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'It is curious how keenly allied in character are the Scotch Highlander and the Maori': Encounters in a New Zealand Colonial Settlement

Brad Patterson

Let us travel back to the New Zealand summer of 2006, late January, blue skies, temperature around 30°C. The setting is Turakina, a small lower North Island settlement cluster of insufficient size to now be considered more than a village. Situated on State Highway 3, about midway between the township of Bulls and the city of Wanganui, its resident population is less than 100.[1] Superficially, there is not a great deal that is striking about Turakina, one of those sleepy little New Zealand main road settlements, relicts of an earlier era that motorists pass through scarcely noticing. Yet for one day in each year Turakina is temporarily transformed: traffic streams into the village from both north and south; people congregate at the Turakina Domain, the adjacent fields being packed with cars; for a few hours the population soars, on occasion up to 2000.The attraction is Turakina's Highland Games, in their 142nd year in 2006.

All the traditional ingredients greet the visitor: dancing boards, piping and drumming boards, clan tents, equipment for the field events, stalls offering a range of ethnic goods.[2] By mid morning the Domain is a scene of colourful bustle and a cacophony of sound. Yet there is one feature that sets these games apart from others, in New Zealand and elsewhere: a demonstrable Maori presence. Amongst the spectators, whether in Highland costume or more skimpy summer attire, there are curious blends of dress, kilts blending with bush singlets and thongs, several burly males sporting elaborate shoulder tattoos. Young Polynesian women dominate the field events, whether tossing the sheaf, putting the stone or the women's caber. Parking is under the supervision of polite young uniformed Maori men, resplendent in blue tunics and white caps, while the liquor booth is also under Maori supervision. The

[1] For a review of the scattered past writings on the village and district see Jessie Annabell, *Smoke in the Hills? Representations of Turakina's Past* (BA Hons research essay, Massey University, 1993).

[2] Brad Patterson, 'Turakina's Highland Games: Maintaining a Gaelic Tradition?', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 29, 2011 (forthcoming).

modest entry fees are levied by cheerful, middle-aged Maori matrons, seemingly already known to most attendees.

How has this mingling of races and cultures come about? This paper reflects on the historical interactions between Highland Scots and Maori in one New Zealand settlement. While the findings may be suggestive, it is not claimed that they should be considered representative of relations between these groups elsewhere in New Zealand, even in adjacent districts. As yet, there is insufficient in-depth research to justify wider generalizations. Despite the fact that Scots made up nearly a quarter of all migrants to New Zealand to 1914, they have arguably been the least studied of all the country's major migrant groups. It was recognition of this lacuna that motivated the launch of the 'Scottish Migration to New Zealand' project in 2005, an international research team funded by the Royal Society of New Zealand subsequently probing many aspects of migration, settlement and cultural legacies.[3] From the outset the relations between migrant Scots and New Zealand's indigenous people have been acknowledged as a major underlying area of inquiry, and as a consequence a number of exploratory shafts are currently being sunk in several parts of the country.[4] From these collective efforts it is hoped that a much clearer picture will emerge.

The title for the paper comes from an early 1891 leader in the *Rangitikei Advocate,* a small local newspaper serving that district, its English-born editor musing at some length upon the apparent affinity between the races.[5] At that point Highland Scots and Maori had been neighbours in the Rangitikei for just over four decades, the systematic colonisation of New Zealand having commenced in late 1839 with the activities of the New Zealand Company, a London-based joint stock enterprise, whose business was the trading of land and the introduction of immigrants.[6] Partly as a result of the venture's activities, the British government resolved to establish sovereignty over the islands of New Zealand, this objective being validated in 1840 through the Treaty of

[3] Brad Patterson, 'Stirring the Porridge: Turakina and the Study of New Zealand's Scottish Communities', unpublished paper, New Zealand Historical Association conference, University of Auckland, November 2005.

[4] In addition to the present study, Angela Wanhalla and Tom Brooking have worked on intermarriage in the south of the South Island, while Rosalind McClean is supervising a study of race relations in the Hokianga district at the top of the North Island.

[5] Extract from *Rangitikei Advocate*, cited Bruce Herald, 27 March 1891.

[6] Patricia Burns, *Fatal Success: A History of the New Zealand Company* (Auckland, 1989). A dated, but still useful, account of the Company's activities is J. S. Marais, *The Colonisation of New Zealand* (London, 1927).

Waitangi, signed between the British Crown and the New Zealand tribes.[7] The Treaty purported to extend equal citizenship to Maori in the new colony, and to guarantee them possession of their lands and resources, which could only be alienated through the Crown. Port Nicholson, or Wellington, at the foot of the North Island, had been selected as the New Zealand Company's 'first and principal settlement', with some 4200 immigrants being introduced between 1840 and 1844.[8] What soon became evident, however, was that it would be quite impossible to accommodate all of the migrants in the vicinity of the first settlement nucleus, this leading to the planning of satellite Company settlements, at Wanganui, around 120 miles to the northwest, and at Manawatu, roughly midway between Wellington and Wanganui. Actually planting settlers at the satellite sites, however, was not without difficulties. The New Zealand Company claimed to have purchased the lands in question from the resident tribes before the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, but this was vigorously disputed and, when unilateral incursions were attempted, armed conflict broke out.[9] It was not until late in the 1840s, and then only with the colonial administration taking the lead, that agreements were negotiated with Maori to yield up land at Wellington and Wanganui, the claim to Manawatu having to be at least temporarily abandoned.[10]

Given the pressure on both the Company and the Crown Colony administration to secure land for the introduced settlers, it was probably inevitable that Pakeha (European) eyes would soon fall on what were viewed as near empty lands lying between the disputed Manawatu and Wanganui blocks, the Rangitikei-Turakina district.[11] Bounded to the south and north by the valleys of the Rangitikei and Turakina rivers, there were large tracts of flattish land in the district, with swamp and sand hills predominating towards the coast, while further inland there were low rolling hills. While there were isolated dense forest stands, the dominant vegetation cover was scrub, tree ferns and

[7] The standard work is Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi* (Wellington, 1987); see also I. H. Kawharu (ed.), *Waitangi: Maori and Pakeha Perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi* (Auckland, 1989).

[8] John Miller, *Early Victorian New Zealand: A Study of Racial Tension and Social Attitudes, 1839–1852* (London, 1958).

[9] Ian Wards, *The Shadow of the Land: A Study of British Policy and Racial Conflict in New Zealand 1832–1852* (Wellington, 1968), chapters 7, 10.

[10] 'Rangahaua Whanau Research Report, District 12 – Port Nicholson, Hutt Valley, Porirua, Rangitikei Manawatu' (Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, n.d.), chap. 2, 'Rangahaua Whanau Research Report, District 9 – The Whanganui District' (Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, n.d.), 22–36

[11] Julius Vogel, *The Official Handbook of New Zealand* (London, 1875), 192–3.

flax. Regardless of wishful settler thinking, however, the land between the two rivers was far from uninhabited. Indeed it constituted a major part of the tribal area (or rohe) of Ngati Apa, a tribal grouping of relatively recent origin.[12] Estimates suggest that in the 1840s around 300 Ngati Apa were located in the district, scattered in fortified settlement or pa, three of them in close proximity to the Turakina river valley, the focus of the present investigation.[13] Prior to the 1820s these people had been a loose grouping, linked to adjacent tribes and sub-tribes, but an aggressive push south in that decade by tribes from the north of the island, armed with muskets, in particular Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Toa and Te Atiawa, radically changed the situation.[14] These incursions were not just random raids, such being commonplace, but a sustained bid by the intruders to secure new lands and resources. Eventually, after extended skirmishing, an accommodation with the newcomers was reached, but nervousness undoubtedly fostered solidarity amongst the long-standing occupiers of the district. Ngati Apa received de facto recognition of its new status when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by three local chiefs at the mouth of the Rangitikei River in May 1840.[15] The more than symbolic importance of this was to become fully apparent when the dispute over the adjacent Wanganui purchase was finally settled in 1848. Although not directly involved in the conflict, Ngati Apa's interests were recognised, 'all the lands between the rivers Turakina and Wangaehu' being set aside as 'a place for all the members of the Ngatiapa [sic] tribe to collect and settle on'.[16] It was the forerunner of an even more significant transaction.

In May 1849, after further negotiations, the Crown purchased almost the whole of the 225,000 acre Rangitikei-Turakina block for £2,500 (around 2.6d per acre).[17] While the apparent inequity of this transaction is evident to modern eyes, what is striking is that at the time it was unquestionably a case of eager buyers and willing sellers. For the Crown, it was an opportunity to quiet the clamours of purchasers from the New Zealand Company, many of whom

[12] T. W. Downes, 'Early History of Rangitikei, and notes on the Ngati Apa Tribe', *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand,* 42 (1909), 74–114.

[13] H. Tacy Kemp to Colonial Secretary New Munster 1 January 1850, *New Zealand Government Gazette (Province of New Munster)* 3/16 (21 August 1850), 78.

[14] Grant Huwyler, 'Ngati Apa – Ngati Apa Identity', in *Te Ara : The Online Encyclopedia of New Zealand (URL : http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/ngati-apa/2).*

[15] Ibid.

[16] 'Notes relating to the purchase of Rangitikei lands, 15 May 1849', Alexander Turnbull Library (hereafter ATL), Donald McLean Papers, MS papers 0032–0003.

[17] Rangahaua Whenua Research Report, District 12, 65

had been waiting nearly a decade for delivery of purchased lands; for Ngati Apa, willingness to sell was spurred by a belief that the permanent presence of Europeans would guarantee their longer term security. Two individuals bestrode the transaction. On the Crown side, the official delegated to negotiate the purchase, Donald McLean, born on Tiree in 1820, initiated the first significant Highlander/Ngati Apa links. He was to become almost certainly the most influential of all nineteenth-century New Zealand civil servants.[18] A fluent Maori speaker, well versed in Maori custom, he already had a track record, having been responsible for the resolution of the Wanganui dispute. Although McLean never actually took up residence in the district, he was to maintain a keen interest in the affairs of both Ngati Apa and the settlers until his death in 1876, corresponding regularly with both, ever ready to help resolve misunderstandings. For Ngati Apa, the lead figure was Aperahama Tipae.[19] As far as can be established, at this date Aperahama was already near fifty years of age. He had thus experienced, at first hand, the traumas of the northern invasion and, despite a close family tie with Ngati Raukawa, retained deep suspicion of their inclinations. Recourse to McLean's extant contemporary correspondence suggests that Aperahama had been urging purchase of the Rangitikei-Turakina lands from at least late 1847. In September 1848 he wrote somewhat impatiently to McLean: 'You are holding the prize in your hand. Will you not quickly arrange the matter'.[20] He was even more insistent a few weeks later: 'Let it come soonest … so that there would be many Pakeha [Europeans] for me. Lots to cover my land'.[21]

McLean's instructions had been to 'reserve such tracts for the natives as they may now or at a further time require', but he chose to interpret this rather narrowly.[22] Arguing that the 30,000 acre tract previously set aside across

[18] Ray Fargher, *The Best Man Who Ever Served the Crown': A Life of Donald McLean* (Wellington, 2007); see also Alan Ward, 'McLean, Donald 1820–1877', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Vol. 1 (Wellington, 1990), 255–8.

[19] See obituary in *Wanganui Chronicle*, 12 August 1891. There are also isolated references to Aperahama Tipae in such works as James G. Wilson, *Early Rangitikei* (Christchurch, 1914), 39–40, 46, 237, but he is a curious omission from the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. For an account of his role in the 1849 negotiations, see McLean's report to Lt. Governor Eyre in *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 16 June 1849.

[20] Aperahama Tipae to Donald McLean, 25 September 1848, ATL, Donald McLean Papers, Series 2, Inwards Letters (Maori)

[21] Aperahama Tipae to Donald McLean, 25 September 1848, ATL, Donald McLean Papers, Series 2, Inwards Letters (Maori)

[22] Alfred Domett to Donald McLean, 12 September 1848, *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (hereafter *AJHR*), 1861, C1, 251; Rangahaua Whanau Research Report, District 12, 65.

the Turakina River as part of the Wanganui block settlement was ample, he restricted the reserves to 900 acres at Turakina and 1600 at Parewanui in the south, both sites of major pa, also setting aside a number of smaller lots such as traditional burial grounds.[23] With the way now clear, in early 1850 the New Zealand Company announced that lands purchased on its behalf at Rangitikei-Turakina were open for selection by holders of land orders and compensation scrip.[24] Keen interest was exhibited by past purchasers at both Wellington and Wanganui, and especially prominent amongst the early takers was a group of Scottish settlers, almost exclusively Highlanders, who had embarked for New Zealand on the *Blenheim* at Greenock in August 1840. Numbering around 200, most had been recruited at Fort William by Donald MacDonald, a senior Invernesshire official commissioned by the New Zealand Company to lead the party.[25] Arriving in December 1840, they received the unhappy intelligence that their Wanganui lands were unavailable and likely to remain so for some time. Consequently, for most of the 1840s they formed what was termed 'the Scots settlement', at Kaiwarra, on the northern outskirts of the infant town of Wellington.[26] Although certainly some of the younger members of the community sought to improve their lot by moving elsewhere, the group remained remarkably cohesive until the death of MacDonald in early 1849, at which point the bonds began to weaken. News that land was now available at Turakina therefore came at precisely the right time. With selections made off maps in the Wellington Land Office, a series of foot treks up the West Coast beaches ensued, and by mid-1850 a number of Highland families had taken up land at the northern end of the block.[27]

The identity of the first Scottish settler in the lower reaches of the Turakina River valley need not detain us, but there were a number of Cameron families, Grants, Fraser, McKenzies, McQuarries, MacDonalds and MacFarlanes.[28]

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[23] H. H. Turton (ed.), *Maori Deeds of Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand*, Vol. 2 (Wellington, 1878), 213.

[24] *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 29 June 1850

[25] Anon, 'Onslow Settlers of the 1840s: Donald MacDonald – The Laird of Kaiwarra', *Onslow Historian*, 18 (1988), 4–11. For a detailed analysis of the migrant party, Gerard Horn, 'The Blenheim's Highland Migrants 1840' (2007) unpublished research paper.

[26] Brad Patterson, '"It brings to mind the wild valleys of lovely Glencoe": The Scots in Early Wellington', unpublished text, Friends of the Turnbull Library Winter Lecture (May 2006), 20–7.

[27] 'Return of nominal list of all purchases of land in the Province of Wellington, *Acts and Proceedings of Wellington Provincial Council* (Session 3, 1855–6), Council Paper, 7–9.

[28] Malcolm W. Wilson, *Turakina: The Story of a Country Parish* (Christchurch, 1952), 13–

Turakina became the settlement nucleus for the whole of the block, a number of families stopping there briefly before taking up lands further to the south.[29] The first years were hard: crude huts had to be built; lands had to be cleared and burned off; grain had then to be sown in the ashes and chipped in. In all of these activities the settlers' Maori neighbours lent a hand, the newcomers being actively welcomed, guided and supported. A child at the time, Eliza Rockel later recorded her fond impressions of 'these restless and incredible people who [were] never still'.[30] What must be noted, however, is that for most of the Highlanders these were not their first encounters with Maori, many who had lived at Kaiwarra, with a pa hard adjacent, having already come to know Maori ways, and firm friendships had developed. Rockel further notes that at Turakina Maori frequently had meals at their house and moved freely in and out of the dwellings, while there were occasional return visits to Maori homes.[31] To be sure, there were sometimes misunderstandings, she writes, but generally these were overcome by mutual goodwill. By 1858 a ribbon of village, backed by developing farms, had emerged along what was already known as the Great North Western Road. At this point the European population was 168, around 789 acres had been fenced, there were 84 acres in wheat and 85 in oats, while 2825 sheep and 1550 cattle were being grazed.[32] Alongside, Ngati Apa were themselves switching to farming on European lines.

In contrast to this apparent harmony, elsewhere in the North Island the 1860s opened with interracial tension, tension destined to soon morph into hitherto unprecedented armed conflict.[33] The epicentre was further to the north, in the Province of Taranaki, and once more the conflict was over the acquisition of Maori land. The first shots were fired in March1860, and within three months there were rumours of a pending attack on Wanganui, the panic inevitably spreading the few miles south to Turakina, bringing calls to establish a local force of volunteers.[34] To help allay fears, Aperahama Tipae convened

14; J. G. Wilson, *Early Rangitikei*, 112–14; the question of the first settler is addressed by Annabell, *Smoke in the Hills?*, 27–31.

[29] See, for example, Rob Knight, *Poyntzfeld: The McKenzies of Lower Rangitikei* (Lower Hutt, 1975); also Ian Clapham, *Pukehou: The Frasers of Lower Rangitikei* (Feilding, 1996).

[30] Knight, *Poyntzfeld,* 42.

[31] Ibid.

[32] 'European Census Returns' *The Government Gazette, Province of Wellington* (hereafter *WP Gazette*), 2 November 1858.

[33] James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Auckland, 1986), 73–88; Kevin Daly (ed.), *Contested Ground: The Taranaki Wars 1860–1881: Te Whenua i tohea* (Wellington, 2010).

[34] *Wanganui Chronicle*, 21 June 1860.

a meeting at Turakina pa, which was attended by Ngati Apa from throughout the block and Wanganui, support for the settlers being unanimously pledged.[35] From early 1861 to 1863 an uneasy truce prevailed on the North Island's western coast, but in May of the latter year fighting again broke out in Taranaki, soon spreading to the Waikato and other upper North Island districts. This time the threat was far more real. In response, the settlers established a company of Turakina Rifle Volunteers, contributed to the Rangitikei Cavalry and set about erecting a redoubt on the perhaps aptly named Cemetery Hill, near the centre of the village.[36] The alarm became even more acute in1864, when conflict actually reached the northern outskirts of the town of Wanganui, but at Turakina the entente remained. Significantly, following a public meeting held in Turakina in May 1864, the *Wellington Independent* reported that Aperahama Tipae, 'the principal Turakina Chief', had 'expressed himself in a more loyal manner than ever he had before'.[37] Very soon after it was reported in the same newspaper that Ngati Apa had expressed their 'readiness to do any amount of fighting for the Queen … (on the understanding) … the Government would supply edibles, wearables, arms and ammunition'.[38]

While the offer was no doubt appreciated, it is likely other reasons also influenced the apparent Ngati Apa willingness to take up arms. Tensions between the Rangitikei Maori and the tribes further to the south had again built up, the dispute this time being over the adjacent Rangitikei-Manawatu block.[39] When the Rangitikei-Turakina block had been sold in 1849, opponents of the sale (in particular Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Toa) had been adamant that no further acreage south of the Rangitikei River would be alienated, irrespective of Crown wishes or further Ngati Apa claims. Yet there was never much prospect this would be accepted by a colonial government eager to acquire the land, or by Ngati Apa, determined to uphold 'rights'. The upshot was squabbling for more than a decade, the tribes being on the brink of their own private war by 1863, the flashpoint being the distribution of returns from renting lands in the retained block to European squatters. It was in this heated atmosphere

[35] *Wellington Independent,* 30 October 1860.

[36] *Wellington Independent,* 25 August 1863, 8 September 1863.

[37] *Wellington Independent,* 28 May 1864. For a background to the threat at Wanganui see Rex H. Voelkerling and Kevin L. Stewart, *From Sand to Papa: A History of the Wanganui County* (Wanganui 1986).

[38] *Wellington Independent*, 16 June 1864.

[39] Rangahaua Whanau Research Report, District 12, Chapter 5; B. N. Dawe, *The Rangitikei-Manawatu Purchase* (MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1948); T. Lindsay Buick, *Old Manawatu* (Palmerston North, 1903), chapter 4.

that Ngati Apa unilaterally offered their interests in the Rangitikei-Manawatu block to the Crown.[40] Taking this unilateral step was one thing, securing the consent of the other tribes was quite a different matter. It took a further three years, with violence a constant prospect, to persuade all concerned to meet together at Parewanui in December 1866 to finalize terms. The occasion has been described in detail by an unexpected attendee, Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, the English Liberal and reformist politician, in his *Greater Britain,* first published 1868. His description of the Ngati Apa, prominent amongst the 'thousand kilted Maoris … [clad in] brilliant tartans and scarlet cloth' is especially appealing.[41] Despite the vigour of the proceedings, which extended over several days, there was little prospect of a degeneration into combat. 'We had previously been told', Dilke recorded, that 'the Maoris never fight upon a sudden quarrel: war is with them a solemn act, entered upon only after much deliberation'.[42] However reluctantly on the part of Ngati Raukawa, the assembly concluded with a decision to sell, a further 220,000 acres passing to the Crown for a consideration of £25,000 (£15,000 to Ngati Apa, £10,000 to Ngati Raukawa).[43] The roughly 2/6 per acre was at least an advance on the 1849 rate.

There was to be only one further scare in the course of the 1860s. By early 1868 most thought the hostilities were over, but this illusion was to be dispelled by what was termed the Titokowaru outbreak, fighting once more stretching down towards Wanganui.[44] When rumours of a war party approaching the settlement from inland began to circulate, Turakina was again 'thrown into a state of painful excitement'.[45] Once more Ngati Apa stood alongside their pakeha neighbours. In the words of Kawana Hunia, described as having 'the appearance of a great Highland Chieftain': 'We will remain on the side of the Europeans, whatever the consequences … we will live with the white people and die in their defence'.[46] Fortunately, there was to be no need for Ngati Apa to make that sacrifice. By March 1869 the war on the West Coast of the North Island was at an end and, despite the traumas, by the close of

[40] Aperahama Tipae *et al* to I. E. Featherston, 10 June 1865, Enclosure 2 in No. 4, 'Papers relative to the Rangitikei land dispute', *AJHR*, 1865, E2, 8.

[41] C. W. Dilke, *Greater Britain: A Record of Travel in English-Speaking Countries*, 8th edn (London, 1885), 250

[42] Ibid., 256

[43] Turton, *Maori Land Purchases,* 214–30.

[44] James Belich, *I Shall Not Die: Titokowaru's War, New Zealand 1868–9* (Wellington, 1989).

[45] *Evening Post,* 5 December 1868.

[46] *Evening Post*, 12 December 1868.

the 1860s Turakina was seemingly facing a bright future. Whereas settlements further to the north had felt the full destructive force of the fighting, Turakina was physically unscathed. Indeed it had actually benefitted from the unsettled times, serving as a centre for rest and recreation when 2,000 Imperial troops were stationed in Wanganui, while detachments of Armed Constabulary had also been periodically stationed in the settlement.

As early as 1867 the *Wellington Independent* was impelled to observe that what had been a quiet and rather primitive little village in the 1850s was fast becoming a bustling township: 'the grating of the saw and the tap of the hammer everywhere indicates the rapid progress of the settlement'.[47] Buildings and businesses were springing up on all sides. Turakina was viewed as a clear leader over Marton and Bulls further south in the block, and for more than two further decades this district ascendancy continued. By the mid-1870s Turakina accommodated three hotels, a boarding house, three grocers, three butchers, a shoemaker, two bakeries, two blacksmiths, two saddlers, two saleyards, a courthouse, a police station and three churches.[48] It serviced a growing European population of around 600, while the Maori population still hovered around 300. Moreover, the adjacent countryside had assumed a more developed appearance, with neat fields, the roads bounded by sod banks topped by gorse hedges. There could be 'no snugger locality in which to live', wrote one visitor.[49] 'Here a man could be extremely happy were he the possessor of a good-tempered thrifty wife and a clutch of a dozen children'. And, at least on the surface, it was not only the Highlanders and their families who were doing well. In May 1876, Resident Magistrate James Booth reported that during the preceding year 'the Natives have grown larger grain crops than I have noticed for many years past. They are also improving their stock …Many of them own small flocks of sheep, and at every village may be seen ploughs, harrows, carts etc … They seem on the whole, to be prosperous and contented'.[50] In the following year Booth's successor, Robert Ward, ventured that 'the natives at Turakina have some of the finest grazing farms in the district'.[51] Most now lived in European-type dwellings, while strong drink had been banned from

[47] *Wellington Independent*, 31 January 1867

[48] Dorothy Jurgens and Judith Crawley, 'Turakina: A District History', *Historical Record (Wanganui)*, 11 (1980), 16.

[49] *Wellington Independent*, 12 September 1872.

[50] James Booth to Under Secretary Native Department, 31 May 1877, *AJHR,* 1876, G1, 36.

[51] Robert Ward to Under Secretary Native Department, 25 May 1877, *AJHR,* 1877, G1, 20.

the villages. In marked contrast to the tribes to the north and south, their numbers were actually increasing.

A constant theme from contemporary observers was the apparent harmony between the races at Turakina, the settlement being advanced as a model for other districts, with the close affinity between Ngati Apa and the Highland settlers especially noted.[52] Yet, while there was certainly a propensity for the former to adopt European ways, the cultural traffic was by no means always one way. The case of Alexander MacDonald evidences the degree of respect that existed between the Scots and their Maori neighbours.[53] Born in the Highlands, the son of Donald MacDonald, leader of the *Blenheim* migrants, he was just twelve years of age when he arrived in New Zealand. As a youth Alex struck up friendships at Kaiwarra pa, becoming fluent in language and steeped in Maori customs, which was to stand him in good stead. As he was to later write, in his experience 'Highlanders who have learnt to speak the Maori tongue can enter into the feeling of a Maori … better than most Europeans'.[54] While post-1850 MacDonald was to lead a peripatetic life, variously making his home at Wanganui, Rangitikei and Manawatu, the fact that he married a Turakina Cameron effectively anchored him to that settlement. What sets MacDonald apart from most of his fellow Scots settlers is that he left extended manuscript reminiscences, and the passages therein may be taken as indicative of mindsets.[55] The Maori, he argued, were a strong, brave and honourable people. Anticipating arguments that were to be advanced more than a hundred years later, he made a strong case that the Treaty of Waitangi had never been honoured. Maori had been guaranteed possession of their lands, which could only be alienated through fair and honest purchase. This, he stated, had never been the case, and land had been the catalyst for most of the hostilities in the colony, something that Scots were well placed to understand. Unusually, MacDonald was prepared to act in conformity with his beliefs, a willingness clear from his involvement in the aftermath of the Manawatu-Rangitikei purchase. At that point a government-appointed Sheep Inspector, he was approached in 1867 by a group of Maori ('as honest and straightforward people as God's sun shone on') whose claims to reserve lands

[52] Annabell, *Smoke in the Hills?*, 42–6.

[53] Ibid, 12–13; J. G. Wilson *Early Rangitikei*, 93–7, 161–3, 187–9. Most writers on Turakina have drawn from MacDonald's reminiscences, later transcribed by Sir Michael Fowler as Alexander MacDonald, *My Story*, ATL, MS Papers, 6628.

[54] MacDonald, *My Story,* 36.

[55] Alexander MacDonald, *Reminiscences* (1904), ATL MS Papers 1167.

in the sold block were being ignored by the Crown.[56] For a half dozen years MacDonald variously appeared for them before the Native Land Court and paid for their representation before higher tribunals, in the process being dismissed from his public employment. When all legal efforts failed, he adopted a more direct approach. Destroying survey stations on the disputed land, an earlier protest, was small beer, but when the Crown sought to legitimise the passage of coach traffic across the block he brought the situation to a head by shooting the leading horse of the first team to attempt to cross.[57] Arrested and tried, he was sentenced to three years penal servitude. MacDonald went to jail with his resources exhausted, his family near destitute, and, as might be expected in a close Highland community, family and neighbours rallied round. But the most touching gesture was the transfer by Maori of around 800 acres from their remaining lands to his wife and family, together with a sum of money for their support raised through mortgage.[58]

It would probably be too much to suggest such strong bonds, such mutual support, were the norm in Turakina, but there is sufficient evidence to indicate sturdy and wide ranging interracial links. At Turakina, as in Scotland, church and school were bound together, the Highlanders in the main being Free Church of Scotland folk who clung strongly to their non-conformist faith.[59] Initially their spiritual needs were attended to by itinerant clergy, but it should not surprise that within a half dozen years a church and manse had been erected and a resident Presbyterian minister secured.[60] It is surely significant that while Catholic and Church of England churches were subsequently built, in 1868 and 1883 respectively, at no point in the nineteenth century was there a resident priest or vicar. At Turakina the Free Church ethos prevailed, and successive ministers were the guardians, none more so than the Rev. John Ross, a Caithness man, who served the parish from 1871 to 1903.[61] A distinguished graduate of the University of Edinburgh, his influence was evident in regular services in Gaelic, stress on the importance of education, and a commitment to the temperance movement. A sign of

[56] MacDonald, *My Story*, 65.
[57] Ibid, 71; *Evening Post*, 1 May 1874; *Evening Post*, 8 June 1874.
[58] MacDonald, *My Story*, 72–3; J. G. Wilson, *Early Rangitikei*, 188.
[59] Annabell, *Smoke in the Hills?*, 31–3.; John Dickson, *History of the New Zealand Presbyterian Church* (Dunedin, 1899), 510–13.
[60] Malcolm W. Wilson, *Turakina: The Story of a Country Parish 1852–1952* (Christchurch, 1952), 22–5.
[61] Ibid, 34–46; see also Register of New Zealand Presbyterian Ministers, Deaconesses & Missionaries 1840–2009 (URL: http://presbyterian.org.nz/archives/page195.htm)

his stature is that in 1881, notwithstanding his backblocks domicile, Ross was elected Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand.[62] Amongst Maori, however, the Presbyterians were slower in establishing a pastoral foothold. Indeed the Church of England, through what it termed its Native Missionaries, held greater sway in the 1850s and 1860s, and it was not until the 1870s, then conceivably at the instigation of Ross, that the Presbyterian missions adopted a more proactive approach. While there were itinerant Presbyterian missioners from the 1850s, it was not until 1889 that a full-time Presbyterian missioner took up residence at Turakina pa.[63] What is without question, however, is that, regardless of denomination, Turakina acquired a reputation as a God-fearing settlement, and the preoccupations tended to be the same for both races.

Schooling was slower getting under way. Through the 1850s attendance was fee-paying and voluntary, a disincentive in an establishing settlement, and by 1861 the Turakina Common School, one of several in the first decade, still catered for no more than 25 pupils.[64] But the numbers grew when the Wellington Education Board assumed responsibility in 1865, with the roll climbing to around 100 in the ensuing decade.[65] Little attention was initially given to the provision of schooling for Maori children. Several high-born individuals were sent to an Anglican Church School in Wanganui, but it was not until the mid-1870s that a school for Maori, associated with the Presbyterian Church, opened. In 1877 an Inspector noted that some 20 pupils were enrolled in the Native School, that considerable progress was being made, and that it was 'a source of pleasure to hear them singing Sankey's hymns'.[66] Yet the Native School lasted little longer than four years, children from both races then combining in one school for the first time. In 1881, fourteen Maori children were attending the government school, their diligence was described as 'unbounded', and they were said to have a 'lively sense of discipline'.[67] A common member of the various school boards, the Rev. Ross was instrumental in offering a combined educational stream, but his influence extended well beyond the primary institutions. It was through his initiative that a secondary boarding school was founded in Turakina in 1878, at first co-educational, but

[62] Ibid., 41.
[63] Ibid., 53.
[64] *Turakina School Jubilee 1852–1984* (Turakina, 1984), 27.
[65] Ibid., 34.
[66] Robert Ward to Under Secretary Native Department, 25 May 1877 *AJHR* (1877), G1, 20.
[67] *Wanganui Chronicle*, 21 May 1881, 10 June 1881.

soon evolving into a 'Ladies Classical School'.[68] In the latter guise it attracted boarders from across the North Island, winning a high reputation. At the same time the Rev. Ross operated what amounted to a *de facto* theological college at Turakina, offering tuition to candidates for the Presbyterarian ministry before they completed their studies at the Theological Hall in Dunedin.[69] Despite its modest size, Turakina was a hub of North Island Presbyterian activity.

The seemingly free mingling of the races was also evident in a number of leisure activities. A prime example was Maori involvement in the annual Turakina Caledonian Games, first placed on an organised basis in 1864.[70] Maori, predictably, lacked the training to participate in the piping and dancing competitions, but they soon made themselves felt in the athletics contests. In the second year the games were held, the field events were won by recent migrant William Ritchie, but the *New Zealand Spectator* noted, with surprise, that he had been pushed hard by a half-caste, James Rutherford, who had also featured in the jumps.[71] A Maori identified only as Blackie had won the 600 yard flat race. Such results were far from uncommon. Young Maori did especially well in the running events, while in the late 1870s Colin, surname unstated, but also a Maori, won distinction in the caber tossing.[72] This pattern continued in the 1880s, with greater emphasis being placed on athletics than traditional Highland competitions. By this point, despite the disapproval of some settlement leaders, Maori and Pakeha were jointly indulging in a new passion: horse racing. The unsettling character of what was generally hailed as 'the fête day of Turakina', was observed both by Rev. Ross and the teacher at the Native School, but to little avail.[73] Race meetings had been held earlier in adjoining settlements, but the first in Turakina was in March 1878.[74] Although at every meeting there was a race for horses owned, trained and ridden by Maori (the Ngawiriki Stakes), generally for a purse of twenty sovereigns, Maori horses competed freely throughout the race cards. In 1884, for example, Maori-owned horses placed second in the Handicap Hurdles, first and second in the Maiden Plate, third in the District Handicap.[75] The meetings remained a highlight of the Turakina year until the first decade of the twentieth

[68] M. W. Wilson, *Story of a Country Parish*, 49–53.
[69] Ibid., 47.
[70] *Wanganui Chronicle*, 7 January 1864.
[71] *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 11 January 1865.
[72] *Wanganui Herald,* 19 March 1878.
[73] *Wanganui Chronicle,* 14 February 1878.
[74] *Wanganui Herald*, 2 March 1878.
[75] *Feilding Star,* 1 March 1884.

century. Mixed rugby football also became a Turakina feature in the 1880s. Clubs had been formed in Wanganui in 1872 and further south in Marton and Bulls in 1876, with Turakina being considered a handy intermediate point for matches.[76] Indications are that a Turakina club was formed several years later, but it was not until the mid-1880s that the local team participated in regular competitions, principally with teams from the Wanganui district and Fielding. Nevertheless, the Saturday matches soon became considerable local events, great interest being exhibited by both communities. In July 1890 a visitor from Wanganui noted, if somewhat sniffily, 'the ground being crowded, the native element predominating, as the Maoris… rolled up to see their dusky brethren play'.[77] He was even more surprised that 'several of the Maoris played without boots'. What puzzled him was how they 'managed to kick the ball with their bare feet', and the way in which they 'rushed into the scrums quite regardless of their nude understandings'. Whatever, Turakina triumphed on the day, by 6 points to 2. After the game was over, a haka was danced and all adjourned to the Ben Nevis Hotel.

On the evidence advanced so far, it might be suggested that, after the traumas of the 1860s, in this one New Zealand settlement there was a certain complementarity of economic endeavour between the Highland settlers and Ngati Apa (even if the resources were far from equally shared). Equally, there was shared religious commitment and appreciation of the value of education, and there was ready social mixing and joint pursuit of at least some avenues of leisure. What, then, of more intimate relations? What, for instance, was the incidence of intermarriage between settlers and Maori at Turakina? It must be conceded at once that properly answering these questions will require a great deal more research, in particular a careful study of extant marriage registers that have yet to be accessed.[78] For the moment, all that can be offered are first impressions, based on anecdotal evidence and isolated newspaper reports. A knowledgeable local historian, a descendant of one of the original Highland families and the holder of a degree in history, strongly suggests that scarcely one of those families was devoid of a Ngati Apa connection, whether through marriage or less formalised congress.[79] A current Ngati Apa kaumatua (or Elder) endorses this proposition: at Turakina, he states, a close-knit and

[76] *Wanganui Herald,* 28 August 1876, 8 September 1876.
[77] *Wanganui Chronicle*, 9 July 1890.
[78] I am grateful to Gerard Horn for information as to the possible location of registers for the Turakina district.
[79] Pers. com. Bruce Cameron, 10 July 2006.

racially intermingled community developed. In his words: 'We formed in our own minds a whanau (or extended family) of Turakina – a whanau of Maori, Scots and some other settlers'.[80] Mute evidence of this sits on Cemetery Hill, overlooking the village, the site of the 1860s redoubt. There, on a thin scatter of stones, Maori Christian names offer prima facie confirmation of the closeness of family links. If further be needed, in the mainly European hilltop cemetery eight Ngati Apa kaumatua rest alongside their Scots contemporaries, testimony to mutual respect and friendship.

It may well seem that the account of Highlander-Ngati Apa interactions that has been presented is an almost idyllic one. Further, if the reconstruction be accurate, the harmony and special character of the settlement would ideally have been carried through well into the twentieth century. Sadly, this was not the case, or only to a limited degree. As early as 1914 it was possible for James Glenny Wilson, native of Howick, Roxburghshire, a migrant to New Zealand in 1873, subsequently a substantial landowner in the south of the Rangitikei-Turakina block, to lament that Turakina had largely lost its Highland flavour.[81] Turakina will never have the same fascination for me', he wrote in his now classic memoir *Early Rangitikei*.[82] 'The old people are all being replaced by ordinary Colonists'. The early settlement leaders had almost all passed on; no longer were every day conversations in Gaelic the norm; the hold of the church was weakening; scions of the settler families were increasingly making their lives elsewhere. But it was not just the Highland flavour that was disappearing. Ironically, the Maori presence in the immediate vicinity of the settlement was also greatly reduced. The 1907 Stout-Ngata Commission, investigating Maori land tenure, might well praise the standard of Maori farming in the district, but the numbers so engaged were relatively few.[83] The Turakina Maori were by now largely confined to remnants of their reserved lands. To all intents dispossessed, Ngati Apa were becoming invisible in their own rohe, young Maori steadily drifting away to low status jobs in other districts.

It might be argued that this blurring of ethnic origins was a natural outcome of the passing of the first and second contact generations, and this no doubt was a major contributing factor, but there were other underlying forces

[80] 'A whanau (family) of Turakina', caption notes for *The Scots in New Zealand* exhibition, Te Papa Tongarewa: Museum of New Zealand (2007).

[81] Tom Brooking, 'Wilson, James Glenny 1849–1929' in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography,* Vol. 3 (Wellington, 1993), 585–6; L. J. Wild, *The Life and Times of Sir James Wilson of Bulls* (Christchurch, 1953).

[82] J. G. Wilson, *Early Rangitikei, 115.*

[83] *Wanganui Herald*, 26 March 1907.

at work. For a start, the advent of the railway in 1877, linking Turakina first to Wanganui, then to settlements further south, ultimately to Wellington, the colonial capital, undoubtedly reduced its distinctiveness.[84] Turakina was no longer a destination, more a place to be passed through. Further, while locals initially anticipated that rail access would provide a boost to the township and environs, this proved not to be the case. Symptomatic of the misplaced confidence was the surveying out for sale of 140 residential sections in the vicinity of the railway stations by local landowner George Yates Lethbridge.[85] Two decades later most remained unsold. Mr Lethbridge's speculative actions nevertheless highlight a phenomenon which hitherto has largely gone unrecognised, the passing of more and more Turakina land into fewer hands as the late nineteenth century decades passed. As early as 1876 the *Wanganui Herald* railed against land monopoly, the activities of those it termed 'the great land gourmands'.[86] As in the old country, sheep were taking the place of human beings, thereby stunting the growth of the district. Any who doubted this were invited to 'traverse the main road from Turakina to Bulls … [for up to seven miles], see on one side of the road the absence of homesteads, … [and [then] … realise the fact that upwards of 30,000 acres belong to one great monopolist'. This estate, Heaton Park, was the property of leading Wellington merchant Capt. W. B. (Barney) Rhodes, a Lincolnshire man, one of the richest men in the southern North Island, arguably in the colony, a classic absentee landlord.[87] Heaton Park had been meticulously assembled over a quarter century through compensation grants, Crown purchases and aggressive acquisitions from earlier selectors.[88] Heaton Park ran from the main road line to the coast. To the north of the road George Yates Lethbridge was in the process of pulling together a comparable, if less consolidated, estate.[89] A Devonshire man who had made his fortune supplying Imperial troops in Taranaki in the early 1860s, he secured his first foothold through the purchase of 2000 acre Ann Bank from James Wilson in 1867. Unlike Rhodes, Lethbridge was a resident, and he set about establishing himself as the squire of Turakina (it was

[84] *Evening Post*, 18 May 1877; David B. Leitch, *Railways of New Zealand* (Newton Abbot, 1972), 46–7.

[85] *Turakina School Jubilee*, 34.

[86] *Wanganui Herald*, 20 January 1876, 3 April 1876.

[87] Brad Patterson, 'Rhodes, William Barnard 1807?–1878' in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Vol. 1 (Wellington, 1990), 361–2.

[88] A. L. Ferguson, 'The Building of W. B. Rhodes's Heaton Park Estate, Rangitikei, 1850–1915' (BA Hons research essay, Victoria University of Wellington, 1989).

[89] See obituary *Wanganui Chronicle*, 25 September 1894.

no coincidence that the Turakina Highway Board soon became the Lethbridge Highway Board). By 1892 he and his sons held 13,000 acres in the district, as well as extensive holdings elsewhere.[90] Collectively, critics charged, these landowners exerted a 'withering and blighting influence' on Turakina. Original smaller landholders were hemmed in, then squeezed out. With no room for settlement expansion, family members were forced to try their luck elsewhere. The large pastoral estates effectively precluded subdivision for closer settlement, at least until the spread of dairying in the early twentieth century made it profitable. And there was another consideration; properties such as those held by Rhodes and Lethbridge almost constituted village settlements in their own right, and there was a propensity for the landowners to seek cheap outside labour. 'Turakina … was originally, we believe, a Scotch settlement', commented an 1883 traveller, 'we should almost say the Hibernian element is now predominant'.[91]

The pressure on Turakina land also had another destabilising effect. Under the Native Lands Acts 1862 and 1865, the reserve lands earlier set aside for Maori were steadily whittled away.[92] To the mid-1860s these totalled some 30,000 acres between the Turakina and Wangaehu Rivers, and a further 3,000 acres within the Turakina-Rangitikei block itself. With only a portion of those lands in cultivation at any one time, there was an initial willingness on the part of Ngati Apa to negotiate leases for some of the acreage with settlers, an arrangement that was seen to be mutually advantageous. In July 1869 it was stated that almost £4,000 annually was being paid to Turakina's Maori landlords.[93] Yet it was always likely the fortunate leaseholders, in particular the major district landowners, would ultimately seek a more secure form of tenure, and the Native Land Acts, with subsequent amending legislation, provided the means. When first surveyed out, the reserves were held under customary tenure, that is, they were vested in the tribe. The 1860s Native Lands Acts, and subsequent amending legislation, however, sought the individualisation of title after hearings in the Native Lands Court, but there was little dissent

[90] Further Report by the Commissioner of the Land and Income Tax Department, 16 September 1892, *AJHR* 1892, B20A, Table 5; see also 'Lethbridge and Sons' in *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, Vol. 1, *Wellington Provincial District* (Wellington, 1897), 1338–9.

[91] *Feilding Star*, 9 June 1883.

[92] For general operation of Land Acts see David V. Williams, *'Te Kooti Tango Whenua': The Native Land Court 1864–1909* (Wellington, 1999).

[93] *Wellington Independent,* 1 January 1869.

when 'ownership' was reposed in tribal leaders.[94] The problems arose when kaumatua, including it must be said, Aperahama Tipae and Kawana Hunia, agreed to sell lands that were essentially held in trust. Attempts to block the sales in the 1880s and 1890s by dissident tribal members proved fruitless.[95] By 1907 no more than a few thousand acres remained in Ngati Apa hands.

On the eve of World War One, James Glenny Wilson, now comfortably ensconced on his Bulls property, considered Turakina to be 'a very picturesque village, with many beautiful trees and neat hedges',[96] but it was a settlement which had regressed as the more southerly townships of Marton and Bulls had forged ahead. In his view, Turakina was likely to drift further into comfortable obscurity, becoming indistinguishable from most other small New Zealand rural settlements. Yet closer examination suggests there were to be several important ongoing legacies from the mid- and late-nineteenth century encounter years. For a time Turakina continued to be a centre of Presbyterian education. With the retirement of the Rev. John Ross in 1903, the Turakina Ladies Classical School closed. This loss, however, offered an opportunity. Supported by Ross, the Rev. H. J. Fletcher, Maori Missioner at Turakina, proposed the opening at the manse of a secondary school for Maori girls, who would be trained in the Christian faith and homecrafts as well as being given a general education.[97] Launched with thirty pupils in April 1905 by Prime Minister Richard Seddon, the Turakina Maori Girls School soon acquired a colony-wide reputation,[98] and was to be a feature of Turakina life for a further twenty-three years before, despite strong opposition, its relocation to Marton, still as the Turakina Maori Girls College. Conceivably also influenced by the deep religious feeling fostered in the district, the Ratana movement took root just across the Turakina River in the 1920s.[99] Born near Bulls in 1873, Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana, a Maori farmer, experienced a vision in 1918 in which the Holy Spirit instructed him to preach the gospel to Maori people. Celebrated as a faith healer, he initiated a sweeping religious revival in the 1920s, his New Zealand wide adherents numbering nearly 12,000 by 1926. In consequence, a makeshift village on the Ratana farm speedily metamorphosed into a modern township, up to 600 being in residence at any one time. By the 1930s the religious dimension was matched by a pan-tribal political initiative,

[94] *Wellington Independent,* 24 July 1869.
[95] *Wanganui Herald,* 9 August 1887, 6 December 1888.
[96] J. G. Wilson, *Early Rangitikei*, 114.
[97] M. W. Wilson, *Story of a Country Parish*, 53–6; *Otago Witness*, 25 November 1903.
[98] *Wanganui Herald*, 6 July 1907; *Evening Post*, 26 March 1910.
[99] Keith Newman, *Ratana Revisited: An Unfinished Legacy* (Auckland, 2006).

Ratana candidates, in alliance with the New Zealand Labour Party, taking all four Maori seats then available in the New Zealand Parliament. Ratana was to remain a force until the present day. Meanwhile, Turakina's Highland heritage was kept alive, if sometimes fitfully, by the Turakina Caledonian Society.[100] Inevitably, the membership, largely drawn from the early settler families, attenuated, the Society's most significant contribution being the annual staging of the Highland Games, a proud boast being that the Games went ahead notwithstanding war, depressions or adverse climatic conditions. Even so, attendances shrank and the gatherings came to bear little resemblance to those of earlier years.

How, then, to conclude? What I have presented is no more than a vignette, a case-study of one set of Highland-Maori encounters. What the evidence does suggest is that both major race relations interpretations so far advanced by New Zealand historians are a little too simplistic to satisfactorily encompass the situation. The first, which held sway until the 1970s, and is still embraced by some, stressed that, certainly in comparison with other former settler colonies, race relations in New Zealand were relatively benign and beneficial.[101] The second, which has gathered strength in recent years, emphasises the adverse impacts of colonisation on Maori, wilful dispossession and cultural genocide.[102] Arguably, the Turakina experience falls between the two. Yet even this conclusion must be considered interim. The study to date has been essentially based on European (settler) sources, on printed and manuscript records. To be fully balanced, Ngati Apa tribal traditions, oral history, must also be taken into account. This will be the next step in the investigation.

A modern-day footnote is in order. Under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 Maori tribal groups may seek redress for historical actions and omissions by the Crown deemed to have breached promises made in the 1840 Treaty. With the great majority of Ngati Apa now living outside the tribal area, the tribal Council (Te Runanga o Ngati Apa) has sought compensation for the historical loss of around 500,000 acres, as well as recognition of significant cultural sites. After extended negotiations, a draft agreement between Ngata Apa and the Crown was signed in October 2008, with a bill to be placed before the New

100 Patterson, 'Turakina's Highland Games'.

101 Useful examples include: Keith Sinclair, 'Why are race relations better in New Zealand than in South Africa, South Australia or South Dakota? *New Zealand Journal of History*, 5 (1971), 121–7; K. R. Howe, *Race Relations Australia and New Zealand: A Comprehensive Survey 1770s–1970s* (Wellington, 1977).

102 For instances see essays in Giselle Byrnes (ed.), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand* (South Melbourne, 2009).

Zealand Parliament.[103] This will make provision for substantial monetary compensation (NZ$16 million), the return of a number of sites, also other cultural redress measures. It is hoped the compensation will assist Ngati Apa to re-establish a vigorous presence in their rohe. While the tribal council is now based in offices in Marton, the cultural nerve centre will remain Tini Waitora marae, adjacent to Turakina. There is tribal acknowledgement there is now a shared heritage in the district, an insistence that the marae is a meeting place for everyone in the Turakina community. Nearby, the Ratana pa continues to expound wider community values. And, to round the story out, the Highland descendants at Turakina are also enjoying a renaissance. In the late 1980s the stalwarts keeping the games afloat engineered a return to roots, making them a more faithful replication of what they had once been.[104] They are now the most traditional Highland Games held in New Zealand. Moreover, just as tribal members are being attracted back to Tini Waitora, so have descendants of the *Blenheim* families returning for the annual gathering. Moreover, the Celtic revival has extended beyond the Games, with an influx into the district, and old links with the Scottish homeland reforged. Earlier a Maori elder's suggestion that at Turakina a whanau (or family group) encompassing Maori, Scots and indeed some other settlers, has evolved over time was cited. It should not perhaps surprise, then, that that elder and leading members of the Turakina Caledonian Society are in fact blood relations.

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[103] A draft of the Ngati Apa (North Island) Claims Settlement Bill is available from the New Zealand Parliamentary Counsel's Office website [URL http://www,legislation.govt.nz]. See also Ngati Apa's Tribal Council website [URL http://www.ngatiapa.iwi.nz].

[104] See website of Turakina Caledonian Society Inc [URL http://www.turakinahighlandgames.co.nz]; also Patterson, 'Turakina's Highland Games'.