

# Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi and the Mangatū Lands

28 May 2018

Anthony Pātete

A report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust  
for the Waitangi Tribunal Mangatū Remedies district inquiry

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## Abbreviations

CFL	Crown Forest Licenced
NAKWT	Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi Whānau Trust
TRTK	Te Rūnanga a Tūrangānui a Kiwa
MLC	Māori Land Court

## **NGĀ MIHI/ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

Special acknowledgement is given to the Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi claimants and Trustees of the Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi Whānau Trust who provided their time and energy, either through the giving of information verbally, by email, or at a hui at Mangatū in early May. They were very tolerant, patient, and supportive.

Further acknowledgement and gratitude is also given to Nicola Kiri-Smith of Crown Forestry Rental Trust to the managing of the report contract and progress reports, and to Tom Bennion and Emma Whiley for support and feedback. Thanks is also extended to those mostly unnamed staff at the various repositories who assisted in the research of this report.

The views and opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Crown Forestry Rental Trust. I apologise for any editing errors in this report.

### **About the author**

My name is Anthony Pātete. Of Ngāti Rangatahi ki Kākāriki, Ngāti Kuia me Ngāti Koata i Te Tau Ihu, Rangitāne ki Wairau, Te Ātiawa ki Te Whanganui-a-Tara, English, and Welsh descent, I was born and raised in Wellington. Having begun my working life with the Department of Lands and Survey, I eventually graduated from Victoria University with a Bachelor of Science majoring in NZ history and physical geography. After leaving National Archives (now Archives NZ) where I was an archivist and conservation technician for some five years, I have been a consultant on historical and policy matters for 27 years and have completed research and reports in a number of districts, including the Eastern Bay of Plenty, East Coast, Gisborne, Central North Island, Taranaki, Te Rohe Pōtae, Te Te Ihu, Te Waipounamu, Porirua ki Manawatū. I have also been involved in providing research, policy, regulatory and strategic advice to Government agencies on Treaty of Waitangi issues, Māori and other policy, including Treaty settlements, whānau development, public health, youth suicide, notifiable diseases and bio-security to name a few. I am currently working as a consultant for several Crown agencies and tribal groups, and as a Trustee for several Ngāti Koata trust boards.

## Introduction

This report is a response to the following issues identified by the Waitangi Tribunal around the customary interests of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi<sup>1</sup> in Mangatū with specific reference to the Mangatū Crown Forest Licensed (CFL) lands, and the impacts on Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi Iwi of Treaty of Waitangi breaches by the Crown; viz:<sup>2</sup>

- Further and updated evidence to assist in determining the interests of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi in the Mangatū CFL land or part of it proposed to be returned
- Further and updated evidence regarding the impact of Crown actions on Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi over time
- Detailed evidence on customary rights and relationships of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi to the CFL lands in accordance with tikanga, and prejudice suffered over time by Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi from the impact of Treaty breaches which the Tribunal has identified.

The report therefore considers the traditional relationship the Iwi have with Mangatū and the nature and impact of the losses the Iwi suffered in the subsequent forced separation from Mangatū. This is a continuation of a similar exercise undertaken by Dr Bryan Gilling in 2012,<sup>3</sup> although it was not my intent to reiterate his findings per se.

Given my lack of Te Reo proficiency and intimate knowledge of the Tūranga inquiry district, this report considered, and in many instances relies on, documentary evidence in the form of historian reports, claimant briefs of evidence, and other relevant records presented to the Tūranga and Mangatū Remedies inquiries. I also considered land court minutes and other primary and secondary sources where located, with Gilling's caveat on this type of evidence in mind:

... these do provide a snapshot – filtered and incomplete though it might be – of the thoughts and words of the participants at the time. They have the benefit of being frozen at that point, but we then have the challenge of interpreting them and deriving meaning from them in accordance with their full context in keeping with the implications and events that

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<sup>1</sup> The term 'Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi' is the preferred spelling, see 'Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi Submission re Hearing Scheduling', 17 February 2012, Wai 814 #2.389, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Specifically paragraph 7(b) and (c) of 'Memorandum-Directions of the Presiding Officer regarding inquiry timetable and evidential needs 4 September 2017, Wai 814, #2.532, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See Brief of Evidence of Dr Bryan Gilling, 20 April 2012, Wai 814 #I24.

flowed from them. It might be said that we need to understand their context, looking both backwards and forwards from that point.<sup>4</sup>

I was provided access to Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi Whānau Trust (NAKWT) records – which had no index/catalogue held in a tiny whare off the side of Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Whātātutu. I write about poor nature of the records deliberately and not disparaging or disrespectfully, but because it reflects the limitations of the NAKWT to organise and exercise itself as a properly functioning entity for its people when having to work out of such inhospitable conditions (I was advised that the NAKWT have recently been asked to vacate the premises<sup>5</sup>) and on a shoestring of resources. These limitations are expanded upon further below.

This report first sets the scene by summarising the main findings of the Mangatū Remedies inquiry for Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi, before looking at the identity of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi and rohe description of the Iwi pertinent to the customary rights within Mangatū that contain the CFL lands, before considering the impacts of Treaty breaches and prejudice on the Iwi.

### **Summary of the findings of the Mangatū Remedies Inquiry**

The Mangatū Remedies Tribunal reiterated many of the findings of the Tūranga inquiry, finding that the claims of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi were ‘well-founded’ relating to Mangatū CFL lands concerning:

- the Crown’s unlawful attack on Waerenga a Hika, which resulted in high casualties, and the subsequent arrest, detention, and deportation of 84 Te Aitanga a Māhaki men, including several Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi descendants of Rāwiri Tamanui, captured at Waerenga a Hika to Wharekauri;
- the Crown’s unlawful pursuit of the Whakarau after their return to the mainland, its failure to discriminate between the Whakarau and their innocent prisoners at Ngātapa, and the execution of many unarmed prisoners at the end of the siege;
- the operation of the Poverty Bay Commission, which confiscated the lands of those deemed ‘rebels’ without due process or appropriate safeguards, failed to ensure that ‘loyal’ Māori were compensated for the lands retained by the Crown, and transformed Māori tenure into Crown-derived titles without their consent;
- the operation of the Native Land Court, which expropriated from Māori the right to make their own title decisions, removed community land management rights,

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Personal communication, Owen Lloyd, 2 May 2018.

and resulted in massive land alienation;

- the failure of the Tūranga trusts and consequent land alienation which resulted from the Crown's failure to provide adequate systems for community title and management, and to prevent piecemeal erosion of community land interests; and
- the effects of the 'unsafe' 1881 Mangatū title determination, including the Crown's failure to allow Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi to reargue their rights in the Mangatū block when it passed legislation allowing Te Whānau a Taupara to do so in 1917.<sup>6</sup>

The Tribunal also concluded that Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi, along with the claims of the Mangatū Incorporation, have a 'direct relationship to the Mangatū CFL lands.'<sup>7</sup>

## **The identity of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi**

Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi claimants will emphasise their unique identity before the Tribunal. The purpose of this section, however, is to emphasise from mostly historical records the Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi identity as an iwi separate from Te Aitanga a Māhaki.<sup>8</sup> For simplicity, the identity of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi comes in three main forms; whakapapa, protest, and organisation (via the establishment of a legal entity for the Iwi).

### **Whakapapa**

There were at least three Ngāriki groups in the Mangatū narrative: Ngāriki Rotoawe, Ngāriki Pō, and Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi. The distinctness of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi derives from distinctive whakapapa lines that separates them from other Ngāriki groups; that is, Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi descend from the four Atua figureheads of Ariki Nui, Arik Roa, Ariki Matua, and Arik Tahito, thence to Ihingarō who married Whakatungou, a descendant of Ngamuka, from whose sibling, Rakihore, are said to descend Ngāriki Rotoawe and Ngāriki Pō. Ihingarō and Whakatungou begat Marutaiaroa (c.1500AD<sup>9</sup>). Marutaiaroa had five children, to whom he gave his son

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<sup>6</sup> *The Mangatu Remedies Report*, Wai 814, Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2014, pp. 64-5. NB, the hard copy of the Mangatū Remedies report is paginated differently from the online report.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p. 66. A somewhat different approach was given by the Tribunal to acknowledging the claims of Te Aitanga a Māhaki and Te Whānau a Kai with the former being acknowledged because lands that make up the Mangatū CFL lands lay within its 'tribal estate', while the latter's claims were acknowledged given the fluidity of customary interests among hapū, whānau and iwi in the area, see p. 66.

<sup>8</sup> Of course, this does not imply that those individuals who identify themselves as Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi may not also affiliate to Te Aitanga a Māhaki or other tribal groups for that matter.

<sup>9</sup> 'Amended Statement of Claim for Ngariki Kaiputahi: Wai 507 and Wai 499', 18 April 2011, Wai 814 SOC3, p. 3.

Pūatahi<sup>10</sup> lands in the vicinity of the Mangatū River. From Pūtahi descended Rāwiri Tamanui<sup>11</sup> (c.1793-1863).<sup>12</sup>

Rāwiri Tamanui and his son Pera Te Uatuku<sup>13</sup> (d.1905; also known as Āperahama Te Uatuku) feature consistently in the oral and written accounts of the history of Mangatū as rangatira of Ngāriki Kaipūtahi. Rāwiri held the ‘ringakaha’<sup>14</sup> over Mangatū:

[Rāwiri] participated in other district alliances against Whakatohea, including a skirmish at Te Muhunga and the siege at Kekeparaoa in 1834. Tamanui also participated in battles as far south as Mahia/Wairoa. From time to time he was called upon to return to his lands to defend his people. This is why it was claimed that certain tupuna of theirs brought Tamanui back onto the land. However, Tamanui did not need to be brought back onto the land of Mangatu, as his mana still reigned over the land, even when he was not present.<sup>15</sup>

Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi are effectively the descendants of Rāwiri.<sup>16</sup> Pera in particular was a key historical figure in the region, and the principal rangatira of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi from the 1860s to the early 1880s, the main period during which Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi suffered the loss of their whenua and denigration of their mana. He was described in one source as the ‘transitional warrior chief who was brought up in the old ways and had to cede to many changes as a new age strongly influenced by the Pakeha dawned.’<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Or ‘Kaiputahi’ according to W Halbert. W. Halbert, *Horouta: The History of the Horouta Canoe, Gisborne and East Coast*, Auckland, Reed Books, 1999, p. 61; see also Robson’s comments at ‘Transcript from Ngāriki Kaipūtahi hearing held 28-30 January 2002: Cross-examination of Owen Lloyd, John Robson, Bryan Gilling, Bernadette Arapere’, Wai 814 #4.5, p. 24.

<sup>11</sup> This is the one and same ‘Tamanui’ mentioned in Halbert, pp. 120-3 and Chart 39 (where Tamanui begat ‘Uetuku’).

<sup>12</sup> John Robson, ‘Ngariki Kaiputahi Mana Whenua Report. A report for the Crown Forestry Rental Trust in respect of Claim Wai 507, November 2000, Wai 814 #A22, Appendix 3; ‘Amended Statement of Claim for Ngariki Kaiputahi: Wai 507 and Wai 499’, p. 3; ‘Brief of Evidence of Owen Lloyd on behalf of Ngariki Kaiputahi’, 20 April 2012, Wai 814 #C23, pp. 10, 12; Halbert, p. 61. Halbert claims Kaiputahi founded a tribe of his own on the eastern side of the Mangatū Stream, and Mānukawhitikitiki was probably also part of the lands acquired by Kaipūtahi descendants via conquest (p. 63).

<sup>13</sup> ‘Uatuku’ has also been spelt ‘Uetuku. For consistency, I have used the spelling from claimant Owen Lloyd.

<sup>14</sup> Loosely translated as ‘fighting chief’. He was considered the last remaining ariki from the Ariki lines who born on Mangatū in the 1700s. See ‘Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi Constitution Presentation’, Wai 814 #I23(c), [p. 31].

<sup>15</sup> ‘Brief of Evidence of Owen Lloyd on behalf of Ngariki Kaiputahi’, 20 April 2012, Wai 814 #I21, p. 12.

<sup>16</sup> *The Mangatu Remedies Report*, p. 15, citing waitangi Tribunal, *Turanga Tangata, Turanga Whenua: The Report on the Turanganui a Kiwa Claims*, Wai 843, Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2004, pp. 30-1.

<sup>17</sup> ‘Mana over Whenua maintained to this day’, *Turanganui a Kiwa Pipiwharauoa*, May 2002, v. 10(4), p. 9.

## Protest

As shown by Bernadette Arapere in her research report for Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi:

Ngariki Kaiputahi have created ongoing traditions and narratives of resistance as they have attempted in many ways and in many forums to achieve justice over the ownership of the Mangatu lands.<sup>18</sup>

Arapere summarised the protests of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi from the early 1920s concerning relative interests or omission of interests, to Edward Hooper's appeal to the Māori Land Court in the 1950s over processes such as the election of the Management Committee of Mangatū Nos. 1, 3 and 4 Incorporation and relative interests of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi, on to Edward Brown's unsuccessful petitions to Parliament of 1958 and 1975.<sup>19</sup> It is interesting to note that the costs incurred by Edward to support his 1975 petition appear significant. In preparing his petition, Edward had the choice of reading the substantive minutes at the land court but chose instead to secure copies at a cost of \$77.50, equivalent to some \$860.00 in 2018 figures.<sup>20</sup> This was on top of the legal fees he incurred.<sup>21</sup>

Further protests occurred. For instance, in late 1985, Hēni Brown, the widow of Edward Brown, and her daughter Pare (Tanya) Rogers, objected to the 'Topara' [Taupara] tribe taking control over Mangatu land.' Hēni stated that 'My people [through Ruapani] are in the majority but my husband's people who own the land are in the minority.' A newspaper article on the matter referred to a 'runanga' at Tapuhikitia Marae concerning 'the people of the chief Ruapani' wanting 'full control of the whole of Tairawhiti', including Mangatū. The article noted that Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi did not want to be under the 'umbrella of Ruapani' (recorded as of Ngāti Porou and Te Aitanga a Māhaki descent). Hēni stated that Ruapani had 'never stood on the land of Mangatu,' and that Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi had lived on Mangatū since 1675.<sup>22</sup> Tanya Rogers invited the Minister of Lands to meet with Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi about the matter. Hēni told the Deputy Registrar that Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi should hold equal shareholding to Taupara and Wāhia. She had proposed holding a meeting at the Mangatū

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<sup>18</sup> Bernadette Arapere, 'Ngariki Kaiputahi: Research Report', Waitangi Tribunal, 2000, Wai 814 #A21, p. 37.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, pp. 39-44.

<sup>20</sup> See file note, 20 December 1974. On file 8/3/161, 'Court Block Correspondence, Mangatu', MLC, Gisborne. Using the Reserve Bank's inflation calculator at <https://www.rbnz.govt.nz/monetary-policy/inflation-calculator>

<sup>21</sup> The unstated legal fees are deduced by the two legal firms he engaged. See letters from Buddle, Andersn, Kent & Co, to Registrar, MLC, 22 November 1974, and Woodward, Iles & Co, to Edward Brown, 10 Decemeber 1974. Both on file 8/3/161.

<sup>22</sup> 'Tribe objecting to takeover bid', *Gisborne Herald*, 19 September 1985. On file 8/3/161.

Marae in the New Year. In the meantime, the Minister of Māori Affairs was advised that this was ‘one of those long standing feuds’, and he wrote to Tanya to say that he was unable to mediate but would instead send a senior department representative to attend. A further note from February 1986 stated that no further developments on the matter had occurred, and no further information was located on the matter.<sup>23</sup>

Edward Brown’s grandson continued his father’s take;<sup>24</sup> for instance, in or around 1993 David Brown petitioned the Waitangi Tribunal for a ‘retrial’ of the 1881 land court hearing into Mangatū. David claimed that Pera Te Uatuku had ‘gifted shares’ to Wī Pere who in turn ‘stole’ the land from Pera, and that a wheel had ‘snapped’ on Pera’s wagon prohibiting him from attending the court.<sup>25</sup> He was advised to visit the land court office to view the records.<sup>26</sup>

## Organisation

In more contemporary times, Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi have attempted to organise themselves as an iwi separate from the Te Aitanga a Māhaki and Mangatū Incorporation umbrella. This is not simply to separate themselves from the label of being a hapū of Te Aitanga a Māhaki, but to cement their Iwi status to enable them to better serve their tribal members, many of whom had struggled to retain their identity against the egregious status of a conquered people and subsequent hapū label of Te Aitanga a Māhaki. This intent to organise themselves in this way has only increased as members learn more about their history, culture and struggles.<sup>27</sup>

One of the first documented organisation attempts for Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi was in 1982 when Edward Brown signed a Deed of Trust for the Edward Mokopuna Brown Family Trust. The Trust was intended to be a ‘vehicle to further the cause of Ngariki Kaipūtahi within Mangatu’, although nothing further had occurred after the death of Edward.<sup>28</sup> However, the Ngāriki groupings – which included Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi – did establish the legal entity of Te Rūnanga-a-Ngā-Ariki-O-Mangatū under the Incorporated Societies Act 1908.<sup>29</sup> This may be the entity

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<sup>23</sup> Letter from Pare Rogers to Minister of Lands, 7 October 1985, file note from Deputy Registrar to the Director, n.d., and letter from the Minister of Māori Affairs to Tanya Rogers, 6 November 1985. All on file 8/3/161. Presumably the meeting never happened

<sup>24</sup> Julie O’Donnell stated that Rakati Renata, Ruka Brown, Linda Tihore, and Charlotte Tamanui, also carried on the claim after Edward had died. Personal communication, Julie O’Donnell, 2 May 2018

<sup>25</sup> Letter from Registrar, Waitangi Tribunal, 21 January 1993 enclosing letter from David Brown to Jill Hippolite, Waitangi Tribunal, n.d.. On file 8/3/161.

<sup>26</sup> Letter from Registrar, MLC, to David Brown, 27 January 1993. On file 8/3/161.

<sup>27</sup> Personal communication, Julie O’Donnell, 2 May 2018.

<sup>28</sup> Gisborne Minute Book 136, pp. 36-48, (8 February 1994).

<sup>29</sup> See letter from George Parekowhai to TRTK, 16 September 1991. Copy held by NAK office.

that, around 1990, resulted from approaches from these groups to join Te Rūnanga a Tūrangānui a Kiwa (TRTK) as a recognised 'iwi'. At a 'Te Aitanga a Mahaki hui' held at Tapuhikitia Marae on 26 August 1990, the motion to support 'Ngariki's request to become a recognised Iwi within the' TRTK was passed by majority. The hui minutes record that George Parekowhai had 'documented information which stated that Ngariki is an Iwi.' Nona Haronga was concerned that if Ngāriki were let in, then 'other hapu' would seek inclusion.<sup>30</sup>

In the following month, an 'Impromptu Ngāriki Steering Committee' met to discuss the iwi status position 'for 1990 onwards', and meetings held with Te Aitanga a Māhaki and 'Rongopai-a-Iwi.' George reported on the success of the Te Aitanga a Māhaki hui, with the noted exception of Nona Haronga. Matua Brown and Rā Renata had 'advanced' the Ngāriki cause at the 'Rongopai-a-Iwi' hui on 9 September 1990, where Nona and two others had strongly objected. An Iwi Transition Agency representative in attendance at that hui had stated that Ngāriki had 'proceeded properly in their pursuit of consultation for Iwi status'; the representative considered that under the Rūnanga-a-Iwi Act 1990, 'a separate and independent Rūnanga could be established for themselves', and that he would assist Ngāriki to do that if required. The committee agreed that in face of the 'sustained objection' from a seemingly small fraction of Te Aitanga a Māhaki, that Ngāriki establish themselves as a separate rūnanga with the guidance of the Iwi Transition Agency and Runanga-o-Paikea (who had decided on a similar strategy for themselves). It was concluded that further discussions take place to inform members about Ngāriki traditional sites, of membership registration, and the 'classification of Ngariki groups; i.e. under Te Ikanui-a-Rauru and Ngati Whakarongo of Roto Awe.'<sup>31</sup>

On 5 October 1990 George Parekowhai wrote to TRTK on the matter. He noted Ngāriki efforts to achieve iwi status, 'prior and subsequent' to the Rūnanga-a-Iwi Act 1990<sup>32</sup>. The letter stated that Ngāriki had 'been patient and polite, and proceeded along the course suggested' by TRTK, and had met with Te Aitanga a Māhaki with 'near unanimous support, but with 'indifferent results' from meeting with Rongopai-a-Iwi. George concluded that an iwi status from descent from the waka Te Ikanui-a-Rauru 'would be difficult if not impossible to deny.'<sup>33</sup> A further

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<sup>30</sup> Minutes of Te Aitanga a Mahaki hui held at Tapuhikitea Marae, 26 August 1990. Copy held by NAK office. Unfortunately, the 'documented information' was not located.

<sup>31</sup> Minutes of Impromptu Ngariki Steering Committee, 22 September 1990. Copy held by NAK office.

<sup>32</sup> The 1990 Act allowed legally incorporated rūnanga to become the administrative wings of the tribes.

<sup>33</sup> Letter from G.W. Parekowhai to Tama Brown, TRTK, 5 October 1990. Copy held by NAK office. Puhinga's son, Ihingarō, married Whakatungou, and the descent line from Whakatungou go back eight generations to Māia who captained Te Ikanui-a-Rauru, see 'Brief of Evidence of Owen Lloyd for Ngariki Kaipūtahi', received 13 November 2001. Wai 814 #A50, p. 3.

letter in September from George to TRTK explained that Nona's objection appeared to be based on 'misinformation' as George claimed she had not adequately apprised herself of the information circulated at the Te Aitanga a Māhaki hui, and that the Ngāriki groups, specifically Ngāriki Rato Aue (Awe) and citing evidence from Rongowhakaata Halbert, were the original Mangatū tribes dating 300 years prior.<sup>34</sup> The Halbert evidence relates to a minute of a meeting between the land court Chief Judge and Rongo Halbert at Halbert's Gisborne residence on 20 August 1970. The one-page minute of this meeting refers to an unreferenced submission that features Ngāriki. Referring to the year 1600, Halbert explains who Ngāriki are:

Ngatiwhakarongo and Ngatipo were sections of the Ngariki Tribe collectively known as Ngāriki-Rato-Aue [sic]. I would like to go further with that. These two Sub-tribes of Ngāriki, Ngatiwhakarongo and Ngaitai[,] they were the Ngāriki that were driven North of Mangatu. What I mean is they were driven to that part of the Mangatu which is on the West of the Mangatu river. There was another Section of Ngāriki near Ngāriki-kai-putahi who lived on the East side of the Mangatū river but they were not molested on that occasion.

Halbert added that the Ngāriki groups on the east side of the Mangatū River were conquered and made subservient.<sup>35</sup> This clearly implies that Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi were not conquered.<sup>36</sup> Nothing further eventuated from this, although further research into this matter was not undertaken before submission of this report.

An apparent meeting held on 7 February 1994 saw apparent agreement for Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi to create a trust.<sup>37</sup> This new entity would be the NAKWT set up under Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993. Its Trustees were to descend from six tīpuna; Ruahinekino, Paiharehare, Rāwiri Tamanui II, Mutu, Harata, and Matekino. Among activities the NAKWT aspired to do were

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<sup>34</sup> Letter from George Parekowhai to TRTK, 16 September 1991. Copy held by NAK office.

<sup>35</sup> Minute of meeting between Chief Judge A. Todd and Rongowhakaata Halbert, 20 August 1970. Copy held by NAK office.

<sup>36</sup> There is a source that makes a fleeting reference to 'RONGO HALBERT'S CONFESSION', witnessed on 26 October 1972 by Lewis Moeau ('Mangatu Secretary'), Allan Haronga ('Committee member'), and Rūtene Irwin ('Mangatu foreman'). A paper written by Edward Brown records that on that October date, Edward and Halbert were surveying pā sites at the traffic bridge over the Mangatū River below Whātātutu township when Halbert stated 'with all the sincerity as if it was his confession: Rawiri Tamanui is the owner of Mangatū and no one else. "How come he's not? I said. Well, it's one of those things," was his reply.' 'Page 5', unreferenced minute seemingly concerning Waikakariki Station, [c.1972?]. Copy held by NAK office. 'Autobiography. Edward Mokopuna Brown', n.d.. Copy provided by Julie O'Donnell.

<sup>37</sup> Gisborne Minute Book 136, pp. 36-48 (8 February 1994). The date of the meeting is not stated, although the court minute noted it happened 'yesterday'.

meeting health, social, and cultural needs, such as kapa haka, a Marae-based health centre, rongoā, and healing practices.

The origins of NAKWT lay in Edward Brown's efforts after his unsuccessful 1975 petition to purchase Mangatū shares for two main reasons: to empower Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi with a larger shareholding in its dealings with the Mangatū Incorporation; and to provide a source of funds to acquire an increased shareholding.<sup>38</sup> In 1979, Edward wrote to the Minister of Māori Affairs seeking funds to purchase Mangatū shares. He had already advertised to purchase shares, noting that some were being offered at the full share value of \$11 per share, and he had brought \$1,000 worth of shares for \$5 a share. A Morris McDonald had offered to sell some 22,000 shares for \$24,000, but Edward did not have the money to purchase.<sup>39</sup> The Minister directed Edward to section 41 of the Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1967 on how to purchase shares.<sup>40</sup> Out of an apparent total of 889,007 Mangatū shares, Edward claimed to have purchased 16,967, although in 1994, the land court noted he had acquired 9,460 shares (an increase from the 2,856 shares he originally owned), and from which 5,991 shares 'had not been dealt with', leaving a balance of 3,469 shares under his name.<sup>41</sup>

At the land court hearing establishing NAKWT, the Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi legal representative, John Grant, stated the 'Court will recall that although Ngariki Kaipūtahi is an iwi' [my emphasis], the most appropriate statutory vehicle for the Iwi was the Whānau Trust as it was dealing with interests rather than land blocks,<sup>42</sup> and it would hold the shares purchased by Edward.

According to the claimants, these efforts to organise themselves have been hindered by the limited resources and capital available to Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi and the NAKWT to emphasise that identity. As at 2001, NAKWT had some 654 adult members.<sup>43</sup> NAKWT, though, has struggled to make and pay its way. At one NAKWT hui in April 1996, the accounts balance was a mere \$118. By 1998, funds had increased to over \$10,000, although this is still

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<sup>38</sup> See Gisborne Minute Book 136, pp. 36-48 (8 February 1994).

<sup>39</sup> Letter from Edward Brown to [Minister of Māori Affairs], 20 September 1979. On file 8/3/161. Edward was concerned that some shareholders were making money from 'crook shares' received 'for nothing' but now 'wanted the world' for them.

<sup>40</sup> Letter from Minister of Māori Affairs to Edward Brown, 10 October 1979. On file 8/3/161.

<sup>41</sup> Letter from Edward Brown to [Minister of Māori Affairs], 20 September 1979. On file 8/3/161.

<sup>42</sup> Gisborne Minute Book 136, pp. 100-112 (9 March 1994).

<sup>43</sup> Personal Communication, Julie O'Donnell, 2 May 2018.

nominal.<sup>44</sup> NAKWT has no formal offices, no paid staff, no accountant, no proper office or financial systems and relied on individuals who had other paid jobs and whānau commitments to run it pro bono. NAKWT has since been replaced with an incorporated charitable trust named Te Runanga Nui O Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi.

## **The rohe of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi**

Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi can connect with various kin groups in Tūranga through inter-marriage. Their land rights are derived from a separate line of descent, back to the original occupants of the Mangatū region who predate the hapū of Te Aitanga a Māhaki.<sup>45</sup> Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi were present in the Mangatū area prior to contact with Pākehā and they have claimed an ongoing presence in the area since that time.<sup>46</sup>

Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi have ancient ancestral connections to the middle and upper reaches of the Waipāoa River, the Mangatū River, and the Urukokomuka Stream.<sup>47</sup> The following blocks that the Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi traditional rohe extends over are the Maungaorongo, Mangataikapua, Mānukawhitikitiki, Pakake e Whirikoka, Poututu, Pūhātikitiko, Rangatira, Waitangi and Whātātutu blocks.<sup>48</sup> The Iwi's 'customary markers' of its rohe, as told by Pera Te Uatuku to the Government surveyor in or about 1881, are:

Maungahaumia  
Urukokomuka  
Waipaoa  
Herehereuma (Areoma)  
Kereruhuahua  
Arowhana  
Maungawaru  
Motu River  
Te Apiti

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<sup>44</sup> Minutes of NAKWT hui, 27 April 1996, and minutes of NAKWT Annual General Meeting, 26 September 1998. Copies held by NAK office. While the financial balance is not recorded in the 1998 minutes, it is recorded that an audit was required for entities with \$10,000 and more.

<sup>45</sup> 'Hapu/Iwi Management Plan of Nga Ariki Kaipūtahi: Protecting the Health and Wellbeing of Papatuanuku, Ranginui and Nga Ariki Kaipūtahi', Hapu/Iwi Environmental Project Consultancy, [2012], p. 10. Copy at <http://www.gdc.govt.nz/hapu-and-iwi-management-plans/>

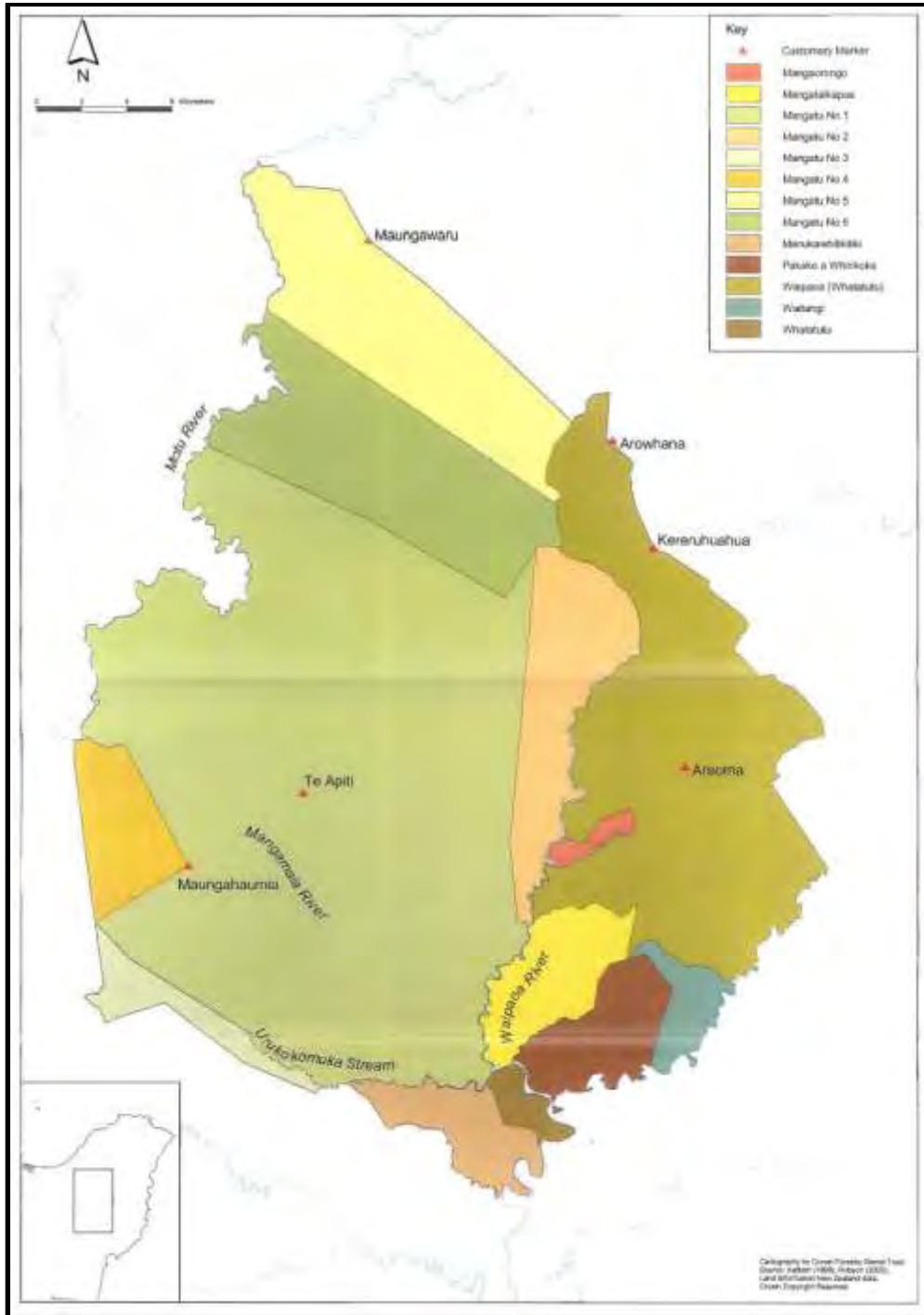
<sup>46</sup> Arapere, 'Ngariki Kaipūtahi: research report', Waitangi Tribunal, 2000, pp. 4-5.

<sup>47</sup> Robson, p. 3.

<sup>48</sup> Robson, p. 13 and Appendix 8; Arapere, 'Ngariki Kaipūtahi: research report', p. 4; Map 3 in 'Ngariki Kaipūtahi GIS Map Booklet' Crown Forestry Rental Trust, January 2011, Wai 814 #C40.

back to Maungahaumia.<sup>49</sup>

**Map 1: Showing the traditional rohe of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi in Wai 814 inquiry district<sup>50</sup>**



<sup>49</sup> ‘Brief of Evidence of Owen Lloyd on behalf of Ngariki Kaiputahi’, Wai 814 #I21, para 1.10; see also paragraph 6.9 in Robson; and Map 1 in ‘Ngariki Kaiputahi GIS Map Booklet’ Crown Forestry Rental Trust; Edward Brown’s petition of 1975 noted that Pera Tamanui [Te Uatuku], ‘and with this brothers’ helped A.T. Teasdale to survey the block. See ABGX W3706 1975/30, ‘Session 3 ... Original Petitions – Mar E M Brown’, 1975, Archives NZ.

<sup>50</sup> Copied from Map 3 in Wai 814 #C40.



For the Tūranga inquiry, the Tribunal acknowledged that Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi held ‘rights primarily in the Mangatu block’, but also in the neighbouring Mangataikapua, Mānukawhitikitiki, Rangatira, and Whātātutu blocks sitting along the confluence of the Waipāoa and Mangatū Rivers.<sup>52</sup> These rights overlapped with Te Aitanga a Māhaki hapū, particularly Ngāti Wahia, Ngāi Tamatea and Te Whānau a Taupara.<sup>53</sup> Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi claimed that those rights were derived through separate lines of descent which predated the hapū of Te Aitanga a Māhaki; that is, Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi are distinct from the ‘broader Ngāriki group’ that includes Ngāriki Pō and Ngāriki Rotoawe who were defeated in battle and absorbed into hapū of Te Aitanga a Māhaki and Te Whānau a Kai. A.C. Lyall considers that the Ngāriki people inhabited areas from Ōhiwa (Ōpōtiki), Tunapahore, and Poverty Bay. Lyall cited Eldson Best’s 1925 book on Tūhoe that the ‘Ngariki’ people ‘held that lands inland of Turanga’ and were still living there at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>54</sup> This date sits alongside comments from W.E. Gudgeon who observed a Ngāriki grouping residing at the Waipāoa Valley, and to whom in the 1890s numbered 20 individuals.<sup>55</sup>

Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi acknowledge that other groups may hold interests in the Mangatū block, although ‘they are emphatic that Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi were never conquered as a tribe and that they held right under their own mana’,<sup>56</sup> a position that the Tūranga Tribunal agreed with:

Nor does evidence suggest that Ngariki Kaiputahi existed in a state of servitude to the hapu of Te Aitanga a Mahaki, although they were admittedly a smaller party when compared to the wider community of owners.<sup>57</sup>

As Owen Lloyd added, the insistence from some quarters that Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi are a hapū of Te Aitanga a Māhaki was an ‘echo of their claim of conquest.’<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> *Turanga Tangata, Turanga Whenua*, p. 31, citing #C40 (presumably Map 3) and #A22, pp. 14-15.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid* p. 31.

<sup>54</sup> A.C. Lyall, *Whakatohea of Opotiki*, Wright and Carmen (NZ) Limited, Wellington, 1979, p. 13. Lyall claims that the Ngariki ancestry of Whakatohea derived from the earlier Tai and Hapu-Oneone peoples (p.18).

<sup>55</sup> W.E. Gudgeon, 'The Maori Tribes of the East Coast of New Zealand', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 1894, vol 3, pp 213-215, and 1896, vol 5, p 2. Copies at [http://www.jps.auckland.ac.nz/document/Volume\\_3\\_1894/Volume\\_3%2C\\_No.4%2C\\_December\\_1894/The\\_Maori\\_tribes\\_of\\_the\\_East\\_Coast\\_of\\_New\\_Zealand%2C\\_by\\_W.\\_E.\\_Gudgeon%2C\\_p\\_208-219/p1?page=0&action=searchresult&target=](http://www.jps.auckland.ac.nz/document/Volume_3_1894/Volume_3%2C_No.4%2C_December_1894/The_Maori_tribes_of_the_East_Coast_of_New_Zealand%2C_by_W._E._Gudgeon%2C_p_208-219/p1?page=0&action=searchresult&target=) and [http://www.jps.auckland.ac.nz/document/Volume\\_5\\_1896/Volume\\_5%2C\\_No.1%2C\\_March\\_1896/The\\_Maori\\_tribes\\_of\\_the\\_East\\_Coast\\_of\\_New\\_Zealand%3A\\_Part\\_IV%2C\\_by\\_W.\\_E.\\_Gudgeon%2C\\_p\\_1-12/p1?page=0&action=searchresult&target=](http://www.jps.auckland.ac.nz/document/Volume_5_1896/Volume_5%2C_No.1%2C_March_1896/The_Maori_tribes_of_the_East_Coast_of_New_Zealand%3A_Part_IV%2C_by_W._E._Gudgeon%2C_p_1-12/p1?page=0&action=searchresult&target=)

<sup>56</sup> *Turanga Tangata, Turanga Whenua*, p. 660.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, p. 695.

<sup>58</sup> Personal communication, Owen Lloyd, 2 May 2018.

## Customary interests of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi

Ka tu au ka titiro	I stand and look
Ki te hauauru	To the western breeze
Ki te tonga o te ra	To the setting of the sun
Tu mai Maungahaumia, te maunga tapu	There stands Maungahaumia, the sacred mountain
O Ngariki Kaiputahi e	Of Ngariki Kaiputahi
. . .	. . .
Ka titiro aku kamo, ki te tonga	My eyes look to the south
Ki nga ngaru e papaki mai ra	To the great waves that crash there
Te urunga mai o Ngariki, te Iwi tuturu ake	The landing place of Ngariki, the original people
Nga Ahi-ka o Mangatu	The guardians of the ancestral fires of Mangatu
taku turangawaewae e . . .	The place where my legs can stand . . . <sup>59</sup>

This section of the report brings together the various discourse on the customary interests of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi insofar as they relate to Mangatū.<sup>60</sup>

In spite of the onslaught of the Native Land Court process to which tribal groups had to engage with, Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi retained their deep spiritual reverence and connection to the land. This is reflected, for instance, in Maungahaumia, the sacred mountain for Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi, located to the west of the Mangatū River. In 1878, as a consequence of the conflicts of the early to mid-nineteenth century, Pera Te Uatuku's son, Te Hira Uatuku, rode to Te Kūiti to seek guidance from Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Tūruki regarding the Mangatū lands. As a test, Te Kooti offered whiskey, which Te Hira refused; firstly because the kaupapa was not dealt with, and secondly because it was the twelfth day of the month when the Ringatū faith forbids alcohol. In recognition of his stance, Te Kooti gave Te Hira 'a 'guardian mauri whenua in the form of a diamond' and told him to plant it on Maungahaumia – today, the diamond is hidden on the maunga.<sup>61</sup> As Ned Brown stated in 1986, 'Ka hoatungia e ngā tīpuna, e ngā pākeke, he

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<sup>59</sup> This is an extract of a whakataukī that sits at the front of Chapter 14 of the Tūranga Tribunal report, entitled 'Mangatu Title Determination – The Ngariki Kaiputahi Story'. It sets out the relationship of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi with Mangatū. *Turanga Tangata, Turanga Whenua*, p 659.

<sup>60</sup> According to Haapu's report, all known registered pā sites in Mangatū and surrounding areas are located in the lower reaches of the Mangatu River (and none in the CFL area). Haapu also notes that the location of many other pā sites are unknown. Jacqueline Haapu, 'Te Ripoata a Mangatu. The Mangatu Report.' A report prepared for Te Aitanga a Mahaki Claims Committee, September 2000, Wai 814 #A27, p. 18.

<sup>61</sup> J. Binney, and G. Chaplin, *Ngā Mōrehu: The Survivors. The Life Histories of Eight Māori Women*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2011, p. 41. See also J. Binney, *Redemption Songs*, Libro International, Auckland, 2012, p. 234, and Robson, p. 10; Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi and Te Aitanga a Māhaki share the same ancestral mountain and rivers, For instance, Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi call the mountain 'Maungahaumia', while

tapu ki runga i tēnei whenua’ (‘The ancestors, the old ones, put a tapu on this land to retain it.’)<sup>62</sup>

The customary marker of the Urukokomuka Stream is a place which Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi tohunga regarded as sacred and in which white marble stones could be found ‘often referred to as the children of Mangatu.’<sup>63</sup>

Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi considered themselves as ‘consecrated people who tended to breed amongst themselves.’ As an example, Rāwiri Tamanui is reported to have ‘jealously guarded the bloodlines’ of the tribe; in one instance, he killed a woman who became involved with a man from Te Whānau a Taupara. The woman’s stomach was hung from a tree in a populated part of the Mangatū block, hence the name of this area, Pukutārewa.<sup>64</sup> Overlooking the Mangatū River above Ōtarapani, Pukutārewa was also a residential area of Rāwiri, and a ‘front door’ of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi lands ‘as it was well placed to observe travellers going up to Tolaga and down to Whakatōhea.’ At the northern end of Pukutārewa lies the Parapara urupā where Pera Te Uatuku and other Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi are buried.<sup>65</sup> The present day urupā of Tapue-o-te-Rangi is also located on the Pukutārewa block.<sup>66</sup>

Immediately south of Pukutārewa, on the Mānukawhikitiki block behind the Mangatū Marae, is another Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi urupā at a place called Taputerangi (or Te Rewha) where Rāwiri is buried.<sup>67</sup> Immediately east of Parapara, on the other side of the Waipāoa River, is Mangataikapua, a Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi waka building site. Other tribal groups would obtain permission from Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi to obtain a suitable tree for a waka and shape it on site before floating it down the Waipāoa.<sup>68</sup>

On the south-east boundary of the ‘Mangatū State Forest’, lies the peak of Areoma where the Ōtūhawaiki Pā was located. Here, in 1832, Rāwiri Tamanui distinguished himself in battle between a coalition of iwi from the district led by (Te) Rangiwhakataeataea against an incursion of Whakatōhea who were moving into the Raukūmara area, possibly to escape the

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Te Aitanga a Māhaki call it ‘Maungahaumi’, see ‘Hapu/Iwi Management Plan of Nga Ariki Kaipūtahi: Protecting the Health and Wellbeing of Papatuanuku, Ranginui and Nga Ariki Kaipūtahi’, p. 11.

<sup>62</sup> Binney and Chaplin, p. 41.

<sup>63</sup> ‘Brief of Evidence of Owen Lloyd on behalf of Ngariki Kaipūtahi’, Wai 814 #I21, para 1.15; see also Robson, p. 13, citing Ned Brown.

<sup>64</sup> Robson, p. 12.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, p. 12; ‘Brief of Evidence of Owen Lloyd on behalf of Ngariki Kaipūtahi’, Wai 814 #I21, p. 10.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid, pp. 10-11.

<sup>67</sup> Robson, pp. 6, 25; ‘Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi Constitution Presentation’, Wai 814 #I23(c), [p. 31]

<sup>68</sup> Robson, p. 13; ‘Brief of Evidence of Owen Lloyd on behalf of Ngariki Kaipūtahi’, Wai 814 #I21, p. 11.

depredations of musket armed Ngāpuhi, or, in another version, Whakatōhea were raiding and had scouted the Ngāriki settlement at Urukokomuka but Ngāriki had cottoned onto their intent and escaped to Areoma. Amongst his exploits at Ōtūhawaiki, Rāwiri was lowered by vines around his chest to obtain water, and in memory of this feat Areoma was renamed Herehereuma, by his descendants. One source suggests that Rāwiri received a tā moko in recognition of his bravery.<sup>69</sup> An unreferenced source states that Rangiwahakataeataea's 'Generalship' was passed over to Tamanui during the war against Whakatōhea: 'This was reasserted after his death, not by MANA but given by his own hand to Rawiri Tamanui.'<sup>70</sup> [emphasis in text]

On the Mangatū Block, at the junction of the Mangamaia Stream and the Mangatū River, is the defensive fighting position of Pīkauroa Pā<sup>71</sup> – Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi's traditions state the occasional use of this pā, which was also used by other tribes in conflicts such as the Pīkai conflict of the 1820s (although Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi stressed that they took no part in that conflict as it was, in effect, a civil war amongst Te Whānau-a-Kai and Te Whānau-a-Taupara sections of Te Aitanga a Māhaki<sup>72</sup>).

Other pā sites of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi are Tataka, on the west side overlooking the Mangatū River; Pōtaka, north of Pukutārewa on the Waipāoa River, which was a residential area of Rāwiri; and a pā located at Wheao, near the Wheao Stream, south of Whātātutu.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> 'Brief of Evidence of Owen Lloyd on behalf of Ngariki Kaiputahi', Wai 814 #I21, para 1.24; Robson, p. 11; 'Here' meaning 'to tie' or 'bind' and 'uma' meaning 'chest'. 'To bind around the chest'. 'Hapu/Iwi Management Plan of Nga Ariki Kaipūtahi: Protecting the Health and Wellbeing of Papatuanuku, Ranginui and Nga Ariki Kaiputahi', p. 9; For the version of Whakatōhea scouting out Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi and tā moko, see Rakati Tamanui, 'The history of Herehere Uma', *Turangau a Kiwa Pipiwharaura* December 1994, v.3, p. 6; For a more in-depth summary of this battle, see A. Ballara, *Iwi: The dynamics of Māori tribal organisation from c.1769 to c.1945*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1998, pp. 191-2.

<sup>70</sup> 'Page 5', unreferenced minute seemingly concerning Waikakariki Station, [c.1972?].

<sup>71</sup> This pā was a used by a number of tribes; for instance by Hirokiroki of the Ngāriki Pō-Ngāriki Rotoawe people retreating from Te Whiwhi of the Whānau-a-Taupara hapū of Te Aitanga-a Māhaki during the Pīkai fights in the 1820s. See Robson, para 6.4, 6.10, 6.11 and Appendix 7. Of note, in June 1922, in the Māori Appellate Court case regarding the award of 8,000 shares to Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi, the court found that 'it seems to us very doubtful whether the attack on Ngariki by Te Whiwhi had any material effect on the ownership of the land.' Arapere, 'Ngariki Kaiputahi: Research Report', Waitangi Tribunal, p. 39.

<sup>72</sup> See Ballara, pp. 184-193; According to Robson, the battles involved 'the death of a young chieftain Pikai, the utu exacted by his father Te Whiwhi, and Te Whiwhi's subsequent defeat of the neighbouring Ngariki Po/Ngariki Rotoawe people led by Hirokiroki.' Robson, p. 26. In his 1975 petition, Edward Brown noted that by the use of whakapapa, the conquest of Ngāriki by Te Whiwhi and Ihu was well before the time of Rāwiri Tamanui. See Petition 75/30 of Edward Mokopuna Brown. On file ABGX W3706 1975/30.

<sup>73</sup> 'Brief of Evidence of Owen Lloyd on behalf of Ngariki Kaiputahi', Wai 814 #I21, pp. 11, 13. Lloyd cites Jacqueline Haapu regarding the pā at Wheao allegedly being 'dismantled to stop the owners from going back onto the land, and a pare [lintel] sold to the Auckland Museum.' The museum reported that they had 'lost' the pare.

During Pera's time as rangatira, Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi had a concentration of dwelling sites. One site was at Taihamiti, near the junction of the Whātātutu Stream and the Waipāoa River. This pā site was named after Pera's act of licking blood off his taiaha. Pera's daughter Hēni Matekino is buried in a cave here, near the end of present-day Taihamiti Road overlooking the site.<sup>74</sup> (There are other caves and sites known to be customary burial places, including a cave at Mangamaia.<sup>75</sup>). Another site was on the Mānukawhitikitiki block, on the southern side of the Urukokomuka Stream. Here Pera had a whareniui called Te Ngāwari built, one of four houses built for Te Kooti in the Tūranga district<sup>76</sup>. Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi was forced off this land when Wī Pere leased the block to a Pākehā.<sup>77</sup> This site was relocated to the east, on the northern bank of the Mangatū River called Pākōwhai (the extreme south-eastern corner of what is now the Mangatū No. 1 block) where Te Ngāwari was re-erected.<sup>78</sup>

### **Comment on land block interests**

Gilling has aptly summarized in his 2012 brief the 1881 land court hearings for the Mangatū block.<sup>79</sup> As the evidence given in the Mangatū hearing showed, all parties agreed at that time that Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi remained on Mangatū or were 'allowed back' in some fashion. This consistent admission of an ongoing Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi presence is important in customary terms and strongly suggests that at 1840 Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi were a key customary player on the ground (an expression of ahi kā roa). This is of course reinforced by Pera Te Uatuku's actions in relation to the Mangatū lands after 1840.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Robson, p. 13; 'Brief of Evidence of Owen Lloyd on behalf of Ngariki Kaiputahi', Wai 814 #I21, p. 13.

<sup>75</sup> 'Brief of Evidence of Owen Lloyd on behalf of Ngariki Kaiputahi', Wai 814 #I21, p. 10.

<sup>76</sup> For the story of how the whare came to being and its subsequent moves and rebuild, see Robson, pp. 15-16.

<sup>77</sup> 'Brief of Evidence of Owen Lloyd on behalf of Ngariki Kaiputahi', Wai 814 #I21, p. 13. At this time, Pera was in no position to challenge this, having just spent eight years away from his land while he had been falsely imprisoned on Wharekauri, then pursued by Crown troops on the mainland and being imprisoned in Wellington as a result of his association with Te Kooti.

<sup>78</sup> Robson, pp. 12-13. Pākōwhai was also known as 'Pā Kōwhai' on account of a proliferation of kōwhai trees in the area (fn 54).

<sup>79</sup> See Brief of Evidence of Dr Bryan Gilling, Wai 814 #I24; I take on board Gilling's comment that the lack of detail in the court's official record is frustrating' for providing a clearer picture of what was happening behind the scenes let alone at the court, Dr Bryan Gilling, 'The People, the Courts and the Lands: A Research Report for Ngariki Kaipūtahi', Treaty of Waitangi Research Unit, Victoria University of Wellington, March 2001, Wai 814 #A32, p. 22. As reported in the *Poverty Bay Herald* on 11 April 1881, Ngāriki hapū were entitled to land by virtue of occupation, as well as ancestral claims', even though the court minute states that had rights in respect of residence, or occupation only. See 'Native Land Court', *Poverty Bay Herald*, Volume VIII, Issue 1294, 11 April 1881. Copy at <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/PBH18810411.2.16>

<sup>80</sup> No witnesses in 1881 talked about Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi getting back into the land through intermarriage. All said that Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi were physically present as a group on the land and as an entity in their own right. As Robson pointed out, a thoroughly conquered group might be expected to regain a stake in the land only via intermarriage, Wai 814 #C4, p. 12.

Robson noted that immediately upon his return to the Tūranga region in 1875, Pera Te Uatuku began ‘exercising his people’s mana’ over the Mangatū area by arranging with a Government Purchasing Agent a lease of land at Waipāoa, Matawai, Mangatū and Mangatutu to the Crown. There was a complaint from Wī Pere, though, that the Crown was not dealing with the correct owners of the land.<sup>81</sup> When it came to the title investigation hearing of Waipāoa No. 1,<sup>82</sup> the land court heard evidence from Ngāi Tamatea hapū of Te Aitanga a Māhaki. In his evidence before the court, Pāora Haupa confirmed a connection of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi to the block as a hapū who had come into conflict with Tamatea, but to whom had never occupied the block with Tamatea. The block was awarded to Ngāi Tamatea.<sup>83</sup>

In February and March 1875 ‘Ngāriki’ and other hapū and iwi interests in the Waikohu-Matawai, Rangatira and Whātātutu blocks were argued.<sup>84</sup> The Court decided in favour of Ngā Pōtiki (a hapū of Te Aitanga a Māhaki) in the Waikohu-Matawai case despite a strong argument being made by Ngāriki; the Judge conceded that Ngāriki ‘may have a claim along the southern boundary that they had failed to point out...’<sup>85</sup>

In the Rangatira hearing the only identifiably Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi name added to the eventual list of owners was Te Hira Te Uatuku.<sup>86</sup> The Whātātutu title investigations, also in March 1875, had a similarly disappointing result for Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi. While individuals of the Iwi appear to have participated in the investigation they had little success in having the collective interests of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi recognised.<sup>87</sup> Nonetheless, Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi is identified by the Tribunal as one of the hapu who hold rights to the adjacent Whātātutu block, although these rights overlap with those of hapū of Te Aitanga a Māhaki.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Robson, p. 14.

<sup>82</sup> The northern tip part of the CFL lands sits over the Waipāoa No. 1 block.

<sup>83</sup> R. Towers, ‘Turanga Manu Whiriwhiri: Overview of Customary Interests Outside the Gisborne Inquiry District - Rongowhakaata, Te Aitanga a Mahaki, Ngariki Kaiputahi’, a report for the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, November 2008, pp. 32-33, citing Gisborne Minute Book 7, pp. 107, 121-122; The block was included in the East Coast block narrative report, although its author stated that there was insufficient time to research it. See P. Berghan, ‘East Coast Block Research Narratives 1865-2000’, completed for the Crown Forestry Rental Trust’s East Coast Research Assistance Projects, August 2008, Wai 900 #A23, pp. 1398-1399.

<sup>84</sup> Arapere, ‘Ngariki Kaiputahi: research report’, Wai 814 #A21, p. 17, citing Gisborne Minute Book 1, pp. 294-319 (20 February 1875), and Book 2, pp. 13-22 (4 March 1875).

<sup>85</sup> Ibid, p. 17, citing Gisborne Minute Book 1, pp. 318-9 (27 February 1875).

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, p. 17, citing Gisborne Minute Book 2, p. 22 (4 March 1875).

<sup>87</sup> Ibid, citing Gisborne Minute Book 2, p. 42 (4 March 1875).

<sup>88</sup> *Turanga Tangata, Turanga Whenua*, p. 31.

## Impact on Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi

Harmful impacts and prejudice on Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi had begun in the 1870s, with the Native Land Court hearings themselves, in which Wī Pere asserted that Pera Te Uatuku had lost his mana whenua in the area, and then he insulted Pera by referring to him as ‘meat.’<sup>89</sup> The case argued by Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi before the Tūranga Tribunal was that the decision of the Native Land Court that Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi were conquered as a tribe was a ‘substantial mistake’ and that ‘in practical terms’ the effect of the awards of 1881 and 1922 on the tribe were significant,<sup>90</sup> and multifaceted; viz:

- the interests of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi shareholders in Mangatū were inappropriately discounted because of their Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi descent;
- owners with multiple hapū claims in Mangatū consistently disclaimed Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi descent and preferred claims through other hapū for that reason;
- Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi were wrongly stigmatised as a conquered tribe living in servitude in traditional times;
- a significant loss of mana for Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi; and
- a significant loss of land Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi.<sup>91</sup>

Furthermore, the Tribunal found that the effect of the 1881 court decision and the subsequent Crown breach was that ‘the myth that by conquest Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi lost all but its occupation sites has been perpetuated and their rights in Mangatū reduced disproportionately.’<sup>92</sup> The Tribunal referred to the way that Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi argued that the land court’s error ‘has had a long-term effect on them, reducing the amount of land they were eventually awarded in the block and threatening their integrity, autonomy, and rangatiratanga as a tribal group’<sup>93</sup> The Tūranga Tribunal recognised the ‘affront’ that Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi felt by being labelled as ‘conquered’ by the court in 1881, particularly when this label was used by courts subsequently.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Gisborne Minute Book 2, p. 147. Such effects, while often cumulative, may not be linear and in other circumstances Wī Pere during the Mangatū hearing acknowledged the rights of the descendants of Rāwiri Tamanui, who appear to largely equate with the present members of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi. He testified that Pera derived his rights through ‘the ancient ancestors’.

<sup>90</sup> *Turanga Tangata, Turanga Whenua*, p xxvii and 662.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid*, p xxvii.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid*, p 748.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid*, p 660.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid*, p 695.

The 1881 decision was ‘in essence, a confiscation of a tribal interests and identity’, and that it ‘caused considerable and ongoing prejudice, including prejudice to Ngariki Kaiputahi’s right and ability to identify itself in a customary manner.’<sup>95</sup> This cannot be overstated enough: the land is a source of a tribal group’s identity and mana, as well as their social, economic and spiritual wellbeing. Tribal identity and te tino rangatiratanga go hand in hand – you cannot have one without the other.<sup>96</sup>

While the Mangatū Remedies Tribunal found the Infometrics calculations on the economic loss of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi ‘problematic’,<sup>97</sup> nevertheless the Tribunal concluded that:

we accept that it is highly likely Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi have suffered significant economic loss as a result of the 1881 Mangatū title determination. By receiving a smaller allocation in the ownership of the Mangatū Incorporation than they should have, Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi have lost out on dividends that would have otherwise accrued. ...

They have been disconnected from their whenua and denied a shareholding in the incorporation that accurately reflects their customary interests in Mangatū. Today, their rights in the Mangatū land are limited to a shareholding in the incorporation as part of the wider community of owners. We conclude that the social, cultural, and economic well-being of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi has suffered as a result of the Crown’s Treaty breaches.<sup>98</sup>

Given the relative small size of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi, it is challenging to specifically dissect the documented impacts on the tribe from Crown breaches of the Treaty except by way of extrapolation from wider impacts on Tūranga Māori. The impact on Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi of these breaches can be divided into two main parts: socio-economic and cultural; they are not mutually exclusive. The socio-economic impacts are dealt with first, since that impact would have played a significant, although not exclusive, part on the depth of impact on the cultural survival of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid, p. 662 referring to Document #H8, p 48.

<sup>96</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, Volume I – The People and the Land, Legislation Direct, Wellington, 2010, p. 1031.

<sup>97</sup> *The Mangatu Remedies Report*, p. 164.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, p.122, see also p. 164.

<sup>99</sup> Citing a memorandum and directions by the Deputy Chairperson on the Wai 814 inquiry, dated 5 July 2000, Arapere had recommended a socio-economic ‘study’ on the impacts of nineteenth century events on Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi and a profile of their contemporary situation, but no such study appears to have been undertaken exclusively for the group. A recommended oral history project for the group appears to also not have been

## Socio-economic impact

Utilising the findings of the Tūranga inquiry in particular, and specifically the socio-economic report of Professor Brian Murton,<sup>100</sup> the Mangatū Remedies Tribunal made a number of statements about the ‘economic impacts’ on Tūranga Māori/Te Aitanga a Māhaki from Crown Treaty breaches. Documented impacts specific to Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi are sparse, thus the following is a snapshot of the Tribunal findings that can be extrapolated to the Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi experience.

Tūranga Māori were fully and actively engaged in the colonial economy prior to the 1860s as they had the advantage of extensive land holdings, labour pools and their own ships. Within the space of a few decades, Tūranga Māori lost both their autonomy and their land and resources. These losses severely curtailed the ability of Tūranga Māori to engage with, and to control their engagements with, the colonial economy, and to achieve fair returns on their remaining land and resources.<sup>101</sup>

The hostilities of the 1860s caused enormous disruption to the lives of Tūranga Māori. Tūranga Māori lost a high proportion of their male population in the conflicts, with some 15% of Tūranga Māori killed by the Crown during hostilities.<sup>102</sup> Those individuals, such as Pera Te Uatuku, exiled to Wharekauri for several years created huge gaps in community organisation and structure.<sup>103</sup> Communities were also undermined as Māori suffered a devastating demographic decline at the same time as colonial society in Tūranga expanded. The number of communities declined, as did their populations:

blocks which had been occupied were gradually tied up in leases and rendered unavailable for continued occupation. In 1881, Te Aitanga a Mahaki, Ngariki Kaiputahi, and Kai were living in at least 10 communities: Tarere, Toroa, Waerenga a Hika,

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done, see Arapere, ‘Ngariki Kaiputahi: Scoping Report’, Waitangi Tribunal, 11 August 2000, Wai 814 #A6, pp. 12-13, and Arapere, ‘Ngariki Kaiputahi: Research Report’, Wai 814 #A21, p. 44.

<sup>100</sup> Brian Murton, ‘Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki 1860-1960. The economic and social experience of a people’, a report prepared for Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki Claims Committee, 2001, Wai 814 #A26. Murton’s report is generic to Te Aitanga a Māhaki, but comparisons of what was happening with Māhaki can be applied, more or less, to Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi.

<sup>101</sup> *The Mangatu Remedies Report*, p. 126.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid*, p. 130. Presumably these losses being mostly of a working male cohort as oppose to across the population cohorts.

<sup>103</sup> Murton, p. 78.

Parihimanihi, Rakaiketeroa, Waituhi, Kaitara, Tapuihikitia, Taihamuti, and Mangatu.

Only five small communities now remain.<sup>104</sup>

At this time, some 66 individuals were living at Mangatū.<sup>105</sup>

Up to 1890, Te Aitanga a Māhaki hapū and individuals were involved in almost continuous land court appearances, which was one of enormous economic and social turmoil. Agriculture was disrupted, as the court sessions frequently coincided with the planting and harvesting seasons.<sup>106</sup>

Notwithstanding that Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi were left with limited land interests at the end of the land court process, the Mangatū Remedies Tribunal noted that those limited land interests were usually of inferior quality and difficult to work and access. This meant that Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi had lost their rights of access to, and control over, land and resources, where the land could only be leased or sold in which Māori could apply their only capital asset to earn profits, yet the new title system did not allow Māori to secure a reasonable share of the capital value of this asset.<sup>107</sup> Furthermore, many land interests lacked an ‘effective trust mechanism for the communal management of Māori land’ that ‘almost completely marginalised Maori enterprises and Maori communities.’<sup>108</sup> For instance, until 1917 almost complete control over Mangatū was exercised by the management committee and the two trustees resident in Gisborne. In 1917, to straighten out what was deemed to be a financial maze, Mangatū was placed under the East Coast Commissioner. Not only did this disempower the Mangatū owners, but management goals were redirected, which provided little opportunity for owners to participate more fully in economic decision-making concerning their land.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> *Turanga Tangata, Turanga Whenua*, p. 512.

<sup>105</sup> Murton, p. 522. The settlement of Mangatū was later moved to Whātātutu due to constant flooding and the build-up of silt.

<sup>106</sup> Murton, p. 645.

<sup>107</sup> *The Mangatu Remedies Report*, p. 126.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid*, p. 128. Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki, therefore, had to rely on their labour power, which they had to sell in order to gain the means of survival; effectively being reduced to instruments of labour whose value was determined in the market place, Murton, p. 648.

<sup>109</sup> Murton, p. 653. Its interesting to also note the financial loss was greater given that, as report in 1918, a great deal of debt recorded in the Mangatū Trust accounts related to legal costs paid to W.I. Rees, incurred in the course of the Rangatira and Waingaromia cases before the New Zealand Courts and in the Privy Council. As Richard Boast notes, the owners agreed to underwrite the costs of the litigation on the basis that they would receive in exchange large interests in Rangatira and Waingaromia if the litigation was successful, but which in the end was not; a ‘financial disaster for the East Coast Maori landowners.’ Richard Boast, *The Native Land Court. A historical Study. Cases and Commentary, 1862-1887*, Thomson Reuters, Wellington, 2013, p. 871.

Thus, Tūranga Māori found themselves enmeshed in an entirely new property rights regime, an entirely new set of institutions, and a vastly different type of economy. For instance, from 1869 to 1890 some 366,000 acres of Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki land had been alienated, with further alienations yet to come over the next 20 years or so.<sup>110</sup> The native title system afforded Māori very little choice.<sup>111</sup> During the 1880s Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki had been convinced by Wī Pere to place some 190,000 acres of their few remaining land in the hands of the New Zealand Native Land Settlement Company<sup>112</sup>. A Supreme Court ruling in 1884 established that the transfer of this land to the company was a sale, and that Māori no longer owned the land, despite their being shareholders. Some of this land was subdivided and sold during the 1880s, but when the company declared its bankruptcy in 1888 Mangatū owners had effectively lost control of their land.<sup>113</sup> According to the Prime Minister and Minister of Māori Affairs, Walter Nash, it was not until 1949 that the beneficial owners in Mangatu ‘had any real say in the running of the Mangatu Blocks.’<sup>114</sup>

The rights of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi in the Mangatū land are currently limited to a shareholding in the incorporation as part of a wider community of owners, and their use of resources on the land is limited by the operations of the incorporation.<sup>115</sup> Even early in the twentieth century, most shareholders did not receive enough from their Mangatū dividends to live on.<sup>116</sup> In 1954, 41% of the Mangatū shareholders received less than £15 from their dividends. Moreover, owners of shares in land blocks had their pension, widow benefits, and disability benefits reduced because they were considered to be ‘landowners’, able to sell, lease, or mortgage their lands as individuals, even when all they had were a few nominal shares that they were prohibited by law from alienating until after 1953.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Murton, p. 646.

<sup>111</sup> *The Mangatu Remedies Report*, p. 126.

<sup>112</sup> This company was originally conceived of as a corporate type of arrangement in which Māori contributed land and Pākehā contributed capital.

<sup>113</sup> Murton, p. 646. Wī Pere and W.L. Rees attempted to stave off disaster by executing a series of trust deeds with the owners of the blocks.

<sup>114</sup> Extract from reply by Minister of Māori Affairs to Mr Eddie Hooper on submission made at Poho-o-Rawiri, Gisborne, on 19 May 1959. On file ABJZ W4644 869 Box 68 26/7/2 Part 1, ‘Trust Boards – East Coast Commissioner – Mangatū Numbers’ 1, 2, 3, And 4’, 1959-73, Archives NZ.

<sup>115</sup> *The Mangatu Remedies Report*, p. 169.

<sup>116</sup> Murton, p. 495. Even at the outset, when dividends were paid (and they were only paid infrequently on many blocks of land until the 1940s), a few shareholders received substantial dividends, a few others modest dividends, and most, very meagre dividends. Over time, with the decrease in the number of shares held by individuals, this situation was exacerbated.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid*, p. 657.

While gardening re-emerged around kāinga during the 1880s, Tūranga Māori were unable to extract reliable incomes from their diminishing lands, and so instead had to move into rural wage labour to supplement their incomes; ‘they became casual and seasonal wage labourers, usually in conjunction with small-scale, often subsistence, farming.’<sup>118</sup> These activities were to be their mainstay until the 1940s.<sup>119</sup>

Tūranga Māori had been denied the opportunity to have more direct control over their lands by ‘paternalistic policies and the prevalent notion among politicians that Māori were incapable of administering their lands in a fiscally responsible manner’ and were instead forced into wage labour to earn a living. In the process, ‘the emergence of a knowledgeable and experienced cadre of business managers, resource managers, agricultural experts, accountants, lawyers, and the like, [was delayed] by decades’.<sup>120</sup>

Up until the late 1930s, the papakāinga lands at Mangatū grew kūmara, potatoes, maize, and other vegetables were grown, and a few livestock were kept. The income mix, therefore, included a subsistence component, wages, and dividends. According to Hēni Brown, in 1936 Whātātutu ‘and its environs’ had a Māori population of some 200 individuals among a mainly ‘European township’.<sup>121</sup> Some Māori were able to work on the Mangatū Incorporation stations, predominantly as casual labourers.<sup>122</sup> By the early 1940s, almost half the permanent hands and most of the casual hands were Māori.<sup>123</sup>

By the outbreak of World War II there is evidence that population growth, plus a stable or declining amount of rural work, meant that Tūranga Māori had to look for alternative forms of employment. From 1945 to the early 1960s, many Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki whānau made the transition to urban wage labour, while fewer joined the urban, salaried workforce. However, the situation that had begun to be apparent during the 1930s of a marginalised and impoverished underclass did not basically change. All that did change was that Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki was not only a rural proletariat, but an urban one as well. Dependent on wage labour, often at the lowest levels, and usually in types of employment highly susceptible to economic downturns, meant

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<sup>118</sup> *The Mangatu Remedies Report*, pp. 126, 129; see also Murton, p. 647. Wage labour includes bush felling, bush burning, sowing grass seed, scrubcutting, fencing, gathering grass seed, and especially shearing.

<sup>119</sup> Murton, p. 647.

<sup>120</sup> *The Mangatu Remedies Report*, pp. 129-130; Murton, p. 654.

<sup>121</sup> Or around 37% of the total population in the area. Binney J, and Chaplin G, p. 41.

<sup>122</sup> Alan Ward, ‘The History of the East Coast Maori Trust’, a thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in History, January 1958, p. 149.

<sup>123</sup> Letter from Native Minister to Secretary, Gisborne Labour Representation Committee, 17 September 1943. On file AAMK W3074 869 Box 797b 26/7/2 part 1, ‘Trust Boards – East Coast Commissioner – Mangatū Numbers 1, 2 and 4 – General’, 1935-48.

that even during the 1960s nearly three-quarters of Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki whānau were in an extremely vulnerable economic position.<sup>124</sup>

Housing at Mangatū/Whātātutu was a pressing issue from the 1930s in which the Mangatū owners had to endure significant hardship. While it is not explicit, this housing was probably located on part of the 500-acre 'native reserve' that existed on the Mangatū No. 1 block; here, many tenants occupied land 'at the pleasure of the [Mangatū] Committee' for 'no fixed term on a rental basis'.<sup>125</sup> This history of the reserve land has been covered by Robson, who concluded that while the reserve was 'certainly' occupied in 1950 as a Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi village, increasing difficulty with flooding and tensions with the Mangatū Incorporation saw the village abandoned, with most people moving to higher ground.<sup>126</sup> In 1948, the nearby Taihamiti Pā was reportedly badly affected by recent flooding and would have to move to higher ground; its residents were all Mangatū owners whose 'needs' presented 'a problem of some magnitude.'<sup>127</sup>

A survey of housing in 1948 showed appalling conditions at the Mangatū Pā, with decrepit housing, often described as rickety 'shacks', and overcrowding.<sup>128</sup> It was noted that while some occupiers derived 'substantive income' from the Mangatū Incorporation, they could not obtain solely-owned building sites as the land was held in common.<sup>129</sup> As reported in March 1948:

Of the old dwellings... only one possesses a bath and that is used in the open at the back of the house. The living conditions are the worst the writer has ever seen and words cannot be found to describe the misery of the womenfolk and the little children must endure in the winter months cooped up in a leaky unlined shack with wide cracks and gaping holes in the weatherboards. Many have only earth floors and two possess only holes for windows possible because the buildings are too rotten to enable a window to

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<sup>124</sup> Murton, p. 659.

<sup>125</sup> See letter from Registrar, Gisborne, to East Coast Commissioner, 21 April 1948, and letter from East Coast Commissioner, to Registrar, Gisborne, 22 April 1948. Both on file MA1 613 30/4/11, 'Mangatu Group Housing', 1945-49, Archives NZ. The Commissioner noted that many owners named in the Registrar's letter did 'not hold land' – although whether that meant that they did not live on the reserve or simply did not own any other land, is unclear.

<sup>126</sup> Robson, pp. 16-17. The reserve was vested 'back within the Mangatu block' in 1968.

<sup>127</sup> Memorandum from Registrar, Gisborne, to Under-Secretary, 8 June 1948. On file MA1 613 30/4/11.

<sup>128</sup> Letter from Senior Inspector, Waikohu County, to Manu Terekia, Te Karaka, 30 January 1948. On file MA1 608 30/3/55, 'Mangatu Housing Survey', 1948, Archives NZ.

<sup>129</sup> Memorandum from Under-Secretary to Registrar, Gisborne, 25 February 1948. Ibid.

be fitted. One such one roomed shack approximately 16' by 12' houses two adults and nine children, ranging from a girl 16 years of age to a baby 9 months.<sup>130</sup>

The same report noted that the pā had caused concerns to Welfare Officers when they endeavoured to provide housing under the 'Housing Act' but owing to the (communal) title difficulties no progress was made. The Department of Māori Affairs were able to build houses elsewhere in the Gisborne region for a number of owners at Mangatū, with other houses to be built on the (native) reserve.<sup>131</sup> By the late 1950s, poor housing at Mangatū was the Mangatū-Whātātutu Committee's number one problem; some 20 whānau living near the marae needed urgent help. The committee pinned its hope on the Mangatū Incorporation coming to the show by providing housing sites to whānau who needed them badly. At the same time, the committee had cracked down hard on a burgeoning liquor problem, and also reported that there was an active youth and haka group.<sup>132</sup>

Murton noted that whereas previously the world for Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki whānau had centred on the middle and upper Waipāoa Valley, the new world centred on Gisborne, on the periphery of the rohe. It was no longer a world of contested boundaries, but one of survey lines and county boundaries, dominated by authorities in Gisborne and Wellington.<sup>133</sup> The physical landscape itself dramatically transformed. Most of the land sold or leased was rapidly cleared for grasslands, except for on the steepest and most remote land. Consequently, given the unstable nature of much of the hill country, erosion, flooding, and siltation accelerated almost immediately, resulting in destroyed crucial non-horticultural resources. Land confiscation and purchase, and land clearance had dislocated tribal resource complexes and taonga.

Owen also pointed out that Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi had aversely been affected by environmental degradation affecting their customary area, especially massive deforestation that occurred in the headwaters of the Mangatū River resulting in flooding and silting. This is demonstrated by the Te Ngāwari wharenuī at Mangatū, an important taonga for the Iwi as 'one of our strongest surviving links with the past.

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<sup>130</sup> Memorandum from Field Supervisor to Registrar Gisborne, 19 March 1948. Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> Memoranda from Registrar, Gisborne, to Under-Secretary, 13 May 1949 and 27 July 1949. Both on file MA1 613 30/4/11.

<sup>132</sup> Reports of the Mangatū-Whātātutu Tribal Committee, 30 May 1958 and 27 May 1959. On file AAMK W3730 Box 35 35/22/2/4.

<sup>133</sup> Murton, p. 646. The process associated with the determination of the ownership of land, the allocation of shares, and the subsequent operation of the laws of succession illustrate how a private property regime replaced a common property regime.

The first whareniui was accidentally burnt down in the 1920s, and replaced with another whare using more modern materials. The third whareniui became a victim of silting as a result of deforestation, that it is almost now covered by silt. The dining hall, Te Ngahau, became the substitute whareniui, opening in 1958. However, this site became flooded, and the marae complex was moved to higher ground in 1985 on General Land at Whātātutu – where most of the settlement at Pākōwhai had already moved to – to a site that the Mangatū Incorporation had purchased off a Pākehā, and that Owen stated was less of a traditional Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi marae than the preferred site by some, at Puketārewa.<sup>134</sup> In 2000, the Māori Land Court confirmed the reservation of the marae for Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi and Te Aitanga a Māhaki.<sup>135</sup> Julie O’Donnell stated that Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi had sought the reservation given the strong whakapapa links the Iwi had with the marae, but that they were unable to negotiate to exclude Te Aitanga a Māhaki<sup>136</sup>

The drastic diminution of the resource base adversely affected food production, and resulted in poorer nutrition exacerbated by the sanitary and housing conditions in settlements such as at Mangatū.<sup>137</sup>

ever vulnerable to the vicissitudes of the market, unable to gain access to appropriate education, and more likely to be living in conditions which made them more vulnerable than poor Pakeha to a range of health problems. Poor housing and bad sanitation were... the crucial linkage between poverty and poor health. Because of poverty, Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki families were also likely to suffer from poor nutrition.<sup>138</sup>

The diseases of poverty led to high levels of mortality, including infant mortality, and to ill health generally. Prior to 1966, communicable diseases, such as typhoid, tuberculosis, influenza, measles, bronchitis, and so on, were both endemic and epidemic among Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki<sup>139</sup>. This was both an indication of persistent low living standards and outcome of

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<sup>134</sup> ‘Mana over Whenua maintained to this day’, *Turangai a Kiwa Pipiwharauoa*, May 2002, v. 10(4), p. 9. Robson, p. 16. The deforestation slippage was recorded as early as the mid-1890s. See F. Allsop, *The Story of Mangatū, the forest which healed the land*, A.R. Shearer, Government Printer, Wellington, 1970, p. 20.

<sup>135</sup> Gisborne Minute Book 148, pp. 107-109 (4 December 2000). The reservation of the marae had been overlooked until 2000. See also *New Zealand Gazette*, No. 153, p. 3794. Copy at <https://gazette.govt.nz/notice/id/2001-ln7778>

<sup>136</sup> Personal communication, Julie O’Donnell, 2 May 2018.

<sup>137</sup> Murton, p. 647.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid, p. 639.

<sup>139</sup> Murton describes the period 1945 to 1966 as a ‘mortality transition’, presumably before Te Aitanga a Māhaki came into and under the health care system. Ibid, p. 589.

poverty; Te Aitanga a Māhaki were a socio-economically depressed minority, isolated both physically and structurally.<sup>140</sup>

In 1961, for instance, the Mangatū-Whātātutu Tribal Committee reported that some people were living in ‘pitiful conditions in the Pa area’.<sup>141</sup> The population in the area of the Mangatū Marae in 1961 was around 300 to 350 individuals with many of the adults luckily enough to be employed on the 14 stations of the Mangatū Incorporation and other farms in the area. Some of the younger people were moved out of the area under a ‘Relocation Scheme’ to find jobs in Wellington.<sup>142</sup>

By 1971, the Māori population of Whātātutu was 203 out of a total population of 272 individuals.<sup>143</sup> During the 1970s and 1980s inflation accelerated, the markets for agricultural products became more difficult to access, and unemployment rose. The least skilled wage earners were affected first, hardest, and longest by the economic perturbations of this period. But the roots of the crisis go back to much earlier in the twentieth century.<sup>144</sup>

Dr Belgrave et al note that the attention of the 1990s was focused on the socio-economic reforms that followed the election of the Fourth Labour Government in 1984, where New Zealand’s historically high levels of protection were dramatically reduced, the New Zealand dollar was floated, and the level of government regulation of the economy generally reduced. The authors noted that unemployment rapidly increased and a large number of relatively low skilled workers lost their employment; and that Māori, and in particular Māori within rural areas, were hit most by these changes. This was further exacerbated when, in 1991, benefit rates were cut significantly.<sup>145</sup>

Belgrave et al’s socio-demographic report for the Tūranga inquiry using the census results of 1991 and 1996, outline some key findings for Te Aitanga a Māhaki, most notably that the

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid, p. 662.

<sup>141</sup> Report of the Mangatu-Whatatutu Tribal Committee, 14 July 1961. On file AAMK W3730 Box 35 35/22/2/4.

<sup>142</sup> Report of the Mangatu-Whatatutu Tribal Committee, 14 July 1961, and Subsidy advice No. 224 to the Minister of Maori Affairs, September 1961. Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> Binney and Chaplin, p. 42. According to the two authors, 1971 was the last year in which the census recorded the Māori and European populations of the country’s communities.

<sup>144</sup> Murton, p. 660.

<sup>145</sup> M. Belgrave, M. McPherson, Peter Mataira, ‘Tūranganui a Kiwa: A Socio-Demographic Profile of the Gisborne Land Inquiry District’, a report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental, February 2002, Wai 814 #E15, p. 92.

tribe's demography 'is its negative growth in numbers living within the region, and low overall growth nationally.'<sup>146</sup> In more detail ('members' refers to Te Aitanga a Māhaki iwi members):

- Population structure is typical of the Maori population in general, with a high proportion of children and small proportions at older ages
- There had been a 6% decline in numbers living within the region from 1991 to 1996, with one in three members living within the Tūranga district
- A decline in those engaged in the manufacturing and community, social and personal services sectors, both within and out of region
- The removal of family benefit and family support in a population with a high proportion of children
- An increase in multiple family households
- A decline in mortgage free home ownership, particularly for those living within the region, and increased renting and weekly rentals
- Increased sole parenting
- Receipt of the domestic purposes benefit is the only benefit that has not reduced between 1991 and 1996
- No decrease in the proportion of members without any educational qualifications
- Those iwi members over 15 years of age and living outside Tūranga were more likely to be involved in study, and were more highly qualified than those living in the district
- Wages and salary were the main income source for those living in Tūranga
- Resident members were more likely to be receiving income support (48%) compared to 35% of non-residents<sup>147</sup>
- 27% of Tūranga members re employed in agriculture, forestry and fishing, but only 9% of those members living elsewhere work in this sector<sup>148</sup>
- Between 1991 and 1996 Te Aitanga a Māhaki population living within Tūranga

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<sup>146</sup> This report provides a general overview of indicators (demography, cultural, (Te Reo), education and training, employment and work, income, housing, communications and transport, family, justice and political participation (for a more detail breakdown of what each indicator means, see section 1.5 of that report). This is then followed by 'individual iwi profiles' summaries of Ngāi Tamanuhiri, Rongowhakaata, and Te Aitanga a Māhaki (noting that individuals could affiliate to these three iwi and other hapū , p. 18)

<sup>147</sup> Residents were more likely to be receiving the unemployment benefit (24% compared to 17% of those elsewhere) and the domestic purposes benefit (12% compared to 9% elsewhere). However, there was a decline in unemployment, sickness and invalid benefits, although there was no change in domestic purposes benefit out of region.

<sup>148</sup> The most common occupational category for those members living elsewhere is the professions, technical and administration which employ one in three, compared to less than one in five of those within Tūranga.

experienced declines in agriculture, forestry and fishing, manufacturing, and community, social and personal services, and an increase in wholesale, retail and restaurant work

- Just over half of resident members received \$15,000<sup>149</sup> or less for the year reported in the 1996 census. Those living within Tūranga were more likely to be in this lower income category (62%) than those living elsewhere (51%)
- A quarter (26%) of households of 6 or more people received less than \$30,000 within region; 38% of 3-5 person households within the region received less than \$30,000; and since 1991, there has been a 10% increase in 6+ person households receiving \$30,000 or less<sup>150</sup>
- Household crowding is more likely and has increased between 1991 and 1996. In 1996 over half (55%) of households of 6 or more people within the region lived in housing of 1-3 bedrooms; and since 1991 there had been increases in the proportions of 3-5 person households living in 1-2 bedroom housing, from 8% to 14%
- Nearly one-third of resident Te Aitanga a Mahaki whānau with children are sole parented
- Some 37% of Te Aitanga a Māhaki speak Te Reo.<sup>151</sup>

Belgrave also outlined the ‘key differences’ between resident and non-resident Te Aitanga a Māhaki; viz:

- lower educational qualifications within region, and this is an increasing trend;
- fewer in full-time paid work and more unemployed within region;
- more in lower occupational and income categories within region;
- those within region are more likely to be receiving income support such as unemployment and domestic purposes benefits;
- those within region more likely to have been affected by rental increases; and
- those within region more likely to be smokers and less likely to have quit smoking.<sup>152</sup>

While afforestation had provided some employment for the close by and predominantly Māori communities of Whātātutu and Te Karaka in the early years, Arapere reported in 2000 that it

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<sup>149</sup> Equivalent to c.\$28,000 in 2017 dollars.

<sup>150</sup> However, there has also been a 10% increase, from 13% to 23% for 6+ person households receiving over \$50,000.

<sup>151</sup> Belgrave et al, pp. 85-89.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid, p. 85. However, those resident also have the following strengths of more geographic stability and cheaper housing.

was unclear how much the forestry project still relied on the local community for its labour force.<sup>153</sup>

In 2012, Owen Lloyd stated that the Whātātutu village ‘is the heart of the Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi community living in Mangatu.’<sup>154</sup> Lloyd also gave a snapshot to the socio-economic conditions:

Employment is now non-existent for many Mangatu shareholders. For many years, most Ngariki Kaipūtahi who were living on Mangatu worked these farms and planted the forest. These jobs provided our people with skills to be able to manage the land for themselves, but, as time has passed, and with the downsizing of the farms in the last few years, there are no more jobs for our young men. They now have to travel and live away from home, even if they want to continue doing farm work and learn those skills such as how to become a farm manager, or to find work in the forestry.<sup>155</sup>

Citing Ministry of Social Development figures,<sup>156</sup> Owen Lloyd calculated that of the approximate 40 houses in the village with a residential population of around 160 people, about 80 people were over 16 years of age, and there were around 30 benefits in the area: ‘This roughly translates to 1 in 2 of the households receiving benefits’ (or an average 30 benefit recipients per year between 2007 and 2011).<sup>157</sup> Lloyd added that the health statistics were dire:

I can name everybody that’s nearly on a solo benefit or on a sickness benefit. Not only socially, in terms of Social Welfare[,] but even in the health statistics, I can go from my house to every house along the way up and notify and show each person is suffering from some sort of illness which they shouldn’t be. And it’s a sad case.

... we’re dumped on by everyone. If you go into the health statistics you will see it a deep red crimson, where docile [sic] 1 and deprivation 10 in the health statistics and the education statistics. These are the things that we’re having to battle each day with the system, ....

... We can’t go to see a doctor within a week and a half, that’s the earliest we can get a doctor at the moment. Other tribal groups get free dental, we don’t. These are some of the

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<sup>153</sup> Arapere, ‘Ngariki Kaipūtahi: research report’, Wai 814 #A21, p. 36.

<sup>154</sup> ‘Brief of Evidence of Owen Lloyd on behalf of Ngariki Kaipūtahi’, Wai 814 #I21, para 1.14.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid*, p. 16.

<sup>156</sup> See ‘Letter from Ministry of Social Development regarding benefits at Whatatutu, dated 18 April 2012’, Wai 814 #I21(b).

<sup>157</sup> ‘Brief of Evidence of Owen Lloyd on behalf of Ngariki Kaipūtahi’, Wai 814 #I21, para 1.38.

things that as Ngariki Kaiputahi can address if we have the confidence that resources and that can be given to us.<sup>158</sup>

### **Cultural impact**

As Owen Lloyd stated, ‘customary rights imply customary authority’.<sup>159</sup> Yet, the abnegation of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi customary rights in Mangatū effected the mana of their tūpuna, the Iwi’s ability to occupy and protect their customary lands and exercise their customary rights, such as placing rāhui, and ultimately dislocated inter-hapū rights and understandings leading to increasing rifts within tribes prevalent to this day.<sup>160</sup>

Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi have suffered a long and enduring emotional and psychological hurt from being stigmatized from the wrongful label of a conquered tribe. The Crown failed to protect, and contributed to the loss thereof, the tribal identity of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi when it failed to distinguish the tribe from the various Ngāriki kin groups, and failed to properly investigate and inquire into the customary interests of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi during the 1881 hearing, particularly by the incorrect labelling of Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi as a conquered group.<sup>161</sup>

The Tribunal’s overall conclusion is that Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi were confused with other ‘Ngariki’ groups, who, they argued, had in fact been conquered.<sup>162</sup> In contrast to such groups Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi argued that customary evidence given by a number of court witnesses showed that the tribe were substantial right-holders in the land, and their rights were exercised under their own mana.<sup>163</sup> The Tribunal noted that Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi had ‘presented a substantial body of technical and customary evidence on this matter’,<sup>164</sup> and referred to ‘Ngariki Kaiputahi’, as the specific descent group led by Rāwiri Tamanui.<sup>165</sup>

The issue of interconnection between land and mana, and consequently the loss of land resulting in the loss of mana has been extensively examined by the Waitangi Tribunal. Evidence has frequently been given as to this aspect of tikanga and the impacts therein. Loss of land has many practical impacts as well. For example, in the modern Treaty context without

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<sup>158</sup> ‘Transcript from Remedies hearing held at Te Poho o Rāwiri Marae, 18-22 June 12’, Wai 814 #4.28, pp. 209-210.

<sup>159</sup> Personal communication, Owen Lloyd, 2 May 2018.

<sup>160</sup> Murton, p. 656.

<sup>161</sup> *Turanga Tangata, Turanga Whenua*, p. 675.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid*, p 662

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid*, p 665.

land one may struggle to receive allocations of fish, or be subjected to accusations that you are only an historical hapū, not a live one. Within Māori societies the importance of land is such that having retained it – or lost it – can result in a social stigma. Then there are obvious economic implications for being able to support oneself without having land for farming, for example. Māori societies traditionally supported themselves from their land holdings and the loss of that land meant they could no longer do so.

The allocation of shares/interests to individuals, and subsequent successions breaking down those shares/interests further, ignored one of the most crucial factors in the original Māori property rights regime where all individuals had somewhat equal access to land and resources, and that ultimate control over land and resources was vested in whānau and hapū leadership. Under this system, rights, duties, and obligations concerning access and control very much related to social structure. Under the new system these were replaced by a different set of concepts in which the market system dominated.<sup>166</sup>

Murton notes that cultural impacts were also felt in the way traditional place names had disappeared from the printed maps that were now part of the official record.

Symbols and symbolic acts are an extremely important part of the cultural aspects of colonialism, as are the discourses about each other generated by coloniser and colonised alike. The former have dominated the writing of history in New Zealand, but there is an alternate history, the history of whānau, hapū, and iwi, which is gradually coming into more general view.<sup>167</sup>

Coupled with their relatively small size, Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi had limited land interests; indeed, no other evidence suggests Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi had interests in any lands other than Mangatū and a handful of adjoining blocks. Any loss of land, therefore, would have been acutely felt by the Iwi – this meant that the Iwi were not able to practice their customary traditions given Mangatū was ‘fundamental’ to the Iwi; as Owen Lloyd stated: ‘We call it Ukaipo – mothers [sic] milk. A child’s [sic] good health depends on its mother’s [sic] breast milk.’<sup>168</sup> As Professor Brian Murton stated in his socio-economic report for the Tūranga inquiry:

For Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki whanau and hapu, the land remains a repository of cultural meaning. It is a known territory bounded by known markers, it is the location of the spiritual residence of ancestors and of the newly born, and it is where whanau and hapū

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<sup>166</sup> Murton, p. 656.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid, p. 662.

<sup>168</sup> ‘Brief of Evidence of Owen Lloyd on behalf of Ngariki Kaiputahi’, Wai 814 #I21, para 1.14.

identity emerged. Land has meaning far beyond that of a commodity to be bought and sold, leased, and mortgaged in the market place.

The concept of turangawaewae land as the ancestral home, sustaining whanau and hapu with its varied resources and bearing through the mauri of its denizens, physical and immaterial, the spiritual and psychological well-being of its human inhabitants remains important. Indeed, the concept may have become even more significant as Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki have dispersed to the far corners of New Zealand and the world. Turangawaewae, literally ‘a place to stand’, and especially a place to which one returns, has become even more important as a cultural metaphor... [as reflected in] Te Kooti’s prediction about the future of the Mangatu lands:

E kite ake ana au i to kotou whenua e tere ana etere ana ki te moana, a a, (e) kore rawa e pupuri.

I see your land drifting, drifting to the sea. And you will not be able to retain it.

This could be a prediction about the erosion and flooding that was to come by the early twentieth century, but it also symbolises the loss of land, especially for some Nga Ariki whanau who have always felt that their claims to Mangatu have not been recognized properly. Perhaps the ‘drifting’ could also have referred to people leaving the land, being aimlessly adrift in a new world, and moving to the coastal cities. [emphasis added]<sup>169</sup>

Owen summed up the cultural lost specific to Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi as follows:

Much of Ngariki Kaiputahi's traditional cultural base has come close to being totally lost. This includes waiata, haka, whaikorero, the making of korowai, and the harvesting of traditional food sources, rongoa and so on. There are various reasons for this. One is the simple fact that most of our old people who held that traditional knowledge have now gone. But the force and power of colonisation, and the speed with which it came, are also responsible.

The main blow for Ngariki Kaiputahitanga was the operation of the Native Land Court, established by the very guardian that was supposed to protect our rights under the Treaty. It was the Government's land policies and the operation of the Native Land Court that enabled Ngariki Kaiputahi's lands to end up in the ownership of other iwi.

The loss of our much of our tribal land base has devastated us. Those who were left with little or nothing had to focus on surviving from day to day. The pursuit of self

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<sup>169</sup> Murton, p. 663.

actualisation and cultural development has taken second place to the need to provide for our families with food, homes and clothing[.]<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> ‘Brief of Evidence of Owen Lloyd on behalf of Ngariki Kaiputahi’, Wai 814 #I21, pp. 15-16.

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<i>Date(s):</i>	14 February 1982
<i>Reference #:</i>	OHA-8022
<i>Access:</i>	No access restrictions
<i>Comment:</i>	Annotated transcript of interview with Ned Brown and Hemi Brown dated 14 February 1982, and also speeches by Ned Brown in Maori at Mangatu, dated 6 June 1982 and translated to English by Jane McRae

<i>Title:</i>	Transcriptions of oral history recordings with Ned and Hemi Brown
<i>Date(s):</i>	1982
<i>Reference #:</i>	MS-Papers-12057-030
<i>Access:</i>	No access restrictions
<i>Comment:</i>	Two manuscript and typescript transcripts of oral history interviews in English and Te Reo: "Ned and Hemi Brown, 14 February 1982" "Ned Brown at Mangatu, 6 June 1982 (in his house)"

<i>Title:</i>	Mangatu Trust (b)
<i>Date(s):</i>	1868-1943
<i>Reference #:</i>	MS-Papers-6919-0006A
<i>Access:</i>	Restricted - Content cannot be accessed without permission
<i>Comment:</i>	Contains correspondence records and accounts of the Trust about various East Coast stations and development schemes

<i>Title:</i>	Maori Land Court evidence - Mangatu
<i>Date(s):</i>	1881-1892
<i>Reference #:</i>	MS-Papers-0189-093
<i>Access:</i>	Restricted - Content cannot be accessed without permission [NZMPF]

*Comment:* | Notes about the hearing of the Mangatu Block before the Maori Land Court, with information about traditional occupation and use of the land, related hapu, whakapapa and so on

Also contains extracts from various journal articles in the Journal of the Polynesian Society and the Transactions of the New Zealand Institute about the Maori occupation of the East Coast area, including the Horouta and Takitimu migrations from Hawaiki

*Title:* | Maori background - Historical items, glossaries, radio scripts

*Date(s):* | 1958-1960

*Reference #:* | 77-014-1/15

*Access:* | No access restrictions

*Comment:* | Various papers relating to Maori history and culture. Includes Maori concert programmes, papers on Maori land ownership of Mangatu (blocks 1, 3 and 4), pounamu or greenstone manufacture and types of stone, a pamphlet about Te Porere battle site, a letter to Bruce Mason [editor of Te Ao Hou] about an article Fowler was planning about the Hui Topu and notes from recordings from "Takipu and Mangatu huis" 1958, and various waiata including some by Arnold Reedy from 1935. Also some papers relating to Maori plant names and a letter from Bernard Teague of Wairoa

*Title:* | Notes

*Date(s):* | [ca 1881-1912]

*Reference #:* | MS-Papers-4870-08

*Access:* | No access restrictions

*Comment:* | Loose notes relating to specific trips, 1881-1912, including expeditions to Cape Kidnappers, Mangatu and other parts of Poverty Bay and Hawkes Bay

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<sup>171</sup> This file was identified by Arapere as being a potentially useful file useful to look at, although Ngāriki were not awarded interests in Mānukawhitikitiki No. 1 block. Wai 814 A6, p. 9 fn 60.

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***Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision***

<i>Title:</i>	Takipu Hui
<i>Date(s):</i>	08 Mar 1958
<i>Reference #:</i>	44900
<i>Media Type:</i>	Audio
<i>Comment:</i>	Hundreds of people converged on the Takipu Marae to attend the dedication of the new amenities and memorials not only at Takipu, but also at Mangatu which is in close proximity to Takipu Marae.

*Title:* | Survey: Joint Effort  
*Date(s):* | 1971  
*Reference #:* | F7134  
*Media Type:* | Film  
*Comment:* | Manatū 1, 3 and 4 Blocks which have been incorporated into one supervised holding to reverse the fragmentation of Māori land titles.  
George Evans attends the Mangatū Incorporation 1971 AGM Meeting. There are 7 shareholders, over 2000 members and 16 station managers operating farms under the Incorporation. Shows mustering, shearing, cattle drives, top-dressing, fencing, selected tree milling and other agricultural activities on the various stations.

*Title:* | He Rerenga Korero  
*Date(s):* | 20 May 1981  
*Reference #:* | 42640  
*Media Type:* | Audio  
*Comment:* | This programme features George Witika Brown QSM recipient of Puha, Gisborne.  
Mangatu Land Incorporation  
The Ringatu Faith  
Mrs K. Waioeka Brown  
Pine Pine Te Kura

*Title:* | Marae  
*Date(s):* | 2002  
*Reference #:* | F54206  
*Media Type:* | Film  
*Comment:* | Joe Brown (Ngariki Kaiputahi)

*Title:* | Waka Huia  
*Date(s):* | September 2014  
*Reference #:* | F239108  
*Media Type:* | Film  
*Comment:* | “We journey to the small East Coast community of Mangatū where we learn about its people, its history and its future.”

*Title:* | Te Puna Wai Korero 1976-06-10  
*Date(s):* | 16 June 1976  
*Reference #:* | 47221  
*Media Type:* | Audio  
*Comment:* | The official opening and the dedication of the new Mangatu Office. [At 28:58 – talks of the success of Mangatu that was ‘once the home of the ancient Ngariki people; its ownership passed by conquest to Wahia and Taupara, sometimes of the Aitanga-a-Mahaki.’]

<i>Title:</i>	He Rerenga Korero
<i>Date(s):</i>	30 Nov 1988
<i>Reference #:</i>	47828
<i>Media Type:</i>	Audio
<i>Comment:</i>	Sir Hēnare Ngata speaks at the Mangatu Office on the Treaty of Waitangi about historical developments and its interpretations from a Māori viewpoint

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'Mana over whenua maintained to this day', *Turanganui a Kiwa pipiwharauoa*, May 2002; v.10(4): pp. 9-10<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> Identified in Smith V, 'Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti and Turanga Cluster Oral and Traditional History Scoping Report', CFRT, September 2007. Wai 900 #A16, pp. 139-140.

<sup>173</sup> Backgrounds the dispute over Mangatū 1 lands between the Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi iwi and the Mangatū Corporation and the move by Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi to form the Rāwiri Tamanui Trust.

<sup>174</sup> Provides the history as told by Te Rakati Tamanui of the people of 'Ngāriki' who lived at a pā called Urukokomuka, which was situated beyond Mangatū.

<sup>175</sup> Reports on Tūranga Health activities and programmes focusing on mental health services. Informs that an assessment of unsafe homes in the East Coast/Bay of Plenty areas will commence.

<sup>176</sup> Reports on Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi Treaty of Waitangi land claim research with a focus on the Mangatū district. Reflects on the Native Land Court and its rulings, the evidence of Aperahama Te Uatuku Tamanui and many others who outline key historical land issues

<sup>177</sup> Describes highlights from the 50-year commemoration to strengthen iwi relationships between the Kīngitanga and Tainui with Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi and Te Aitanga a Māhaki.

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<sup>178</sup> Describes the 1879-80 surveying work carried out by Alfred Teesdale, to establish the boundary of the Mangatū Block, and the course of the Motu River. Also explains the surrounding blocks, other survey work, and early boat trips in a variety of craft. Discusses the proposed damshlights from the 50-year commemoration to strengthen iwi relationships between the Kīngitanga and Tainui with Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi and Te Aitanga a Māhaki.

<sup>179</sup> Chapter six addresses 'early ancestors'/kin groups and the land blocks they were associated with, including Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi.

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<sup>180</sup> Towers acknowledges that Ngāriki Kaipūtahi were the original kaitiaki of the Mangatū blocks, but, citing W. Halbert and Merata Kāwharu, respectively, traces their descent from Hineturaha and her husband Taurangakiwaho. 'More than one section of Ngāriki developed and Ngariki Kaipūtahi is one such section.' In battles against Ngati Ira, Ruatakitini, and Marukakoa of Ngāriki Kaipūtahi secured land to the east of the Mangatū stream. 'Their descendants remained on the lands for over two centuries. Securing their rights to the land was not always easy.' (p. 30).

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- ‘Synopsis of Brief of Evidence of Sid Hirini Tamanui on behalf of Ngariki Kaipūtahi’, #C8
- ‘Synopsis of Brief of Evidence of David Brown on behalf of Ngariki Kaipūtahi’, #C9
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- ‘Brief of Evidence of Joseph Hohepa Brown on behalf of Ngariki Kaipūtahi’, #C37
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<sup>181</sup> This report consists of an in-depth study of the history of Te Aitanga a Māhaki, based partly on written tribal sources, and also including: secondary sources, Native Land Court minutes and the personal communications of tribal elders. The last chapter is helpful for ascertaining those blocks in the East Coast Inquiry which Te Aitanga a Māhaki claim interests into, including: Rangatira, Waipawa [Waipaoa], Mangataikapua, Waitangi, Pakake-a-Whirikoka, and others.

<sup>182</sup> NB, part two, chapters two and three contain further information concerning Te Aitanga a Māhaki 1830-1865, including a geographical summary and an overview of traditional resource use and settlement patterns. Chapter four covers the inter-tribal wars in the 1820s and 1830s. See also, table 1, for a list of 'Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki prisoners' sent to Wharekauri, 1866.

<sup>183</sup> NB, the emphasis is on contact between Te Aitanga a Māhaki or Tūranga Māori on the one hand and Pākehā, and the Crown on the other. As such, there is no synopsis provided of the history, mana whenua or the rohe of Te Aitanga a Māhaki, nor mana whenua issues and whakapapa relationships in Tūranga. Chapter 20 provides discussion of the title investigation of Rangatira and other blocks.

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