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The Substance of the Shadow

Māori and Pākehā political economic relationships

1860-1940

A far northern case study

Adrienne M. A. Puckey

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
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Abstract

Between 1860 and 1940 Aotearoa New Zealand's economy and economic base was transformed in a number of significant ways, following similar patterns in earlier-established British colonies. The influx of European immigrants drastically altered the demography and contested land – the economic base. Money became increasingly important as medium of exchange and unit of account. Whereas the economy was unregulated or lightly-regulated before 1860, regulation increasingly formalised economic relations and institutions, and work organisation became more impersonal.

In urban areas these transformations were substantially complete by 1940. However, in rural areas, where most Māori and fewer Pākehā lived, economic transformation was more of a hybrid than a complete change from one form to another. The informal economy (unmeasured and unregulated), and particularly the rural informal economy, contributed (and still contributes) quantitatively to the national economy. Whether within Māori communities, within Pākehā communities or between the two, the more informal rural economy depended on social relations to a large extent.

Māori had choices about how they related to the introduced economic system, ranging from full engagement to rejection and non-involvement, with numerous negotiated positions in between. With the conviction that they could satisfactorily negotiate terms of participation, Māori had invited Europeans to the far north. The extent of Māori involvement in all the dominant (formal) economic activities of the far north, 1860-1940, clearly indicates their efforts were integral rather than peripheral to the Pākehā economy. But Māori economic activity has been relegated to the shadows of economic history. The relationship between the two systems is better understood by recognising the interplay between formal and informal (shadow) economies.

The social organisation of work, the kaupapa of the informal economy, the diversity of strategies and tactics, and relationship building (both bonding and bridging), were the strengths from which far northern Māori relentlessly engaged with the Pākehā economy, while maintaining a degree of autonomy until World War One. In effect they played an invisible hand of cards, invisible, that is, to studies of the formal economy.

Dedicated to my father, Walter Iselton Puckey, who departed this life 13 June 2005,
and to Niamh and Charmaine who arrived in the course of this study.

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Abbreviations

ACL	Auckland Central Library
AJHR	<i>Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives</i>
ANZA	Archives New Zealand Auckland
ANZW	Archives New Zealand Wellington
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library
AUL	The University of Auckland Library
DNZB	<i>Dictionary of New Zealand Biography</i>
FNRM	Far North Regional Museum
JPS	<i>Journal of the Polynesian Society</i>
MHR	Member of the House of Representatives
MP	Member of Parliament (from 1950s)
NZJH	<i>New Zealand Journal of History</i>
NZPD	<i>New Zealand Parliamentary Debates</i>
WGP, L&J	Puckey, William Gilbert, Journals and Letters, 1831-1868 Typed transcript, qMS-1665-1666, and microfilm MS-Copy- Micro-0019, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington

Glossary

Words written in the Māori language have long vowels marked with an umlaut rather than a macron, because the thesis has been written in a Macintosh environment, which does not support macrons. The exception to the general rule of long-vowel marking is where quotations have been inserted, in which cases original marking has been retained. Guidance on the use of long vowels has been taken from H. W. Williams' *A Dictionary of the Maori Language*,¹ with the exception that for local usage, reference has been made to McCully Matiu's and Margaret Mutu's *Te Whānau Moana*.² This latter has been the primary reference for spelling of local people and place names. If vowel length is uncertain it is unmarked. On first reference to words in the Māori language, a short-form, closest translation is added.

Atawhai	Show kindness, be liberal, foster
Hākari	Feast or ritual gift-giving
Hāpai	Uplift
Hapū	Kin-based social, political and economic unit
Hoko	Buy, sell
Hui	Gathering, meeting or assembly
Iwi	Tribe, large kin-based social and political unit
Kai-karakia	Lay-reader
Kaimoana	Seafood
Kāinga	Home, village, settlement
Kanohi-ki-te kanohi	Face-to-face
Karere	Messenger, policeman, constable
Kaupapa	Rule, policy, basic idea, topic
Kete	Kit, woven flax bag
Kingitanga	The King movement
Koha	Gift, donation, parting message

¹ H. W. Williams, *Dictionary of the Maori Language*, 7th edn, Wellington, 1971, reprinted 2003.

² McCully Matiu and Margaret Mutu, *Te Whānau Moana: Ngā Kaupapa Me Ngā Tikanga: Customs and Protocols*, trans. Margaret Mutu, Auckland, 2003.

Komiti	Committee(s)
Kotahitanga	Tribal unity, or the unity movement of northern tribes
Mana	Power, authority, prestige,
Mana whenua	Authority over access to, and use of land in a particular geographic location
Manaaki	Sharing and caring
Manaakitanga	Hospitality
Manuhiri	Visitors
Māori	A person or people of Aotearoa New Zealand indigenous descent
Marae	Traditional meeting place, community facilities
Moana, moananui	Sea, ocean
Muru	Ritual plunder, confiscation
Pä	Fortified settlement or temporary war base
Päkehä	A person or people of British descent (in the 1860-1940 time period)
Papakāinga	Original home, village lands
Pepeha	Set form of words, proverb, tribal saying
Pono	True, truth
Rangatira	Chief, leader, person of noble birth
Rūnanga	Assembly, council, debate (v)
Take	Cause, reason, issue, or origin
Tangata whenua	Indigenous people, people of the land
Tangi	Funeral, lamentation, ceremony of mourning
Tapu	Under religious or spiritual restriction, sacred state
Tarara	Dalmatian(s)
Tauīwi	Foreigners
Taumau	Arranged marriage
Te Oneroa-a-Tohe	Tohe's long beach, commonly known as Ninety Mile Beach
Te reo	The Māori language
Tika	Straight, direct; right, correct; just, fair; integrity
Tikanga	Correct procedures, cultural values
Tohunga	Skilled person, especially in religious ritual
Turangawaewae	Land, place of one's tribal ancestry, a place to stand
Tuku	Allow, let, give up (and a wide range of other meanings)
Tuku whenua	Allocation of land for habitation and use
Utu	Reciprocity, satisfaction, price
Waka	Canoe
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whakaponu	Trust
Whānau	Immediate or extended family group (whanau whanui may be used for the wider family setting)
Whanaungatanga	Kinship, social interaction, being connected
Wharekai	Dining hall
Wharenui	Meeting house
Wharetangata	Womb, child-bearer, connection by marriage
Whare wānanga	School of higher learning