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Urewera Consolidation Scheme
Data Compilation Report

A Report Commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal

By Clementine Fraser

June 2004

Urewera Consolidation Scheme Data Compilation Report

The Author:

My name is Clementine Fraser and I am a freelance researcher based in Auckland. I have a Master of Arts degree in History with first class honours from the University of Auckland. I was previously employed as a research officer at the Waitangi Tribunal Business Unit, where I researched and wrote two reports: a block history for the Muriwhenua inquiry and an examination of the administration of the Nelson Tenth Reserves. I also assisted Professor Alan Ward with research for a report for the Wai 145 Wellington Tenth inquiry and acted as the facilitator for the King Country and Central Auckland districts. As a freelance researcher I have written a report on Tuhoe's Experience of the Native Land Court for the Urewera Inquiry, and a report on Expressions of Rangatiratanga and The Crown's Responses for the Wairarapa Ki Tararua Inquiry.

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Section One: Introduction

The 1921 Urewera consolidation scheme determined Maori interests in their remaining land in order to separate out Government purchases from the land of non-sellers. Although other reports have covered consolidation scheme issues, they have been overview in nature, and this report is one of two reports commissioned to rectify a lack of primary documentation regarding the consolidation scheme in the current research. Steven Webster is producing a comprehensive report on the consolidation and this report was commissioned to complement Webster's main report. The report was designed to be a compilation of primary materials into spreadsheet form which, with some analysis, would not only complement the Webster report but would be able to stand alone as a resource report if not a descriptive historical narrative.

The data tables that form part of this commission are large and will for convenience be distributed in Excel spreadsheets on a CD to accompany this report. A reference list of the spreadsheets appears at the end of the report. Sheets A to E and G are contained in the workbook file 'Consolidation Data Compilation Report Spreadsheets.xls'. Sheets F1 to F42, comprising the 1921 group block lists, are in the file 'Group Book Lists.xls'.

1.1 Outline of Report:

As the Urewera District Native Reserve orders of 1907 laid the foundation for the purchase and consolidation of Maori interests, it is a significant starting point for this report. Section Two presents the UDNR orders in spreadsheet form sorted by individuals and showing their interests in various blocks (sheet A). The alienation of interests is then tracked in Section Three which covers the sales of lands (as far as is possible) (sheet B), and transfer and succession orders (sheets C and D). This brings us to 1921 and the Consolidation Scheme itself. Section Four presents the 1921 list based on the AJHR list but sorted by individual rather than group (sheet E). Following this is a series of sheets showing interests by blocks (sheets F1-42). Section Five presents data relating to the establishment of the New Blocks after the consolidation (sheet G). The tables are sorted by block and by individual. A concluding section

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brings together points relating to all the data presented here and briefly discusses some of the issues raised.

1.2 Sources:

Maori Land Court records have provided the bulk of primary source material for this project, and a large amount of information has been extracted straight from the Urewera Consolidation Minute Books. Other sources include the Group Books, which are invaluable as they break down individuals' interests into blocks. The lists published in the *Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives (AJHR)* for 1907 and 1921 provided the basis for many of these spreadsheets.

The material produced in these spreadsheets covers a vast number of individuals. Although a lot of information was found on certain aspects of the consolidation issue, gaps have remained. It proved impossible, for instance, to produce a definitive list or table of those who sold their interests (referred to as hoko whenua in this report). The officials in charge of the consolidation and concurrent land purchases seem to have been reluctant to put down lists of sellers, or they were simply not as interested in people who had sold as they were in people who had not yet sold but might be persuaded to do so. While the land purchase agent H.T. Bowler produced a list of non-sellers in 1919, there were no equivalent lists of those who had sold their interests to the government.

1.3 Methodology:

The compilation of the spreadsheets was quite a simple process. Primary sources were examined and data collected and then categorised into different spreadsheets. The sheets follow a similar pattern to each other but differences do crop up, generally related to the nature of the category. For instance, when dealing with successions there are extra items to tabulate such as the name of the deceased being succeeded to and the relationship between the two parties, as well as any notes made at the time. I have followed Steven Webster in the method of sorting by last name. The last name, or patronym, was the first name of the father of the person. This can help build a picture of familial relationships.

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The spreadsheets are, by virtue of the large number of individuals involved, quite large and for practical reasons some comparisons have been made by selected families and blocks rather than by a comparison across the board. When this has occurred I have attempted to select a family name which is prominent across the Urewera with interests in several blocks and which remained a strong presence (in the documents at least) from the 1907 orders to the 1921 consolidation orders.

The shares in land involved in the consolidation scheme are nearly always shown in the source material as a penny value. D.J. Mitchell and R.E. Stone, in their investigation into the Crown's fulfilment of promises made regarding roading in the Urewera (the report was published in 1957), explained that 'as the consolidation scheme was based on a monetary value the relative shares were expressed in pence'.¹

Steven Robertson outlines how this value was arrived at:

Take a block comprising 200 acres of land, owned by 100 Urewera Maori. If the block was valued at 10 shillings per acre, then the block would be worth £100. To determine the number of shares, it is necessary to divide the block's total worth by the value of the share, in this case one penny. Simply calculated, this means that our 200 acre block valued at 10 shillings per acre will generate 24,000 one penny shares.²

Unfortunately it is rarely made clear what value was placed on the land and on a share, so attempting to work backwards to determine the number of shares held by an individual in any given block was not a simple matter of transferring the penny value to the share value.

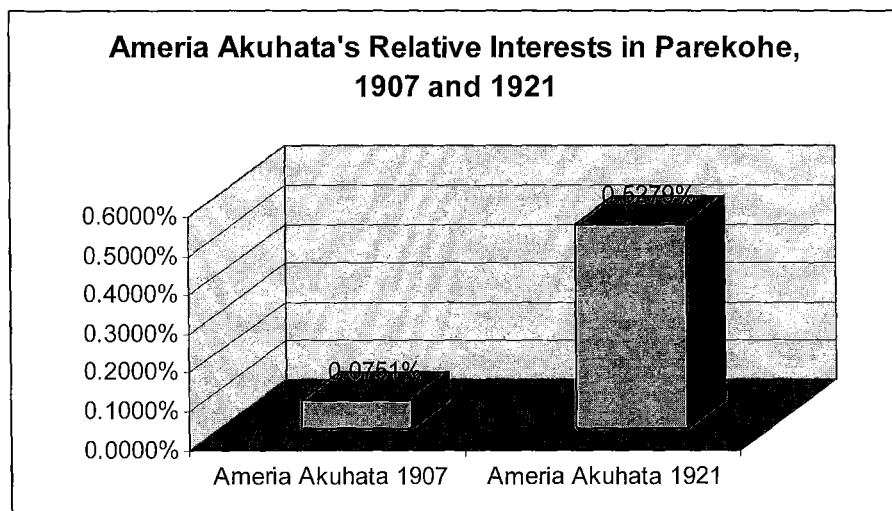
To get around this problem it was decided to convert the shares in pennies into a percentage value. Conversion to a percentage of the total interests in a block means that although we may not know the specific number of shares a person had in any one block we can see very clearly what their relative interest is in regards to other title holders. This also means that a clear comparison can be made between the original 1907 Urewera District Native Reserve orders and the later 1921 orders. For example, by dividing the number of shares in pennies held by Ameria Akuhata in Parekohe in 1921 (6025) by the total number of shares in pennies in the block (1141306) we

¹ Undated Memo 'Urewera Roding – Urewera Lands Ant 1921-22, [Results of Investigation into]', AADS W3562 22/697/4 Bundle 619, National Archives, cited in Steven Robertson, 'Te Urewera Surveys: Survey Costs and Land Valuations in the Urewera Consolidation Scheme, 1921-22, a Report for the CFRT, March 2003, p. 140.

² Robertson, p. 143.

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obtain a percentage interest held by Ameria of 0.5279%. This can be compared with her 1907 Parekohe interests of 5 shares out of a total 6655, a percentage interest of 0.0751%.³



A growth of interest in the block from 0.0751% to 0.5279% is an easier one to track than the change from 5 shares to 6025 shares in pennies. This formula does not establish definitively the number of shares held by individuals but it is a useful working tool to indicate the level of interest held in a title by certain people. It also shows how very fragmented ownership had become when people had a stake amounting to less than one percent in a block of land.

1.4 Issues Arising:

The important issues surrounding the consolidation scheme will be covered in depth in Steven Webster's report and this report seeks only to highlight these issues where indicated by the spreadsheet material presented here. These issues include the fragmentation of Urewera Maori interests through the award of tiny shares, and the purchase campaign by the Crown. Consolidation was required because the Crown wanted to be able to utilise the shares it had purchased. Richard Boast argues that 'Crown purchasing and consolidation were two phases of the *same* process. By embarking on Crown purchasing the government was aware that at some point Crown

³ See following chart.

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and non-seller interests would have to be severed.... Purchasing implied consolidation, or at least partition on a large scale'.⁴

The consolidation scheme did not necessarily place people where they felt they possessed the greatest links to the land – people were located in blocks according to convenience, particularly Crown convenience. The 1907 UDNR orders were also responsible for much fragmentation of interests, leading to sales of shares, but attempts had been made by the commission to recognise people's rights to land regardless of actual location. It is to this starting point that we now turn.

Section Two: Early Beginnings

The first major grouping together of Tuhoe interests in the Urewera was the Urewera District Native Reserve Commission of 1899-1903. This commission determined title to all the remaining Urewera land and assigned orders of ownership in 1903.⁵ Following sundry appeals the 1903 orders were amended and in 1907 new orders were published in the AJHR. These later orders have been used in this report since the appeals changed little but the addition of extra names. The 1907 orders formed the basis for the process that led to consolidation in 1921. Once official title had been awarded, the Crown began in 1910 a purchasing campaign of Urewera interests.⁶ These orders are therefore useful as a baseline comparison to the 1921 consolidation orders.

The UDNR 1907 table (sheet A) is based on the AJHR lists produced in 1907. It has been arranged alphabetically by name and shows a total of shares held in the total blocks by each individual. The original source grouped individuals into block categories and that can be a very useful arrangement, but here it is deemed of more use to see the total number of shares held in all blocks in which an individual possessed interests. This shows how spread out people's interests were. Individuals

⁴ R.P Boast, 'The Crown and Te Urewera in the 20th Century: A Study of Government Policy', Report for the Waitangi Tribunal, December 2002, Record of Documents (ROD) Wai 904 A109, p. 100.

⁵ See Anita Miles, 'Te Urewera', Working Paper, Waitangi Tribunal Rangahaua Whanui Series, March 1999, pp. 275-316 for detail on the establishment and working of the UDNR and the commission.

⁶ See Boast, p.100, and Miles, chapter 9.

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and families did not hold interests in only one area of the Urewera, and were often named on larger blocks that were seen as significant to the whole iwi.

Not only were interests spread out over several blocks, but they often consisted of very minor amounts. Some block spreadsheets have been included to illustrate this. The fragmentation of land interests into small shares in large areas cannot but have encouraged the sale of such seemingly unreal amounts. A person may have held 5 shares in a given block, but if that amounted to a mere 0.53% interest, and especially if the person was already living somewhere else, a situation was created conducive to the sale of shares or relative interests in Urewera land.

Section Three: Changes to Title

Between 1907 and 1921 interests in land in the Urewera underwent many changes and transitions. Alienation of interests by sale was not the only form of transaction which affected shares before the consolidation commission commenced. Deaths and successions and transfers changed the shape of ownership in many cases. The sale of land, being a direct and definite loss of interests, is of arguably greater significance than transfers and successions, but data tables for transfers and successions have also been included here in the interests of completeness.

3.1: Sales

It is very difficult to arrive at a clear picture of who sold what shares in the Urewera at this time. H.T. Bowler did not make specific lists of sellers, instead carrying his information around on cards, which are now lost. The lists he presented to the department were totals purchased in block areas; the history of the individual sale is lost. The Urewera Commission Minute Books record quite a few of these transactions and they form the basis for the data table (sheet B).

One areas of concern would be the number of interests sold by trustees on behalf of minors. With no additional information it is difficult to evaluate how much of a say these minors had in the disposal of their interests and even in the proceeds from these sales.

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Purchases of interests in Urewera land added to the further fragmentation and disintegration of the rohe potae. Short-term monetary gains may have been obtained by sellers, but the long-term loss left a more lasting impression.

3.2: Transfers and Successions

Transfers and successions are intrinsically linked. Transfers were made for various reasons, an important one being the transfer of interests that a person had succeeded to into the areas where most of their main interest was located. Other reasons include wishing to have interests in an area in which the applicant lived; consolidation of interests with main holdings; a wish to join family members in their group; a form of group editing where people's interests were transferred from one group to another at the wish of those running the group; and also people transferring their interests into groups where the leader was inclined to sell.

The succession tables (sheet D) are useful not only in showing the transfer of interests and shares, but also in showing family relationships as mothers leave their shares to children and husbands to wives. Some notes refer to a gift, and an explanation of a relation such as whangai is given in some instances but not in others. The information in both the transfer and succession tables (sheets C and D) was found in the Urewera Consolidation Minute Books.

Section Four: Consolidation

The consolidation scheme of 1921 was carried out at the initiative of the Government, which wished to consolidate its land holdings from the disparate shares purchased in the 1910s. Although initial efforts may have been made to place people where they wanted to go, the Government had first choice of where their land blocks would go. The consolidation commission placed people in groups and for those groups they established who held shares in what areas of land as determined under the 1907 orders and following any subsequent transfers, successions, or depredations through sale. It was later that these interests were consolidated in the New Blocks. The tables in this section are presented in two dimensions: the first (sheet E) displays the 1921 orders in alphabetical order showing total interests in all blocks; and the second (sheets F1-42) shows interests block by block as sourced from the Commission Group Books.

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Leah Campbell argues that the initiative for the Consolidation Scheme arose from a combination of a decreased number of Urewera Maori inclined to sell their interests to the Government and 'strong demand' by Pakeha settlers on the Crown to open up purchased areas for settlement.⁷ Campbell notes that, for the Crown, consolidation by a private commission was preferable to getting partitions of interests decided through the Native Land Court system as the Land Court would 'define the interests of owners in areas where they lived, had cultivations and wahi tapu sites, and used resources irrespective of whether this interfered with roading or the cutting up of Crown awards'.⁸ It was clearly in the Crown's interests to control the proceedings as much as possible so that they could control the eventual allocation of land areas to non-sellers, placing them away from areas which the Crown wished to utilise for settlements or roads.

Apirana Ngata was an advocate of consolidation in the Urewera, but he spoke further of the need for business guidance for Maori so that they could make the most of their newly consolidated holdings.⁹

The process of consolidation was in a way quite simple. In May 1921 Government officials met with Maori at Ruatoki to discuss the proposed consolidation. Campbell notes that the official minutes of this meeting show Maori to be anxious to consolidate their holdings, and she suggest that this 'could have been because small and fragmented land holdings were restricting their ability to develop their land, and consolidation at least offered some kind of solution'.¹⁰

Consolidation in the Urewera was carried out by R.J. Knight and Judge H. Carr, who served not only as commissioners but as departmental representatives. The purchase officer W.H. Bowler was also involved and took on the task of identifying non-sellers and recording sales. Campbell points out that the main aim of the Crown was to secure meaningful titles in the Urewera that would facilitate the definition of Crown

⁷ S.K.L. Campbell, 'Urewera Overview Project: Land Alienation, Consolidation and Development in the Urewera 1912-1950', Report for Crown Forestry Rental Trust (CFRT), July 1997, ROD Wai 36 A9, p. 43.

⁸ Campbell, pp. 43-4.

⁹ See R.P. Boast, 'The Crown and Te Urewera in the 20th Century: A Study of Government Policy', Report for the Waitangi Tribunal, December 2002, Record of Documents (ROD) Wai 904 A109, pp. 79-80.

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interests. No attempts were made at the beginning of the process to determine the nature of the land in question and what it would be most suitable for. The goal was to extinguish customary land tenure and establish Crown interests in a physical sense.¹¹

Anita Miles succinctly describes the initial process of the consolidation commission:

The [Native] department was to compile a list of all Tuhoe non-sellers for each block, who would then have their shares reduced to a monetary value based upon the prices the Crown had paid for its purchase. The department would then consult with the Commissioner of Crown Lands as to in which blocks the non-sellers would be relocated. It was suggested that these three or four blocks would be of differing values or locations in order to satisfy the 'special fancies' of the non-sellers concerned.¹²

At a meeting in August 1921 at Ruatoki, the Crown set forth its proposals for consolidation. These proposals included the exclusion of Maori land which had not experienced purchasing, such as Ruatoki and Paharakeke, among others. The Crown expressed its desire to have 'complete awards of Te Whaiti 1 and 2 blocks, Maraetahia, Tawhiuau, and Otairi blocks', all lands producing valuable timber.¹³ A small settlement was to be allowed at Te Whaiti for non-sellers, but Miles states that they were 'none the less expected to take most of their interests elsewhere'.¹⁴ The balance of Crown purchases was to be located in an area where the 'land was of a relatively high quality [and] which the Crown had earmarked for settlement purposes'. This area stretched between the Whakatane River and the Waimana Basin.¹⁵ Amongst other conditions placed by the Government was one that the non-sellers contributed land to the value of £32,000 for the construction of roads connecting Ruatoki and Waimana to Ruatahuna.¹⁶

A large portion of the hui was dedicated to sorting non-sellers into groups, the result being seen in the Urewera Consolidation Group Books which form the basis for some of the tables giving ownership of interests by block. Miles notes that 'where previously an individual may have had scattered interests in several blocks by virtue

¹⁰ Campbell, p. 45.

¹¹ Campbell, p. 46.

¹² A. Miles, 'Te Urewera', Rangahaua Whanui District Report, Waitangi Tribunal, March 1999, p. 420.

¹³ Miles, p. 429.

¹⁴ Miles, p. 429.

¹⁵ Miles, p. 429.

¹⁶ Miles, p. 429.

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of different hapu allegiances, now owners were to belong to only one (preferably, or as few as possible) non-seller group. This was arranged either on the basis of family affinity or proposed location'.¹⁷ The AJHR lists produced in 1921 gave the groups and individuals in a group but only their overall interests, with no block by block breakdown. This is quite natural considering that the Crown was not concerned with the traditional tenure that those block interests represented, but with proportional monetary shares that could be relocated to a new block following the sectioning out of Crown interests. The Group Books provide an invaluable insight into the specific locations that people held interests in, locations associated with hapu allegiances and whanau history.

The consolidation of Urewera lands was not formalised until the Urewera Lands Act 1921-22 was passed in February 1922. Others have written of the Act in detail and it will not be gone into in depth in this report. The act brought to an end the Urewera District Native Reserve and validated the consolidation arrangements already carried out.¹⁸ Boast points out that with the repeal of all previous acts relating to the Urewera, specifically the Urewera District Native Reserve Act 1896, 'Te Urewera's formal, legal autonomy, recognised in 1871-2 and in 1895, was now gone'.¹⁹ In its place were consolidated titles with fragmentary interests that may have been intended by some, like Ngata, to enable Maori to work their land more efficiently and economically, but served to put them at greater risk of land loss and decay.

Campbell writes that:

The Urewera consolidation scheme was a great success from the Crown's point of view. Through this scheme the Crown was able to acquire large tracts of land at small cost, including the best milling-forest, settlement and watershed areas; the repeal of the Urewera District Native Reserve Act 1896 and its amendments, the consolidation not only of Crown interests, but also a consolidation of Crown blocks; and a survey of the area at no expense to the Crown.²⁰

¹⁷ Miles, p. 431. Also see Urewera Consolidation Group Books, Maori Land Court Waiariki.

¹⁸ Boast, p. 82.

¹⁹ Boast, p. 83.

²⁰ Campbell, p. 105.

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In contrast, hapu in the Urewera lost areas of significance to them,²¹ and economic development was slow to occur as the promised roads were never built to the extent agreed on²² and the parcelling of land into small family units was not conducive to tribal administration – leading to a breakdown in iwi authority and reduced economic ability.²³ These new blocks are looked at in Section Five.

Section Five: New Blocks

The new blocks established after the consolidation scheme had taken place were often quite small and cut out of larger blocks such as the old Parekohe. The establishment of the new blocks was not to the benefit of Tuhoe, who ended up often in areas of no great significance to them and in smaller areas. The intention may well have been to relocate people to those areas they had indicated a desire for, but if that land was earmarked for satisfaction of the Crown's interests then they had no option but to be placed elsewhere.

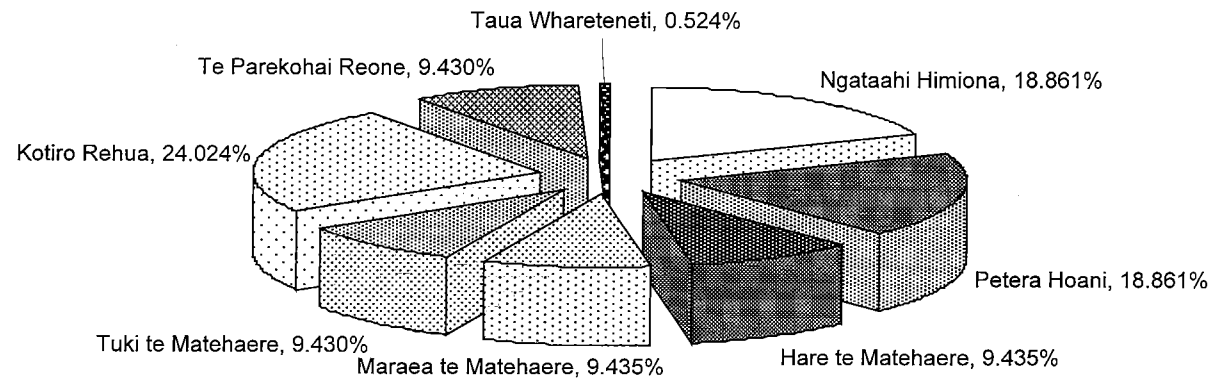
The data table (sheet G) shows interests awarded by block. This overall view is complemented by several charts (see below) which show graphically how the relative interests were awarded – some individuals could end up with over 40% of the holdings (such as Wharepouri te Amo in Apitihana (e)), and in other blocks the distribution was fairly equitable. It is only possible to create these charts for some of the blocks with smaller numbers of owners as large titles such as Maungapohatu would be impossible to represent in a graphical form.

²¹ Campbell, p. 62.

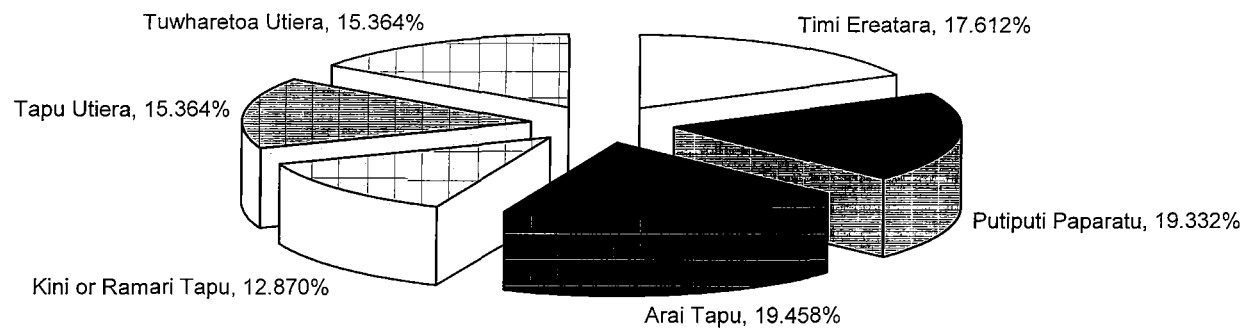
²² Campbell, p. 107.

²³ See Campbell's reference to statement by Tama Nikora, p. 106.

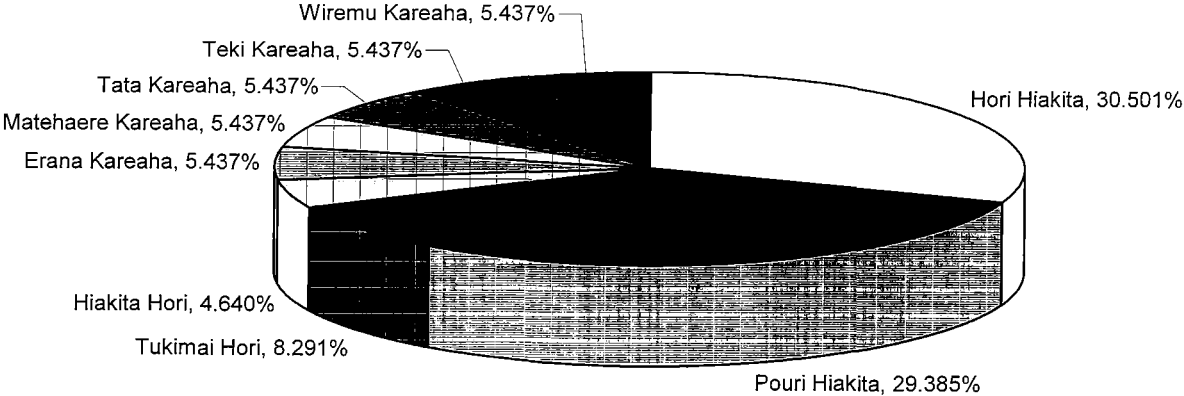
Relative Interests in Pukioire



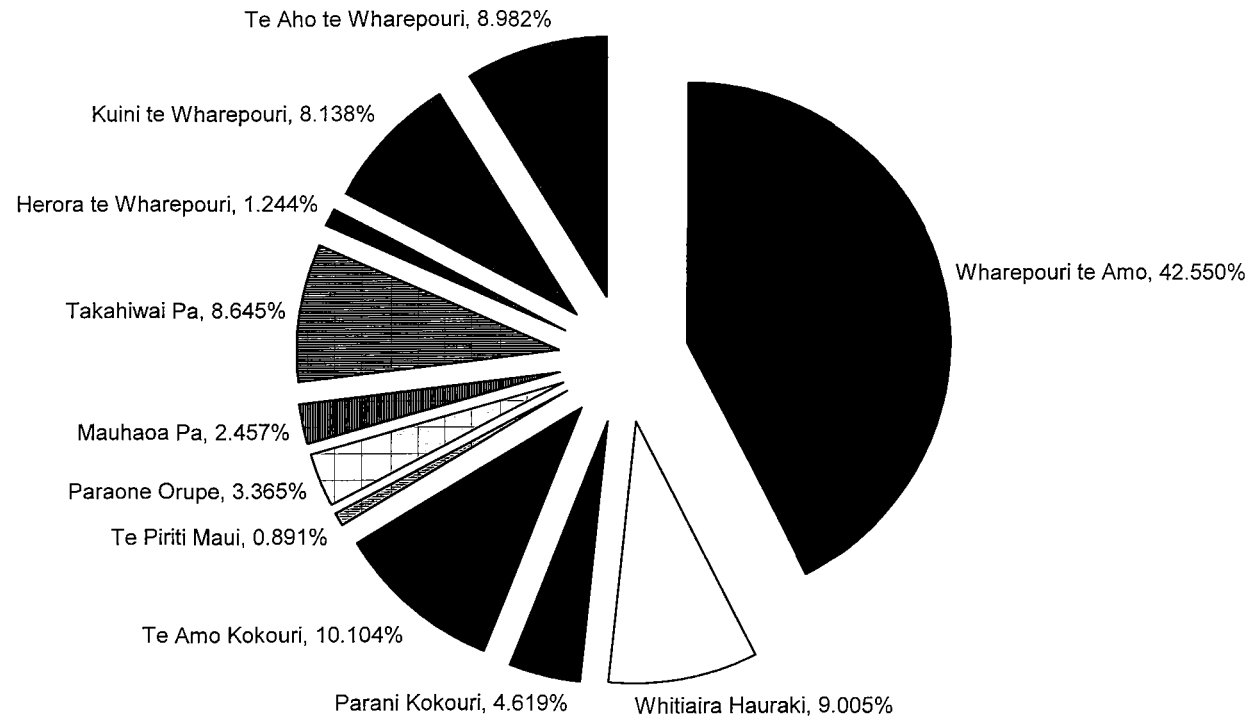
Relative Interests in Poutere



Relative Interests in Opuatawhiro



Relative Interests in Apitihana (e)



Section Six: Conclusions

The consolidation of Urewera land in 1921 raises several issues which can be seen in the data sheets presented in this report. The tables in this report serve primarily as a reference tool, as the volume of information, even at a basic level, in many cases has prevented the production of charts which can be used to illustrate more clearly the meaning embedded in the larger tables. However, there are several issues that can be extrapolated from these larger tables.

One of the first things noticeable from these tables is the small nature of many of the shares, especially when seen as a relative interest and particularly so in the large communally-held blocks. This is true for the 1907 UDNR orders, the 1921 Consolidation orders, and the new block orders that followed. Small shares in areas could have meant that they would be communally run and held, but in real terms it meant that it was a lot easier to sell as the small size of the shares detracted from the significance of the act of sale. The small size of shares may also have assisted in creating a distancing from the land. Instead of definite title awarded either to individuals or iwi representatives, title was awarded to a huge number of people and tiny shares were awarded with no physical sense of where the shares existed. They became purely hypothetical and facilitative of sale.

Of course in some blocks, as we saw with Apitihana (e), certain individuals of high status were awarded significant slices of the total shares. Their status would always bring in larger amounts of shares in areas under their authority (unless specifically stated that they were to be of equal value), but it is also possible that they were awarded these large slices in order to act as a safeguard against further deprecations from sale.

The consolidation scheme did not place people particularly where they wanted to go, although this was a stated intention and it was attempted in many cases – unless the Crown had already marked the area off for the satisfaction of their own interests. This may well have led to further disassociation from the land as people were moved from areas of whanau and hapu significance.

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Given the sheer number of individuals involved in the consolidation scheme, and taking into account the fact that many were often unsure in which block they possessed shares, it seems questionable to what extent the consolidation scheme can be regarded as a fair and thorough proceeding. The process was slanted in favour of those who wished to sell, even to the extent of awarding all shares in a monetary value. The commissioners were not seeking to determine customary title, but rather were seeking to extinguish it.

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Data Tables

Spreadsheets

Sheets in the Excel workbook 'Consolidation Data Compilation Report Spreadsheets.xls':

Sheet A: UNDR 1907

Sorted by last name and by block

Sheet B: Hoko Whenua

Sorted by last name

Sheet C: Transfers

Sorted by last name

Sheet D: Successions

Sorted by last name

Sheet E: Consolidation totals

Sorted by last name

Sheet G: New block orders

Sorted by block and last name

Sheets in the Excel workbook 'Group Book Lists.xls':

Sheets F1-F42: Group book block lists

Totals sheet: Sorted by group

Block sheets: Sorted by last name

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Abbreviations used in the Tables

m/f	male/female
hc	half caste
rel	relevant
pt successr	part successor
pt int	part interests
trsfr	transfer
UMB	Urewera Minute Book
Succn	succession
Chn	children
Decd	deceased
CL	Crown Land
Commn	Commission
Gp	Group

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WAITANGI TRIBUNAL

CONCERNING

the Treaty of
Waitangi Act 1975

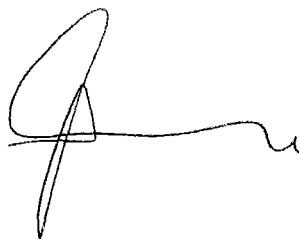
AND CONCERNING

the Urewera inquiry

DIRECTION COMMISSIONING RESEARCH

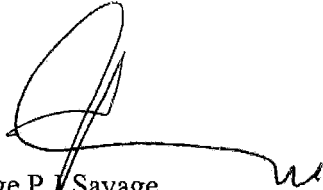
- 1 Pursuant to clause 5A(1) of the second schedule of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, the Tribunal commissions Clementine Fraser of Auckland to complete a data analysis project on the Urewera consolidation scheme (UCS). The commissioned researcher will produce a series of comprehensive statistical tables and charts, based on primary research, which address all stages of the UCS and the earlier attempt to revise tenure under the Urewera District Native Reserve commissions. The project will cover the following:
 - a) a study of the names of individuals involved, the apportionment and location of shares, valuations of shares and how these changed over time;
 - b) any trends in the alienation of shares and lands in the consolidation scheme, such as Crown purchasing;
 - c) a full bibliography of primary and secondary sources consulted.
- 2 This commission commenced on 17 March 2003, and a draft of the data project and report will be submitted to the Waitangi Tribunal on 2 June 2003. The report will be released on 24 October 2003, when one copy of the project and report will be filed in unbound form together with a copy of the project and report on disk.
- 3 The report may be received as evidence and the author may be cross-examined on it.
- 4 The Registrar is to send copies of this direction to:

Clementine Fraser
Wai 894, Claimants and legal counsel
Solicitor General, Crown Law Office
Director, Office of Treaty Settlements
Secretary, Crown Forestry Rental Trust



Chief Executive, Te Puni Kokiri

DATED at Rotorua, this 26th day of May 2003

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'P. Savage', written over the printed name.

Judge P. Savage
Presiding Officer

WAITANGI TRIBUNAL