari, was, he says, to fish for bramble sharks - evidently an explanation for the journey which Te Tahī could be expected to regard as plausible. This species was important as a source of oil. In Orbell's translation:²⁴

Ngaati Awa considered among themselves how he could be killed, and some knowing persons suggested that they sail to Whakaari to fish for bramble sharks and leave him there to die. Our hero remained in ignorance of this. They lashed the canoes, and when the sea was calm they set off.

Te Taahi asked some men, "Where are Ngaati Awa going?"

They told him, "You'll be the only one staying here. Ngaati Awa are going to Whakaari to fish for bramble sharks."

In former times bramble sharks were of great importance as a source of oil for use with red ochre.

The rascal leapt up in great haste, saying, "Wait, bring the canoe over here!" - while the men called to him to hurry.

²³ Ibid, 127-8.

²⁴ Ibid, 138.

A little later in the story the author comments on another aspect of Whakaari's significance:-²⁵

When you see the volcanic smoke at Whakaari pointing towards the land, the wind is in the right direction, and it's the proper time for canoes to sail. In the Bay of Plenty this is the main compass showing how the wind is blowing.

An interesting feature of Tiimi Waata's manuscript is his drawing illustrating the story. Orbell again:²⁶

Tiimi Waata's narrative is on a single large sheet of paper. His presentation of the story is unusual in two ways. First, he has illustrated it with a lively, careful drawing which extends across the full width of the page. On the left-hand side there are Whakaari and the neighbouring island of Paepae Aotea. In the centre, a formidable-looking Te Tahī o te Rangi stands on the back of a spouting whale named Tuutara-kauika, with two other spouting whales bringing up the rear, and in front of him three canoes of Ngaati Awa, each full of men and with two triangular sails. On the right-hand side of the page there is the coastline, with Koohi headland (now called Whakatane Heads). The text of the story is written below the drawing, and thus serves to explain it.

This review of the published literature relating to traditional accounts of the islands shows, therefore, that Whakaari and, to a lesser extent, Motuhora, feature prominently in the traditional accounts of the origins of geothermal resources. There appear to be at least three explanations of the origins of Whakaari, two of which emphasise the island's connection with geothermal heat. Here there are two competing explanations, one involving that of Ngatoro-i-Rangi and the other Maui. Whakaari also features prominently in the well-known and well-documented account of the Ngaati Awa tohunga Te Taahi. As well as its connection with geothermal resources Whakaari is also referred to in the traditional literature as a fishing place of some importance, especially for bramble sharks, and as a weather vane for the people of the Bay of Plenty coast.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid, 130. A part of the drawing is reproduced in Orbell's *Traditional Maaori stories*, supra.

W.T. Parham in his book on Whakaari has some further information on the resources which made Whakaari valuable to Maori, fish and muttonbirds:²⁷

The Maori valued White Island (and still does) not only as a source of fire but of food. The surrounding seas yield a rich harvest... The heavy supply of plankton sustained a bounty of fish which in turn attracted both man and birds.

Since the island lay about thirty miles offshore, almost in the centre of the Bay of Plenty, seabirds found room and comparative freedom from human depredations. The Australasian gannet and the muttonbird nested on the outer slopes of the volcano in their thousands. While the breeding pairs were usually unmolested, Maori canoes converged on the the nesting grounds when the chicks, though well-grown, were still unfledged and so could not fly away to escape the hunters. The young petrels were killed, plucked and preserved in their own fat, a somewhat unappetising delicacy to the average European taste but no doubt, like so many dishes, quite acceptable if one has been introduced to it early in life.

The rather scant Native Land Court minute book evidence on Whakaari also emphasises taking birds. In 1867 Rangi Tukehau (Ngatiawa) said:²⁸

The reason we consider the island valuable is because there are birds on it.

And Honi Te Whatuki stated:²⁹

The principal reason of the natives going there was to get birds.

Parham states that Maori also gathered sulphur at Whakaari and used it as a fertiliser in cultivations on the mainland.³⁰ There does not appear to be any evidence that Maori actually lived permanently on Whakaari, which given its inhospitable character is hardly surprising. Rather it was visited at various

²⁷ W.T. Parham, *Island Volcano*, 32-33.

²⁸ (1867) 1 Maketu MB 3.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Parham, *Island Volcano*, 41. See also Hochstetter, *Geology of New Zealand*, English translation C.A. Fleming, 1959, p. 133: "for the sake of the sulphur found in its crater basin, but not in such considerable quantity that export in great amounts is possible, it is often visited by natives and Europeans."

times by birding and fishing expeditions. This contrasts with Motuhora which is habitable (albeit somewhat lacking in easily obtainable freshwater). There were cultivations on the island and a fortification; the available evidence does not clarify whether people lived there permanently, on a seasonal basis, or used the island as a refuge from attack.³¹

³¹ See the Motuhora case discussed below, evidence of Iharaira Matahihira

3: Records of European visitors

The name "White Island" was given to Whakaari by Captain Cook in 1769 during his first voyage. As he proceeded down the coast from Cape Runaway (Whangaparaoa) Cook noticed the island in the distance and named it "*white island*" because as such it always appeared to us".³² He did not get close enough to it for its volcanic origin to be apparent. On the same day, 1 November 1769, Cook made contact with Maori people of the Bay of Plenty Coast and must have learned of the name of the island from them, for he recorded the name of the island as "Koakhali" [i.e. "Ko Whakaari": "it is Whakaari"³³]. This meeting took place somewhere close inshore on the eastern Bay of Plenty Coast.³⁴ It was not one of Cook's happier encounters with the Maori people:³⁵

At 8 saw between 40 and 50 canoes in shore, several of them came off to the Ship and after being about us some time they ventrd alongside and sold us some Lobster Mussels and two Conger ells. After these were gone some others came off from a nother place with mussels only and but few of these they thought proper to part with, thinking that they had a right to every thing we handed them into their boats without makeing any return. At last the people in one Canoe took away some linnen that was towing over the side which they would not return for all that we could say to them; upon this I fire'd a Musquet ball thro' the boat and after that another musquet load[ed] with small shott, neither of which they minded, only pull'd off a little and then shook their paddles at us, at which I fired a third musquet and the ball striking the water pretty near them, they immediatly applied their paddles to a nother use, but after they thought themselves out of reach, they got all together and again shook their paddles at us. I then gave the Ship a yaw and fire'd a four pounder this sent them quite off and we kept our Course along shore having a light breeze at ESE. At noon we were in the Latitude of 37 deg. 45', White Island bearing N 29 deg. West distant 8 Leagues.

³² J.C. Beaglehole (ed), *The Journals of Captain James Cook*, vol 1, *The voyage of the Endeavour, 1768-1771*, Hakluyt Society, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1955, 189.

³³ Ibid, 189, n.5.

³⁴ Anne Salmond writes that the meeting took place near the Motu River mouth. See A. Salmond, *Two Worlds: first meetings between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*, Viking, 1991, 186-87.

³⁵ Beaglehole (ed), op.cit., 189.

The next day the Cook came to Motuhora, a "pretty high Island", from which a "large double canoe" put off to intercept the *Endeavour*. This was the first double canoe Cook had seen in New Zealand.³⁶

They stayd about the Ship untill dark then left us, but not before they had thrown a few stones: they told us the name of the island which was *Mowtohora*, it is but of a small circuit but high and lies 6 Miles from the Main, under the south side is anchorage in 14 fathom water. SWBS from this Island on the main land, seemingly at no great distance from the sea is a high round mountain which I have named *Mount Edgecomb*, it stands in the middle of a large plane which makes it the more conspicuous.

Cook decided to anchor for the night under Motuhora where he knew there was no danger of running aground and was relieved to have done so the next day for after sailing west a short distance "we discover'd ahead of us Rocks level with and under water" about 5 miles from Motuhora and 9 miles from the mainland.³⁷ The big double canoe from Motuhora followed the *Endeavour* up the coast, keeping level and carrying on a discussion with Tupaia, Cook's Tahitian guest:

The Double Canoe which we saw last night follow'd us again to day under sail and kept abreast of the Ship near an heure talking to Tupia, but at last they began to pelt us with stones but upon firing one Musquet they drop'd astern and left us.

The mainland adjacent to Motuhora and up the coast to Maketu and Tauranga was obviously desnsely populated with large cultivations and many fortified villages:³⁸

The main between [Motunau] and Mowtohora which is 10 Leagues is of a Moderate height and all a level flat Country pritty clear of wood and full of Plantations and Villages; the Villages are built upon eminences near the Sea, and are fortified on the land side with a Bank and a Ditch, and Pallisaded all round, besides this some of them appeared to have out works.

³⁶ Beaglehole (ed), op.cit., 189.

³⁷ Ibid. Beaglehole notes that these rocks are now known as the Rurima rocks.

³⁸ Ibid, 191.

The incident with the double canoe from Motuhora is described by Banks:³⁹

Just at nightfall we were under a small Island⁴⁰ from whence came off a large double canoe, or rather two canoes lash'd together at the distance of about a foot which was coverd with boards so as to make a kind of deck; she came near the ship and the people in her talkd with Tupia with much seeming freindship, but when it was just dark they ran their canoe close to the ship and threw in 3 or 4 stones after which they padled ashore.

The following day:⁴¹

Pass this morn between an Island and the main which appeard low and sandy with a remarkable hill inland, flat and smooth as a mole hill tho very high and large.⁴² Many canoes and people were seen along shore; some followd us but could not overtake us. A Sailing canoe that had chased us ever since day break came up with us and provd the same double canoe as pelted us last night which made us prepare for another volley of their ammution, dangerous to nothing on board but our windows. The event provd as we expected for after having saild with us an hour they their stones again; a musquet was fird over them and they dropd astern not I beleive at all frightned by the musquet but content with having shewd their courage by twice insulting us.

One of the earliest European landings at Whakaari of which there is record was that of the C.M.S. missionaries Henry and William Williams. On his fifth New Zealand voyage on the C.M.S. vessel *Herald* in 1826 Henry Williams sailed with William Williams and R. Davis to Tauranga to

³⁹ J.C. Beaglehole (ed), *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks 1768-1771*, Angus and Robertson and the trustees of the Public Library of New South Wales, 2nd ed. 1963, 423. Beaglehole notes that the running-head of the immediately preceding part of Banks' journal is "off White Island"; he does not otherwise refer to it however.

⁴⁰ "Motuhora or Whale Island: running head 'of Moutohora'". [Beaglehole's footnote]

⁴¹ Ibid, 423.

⁴² "Motiti or Flat Island" [Beaglehole].

purchase potatoes and on 28 November they landed at Whakaari.⁴³ Williams recorded his impressions in a letter to the C.M.S.:⁴⁴

We walked round the crater, which presented an awful sight. Its surface was nearly on a level with the sea. One of its sides having fallen in, we had easy access. Steam and smoke were issuing from all parts of the island and to the very summit. There were several small lakes of boiling substance, and on the right a large body of smoke with the utmost fury rose up from the regions below. We examined this awful sight as minutely as we dared but from the intolerable stench of brimstone and the lightness of the surface over which we had to pass, we deemed it not prudent to remain long, fearing suffocation from the one or precipitation into some cavity from the other. As the whole island was composed of sulphur, being blackened with the smoke gave it a ghastly appearance.

Interesting descriptions of both Whakaari and Whale Island can be found in J. Polack's *New Zealand* published in London in 1838.⁴⁵ Joel Samuel Polack lived in New Zealand from 1831 to 1837. He was a trader and merchant who lived at the Hokianga and the Bay of Islands but who travelled extensively in the North Island. Returning to England in 1837 Polack wrote two books about the country before he returned in 1842.⁴⁶ Polack stated that he once had been becalmed off Whakaari for six days. The island was not inhabited but was used as a fishing base; the shore of the island was "almost alive" with fish, and fishing parties would often stay on the island, hauling their canoes up the steep beach beyond the reach of the surf. Polack writes:⁴⁷

Off the Bay of Plenty is situated White Island (Wakari), about thirty miles N.N.W. of Cape Runaway, or Te Kaha. This island is in continual ignition. At dusk, the flames issuing from the crater, situated in a central part of the mountain, are distinctly

⁴³ Lawrence M. Rogers (ed), *The Early Journals of Henry Williams*, Pegasus Press, Christchurch, 1961, p. 488. Rogers' edition of Henry Williams' Journal does not begin until 21 December 1826, a month or so after the visit to Whakaari.

⁴⁴ Quoted in Parham, *Island Volcano*, 33, cited in *ibid* as "letter to the Church Missionary Society, 13 December 1826" (no source given).

⁴⁵ J.S. Polack, *New Zealand: being a narrative of travels and adventures in that country between the years 1831 and 1837*, 2 vols, London, 1838.

⁴⁶ See Jocelyn Chisholm, "Polack, Joel Samuel", *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 1, 1990, 343.

⁴⁷ Polack, *New Zealand*, vol. 1, 328-9.

visible for some miles; and long after the mariner has lost sight of the island from the horizon, the ascending smoke of this natural furnace suffices to point out its locality.

Wakari is about six miles in circumference, high, and well covered with perennial verdure; and except the continual fire and smoke emitted from the crater, has not the cineritious resemblance of a volcano. The beach is formed of shingle, somewhat steep, and is almost alive, with the subsultive leaping of the innumerable shoals of fish, of unequalled variety. The bursting fury, the effects of volcanic ignition, that agitates this solitary isle, has often been described to me by the natives, who have felt the effects of earthquakes on the main, communicated by Wakari.

I was at one time becalmed off this island for six days, during which period the crater emitted a vast volume of black smoke during the day, and at night the flames were glaring.

The natives haul up their canoes above the steep banks, when they visit the island, which parties of them are often in the habit of doing, for the purpose of fishing.

Polack's prose is purple even by mid-Victorian standards. Clearly Whakaari was, however, a fishing place of some importance.

Polack describes an interesting application of material erupted from the volcano:⁴⁸

From Wakari, few portions of the very low land of the Bay of Plenty are visible. The lava (*punga rea*) ejected from the mountain, which is of some magnitude, is carried by currents to the adjacent shores, and is made use of by the natives for polishing their muskets.

In his *New Zealand* Polack also gives an account of Whale Island. He refers to a battle on the island at which the inhabitants were defeated by a surprise attack from Whakatane:⁴⁹

Motu Tohora, or Whale Island, lies N.N.W. to the entrance of the river Waka-tane, which is distant seven miles. This island is high, and somewhat conical, about one thousand feet; it possesses on the west side three beaches, but little fresh

⁴⁸ Ibid, 329.

⁴⁹ Polack, *New Zealand*, 331.

water. The anchorage in the vicinity is good; the north end of the island is steep; it is composed of the usual volcanic matter.

The former tribes that possessed this island were partly killed and devoured, and the survivors made slaves by the native hordes from Waka-tane. The former were in the Act of scalding some pigs, in one of the boiling springs that are numerous on this island, when they were surprised, cut off, and broken as a tribe. These islands have been the scene of many depopulating wars, where man, in his most savage state, has not been deterred from following the evil propensities of his heart by the thundering volcanic eloquence of nature around teaching him his insignificance and nothingness.

White Island is discussed at some length by Ferdinand von Hochstetter in his classic study of New Zealand geology. A member of the Austrian geological survey, Hochstetter travelled to New Zealand as the geologist of his government's world-wide scientific expedition on the *Novara*, an Austrian Navy frigate. In New Zealand Hochstetter met Julius Haast, another German-speaking scientist, and they joined in an expedition into the North Island interior.⁵⁰ Hochstetter was in the Rotorua/Bay of Plenty region in April 1859. Hochstetter was fascinated by the geology of the area which he describes in detail in his *Geology of New Zealand*, printed in Vienna in 1864 as a part of the published records of the *Novara* expedition.⁵¹ Hochstetter notes that Whakaari was the "first active volcano known in New Zealand".⁵²

The colossal white clouds of steam, which perpetually ascend from the crater, make the island visible from afar and have gained for it the name of White Island, whereas the Maori word Whakari is said to mean sulphur. For the sake of the sulphur found in its crater-basin, but not in such considerable quantity that export in great amounts is possible, it is often visited by natives and Europeans.

Hochstetter reproduces a description of the island by David Burn published in *The New Zealander* and provides a sketch map and drawing of the island

⁵⁰ C.A. Fleming, "Hochstetter, Christian Gottlieb Ferdinand von", *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 1, 1990, 199-200.

⁵¹ F. von Hochstetter, *Geologie von Neu-Seeland*, Wien, 1864; English translation C.A. Fleming (ed), *Geology of New Zealand*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1959.

⁵² *Ibid*, 133.

prepared by Charles Heaphy.⁵³ Hochstetter was also told by Maori informants of hot springs on Motuhora, but as with White Island he did not visit the island himself.⁵⁴

Whale Island was apparently at some stage a shore whaling base but information on this aspect of the island's history is scanty.⁵⁵

Since the time of the first reports on the island the island has been described in scientific literature on many occasions.⁵⁶

⁵³ Ibid, 133-36.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 169: "They told me that further to the north-east odd hot springs also occur at Rotoehu and on the island Motuhora (Whale Island).

⁵⁵ See H.Morton, *The Whale's Wake*, University of Otago Press, Dunedin, 1982, 236.

⁵⁶ Some of the earlier references are: *Geological Survey Annual Report* 1927, 19-20; Mines Department Report, 1917 AJHR C2, 22; J. Hector, "Geology of White Island", *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, vol 3, 278; Rolston, "Crater of White Island", *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, vol 1, 464; Fairchild, "Notes on the Crater of White Island", *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, vol 26, 668; Sewell, "Notes on a visit to White Island", *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, vol 6, 386; and Ward, in *New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology*, vol 5 (September 1922).

4: The Tapsell Family and the Islands

A. Hans Tapsell and his family⁵⁷

Hans Homman Felk was born in Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1779 and joined the British merchant navy around 1800, posing as a Manxman and adopting the Manx surname Tapsell to explain his heavy foreign accent. (Britain and Denmark were at war at the time and the Isle of Man was still largely Gaelic-speaking, which presumably gave his explanation sufficient plausibility.) He worked on whaling ships which brought him to New Zealand on a number of occasions before he settled at the Bay of Islands in 1823. There he married Maria Ringa, who seems to have left him immediately. His second marriage was to a woman of Ngapuhi, but it was his third marriage to Hine-i-turama of Ngati Whakaue which resulted in six children (and of course, ultimately, to the well-known Arawa family of today)⁵⁸. His subsequent career is described by W.T.Parham in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* :⁵⁹

Tapsell went to Sydney, New South Wales, returning to the Bay of Islands as mate of the whaling ship *Sisters* late in 1826. He claimed to have led the brig *Wellington* from escaped convicts and returned the ship to Sydney. There he commanded the schooners *Darling* and *Samuel*, and the brig *Minerva*, before settling permanently in New Zealand. On 21 April 1830, at Kerikeri, he was married by the Reverend Samuel Marsden to Karuhi, sister of Nga Puhi chief Wharepoaka. At the invitation of Te Arawa chiefs of Rotorua, Tapsell settled at Maketu in the Bay of Plenty in November

⁵⁷ The most recent account of Hans Tapsell is W.T. Parham's article cited below. Tapsell is the subject of a biography by James Cowan titled *A Trader in Cannibal Land: the life and adventures of Captain Tapsell*, A.H. and A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1935 (the general tone and approach of this book, a heavily romanticised although by no means valueless study of Tapsell, is perhaps indicated by its title.) Also very useful is D. M. Stafford, *Te Arawa*, A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1967, especially ch. 35. Stafford supplements Cowan's material with valuable Minute Book evidence which emphasises the importance of Tapsell's role as a trader. His position at Maketu placed him within the Te Arawa zone, rather than that of Ngatiawa or the Tauranga tribes, but he developed close links with tribes other than Te Arawa - Ngatiawa especially.

⁵⁸ Hine-i-turama went to visit relatives in the Waikato at the time of the British invasion and died at the battle of Orakau. See MS 39, folder 33, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

⁵⁹ W.T.Parham, "Tapsell, Phillip 1777?-1873", *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 1, 1990, 425-6.

1830. As agent of a Sydney trading firm he supplied muskets, gunpowder and other goods in exchange for flax. His business prospered, and he appointed representatives at Matamata, Tauranga and at Matata. Although his dealings in firearms when Nga Puhi invaded Tauranga in 1832 earned him the displeasure of Henry Williams and other CMS missionaries, he acted as a peacemaker in the war between Te Arawa and Ngai Te Rangi at Maketu in 1833 and wrote to Williams in the hope that he would send missionaries as a means of keeping peace between the tribes. After the death of Karuhi, Tapsell took as his wife Hine-i-turama, a high-ranking woman of Ngati Whakaue of Te Arawa. They were to have six children. The marriage was solemnised, and the children baptised, by Bishop J.B.F. Pompallier during a visit to Whakatane in 1841.

In 1836 Maketu village was destroyed by a Ngati Haua force led by Te Waharoa and the Tapsells had to flee to Matata and then to Rotorua where they lived for a while at Mokoia. His eldest son (Hine-i-turama's and Tapsell's first child was a daughter, Kataraina⁶⁰) was born there, Retireti (Retreat), named "to commemorate his parents' flight from Maketu".⁶¹ Tapsell's fortunes seem never to have recovered from the blow of the destruction of Maketu and his store and although he continued in his career as a trader his activities were dogged by various difficulties and misfortunes, including the wreck of a ship which he chartered in 1840 and tribal quarrels between Ngati Awa and their neighbours.⁶² The commodities which Tapsell had specialised in, guns and flax, declined in importance and Tapsell had to try to supplement his income from shipbuilding and government employment.⁶³ Parham continues:⁶⁴

⁶⁰ In the Cowan papers in the Alexander Turnbull library (MS 39. folder 33) there is an obituary (n.d.) of Kataraina Simpkins. According to this source Kataraina was born on Mokoia Island - which would seem to be incorrect - and she married Geo. Simpkins in 1853. The couple lived for a time at Whakatane before moving to Auckland; they then returned to live on Whale Is. before settling at Whakatane. Kataraina's neice, Mrs C. Garlick, was a major source for Cowan.

⁶¹ Ibid, 425.

⁶² See Parham, op cit., 425; Stafford, *Te Arawa*, 310.

⁶³ In fact by the end of his life, Tapsell seems to have been a poor man, who inspired some sympathy in those who met him. Two years after the Land Court case relating to the islands in 1869 Tapsell was described as follows: "...a poor man. Ninety winters have whitened his hair, age has slightly bent his once erect and sinewy frame, wounds received in battle have left their traces in trembling hands that can no longer clasp knife or fork, and having possessed thousands and enjoyed prosperity he is now, as far as worldly goods are concerned, reduced to the condition

Trading declined further, and had to be supplemented by boatbuilding. In 1848 Tapsell applied for work as a pilot, mentioning among his services to the government the ransoms he had paid for the release of Maori and Pakeha captives over the years. He acquired both Whakaari (White Island) and Motutohora [sic⁶⁵] (Whale Island), and for a time lived with his daughter Kataraina, and her husband George Simpkins, who had opened a store on Motuhora. Hine-i-turama, who had gone to Waikato to visit her daughter Ewa, died at Orakau pa when it was attacked by British troops in 1864.

In 1866 Tapsell petitioned the governor for a pension, as recognition for his capture of the *Wellington* in 1826, but his request was referred to the government of New South Wales and not further acknowledged. In later years he lived with members of his family (known in Maori as Tapihana) at Whakatane and Maketu.

There were six children of the marriage between Tapsell sr. and Hine-i-turama: Kataraina (Catherine), Retireti, Piripi (Philip), Ieni (Hans) Ewa and Tote (Dorothy). The two eldest children were later to be the claimants for the two islands in the Native Land Court. Kataraina married a Pakeha, George Simpkins, also a trader, who based himself for a time on Motuhora. Reteriti Tapsell became a distinguished Ngati Whakaue leader. He married Ngatai Tohi te Ururangi of Ngati Whakaue, who was the only surviving child of Tohi te Ururangi, a senior Ngati Whakaue chief; the couple were to have seven sons and one daughter. Retireti is notable amongst other things for his career in policing. As sergeant of police and customs officer at Maketu he was well-known to Maori and Pakeha residents of the eastern Bay of Plenty. In his history of policing in colonial New Zealand Richard Hill describes in detail the establishment of policing under Grey's runanga system in the Bay of Plenty under the supervision of the Bay of Plenty Civil Commissioner, T.H. Smith.⁶⁶ The Bay of Plenty was divided into a number of "hundreds" (sub-districts) - Tauranga, Rotorua, Tarawera, Maketu, Whakatane, each with

in which he began life." Cowan papers (MS 39), Folder 33, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 425-6.

⁶⁵ I am not sure if this is a printing/spelling error or a variant spelling. Most sources spell the name of the island as Motuhora, not "Motutohora".

⁶⁶ Richard Hill, *Policing the Colonial Frontier*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1986, vol. 1, Part 2, 824-6.

a runanga (council) with a president and secretary, assessors who would sit at court hearings with the Resident Magistrate, and a warden, in effect a kind of chief of police. Retireti Tapsell was warden of the Maketu hundred and a member of the runanga⁶⁷, and, although the runanga system was targeted at the Maori population, since Tapsell was the only effective representative of government authority at Maketu he became de facto the chief police officer supervising the Pakeha population as well. He was usually referred to as the sergeant major or sergeant of police,⁶⁸ a position he occupied at the time of his application for a certificate of title to Whakaari and Motuhora in the names of himself and his elder sister in 1867. Retireti's later career is summarised by Sherwood Young:

Tapsell was one of very few Maori policemen to have authority over Pakeha as well as Maori in the 1860s. In 1864, when Maketu was attacked by anti-government forces, he travelled along the beach to Tauranga to obtain reinforcements - only to be released in the belief he was an enemy spy; he was quickly released. In the same year he served in the Native Contingent of the Colonial Defence Force at Lake Rotoiti. He was awarded the New Zealand War Medal for this service in 1871.

Tapsell continued as a native constable, employed by the Native Department, into the 1880s. He played a leading role in the affairs of Ngati Whakaue as one of the principal signatories to the agreement with the Crown which provided for the development of the township now known as Rotorua. He was also a primary negotiator in the discussions which brought the railway to Rotorua in the 1880s. During the years of depression in the same period he was noted for his unselfish selling of his own lands to feed his starving Ngati Whakaue people. He lived on as a highly respected member of the Maketu and Ohinemutu communities until his death on 21 April 1913.

B. The Land Court investigations, 1867.

1. The Whakaari case

⁶⁷ At Maketu the president of the runanga was Kori Karaka with Rotohiko Haupapa as secretary; the members were Akuhata Ngarepo, Taupo te Hura, Te Ropiha Puehu, Rewi Tereanuku, Tamati Kereihi, Hori te Raroa, Wiremu Kepa Rawiti, Hamahona Rota, Taimona and Retireti Tapsell. See Stafford, *Te Arawa*, 359.

⁶⁸ Sherwood Young, "Tapsell, Ngatai Tohi te Ururangi 1844-1928 and Tapsell, Reteriti, 1836-1913", *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol 2, 1993, 504.

In October 1867 the Native Land Court sat at Maketu for the first time. The hearings, conducted in the resident magistrate's courtroom, were presided over by Chief Judge Fenton and Judge Munro together with two Maori assessors. The first cases to come on for hearing, and the first to be recorded in the Maketu series of Land Court minute books, involved Whakaari and Motuhora.

Retireti Tapihana (Tapsell) applied for an investigation of title to and grant of Whakaari for himself and his sister. The minutes state:⁶⁹

Retireti Tapihana stated (sworn):-

White Island belongs to me and my sister. My sister's name is [Kaita?]- subsequently referred to as Katherine] Simpkins. She is married. She is a half caste. Her husband's name is George Simpkins. That island formerly belonged to Apanui [and] Te Kepa Toihau. That island was given to [illegible] ... my family and now it belongs to us. In my opinion there is no opposition to our claim. If the Crown Grant is issued mine and my sister's name only should appear in it. My sister is dead, I have two younger brothers and one sister. This [illegible] ... and is because of [p.2] Maori custom the [illegible - eldest?] only receiving the land. The reason I let in my sister is because they are all agreeable that it should be so. I am agreeable that [illegible - all? she?] should appear in it. My elder sister is aware of this Court sitting. The youngest does not know anything at all about it. If Katherine had been here she would have spoken but as the wind has prevented her coming I have spoken.

Retireti was supported by his brother Piripi:⁷⁰

I have heard my brother's evidence and am willing that [MB entry contains nothing further].

The patriarch himself, "Hans Tapsell" (by this time aged about ninety or so)⁷¹ then said:-⁷²

⁶⁹ (1867) 1 Maketu MB 1-2.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p.2.

⁷¹ He died in 1873. His adventurous and vigorous life must have suited him as he lived until he was about ninety-six.

⁷² (1867) 1 Maketu MB 2.

I agree.

As was required a survey plan was produced and Theophilus Heale⁷³ was on hand to give evidence:

I have seen the plan it has been passed through the office. I am perfectly satisfied with it. It being an island the absence of the Surveyor is of no consequence.

However the Tapsell family's claim to the island was opposed by Rata Pokiha⁷⁴ who claimed the island by descent from the ancestor Ngatoroirangi. He said too that there were others who could give evidence to support his claim:⁷⁵

(affirmed). I am speaking about my ancestor through whom I claim this island. Ngatoroirangi is the name of my ancestor. A man, he lit the fire there. I believe that he did. Te Makowha can speak concerning my claim. He is at the pah. [p.3] I claim this island.

Rata Pokiha was then questioned by Retireti, although unfortunately the cross-examination is not recorded in the minute book.⁷⁶ Nothing further is said about the cross-claim in the minutes. Rata Pokiha was not, however, the only cross-claimant. A man named Tomonohoroaka (?)⁷⁷ stated:

My tribe is the Ngatiawa. I claim this island.

But there is nothing further in the minute book about this.

In view of the counter-claims it was necessary to recall Retireti to give particulars of the Tapsell family's claim to Whakaari. Retireti now said that the island had been given to his mother, (referring to Hine-i-turama, who

⁷³ At this time Heale was either Chief Surveyor at Auckland or the Inspector of Surveys. See Nola Easdale, *Kairuri: the Measurer of Land*, Highgate/Price Milburn, 1988, 12.

⁷⁴ It should be noted that the MB is not very legible and the spelling of this name may not be correct.

⁷⁵ (1867) 1 Maketu MB 2-3.

⁷⁶ The MB is noted at p. 3 "ex. by Retireti" but no further details are given.

⁷⁷ Again the name is not easy to read in the MB and this spelling may be incorrect.

was of course an Arawa woman) and paid for by Tapsell senior some time before.⁷⁸

Retireti Tapsell (recalled). Apanui and Te Kepa Toihau gave this Island to my mother and my father in consequence gave them a quantity of goods. I have had possession of it for 26 or 28 years. There is very little green.

In essence the suggestion is that Tapsell sr. had bought the island which had been granted to his Arawa wife by its Ngatiawa owners. This is a little puzzling. Why grant the island to Retireti's *mother* instead of to Tapsell himself?⁷⁹ The minutes also seem to evidence a degree of opposition by some Ngatiawa to what is in effect an Arawa claim to the islands, although for reasons that are not readily apparent the Ngatiawa counterclaim is not pushed very hard in court. Perhaps this is to be explained by the fact that the hearing was at Maketu, in Arawa territory. At the time of this hearing Ngati Awa, along with the Whakatohea to the east, were reeling from the effects of invasion and confiscation of their lands pursuant to the New Zealand Settlements Acts.⁸⁰ Perhaps the loss of Motuhora and Whakaari in 1867 was among the the least of Ngatiawa's troubles. Maketu is not particularly close to Whakaari (Whakatane is much closer) - and this is accentuated in the case of Motuhora, close inshore to Whakatane and nowhere near Maketu - so it is likely that if the hearing had been at Whakatane there would have been more evidence readily to hand to document Ngatiawa claims to the island. (The same comment can probably be made in respect of Whakatohea had the hearing been at Opotiki.) On the other hand there were also some Ngatiawa who backed the Tapsell family's claim to Whakaari, although whether this was due to the justice of the case or whether they had reasons of their own for supporting the Tapsells is unknown. And as far as Motuhora was concerned, one witness, who was Ngatiawa and who lived at Whakatane, was to say that

⁷⁸ Ibid, 3.

⁷⁹ One does not want to be over-suspicious, but if the supposed grant had been to Tapsell himself it would presumably have been much more difficult for the Tapsell family to have got ownership of the island through the Native Land Court process - it becomes instead a simple (and illegal) transaction between Maori and Pakeha. But as the transaction is to the claimants' mother the Court has jurisdiction over it as she was a full-blooded Maori and the island can be vested by Crown Grant in her half-caste children.

⁸⁰ See generally Hirini Moko Mead *me te Roopu kohikohi korero o Ngati Awa*, *Poneke, Te Murunga Hara: the Pardon*, Te Runanga o Ngati Awa, revised ed., 1989.

apart from a certain debt the Tapsell claim to Motuhora was not opposed by the Ngatiawa.⁸¹

Additional Maori then gave evidence, presumably in order to satisfy the Court as to the bona fides of the Tapsell family claim. Rangi Tukehau said:-⁸²

I belong to the Ngatiawa tribe. The island belongs to Retireti. Apanui⁸³ and Toihau obtained the island from their ancestors. It was given in payment for murdering a man whose name was Whakapakuia (?). The reason we consider the island valuable is because there are birds on it.

He was followed by Honi Te Whatuki:

I am of the Patuwai tribe. I have a claim to this Island through my ancestor, the name of my ancestor was Ngahue. The principal reason of the natives going there was to get birds. The island was sold to [Retireti?] and sold by parties who had a right to sell.

Clearly these two witnesses were called to set at rest any doubts the Court might have had about the validity of the transfer of the two islands to the Tapsells. Rangi Tukehau is at pains to establish why the island had come into the ownership of Apanui and Toihau to begin with. But there is much which is puzzling and which the Court does not appear to test in any way. Why was Whakaari which was generally used as a birding and fishing place vested in Apanui and Toihau solely? Who vested it in them and what were the circumstances of the murder which the witness refers to? Were there no others who exercised rights in respect of the island? Honi te Whatuki says that he has a claim to the island by descent from the ancestor Ngahue but also says that the island had been validly transferred to the Tapsells by persons who had a right to do so. Either Honi te Whatuki is contradicting himself or

⁸¹ See the discussion of the Motuhora case, below. This same witness was trying to gain satisfaction for a debt owed by the Tapsell family to his own family, so it is possible that his witness would want to play down other claims to the island - but again this is unproven.

⁸² (1867) 1 Maketu MB 3.

⁸³ This Apanui is presumably Wepiha Apanui, an important Ngati Awa rangatira and carver - he played a large part in the carving and design of the house Mataatua, now in the Otago Museum. See H. Mead, "Apanui, Wepiha", *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol 2, 1993, 8-9.

he is revealing that the transfer to the Tapsells did not mean as far as Maori custom was concerned the rights of all other persons to Whakaari had been extinguished - as indeed the cross claims show. But the nature of the sequence of transactions or arrangements by which the island is granted to Apanui and Toihau and by them to the Tapsells (in particular the effects of this arrangements on the customary rights of others) is something else that the Court does not appear to test.

The next witness was Nutana te Manihua⁸⁴ who simply said:

I belong to the Ngatitarawai [?] I live at Okatai.

It is not clear whether he was called to support the Tapsell family claim or alternatively was a counterclaimant.

Judges Fenton and Munro proceeded immediately to judgment:⁸⁵

Ordered, that a certificate of title be issued in the name of Retireti Tapihana and Katherine Simpkins.

Whakaari thus became Maori freehold land, vested in two owners.

What did the Tapsells want Whakaari for? As Kataraina and her husband had a trading station on Motuhora and actually lived there at least some of the time it is not hard to understand why the family would incur the costs and trouble of a hearing regarding it in the Native Land Court. But these factors are obviously not applicable to Whakaari. Parham speculates that the Tapsells were hoping to exploit the sulphur resources of the island which were already well-known⁸⁶, but he gives no evidence in support of this

⁸⁴ Again, I am uncertain about the spelling of this name. "Nutana" does not look right and might in fact be "Witana".

⁸⁵ (1867) 1 Maketu MB 4.

⁸⁶ Parham, *Island Volcano*. 41. Here he observes further that "cargoes of sulphur are said to have been taken from the island for some years prior to 1868, but these were only small quantities collected by the Maoris or passing ship's captains who, not averse to filling empty spaces in their vessels, were ignorant of or indifferent to any owner's rights which may have existed." The fact that Whakaari was a source of sulphur seems to have been common knowledge in New Zealand by 1845 at least: in a map of the country by J. Arrowsmith ordered to be printed by the House of Commons in 1845 there is the notation "White Island (Sulphur)": see GBPP 1845/357 (Irish University Press ed., BPP/NZ, vol vi, p.501.

assertion - which is not to say that it is not implausible. What conceivable other reason could there be for wanting title to such a place?

2. The Motuhora case

Immediately following the judgment on Whakaari Retireti commenced his claim to Motuhora. He said simply:

My claim to this island is similar to my claim to the last. I wish my name and Katherine's to appear in the grant.

But the claim to Motuhora did not proceed as smoothly as had that to Whakaari. Retireti's Tapsell's claim was immediately objected to by a man named Iharaira Matahihira who claimed that Tapsell owed his family some money. He stated that the island had originally been partitioned in accordance with Maori custom between his (Iharaira's) father and Tapsell sr, after which it had been agreed that the rest of the island would be exchanged for a case of guns. Iharaira said:⁸⁷

(Sworn). I live at Whakatane. I partially agree to the claims of Tapsell. The reason I object is because my father was not present when this Island was handed over to Tapsell. The Island was bought by Tapsell unknown to some of the claimants.

My father received no portion of the payment. My father pointed out to Tapsell⁸⁸ that several persons he named had no claim but that he claimed a part. He told Tapsell that he could have a part and that he would have a part himself. He made a boundary line across the Island for the purpose of so dividing it. My father told Tapsell that if he gave a case of guns he should have the whole Island. Tapsell consented. He has been waiting up to the present time and never received them. My father myself and children are the only parties opposed to Tapsell. This is the only reason of my objection.

Iharaira was then cross-examined. The minutes state "X [i.e. questioned] by Mr Davis for claimants"; presumably Mr Davis was a legal representative of

⁸⁷ (1867) 1 Maketu MB 4-5.

⁸⁸ This must be referring to Tapsell sr - who seems to have been generally known as Hans Tapsell.

some kind for the Tapsell family. The minute book records only the witness's answers:⁸⁹

Piariari⁹⁰ my father. He is still alive. My father has never denied his claim to this Island or given it up in any way. The last time I saw my father was yesterday. I came from Whakatane yesterday. My father told me to come before the Court and speak about Whale Island. He told me to object to Retireti's claim. They were the last words he said. I know how to write my father does not. The reason my father did not come is because he is an old man, he was unable to come on horseback. My father and myself have cultivated land on this island since Tapsell came into possession, in two different places. We planted potatoes and kumara. We did not ask Tapsell's permission. I cultivated land last year. I go there fishing. I had a house there, a [illegible] ... We had a pah there. (The witness pointed out the position on the plan.) Inland I admit belonged to Tapsell. George Simpkins came to me and my father and asked us to give him Motuhora. We said when you pay for it you shall have it. This was last year. I told him if he gave me £50 he should have the Island. George agreed to do so.

I have never received the money. That is all I have to say, and wish my name to be put in the Crown Grant.

At this point Iharaira must have been asked whether, in the event that he was paid the £50 owing to him, he would abandon his claim. Iharaira agreed. The minutes state:⁹¹

If £50 is paid to me I will relinquish all claim to Whale Island but in the meantime my name is to appear in the Crown Grant. I am aware that I shall have to sign a deed conveying the land to Tapsell when the £50 is paid.

At the request of Davis Judges Fenton and Munro agreed to adjourn the case for two days to give Retireti time to find the money. On the following Saturday (the hearing was on Tuesday 18 Oct.) the following notes are made in the minute book:⁹²

89 Ibid, 5-6.

90 One again due to the poor quality of the reproduction this spelling may be incorrect.

91 (1867) 1 Maketu MB 6.

92 Ibid, 35-36.

Motuhora (cont'd).

Iharaira Matahahara - I agree to abandon my claim to this island for £50. I have received £10 on account and wish the remainder to be paid now.

Retireti produced the money to pay the balance of £40.

Iharaira Matahahara having received the money said he abandoned all claim.

Ordered, that a certificate of title be issued in favour of Retireti Tapihana halfcaste and Katherine Simpkins wife of George Simpkins of Motuhora.

George Simpkins (said): I have one child and may have others. I do not wish the land to be tied up. Reteriti has other land in Maketu. My wife is recognised as one of the tribe of Ngatiwhakawe [sic]. The tribe has not sold any land to the Government. Ordered, that no restrictions be imposed in the grant.

There is an intriguing reference to the transactions involving Motuhora in Best's *Tuhoe*. In a section dealing with the (apparently not very frequent) friendly contacts between Ngati Awa and the Tuhoe Best mentions an occasion when the goods obtained from Hans Tapsell for Motuhora were given to Tuhoe. Unfortunately Best does not give a date for this occasion. He writes:⁹³

Piariari and Matenga of Ngati-Awa were also present at Pupu-aruhe. At this meeting Ngati-Awa presented Tuhoe with some European goods, cooking pots, tobacco, pipes etc. being a portion of a lot of things received by them from Hans Tapsell as payment for Mou-tohora, or Whale Island.

This is a valuable crumb of information but it is not easy to interpret. Best's remark suggests that Motuhora was paid for in goods, rather than cash (the latter being the strong inference in the Minute Book accounts). The minute book evidence suggests that the transaction was arranged not by Tapsell but by George Simpkins, his son-in-law; but Best states that Hans Tapsell bought the island. Payment in goods rather than in cash might indicate that the initial

⁹³ Elsdon Best, *Tuhoe*, 390.

signatories⁹⁶ and is dated 27 July 1878. The translation of the application on the Maori Land Court file reads:

Whakaari Island having been sold clandestinely, apply for a rehearing
Te Kahati
July 27th, 1878, Bay of Plenty.

To Mr Fenton,
Friend,

This is our application from us to you for our island Whakaari. We are very (pouri)⁹⁷ sorry about it, and were not aware of Apanui disposing of it, now we have been crying for it every year. It was sold to Te Tapihana before we and our fathers knew anything about it. However, let Apanui have the (taonga) goods and the Island for ourselves according to our fathers' advice.

The next section is rather difficult to decipher and seems garbled to boot:

We be strong to you Island hereafter, which instruction we reject and went on it to cultivate all things which are productive on this Island from year to year and down to the present time.

But the remainder is clear:

Now, I heard that this Island has be sold again to (Mr Wilson) Te Wirahana. This is the second time that it has been sold clandestinely, viz:- the notice of this was not gazetted so that we might know; when we heard of it. Also [illegible] Grant was made clandestinely by Retireti Taphihana, we roared, cried and grieved greatly for our

⁹⁶ The list is (the usual caveats about illegibility and misspelling apply): 1. Te Hata Te Rangitituamaro; 2. Paora Matenga; 3. Mihaera; 4. Whakatere; 5. Wairua; 6. Tewikiriwhi te Kani; 7. Aperehana Kuha (? - could be Ruha); 8. Te Wetine; 9. Hira (?) te Rangi; 10. is illegible; looks like Pa ra ro; 11. ditto, looks like eno Ra (?); 12. A te re a; 13. Te Irimana Houtana [is this one name or two?]; 14. Hamiora; 15. Tama Haua (?); 16. Heremia; 17. Tamiti Te Okooko; 18. Wi Patene; 19. Hirini te Ao Pururangi; 20. Hohe Pakarapaina; 21. Renata te Ahu; 22. Kawariki; 23. Wi Repa; 24. Maihi; 25. Reihana; 26. Kaki Ware; 27. Kawha; 28. Tikutahi; 29. Paraire; 30. Tame [illegible: Tineiuka?]; 31. Rawiri Toetoe; 32. Kape Toutini; 33. Haki Roihana; 34. Tiopira Popata; 35. Mita te Tawhiro; 36. Pera te Atua; 37. Teretiu te Arakirangi; 38. Mitai (?) te Whenua; at the end of the list is written "Heoi na te iwi nui tonu"; followed by "Te Kahanui atiki".

⁹⁷ In Maori in brackets in the translation on file.

Island. However, this is an application from us to you to have our Island Whakaari reheard. Enough. Do you accede to this tone of ours at the present time. Reply as soon as you receive this letter that we may know. You have received our letter.

This is clearly an important text, documenting a deeply-felt concern about the permanent alienation of Whakaari to Judge Wilson. The petitioners allege that the original transaction by which Apanui Wepiha disposed of the island to Hans Tapsell was unknown to them. Nothing, however, seems to have come of the application for a rehearing. The translation of the application is noted:-

Whakaari or White Island is the same as Moutohora or Whale Island for which an order was made in favour of Retireti Tapihana and another in 1867. (Vide Bay of Plenty 1/4 and 16).

[The] applic[ation?] is 10 years too late. 13/07/78.

Wi Patene, who is regarded as the principal force behind the application, was presumably notified accordingly; as there is a further annotation which reads:

Wi Patene [advised?]

September 25 1878.

The Court's attitude was, in short, that whatever the basis of the application there was nothing that could be done.

There is a further piece of correspondence on the Native Land Court file relating to Whakaari, sent from Te Kaha in 1882. The letter is in the Maori language asking that an application for the survey of Whakaari be sent back to Te Kaha for correction.⁹⁸ This seems to have puzzled Court staff however. The file is noted:-

Mr Dickey (?): Writers wish to make some correction to their application for the survey of this island. We know nothing of the application referred to. Mr Smith most likely has it.

⁹⁸ The letter is dated 1882 and is also on Maori Land Court, Rotorua, closed file no. 889.

There is a further annotation on the file (I am not sure who this is from: certainly somebody authoritative):-

White Island is Crown Granted - it would only lead applicants to think that a survey and investigation would service their claim if the application were sent back to them.

From the court's point of view a rehearing of the White Island case was a waste of time: the island had been subject to a Crown grant and had been on-sold to private individuals. It was not (to use current jargon) Maori freehold land or Maori customary land and the court had no jurisdiction over it; nothing therefore should be done to encourage the claimants. The court file on Whakaari was closed in 1882 and never reopened.

5. The era of exploitation of Whakaari

The history of the exploitation of the mineral resources of Whakaari falls into three distinct phases, the first from circa 1885-1900, the second, much more substantial, from 1913-1914 (brought to an abrupt end by the disastrous 1914 eruption) and another attempt in the early 1930s. All these attempts were failures and the hope of making fortunes out of the sulphur deposits of Whakaari was to prove chimerical. In the early 1880s the first attempt to exploit the sulphur resources of White Island commenced with the formation of a company to work the deposits. This company "operated very successfully for a number of years" but it ceased operations, according to correspondence on the Mines Department file on White Island, apparently because of "an unfortunate disagreement between the stockholders".⁹⁹ Another note on the file states simply that about 1880 Judge Wilson purchased the island "where there are deposits of sulphur, and erected refining works at Auckland, but the undertaking was not financially a success".¹⁰⁰ Yet another account of the island, published in an American mining magazine in 1909, states that Judge Wilson "attempted to exploit the

⁹⁹ A.J. Murdoch, Minister of Mines, to G.R. Patterson of Kentucky, 5 September 1930, MD 1/5/45, (NA Wellington).

¹⁰⁰ Undated report on MD 1/5/45, nd., 1900.

sulphur and even shipped 600 or 700 tons of pure material to Sydney",¹⁰¹ that being, apparently, about as far as things went. The most detailed account of exploitation of the island at this time is given in W.T. Parham's *Island Volcano*, but (as with the rest of the book) Parham's account is unfortunately not always well referenced and it is impossible to judge how reliable his narrative is. Parham writes:¹⁰²

On 30 March 1885 Henry James Thomson bought Troup's half share, and an Auckland syndicate was formed under Mr Justice Wilson's leadership, his son being among the participants. This new enterprise was styled the New Zealand Manure and Chemical Company, but while calling itself a company it still remained a partnership, with ownership of the island vested in Wilson and Johnson. It intended to produce both fertiliser and sulphur ore, the latter for export and also to be used in the manufacture of sulphuric "and other" acids.

A base on the mainland was necessary, the nearest port being Whakatane only thirty miles away, but since the river mouth served as the harbour it was obstructed by a bar which made entry for shipping difficult. The town was then a very small place, hemmed in by the great Rangitai swamp, considered to be the finest duck-shooting area in the country.

The choice fell upon Tauranga, although it was fifty-six miles from White Island. The extensive harbour gave complete shelter to shipping, while the hilly country lying behind the town was fairly developed, providing a convenient market for fertiliser. A site was acquired on what came to be known as Sulphur Point on the shore of Tauranga Harbour. It was far from an ideal location, since to unload cargoes arriving from the island it was necessary to build a jetty 530 feet long to reach water deep enough for laden vessels to come alongside for working. It is possible the choice available to the syndicate was somewhat limited in view of the offensive nature of the works, entailing as it did the risk of acid fumes being discharged into the atmosphere.

At the island Te Awapuia was by far the most convenient point of entry to the crater flat, where minerals of economic importance produced by the constant thermal activity of the volcano were most likely to be found in quantity. While there is no

¹⁰¹ Article in *Mining and Engineering Journal*, vol 96, No. 18, Nov. 1 1913, author unknown, clipping on MD 1/5/45.

¹⁰² W.T. Parham, *Island Volcano: White Island, New Zealand*, Collins, Auckland and London, 1973, pp 43-45.

record of where the staff accomodation was sited, it was almost certainly here, permitting the ready handling of shipments to and from Tauranga.

The mineral fertiliser, which was known as "White Island Manure", was obviously the easiest product to be placed on the market. This consisted of detritus from the volcano, claimed to be rich in sulphur. It required no more processing than quarrying, drying, crushing and bagging for sale.

A sample was entered in the Wellington Industrial Exhibition held in 1885, this being the first event of its kind to receive government support. The exhibitor was awarded a silver medal for the product, which was judged to be the highest grade of chemical fertiliser at the show. At such an early date it may be that the competition in this class was not too severe.

The Mines Department received regular requests about the island's sulphur deposits. In September 1900 a Mr J Bowman approached the Department seeking a concession to mine sulphur on the island, but he was informed it was private land:¹⁰³

In reply I have to inform you that White Island is private property, Mr J A Wilson of Auckland being the owner of one half, the New Zealand Estates Company owning 5/8, and Mr H I Johnston 3/8 of the other half.

In fact Department of Mines staff seem to have been rather unclear as to what was happening on the island; sometimes the correspondence gives the impression that the department thought that mining was continuing, and on other occasions that it had been abandoned. Thus in 1900 Bowman was told that operations had not been a success; but in response to an enquiry from Messrs Booth Macdonald and Co from Christchurch the following year the department advised that about 1500 tons of sulphur was being mined on the island per annum by Mr JA Wilson of Auckland.¹⁰⁴

In 1906 one Andrew Gray of Wellington wrote to the Prime Minister on 3 January offering to sell the island to the government for £5000. Gray seems to have been an optimistic speculator of some sort who had taken out a

¹⁰³ Mines Department-A.J. Bowman, 20 September 1900, MD 1/5/45.

¹⁰⁴ Mines Department-Messrs Booth Macdonald & Co., Christchurch, 23 Sept 1901, MD 1/5/45. The figure of 1500 tons a year by 1901 seems well wide of the mark; it is more likely that by this time Judge Wilson's attempt to exploit the sulphur depoists of the island had come to an end.

15 months option on the island with a right of purchase for £2000, having paid a deposit of £251 to the New Zealand Loans and Mercantile Agency, the Government Assets Board and Captain H. Johnson of Auckland.¹⁰⁵ He must have taken up the option because subsequent departmental correspondence refers to Gray as the owner of the island. Gray's offer is informative as to the existing uses made of the island at the time (including the taking of mutton birds by Maori parties from the mainland);¹⁰⁶

As you are probably aware, the principal commercial value of the island lies in the deposit of sulphur, which, according to the report furnished to the directors of the New Zealand Manure and Chemical Co. Ltd by Mr W. McCandlish, as engineer acting for the vendees, based upon his examination of the strata found in a large number of bore holes and trial pits which he put down, in 1885, was in the neighbourhood of 20,000 tons (calculated as pure sulphur), or, say, £50,000 worth. Besides this there are great possibilities in the lake water which has so high a reputation in Tauranga, Opotiki and Whakatane as a lotion or embrocation for bruises that not only are numbers of bottles of the same carried off by excursionists but I have the authority of Mr Rawson the manager of the N.Z.S. Co. for saying that a medical man sends over bottles for a supply when they happen to run over a steamer. I am also informed that there is a deposit of guano and that a Captain of a small steamer told me that on a recent occasion a party of Maories secured 4800 mutton birds in a few hours.

Gray's information all sounds rather vague and second-hand, and raises the question whether there really had been any genuine and thorough attempt to exploit the island before this time (if there had, much more would be known about it: and it seems logical to assume if 1500 tons of sulphur a year in fact really was being taken out of the island this would certainly have been emphasised by Gray, keen as he was to persuade the government to buy it off him).

There was no immediate response and Gray tried to interest various commercial entities in the island, including the Anglo-Sicilian Sulphur Company of London and a firm known as Ostrakers - evidently without success.¹⁰⁷ However the possibility of buying Whakaari had attracted the

¹⁰⁵ See memo on TO 1/20/138, White Island-Sale of, (NA Wellington).

¹⁰⁶ A Gray to Seddon, 3 Jan 1906, TO 1/20/138.

¹⁰⁷ A Gray to Donne, 15 Feb 1906; Gray to T Melville of Glasgow, 9 Feb 1906.

interest of T.E. Donne, the Superintendent for Tourist and Health resorts. About the same time as Gray's offer to government, Donne had received a communication of some sort from business interests in Tauranga urging that the Crown acquire the island which could then be used as a "scenic resort".¹⁰⁸ On 19 February 1906 Donne, an enthusiastic supporter of Crown acquisition of thermal areas, urged that the island be acquired:¹⁰⁹

Mr Andrew Gray, the present owner of White Island, offers to sell all his rights, title and interest in the island for the sum of £5000. I am informed that the island comprises an area of 588 acres, and that on a low estimate it bears 20,000 tons of pure sulphur and a large quantity of low grade sulphur. I am further informed that negotiations are pending on behalf of a company which is endeavouring to secure a monopoly of the sulphur deposits of the island.

White Island, in my opinion, should never have been allowed to pass out of the hands of the Government, and the question is whether on commercial and other grounds it is not desirable for the Government to recover its possession. If the syndicate which is reported to be at work in direction and controlling the sulphur output of the world is successful, it could raise the price of sulphur to almost any amount on lines similar to the Standard Oil Company of America, whereas if the Government held possession of such large deposits as obtain on White Island it could always regulate the price.

There is another aspect of this question which I think requires consideration and that is whether in the event of the removal of large deposits of sulphur there would be a risk of an inrush of water and a serious upheaval being caused, which might result in injury to the mainland. I am not aware whether the island has ever been examined from a chemical and engineering point of view.

A few weeks ago representations were made to this department from Tauranga urging that the Government take steps to open up White Island as a scenic resort, its thermal sights being, I believe, amongst the best in the country, and it is thought that a very considerable traffic could be worked up from Tauranga.

Mr Gray informs me that if the Government agree to purchase he is quite prepared to take payment in Government debentures bearing 5%.

¹⁰⁸ T.E. Donne to Acting Minister for Tourist and Health resorts, 19 Feb 1906, TO 1/20/138.

¹⁰⁹ T.E. Donne to Acting Minister for Tourist and Health resorts, 19 Feb 1906, TO 1/20/138.

I should be glad of your early direction as to whether any further direction is to be taken in this matter. I presume that the island could be taken under the Scenery Preservation Act at valuation.¹¹⁰

Donne's intervention notwithstanding, on 22 March 1906 Gray was advised by the the Acting Minister for Tourist and Health Resorts that the government had no interest in his proposal.¹¹¹

Later in 1906, however, Donne raised the issue of the acquisition of the island again. His memo reveals, if nothing else, the desperate endeavours Gray was making to sell the island and recover his investment:

The present owner of White Island is desirous of disposing of his property, which is now being hawked round for sale.

White Island is one of the most wonderful thermal sights in existence, and in my opinion should never have been allowed to pass out of the hands of the Government.

The island is now under offer to a Wellington resident for £2000, who has given an option over it to a Sydney syndicate for £5000. It is rumoured that the intention is to syndicate all the principal sulphur deposits with a view to securing control of the output, and, of course, the price. The sulphur deposits on White Island are very valuable, and it is, I think, desirable that if anything is done in the direction of opening up the island for commercial purposes then it should be done by the benefit of the State for the benefit of the colony. This commercial view of the Island's value is not affected by the fact that it would prove a great attraction to tourists, and a considerable traffic could be developed from Tauranga.

I would recommend, therefore, that steps be taken under "The Scenery Preservation Act" to acquire this valuable property at a price not exceeding £5000, at which price the Island is placed under offer.

¹¹⁰ Donne is here referring to the Scenery Preservation Act 1903. The Act provided for the appointment of a Scenery Preservation Commission who were to recommend (s.3) "what lands, whether Crown, private, or Native lands, in their opinion, should be permanently reserved as scenic, thermal or historic reserves". Such lands could be compulsorily taken as public works under the Public Works Act. Donne seems to be suggesting here that rather than buy the island at Gray's price the island could simply be taken compulsorily under the Public Works legislation as a scenic or thermal reserve. See generally R.P. Boast, *The Legal framework for geothermal resources: a historical study*, a report to the Waitangi Tribunal, 1990, pp 24-29.

¹¹¹ James McGowan, Acting Minister for Tourist and Health Resorts, to Gray, 20 March 1906, TO 1/20/138.

The Scenery Preservation Board recommended purchase at no more than £2000. But the Cabinet decision was to take "no action", either because the government was not interested in having the island at any price or because it was thought unlikely that Gray would accept that amount.¹¹² Gray tried dropping his price. On 11 December 1907 he wrote directly to Donne, offering to sell the island for £3500.¹¹³ This letter contains the following minute and response:

Any acknowledgment to be sent to Mr Gray please?

[Answer] NO.

In order to pursue the objective of selling Whakaari Gray produced an elaborate advertising desk calendar accompanied by an expensively-printed brochure which contained extracts from reports of mining engineers.¹¹⁴ But by 1909 Gray still had not been able to persuade anyone to purchase the island and he was reduced to offering the island to government for £2800. But again this was declined by Cabinet.¹¹⁵ The Minister in charge of Tourist Resorts and Mines, (Mackenzie) wrote to Gray advising him of the decision:¹¹⁶

I duly submitted to Cabinet your offer to accept £2,800 for White Island, but regret the Government does not at present see its way to purchase any property you have been good enough to submit.

¹¹² Under-Secretary of Lands to General Manager, Tourist and Publicity Department, 12 April 1907, TO 1/20/138.

¹¹³ Gray to Donne, 10 December, 1907, TO 1/20/138.

¹¹⁴ The calendar reads: "Sulphur, Gypsum and Mineral Waters: White Island, Bay of Plenty, New Zealand, with great mineral resources awaiting development, IS FOR SALE - PRICE £3,500. Area, 588 acres. Title, Crown Grant. Terms: Cash, or as may be arranged. Owner (from who may be obtained booklet "WHITE ISLAND, an INVESTMENT"): ANDREW GRAY, P.O. Box 316, Wellington. Telegrams: "Brimstone, Wellington".

¹¹⁵ The correspondence relating to Gray's final offer to government is on MD 1/5/45 (i.e. not on the Tourist Department file). On 7 September 1909 Gray wrote to J. Mackenzie as Minister of Mines, referring to the previous correspondence between himself and Donne, and offering now to sell the island for £2800, reducing his previous offer by £700 "below that agreed between Mr T E Donne and myself". The letter is noted: "In Cabinet, 10 September 1909. No action." Gray is informed accordingly. From this point he seems to have abandoned his efforts to sell the island to the government.

¹¹⁶ Mackenzie-Gray, 4 Oct 1909, TO 1/20/138.

Which seems to mean that the government was not interested in purchasing Whakaari at any price.

Meanwhile, as indicated above, the Mines Department was receiving a trickle of enquiries about White Island in particular or the opportunities for sulphur mining more generally. On 11 September 1900 Messrs Reid and Reid, "Indentors and General Agents" of Wellington, wrote to the department enquiring about the possibility of exporting sulphur to Canada. This and other enquiries led the Department to do a certain amount of work on the amount of sulphur currently being mined in the country. On 12 August 1908 J D Adams of Papamoa wrote to the Mines Department inquiring if sulphur deposits on White Island were being worked; he was advised by the Under-Secretary that the island was privately owned.¹¹⁷

An article printed in the *Canterbury Times* in 1908 gives an interesting picture of the state of the island at this time. The article describes the island - a little breathlessly - as follows (the author apparently being under the delusion that the government had acquired it):¹¹⁸

White Island, which the government has acquired for the purpose of working the vast sulphur deposits and opening easy means of communication for tourists, has aptly enough been described as the "ocean gem" of the New Zealand thermal region. The island is situated in the great bight of the Bay of Plenty, off the Auckland coast, and is about forty miles from land. It has an area of about 700 acres, and is really the summit of a submerged volcano, about 300 ft of which projects above the surrounding ocean. The sides are precipitous and bare of vegetation, and the only means of access to the basin, which was once a seething crater, is by means of a large rift in the eastern wall, the shore at this point being strewn with enormous boulders, which make landing a matter of some difficulty. The bottom of the basin is now occupied by a green boiling lake of indescribable beauty, and woe to the garment which comes in contact with its vitriolic waters, for it is at once transformed into a beautiful red, and rots in a short time, the waters being heavily charged with sulphuric acid and other chemicals. Situated at the western end of this lake and right at the base of the beetling cliffs forming the walls, the great blowhole works off its surplus energy, and the site of the great steam jets rising in whirling columns or ascending in majestic clouds up and above a

¹¹⁷ J D Adams-Mines Department, 12 August 1908, MD 1/5/45

¹¹⁸ *Canterbury Times*, April 1, 1908. Clipping on file TO 1/20/138.

perpendicular background of heat-riven rock is magnificent and awe-inspiring, and to those unacquainted with the marvellous thermal activity of New Zealand, is overwhelming in its awful grandeur.

On 2 June 1909, a few months before the final rejection of Gray's offer by the government, one Satchell Clarke of Vancouver, describing himself as a "gold dredging engineer" wrote to the Mines Department. He claimed to represent a "strong syndicate" wishing to import sulphur into the United States "large quantities of sulphur annually", the intention being to "put up works for the refinement of the same or if unsuitable would handle the material by steam shovels and other rapid means of handling the raw material".¹¹⁹ Clarke wanted to know about current works on the island, and about "what concession or lease can we acquire". On 3 August 1909 the Under-Secretary wrote to Clarke:

In reply I have to state that White Island is private property, Mr J.A. Wilson, of Auckland, being the principal owner. The deposits at Rotorua are on Native lands,¹²⁰ and the Government has therefore no control over the leasing of the deposits of sulphur thereon.

But of course the department was behind the times. The owner was not Wilson but Gray, at that time still struggling to persuade the Tourist Department to buy Whakaari. On 8 September Clarke again wrote from Vancouver, asking "whether it is possible to acquire a concession or lease to work the sulphur deposits in the hands of the natives". The department's response this time was somewhat better informed:¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Clarke to Mines Department, 2 June 1909, on MD 1/5/45.

¹²⁰ Referring to Tikitere. There was a substantial sulphur deposit which had been mined from time to time. According to an undated report on MD 1/5/45, dating probably from 1900, it is noted that "at Tikitere, in the Rotorua district, 2,043 tonz 12 cwt., valued at £5,367 were mined and exported in 1898. The ore contained about 75% of sulphur. During the year 1899, 1,227 tons were exported from the same neighbourhood. The deposits occur on Native Land, and it said that a larger quantity could be purchased if a better tenure were obtainable, so that refining works could be erected on the ground. The export is principally to Sydney, and the sulphur is used principally by the chemical manufacturers."

¹²¹ Clarke to Minister of Mines, 8 September 1909; Under-Secretary, Mines Department to Clarke, 6 October 1909, MD 1/5/45.

...In view of the present condition of the Native Land laws, it would not be possible to obtain a concession or lease from the Native owners to work the sulphur deposits in the Rotorua district.

I have also to state that White island, on which there are large deposits of sulphur, is private property and was recently offered to the Government for sale by the owner, Mr Andrew Gray, P.O. Box 316 Wellington, and doubtless if you were to communicate with him, some arrangement might be come to with your syndicate.

Other companies were also expressing an interest in the island at this time, including F.H. Coyne, mining engineers of Boston, and a concern styling itself by the arresting name of Ridge Roasting Furnace and Engineering Company. Both companies were responded to the effect that the island was owned by Gray and that there were sulphur deposits located at Tikitere and elsewhere on Maori land.¹²²

By 1913 however the situation of White Island had been transformed. Gray had managed at last to sell the island, not to the crown but to the White Island Sulphur Company, a Canadian company based in Vancouver, which then established elaborate workings on the island. Parham says that the company paid Gray \$Can 20,000 for the island.¹²³ The situation is usefully described in an article in *The Mining and Engineering Journal*, an American publication, published in 1913.¹²⁴ The article contains a good description of the sulphur resources of the island:

In the flat portion between the lake and the sea, rock sulphur and flowers of sulphur are found; about 6500 tons of this was in such shape as to be readily extracted. A

¹²² F.H. Coyne, engineers of Boston, to "Department of Mining", New Zealand, 24 July 1911, seeking information as to the "occurrence of sulphur" in the country; Under-Secretary, Mines Department, to Coyne, advising that White Island belongs to Gray and there are also large deposits of sulphur on native lands "and arrangements for working them would require to be made with the Native owners...At present none of the deposits are being worked"; Ridge Roasting Furnace and Engineering Company to Prime Minister, 10 October 1913 (the company wanted to set up a sulphur mining industry in New Zealand "which would give considerable employment"); Under-Secretary of Mines to Ridge Roasting, 27 November 1913 (White Island is private property belonging to Gray; there are other sulphur deposits located on Maori land and scenic reserves and in relation to these two categories of land arrangements "would require to be made with the Native owners for rights to work the deposits but no arrangement can be made in connexion with Scenic Reserves as any interference with such reserves is forbidden by Law." MD 1/5/45.

¹²³ Parham, op.cit., 46.

¹²⁴ *Mining and Engineering Journal*, vol 96 No 18, November 1 1913, clipping on MD 1/5/45.

possibly more important source of sulphur is a boiling spring behind the lake, which pours out a continual stream of liquid product. The exact quantity that could be obtained from this source is indeterminable, but estimates give several tons per hour; it is of high-grade 94% sulphur. The possibility of tapping the underground source of this spring with boreholes and pumping the sulphur is an attractive one. Sulphur also exists in the lake bottom, so as to uncover a deposit of nearly pure material.

Under the heading of "mining process" the article proceeds:

The process is simple, the material being wheeled from dump to retorts, and the sulphur melted out by the introduction of superheated steam. The liquid sulphur runs out into troughs and the comb of gypsum remaining is transferred to another dump.

Mining operations had a significant impact on the landforms of the island: the large lake which had earlier covered much of the crater floor had been largely drained off:

The lake is of a vivid green colour and is stated to be highly acidulated with both sulphuric and hydrochloric acids. It is stated that the water is reputed to have curative properties and has been freely taken away by tourists. The level of the lake, before it was drained, used to vary considerably.

The article also contains some details about the history of the island:

The island has been known to tourists as a curiosity for a good many years. Even as long ago as 1885, Judge Wilson, who owned the property, attempted to exploit the sulphur and even shipped 600 or 700 tons of pure material to Sydney. After his death, the island was in the hands of his executors for several years and was finally sold to Andrew Gray, of Wellington, who tried unsuccessfully to interest capital in working the deposits. The island was finally purchased in January, 1912, by the White Island Sulphur Company Limited, a Canadian concern, after examination by an engineer, Mr Stockings, who apparently reported favourably on the presence of the sulphur, but considered that the lack of water, the presence of sulphur fumes and the difficulties of landing, would make its working difficult or impossible. These difficulties appear to have been overcome and successful operations begun.

The company had been formed in Vancouver in 1911. It began by concentrating on retorting and selling sulphur, but when it was found that the raw ore was marketable as fertiliser it switched to concentrating on shipping the ore in an unrefined state.¹²⁵

As the island was now the scene of full-scale mining operations it was inspected from time to time by Mines Inspectors. On 5 May 1914 the Inspector of Mines at Thames, B. Bernice, reported to the Under-Secretary of the Mines Division describing the operations then in progress:¹²⁶

The work at present being carried on gives employment to some sixteen men and consists of trenching from a small lake (known as the Green Lake) to the sea. This lake, which at high water is about 10 feet above the level of the sea, is now almost drained.

Bernice reported that he had been advised by the supervisor that some 300,000 tons of sulphur were available. He also was careful to make clear that White Island was an extremely dangerous place:

On the island there is a crater or fissure which is very active and belches forth smoke and steam to a height of about 300 feet.. This not only presents a very uncanny appearance but is an ever present source of danger to the workmen as it is within a very short distance of their camp and the treatment plant.

The first fatality followed not long after. On May 18 1914 one of the retorts used for processing the sulphur blew up and scalded a fireman, J V Williams, to death.¹²⁷

A much bigger disaster followed in September of the same year. Captain Albert Mokokoko of Opotiki regularly shipped supplies out to Whakaari. On his regular Tuesday run he was puzzled to find no-one waiting for him at the main camp. According to an unsourced newspaper cutting on the Mines Department file:

¹²⁵ A.J. Murdoch, Minister of Mines, to G.R.Patterson, Ky. USA, 5 September 1930, MD 1/5/45.

¹²⁶ Bernice to Under-Secretary, Mines Division, Wellington, 5 May 1914, reporting a visit to Whakaari made on 28 January 1914, MD 1/5/45.

¹²⁷ Report of Inspector of Mines, Waihi, 11 June 1914, MD 1/5/45.

Supplies for the island are sent from Opotiki about once a fortnight, and Mokomoko, a launch proprietor, of Opotiki, went on the regular trip on Tuesday last, but having no dinghy was unable to land, and could not attract any attention. He concluded that the men were absent on another part of the island, and did not notice any change in the aspect. He returned to Opotiki and proceeded to the island again on Saturday morning. He landed and found a scene of devastation on the site previously occupied by the works and the camp.

On 29 September 1914 Matthew Paul, Inspector of Mines, telegraphed the department:¹²⁸

No possibility of finding the bodies. Force of explosion in direct line with men's quarters - everything in my opinion carried out to sea. Four chains off cliff at back of old crater slipped away blocking outlet with thousands of tons strong jets of steam escaping through the debris for a length of four chains from old blow hole - very active and dangerous.

Inspector Paul sent a more detailed report to the Under-Secretary, Mines Division, 3 October 1914. This concludes:¹²⁹

With regard to the future working of this deposit, there will always be a serious risk to life, and no possible chance of men getting away, in the event of a sudden outburst of lava, therefore in my opinion future working of this deposit should be prohibited.

There were, apart from the camp cat, no survivors of the disaster. Ten lives were lost. Parham describes the disaster as being caused by a massive landslide followed by a lahar (a volcanic mudflow) which swept across the crater flat and down to the sea.¹³⁰

Inspector Paul's suggestion that future attempts to exploit White Island should be prohibited led to an opinion being obtained from the Crown Law

¹²⁸ Telegraph, Mines Inspector M. Paul to Undersecretary, Mines Department, 29 September 1914, MD 1/5/45.

¹²⁹ Paul to Undersecretary of the Mines Department, 3 October 1914, MD 1/5/45.

¹³⁰ See W.T. Parham, *Island Volcano*, 54-55.

office as to whether this was legally possible. An assistant law officer reported to the Under-Secretary of Mines on 3 November 1914.¹³¹

I am not aware of any authority giving power to restrict or prohibit the working of sulphur deposits on White Island.

The island was private property. It was not in a Mining district and was not covered by the provisions of the Mining Act.

After the disaster of 1914 the company simply disappeared. A stockholder, a Mr Hart of Halifax Nova Scotia wrote to the Minister of Mines in 1917:

The White Island sulphur Company afterwards reorganised as the New Zealand Sulphur Co. I would like to know if the company has been doing any work or shipped any sulphur since the war. I own considerable stock in the company and cannot get any information from them whether they are still a live proposition or not.

He was advised that as far as the Department knew the Company "is not now carrying out any work in New Zealand."¹³²

The 1914 disaster put a temporary end to the exploitation of Whakaari. Then in 1923 A.A. Mercer, who along with J. Browne had bought Whakaari off Gray in 1913 on behalf of White Island Sulphur Co. of Vancouver, acquired ownership of the island in his own name. Mercer was instrumental in floating a new company, also based in Vancouver, White Island Agricultural Chemical Co. Ltd. This was the prelude to the establishment of a complicated network of interconnected companies registered in Canada, London and New Zealand, the details of which need not be traversed here.¹³³ Workings were re-established on the island and by 1931 the operations on the

¹³¹ Assistant Law Officer, Crown Law Office, to Under-Secretary of Mines, 3 November 1917, on MD 1/5/45.

¹³² Hart to Minister of Mines (1917); Under-Secretary, Mines Department to Hart, 31 August 1917, MD 1/5/45.

¹³³ As well as the Canadian company, White Island Agricultural Chemical Co. Ltd, there was a British company, White Island (NZ) Sulphur and Fertiliser Co., and a New Zealand company too, White Island Products Ltd. For a discussion of the establishment of these companies see Parham op.cit., 58-65. At ibid, 66-70 Parham cites at length the prospectus issued by White Island Products Ltd in 1927, which Parham describes as "highly coloured" (p.70).

island were on a fairly substantial scale. But the predictions of massive sulphur deposits proved unfounded and the company was never a success. Following an engineer's inspection in 1933 - who pronounced that there was insufficient sulphur on the island for the undertaking ever to be a success - the company ceased operations. There was a confused aftermath involving complex litigation in London relating to misrepresentations in the prospectus issued by the British company.

6. The islands today.

Both islands today are managed for the purposes of wildlife conservation. White Island is still privately owned. In 1936 the island was transferred to G.R. Buttle of Auckland. The island still remains in the possession of the Buttle family, the island being transferred to the current owner, John Raymond Buttle, in November 1958.¹³⁴ In 1953, however, the island had become a private reserve. The annotation on the certificate of title reads:-

Gazette notice declaring the within land to be a private reserve under and subject to the Scenery Preservation Amendment Act 1933 reserving however to the owner of the said land or his successors in title the right to do any act or thing forbidden by Section 4 of the said Act.

Motuhora was declared a wildlife refuge in 1965 by proclamation pursuant to the Wildlife Act 1953.¹³⁵ The island remained owned by a number of people as tenants in common until 1984, when the island was acquired by the Crown as a wildlife refuge.¹³⁶ For some reason the island was not formally gazetted as a wildlife management reserve until 22 April 1991. In February 1992 the Regional Conservator for the Bay of Plenty Conservancy of the Department of Conservation formally prohibited access to Motuhora except under the authority of a Department of Conservation permit.¹³⁷

The islands were in the news recently due to government attempts to have them, along with Mayor Island (Tuhua) and Motiti included within local authority jurisdiction. The islands are apparently not within any local authority boundaries at the present time; so including them would make the

¹³⁴ See South Auckland C.T., vol 581, folio 20.

¹³⁵ *New Zealand Gazette* 1965, No. 50, p. 1494 (15 October 1965).

¹³⁶ South Auckland C.T., vol 763, folio 11.

¹³⁷ *New Zealand Gazette*, 16 January 1992, No 2, p. 20. The order reads: "Prohibition of Access Other than by Permit to Moutohora (Whale) Island. Pursuant to Section 22 (5) of the Reserves Act 1977, the Regional Conservator for the Bay of Plenty Conservancy of the Department of Conservation, acting as Commissioner pursuant to section 62 of the Reserves Act 1977, hereby prohibits access except under authority of a permit, to all Moutohora (Whale) Island, Government purpose (wildlife management) reserve described in the Schedule hereto.

islands rateable - a move strongly opposed by the inhabitants of Motiti in particular. The issue was reported in the *Herald* in September 1993.¹³⁸

Moves on islands opposed

A Government move to bring four Bay of Plenty islands under local authority jurisdiction is opposed by the islanders.

Motiti, Mayor, White and Whale (Motuhora) islands are not within any district council boundaries and landowners do not pay rates.

But the Minister of Local Government, Mr Cooper, has called for a report by December 31 on which territorial authorities should take them over.

The Local Government Commission, charged with making recommendations to the minister, is visiting the coastal Bay of Plenty this week. It is consulting district councils, landowners and residents of Motiti and Mayor Islands, the only two which are inhabited permanently.

An attempt in 1982 to bring the islands into the former Tauranga county was dropped after heated opposition from the islanders.

In Tauranga this week, island representatives made it plain to the commission that they objected strongly to any interference from the mainland.

Motiti, which is half privately owned and half in communal Maori ownership, provides its own water, roading, transport and rubbish disposal services. The close and generally self-sufficient community does not see why it should pay rates...

Mayor Island, 40 km from Mt Maunganui, is run by a trust board on behalf of Maori owners, who see no advantage in changing from the present system.

White Island is an active volcano privately owned by Mr John Butler Warkworth. Whale Island is a wildlife sanctuary.

The Tauranga District Council has said it is not interested in bringing any islands under its umbrella. The Western Bay of Plenty District Council would have jurisdiction, provided that was the wish of the island inhabitants.

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¹³⁸ *Herald*, Wednesday, 1 September 1993, section 1, p. 2. (Rosaleen Macbrayne).

7. Summary and issues for further research

This study of the history of the islands reveals that for most of the modern history of New Zealand Whakaari and Motuhora have been privately owned. Indeed White Island is still privately owned, and the Crown did not acquire ownership of Motuhora until 1984. The key event in terms of their legal history quite obviously is the Native Land Court hearing of 1867. This has been considered fully above, and I have already indicated a number of issues posed by that hearing. It seems very likely that Ngati Awa and Whakatohea (and other iwi) who had interests in the islands did not get an opportunity to fully air their concerns. There was a subsequent application for a rehearing for Whakaari in 1882 but by that time the island had been long been sold to private interests and there was nothing the Land Court could do.

A documentary study of this kind does not, of course, traverse all the evidence there may be concerning the islands. Maori oral evidence needs to be set alongside the historical evidence considered in this report, and there may of course be further manuscript material held privately relating to the history of the islands. In particular the documentary record fails to document the extent of Maori use and management of the islands both before and after 1867.

To conclude this report I will focus on a number of issues: (a) traditional ownership of the islands; (b) Crown conduct, with particular reference to the Crown's obligations pursuant to the Treaty of Waitangi; and, thirdly, (c) identifying those issues which require further research.

The documentary material for reviewing traditional ownership of the two islands falls into two categories, these being (i) written versions of traditional history; and (ii) material in the minute books of the Native Land Court. In this report I have cited fully from all of the traditional narratives regarding the two islands I could find, and the Land Court evidence, such as it is, has also been considered fully. This material must be approached cautiously, in view of the likelihood that by no means all of the traditional literature has found its way into print. That aside, a number of further comments can be made. The frequent references to Whakaari in the many accounts of Ngatoro-i-Rangi do not necessarily point to any kind of Arawa claim to ownership of the islands, and although the 1867 Land Court hearings vested the islands in what was effectively a Ngati Whakaue family the

outcome was not dictated by any claim to an Arawa interest in the islands. Rather, the claim was sustained on the basis that the Tapsell family had happened to acquire the islands from the recognised owners, who was far as the Court was concerned were undoubtedly Ngati Awa.

Ngati Awa claims are also substantiated by the traditional story published by Margaret Orbell in which Whakaari features prominently. This account comes from two nineteenth-century sources, both Ngati Awa. The geographical proximity of Motuhora to Ngati Awa lands points to a predominant Ngati Awa interest in that island; but, of course, the same cannot be said for Whakaari itself which is well out to sea and which is actually closer to territories traditionally occupied by Whanau-a-Apanui. Whakaari is a famous landmark and it would be expected that many iwi of the Bay of Plenty coast would be likely to assert some kind of interest in it - particularly because the island was not habitable (and thus no group could permanently establish itself there to assert an unchallengeable right) but which possessed valuable resources: birds, bramble sharks, sulphur. No evidence from Whakatohea or Whanau-a-Apanui sources is recorded in the minute books, but it would in my opinion be very rash to conclude that for that reason these iwi could have no claim to the islands. The turmoil that the Bay of Plenty region was plunged into in the mid-1860s, the fact that the hearing was at Maketu, and, too, the peculiar prominence and status of the Tapsell family all combine to suggest that there may well be other iwi with interests in Whakaari in particular who were unrepresented at the hearing and that the full range of evidence never was considered by the Court.

This leads to the application for the rehearing of the Whakaari case. The first matter that needs to be checked here is the tribal affiliations of the petitioners. This is obviously something beyond the competence of this writer. If the petitioners, say, are Whakatohea or Whanau-a-Apanui this would clearly be a matter of some significance.

That is about as far as the present writer can take the matter. The documentary record can reveal only so much. My very tentative impression is that Motuhora is clearly within Ngati Awa's rohe (there never was an application for a rehearing of the Motuhora case, which may indicate that Ngati Awa interests in this island were beyond serious challenge). But with Whakaari itself the impression one gains from weighing up the evidence as dispassionately as possible is that there is more uncertainty; Whakaari was

clearly important to Ngati Awa but there may well be other groups with interests there. That said, it cannot be stressed enough that the documentary evidence is extremely scanty. Further research into the traditional history, with a scrupulous attention to all of the eastern Bay of Plenty iwi, seems to be essential before the matter of tribal ownership be settled with any confidence.

Turning to the role of the Crown and its obligations pursuant to the Treaty of Waitangi there are a number of points to be made. The islands passed very quickly by means of the Land Court process into private hands. Whakaari is still privately owned and the acquisition of Motuhora by the Crown as a reserve is very recent. The Crown has not directly played much part in the history of the islands. The Crown never purchased them from Maori. When the owner of White Island, Mr Gray, tried to sell Whakaari to the government on a number of occasions during the first decade of the twentieth century the offer was rejected despite the fact that some officials were strongly in favour. In fact the paucity of information about the islands in government files is very striking: even the Mines Department often seems to have had only the vaguest idea of what was happening at Whakaari. This paucity of information is explained no doubt by the fact that the islands have been private land for so long. Perhaps the government of the day can be faulted for not taking the opportunity of acquiring Whakaari off Gray at a bargain price when it had the opportunity of doing so. Whether the failure to acquire the island could be said to be a breach of the principles of Treaty of Whakaari is perhaps worth reflecting on, but this would not be an easy argument to make. (Is it contrary to the Treaty of Waitangi for the Crown to *not* acquire private property which may be of significance to Maori claimants?) The argument could no doubt be developed, but it would be one made with the benefit of hindsight and the developed Treaty jurisprudence of today. It undoubtedly never crossed any official's mind that the Treaty of Waitangi was even remotely connected with the decision to spurn Gray's increasingly desperate offers to sell White Island to the Crown. Perhaps it should have done. From this distance it seems not very tenable to pass judgment on the Crown for such a 'failure' unless there was a history of Maori grievance and concern about the island which the Crown ought reasonably to have been aware of.

A slightly less difficult problem is reached when more indirect responsibilities of the Crown are considered and an effort is made to grasp the

circumstances of the alienation of the two islands in their historical context. The focus for attention here is the 1867 hearing in the Land Court. That hearing illustrates a number of the general concerns raised in many claims about the Land Court's *modus operandi*. We do not know, of course, how widely the Land Court hearing on the two islands was known. The case was the very first recorded in the Maketu series of the Court's minute books and may well be the first occasion in which the Court sat anywhere in the Bay of Plenty. (A check of the Whakatane and Opotiki minute books would verify this.) Even if there were earlier hearings it is safe to say that the effects of the Court's decisions and its methods of operation are unlikely to have been widely perceived by the Maori communities of the eastern Bay of Plenty in 1867. The Court seems in the Whakaari and Motuhora cases to have been proceeding strictly in its classic adversarial role based on the evidence in front of it: the judges considered only the evidence which was present in court and evidently saw it as no part of their function to inquire into the possible claims of other iwi. As a matter of fact there certainly were counterclaims to Whakaari (by Ngati Awa claimants) but these were not pursued with much vigour. There is little evidence of much probing by the Court of the Tapsell family's claim or of the Ngati Awa counterclaims. In short the hearing is certainly questionable in some respects - although, as indicated above, this probably cannot be taken so far as to completely discount the Tapsell claim to the islands. A modern study of property rights in the islands, bringing to the task a modern and sophisticated approach to the intricacies of Maori land tenure, would in all probability conclude that there were many varying and overlapping interests in respect of the islands, not all of which would have been extinguished with the transactions made with Tapsell.

I say 'with Tapsell' deliberately. There is in my view little doubt that it was Hans Tapsell sr who 'bought' the islands. The claims of gifts made to the claimants' mother do not appear to be very compelling and there is other evidence to show that the transactions were regarded as primarily being with Tapsell sr. himself (for example the passage cited above from Best's *Tuhoe*).

In this regard then, the issue of the Crown's Treaty obligations resolves itself, yet again, into the issue of the way the Native Land Court operated. This raises a number of issues which quite obviously transcend this claim. They include the extent to which the Court must always be regarded as an agency of the Crown; the government's responsibility for the statutory

framework under which the Court operated and the extent to which the Court may have ignored or defied changes to its operating legal framework; the government's responsibilities for the actions of the judges.

The second general context is of course that of raupatu. In 1867 the eastern Bay of Plenty (and the Ngati Awa and Whakatohea people in particular) had received the severe and dislocating blow of a major confiscation. The circumstances of this are also somewhat beyond the scope of this report. It can be said that the confiscations make it even more likely that the Land Court hearing at Maketu did not receive a comprehensive picture of the traditional ownership of the islands.

One is left, then, with an inconclusive picture based on a fairly limited range of evidence - no doubt an unsatisfactory situation, but one difficult to remedy. Again, trying to be as objective and as dispassionate as possible, I would suggest that the Land Court hearing in 1867 did not inquire adequately into the ownership of the islands; that the complete vesting of the islands in the Tapsell family is questionable; and that matters of traditional ownership need to be considered afresh.

This leads to the matter of the further research that needs to be done. What does seem imperative is a comprehensive inquiry into the traditional history and use of the islands. These are matters for oral and traditional evidence. Whether a comprehensible body of traditional material exists - other than that gleaned from written reports and cited in this report - I do not know. A beginning would be to identify the tribal affiliations of the petitioners for the rehearing in 1882. There may also be evidence relating to food gathering and fishing, pre and post-1867. The extent of such resource use and the iwi involved in it all seem to merit inquiry. Only when these matters are investigated can the Crown's obligations in respect of the two islands be fully addressed. Finally, a further useful source of extra insight could be obtained from those who are familiar with the circumstances of the eastern Bay of Plenty confiscations who may well be able to comment on the present author's suspicions that a Land Court sitting at Maketu in 1867 was not very likely to receive a comprehensive body of evidence regarding the ownership and use of the islands.

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Appendices:

1. Margaret Orbell, "Two versions of the Maori story of Te Tahī o te Rangi", *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol 82, pp 127-140.
2. Land Court minutes relating to Whakaari and to Motuhora: (1867) 1 Maketu MB.
3. Application for rehearing relating to Whakaari, 1878 (MLC file Rotorua registry; closed file no. 889).
4. Current certificates of title for White Island and Whale Island.
5. E.O. Macpherson, "Notes on the geology of Whakatane District and Whale Island", *New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology*, 1944, vol. 26 B 66-76.
6. Map of Whakaari (from Parham, *Island Volcano*, Collins, Auckland. 1973.)

Appendix 1. Margaret Orbell, "Two versions of the Maori story of Te Tahī o te Rangi", *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol 82, pp 127-140.

NOTES AND NEWS

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TWO VERSIONS OF THE MAORI STORY OF TE TAHI O TE RANGI

Margaret Orbell

Though the story of Te Tahī o te Rangi is one of the best known of the traditional narratives of Ngaati Awa tribe in the southern Bay of Plenty, there are only brief references to it in works on Maori history and literature. European writers have told the story in their own words,⁽¹⁾ but so far as is known no Maori version has been published either in the original or in translation.

The purpose of this paper is to publish two versions of the story which were written at the turn of the century by elders of Ngaati Awa.⁽²⁾ An introductory section will discuss first the significance of the story and then the men who recorded it, and their differing narrative styles.

THE STORY

The story concerns Te Tahī o te Rangi, or Te Tahī, a powerful tohunga, or priest, of Ngaati Awa, who was believed by his fellow tribesmen to be responsible for floods that had destroyed their crops (though floods were, in fact, common in the Whakatane area in which they lived). Tohungas were thought to have some degree of control over the weather, and, of course, were normally expected to exercise this power for the good of their people. But a number of incidents and narratives show that exceptionally learned and powerful tohungas were sometimes feared even by their own people, and might be suspected of doing them harm. For example, the Tarawera eruption of 1886 was blamed by many of the tribe affected on an old, powerful tohunga who had disapproved of his people's modern way of life. When the old man was buried in his house by ashes from the eruption, his tribe thought it safest to leave him where he was. They were most annoyed when the Europeans eventually dug him out alive.⁽³⁾

Since it was contrary to Maori custom to shed the blood of a tohunga, even enemy tohungas had to be killed by some such method as strangling.

1. The fullest version is in Cowan 1930:89-100.

2. Haamiora Tumutara Pio's version is taken from his papers in the Polynesian Society Manuscript Collection held in the Alexander Turnbull Library (pp. 26-8 of notebook no. 5). For permission to use this material, I am indebted to the Polynesian Society and to the Chief Librarian of the Alexander Turnbull Library. The manuscript containing Tiimi Waata Rimini's version is in the Dominion Museum, together with a transcription made by Elsdon Best. For permission to use it, I am indebted to the Director of the Dominion Museum.

3. Cowan 1930:145-57.

In this case, Ngaati Awa decide to maroon Te Tahī o te Rangi on Whakaari, an island in the Bay of Plenty which is an active volcano and is now known as White Island. But when Ngaati Awa have abandoned Te Tahī on the island and are paddling back to the mainland, the tohunga summons up a taniwha that carries him across the sea. On the way they pass Ngaati Awa; the taniwha wishes to punish them, but Te Tahī nobly refuses to do so, uttering a saying that has become proverbial. (The two versions of the story differ as to the words of this saying. The one in Tiimi Waata Rimini's version is now the better known.)

Taniwhas, or dragons, were believed to live in lakes, rivers and the sea. They were dangerous to strangers, but often protected the members of the tribe to which they were attached. Thus, they were sometimes the guardians of fishing reefs, and had offerings of fish made to them after the men had returned from a fishing expedition.⁽⁴⁾ If a man who was drowning at sea called to the taniwhas to help him, they might—if he were a man of great mana, or prestige—appear and carry him to the land.⁽⁵⁾ On the other hand, if a person broke a religious restriction by tampering with a tapu object, the taniwhas might bear him off to their home. Usually he did not return alive.⁽⁶⁾

Tohungas were believed to have special powers over taniwhas, all the more so if, like Te Tahī o te Rangi, they were exceptionally learned and powerful men. But, despite the important part that taniwhas played in Maori religion, and the vast amount of scattered information available on the subject, the beliefs and ritual concerning them have, as yet, been little studied.

When Te Tahī o te Rangi dies, he himself becomes a taniwha. Again this is not unusual, for a number of ancestors are said to have become taniwhas.

THE NARRATORS

Both versions of the story were written down by Maori elders who were well-known authorities on their tribal traditions. In summary, their stories appear to be closely similar; but they are told from different viewpoints and in widely differing styles.

Haamiora Pio was the more learned of the two men, and the more traditionally orientated. Born in 1823,⁽⁷⁾ he was the leading tohunga of Ngaati Awa and lived at Te Teko, inland from the coast. When the ethnologist Elsdon Best went to live in the Ureweras in 1895, Haamiora Pio became one of his two main informants on traditional matters.

E. W. G. Craig states that Haamiora Pio had already written some manuscripts, and had supplied John White with information which had

been published in his seven-volume work, *The Ancient History of the Maori* (1887–91). When Best met him:

With his flowing white beard, Pio had the appearance of a patriarch . . . After being baptised by the missionaries, he had abandoned the Christian religion for the beliefs of his ancestors. Now a very old man, he welcomed the Pakeha [=European] with all the dignity of a tohunga of the classical school . . . Pio filled many notebooks for the collector, and was rewarded with fifty-pound bags of flour which Best paid for out of his earnings.⁽⁸⁾

Best kept Haamiora supplied with new notebooks, and on at least some occasions sent lists of questions to which Haamiora wrote his answers. In later years, when he was writing his many books and articles on the Maori, Best drew extensively on Haamiora's writings but published comparatively little of the original text.

Haamiora's version of the story of Te Tahī o te Rangi is in the fifth of the 12 notebooks which he filled during the period from 1885 to 1901, the year of his death.⁽⁹⁾ Following the story there are two shorter accounts of ancestors who were men, yet also taniwhas ("he tangata tonu teenei, erangi he taniwha").

Haamiora's story is told briefly and concisely, with few explanations, a sparing use of dialogue, and no unnecessary or merely ornamental details. When an incident is included in an apparently arbitrary fashion, without any obvious relevance to the other events described, one can assume that it did, in fact, have a meaning that has not been explained. Thus the incident where Te Tahī carries his cloaks in a bundle is not the naturalistic touch that it might appear, but is apparently included because it explains the meaning of the name of the place where this incident occurred.

The other narrator, Tiimi Waata Rimini, wrote his story either in 1899 or soon afterwards. His age at this time is not known; he must have been at least middle-aged to have been the organiser of the meeting held in this year, but almost certainly he was younger than Haamiora Pio. He was not nearly as learned, and was not a tohunga. Whereas Haamiora was deeply concerned with the things of the past, Tiimi Waata was a man of his own times—as witness the role he played at this church meeting.

He was, however, an authority on his people's traditions, and wrote at least four other narratives which have been published.⁽¹⁰⁾ Some, at any rate, of these were given by him to George H. Davies, a European who collected a number of Maori manuscripts concerned with traditional matters which are now in the Alexander Turnbull Library. The manuscript with the story of Te Tahī o te Rangi may also have been given first to Davies, then by him to Elsdon Best.

4. See, for instance, Grace 1901. In an account recorded by Skinner (1897), the offerings made to a taniwha include not only fish but also the first-fruits of all crops, the first bird caught at the start of the bird-snaring season, and so on.

5. See, for instance, Gudgeon 1906:41. The account given in Gudgeon's article of the intricate relationship existing between the members of the Waitaha tribe and their taniwhas is probably the fullest description of its kind to have been published.

6. One such supposed incident is well described in Massy c.1910:46–8.

8. Craig 1964:59.

9. Best says in an article (1904:218) that Haamiora died in 1902. But at the end of the last of Haamiora's 12 notebooks, a note in Best's handwriting tells us that he died in October 1901.

10. Rimini 1892, 1893, 1901a, 1901b. The latter item is re-edited and retranslated in Orbell 1968a.

Tiimi Waata's narrative is on a single large sheet of paper. His presentation of the story is unusual in two ways. First, he has illustrated it with a lively, careful drawing which extends across the full width of the page. On the left-hand side there are Whakaari and the neighbouring island of Paepae Aotea. In the centre, a formidable-looking Te Tahī o te Rangi stands on the back of a spouting whale named Tuutara-kauika, with two other spouting whales bringing up the rear, and in front of him three canoes of Ngaati Awa, each full of men and with two triangular sails. On the right-hand side of the page there is the coastline, with Koohi headland (now called Whakatane Heads). The text of the story is written below the drawing, and thus serves to explain it.

This drawing was not unique, for in the meeting house named Wairaka which stands at Whakatane there used to be a similar painting.⁽¹¹⁾ As this house was opened in 1894, its painting may have served him as a model.

Tiimi Waata's version of the story is also unusual in that it provides an excellent example of the way in which the telling of a traditional narrative might, at this time, be made to serve a more or less untraditional purpose. In his first two paragraphs, Tiimi Waata explains the circumstances in which he had recently told the story at a church meeting and gives a version of the introductory speech which he had made on this occasion.

An account of the events leading up to this meeting is provided by J. H. Mitchell:

... About the year 1894, a move to strengthen their Church was made by leading Church of England Maoris throughout the North Island. Inspirational rallies were held in many centres, and many churches and meeting houses were erected as the result of this movement.

To create enthusiasm among the people, each tribe divided themselves into groups. Each group chose its strongest ancestor or ancestress to be its *mana*, and designed and made a flag with the name of the ancestor or ancestress worked upon it. At the commencement of meetings each group marched into the *marae* or courtyard, led by the standard-bearer carrying the flag.

At gatherings such as this the Maori people love to discuss their tribal beginnings and the outstanding details of their history. Nor are any apologies made as the weaknesses and failures of other tribes are brought to light. The remarks are challenging in the extreme, and are accompanied by wit, physical and facial gestures, and every other artifice of the orator. Feelings are not spared as each tribe endeavours to assert its superiority over the others.⁽¹²⁾

So while there was nothing new about orators' boasting about their ancestors, the Church was encouraging them to do so in a somewhat different context. Tiimi Waata adapted his story to this setting by including an introductory discussion in which he ingeniously equated Te Tahī o te Rangi's actions with those of Moses, Jonah, and Christ, when He

walked on the water, treating these biblical episodes as precedents that offered further proof of the greatness of his ancestor.

Tiimi Waata's version of the story differs from that of Haamiora Pio in a number of ways. The most immediately obvious difference is that it is more realistic, in that the events are described in much more detail and there is a greater use of dialogue. Incidental actions and remarks, and also objects, are treated as being of interest in their own right, and there is a new interest in psychological processes. For example, where Haamiora simply gives us the reason why Ngaati Awa acted as they did in taking Te Tahī to Whakaari, Tiimi Waata has them first discuss the matter and then make a decision. Again, Tiimi Waata tells us that Te Tahī weeps when he discovers that he has been abandoned. When Ngaati Awa find that Te Tahī has returned to the mainland, in Haamiora's version it is left for the reader—or listener—to understand that they feel shamed and helpless; but in Tiimi Waata's version this is explicitly stated.

This realism is to be attributed in part to the interest that Tiimi Waata shows in the customs and beliefs of former times. Thus, he carefully explains about shark-fishing and the use of raupo sails, customs which must have fallen into disuse in the district more than 50 or 60 years previously. His interest in religious practices and beliefs is reflected in the incident in which Te Tahī encounters a bad omen, in the description of the means by which Te Tahī summons the taniwha, and in the incident in which Te Tahī performs the ceremony to remove his tapu. The latter episode, in particular, would presumably have been taken for granted by Haamiora, and would not therefore have been regarded as in any way significant. From Tiimi Waata's point of view, however, incidents of this kind were becoming rare enough to be of interest from an antiquarian point of view.

When Te Tahī jumps on to the rock at Koohi headland, and when the taniwhas come for Te Tahī after his death, Tiimi Waata describes the landmarks associated with these incidents, partly no doubt because of his antiquarian interest in such things, and also, perhaps, because they could be regarded as offering proof of the truth of his story. Haamiora, on the other hand, almost certainly knew of the landmarks, but does not on this occasion mention them; it seems that since his mind was full of such tales, and the landscape had so many associations of a similar kind for him, he did not feel the need to display his knowledge fully by spelling out on every occasion everything that was relevant to his narrative. Since he could take for granted the truth of the story, he did not need to refer to the landmarks as a proof of it.

Tiimi Waata's version also differs markedly from that of Haamiora in the structure of the narrative. Especially in the first part of the story, he has made use of his additional material to create a new element of suspense and heightened expectation, and skilfully builds up to a dramatic climax at the point where Te Tahī discovers he has been abandoned and summons the taniwha. There is dramatic irony in the incident in which Te Tahī is anxious not to be left behind when the men sail for Whakaari: the listeners know that he is to be abandoned there, but he does not. After

11. Cowan 1930:90-1.

12. Mitchell 1944:89-90. Mitchell also states (1944:80) that the last of the meeting houses to be built as a consequence of this movement was opened in 1902. Thus the meeting house built in 1894 falls well within the period of the movement.

Te Tahī has gone to fetch the water, the climax of the action is postponed, and the suspense therefore heightened, by the leisurely account of the canoes' setting sail and by the digression concerning Whakaari's smoke. The suspense is heightened further when Te Tahī encounters an omen, and knows that something bad is going to happen. Then Te Tahī's discovery of his plight, and his summoning of the taniwha, receive a detailed and dramatic treatment.

Lastly, there is the matter of humour. With stories which have been written down, it is often difficult to decide how much humour is involved in the narration, for this depends so much on the manner adopted by the story-teller. In telling his story to a listening audience, Haamiora may well have shown a certain grim humour when he came to the part where Ngaati Awa find that Te Tahī has returned to the mainland; but if any such humour existed in his narration, it is—like the psychological reactions of the characters—only implicit in the action, and not directly conveyed in the words of the story. In Tiimi Waata's version, however, there is humour of a different kind, as may be seen in his use of the words *autaka* and *Kaatuarehe* in speaking of Te Tahī. Although these words are translated respectively as "rascal" and "our hero", they both convey an admiring respect for the dangerous talents of one who is of more than normal capacities. In the context, they also imply a certain humour, an ambiguity, and therefore a degree of uncertainty, in Tiimi Waata's attitude to Te Tahī; one cannot imagine Haamiora speaking of him in this way. Again, there is the dramatic irony of the incident in which Te Tahī is anxious to be taken to Whakaari. In the process of knowing better than Te Tahī (for they are aware of Ngaati Awa's plans), the narrator and his audience are making mild fun of the central character in their story, and are therefore not at this point as closely identifying themselves with his fortunes as is normal in Maori narratives. For this reason, one feels that Haamiora would never have included such an episode.

Thus Tiimi Waata's version of the story of Te Tahī shows the influence of his circumstances and attitudes in its content, style, and structure. Almost certainly he believed the story implicitly, and undoubtedly he was very proud of his ancestor's actions. Yet the world to which the story had originally belonged was receding. Where Haamiora could still take the significance of the story for granted, Tiimi Waata had to more consciously consider its meaning, and do more explaining. To him, the story was of importance mainly because it increased the mana of his tribe, which claimed descent from this man of supernatural powers. Also, it was associated with the pre-European past, that era—now becoming remote, glamorous and of historical interest—when life was different, and men could do wonderful things. Lastly, to a greater extent than Haamiora he was interested in the story as an end in itself—as being, simply, a good story, to be presented as dramatically as possible. Since his audience must have been comparatively ignorant of traditional matters, a dramatic presentation and conscious narrative art were, in fact, necessary if he were to communicate to them his knowledge of the events concerned, and his vision of the past. He has enlarged and reshaped his narrative accordingly.

Although both versions of the story were written down, not told to a listening audience, the circumstances of narration were not identical, for Tiimi Waata claimed to be telling his story in the same way that he had told it in a speech made at an important tribal meeting. On that occasion he must have been influenced to some extent by the invigorating presence of such an audience, and no doubt his version of the story was more spirited as a consequence. Also, his introductory remarks were occasioned by the nature of the meeting. However, it seems that, apart from this, the two men were not greatly influenced in their narrative styles by the circumstances of narration. Certainly their stories owe their general character not to the immediate presence or absence of an audience, but to the beliefs, attitudes and personalities of the story-tellers.

The great number of stories recorded by Maoris during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century would provide abundant materials for the study of differing narrative styles and approaches to their material among men of different backgrounds and personalities. There is reason to believe that the distinction noted in this paper is a general one, in that the stories of the most learned and most traditionally orientated men would be found to have more in common with the story told by Haamiora Pio than with that told by Tiimi Waata Rimini.⁽¹³⁾

THE TEXTS

The story of Te Tahī o te Rangi by Haamiora Pio

Ka tiimata anoo he koorero anoo. Teetehi tupuna o te Maaori, oo maataupuna tonu nei, te ingoa o taua tupuna ko Te Tahī o te Rangi. Te iwi naana i kawea ki Whakaari, ko Ngaati Awa. Te puutake, te mahi a taua kaumaatua he whakauaua i te ua o te rangi, e [ngaro] atu ngaa kai a Ngaati Awa. Riro atu i te waipuke, e kiia ana kai a Te Tahī.

Kawea ana e Ngaati Awa ki Whakaari, whakatinatia ana ki te wai. Haere ana a Te Tahī ki te wai, i muri ka rere mai ngaa waka, ka mahue atu a Te Tahī i Whakaari. Titiro rawa mai, kua ngaro ngaa raa o ngaa waka.

Ka eke a Te Tahī ki runga i te koohatu, ka karanga ki te kaahui moana, ka eke mai ki runga i te taniwha. Ka tata ki ngaa waka o Ngaati Awa, ka me[a] te taniwha kia hurihia a Ngaati Awa ki te moana. Ka mea a Te Tahī, "Waiho hai koorero i a taatau kia atawhai ki te iwi."⁽¹⁴⁾

Kua tae a Te Tahī ki uta, kua whiua atu e te taniwha ki uta ki te maataarae o Koohi i Whakataane.⁽¹⁵⁾ Ka tata atu ngaa waka, ka haere a Te Tahī i te akau roa o te tuuwhenua. Pootaea iho oona kaakahu, ko te papapaoa ki roto, ko te tooi ki waho,⁽¹⁶⁾ ko te paraaoa ki te ringa haere ai.

Ka titiro mai a Ngaati Awa: ko Te Tahī raanei teerau e haere raa? Ka mea tee[tehi], "Kua mahue atu raa hoki a Te Tahī i Whakaari. Ma hea ia haere mai ai?"

13. As a single example, one may point to the concise and somewhat cryptic narrative style of Mohi Ruatapu, who in the 1870s was an old and very famous tohunga. See Orbell 1968b.

Kite rawa ake, ko Te Tahī anoo teenei.

Noho rawa atu a Te Tahī i Te Tapatahi; toona matenga i mate ki Oopuru. Taapuketia iho ki reira, a, na te taniwha i tiki mai. Ka riro ki te moana, koia e haere naa i te moana.

He tupuna teenei tangata, a Te Tahī. Ka rima whakapaparanga o taua tupuna. Ka mutu teenei koorero.

Now I will begin another story. There is an ancestor of the Maori, an ancestor belonging to us here in this district, whose name is Te Tahī o te Rangi. The tribe who took Te Tahī to Whakaari were Ngaati Awa. The reason was that this old man used to make the rain come down heavily, and Ngaati Awa's crops were destroyed. They were swept away by a flood and it was said that this was Te Tahī's doing.

Ngaati Awa took him to Whakaari and kept him short of water. When Te Tahī went to get some water, the canoes set sail behind him and he was abandoned on Whakaari. He gazed around, and saw that the sails of the canoes had disappeared.

Then Te Tahī climbed to the top of a rock, called to the company of the ocean, and mounted a taniwha. As they approached the canoes of Ngaati Awa, the taniwha said that Ngaati Awa should be thrown into the sea. Te Tahī said, "Leave them, that it may be said that we showed generosity towards the people."¹⁴

Te Tahī reached the shore and was cast up by the taniwha at the Koohi headland at Whakatane.¹⁵ As the canoes approached him, Te Tahī made his way along the long shore of the mainland. He carried his clothes on his head; his bordered cloak was inside, and his cloak of cabbage-tree leaves on the outside.¹⁶ In his hand he held his whalebone club, brandishing it as he went along.

Ngaati Awa looked towards him: was that Te Tahī making his way along there? One of them said, "But we left Te Tahī at Whakaari! How could he get here?"

Then as they gazed, they saw that it was indeed Te Tahī.

After this, Te Tahī lived at Te Tapatahi. When he died, it was at Oopuru. He was buried there, and then the taniwhas came to fetch him. He was carried off to the ocean, and now goes about in the ocean.

This man Te Tahī is an ancestor. He lived five generations ago. That is the end of the story.

14. So that he and the taniwhas would become famous for their generosity. The pronoun *taatau* shows that there were at least two taniwhas with him.

15. Now known as the Whakatane Heads.

16. To keep them dry and clean he carried his cloaks in a bundle, with the fine, bordered cloak (*paepaeroa*) in the centre and the coarse rain-cloak of cabbage-tree leaves protecting it on the outside. One would not normally expect a person to take a bordered cloak on such an expedition, and there is nothing in Haamiara Pio's version which explains why this incident is included in the story. In Tiimi Waata Rimini's version, however, Te Tahī at this point reaches a place called Oopaeroa. Perhaps this place-name was regarded as being a short form of Oopaepaeroa, "the place of the bordered cloak", and as referring to this incident with the cloaks. If so the incident must have been invented in order to explain the meaning of

The Story of Te Tahī o te Rangi

Te Tiimi Waata Rimini

I mahia teenei aahua me eenei koorero i runga i ngaa mahi whaka-
rauputa ki ngaa mana o Ngaati Porou⁽¹⁷⁾ i te hui haahi ki Whakataane,
1899. Hinga katoa aua mana.

I a au⁽¹⁸⁾ e tuu nei⁽¹⁹⁾ i Whakaari, ka whakatakototia atu e ahau taku
hauri⁽²⁰⁾ ki te wai, a, tuhera ana mai he ara mooku i runga i te wai; a,
heere atu ana ahau i runga i te kare o ngaa wai, a, tae atu ana ki Whaka-
tane. I peeraa hoki me Mohi, i a ia i whakatakoto atu raa i tana tokotoko
ki te Moana Whero, a, tuhera ana mai he ara moona i te wai, a, whiti
ana ia ki teeraa taha o te Moana Whero. Na, ko tooku kaamera⁽²¹⁾
e tuu nei ahau i runga, ko Tuutara-kauika,⁽²²⁾ ko te kaamera anoo
teenei i haria atu ai a Hona te aapoto⁽²³⁾ ki te kauwhau i Ninewa. Na,
ko wai o koutou, e hika taurewa maa, i rite te nui o te mana ki tooku
mana? Ki te aru mai hoki koutou katoa i muri i a au, ka peeraa anoo
koutou katoa me Haimona Pita i totohu raa ki te rire o te moana, i a
Te Karaiti i kii atu raa, "He aha taau, e te hunga whakapono iti, ngaakau
ma?"

Tiimi Waata, Kaiwhakahaere.

Nga koorero tuatahi o Te Tahī, i kawea ai ki Whakaari whakareera
atu ai.

Ko teenei tangata, ko Te Tahī, no Ngaati Awa e noho ana ki Whaka-
tane. Ko te mahi a teenei tangata he tuku rangi, araa he karanga i te
ma, i te whatitiri, i te kanapu; he mate tonu ngaa kai o Whakataane i te
waipuke.

Ka whakaaro a Ngaati Awa me pehea raa e mate ai te tangata nei, ka
kii eetehi moohiotanga, me rere ki Whakaari ki te hii mangootara, ka
whakarere atu ai kia mate atu ki reira. Kai te noho hee a Kaatuarehe.⁽²⁴⁾
Kaatahi ka aukahatia ngaa waka; ka marino, ka rewa.

Ka ui atu a Te Tahī ki eetehi taangata, "Ko hea a Ngaati Awa?"

Ka utua mai, "Ko koe anake e noho;⁽²⁵⁾ e haere ana a Ngaati Awa ki
Whakaari ki te hii mangootara."

He mea nui hoki te mangootara ki mua, hai hinu kookoo[w]ai.

Ka tuu poorangi te autai nei, ka mea atu, "Taihoa, e hoe ki a au!"—
me te karanga mai ngaa taangata kia tere mai.

Ka eke a Te Tahī, ka rewa; ka hoe, ka uu ki Whakaari, ka kai i te
ika. Ka mate te iwi nei i te hiainu wai, ka mea mai a Te Tahī, "Hoomai he
wai mooku."

Ka whakahoki atu, "Kua pau ngaa wai. Engari raa koe, he moohio ki
te wai o konei; maaup pea e tiki he wai mo taatau?"

Anoo raa hoki ko Te Tahī: "Aae, maaku e tiki he wai."

Ka mau a Te Tahī ki te tahaa, ka haere. Ka whakatata mai ngaa waka
ki uta; huri kau atu i tua o te maataarae, ka uta te iwi nei ki runga i
ana waka. He rite te wherahanga o te whaa raupoo—araa o ngaa heera,
he raupoo, he mea whatu—ka paa hoki te muri hau raro. Ma koutou e
titiro ki te puia o Whakaari e hinga ana ki uta, ka tika te hau,⁽²⁶⁾ te rere a
ngaa waka. Koinei te kaapehu⁽²⁷⁾ nui o te Pei o Pureti mo te hau.

Na, e utu ana te tangata raa i ana tahaa, ka paa te tahaa. Moohio tonu ia he aituaa; ka hoki mai, ka eke ake ki te taumata, ka whai iho te kanohi ki raro. Titiro rawa iho, kua ngaro ngaa waka me ngaa taangata. Ka tiimata te whaakanakana o ngaa kanohi; titiro rawa atu ki te moana, e whakangaro atu ana ngaa waka, ko te kapu kau o ngaa heera e kitea atu ana.

Heoi anoo, ka tangi te autai nei. Mutu marire te tangi, ka hutia mai te harakeke, ka whiitikitia ki te hope. Ko te mauri ki te ringa, ka maka ki te wai. Kaatahi ka kaarangaranga ki ngaa taniwha.

Kaaore i roa, maanu ana ngaa taniwha. Ka eke atu a Te Tahī ki runga i a Tuutara-kauika, kaatahi ka whaia mai a Ngaati Awa. Kaaore i roa, ka mau. Ka paatai ngaa taniwha ki a Te Tahī, "Me peehea a Ngaati Awa?"

Ka whakahokia iho e Te Tahī, "Waiho a Ngaati Awa hai maatakitaki i a taaua. Waiho ma te whakamaa e patu!"

Na, haere atu ana a Te Tahī i runga i a Tuutara-kauika; koia kua tae wawe ki Whakataane. Ka peke atu ia ki runga i teetehi toka, ko Rukupo te ingoa, i te more o Koohi, i maakatia⁽²⁰⁾ ki te mea whereo. Ka haere, ka tae ki Oopaeroa, ka noho i runga i teetehi koohatu, ka tatari mai ki a Ngaati Awa.

E whakauru atu ana ngaa waka o Ngaati Awa, ka peke iho a Kaatuarehe i runga i te toka, ka haere ki te paa. Ka titiro atu a Ngaati Awa, e hoe ana i waho; tata atu i a ia, ka mea eetehi, "E taa maa, ko Te Tahī!"

Ka mea anoo eetehi, "Ko koe anake, ma hea mai hoki ia?"—me te whakarongo haere te autai nei.

Ka paatai atu teetehi, "Ko koe teeraa, e Tahī?"

Ka tuu mai, te patu i te ringa; tukua ake ki a Ngaati Awa, kaaore he iwi.⁽²¹⁾

Ka haere, ka tae ki te poohatu o Houmea,⁽²⁰⁾ he koohatu, ka noho i reira. Ka karanga ake ki ngaa taangata o te paa i Ootamarae, "Haria iho he riwai maoa hai ruahinetanga mooku."⁽²¹⁾

Whakahorohorō ana i a ia, ka noa. Ka whakatupuria tana harakeke mai o Whakaari ki runga i taua koohatu, hai maatakitaki ma eenei whakatupuranga.

Haere atu ana ia ki Rangitaiaki, i mate ki reira, e 5 pea tiini te matara-tanga atu i te awa o Rangitaiaki. E 3 ngaa raa, ka tiikina atu e oona hoa taniwha, haria atu ana ki Whakaari;⁽²²⁾ e puare mai nei te waahanga.⁽²³⁾

Ka 7 ngaa whakatupuranga o Te Tahī, tae mai ki teenei whakatupuranga. Ka mutu i konei ngaa koorero o Te Tahī.

This drawing was done, and this story written, because of the boasts that were made about the manas of Ngaati Porou at the church meeting at Whakatane in 1899.⁽¹⁷⁾ Their manas were completely overthrown.

17. The neighbouring tribe of Ngaati Porou belong to the East Coast. The events leading up to this church meeting are discussed in the introduction. Since each group, or sub-tribe, within each tribe had chosen its most famous ancestor or ancestress as its *mana*, Ngaati Porou were claiming prestige on behalf of a number of distinguished

While I⁽¹⁸⁾ was standing here⁽¹⁹⁾ at Whakaari I laid down my *mauri*⁽²⁰⁾ in the water, and a path opened up for me over the water; I went out over the surface of the water, and so reached Whakatane. It was just like Moses, when he laid down his rod in the Red Sea and a path opened up for him through the water, and he crossed to the other side of the Red Sea. Now the camel⁽²¹⁾ on which I stood was Tuutara-kauika⁽²²⁾—this was the same camel that carried the apostle⁽²³⁾ Jonah to preach at Nineveh. Now which of you, you laggards, has mana so great as mine? For if you should follow after me, you would all be like Simon Peter, who sank into the depths of the sea, when Christ said, "Why are you thus, O you of little faith and uncertain hearts?"

Tiimi Waata, Organiser

The beginning of the story of Te Tahī, who was taken to Whakaari to be abandoned there.

This man Te Tahī belonged to those of Ngaati Awa who were living at Whakatane. He used to occupy himself in letting down the heavens—that's to say, in calling up the rain and thunder and lightning—and the crops at Whakatane were always being destroyed by floods.

Ngaati Awa considered among themselves how he could be killed, and some knowing persons suggested that they sail to Whakaari to fish for ramble sharks and leave him there to die. Our hero⁽²⁴⁾ remained in ignorance of this. They lashed the canoes, and when the sea was calm they set off.

Since Te Tahī is an ancestor of Tiimi Waata's tribe, who are claiming prestige because of his actions, Tiimi Waata here identifies himself with Te Tahī. He is, of course, speaking on behalf of his tribe.

On the manuscript these words are just below the part of the drawing which depicts Whakaari.

A *mauri* was "a material symbol of the hidden principle protecting vitality, *mana*, fruitfulness, etc., of people, lands, forests, etc." (Williams 1971:197). Here it is some object that has power over the taniwhas, and summons them.

The word *kaamera*, "camel", is introduced here because of its biblical associations. On the manuscript it has been crossed out in both places and *waka*, "vehicle", has been written above in a different hand.

Tuutara-kauika is the name of a famous taniwha in the Bay of Plenty.

Taniwhas living in the sea were believed often to take the form of whales. In Tiimi Waata's drawing there are four taniwhas, in the form of whales. One of them is in the water near Whakaari. The others are swimming together, one behind the other; Te Tahī is standing on the back of the largest whale, and is being escorted by the two that follow. Te Tahī's whale is labelled as being Tuutara-kauika, and the one immediately behind him as being Te Wehenga-kauika—another famous name among taniwhas.

In the drawing, Tuutara-kauika has a band of some kind encircling his body. Although I know of no published remarks on this subject, in 1960 I was told by Miss Moyra Johnston, of Auckland, that her ancestors on the Coromandel Peninsula used sometimes to see, when they were out fishing, the taniwha that protected their family. This taniwha took the form of a white whale, and had a band of taaniko weaving encircling its body. So it may be taaniko that Tuutara-kauika is wearing.

Tiimi Waata's *aapotoro*, "apostle", has been altered by another writer to *poropiti*, "prophet".

Kaatuarehe, translated as "our hero", is said by Williams (1971:104) to mean "cunning rascal". Both the context in which the word is used and other meanings of *kaatua* ("full-grown, of animals"; "main portion of anything") and *rehe* ("expert, deft person") show that sometimes, at least, the word can be used of a person whose cunning and skill are admired by the speaker. In this passage the word is a personification: "Cunning Rascal".

Te Tahī asked some men, "Where are Ngaati Awa going?"

They told him, "You'll be the only one staying here."²⁵ Ngaati Awa are going to Whakaari to fish for bramble sharks."

In former times bramble sharks were of great importance as a source of oil for use with red ochre.

The rascal leapt up in great haste, saying, "Wait, bring the canoe over here!"—while the men called to him to hurry.

When Te Tahī was on board they set off. They paddled out to sea, then landed at Whakaari and ate some fish. They became thirsty, and Te Tahī said to them, "Give me some water."

They told him, "The water's all gone. But you know where it is here—won't you fetch some for us?"

So Te Tahī said, "Very well, I'll fetch some water."

He took up his calabash and started off. The canoes moved towards the shore, and as soon as he had passed behind a headland everyone got into them. The raupo leaves—that's to say the sails, which were of plaited raupo—were spread out, all together, and the north wind blew. When you see the volcanic smoke at Whakaari pointing towards the land, the wind is in the right direction²⁶ and it's the proper time for canoes to sail. In the Bay of Plenty this is the main compass²⁷ showing how the wind is blowing.

Now while Te Tahī was dipping in his calabashes, one of them struck the bottom. He knew very well that this was a bad omen, and he went back and climbed to the top of the hill. He looked down below, and he saw that the canoes and men were gone. He gazed about in all directions; and far out on the ocean he saw the canoes just disappearing from sight; only the curve of the sails was to be seen.

Well then, the rascal wept. Then after he had finished weeping, he plucked some blades of flax and bound them around his loins. He threw into the water the *mauri* which he had been holding in his hand, then he called to the taniwhas.

Before long they floated up. Te Tahī mounted Tuutara-kauika, and they followed after Ngaati Awa. Before long they caught up with them. The taniwha asked Te Tahī, "What is to be done with Ngaati Awa?"

Te Tahī replied, "Leave Ngaati Awa for us to gaze upon. Leave them to be smitten with shame!"

Now Te Tahī went across on Tuutara-kauika, and in this way quickly reached Whakatane. He leapt on to a rock called Rukupo which is at the Koohi headland and is marked with red.²⁸ Then he went on to

Opaparoa and sat there on a rock, waiting for Ngaati Awa.

As Ngaati Awa's canoes were coming in, our hero jumped down from the rock and went on into the village. Ngaati Awa looked in his direction while they were still out at sea, and as they came closer some of them said, "Friends, it's Te Tahī!"

But others said, "No, you're mistaken. How could he get back?"

And all the while the rascal was listening to them as he went along.

One of them asked, "Is that you, Tahī?"

He stood with his weapon in his hand and brandished it at Ngaati Awa, while they just sat there feebly.²⁹ Then he went on his way.

When he reached Houmea's stone³⁰—this is a rock—he remained there. He called up to the people in the village at Ootamarā, "Bring down a cooked potato to take away my tapu."³¹

He performed the ceremony to remove his tapu, and became free of it. The flax which he had brought from Whakaari was planted on the rock as a thing to be gazed upon by later generations.

He continued on to the Rangitaiki river, and died there at a place some five chains from the river. Three days later his taniwha companions came to fetch him, and bore him off to Whakaari.³² The gaping hole is still to be seen there.³³

It is seven generations from Te Tahī to the present generation.

That is the end of the story of Te Tahī.

29. Compare the related expression *iwikore*.

30. A peculiarly shaped rock a short distance inland from Whakatane. According to Cowan's version of the story (1930:92), this rock had always been Te Tahī's *tuuahu*, or sacred place for the performance of religious ritual, and he had lived in a house near by.

31. He was in a tapu state—that is, under religious restriction—because of his contact with the taniwhas. The ceremony of removing tapu used frequently to be performed with a cooked kumara, or sweet potato. The European potato is here used instead.

32. This island must have been the taniwhas' home; in Tiimi Waata's drawing there is a taniwha beside it. No doubt its volcanic activity made it seem a suitable home for supernatural creatures. Its association with the supernatural must also have made it seem to Ngaati Awa to be a suitable place upon which to abandon Te Tahī.

Although Whakaari itself was apparently not tapu (certainly the men were able to land on it), the small rocky island of Paepae Aotea which is close to Whakaari—and is shown in Tiimi Waata's drawing—was tapu. See, for instance, Ngata and Te Hurinui 1961:110-1.

33. The hole made by the taniwhas in taking him away after his burial. Thus the incident explains the significance of a natural feature in the landscape.

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25. After *noho* there is a word, or words, which are difficult to read and look rather like *heui*. In his transcription of the story Elsdon Best was clearly puzzled at this point, and pencilled in *e ia*. This is a term of address, and would make good sense. Another possibility is *heoi*, indicating a causal relationship between the preceding statement and the one that follows.
26. The words *tika te hau* have been added by a different writer. They replace a couple of words written by Tiimi Waata which have been crossed out and cannot now be read.
27. *Kaapehu*, "compass", has also been crossed out by this later writer and replaced by *tohu*, "sign".
28. *Maaka* is the transliteration of "mark". Rocks with conspicuous red marks on them were frequently felt to be of special significance by the Maori, and were therefore

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**Appendix 2. Land Court minutes relating to Whakaari and to
Motuhora: (1867) 1 Maketu MB.**

Whakapuhi B. 1.

At a Sitting of the Native Land Court
held at the Resident Magistrates
Court House Maston, Tuesday,
October, 15th 1867.

Present J. D. Sutton Esquire Chief Judge
H. A. St. Johns " Judge

Whakariwhi } Assessors
Te Raihi }

Pukemairi

Petua Pukemairi affirmed, My land is at the issue
my claim is disputed.

Adjourned

Whakari

Petua Pukemairi, stated, sworn! Whakari is? belong to me
and my sister. My sister's name is Hara
Simpkins she is married. She resides at
Whakari. Is? she is a half Cast. her husband's
name is Geo. Simpkins. That is?
formerly belonged to Apanui, Te Kapa
Toihau, That is? was given to her mother
formerly and now it belong to us. In my
opinion there is no opposition to my claim.
If the Crown Grant is issued my
my sister's name only should appear.
My mother is dead, I have two
brothers and one sister. The claim

one shut out is because of Marie Cut-
 the closer only receiving the land. The reason
 I let in my sisters¹⁰ because they are all
 agreeable that it should be so. I am
 agreeable that all should appear in it.
 My elder sister is aware of this Court
 sitting. The youngest does not know any
 thing at all about it. If Katharine
 had been here she would have spoken
 but as she never has presented her coming
 I have spoken.

Puripi Tapsell I have heard my brother's evidence
 and am willing that.

Hans Tapsell I agree

Plan produced in Court

Theophilus Henkle I have seen the plans it has been
 passed through the office. I am per-
 fectly satisfied with it. It being an
 L^d. The absence of the Surveyor is of
 no consequence.

Rata Potiha affirmed. I am speaking about my
 ancestors through whom I claim the land.
 Ngatoroirangi is the name of my
 ancestor, a man, he lit the fire the
 I believe that he did. He Maatohia
 speak concerning my claim. He is,
 the father.

I claim this Island. Whaketa to § 1/3

Retireti

~~Ngatara~~ ^{Ngatara}, My tribe is the Ngatara. I claim this Is^d

Tapell (recalled) Apanui and Te Kapa Parham gave this Is^d to my mother my father in consequence gave them a quantity of goods. I have had possession of it for 26 or 28 years. There is very little green

in the Is^d, I belong to the Ngatara tribe, the Is^d belongs to Retireti, Apanui and Parham obtained the Is^d from their ancestors. It was given in payment for murdering a man whose name was Whakapakeia. The reason we consider the Is^d valuable is because there are ~~are~~ birds on it.

Te Whetuki (said) I am of the Patuwa tribe, I have no claim to this Is^d. Through my ancestors, the name of my ancestor was Ngatara. The principal reason of the natives going there was to get birds. The Is^d was sold to Retireti and sold by the parties who had a right to sell.

Itana

Canihua, I belong to the Ngatara tribe, I live at Okatai.

Fees charges.

Investigation L. 1. 0. 0

Ex of Plan 3 0 0

Certificate 1. 0. 0

\$ 3. 0. 0

Owed that a Certificate of Title be
issued in favor of Retireti Tapingana
and Katherine Simpkins

Moulshora

Before the same
at this same place & time

Retireti Tapingana, sworn, My claim to this Island
is similar to my claim to the last.
Which my name and Katherine's to
appear in the grant.

Matahikira

^{sworn} I live at Whakatane
I partially agree to the claims of Tapsell.
The reason I object is because my
father was not present when this Isd.
was handed over to Tapsell. The
Isd. was bought by Tapsell unknown
to some of the Claimants

My father received no portion of the
payments. My father pointed out to
Tapsell that several persons he named
had no claims, but that he claimed a
part. he told Tapsell that he could
have a part, and that he would have
part himself. He made a boundary
line across the Isd. for the purpose of
so dividing it. My father told Tapsell
that if he gave a gun of guns he should
have the whole Isd. Tapsell consented

Expt 1
12/1/22

of Plan
Lipiente

3 0 0
1. 0. 0
3. 0. 0

March 12 1/4-6

Mouloua

Before the same
at the same place & time

teti Japuhana, sworn, My claim to this Island
is similar to my claim to the lark.
I wish my name and Kothakini's to
appear in the grant.

atahikina

^{sworn} I live at Whakatane

I partially agree to the claims of Tapsell.
The reason I object is because my
father was not present when this Isd.
was handed over to Tapsell. The
Isd. was bought by Tapsell unknown
to some of the Claimants.

My father received no portion of the
payments, My father pointed out to
Tapsell that several persons he named
had no claims, but that he claimed a
part. he told Tapsell that he could
have a part, and that he would have
part himself. He made a boundary
line across the Isd. for the purpose of
so dividing it. My father told Tapsell
that if he gave a case of guns he should
have the whole Isd., Tapsell consented.

Lipiente
1/4/62

5
He has been waiting up to the present time
and never received them. My father myself
and children are the only parties opposed to
Dapsell. This is the only reason of my ob-
jection to Dapsell.

is Pierieri is my father he is still alive
My father has never denied his claim to
this land & given it up in anyway. The last
time I saw my father was yesterday I
came from Waiatane yesterday. My
father told me to come before the C. & and
speak about what he told me to
object to Retuet's claim. They were the last
words he said. I know how to write My
father does not. The reason my father
did not come is because he is an
old man. he was unable to come on
horseback. My father self have culti-
vated land in this Is. since Dapsell
came into possession. in two different
places. We planted potatoes and Komera.
We did not ask Dapsell's permission
I cultivated last year, I go there fishing
I had a house there, a boatwind.
We had a pole there. (The witness pointed
out the position on the plan) on land I
admit belongs to Dapsell. George Simp-
kins came to me and my father and
asked us to give him Moutohora. We
said when you pay for it you shall
have it. This was last year. I told him
if he gave me too he should have our
word hence agreed to it. 20

never attacked, It was built in the time
 of Iouga I know the Ponnawera. It is
 on the beach I do not know who built it
 it was not taken. I know Iamiatika pah
 It was built in my fathers time by the Ngai-
 terangi It was attacked and taken by
 the Patuani They were not helped, It was
 taken - Pahopiri was taken first and Iamiatika
 last. Who built Materehua pah? Two tribes
 were engaged, It was built in my fathers time
 It was taken twice
 I do not know how many people were
 killed, The Patuani and Ngaitike were
 engaged against Ngaiterangi
 The Rotoharataka pah was built against
 by the Ngaiterangi, against the Patuani
 It was never attacked,

X

The Court adjourned till tomorrow.

Saturday October. 19th 1867

Place The Same

Present. The Same

Moutohoua cont?

Karara Matatiki^{said} I agree to abandon my claim to this 1st 2nd

1/10
 4/10

for £50. I have received £20 on account and
with the remainder to be paid now

36

Retireti produced the money to pay the
balance of £140

aiā Matakilina having received the money said that
he abandoned all claim

Ordered that a Certificate of Title be
issued in favor of Retireti Tapingana
half Cast. and Katherine Simpkins
wife of George Simpkins of Moutohora.

George Simpkins (said) I have one child, and may have
others, I do not wish the land to be
tied up. Retireti has other land in
Maketu. My wife is recognized as one
of the tribe of Ngatiwhakawa. The tribe
have not sold any land to the Govern-
ment.

Ordered that no restrictions be imposed
on the Grant.

Charges.

Investigation	£1. 0. 0
Exp of Plan	1. 10. 0
Certificate	1. 0. 0

**Appendix 3. Application for rehearing relating to Whakaari,
1878 (MLC file Rotorua registry; closed file no. 889).**

82/582.

Whakaari

8000.

asking that
their application for survey on
be sent back to Te Kaha for con-
tion: information being supplied
having been submitted

Te Kaha S. O. O. O. 1882

Kia ekeene taua demaare
o de hote whakawhaka

maori e hoo tena he

E hoo te hoo tena he

Kia hoo te hoo tena he

maori e hoo tena he

Kia hoo te hoo tena he

maori e hoo tena he

Kia hoo te hoo tena he

maori e hoo tena he

Kia hoo te hoo tena he

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Kia hoo te hoo tena he

maori e hoo tena he

Kia hoo te hoo tena he

maori e hoo tena he

Kia ingoa o tei tei tei tei

80 te whanau ekei tei

Kia whanau ekei tei

80 te whanau ekei tei

Kia ingoa o tei tei tei

80 te whanau ekei tei

Kia whanau ekei tei

Kia ingoa o tei tei tei

80 te whanau ekei tei

Kia whanau ekei tei

Kia ingoa o tei tei tei

80 te whanau ekei tei

Kia whanau ekei tei

Kia ingoa o tei tei tei

80 te whanau ekei tei

Kia whanau ekei tei

Kia ingoa o tei tei tei

80 te whanau ekei tei

178
2121

Whakaari Island having
been sold clandestinely, applies
for a re-hearing.

Terimakasih

July 2nd, 1878 Bay of Plenty

L. H. Finkbeiner

[illegible]

you accede to this tone of our to you at the present time.
Reply as soon as you receive this letter that we may
know that you have received our letter. &c.

Mrs. M. P. M. M.

and others

Kia Tiperetana

Nov 78-2421

E kaa tena koe he tons tena
na matou kia koe moto matou
mote. Mo Whaari he paari mo
matou ta matou maki tena he
tanga i te tam i te tam kare
hoki matou i motu kite hokonga
ta hae tanga apamui i tana motu
otira o matou matua rongo rawa
ake matou kua riro i te pakohia ia
e Lapikana Kati konga tanga mo
Apamui koe te motu mo matou and
i tanga i te k. a. o matou matua
kia kapa tonu kito koutou motu
i paari nei koe. Whaka mananga
e matou tana k. a. o matou matua
heai whaka ake tonu matou ki rongo
i tana motu kite maki i nga rawa
o tana motu ia tam ia tam a tee
uoa mai ki tena wa i paari nei hoki
ka rongo ano kua hokoa tita kua tita
ano tana matou kia Le Werikana
ka tita kua and kōhōnga tahae tanga
o tana motu koe tahae tena kare
hoki i paari tita koe kōhōnga kia
rongo matou kati rongo rawa ake
hoki matou kua karama karatitia
tahae tita e Kētireti Lapikana
heai kati kō matou kare kōtanga
ka mamaru kapa rawa kō to
matou motu uaiamui

hia koe hia whakawo. hia tua ma
hia ano tama motu a whakaoi
hata hia tino mana amoi ia koe
ka matan tino hia koe i hawane

Hia ki te tae atu te ma hata hia
koe hia tere te whakia hoki ma
hia ma tou hia motu ai matan
ma tae atu te ma tou hata hia
ma

Hia ano hia ara koe
ma i te mana o te ta tau
ariki a Ihukara te o te
ta tau hui hoki

Hia ano

Huata Te rangi te amaro

Para i te tanga

Mihaka

Te Who hata

Wairua

Lea i te whi te ran

Aperahama Ruka

te we te me

Hia, te rangi

ma ro.

ma ro.

A te re o

Te Iri mana Hou tang

Hami ora

La ma hana

Herenia

Lamata Te oho oho

Wi yā tene
hikini teao pū rā rangi
hōhe pātara paina
renatā te ahu
kōwhiri

Wi Reira

maihī

Reihona

Kāki waru

Kāwha

tikutahi

paraire

Te me te mēha

Rauhi to te

Kāpiti Lōtini

Kāpiti Pōhara

Kōpiti Pōhara

Mitā te Tāwhiro

Papa te atira

Te tū te arākirangi

Mitā te whenua

Hea te uwi mui tonu

Le Kāhā mui atira

Appendix 4. Current certificates of title for White Island and Whale Island.

SEARCH

16 NOV 1993

COPY

(Land and Deeds—104)

NEW ZEALAND.

SOUTH
S

Land Transfer (Compulsory
Registration of Titles)
Act, 1981.

Deeds Index 16A. 1

Application No. 240206



Register-book,

Vol. 581, folio 20

**CERTIFICATE OF TITLE UNDER LAND TRANSFER ACT.
LIMITED AS TO AREAS AND TITLE.**

This Certificate, dated the first day of May, one thousand nine hundred and thirty five
under the hand and seal of the District Land Registrar of the Land Registration District of AUCKLAND Witnesseth that

WHITE ISLAND PRODUCTS LIMITED, a duly incorporated company having its registered
office at Auckland

is entitled to an estate in fee simple (subject to such reservations, restrictions, encumbrances, liens, and interests as are notified by memorial under written
or endorsed hereon, subject also to any existing right of the Crown to take and lay off roads under the provisions of any Act of the General Assembly
of New Zealand) in the land hereinafter described, as the same is delineated by the plan hereon bordered green, be the several admeasurements
little more or less, that is to say: All that parcel of land containing five hundred and eighty eight acres more or less situated
in the Bay of Plenty District and being called or known as Whakauri or White Island and numbered 404H.

METRIC AREA IS 3,27,955 1/4

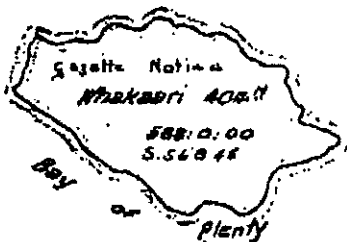


E. C. Adams

Assistant District Land Registrar.

This certificate of title has ceased to be in force and as to
title Entered 17.6.1935

*Transfer to 279421 White Island Products Limited
to George Raymond Buttle of Auckland
Whakauri products 21/7/1935 at 10.15 am*



Scale: 40 Chains to an Inch.

*5.56845 Gorge Notes declaring the within
land to be a private reserve under and
subject to the Survey, Prescription Amendment
Act 1939 concerning transfer to the owner
of the said land on his accession in
1939. The right to do any act on this
foundation by Section 4 of the said act.
Entered 7.10.1939 at 10.11. Land Registrar*

*5151101 Transfer to John Raymond Buttle, of Auckland
Whakauri products 7.11.1938 at 11.15.00*

REPRODUCTION (ON A REDUCED SCALE)
LIMITED TO BE A TRUE COPY OF THE
ORIGINAL REGISTERED FOR THE PURPOSES OF
SECTION 211A LAND TRANSFER ACT 1932

Adams

D.L.R.

SEARCH

6 NOV 1998

COPY

NEW AND.

Land and District-104

SOUTH

Land Transfer (Conveyance)
Registration of Title
Act, 1982

Reference:

Date Index 1994.1

Application No. 13321



Register-land,

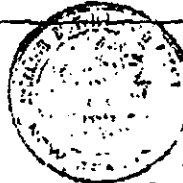
Vol. 763

File 11

CERTIFICATE OF TITLE UNDER LAND TRANSFER ACT. LIMITED AS TO PART

This Certificate, dated the twelfth day of August, one thousand nine hundred and forty under the hand and seal of the District Land Registrar of the Land Registration District of AUCKLAND testifies that MARY SOPHIA SUTHERLAND wife of Alexander Campbell Sutherland, Farmer (1/2 share) MARY ORCHARD Widow (1/4 share) and EROL PHILIP ORCHARD Motor Mechanic (1/4 share), all of Whakatane, are seized of an estate in fee-simple as tenants in common in the shares set out after their names to land situated in Whakatane (subject to such reservations, restrictions, encumbrances, leases, and interests as are notified by memorial under written or endorsed hereon) subject also to any existing right of the Crown to take and lay off roads under the provisions of any Act of the General Assembly of New Zealand) in the land hereinafter described, as the same is delineated by the plan hereto bodged EROL be the several dimensions a little more or less, that is to say: All that parcel of land containing three hundred and fifty-four acres more or less situated in the Bay of Plenty District being called or known as Whakatane or Whale Island and numbered 403N

METRIC AREA IS 143,258.6



L. W. A. R.

Assistant District Land Registrar

S. 61263 Transmission of the undivided one-half share of d. Mary Sophia Sutherland (deceased) to Alexander Campbell Sutherland of Whakatane farmer, no executor. Entered 18/1/44 at 30/- L. W. A. R.

This certificate of title has caused to be lodged in the file. Entered 23/3/1944 L. W. A. R.

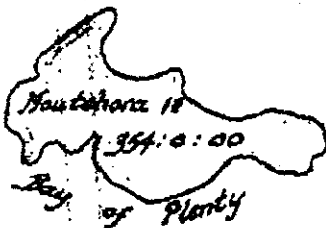
District Land Registrar

S. 15066 Transmission of the undivided 1/4 share of Mary Orchard (deceased) to Erol Philip Orchard of Whakatane motor mechanic, no executor. Entered 23/3/1944 at 4.55/- L. W. A. R.

S. 15067 Transfer of the 1/4 share agreed under Transmission of the 1/4 share of Mary Orchard (deceased) to Erol Philip Orchard motor mechanic. Entered 23/3/1944 at 11.00/- L. W. A. R.

S. 329287 Proclamation declaring the whole land to be a Wildlife Refuge entered 23/12/1944 at 2.00/- L. W. A. R.

Continued



Scale: 40 Chains to an Inch

L. W. A. R.

*Exchange Transmission of the 1/2 share of
Alexander Campbell Buchanan to William
John Bennett of Napier and
Bennett, at Napier, entered 13.8.76
at 2.00 o/c*

A.L.R.

*Exchange Transmission of the interest
acquired by Alexander Buchanan to
Mary Belle Russell of Nelson
above named (A.L.R.) Alexander
Buchanan of Taranaki former
(A.L.R.) Colin Lachlan Duncan of
Taranaki former (A.L.R.) Helen Campbell
Duncan of Taranaki spouse (A.L.R.)
and Colin Buchanan Duncan of
Taranaki former (A.L.R.) at
Napier in common in the said share
produced 13.8.1970 at 2.00 o/c*

A.L.R.

*3496338 Transfer of her 1/2 share Mary
Belle Russell to Alexander Buchanan
Duncan and Colin Lachlan Duncan
both above named as tenants in
common in equal shares produced
5.10.1970 at 2.00 o/c*

A.L.R.

*3496339 Mortgage of her 1/2 share
Alexander Buchanan Duncan and
Colin Lachlan Duncan to Mary Belle
Russell produced 5.10.1970 at 2.00 o/c*

A.L.R.

*3506636 Transfer of his 1/2 share Helen
Campbell Duncan to Alexander Buchanan
Duncan of Taranaki former and
Colin Lachlan Duncan of Taranaki former
as tenants in common in equal shares
produced 22.11.71 at 11.20 o/c*

A.L.R.

A.L.R.

H.099744.1 Evidence of the marriage

THIS REPRODUCTION (ON A REDUCED SCALE)
CERTIFIED TO BE A TRUE COPY OF THE
ORIGINAL REGISTERED FOR THE PURPOSES OF
SECTION 217A LAND TRANSFER ACT 1952
M. H. H. P.L.R.

*H.099744.1 Evidence of the marriage
of Helen Campbell Duncan above named
and William John Bennett of Napier
car wrecker entered 17.9.1976 at
1.34 o/c*

B. L. H.

for A.L.R.

*H.099744.2 Transfer of the 7/32 share of Alexander
Buchanan Duncan, 7/32 share of
Colin Lachlan Duncan and 2/32
share of Helen Campbell Bennett
to Michael Phillip Orchard
of Whakatane company director
produced 17.9.1976 at 1.34 o/c*

B. L. H.
for A.L.R.

*H.170340.1 Transmission of the
one half share of Cecil Phillip
Orchard to Doris Elizabeth
Orchard of Whakatane widow and
Patricia Ashwood Young of Opoitiki
married woman as executory
entered 6.3.1978 at 2.05 o/c*

B. L. H.
for A.L.R.

*H.170340.2 Transfer of the
interest acquired by
Transmission H.170340.1 to
Patricia Ashwood Young above named
and Michael Phillip Orchard of
Whakatane company director as
tenants in common in equal
shares produced 6.3.1978 at
2.06 o/c*

B. L. H.
for A.L.R.

*H.514867 Compensation Certificate
by the Minister of Works and Development
entered 25.5.1984 at 10.00 o/c*

B. L. H.
for A.L.R.

*H.526913 Gazette Notice acquiring
within land for a wildlife refuge
and vesting the same in the Crown
entered 29.5.1984 at 10.22 o/c*

B. L. H.
for A.L.R.

for A.L.R.

*B.064889 Gazette Notice prohibiting
access except under authority of a
permit to all Moutohora (Whale) Island
government purpose (wildlife
management) reserve entered 5.2.1992 at 10.15
o/c*

B. L. H.
for A.L.R.

DUPLICATE DESTROYED

1/34

AIRS

Extract from N.Z. Gazette, 9 Sept. 1965, No. 30, page 1494

Declaring Whale Island in the Bay of Plenty to be a Wildlife Refuge

H. E. BARROWCLOUGH, Administrator of the Government
A PROCLAMATION

Pursuant to section 14 of the Wildlife Act 1953, I, Major-General the Right Honourable Sir Harold Eke Barrowclough, the Administrator of the Government of New Zealand, hereby proclaim and declare the area described in the Schedule hereto to be a Wildlife Refuge in the Bay of Plenty, for the purposes of the Wildlife Act 1953.

SCHEDULE

Whale or Moutohora Island situated in the Bay of Plenty: Area, 354 acres, more or less: comprised in certificate of title Volume 763, folio 11 (limited as to parcels) (M.L. 237).

As shown on plan numbered L.A. 46/29/34 and deposited in the Head Office, Department of Internal Affairs at Wellington, and thereon edged in red.

Given under the hand of the Administrator of the Government, and issued under the Seal of New Zealand, this 5th day of September 1965.

[L.S.] DAVID C. SEATH, Minister of Internal Affairs.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

(L.A. 46/29/34)

A. J. OWEN, Government Printer, Wellington, New Zealand.

15 October 1965

Island of Whale
New Zealand
wildlife

and this
Titles and

Modified from L & D 16 sent 17.1.66 *W. Howe*
W. Howe

(W. Howe)
for Secretary for Internal Affairs

M.L. 257

LAND & DEEDS OFFICE

18 OCT 1965

GISBORNE



46/29/34

NEW ZEALAND

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

WELLINGTON

RESPONSE TO BE ADDRESSED
DIRECTOR FOR INTERNAL AFFAIRS
STATE BAC. WELLINGTON C.I.

WH:BR

TELEGRAMS AND CABLES "INTERNAL"
TELEPHONE 70-279

15 October 1965

District Registrar,
Lands and Deeds Registry Office,
GISBORNE

Wildlife Refuge - Whale Island

Attached is a copy of a certified plan of Whale Island together with an extract from the New Zealand Gazette proclaiming Whale Island to be a wildlife refuge.

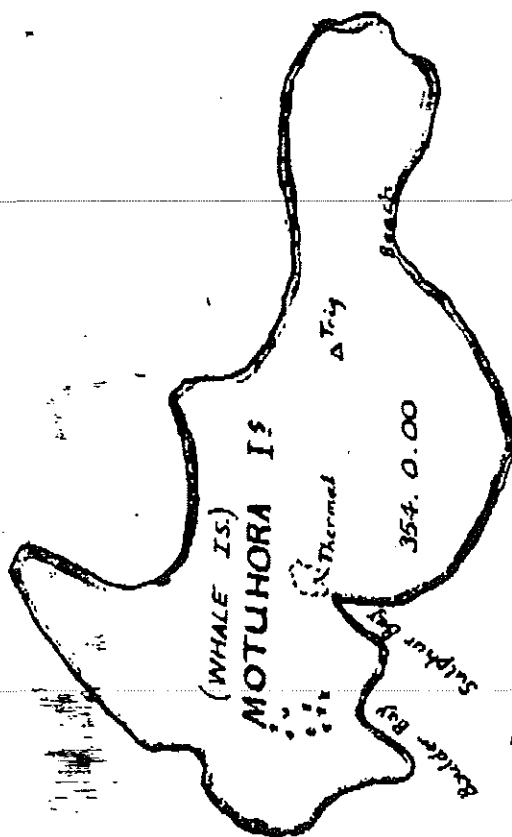
I would be pleased if you would record this proclamation against the Certificate of Titles and inform me when this has been done.

Modified from LTD 18 sent 17.1.66
W. Howe

(W. Howe)
for Secretary for Internal Affairs

ML 257

18/11/20/34



Bay of Plenty

20 chains to an inch.

M.L. 257

329387

PARTICULARS ENTERED IN THE REGISTER-301
VOL 763 FOLIO 11
THE 26 DAY OF October 1965
AT 9.00 PM



James
Assistant Land Registrar
SOUTH AUCKLAND

L+D 574 *Edmund Mullett et al.*
763/11

ct 763/11 noted 2.4.1970 *Rafael*

The within land has now
been acquired as a wildlife
refuge vested in the Crown
see H 526913 *Albany*
ALL

FILED	A
674	
28 OCT 1965	
Time	9.00
Page	1
Abstract No.	3773

Land Acquired for a Wildlife Refuge in Bay of Plenty District

PURSUANT to section 20 of the Public Works Act 1981, the Minister of Works and Development declares that, an agreement to that effect having been entered into, the land described in the Schedule hereto is hereby acquired for a wildlife refuge and shall vest in the Crown on the 10th day of May 1984.

SCHEDULE

SOUTH AUCKLAND LAND DISTRICT

All that piece of land containing 143.2586 hectares, situated in Bay of Plenty District, being Moutohora or Whale Island and numbered 401N, All certificate of title, Volume 263 Folio 11 (limited as to parcels).

Dated at Wellington this 4th day of May 1984.

J. R. BATTERSBY.

for Minister of Works and Development.

(P.W. 32/1078/21; In. D.O. 36/9/3/0/1)

14/1

PURSUANT to section 19 (7) of the Public Works Act 1981, being duly authorised by the Minister of Works and Development. I give Notice that compensation certificate H.514867 is discharged.

C. J. [Signature]

020 Gazette Notice declaring the within
to be set apart for a Government purpose
(wildlife management) reserve subject to the
Reserves Act 1977 - 22.4.1991 at 11.32 o'clock

Can
A.L.R.

064889 Gazette Notice prohibiting access
except under authority of a permit to all
Moutohora (Whale) Island Government Purpose
(Wildlife Management) Reserve ~~Subject to the~~
~~Reserves Act 1977~~ - 5.2.1992 at 10.35 o'clock

[Signature]
A.L.R.

10:22 29 MAY 84 H 526913
PARTICULARS ENTERED IN REGISTER
LAND REGISTRY SOUTH ISLAND
ASST. LAND REGISTRAR



*Recorded on Registration card
AP 20/5/1984*

Extract from N.Z. Gazette, 16 January 1992, No. 2, p. 20

Pursuant to Section 22 (5) of the Reserves Act 1977, the Regional Conservator for the Bay of Plenty Conservancy of the Department of Conservation, acting as Commissioner pursuant to Section 62 of the Reserves Act 1977, hereby prohibits access except under authority of a permit, to all Moutohora (Whale) Island, Government purpose (wildlife management) reserve described in the Schedule hereto.

South Auckland Land District—Whakatane District

143.2586 hectares, more or less, being Moutohora (1st Whale) Island and numbered 403N, situated in the Bay of Plenty. All *New Zealand Gazette*, 1991, page 3674.

Dated at Roturua this 19th day of December 1991.

DAVID FIELD, Regional Conservator, Department of
Conservation

(DOC H.G. RES 3/6/1/1 C.O. RWL-036)

in 195

Appendix 5. E.O. Macpherson, "Notes on the geology of Whakatane District and Whale Island", *New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology*, 1944, vol. 26 B 66-76.

NOTES ON THE GEOLOGY OF WHAKATANE DISTRICT AND WHALE ISLAND

By E. O. MACPHERSON, New Zealand Geological Survey, Department of Scientific and Industrial Research

Summary

The extensive alluviated flats of the Whakatane-Rangitaiki district are considered to cover part of the north extension of the Taupo-Rotorua graben; the greywacke hills east of Whakatane River and south of the railway between Awakeri and Taneatua belong to the elevated country east of the sunken belt. The hills west of the flats are formed of the fragmental rhyolitic material that largely fills the graben and covers such large areas on both its sides; rhyolite tuffs and breccias extend over the greywackes of this district.

Mount Edgecumbe and Whale Island are young andesite volcanoes, rising in the great depression, and emanations from fractures in its floor maintain the hot springs of Onepu, Awakeri, and Whale Island.

INTRODUCTION

THE region discussed extends westward along the Bay of Plenty from the town of Whakatane to Matata and south-westward along the Taupo-Rotorua depression to the vicinity of Mount Edgecumbe. The area is mainly within the Awa-o-te-Atua and Rangitaiki Upper Survey Districts, though part of Whakatane Survey District is also included. A description of the geology of Whale Island is given.

This general region was discussed by A. McKay (1895) and Grange (1937), and the geological features described below are mainly the north-east extension of structural lineaments, such as the Taupo-Rotorua graben, and the vulcanicity associated with this structural depression, described by Grange.

The present reconnaissance survey was undertaken in conjunction with geophysical work and drilling for earth heat.

WHAKATANE DISTRICT

Outline of Physiography

Whakatane district (Fig. 1) is mainly flat alluvial farm lands that border the Bay of Plenty from the town of Whakatane westward to Matata and extends southward up the broad valleys of the Whakatane, Rangitaiki, and Tarawera rivers. These large streams, in their lower reaches, meander through wide, alluvial flats occupying the north-eastern part of the Taupo-Rotorua structural depression. They are alluviating their lower flood plains with fine volcanic detritus from their upper valleys, and the mingling of the waste of several kinds of volcanic rocks in the river alluvium almost certainly accounts for the great fertility of this district. A few miles from the sea, however, the streams are entrenched about 30 ft. to 40 ft. below the general level of the flats, a fact probably indicating quite recent positive movement.

Uplands bounding the alluvial plain on the east extend up the east side of the Whakatane Valley for four and a half miles with even summits around 1,000 ft. At this point uplands also rise west of the river and back the alluvial flats on the south for six miles to Awakeri Railway-station. From this locality uplands extend south-west up the Rangitaiki Valley along its eastern boundary. The western edge of the lowlands stretches

south from Matata along the west side of the Tarawera Valley. Soft rhyolitic tuffs mainly occupy this region, and the upland boundary is not well defined, but merges into the alluvium of the plain. The uplands here are the eastern margin of the Kauhara Plateau (Grange, 1937, p. 17).

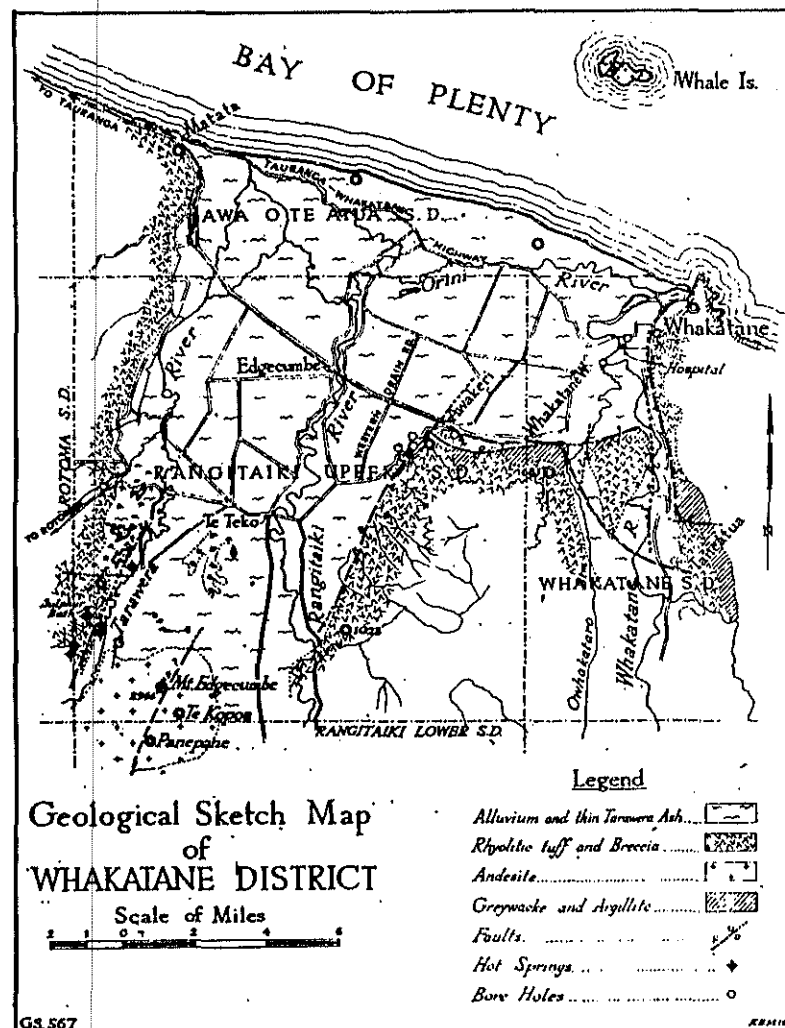


FIG. 1.

Mount Edgecumbe (Putauaki), a regular young-looking volcano, lies in the south-west corner of the area mapped, about fifteen miles from the Bay of Plenty. It lies between the Rangitaiki and Tarawera rivers and rises from a base three miles across to a height of 2,946 ft. The flats at its northern base are about 150 ft. above sea-level, and seem to have formed after the mountain had been built up.

Basement Rock

The map shows the distribution of the various rocks in the region; it expresses little more than the map published by McKay (1895). Some additional information on the distribution of the basement argillites and greywacke was obtained in the vicinity of Awakeri and east and south-west from this locality.

The basement rock of the area is silicified greywacke and argillite. A revealing section of this formation is exposed in the Whakatane Domain and east around the coast beyond the mouth of Whakatane River. The rocks are mainly banded argillite and greywacke very silicified; in places the argillite is almost sub-schist and the greywacke almost quartzite. The feature about these rocks is the extensive deformation; they are sheared, close folded and contorted, with the bedding at all angles. In general, however, they strike 5° to 30° east of north and dip irregularly in amount and direction. The rocks outcrop eastward as far as Ohewa Harbour, beyond which they were not observed. From Whakatane southward they extend up the valley for many miles beyond the area here mapped. The age of the basement rocks can only be guessed at; they certainly appear old, as judged by the extent of deformation and alteration—this may, however, be local. Probably they include beds that range for age from Palaeozoic to lower Mesozoic.

Volcanic Debris

The basement rock is regionally smothered beneath rhyolitic debris, mainly tuff and breccia, but included in this rhyolitic debris, probably in its lower part, is consolidated rhyolite. There are several layers of tuff and breccia, each representing a volcanic outburst; the layers vary much in thickness from 1 ft. up to 20 ft. In places they have a crude banding resembling bedding-planes, and at one or two localities—namely, along the coast cliff west from Matata and on offshore islands such as Rurima Rocks and Whale Island—this rhyolitic debris may have been water-sorted. Along the coast west from Matata, large angular masses of andesite are enclosed in the tuff. These are released as the sea erodes the rhyolitic debris, and the beach is strewn with andesite masses.

Rhyolitic tuff and breccia are widely distributed in this region and on the islands in the Bay of Plenty. Grange (1937, p. 70) places the poorly-consolidated tuffs and breccias forming the hill country between the Rotorua lakes and the Bay of Plenty in his Waitahanui Series of Pleistocene age. They occupy the northern half of Rotoma Survey District, the north-east corner of which is about five miles south-west of Matata. Manawahe (1,400 ft.), a volcano of hypersthene augite andesite, is seven miles south-west from Matata and may have furnished the masses of andesite occurring in the rhyolite tuff west of that place.

The Waitahanui tuff-breccias, according to Grange (1937, p. 70), lie on an irregular land surface carved on an older and better consolidated group of similar rocks that constitute his Patetere Series of Pliocene age (p. 64). The lower slopes of the western uplands are probably formed of this group, which is also likely to be represented in some of the rhyolitic tuffs and breccias of the upland south of the Rangitaiki flats. Too little work was done, however, to allow of the acid fragmental material being subdivided.

Grange (1937) in his map of Rotoma Survey District shows the andesitic rocks of Mount Manawahe as reaching the western border of Rangitaiki Upper Survey District over a length of a mile and a half. The locality was not visited. Mount Edgecumbe also was not visited, but there is a section of hypersthene andesite, from a sample Grange obtained years ago from its

summit, in the collection of the Geological Survey. This, together with the shape and general appearance of the volcano, suggest that it is built of andesitic material.

Recent Deposits

The bores at Awakeri and Whakatane put down in connection with the geophysical survey of Modiriniak (personal communication) show that the flats at these localities are largely built of loosely-consolidated volcanic fragmental debris with layers of swamp mud and gravel. At the former the upper beds are of fluvial origin and the lower of well-sorted beach and shallow-water marine silts and sands. At Whakatane there are heavy layers of coarse gravel, probably derived from the adjacent greywacke scarp. Other parts of the flats are likely to be underlain by similar materials, the proportions and grades of the several beds differing in different parts. Probably the bulk of the sediments is loose fragmental volcanic debris carried by the streams to the lowlands and the sea or deposited directly from the air. The Recent ash showers that mantle the Taupo-Rotorua region (Askew, Rigg, Grange, Taylor, *et al.*, 1932) extend to this area. The violent eruption of Mount Tarawera of June, 1886, sprinkled the whole district with ash (see map in paper quoted above), which is thought to have increased the fertility of the soil.

STRUCTURE OF WHAKATANE DISTRICT

The structure of the Whakatane district is important, for the faults will mainly control the distribution of thermal activity on the surface. The area examined is too restricted to supply much reliable structural data. It can be taken, however, that the Whakatane district, including Whale Island, lies in the northward extension of the Taupo-Rotorua graben (Grange, 1937, pp. 46-8). According to Grange, the Kaingaroa Fault along the eastern edge of this depression was traced north-north-east for a distance of thirty-six miles from Taupo to east of Waiotapu, where it left the area that Grange mapped (p. 49). The line of its general course produced north passes a mile or so east of Mount Edgecumbe; it seems highly probable that the fault striking south-west from Awakeri along the west side of the uplands south of the Whakatane-Rangitaiki flats is the northward continuation of this great fracture and that these uplands and those west of the lower Whakatane River are parts of the relatively upraised earthblock east of the depression. On this interpretation the lowlands of the Rangitaiki and Tarawera rivers are in the graben, but those east of the north-east line joining Awakeri and Whakatane Head are on a sunken area east of the graben. The east edge of this sunken area is marked by the strong fault extending south along the Whakatane Valley, and the south edge by the fault extending east from Awakeri to the Whakatane Fault. The warm water showing weakly at Awakeri may rise at or near where the east-west break joins the (?) Kaingaroa Fault.

A series of fractures with a general north-east course a little oblique to the north-north-east-striking graben break its floor. These are prominent in the Tarawera Survey District (Grange, 1937), where the series is five to six miles wide. Here fractures are marked by recent steps in the ground, by little-dissected scarps, and by lines of hot springs. The best known, that along the west base of the Paeroa Range, continues north-east as the Rotomahana-Tarawera rift that erupted so violently in 1886. Produced north-east through the unmapped Ruawhaia Survey District, the fracture zone would enter about the south-west corner of Rangitaiki Upper Survey District, and Mount Edgecumbe and the many hot springs north of this cone are here regarded as indicating that the series of faults does so extend.

Gr. (1937, p. 17) states that the Kaharoa Plateau "is terminated at its eastern end by a high dissected fault-scarp which overlooks the lower reaches of the Tarawera River." The straightness of the scarp and the physiography of the district suggest that this explanation is correct.

To draw useful conclusions from these meagre data is difficult, but seemingly the Whakatane alluvial plain is a collapsed or sunken area bounded on the east and south by tension fractures. This collapsed segment may extend northward into the Bay of Plenty beyond Whale Island. The depression of this area was a comparatively recent event, probably occurring during the Pleistocene. It has since been deeply alluviated by the large streams traversing this part of the Taupo-Rotorua graben.

HOT SPRINGS

The visit made to the area of thermal activity east and north of Mount Edgecumbe was quite insufficient for an adequate account. Grange (1937) in his map of Rotoma Survey District shows hot springs in its south-east corner north and south of Tarawera River, and on p. 88 of his report, under the heading Ruruanga, gives the following brief comment: "Several small acid springs lie close together in a patch of thermally altered ground. The westernmost spring, the least acid of the group, was analysed [No. 8, p. 103]. Weak fumaroles are depositing sulphur." The springs referred to are a little south of Ruruanga Stream, which joins the Tarawera nearly two miles to the north-east, the most northerly known springs of the group being over a mile farther north-east near Rotoitipaku and four miles south-east of Te Teko. These are the Onepu Springs that Herbert (1921, p. 13) shows on his map.

Other springs occur two miles south of the Ruruanga Springs, so that the hot-springs belt is at least five miles long; it may well be longer, as to the north lies an area of swamp and pond. In places it is a mile wide. Several groups of springs on different fractures may be included in this extensive area, within which occur hot and boiling springs, mud pools and volcanoes, steaming ponds discharging by warm streams, sinter sheets, sulphur-bearing patches, fumaroles, collapse holes empty or filled with milky water, and other phenomena similar to those of other better-known hot-spring groups of the Taupo-Rotorua graben. Indeed, the impression gained is that this Ruruanga-Onepu area is one of the more active of the whole region.

In addition to the spring water Grange collected from Ruruanga, analyses of four samples from Onepu are available and are included in the table. The analyst remarks of two that they "are alkaline silicated waters somewhat similar in composition to the Rachel Spring, Rotorua, and to the Oil and Spout Baths, Whakarewarewa" (*Dom. Lab. 55th Ann. Rep.*, 1922, p. 30). The other two were examined about twenty years earlier, the samples being forwarded by Dr. Wohlmann, Government Balneologist, Rotorua. Two springs rise about 100 yards apart on the shore of Rotoitipaku. That of which the water was analysed, No. 4 of the table, is "from a circular hole about 3 ft. across and 18 in. deep, temperature 180° F. [82° C.], yield about 10,000 gallons [per day?]. (*Col. Lab., 37th Ann. Rep.*, 1904, p. 17.) A second spring at Rotoitipaku has about double the yield of the above. The other water analysed (No. 5 of the table) is "from the north side of the lakelet, Umupokapoka; it is a large spring—300,000 gallons [per day?], temperature 180° F. [82° C.]; the water has a blue tinge resembling the "Rachel of Rotorua" (*loc. cit.*). Another spring on the south side of Umupokapoka has a temperature of 62.5° C. The maps available do not show the position of Umupokapoka.

The Awakeri springs consist of two pools of a temperature of 58° C. and with small discharge. One analysis, No. 6 of the table, of a sample from a hot spring from Awakeri known as "Pukaahu" was probably from the pools referred to above. Analyses of two samples of hot water from bores near the Awakeri pools collected by Modrinink are also included in the table. No. 7 is from No. 1 bore, 1,000 ft. nearly due north, and No. 8 from No. 2 bore, 1,400 ft. west-south-west, from the spring and nearly 2,000 ft. from No. 1.

No. 1 bore yielded water of a temperature of 49° C. from a depth of 342 ft. at the rate of 40 gallons per hour, and No. 2 bore 500 gallons per hour at 49° C. from 180 ft. Though the bore waters contain little of the sulphate radicle and are decidedly carbonated, there is no reasonable doubt but that they and the surface pools derive their heat and mineral content essentially from the same supply of thermal water that rises from depth along the fault extending south-west at the base of the greywacke hills a few chains east of the pools.

MINERAL SPRINGS, WHAKATANE DISTRICT

(Ionic composition, parts per 100,000)

	(1.)	(2.)	(3.)	(4.)	(5.)	(6.)	(7.)	(8.)
Na	2.1	52.7	40.0	25.5	30.5	15.5	10.2	8.0
K	0.9	..	..	2.0	2.9	..	2.2	1.3
Ca	2.2	0.9	1.15	0.8	0.4	1.9	0.8	0.3
Mg	0.9	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.5	Tr.	Tr.
Fe	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.7	N.d.	N.d.
Al	1.5	0.05	0.05	..	..	0.05	N.d.	N.d.
Cl	1.4	61.5	57.4	32.56	43.18	11.2	3.1	3.5
SO ₄	46.1	19.4	18.5	9.4	..	25.3	N.d.	1.2
HCO ₃	..	..	..	5.8	5.8	..	30.3	17.3
H ₂ SiO ₃	29.9	40.8	37.1	29.1	26.2	43.7	13.4	5.8
H ₂ S	3.6	..	..	0.05	0.13	..	..	..
Total solids	84.9	169.0	157.4	100.7	108.7	88.8	54.1	35.2

The ionic compositions of Nos. (2) to (6) have been calculated from the mineral compositions given in the reports of the laboratory.

No. 1: Acid spring, temp. 50° C., Ruruanga Valley. *N.Z.G.S. Bull.* 37 (1937), pp. 103 & 105.

Nos. 2 and 3: Onepu hot springs. *Dom. Lab. 55th Ann. Rep.* (1922), p. 30.

No. 4: Spring, Rotoitipaku, Onepu. *Col. Lab. 37th Ann. Rep.* (1904), p. 17.

No. 5: Spring, Umupokapoka, Onepu. *Ibid.*

No. 6: Pukaahu Spring, Awakeri. *Dom. Lab. 55th Ann. Rep.* (1922), p. 30.

No. 7: Water from No. 1 bore, Awakeri. *Dom. Lab. Memo.* 23, 6/43.

No. 8: Water from No. 2 bore, Awakeri. *Ibid.*

WHALE ISLAND

Whale Island is situated in the Bay of Plenty eight miles northward from the coastal town of Whakatane. The general geology of this island differs somewhat from the adjoining mainland and is here treated separately. The present work was carried out to ascertain the extent of thermal activity on the island; it was thought possible that sufficient earth heat could be developed to evaporate sea-water and produce various salts. Meteorological conditions in this region are not suited to natural evaporation—the rainfall is fairly high, about 60 in.; the relative humidity is 78 per cent. at Tauranga, forty miles to the west; and the hours of sunshine per month average 187.

The north coast of the island is precipitous and rocky, but three small beaches on the south coast are good landing-points, except during strong southerlies.

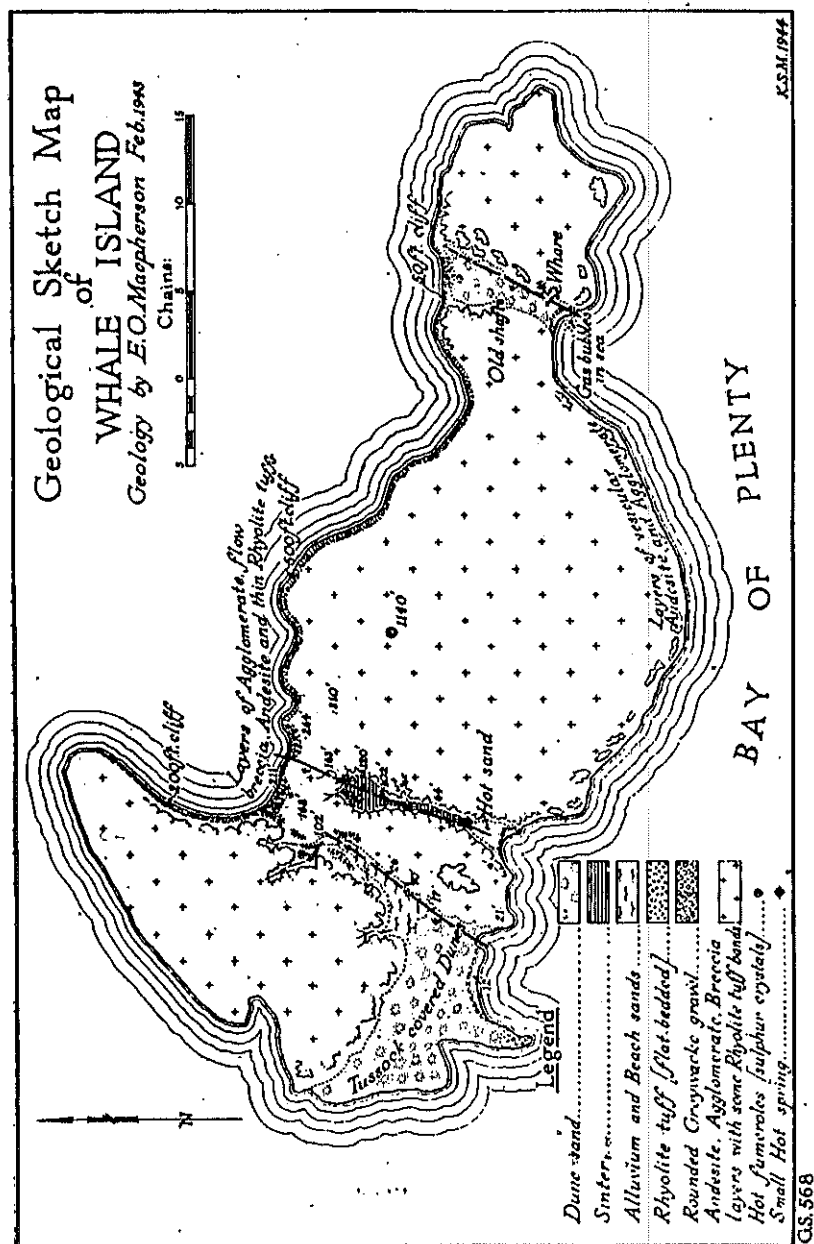


FIG. 2.

DISTRICT AND WHALE ISLAND

General Description

Whale Island is a mile and a half long from east to west and up to half a mile wide; the area is approximately 354 acres. The surface is mostly rugged, especially along the north coast; here cliffs of from 50 ft. to 1,000 ft. extend almost continuously and rise almost vertically from sea-level (Fig. 2). The highest point (1,140 ft.) is in the northern middle part, about 11 chains from the north coast, and the bare precipitous face to the sea displays an excellent section of the rocks that form the island. The only easy country is an area of 10 acres or 12 acres of tussock-covered dunes in the south-west corner of the island.

Three short valleys sloping southward, and apparently relics of a once more extensive drainage system, cut across the east-west axis of the island. These are not now occupied by the streams that eroded them; their heads extend right up to the precipitous north coast, and seemingly must, at one



FIG. 3.—Sinter deposit, upper part of Sulphur Valley.

time, have extended beyond this. The middle one, Sulphur Valley, leading into Brimstone Bay, has a floor covered with sinter deposits almost to its head (Fig. 3).

The coast-line is everywhere steep, except at the three beaches along the south coast, and there is no bench or terrace above the present storm beach suggesting late uplift.

Pohutukawas and manukas are the main plant cover; the former appear to prefer growing on cliffs and crags of bare andesite, and seemingly derive part of their food from the rock. Flocks of healthy-looking goats live on the island, which they share with innumerable mutton-birds. Fresh water is scarce or absent, and supplies for drinking are brought from the mainland. But there must be an obscure water-supply to sustain the goats. Apparently water was a problem for the quarrymen who formerly worked on the island, for on the eastern end they sank a 20 ft. shaft in the rock, presumably in search of water. This shaft is now dry.

Volcanic Rocks

Practically the whole island is occupied by andesitic rock, excepting minor areas of sinter, bedded rhyolitic tuff, greywacke conglomerate, and dune sand. The typical andesite is grey and rusty on weathered surfaces and in places shows a scoriaceous surface. A petrological description of a flow rock by Dr. C. O. Hutton, Petrologist, Geological Survey, is included in this report (see Appendix).

These volcanics are not all flow rocks; andesitic agglomerates that most likely have an explosive origin, tuffs, and breccia are bedded with the andesites; excellent exposures of the whole group can be seen on the

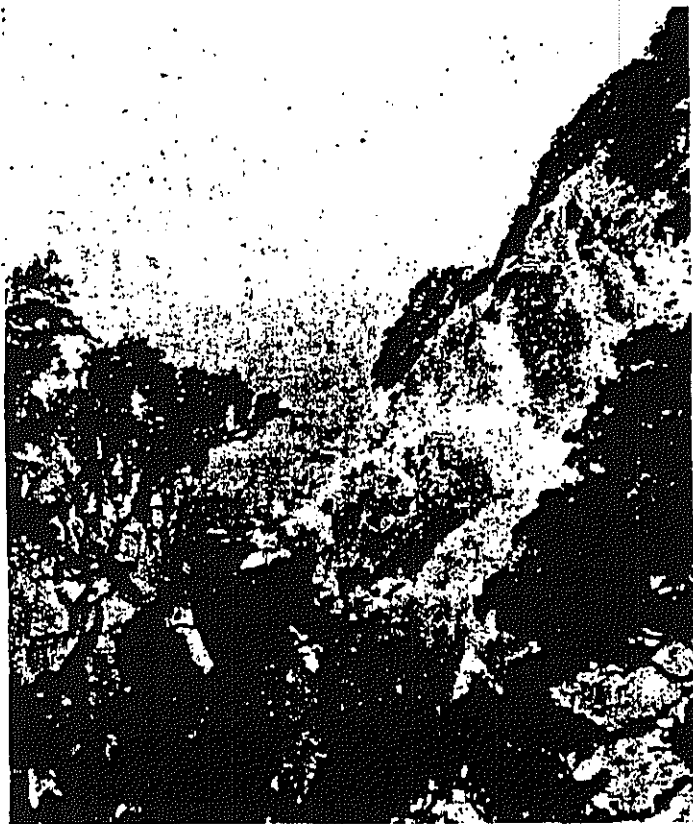


FIG. 4.—Steep north face of Whale Island.

precipitous north coast (Fig. 4). In this cliff section are displayed layers of andesite, agglomerate, and breccia dipping southward at angles ranging from 10° to 30° . Toward the upper part of this cliff section there are minor 2 ft. layers of rhyolite tuff, but it is not clear that these tuff layers are confined to the upper part of the volcanic section, and the cliff is too steep for detailed examination. The layers of andesite and agglomerate are up to 30 ft. thick. The rhyolite tuff layers are thinner, possibly not exceeding 5 ft.

Owing to the isolated position of these volcanics, it is impossible to time their extrusion; there are small areas of well-bedded tuffs in the upper parts of the valleys overlying the andesite, but no rock resembling the Patetere ignimbrite or Waitahanui tuff and breccias of nearby areas on the mainland

was seen. The nearest andesite of this general type occur in the Waiauhe Valley, Rotoma Survey District, and we may refer the Whale Island andesite to what Grange called the Manawauhe andesites. On the other hand, they could belong to the younger (Pliocene) andesites that occur as isolated masses throughout the volcanic region. The rhyolitic tuff is probably referable to the Waitahanui Series on the mainland.

The attitude and distribution of the andesite and agglomerate layers in the cliff exposures along the north coast convey the impression that Whale Island is the south remnant of a volcanic cone, or possibly a crater rim, with the north and north-east portion destroyed. It is most probably the remnant of a volcano and, like Mount Edgecumbe, was built up on the floor of the Taupo-Rotorua graben.



FIG. 5.—Small beach. View up Sulphur Valley.

Bedded Rhyolite Tuff and Greywacke Conglomerate

Small patches of rhyolite tuff, a few square yards in extent, overlie the andesite at a few points in the upper part of the valleys. These tuffs appear water-bedded, but their position on the edge of the steep north coast 200 ft. above sea-level is rather difficult to explain. If we regard them as marine bedded tuffs, it would imply a 200 ft. uplift, and evidence for such late uplift is not seen around the island coast-line. Associated with these tuffs at one locality is a consolidated greywacke gravel with well-shaped pebbles and cobbles up to 2 in. through set in a matrix of rhyolitic tuff. Similar gravels occur on the road eastward from Whakatane. The gravel and bedded tuffs on Whale Island may be the remnant of a fluvial sheet that once extended north from the mainland.

Dune sand and sandy beaches (Fig. 5) are restricted to valleys along the southern coast. Grassed dunes occupy about 12 acres on the south-west corner and are no more than 20 ft. above sea-level; these dunes are fixed by a thin cover of stunted vegetation.

Thermal Activity

Sinter deposits appear to be restricted to Sulphur Valley. They commence almost at sea-level and extend up the valley for about 15 chains and reach an elevation of 150 ft. It is possible that sinter deposits are present in other localities, especially in the valleys to the east and west of Sulphur Valley, and are now obscured by wind-blown sand; this is suggested by altered andesite along the valley walls.

Thermal activity in Sulphur Valley seems to have been much stronger in the past, as judged by the thickness of the sinter. The sinter has been deposited along the valley floor and is confined by the andesite of the valley walls. In its lower part the deposit is only 2 chains wide, but towards the head of the valley it forms a basin-shaped area 7 chains across.

Many small dry fumaroles occur here and there on the sinter. With one exception these discharge a little sulphurous vapour, and sulphur crystals are deposited in the small vents. The observed temperatures ranged from 94° C. to 98° C.

Only one hot spring was noted with a small discharge of water; the temperature here was 98° C. Six inches down in the beach sand south of this tiny hot pool the temperature was 78° C., pH values were not determined. It can be surmised from the volume of sinter deposited that the area was recently alkaline, though the sulphur fumes and sulphur crystals indicate that the area is now acid.

The andesite here and there along the valley walls is thermally altered, and this alteration extends northward beyond the sinter deposit right to the steep north coast. On the northward continuation of the valley in the cliff section the andesite and rhyolite tuff layers are disturbed and tilted. It is thought likely that the disruption here marks the north extension of a fault or shear zone that provides outlets along its course for the hot water and steam. The dip of this fault or fissure is not known; it seems to have a high angle and probably is vertical.

APPENDIX

DESCRIPTION OF AUGITE-HYPERSTHENE ANDESITE FROM 17 CHAINS ALONG FORESHORE WEST OF BRIMSTONE BAY, WHALE ISLAND (P. 9245)

In thin section the rock is seen to be strongly porphyritic with phenocrysts of plagioclase and pyroxenes set in a hyalopilitic to micro-felsitic groundmass.

Andesine occurs as phenocrysts up to 2 mm. in diameter and as innumerable tiny laths in the groundmass. The plagioclase is twinned on several laws and is strongly zoned, the zoning showing the usual transition from a more calcic nucleus to a more sodic periphery. The composition ranges from An_{50} to An_{40} . Inclusions are common, particularly the pale-brown glass of the base, and they are often arranged in zonal fashion.

Clinopyroxene and orthopyroxene are both present, and appear to occur only in one generation, although some tiny granular and acicular grains present in the mesostasis may be pyroxene. The augite is usually colourless, although a very faint greenish tinge may in places be observed. Determinations of $2V$ in three cases gave 52°, 56°, and 58°, while the angle Zac was 41°, 42°, and 42°; the pyroxene is therefore probably diopsidic. The clinopyroxene occurs as distinct crystals in most cases, though its occurrence as reaction rims surrounding hypersthene is not uncommon. The hypersthene is faintly pleochroic (pale green to pale pink), and in two cases universal stage determinations indicated a negative sign with $2V = 72^\circ$. The bulk of the mesostasis is composed of a pale-brown isotropic glass with fine laths of plagioclase and some granular material, possibly pyroxene, but the grain size is too small for precise determination. Accessories include ragged grains of titaniferous magnetite and rare needles of apatite.

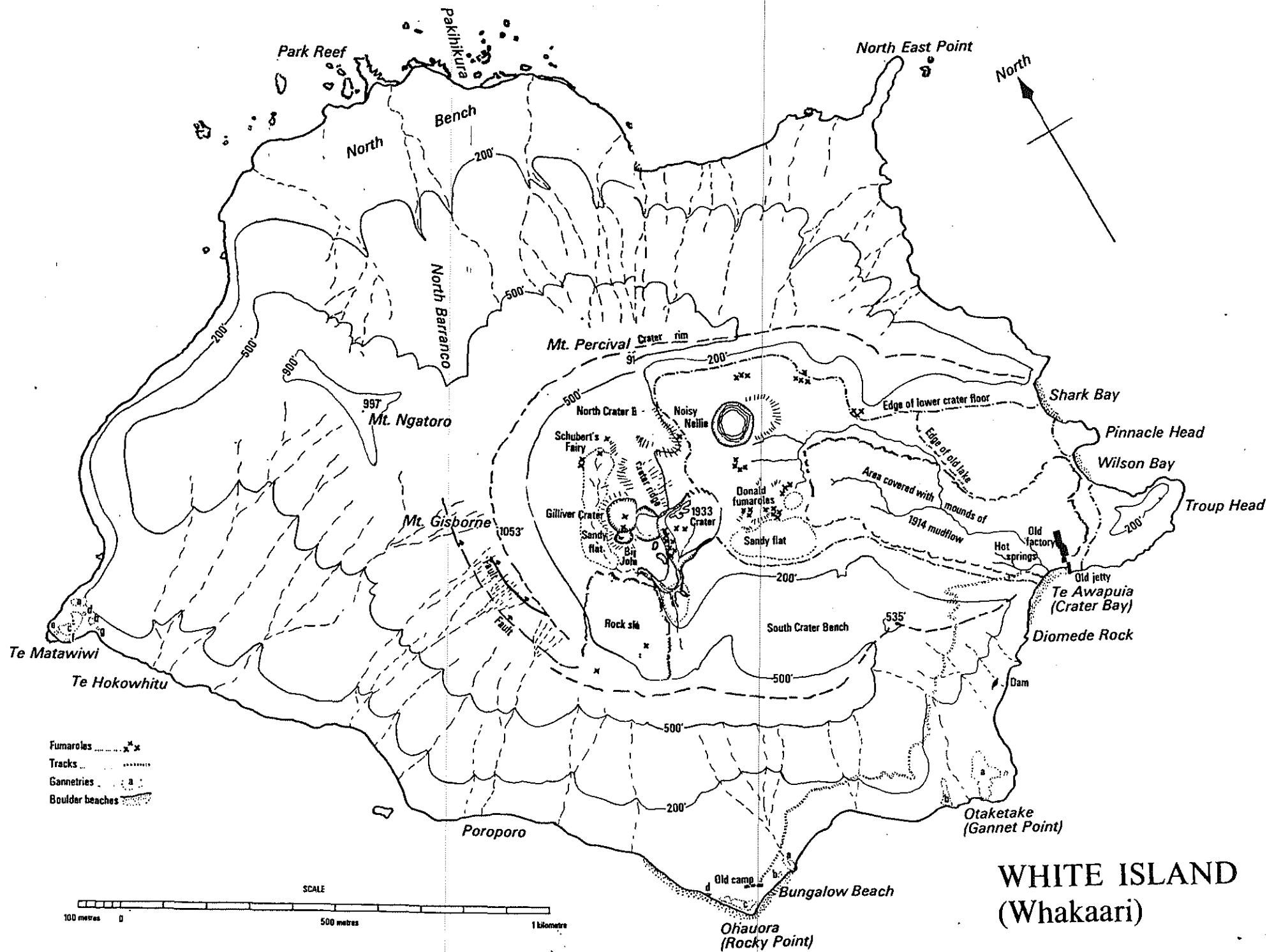
Monomineralic glomeroporphyritic aggregates of andesine and augite were noted.

This rock is very similar to a hypersthene andesite collected on Mount Edgecumbe (P. 6139), about twenty miles south-west of Whale Island, and the minor differences noted in the Mount Edgecumbe rock are as follows: (1) Augite is a rare constituent; (2) the glass in the groundmass is colourless; (3) hypersthene is usually mantled by extremely finely divided iron-ore, probably due to resorption; (4) minor siderite is present.

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**Appendix 6. Map of Whakaari (from Parham, *Island Volcano*,
Collins, Auckland. 1973.)**



WHITE ISLAND (Whakaari)