

**Lands, Funds, and Resources. Aspects of the  
Economic History of Maori in Wairarapa ki Tararua  
since 1840**

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**A Report Commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal**

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## **i. Preface**

My name is Bryan Dudley Gilling. I am a consultant historian, Senior Research Associate at the Treaty of Waitangi Research Unit, Victoria University of Wellington, and an Associate Member, Centre for the Interdisciplinary Study of Property Rights, University of Newcastle, New South Wales. I hold a MA (Hons) in History from the University of Canterbury, a BTh (Hons) in Church History from the Australian College of Theology, and a DPhil in New Zealand History from the University of Waikato.

Within the Victoria University of Wellington, I have also been a post-doctoral research fellow in the Faculty of Law, and a temporary lecturer in Maori-Pakeha relations in the Department of History. In 1995/96 I was Senior Historian and Historical Team Manager at the Office of Treaty Settlements and my previous research has been undertaken under commission from all parties in the Treaty claims process, the Waitangi Tribunal, the Crown Law Office, the Office of Treaty Settlements, the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, and numerous claimant groups. I have given evidence before the Waitangi Tribunal previously in a number of claims, including those relating to Ahuriri, the Chathams, Mohaka-Waikare and Waiohiki in Hawkes Bay, Pakakohi in Taranaki, Te Whanau a Kai and Ngariki Kaiputahi in Poverty Bay, Ngati Koheriki in South Auckland, Ngati Rangitihi in the Bay of Plenty, the Mekomoko Whanau in Te Urewera, and Te Kotua Whanau and Ngati Toa Rangatira in Te Tau Ihu.

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### iii. Introduction

In April 2002, the Chief Historian of the Waitangi Tribunal, after reviewing the research then completed for the Wairarapa ki Tararua inquiry, recommended a supplementary economic history project also be undertaken. This recommendation was subsequently agreed to by the claimants and at a judicial conference on 29 April 2002. However due to various circumstances it was not possible to undertake the project at that time and it was considered that further economic analysis could be achieved by piecing together existing information from the casebook reports and document banks.

The Crown's draft statement of response to the claimants' statements of claims has conceded that the Crown 'failed actively to protect the lands of Wairarapa Maori to the extent that today Wairarapa [ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua] Maori are virtually landless and that this was a breach of the Treaty of Waitangi and its principles'.<sup>1</sup> However the Crown subsequently advised at a judicial conference in Masterton on 5 August 2003 that the timing of landlessness' or when the land and resources became 'insufficient' is an important issue in its assessment of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-Nui-a-Rua Maori claims. The presiding officer, Judge Wainwright, therefore concluded that the landlessness issue needed to be further addressed and approved Dr Phillipson's earlier recommendation that an economic history focusing on the question of sufficiency for Wairarapa ki Tamaki-Nui-a-Rua Maori be commissioned.

The present study has therefore been commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal to provide a report to the Tribunal in the Wairarapa ki Tararua Inquiry (Wai 863) which pulls together the various threads of evidence relating to the economic history of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-Nui-a-Rua Maori, to be found in the many existing research reports on other topics and published works relating to the district, supplemented where possible by additional source material. There were numerous broad topics to cover, according to the Direction Commissioning Research:<sup>2</sup>

- (a) a brief outline of the economic history of the Wairarapa ki Tararua area from initial Pakeha settlement (leasing economy for the late 1840s) to

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<sup>1</sup> 1 August 2003. Wai 863 ROI #2.249.

<sup>2</sup> 16 December 2003. Wai 863 ROI #3.24.

the late twentieth century, including the degree of Maori participation at all levels;

- (b) an analysis of the quantum and distribution of remaining land vis-à-vis the Maori population, by 1865, by 1900 and in the twentieth century, insofar as this can be ascertained;
- (c) an analysis of the quality of the remaining land focusing on what Maori used land for and when, and a comparison with how Pakeha were using similar types of land;
- (d) an examination of Maori and Pakeha access to capital development resources and the extent to which Maori could use their remaining land effectively for either or both traditional resource-use, and new forms of farming, including access to training for new forms of land-use;
- (e) the adequacy (or viability) of remaining Maori land;
- (f) an assessment of when land could have been considered as ‘insufficient’ for the present and future needs of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-Nui-a-Rua Maori communities, including an assessment of any regional variation in the timing of any ‘insufficiency’ within the Wairarapa ki Tararua district, insofar as this can be ascertained;
- (g) in light of an assessment of land sufficiency as outlined in (f) above, an assessment of whether, and if so when, non-land resources could have been considered as ‘insufficient’ for the present and future needs of Maori communities, including an assessment of any regional variation, insofar as this can be ascertained;
- (h) an assessment of the economic status of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori communities, in particular after any ‘insufficiency’ of land and/or non-land resources can be determined, including an assessment of any regional variation, insofar as this can be ascertained; and,
- (i) any other matters of relevance.

A particular focus in the issues thus set out is on aspects of the question of the ‘sufficiency’ of the land left in ownership and control of Maori in Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua. Most of the report is therefore organised according to the questions in the Tribunal’s Statement of Issues (Wai 863 SOI 1 section 22.4) relating to the ‘sufficiency’ question.

These issues/questions are:

#### **Issue 22.4.1**

Given the context of the time(s), what definitions might be applied to 'sufficiency'? In particular:

- (a) should 'sufficiency' be understood to include the retention of mahinga kai and non-agrarian resources, wahi tapu, and sites of cultural importance; that is, all those things which made the land, in the words of Lord Normanby, 'essential, or highly conducive, to their own comfort, safety, or subsistence'?

or

- (b) should 'sufficiency' be understood, as appears to have been partly suggested, in terms of farming or use in the colonial economy at any particular time period? If so, on what basis should consideration of 'sufficiency' be so confined?

#### **Issue 22.4.3**

By what period in time was there insufficient land for the present and future needs of the Maori communities of Wairarapa ki Tararua?

#### **Issue 22.4.4**

Was there regional variation in the timing of any 'insufficiency' within the inquiry district?

#### **Issue 22.4.5**

Is it useful to attempt a correlation of Maori people and remaining acres in Maori hands in the nineteenth century? In particular:

- (a) Are the statistics adequate?
- (b) Do the statistics and other known information permit differentiations between claimant groups?
- (c) Are other factors, such as the quality of and access to remaining land, and other values attaching to the land, really more important?

#### **Issue 22.4.7**

To what extent did Crown settlement policy in the Wairarapa ki Tararua district attempt to evaluate and provide for the needs of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori with respect to quantity and quality of land, access to European settlements, and provision of social services?

#### **Issue 22.4.8**

Are there instances where the Crown gave priority to the needs of settlers over the needs of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori in its land settlement policy? What was the impact of such decisions on the quality and sufficiency of land owned by Maori?

#### **Issue 22.4.9**

What assistance was offered by the Crown to Maori to participate in the European-style economy, for instance by means of training in farming or access to credit? Was this adequate? Is this relevant to the question of the sufficiency of land owned by Maori, in terms of their ability to actually use it?

(a) In particular, were development schemes a successful enterprise? Why were there so few of them and what results did they have for Maori?

#### **Issue 22.4.10**

To what extent was the remaining land viable in terms of:

- (a) quality
- (b) quantity
- (c) shape and location
- (d) access
- (e) title (in the sense that the form of title allowed it to be used in some way, whether to raise capital, for farming, or some other purpose)
- (f) infrastructure
- (g) Maori cultural use or values?

#### **Issue 22.4.11**

In terms of 22.4.10(a), was land of sufficiently good quality left to Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori to enable them to engage on an equal basis with European settlers in pastoral and other farming activities?

#### **Issue 22.4.12**

If the Crown did have an obligation to Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori to ensure legal and practical access to their remaining lands, did it fulfil that obligation?

#### **Issue 22.4.13**

To what extent could and/or did Maori access resources for capital development, whether by mortgage loans from lessees, assistance from the Public Trustee, or by 'advances to settlers' loans? Has the type of land tenure affected access to capital resources?

#### **Issue 22.4.14**

To what extent could Maori use their remaining land effectively for both customary purposes and new forms of agriculture?

#### **Issue 22.5.15**

To what extent did fragmentation of land or fractionalisation of title affect the ability of Maori communities to manage and use their lands effectively? What was the impact of the size of blocks on their viability as economic units? How did this impact on the sufficiency of the land remaining to Maori over time?

#### **Issue 22.4.16**

Were Maori provided with adequate infrastructure, such as roads, to allow their lands to be utilised in such a way as to sustain the owners?

#### **Issue 22.4.17**

What conclusions can be drawn about the quality of and access to land remaining in Maori hands at various points in time? To what extent did this vary through time and across the district? What have been the effects on Maori communities' health, education and general welfare, of the Crown's acknowledged failure to protect a sufficient Maori land base?

Other issues are listed in that 'sufficiency' section and several of the above issues contained additional questions, but it was decided to leave those out of consideration as they related more to policy, legal or other matters such as the land purchasing process that did not bear directly on the main focus of the present report.

In addition, regard has been had to the Crown's suggestions in the Statement of General Position cited above,<sup>3</sup> that 'the propriety of purchases—viewed from the perspective of sufficiency of lands remaining—might be assessed by means of a number of questions'. The factors (not questions) then listed were:

- 17.1 The number of people for whom it was necessary to make provision at the time of the purchase.
- 17.2 The number of people for whom, on a reasonable projection of existing trends, it might be necessary to provide, in the foreseeable future.
- 17.3 The use which the existing occupants were making of the land, or might reasonably be expected to make of it in the foreseeable future.
- 17.4 The adequacy of lands held by the owners in areas outside of the block.

Crown counsel went on to suggest that the further analysis it believed was necessary will be based on the Tribunal's statement of issues. Therefore this report has not directly tried to address the Crown's suggested factors as such, as the present writer agreed that those factors will indeed largely be covered in the twenty-four other issues already set out in the Statement of Issues and the Direction Commissioning Research.

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<sup>3</sup> 1 August 2003. Wai 863 #2.249, para 17.

It is very difficult to separate economic developments and activities from other facets of community life and activity, particularly, in this context, aspects such as land purchasing, or health and education. Although, as will be immediately apparent, I have used those reports extensively, rather than merely duplicate what has been covered at length in other reports written for the Wairarapa ki Tararua, I have tried to add value and information by focussing on the economic issues and details, such as the reasons for and especially the outcomes of land sales, rather than the purchase/sale process itself. There will, therefore, be many gaps in the narrative or argument that relate to these matters. They will generally have been addressed in the relevant sections of those other reports, particularly such as those by Steven Oliver ('Tararua District: Twentieth Century. Land Alienation Report' (2004) Wai 863 #A78), Peter McBurney ('Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Land Alienation Overview Report' (2002) Wai 863 #A47), Bruce Stirling ('Wairarapa Maori and the Crown. Volumes One-Four' (2002) Wai 863 #A48-51), and Tony Walzl ('Wairarapa Land Issues Overview 1900-2000' (2002) Wai 863 #A42). Such an approach is an artificial one, though, as 'money matters' are never divorced from other aspects of life. Therefore sometimes those other matters intrude, as in the need to sell land to pay for food or other needs, or, since everything cannot be included, there may be explanatory gaps where the economic matter has been pursued to the exclusion of the other contextual factors.

It should also be noted that the writer has focussed on the period 1840 up to the mid-twentieth century because by the latter time, the vast majority of Maori land in the Wairarapa ki Tararua inquiry district was no longer in Maori ownership. The report, however, discusses economic issues beyond the mid-twentieth century in certain sections, such as that on development schemes. The writer notes that the Tribunal has heard tangata whenua and other non-technical evidence on land and resource use issues, which mainly cover the period from the later twentieth century. The writer also notes that the casebook contains a specific report covering the socio-economic characteristics of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori in the last 20 years of the twentieth century. This report by Janet Sceats, Tahu Kukutai and Ian Pool of Portal Consulting is entitled 'The Socio-Demographic and Economic Characteristics of Maori in the Wairarapa ki Tararua region, 1981–2001'.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> (2002) Wai 863, A28.

## **iv. Methodology**

Some material has been derived from the existing reports presented in evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal in the Wairarapa ki Tararua inquiry, the present intention being to pull together some of the many threads that have been discovered and explained by a range of authors and researchers each dealing with their own specialist topics but which bear on the present discussion. Many of the document banks filed in support of those reports have also been gone through especially the block files, such as those supporting Mr Walzl's Twentieth-Century Land Overview, in search of information relating to economic issues and especially to the 'sufficiency' issue. Searches have been made for theses and research reports by university and government departments that bear on this issue particularly. The bibliography indicates those that have been located and used in the present report.

In addition, quantitative material has been sought out in various statistical sources.

### **SHEEP RETURNS**

The official sheep returns for the region, listing every flock owner and their holdings for six decades, were interrogated for information concerning identifiable Maori sheep owners to ascertain the extent to which Maori were able to participate in the pastoral industry that has been and remains of such importance to the economy of the inquiry district. The owners specifically identifiable as Maori are listed by county and year in tables in Appendix One; as discussed below it is possible that some have been missed, especially if they were recorded under European names, but the one independent check found reveals quite an accurate result. The returns do vary in consistency, too, with details sometimes being omitted, or perhaps doubled up. Names usually have been left as they were printed. Also, differences, often quite substantial from year to year may be accounted for by normal fluctuations in the farming and sale cycle rather than being indicators of sudden good fortune or calamity.

1930 was the last year for which the individual flocks and owners were enumerated. Thereafter the county figures alone were supplied so it becomes

impossible to identify even in this way the degree of Maori participation in the pastoral industry as property and flock owners.

For present purposes, a snapshot every five years, beginning from the first such return, that for 1879, is sufficient to paint the picture of the extent of Maori participation in this industry as property owners and farmers, building capital and wealth, rather than unskilled labourers or shearers eking out a seasonal existence.

## **CENSUSES**

For several decades from 1874, censuses recorded information about both where Wairarapa Maori lived and what crops and livestock they had. This material has been collated and tabulated for ease of reference in Appendix Two, as well as informing the discussion below.

## **ACREAGES**

Quantities of land remaining throughout the inquiry district at various times have been noted from the tables in the Ellis and Small, Oliver and Walzl reports. These indicate specific blocks and their sizes. Also the 1909 report of the Stout-Ngata Commission lists all land in Maori hands at that time from Eketahuna County south, divided into whether or not the land was still ‘unused’ in Maori hands or was being made available to European settlers by sale or lease. That report is discussed in detail below and a photocopy is attached as Appendix Three.

## **MAPS**

Maps are extremely helpful in appreciating the issues discussed here, especially the ‘sufficiency’ question in that they can reveal at a glance the location of the land blocks and reserves concerned and the type of country where those blocks were/are situated. Maps already exist showing some of these reserves and features in the CFRT map books and attached to various reports, e.g. in Map Book 1 (Doc A20) Map 5 is ‘Some Native Reserves in the Wairarapa ki Tararua Inquiry District’ (although it leaves a number of blocks unmentioned), and in Map Book 2 (Doc A76) Map 5 of the historic land blocks in 1853/54 indicates the reserves designated in the McLean era purchases. More generally, the maps ‘Land Blocks of the Wairarapa ki Tararua Inquiry District’ and ‘Geographic Description of Tamaki-nui-a-Rua aka Seventy-Mile

Bush, Tamaki Bush, Forty-Mile Bush' (Map Book 1 Maps 3 and 8) also locate the blocks, if not the specific location of reserves made within them.

As well as these pre-existing mapping resources, the present report has included in Appendix 4 a series of additional maps and diagrams that indicate the changing physical nature of land in the Wairarapa ki Tararua inquiry district over time, and the amount and location of current Maori land. Five maps or figures have been taken from a thesis by Ronald Hill showing the extent of forest cover in the Wairarapa (not Tararua) in 1853, stock numbers in 1847, the location of squatter runs, stock (sheep and cattle) increases, and income and expenditure from 500 sheep in 1850. A 'combined' map from Centennial Atlas and Alexander Turnbull Library sources show snapshots of land loss over time, through land in the period on which the present report concentrates, alongside the changing bush line or forest cover. This map gives a snapshot of remaining Maori land at 1860, 1890, 1910 and 1939 alongside the bush line in the inquiry district at 1850, 1880, 1910 and 1938. It reveals the initial amount of forest and then what remained prior to the mid-twentieth-century resurgence in protective and commercial forestry planting on otherwise unusable land. Finally, a map has been made by Craig Innes to indicate the location and quantity of current Maori land alongside the current vegetation and land use for the whole of the Wairarapa ki Tararua inquiry district and thus for the lands concerned in their geographic context.

# 1. The Issue of ‘Sufficiency’

## 1.1. Issue 22.4.1: ‘Sufficiency’

**Given the context of the time(s), what definitions might be applied to ‘sufficient’? In particular: should ‘sufficiency’ be understood to include the retention of mahinga kai and non-agrarian resources, wahi tapu, and sites of cultural importance; that is, all those things which made the land, in the words of Lord Normanby, ‘essential, or highly conducive, to their own comfort, safety, or subsistence’?**

**or**

**should ‘sufficiency’ be understood, as appears to have been partly suggested, in terms of farming or use in the colonial economy at any particular time period? If so, on what basis should consideration of ‘sufficiency’ be so confined?**

### 1.1.1. The Nature of ‘Sufficiency’

From earliest days, this question of ‘sufficiency’ was in the mind of Crown officials. A couple of examples—an 1871 review of the Native Land Court system and the Stout-Ngata Commission four decades later—will suffice to show that several of the key issues currently under consideration are not novelties, but have been part of the formulation of Native/Maori land policies since at least the introduction of the Native Land Court.

From the beginning of the Native Land Court era the issue exercised the court’s judges and the Native Department too. In 1871, the official view was stated:

... there are cases ... where Native chiefs have been almost pauperised, having in their improvidence and extravagance made away with the greater part of their landed interests. And it is necessary that the spread of such an evil should be checked, but this is more the duty, and within the sphere of the Commissioner or Trustee of Native Reserves, than of the Judges of the Court.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> AJHR, 1871, A-2a, 8.

But what to make of the size of Maori lands, whoever was given responsible oversight? Some threads emerged in common with the Tribunal views discussed below, but others had a distinct nineteenth-century resonance:

It is impossible to obtain from the Natives, any definite opinion as to the minimum quantity of land that should be reserved for each individual, and it must depend much on its quality and locality. But it would be no bad rule to lay down that each Maori chief should have amply sufficient to maintain himself like an English gentleman, supposing him to put forth the necessary industry and energy for its cultivation.

Whether it would be to the advantage of the whole body of Natives, that they should have so much land reserved for their use, as will eventually enable them to live in competence and ease, without exertion or stimulus to healthy industry; whether it is for their interests, that the reserves should be scattered over the country, so that they might dwell amongst the colonists; or whether, as has been advocated by many of those most interested in their welfare, they should be located by themselves in separate blocks or districts, and isolated as much as possible from contact with Europeans, are questions on which the most opposite views are held by those who are considered qualified to form opinions....<sup>6</sup>

Here are the threads of quality and location contributing to any determination of the quantity. The 1871 writer, though, thought that the transformation of Maori rangatira into English gentry was desirable, despite the caveat about the chiefs not having the necessary industry and energy, to which might be added funds and knowledge/skills to pay for and then maintain the land. The question of what they needed to support themselves was immediately overtaken by the perennial fear of Maori landlordism.

This official thought that there was also widespread support—quite apart from the issue of the Wairarapa Five Per Cents peculiar to this inquiry district—for not paying directly to the sellers the full purchase price and for reserving a substantial portion of the payment for more long-term benefits for the sellers and their descendants:

I would, however, draw attention to the assent generally expressed by the Natives ... that it would be desirable to reserve a portion of the proceeds of all sales of lands for the benefit of the sellers and of their children. Dr Shortland recommends that one-half the purchase money should be so set apart. Sir George Grey proposed to give annuities to Native chiefs as part payment of their lands, and reserved payments

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<sup>6</sup> AJHR, 1871, A-2a, 8.

have been provided for in many instances. Whatever money now comes into the hands of the Natives is almost invariably squandered and wasted (or worse) with little permanent or substantial advantage to the people. The extracts I have given ... show that this has been the case from the earliest days of the Colony, and I believe remains the same to the present time,—their money is generally spent before they receive it.<sup>7</sup>

In the Native Land Acts from the earliest days until today, the Native Land Court was given the power to make (or to recommend to the Governor that he make) particular blocks of land inalienable to protect them as being of particular importance to the owners, whether economically or because they had some other value, such as being wahi tapu. The Crown had thus recognised the possibility of Maori needing assistance with retaining land from the mid-nineteenth century.

One statute that was somewhat different was the Native Land Amendment Act 1913, amending the Native Land Act 1909. It provided direction to the court as to when an exception could be made to making the land inalienable. Section 91 of the 1913 Act added this exception to s 220(1)(c) of the principal Act:

Excepting in cases where it appears to the satisfaction of the tribunal dealing with the confirmation that the land which is the subject of alienation is not, having regard to all the circumstances, likely to be a material means of support to such a Native, and excepting in cases where the Native alienating is qualified to pursue some avocation, trade, or profession, or is otherwise sufficiently provided with a means of livelihood.

Here the key question was whether the land was ‘likely [—not necessarily actually—] to be a material means of support’, not that they had so little left that it was their *only* remaining land. It was apparently envisaged that Maori who were becoming ‘Europeanised’ would have other means of support derived from a vocation, trade or profession. Of course, such employment would be predicated upon an adequate education and training, which raises the issue of the availability of such an education as a ‘non-land resource’ possessed by or available to Maori. There were, too, some Maori who were independently wealthy at this time and who could therefore afford to part with land on a commercial basis as would Pakeha landowners; Airini Donnelly in Hawkes Bay is but one contemporary non-Wairarapa example.

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<sup>7</sup> AJHR, 1871, A-2a, 8.

This particular provision only envisaged economic considerations, though, rather than cultural.

In the early twentieth century, the Stout-Ngata Commission also considered the issue when they were charged with ascertaining what lands Maori could still part with. They noted that '[t]heoretically the Crown does not buy unless the owners are willing to sell', and then pointed out that in practice there had been several core problems:

- statutory negation of competition with Crown offers, together with encumbrances such as survey and litigation costs had practically compelled Maori to 'sell at any price';
- individualisation had allowed people to deal alone and secretly with the Crown against tribal wishes or the greater good; and
- purchase techniques had been deliberately directed at 'the weakness and improvidence of the race'. Their often-quoted observation was that: 'The sight of a Government cheque-book and the prospect of a good time at the hotels or on the racecourse or of an investment in the latest motor-car are sufficient for the majority of owners in any Native block to waive all consideration, and to put their signatures to the purchase deeds.'<sup>8</sup>

They pointed out that there never had been, nor was there then, any provision for 'controlling and preventing the wasteful expenditure of the proceeds of a sale', and thought that the evidence of which they were aware showed conclusively 'that such a provision is necessary'.

The purchase processes and use of money aside, they turned to the sufficiency of the land. There were currently some, but inadequate, provisions relating to this:

That there is a danger of the Maori, if unchecked, divesting himself completely of his interests in land has long been recognised, but it was not until 1905 that the duty was cast upon the Governor of ascertaining before the completion of a sale whether the Maori vendors have other land sufficient for their maintenance, and of either reserving a sufficiency out of the land under purchase or setting apart other Crown land for the purpose. The minimum area considered sufficient is fixed by statute at 25 acres of first-class land, or 50 acres of second-class land, or 100 acres of third-class land for each man, woman, or child. The Governor may impose restrictions on this reserve, or vest the same in some administrative body for the benefit of the vendors. Any larger area may be reserved, of course; but it is easy to contemplate

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<sup>8</sup> AJHR, 1907, G-1c, 8.

circumstance where the liberality of the Crown may be affected and circumscribed by the pressing demand for land.<sup>9</sup>

They called for much more careful provision of the actual needs of Maori, rather than simply continuing such a relatively care-less system, which actively harmed a group to whom special care and protection was due:

While it is clearly the duty of the State to provide for the wants of an increasing population, it must see that in the performance of that duty it does no injustice to any portion of the community, least of all to members of the race to which the State has peculiar obligations and responsibilities. The time has come when it behoves the State to consider not the theory on which its purchases of Native lands are founded, but the practical results of a system which, with occasional pauses and slight improvements, has persisted for more than half a century.<sup>10</sup>

The question of Maori landlessness in Wairarapa ki Tararua has a particular focus as being informed by a concession already made by the Crown. In August 2003, Crown counsel, instructed by the Minister in Charge of Treaty of Waitangi Negotiations, communicated a statement of the Crown's position:

The Crown concedes that it failed actively to protect the lands of Wairarapa Maori to the extent that today Wairarapa Maori are virtually landless and that this was a breach of the Treaty of Waitangi and its principles.<sup>11</sup>

This, though, was concession of present landlessness after 150 years and many different processes, and not of particular points concerning those processes or of the point with regard to individual claimant groups. Presumably the focus was on the 'large natural grouping' with which Crown policy indicates a broad settlement might be reached. Indeed, Crown counsel went on to indicate additional points of context and detail that required research before the general concession could be made, and these points—the key ones of which are noted above in the Introduction—were raised under the rubric of 'Sufficient Provision Over Time'.

Apart from the Crown concession in the present inquiry, the issue of 'sufficiency' of land as a possible Treaty breach appears to arise from two sources. The first is obviously Article Two of the Treaty itself where, *inter alia*, the Crown

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<sup>9</sup> AJHR, 1907, G-1c, 8-9.

<sup>10</sup> AJHR, 1907, G-1c, 9.

‘confirms and guarantees’ to Maori ‘full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates, Forests, Fisheries and other properties’, or at least ‘so long as they wished to retain the same’.

The second source is the broader principles more recently derived by the courts and the Waitangi Tribunal from the Treaty’s text. Generally, discussion of the ‘sufficiency’ issue based on the principles seems to have focussed on the principle of the Crown’s duty to actively protect Maori and how that is to be implemented. A number of such discussions have appeared in various reports of the Waitangi Tribunal, as the matter is one that is not unique to Wairarapa but is relevant to all land-based Treaty claims.

For present purposes, this section of the report first surveys the various discussions of the Crown’s obligation to ensure Maori retained possession of a ‘sufficient endowment’ of land. This in turn suggests answers to the Statement of Issues questions about how such a ‘sufficient endowment’ might or should be defined. Then there follows a briefer discussion, following the debate surrounding the recent *Tauranga Report*, of some issues arising from a finding that the Crown did indeed have such an obligation—how could such an obligation be observed in practice in the historical context of the mid-late nineteenth century?

### **1.1.2. Previous Tribunal Discussion**

First, how has the issue been addressed in previous Waitangi Tribunal reports? What issues have been raised and has there been any consensus?

The **Ngai Tahu Tribunal** included its brief discussion of ‘sufficient endowment’ under the rubric of ‘The Crown right of pre-emption imposed reciprocal duties’. However, while that particular discussion may have been limited in the case of Ngai Tahu to the Crown pre-emption era of 1840-62, one would want to argue that Crown duties as a responsible land purchaser were not limited to the pre-emption era but continued past 1862 and indeed to the present day, particularly to the extent that it retained its pre-emptive rights, or privileged itself as a purchaser in various ways. Further, the issue seems also to fall under the principle of the Crown’s duty of active

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<sup>11</sup> Wai 863 #2.249, para 10. Presumably this concession also extends throughout the inquiry district to Tamaki-nui-a-Rua as well as Wairarapa proper.

protection. As Cooke P (as he then was) stated in the Court of Appeal: ‘the duty of the Crown is not merely passive but extends to active protection of Maori people in the use of their lands and waters to the fullest extent practicable’.<sup>12</sup>

It is, perhaps, also possible to argue here the more general point that Article Three rights are also involved in that the Crown should not wilfully or negligently act to dispossess any subject from their property without adequate compensation, or by its actions wilfully or negligently deprive them of the means of supporting themselves.

The Ngai Tahu Tribunal briefly considered the issue of ‘sufficiency’ and made several general observations. First, after summarising findings by the Orakei Tribunal regarding Lord Normanby’s instructions and the Treaty itself, it concluded:

In light of these considerations the tribunal has found that article 2, read as a whole, imposed on the Crown a duty first to ensure that the Maori people in fact wished to sell; and secondly that each tribe maintained a sufficient endowment for its foreseeable needs.<sup>13</sup>

That said, the question then arose as to how to define such an area and what might be the issues that should contribute to such a definition:

What then might constitute a sufficient endowment for the tribes’ foreseeable needs? There can be no single answer to this question for much might depend upon a wide range of demographic factors including the size of the tribal population; the land they were then occupying or over which various members enjoyed rights; the principal sources of their food supplies and the location of such supplies; the extent to which they depended upon fishing of all kinds, and on seasonal hunting and food gathering. In short, their dependence upon the many forms of mahinga kai.

The importance of these various elements could vary depending upon the date at which the Crown sought to acquire tribal land....<sup>14</sup>

Later, the same Tribunal rephrased and expanded its discussion of the issue. Having pointed out that granting of the pre-emptive purchasing right to the Crown by Maori imposed a reciprocal obligation that included leaving ‘a sufficient endowment for [each tribe’s] own needs—both present and future’, the Tribunal stated:

As we pointed out [above] ... there can be no single answer to this question. Much might depend upon a wide range of demographic and other factors such as

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<sup>12</sup> *New Zealand Maori Council v Attorney-General* [1987] 1 NZLR 641, 664 (CA).

<sup>13</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *The Ngai Tahu Report* (Wellington: Brooker & Friend, 1991), vol II, para 4.7.9.

<sup>14</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngai Tahu Report*, para 4.7.9.

- the size of the tribal population;
- the land the tribe was occupying or over which various members enjoyed rights;
- the principal food resources and their location;
- the location of wahi tapu; and
- the likely impact of European farming practices.<sup>15</sup>

The Ngai Tahu Tribunal then continued to set out its view of what sufficient provision should have entailed in that context. Most of what that Tribunal said regarding the process in the South Island appears applicable to the Wairarapa situation, providing one reads ‘Wairarapa’ for ‘Ngai Tahu’:

In negotiating with the Ngai Tahu chiefs, the Crown was obliged to have regard as best it reasonably could to the range of demographic factors we have mentioned. Its duty was to ensure that Ngai Tahu were left with sufficient lands for their present and future needs. Present needs would almost certainly differ from future needs, when settlers arrived in their midst and the land was subdivided. While it might be contemplated that over time Ngai Tahu would become increasingly involved in the new economy, it should have been apparent that this would occur only gradually and over a relatively lengthy time-span. In the meantime, generous provision of land and guaranteed possession of eel-weirs and other sources of mahinga kai would be needed. Since it was the Crown’s intention to acquire Ngai Tahu land as cheaply as possible, there was a correlative duty to ensure that adequate land of good quality was left in their possession so that they would, as Lord Normanby contemplated, later enjoy the added-value accruing from British settlement. Sufficient land would need to be left with Ngai Tahu to enable them to engage on an equal basis with European settlers in pastoral and other farming activities.<sup>16</sup>

The Ngai Tahu Tribunal did not leave the matter there, though, but also explained how this might have been done, at least in the South Island context. Again ‘Wairarapa’ needs to be read for ‘Ngai Tahu’:

It was well known by Crown officials, including Governor Grey, that the Ngai Tahu people would for many years remain dependent upon traditional sources of mahinga kai, including sea and inland fisheries. To secure these the Crown, in negotiating a purchase, was under a duty to ensure that extensive areas of land in suitable locations remained in the tribe’s possession. In other words, that Ngai Tahu’s rangatiratanga over the land was maintained.

It was known that Ngai Tahu, in welcoming Europeans amongst themselves, were anxious to engage in the new economy. It was

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<sup>15</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngai Tahu Report*, para 16.3.2.

<sup>16</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngai Tahu Report*, para 4.7.10.

apparent by the late-1840s that much of the land east of the Southern Alps was well suited to the development of pastoral farming. To engage in this activity alongside the new settlers, Ngai Tahu would need to be left with extensive portions of their land.... In time no doubt land which yielded traditional forms of mahinga kai might also be adapted, in part at least, to pastoral and other forms of farming, including agricultural cropping.<sup>17</sup>

The Ngai Tahu Tribunal revisited some of these issues several years later in its report on the iwi's ancillary claims and reiterated in summary the points it had already made. It added little to its comments on land resources, but in regard to mahinga kai, especially fisheries, it pointed out the distinction between the problems created for Ngai Tahu by 'the general impact of settlement on the countryside as a whole' and the impact on reserves that were specifically intended to be mahinga kai for their use. In some places it was not because the fishery itself was lost but because of the operation of conservation restrictions. The Tribunal found it to have been a Treaty breach where 'the Crown has failed to protect Ngai Tahu's tribal estate, [and] it has similarly neglected to ensure the tribe's continued use and enjoyment of a handful of valued fisheries'.<sup>18</sup> That discussion took place under a heading relating to 'food resources' but mentioned only fisheries. Mahinga kai, of course, were far more varied than that and would have included other food sources, such as forests for birding and sourcing of various plants.

In the Far North, at the opposite end of the country, the **Muriwhenua Tribunal** also touched on the issue of economic development, although, dealing with the pre-1865 period only, it did not develop the discussion of land sufficiency explicitly. Speaking more generally, it stated:

Under the Western economy by which future development could be measured, Maori had two of the pre-requisites for growth, as we see it: the people or human capital, and the resource or the land. However, they also lacked two of the essentials: the technology, and knowledge of the necessary infrastructure—knowledge, for example, of the nature of property ownership in the Western economic system. Basically, as we see it, it was for lack of that knowledge, and because they understood an alternative economic regime, that Maori lost most of the land, the essential resource base. It was also for lack of knowledge and

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<sup>17</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngai Tahu Report*, para 16.3.2.

<sup>18</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *The Ngai Tahu Ancillary Claims Report* (Wellington: Brooker's, 1995), 362.

technology that they were unable to develop such land as they retained for pastoral farming....<sup>19</sup>

The Muriwhenua Tribunal continued to discuss the implications of crucial deficiencies in knowledge and technology:

It is pointless to assume free choice in circumstances like these. Free choice means having the knowledge and experience from which an informed decision can be made.... Nor can it be assumed that Maori had free choice to step out of the poverty cycle they were caught in. The opposite view fails to understand the nature of poverty and dependence. Experience in other countries, in Africa, for example, suggests that change comes slowly, even with aid, over at least three generations, once a regime of poverty has become established.<sup>20</sup>

What, then, of Crown responsibility in the mid-nineteenth century?

The essential point, then, is that the real issue is the action or inaction of the Government. Again, to get the matter into proper context, the need to protect Maori interests in the settlement of the country had been foretold. The likelihood that Maori might unwittingly alienate the whole of their land had been officially predicted. And promises were made to suit, that Maori would benefit from European settlement and their interests would be looked after. These are the questions, then: what steps were taken to ensure that Maori retained sufficient land that a free choice in agricultural development might be exercised in future? What profits did the Government get from the on-sale of Maori land, and how much was put back into arming Maori with the knowledge and technological skills needed to develop the lands remaining to them?... In brief, once again, a settlement plan that was sensitive to Maori people was needed if Maori interests were to be provided for.<sup>21</sup>

The **Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Tribunal** did not discuss the issue directly, but did stress the obligation of the Crown to actively protect Maori in their full, exclusive control and undisturbed possession of their properties so long as they wished to retain them.<sup>22</sup> It cited with approval the words of the Privy Council in the Te Reo Maori case of 1994:

In Their Lordships' opinion the 'principles' are the underlying mutual obligations and responsibilities which the Treaty places on the parties. They reflect the intent of the Treaty as a whole and include, but are not confined to, the express terms of the Treaty.... With the passage of

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<sup>19</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Muriwhenua Land Report* (Wellington: GP Publications, 1997), 357-58.

<sup>20</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Muriwhenua Land Report*, 358.

<sup>21</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Muriwhenua Land Report*, 358.

<sup>22</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report* (Wellington: Brooker's, 1995), 202-03.

time, the ‘principles’ which underlie the Treaty have become much more important than its precise terms.

Foremost among those ‘principles’ are the obligations which the Crown undertook of protecting and preserving Maori property ... in return for being recognised as the legitimate government of the whole nation by Maori. The Treaty refers to this obligation in the English text as amounting to a guarantee by the Crown. This emphasises the solemn nature of the Crown’s obligation.<sup>23</sup>

The **Te Whanganui a Tara Tribunal** quoted with approval the discussion by the Ngai Tahu Tribunal of the need for adequate lands to be left for Maori to develop on an equal footing with Pakeha, and that those reserves should be ‘sufficiently identified’ and ‘must also be adequate for both the present and reasonably foreseeable future needs of the tribe’.<sup>24</sup> Specifically, it found that the reserves left around Port Nicholson amounted to a maximum of 50 acres per head of which 10 acres were cultivable, and a minimum of three acres per head of which on average only two acres were cultivable, and calls this ‘a pitiful amount’.<sup>25</sup> Overall, that Tribunal found that the Crown failed to protect the rights of Maori living in the Port Nicholson district:

... by failing to set aside reserves which left them with an adequate base land for both their short- and their long-term cultivation and resource-gathering needs, and which made adequate provision for Maori to develop on an equal footing with Pakeha (particularly by taking up pastoralism or other farming and land-use activities), and that such Maori were seriously prejudiced thereby.<sup>26</sup>

The **Ngati Awa Raupatu Tribunal** also considered both the quantity of land returned to Ngati Awa after the confiscations and its quality. It commented on the fact that much of what was returned was swampland or rugged hills, and little was suitable for cultivation. Of one group’s land award, it comments that: ‘Most was either coastal hills or swamps, and although Wilson secured them valuable eel weirs, the total area of land was probably inadequate for the immediate support of these groups, let alone their future prosperity.’<sup>27</sup> It continued to discuss the quality of the compensation awards and the effects this could have:

The combined effect of the awards process was to create a situation in which the subsequent alienation of the land was not only possible but

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<sup>23</sup> *New Zealand Maori Council v Attorney-General* [1994] 1 NZLR 513, 517.

<sup>24</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara me ona Takiwa. Report on the Wellington District* (Wellington: Legislation Direct, 2003), s 4.4.2.

<sup>25</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara Report*, s 11.2.2.

<sup>26</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara Report*, s 11.2.3.

<sup>27</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *The Ngati Awa Raupatu Report* (Wellington: Legislation Direct, 1999), 90.

likely. That many of the awards were of poor quality was itself an incentive to alienate, as was the fact that many did not coincide with traditionally occupied lands....<sup>28</sup>

As will be seen below, this appears to have been the case also in the Wairarapa, in situations where lands remaining unpurchased from Maori—at least initially—were of poorer quality, not immediately usable, or otherwise relatively undesirable. This would have provided an incentive to part with them and use the proceeds for other purposes, or at least would have reduced the Maori attachment to them, rendering them economically less desirable, save where there was another cultural reason for retaining them.

A **very recent Tribunal report** to discuss the ‘sufficiency’ issue, or some equivalent, is that looking at the **Tauranga raupatu**, including the issue of whether the Crown left Maori in that district with ‘a sufficient endowment of land for their present and foreseeable needs’. It commented on some of the issues surrounding such an investigation:

Previous Tribunals have found that the failure by the Crown to ensure that Maori retained enough land for their foreseeable needs and to allow them to participate fully in the economy was contrary to the Treaty principle of active protection.... We accept that it was difficult to predict foreseeable needs, especially in view of the decline in the Maori population at Tauranga and elsewhere in the latter part of the nineteenth century and given the widespread European view that Maori were likely to become extinct. From the perspective of the twenty-first century, that view was misplaced, but it appears to have been widely held by Government bureaucrats at the time. It may have encouraged officials to assume that Maori would require less land in the future. But this did not excuse them from properly assessing the needs of hapu in their supervision of Maori land alienation. Nor did it excuse the Crown from trying to arrest the population decline by ensuring that Maori retained a sufficient endowment of land (and assistance to develop it) so that poverty did not accentuate their depopulation. These were necessary obligations under the Treaty principle of active protection.<sup>29</sup>

That Tribunal also observed that: ‘We must also bear in mind that the Crown’s obligations to Maori arising out of the principle of active protection were principally to hapu—the main social unit of nineteenth-century Maori society.’ This meant, they said:

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<sup>28</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngati Awa*, 92

<sup>29</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Raupatu o Tauranga Moana. Report on the Tauranga Confiscation Claims* (Wellington: Legislation Direct, 2004), 363.

The Crown was therefore obliged to ensure that hapu maintained sufficient contiguous blocks of land in areas that they customarily occupied. This endowment was necessary, in Treaty terms, to enable hapu to maintain, to the extent that they desired, their identity and social structure.<sup>30</sup>

How then to calculate such a ‘sufficient endowment’. The Tauranga Tribunal noted that the Native Land Act 1873 required that Maori be left within a minimum of 50 acres apiece. However, as they also pointed out, this acreage was simply not a parcel of land large enough to be economically viable in those days. In places where parcels of that size of fertile land were allocated to military settlers many, perhaps most, simply walked off the land, or never ever entered onto it, and sold their interests. The endowment ought to have been calculated differently:

During the period under consideration [the last third of the nineteenth century], the rural economy in New Zealand was based on extensive pastoralism. This required significant holdings of land. As the Ngai Tahu Tribunal pointed out, Ngai Tahu should have been given sufficient reserves to share in the development of pastoralism.... The Crown had the reciprocal duty to ensure Maori had sufficient land to do the same [farm sheep and cattle profitably]. In fact, Government officials often considered that Maori needed less land than Pakeha.<sup>31</sup>

The Waitangi Tribunal’s report on the **Poverty Bay** claims, *Turanga Tangata, Turanga Whenua*, also discusses many of the issues that are rolled into the ‘sufficiency’ ball.<sup>32</sup> Thus, for example, it raised the question of whether the prices paid for Maori were in total adequate to provide capital for effective investment in alternative assets. Even if a substantial total sum were provided, was the method of payment such as to give individuals a realistic opportunity to use the proceeds to do more than finance immediate consumption? Could the resulting sums have realistically financed the development of farming on remaining Maori lands? What motivated Maori to sell their lands; did they seek to finance long term development or were they scrambling to cover immediate indebtedness? As the substantial and more valuable blocks were sold during the nineteenth century, were the lands left in Maori hands in the twentieth economically viable and capable of producing an adequate return that would sustain their owners? These and many other issues raised in that

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<sup>30</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Tauranga*, 363.

<sup>31</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Tauranga*, 364.

<sup>32</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Turanga Tangata, Turanga Whenua: The Report on the Turanganui a Kiwa Claims* (Wellington: Legislation Direct, 2004).

report are of direct relevance to the Wairarapa situation, not least because both regions developed as essentially pastoral economies where Maori became marginalised and had few opportunities beyond casual and seasonal labouring on the sheep stations of the Pakeha who were able to acquire the lands in the mid-nineteenth century.

### 1.1.3. Difficulties with the ‘Sufficiency’ Concept

Many, indeed most, of the events and issues surveyed in this report relate in some way to the core issue of the ‘sufficiency’ of land left to Maori. The matter of land loss is at the heart of the discussion. However, it is not the only issue to be considered, and, by itself, merely quantifying the separation of Wairarapa Maori from the lands they occupied in 1840 gives little meaningful information about their ongoing economic state in the subsequent sixteen decades.

In that context, the **Mohaka ki Ahuriri Tribunal** also made a ‘cautionary reservation’ about the central issues also discussed in the present report, that ‘there is not necessarily a direct causal relationship between land loss, economic deprivation, and social dislocation.’<sup>33</sup> That Tribunal quoted with approval a statement by Associate-Professor Richard Boast warning against a simplistic connection between land ownership or possession and wealth. Boast stated:

In my view there *is* a correlation, although it needs to be formulated with some care. It is not a simple matter of an abundance of land creating wealth and landlessness creating poverty.... It is a mistake to believe that land ownership is a guarantee of wealth and prosperity—which is not of course to argue that land alienation is a guarantee of wealth either. Essentially Maori were trapped in a desperate economic situation. Maori could not join in the new capitalist agricultural economy being built around them as they lacked access to investment capital. Maori could not borrow on the security of their lands and thus improve and develop them. To obtain capital they were forced to either rent their lands or sell them. But neither renting nor selling generated enough capital for reinvestment, and the proceeds were often swallowed up by short-term debt.... However, Maori also faced the problem that ‘transaction costs’ were very high. Before land could be sold it had to be taken through the Land Court—with all the costs and delays that that process involved. Much land

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<sup>33</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *The Mohaka ki Ahuriri Report* (Wellington: Legislation Direct, 2004), vol II, 613.

was burdened with survey liens and other charges which had to be discharged before land could be alienated. All this served to impose further costs on Maori in their attempts to realize the value of the only capital they had.

There is certainly a correlation between Maori land alienation and Maori poverty. But the correlation is not a simple one and has two aspects. Firstly, most obviously, land alienation may cause poverty. Maori lose a valuable asset—their land—and are therefore deprived of a number of possible economic options and are reduced to unskilled labouring as a means of support.... However, it is equally important to emphasise that, if land loss can cause poverty, poverty can also, and undoubtedly did, cause land loss.... Once it became known that a block was targeted for state acquisition, the Native Department was besieged by letters and telegrams from many poor and anxious people asking for advance payments or for information as to when money would become available. To many owners the process of Crown purchasing represented a welcome escape from the pressures of short-term debt, an alleviation of desperate economic circumstances, or the opportunity to acquire some capital to finance sheep or dairy-farming ventures elsewhere.<sup>34</sup>

Most of the points made by Boast can be observed in the Wairarapa situation as it unfolded and will be noted on occasion in the present report. It might also be added that the loss of the asset was not straightforward in itself. Complications included the quantum of the payment received for the land, and whether that was substantial enough to permit Maori then to provide for themselves to the same standard they had enjoyed while in possession of the asset, and to provide in some way for their future as they would have expected had they remained with their ownership and use of the land intact. How was that payment received? It makes a considerable difference if the payment was in cash or kind, in one lump sum or in instalments over a period of time. Consumer goods, no matter how immediately useful, will by definition be consumed shortly after being traded for the permanent asset; cash may be spent (whether on necessities or frivolities) or invested, and such investments may or may not return sufficient to again provide for present and future living standards, as already mentioned. One lump sum was more likely to be in cash and to be divided up between various interested groups, whereas instalments were inclined to be received with less public ceremony and might give rise to mistaken expectations of an ongoing income. The division of purchase money affected all involved. The land was originally the tribal group's but if the money was retained by, say, a handful of chiefs, the populace

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<sup>34</sup> Richard Boast, 'Mohaka-Waikare Consolidated Report', research report, 1996, vol 2 (Wai 201 #J29), 202-204. Quoted in Waitangi Tribunal, *Mohaka ki Ahuriri Report*, 613-614.

lost both land and money, yet had still to support themselves. Or if the money was all shared out between everyone interested, did an individual receive enough to again support themselves and their family and enable a fresh start? Were there adequate reserves, in both size and quality, to permit Maori to re-establish their lives and also to join in that emerging capitalist agricultural economy as more than casual wage labourers?

Bruce Stirling has written in his evidence relating to the Wairarapa inquiry that:

It is, of course, difficult to establish a direct and statistically provable link between Maori land loss and Maori socio-economic status over time. There are innumerable local, regional, and global factors affecting economic outcomes, factors that are perhaps beyond the scope of this inquiry, and for which, in many instances, Wairarapa-specific data would be difficult, if not impossible, to obtain. [Stirling's own] report does not make such a link. Rather than attempt the impossible, it should suffice to merely point out the obvious. The customary economy of Wairarapa Maori was primarily based on the land, as was the early run-holder economy. The more intensive settlement fostered under the 1853 compact [i.e. the agreements with Grey and McLean] was also based on agriculture, so land continued to retain its primary place in the Wairarapa economy for several generations.

Land alone was no guarantee of either income or wealth, but it certainly made generating both a lot easier than it was for the landless. Those without land had to rely solely on their labour, and the higher the level of skill the better they were likely to be paid. As settlement advanced, so too did the ability of those with trades or professions to earn an income, an income based on education rather than land. So it is conceivable that Wairarapa Maori could have got along in the new economy with only a fraction of the land they had sought to retain in the 1850s, but they would have needed a good education to obtain the skills to do so.<sup>35</sup>

Stirling also wonders if the reverse is conceivable, that Maori could have survived, for a period at least, if they had retained a substantial land base from which they could have derived an income directly or through leasing. If so, the land administration system would have had to have been more rational and less costly than the Native Land Court system. He observes: 'quality and quantity were needed; they had neither.'<sup>36</sup> He concludes:

It was never as simple as 'land or education', and indeed no such choice was ever offered, but Maori could not get by with neither land

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<sup>35</sup> Bruce Stirling, 'Summary of the Evidence of Bruce Stirling' (2003) Wai 863 #51(h), 2.  
<sup>36</sup> Stirling, 'Summary', 3.

nor education. Those without land or education laboured on the land of others, earning an income to be sure, but a seasonal, itinerant, and unreliable income that guaranteed not wealth but a place at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder.<sup>37</sup>

As Stirling also points out elsewhere, such a lifestyle affected not only the income earned, but many other aspects of life, such as the ability to have one's children educated, being one cause of the unduly high absentee rates at Native schools, which then had longer term impacts on their ability to move from the bottom of that ladder.

A similar caveat to a simplistic alienation-poverty equation was entered by the Tauranga Tribunal:

In itself sufficient land was not a guarantee that Maori would prosper. Other assistance, such as access to capital and expertise, would have been necessary as well. Although Government agricultural assistance of any kind was still in its infancy in 1886, new forms of assistance that became available in the following decade, such as those provided by the Department of Agriculture and advances of credit to individual (invariably Pakeha) landowners, were not made available to Maori until the late 1920s. The kind of tenure which had been imposed on Maori made it impossible for them to take out private mortgages on their land in the way in which Pakeha landowners could. The Government did provide Maori with some economic opportunities, such as labouring jobs on public works projects, but these were too limited in scope to be of much long-term benefit to Tauranga Maori. They were clearly insufficient to mitigate any failure to provide Maori with sufficient land and a form of tenure that would allow capital to be raised against that land.<sup>38</sup>

Economist Brian Easton notes that the land and resources on it are not by themselves sufficient: 'Thus the issue is not to what extent can any piece of land, say, generate output, but what opportunities there are from the land which adds values and hence jobs.'<sup>39</sup> He also notes the necessity of an adequate labour supply:

A quality labour force is crucial for social and economic development, and yet it is no guarantee of that process. Supposing an iwi had a healthy, well educated, highly trained, experienced, and self-disciplined labour force, but no local resources on which to base their prospects. There would be no opportunities for it in the region, and the unemployed but able workers would drift off elsewhere.... The paradox of quality labour is

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<sup>37</sup> Stirling, 'Summary', 4.

<sup>38</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Tauranga*, 364.

<sup>39</sup> Brian Easton, 'Towards an Iwi Development Plan for the Muriwhenua' (1993) Wai 45 #J6, 7.

that it is internationally mobile, and so the Iwi cannot claim it for its own regional purposes. That is why the resource base of the region must be used as a development base to attract and maintain the tangata a rawa.<sup>40</sup>

The point that ‘human capital’ must be considered as well as other resources is well made. The sheer numbers of people available are important both as economic contributors and as consumers of whatever it produced or earned. However, as will be discussed below, simply having warm bodies available is of limited usefulness; they need training and education if their muscle power is not to be their only asset. So, there must be provision of non-land resources in the form of educational opportunities leading to the development of the knowledge and skill base. In the Wairarapa ki Tararua context, this could take the form of improved literacy but also of the imparting of knowledge and skills allowing Maori to participate in the new economy either in business or as farmers in their own right. Without such educational opportunities, they would be condemned to remain as casual labourers and subsistence farmers, at the bottom of the economic ladder.

Going beyond the straitjacket of economic issues and remaining within the context of thinking of human resources, Paora Ammunsen recently pointed out succinctly that there are more than just physical resources at stake in all this; the very identity of the people is bound up in the losses they have suffered. He declared:

Early on we debated how to measure sufficiency of land and the link to reparations. I believe that our collective shame made us avoid the much harder question—we must at some point debate how to measure sufficiency of culture and identity....

Papawai was a place once renowned for handing on political, cultural, economic and educational resources to future generations. Now we are known for killing and violence towards children.<sup>41</sup>

He discussed the loss of the language, especially the Wairarapa dialect, and the negative effects on society, attitudes and self-esteem—what a century ago would have been called the ‘demoralisation’ of the people. Of course, such losses are less readily quantifiable than land that can be measured and even its fertility calculated. There is also perhaps a greater element of personal choice in what went on, for example in the decision whether or not to train children in te reo at home, regardless of what went on in schools. The difficulties of linking that in the present context to Crown Treaty

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<sup>40</sup> Easton, ‘Development’, 8.

<sup>41</sup> Paora Ammunsen, ‘Brief of Evidence’ (2004) Wai 863 #G14, paras 14, 18.

obligations have become apparent in claims regarding te reo and its transmission over radio waves, or in a different context in the recent political debate over ‘Closing the Gaps’, or ‘Reducing Inequalities’, and the like.

The Waitangi Tribunal in the **Te Reo Maori Claim** was in no doubt that such matters do indeed come within both the Treaty debate and the jurisdiction of the Waitangi Tribunal, and that such cultural aspects have a broad-ranging social impact. It stated, for example:

The evidence and argument has made it clear to us that by the Treaty the Crown did promise to recognise and protect the language and that that promise has not been kept. The ‘guarantee’ in the Treaty requires affirmative action to protect and sustain the language, not a passive obligation to tolerate its existence and certainly not a right to deny its use in any place. It is, after all, the first language of the country, the language of the original inhabitants and the language in which the first signed copy of the Treaty was written. But educational policy over many years and the effect of the media in using almost nothing but English has swamped the Maori language and done it great harm.<sup>42</sup>

Subsequently in its report, the Te Reo Tribunal, although then barred from undertaking historical investigations, made extensive conclusions and recommendations, including those that led to the recognition of Maori as an official language.

It is not proposed to take this aspect any further in the present report, beyond the extent to which the discussion of education bears upon it. Clearly, though, the question of ‘how to measure sufficiency of culture and identity’, as Mr Ammunsen put it, is an issue within the purview of the Tribunal in the present inquiry, and as such is another indication that the ‘sufficiency’ issue itself extends well beyond the consideration of land, or even physical resources more broadly conceived.

Another economic point to be considered is the relationship between wealth/poverty and quality of lifestyle, which has at least as much to do with attitude. In whatever state Maori found themselves, and whoever was to ‘blame’ for that, were they unhappy and dissatisfied as a result? Elsewhere, Richard Boast has written about working within the Treaty claims arena and documenting or presenting and arguing evidence for all manner of economic deprivations, only to have people say to him afterwards that while all that was true, yet at the time they often did not feel poor and/or disadvantaged. There are some other examples of this phenomenon in the

claimant evidence in the present inquiry. One such is the evidence of Patricia Arohanui Bolstad, who describes a lifestyle of living off the land and from self-grown produce and then concludes: ‘Who needed money? We were self-sufficient.’<sup>43</sup> Now this should not be taken as in any way my saying that because some children at Homewood in the 1940s were fortunate enough to enjoy a happy childhood that this impacts on the issues of Crown responsibility, land ownership and so on. It does, though, go to questions of perception of ‘sufficiency’ and point out that in many ways such an assessment is a subjective, qualitative one, especially for the people who are living with the situation as opposed to evaluating it from a distance in time, space and culture. I note that P Bolstad’s parents did not apparently share this view to quite the same extent and moved the family from the (for children) idyllic Homewood into Masterton in search of the perceived benefits of the town, such as employment and education.

The Tribunal’s *Tauranga Report* has provided some additional consideration of just how the Crown might have ensured that Maori did in fact retain a sufficient endowment—although of course the particular circumstances in Tauranga were unique. A forceful debate took place internally, between the Tribunal members. The Tribunal’s majority found that the Crown should not merely have refrained from taking Tauranga lands itself through confiscation and forced sale, but that it should also have intervened actively to prevent additional and subsequent alienation of Maori land:

For the Crown to have ensured that Maori retained a sufficient endowment of land, it would have had to restrict more carefully the alienation of Maori land at Tauranga during the vulnerable post-war period between 1864 and 1886. This would not have been an unreasonable expectation. Throughout the period, some Crown officials were aware that Maori would become impoverished if large-scale land alienations were allowed to proceed. For example, in 1877, [former Civil Commissioner for Tauranga H.T.] Clarke, as under-secretary of the Native Department, reported that Tauranga Maori were ‘perfectly oblivious as to the future, and will inevitably pauperise themselves and their successors if the Government do not stretch forth a protective hand to save them from their own reckless extravagance’.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Reo Maori Claim Wai 11* (Wellington: Department of Justice, 1986), 5.

<sup>43</sup> Patricia Arohanui Bolstad, ‘Brief of Evidence’ (2004) Wai 863 #D15, para 3.

<sup>44</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Tauranga*, 365.

The Tribunal took Clarke's dire prediction to indicate at the minimum 'a perfect understanding by an agent of the Crown of the link between land loss and poverty'.

The dissenting report of Tauranga Tribunal member, Dr Michael Bassett, indicates that such protective measures may also be viewed through a different lens, however. He believes that, in fact, such Crown intervention would indeed have been unreasonable. He states:

Had the Crown rigidly enforced rules preventing land alienation, there is no doubt in my mind that there would have been Treaty objections by Maori under article 3.<sup>45</sup>

Dr Bassett also pointed out that he considered historical evidence to show that there were, during the post-war third of the nineteenth century, many new lifestyle choices available to Maori, and that some Maori made deliberate choices to take them up, using the opportunity of selling land to finance the transition:

What was apparent to me was that a few Maori who succeeded in obtaining title to land regarded the proceeds from its sale as a source of income. A few were shifting away from the land to work in the Coromandel and Waihi gold mines, while others became gum diggers or worked on infrastructural projects [perhaps meaning road construction?]. Inter-marriage with settlers was quite common, and provided opportunities to lead a different lifestyle, sometimes away from ancestral land. For such people, the ability to realise their assets made it easier to adjust to, and make progress within, the new colonial world. It was clear to me that Maori continued exercising choices as they were entitled to do under the Treaty.... Throughout our hearings, it suited far too many lawyers and claimants to portray Maori as naïve victims, rather than active participants in late nineteenth-century history. In my opinion, this patronising line of argument was only occasionally sustained by the evidence put before the Tribunal.<sup>46</sup>

Dr Bassett went on to question the criticisms made of the officials who determined allocations for Maori on the basis of 50 acres per head and thus failed to make provision for their foreseeable needs. But his challenge is not on the basis of the 'sufficiency' of 50 acres, whether that was an adequate allocation or diminished by variable quality. Rather, he simply states that saying 50 acres was inadequate shows 'little appreciation of the rapidly building population pressures in New Zealand and of the changing occupational preferences being expressed by Maori in the late nineteenth

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<sup>45</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Tauranga*, 415.

<sup>46</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Tauranga*, 416.

century'.<sup>47</sup> With respect, it must be said that the first of these two issues is a non sequitur; the arrival of new Pakeha settlers and resulting political pressure on successive governments has nothing to do in itself with the issue of whether a given acreage of land was an adequate provision for Maori on which to sustain themselves. The second has greater force, but still bears only on a group that Dr Bassett himself identified as numbering only 'a few'. There is, too, the chicken-and-egg conundrum he does not address of the extent to which Maori were choosing alternative occupational preferences, or locations, precisely because the reserves, allocations and awards made to them were inadequate to sustain them or severed them from their ancestral connections. Did they sell land because they wished to leave, or did they leave because they could no longer support themselves on the land remaining to them because there was too little of it, because it was unusable, or because it was not their traditional land?

Dr Bassett also raises the difficulty of assessing future needs in a late-nineteenth century context when it was believed Maori were dying out, and the Treaty issue of Crown rights to prevent Maori from freely exercising their rights under both articles 2 and 3 of selling land in which they had an interest. He states:

The small three-clause document that constitutes the Treaty was not intended by the British Crown as requiring the erection of an all-powerful, regulatory, State apparatus that would govern every detail of Maori-Pakeha interaction. Nor was the Treaty intended to deny Maori those rights enjoyed by settlers.<sup>48</sup>

Prevention by the Crown of free trading by Maori of their land, of hindering their alienating it when they wished to do so, then, in this view, becomes a Treaty breach. This comes about through the Crown failing to extend to Maori all the rights and privileges of British subjects—which includes unfettered trading in their freehold lands—and also by prohibiting them from exercising their tino rangatiratanga under Article 2 of retaining their land for as long as they wished to do so, a guarantee which only makes sense if it also implies a freedom to part with it when they wished to do that instead.

The majority on the Tauranga Tribunal countered such criticism that they were in fact advocating the commission of another Treaty breach by explaining:

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<sup>47</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Tauranga*, 416.

<sup>48</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Tauranga*, 416.

Talk of a Pakeha Government ‘stretching forth a protective hand’ to Maori may appear patronising to twenty-first century readers. Yet, it is wholly in line with the Government’s obligations under article 2 of the Treaty. The intention of those who drafted the Treaty was, indisputably, to protect Maori from the negative effects of colonisation that had been observed in other settler societies. Excessive land loss was one of the principal ‘evils’ that Colonial Secretary Lord Normanby had hoped to protect Maori from when he gave his instructions regarding the Treaty. British Government officials understood this at the time the Treaty was signed....

It is true that some Maori land did remain unfarmed during the many years that the commissioners took to make the awards. This was not because the land was ‘surplus’: rather, it was because it was unfarmable or because Maori lacked the capital to develop it.<sup>49</sup>

Chief Judge Joe Williams has interpreted the debate and responded to Dr Bassett’s views as reframed in a newspaper column. He states that the Tauranga majority were not saying that Maori should have been forced to retain land in customary title and not be allowed to sell it. Rather, he says, the issue initially relates to the changes to the nature of their title/tenure with which Maori were being confronted:

The point the majority really makes is that Maori customary (communal) title was transformed into a Europeanised form of tenure, consisting of individualised and easily alienable interests in lands, with neither the consent of Maori nor any consultation with them. The majority report argues that this revolution in land tenure wrecked Maori social cohesion and set Maori communities back at a time when they were already ravaged by the effects of war and the loss of their best lands through confiscation.<sup>50</sup>

As to the question of whether Maori would have claimed that restrictions on their ability to sell land freely itself constituted a Treaty breach of article 3 rights, Chief Judge Williams notes that the historical reality has been rather different:

But the majority argues that Article 2 guaranteed Maori tribal authority and the preservation of their customs. It was the loss of these rights that made them howl. Moreover, the majority finds that the individualisation process disenfranchised most Maori and left them unable to sell at all, as only a few individuals, in most instances, were awarded the new form of title.

The majority report concludes that the Crown should have ensured Maori were left with sufficient quality land for their foreseeable needs,

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<sup>49</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Tauranga*, 365.

<sup>50</sup> Chief Judge Joe Williams, ‘Defusing Grievances’, *Dominion Post*, 29 September 2004, B5.

a duty which the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Crown itself accepted openly and often. The majority's view is that the Crown failed to do this.<sup>51</sup>

The present report is not the place to resolve such a debate, particularly when some of the general points have been given a particular 'Tauranga' spin. The discussion relating to the Tauranga Report is presented here solely for the purpose of indicating some of the subsidiary issues to which the 'sufficiency' debate leads. For example, if indeed the Crown had an obligation to ensure that Maori retained a 'sufficient endowment', as the Waitangi Tribunal has held in many inquiries, how was it to honour that obligation? It is one thing to exercise self-restraint with its own Crown purchasing, but it is quite another to prohibit private transactions from taking place, particularly after the Native Land Court regime had been created with the express intention of facilitating the bringing of Maori customary land within the nascent land transfer system. And on what basis could the Crown have prohibited the selling of land by Maori who wished to do so? Creation of mechanisms for the prevention of fraud, undue pressure and underhand methods may have saved Maori in some situations from being victims of sharp practices, but that is not the same as telling Maori that they could not alienate land at all, even when they wanted to, the purchase was bona fide, and they were being offered a fair price. To what extent should the Crown have ensured a 'sufficient' acreage was provided even when Maori were thought to be dying out, Maori were choosing alternative occupational preferences and lifestyles, and the Crown had to provide for the burgeoning settler population?

## 1.2. Summary of 'Sufficiency'

This discussion leads to a number of conclusions that can be made about what constitutes a 'sufficient' amount of land in this context.

First, the Crown had a Treaty obligation to ensure that Maori retained a 'sufficient endowment' of land. Not only was the Crown obliged to monitor its own

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<sup>51</sup> Williams, 'Defusing Grievances', B5. Dr Bassett's rejoinder (*Dominion Post*, 30 September 2004, B4) concentrated on personal and procedural matters rather than addressing these substantive issues.

purchasing activities to ensure this, but after 1865 it was also incumbent upon it to monitor private purchasing and the operations of the Native Land Court. This duty flows from the principle of active protection, the Crown being obliged to actively protect Maori interests.

Secondly, the endowment of land had to be 'sufficient' for the present needs of Maori at that time. They could not be stripped of all they possessed leaving them destitute and resourceless in the mid-nineteenth century. In this sense, the 'sufficiency' is directed to the issue of whether they could support themselves immediately after the proposed alienation. Officials from Lord Normanby on recognised that there was a need to protect Maori from falling victim to a system with which they were unfamiliar and ill-equipped to deal.

Thirdly, that endowment had also to be 'sufficient' for the future needs of the Maori groups concerned. This, tribunals have conceded, was more difficult. On the one hand, there was clearly recognition at a senior level, such as in Clarke's comments quoted below, that Maori left landless would be destitute and an ongoing burden on the colony. On the other hand, in the context of the times there was until the 1890s a general belief that Maori were dying out and/or shortly to be assimilated into the Pakeha population, beliefs which militated against careful and substantial provision for their future needs since they effectively denied that Maori had any long-term future.

Fourthly, the endowment should have been sufficient to enable Maori to participate in the emerging financial/pastoral economy on an equal footing with Pakeha, at least in terms of access to land resources (Te Whanganui a Tara). Perhaps more controversially, considering the problem that land by itself was of little use without the means and knowledge to make use of it, the Muriwhenua Tribunal, at least, not only said that Maori should have been left with sufficient land to allow them to exercise 'a free choice in agricultural development ... in the future', but also went further to say that the Crown ought also to have provided the necessary financial and technical assistance to enable Maori to do this.

Fifthly, beginning with the Ngai Tahu Tribunal, a number of elements have been identified as needing to be taken into account in the calculation of a 'sufficient endowment'. Those factors include:

- the size of the tribal population;

- the land the tribe was occupying or over which various members enjoyed rights;
- the principal food resources and their location;
- the location of wahi tapu;
- the likely impact of European farming practices;
- the tribe's needs at the particular time;
- the tribe's reasonably foreseeable future needs;
- the land should be in contiguous blocks in areas that the tribe customarily occupied.

Several of these factors are not directly land-based, especially that of the principal food resources. As will be seen in some of the Wairarapa ki Tararua examples, and as has apparently been explained in oral evidence, the local Maori groups frequently made up for lack of access to other food resources by utilising abundant kai moana resources in places like Mataikona and Akitio. Loss of such resources would have been a devastating blow and protection of such resources was at least part of their reason for retaining Mataikona, for example.

Different criteria must be applied to each of these factors, too. For example, calculation of 'sufficient' wahi tapu would surely include all, or virtually all, such sites, unless there could be wahi tapu that could for some reason be dispensed with, which seems unlikely with urupa, for example. Farm land will have much to do with total acreage, but also with what type of land comprises that acreage. The size of the tribal population is problematic when one asks about the nature of the tribal group concerned. A district-wide calculation seems hardly satisfactory when the various relationships between individuals or groups are concerned. Also, the owners of a particular area, and later block, are not the generic 'Maori', so the fact that the owners of Mataikona, say, may have benefited from the retention of a large block, says little or nothing about the landlessness of other hapu, even if they were geographically close.

Some factors and their calculation will change over time, also, particularly any calculation of a tribe's (or tribal group's) needs, both present and future. This was acknowledged briefly in the Ngai Tahu Tribunal's comment quoted above that lands might be used for different purposes, not necessarily just for a particular type of usage such as pastoral agriculture. If they were able to make alternative employment choices, because they had improved education, or towns sprang up with industrial or

retail job opportunities, then the need for land simply to support themselves on would be reduced. In such a case, of course, education would be another non-land resource.

In broad terms, then, the answer to the question of Issue 22.4.1 should be given in the broader terms of the first option, incorporating the retention of non-land and cultural resources, rather than being restricted merely to land usable in the nineteenth century for the limited types of farming available in the colonial economy.

## **2. Overview**

### **2.1. The Landscape of Wairarapa ki Tararua**

In a study such as this present report, in which the quantity and quality of land is of great significance, it is important to recognise that the geographical and topographical features constrain the types of economic activities that may be undertaken in a given area.

Wairarapa ki Tararua, calculated by Ellis and Small to amount to a total of 2,571,638 acres, divides into three distinct topographical areas: the bush-clad western ranges providing an almost unbroken wall from Cook Strait up the ‘main divide’ of the North Island; the open, flat valley covered with a variety of vegetation beginning at Palliser Bay and reaching further north to Norsewood and beyond in a series of undulating downs and plains; and the eastern area of ranges and hills which extends from Cape Palliser without a significant break into Hawkes Bay.

These three areas, plus the three north-south bands discussed below which overlap somewhat, are clearly visible on the Wairarapa ki Tararua satellite image comprising Map 1 in Map Book 1.<sup>52</sup> Most of the locations referred to are to be found in the various maps in Map Books 1 and 2 especially, for topographical information, the Orientation Map which is Map 2 in Map Book 1, and for most land blocks Map 3 in Map Book 1.

#### **2.1.1. The Shape and Type of Land**

Cathy Marr included in her environmental report a description of the shape and type of the land which bears a substantial summary at the outset of the present report, given the importance on land quality and location.

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<sup>52</sup> Wai 863 #A20.

The first feature of importance is the division of the district into three strips running north-south: to the west is the line of the Rimutaka and Tararua ranges:

These ranges, which also form the southern part of the North Island main divide, are characterised by high ridges, rugged peaks and steep sloped valleys with thin poor soils.<sup>53</sup>

The Rimutakas and Tararuas are unsuitable for much activity of economic value in European terms, although the forests did provide Maori some opportunity for birding and both races some timber.

To the east of the Rimutaka-Tararua divide runs the catchment area and floodplain of the Ruamahanga River. To the north are numerous small rivers and streams feeding into the Ruamahanga, deriving from the hill country to east and west, and eventually bearing their eroded soils down valley to the more level areas. 'The plain soils are richest where silt deposits have created alluvial flats, but otherwise tend to have low nutrient levels reflecting the geological age of the parent rocks'.<sup>54</sup>

The yellow-grey earth soil types in the central north-south band of the Wairarapa region, from north of Masterton down the eastern side of the valley to Palliser Bay are broadly similar to Hawkes Bay, Manawatu, Marlborough and Nelson:

In general these soils are moderately weathered and moderately leached, of low natural fertility, low in available phosphorus and with the ratio of calcium to magnesium decreasing down the [soil] profile.... The main fertiliser requirements are phosphate, potassium and lime. Erosion is a hazard to land use, particularly on hilly land in the drier areas where disastrous tunnel-gully erosion has occurred in the past.<sup>55</sup>

Another north-south band is a recent gley and organic soil which basically covers the floodplain area, derived from alluvium deposited by the rivers. Soil types change considerably over short distances depending on what has been deposited and when. Gley soils range from sandy loam to clay and usually have a high nutrient content, accessible when properly drained, which makes them suitable for pasture or annual cropping. They are slow to drain, though, and the surface becomes puddled with heavy stocking.

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<sup>53</sup> Cathy Marr, 'Wairarapa Twentieth Century Environmental Overview Report: Lands, Forests and Coast' (2001) Wai 863 #A25, 2.

<sup>54</sup> Marr, 'Environmental Overview', 3.

<sup>55</sup> M.L. Leamy and M. Fieldes, 'Soils, Land Classification and Use', in Ian Wards (ed), *New Zealand Atlas* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1976), 126.

This central Wairarapa Valley contained most of the area suitable for cultivation in the past, as it does today, although during the nineteenth century many areas were also swampy. These swampy areas, of little use to colonists apart from those few interested in extracting and processing flax, provided Maori with many resources of food and materials. The most substantial of these areas was around the Wairarapa Lakes, frequently dammed by the sand bar at Lake Onoke. Te Kopi at the south-east corner of Palliser Bay provided a small but still quite exposed harbour. The Ruamahanga and its tributaries provided many areas with a great variety of vegetation, ‘a patchwork of grass, scrub and forest mingled in varying proportions’.<sup>56</sup> The squatters would look favourably upon the extensive prairie grass—some 200,000 acres, almost half the valley area—and fernland (25,000 acres) for pastoral purposes.<sup>57</sup>

To the east again of the valley area is ‘the broad belt of jumbled eastern hill country’. This region is ‘rugged, with few gentle slopes and only relatively small areas of alluvial flats along the main rivers and streams’. The ‘diverse system of mudstone and limestone hills ... are inherently susceptible to erosion, especially where numerous shallow quakes have fractured the soft sedimentary rock’.<sup>58</sup>

Some two thirds of the coastline is made up of cliffs and rocky beaches, with the remainder in shingle beaches and the occasional area of dunes such as at Riversdale and Ocean Beach. Coastal flats between the coast margin and the eastern hills are generally narrow.... From a human point of view, the coast is often described as inhospitable and treacherous, with no large sheltered harbours and only a small number of inlets and bays providing partial protection from prevailing north-easterly winds and southerly storms.<sup>59</sup>

The main soil type throughout the entire inquiry district, though, is a steepland yellow-brown earth which covers the entire Tararua district east of the Manawatu River, and the yellow-grey band in Wairarapa noted above, to the east coast. It runs from just south of Waipukurau south to Cape Palliser. Such soils are formed on tertiary rocks, mainly sandstone and siltstone, and were formed under forest, they are ‘generally shallow’, ‘free-draining, friable soils’:

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<sup>56</sup> Ronald D. Hill, ‘The Land and the Squatter—Wairarapa 1843-1853: an Essay in Human Ecology’ (MA thesis in Geography, Victoria University of Wellington, 1962), 5.

<sup>57</sup> Hill, ‘Land and Squatter’, 6.

<sup>58</sup> Marr, ‘Environmental Overview’, 3.

<sup>59</sup> Marr, ‘Environmental Overview’, 3-4.

On the drier soils, run-off is rapid under pasture and the soil-moisture conditions for pastoral growth are uneven. Nutrients other than phosphorus are moderate to high, and, with topdressing, excellent pastures for sheep and cattle grazing can be obtained. The chief farming problem is instability, caused in part by the effects of replacing forest with grass, and both slip and slump erosion are common. Careful pastoral management is required to lessen the occurrence of slips and gulying in stream channels.<sup>60</sup>

The extensive forest cover extant prior to the arrival of Europeans is shown on the map 'Vegetation c. 1853 and Main River', copied from Hill's thesis, 'The Land and the Squatter', which is Figure 1 included in Appendix Four. The podocarp/broadleaf forest ran along the west of the valley, extended into the valley at several points, especially the 20,000 acres between the Waingawa and Waiohine rivers, and then ran almost without a break from the hills at the northern end of the valley to a clearing at the Manawatu Gorge, and then again largely unbroken to the Ruataniwha Plains. This forest land of the Forty/Seventy-Mile Bush would require an immense amount of 'breaking in' to turn into productive farming land in European terms. The widely travelled CMS missionary and amateur naturalist William Colenso wrote in the 1840s of the Wairarapa forest (probably the southern part of Seventy-Mile Bush):

This forest appeared to be the most primeval of any I had seen in New Zealand. The soil for many feet in depth was only composed of decayed vegetable matter, mostly leaves; and many of the trees were of immense size. The birds were very few ... and a deathlike silence reigned....<sup>61</sup>

On the other hand, this silence may have been localised only as Frederick Weld wrote that 'the woods are alive with kakas and pigeons', while by the time Europeans arrived pigs were also in the forest, although much more numerous in the fern and swamp country.

An alternative explanation is given by Steven Oliver, who cites Hine-i-paketia, a leader of Ngati Te Whatu-i-Apiti and Ngati Kahungunu, as complaining at the time of the Waipukurau Block purchase in 1850 that the bird life and other game had been wiped off the land which was therefore now useless. She stated that she would now prefer that the land instead be settled by Europeans with whom they could trade.<sup>62</sup> It is

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<sup>60</sup> M.L. Leamy and M. Fieldes, 'Soils, Land Classification and Use', in Wards (ed), *Atlas*, 128.

<sup>61</sup> Colenso, 'Journal', 24 March 1846. Quoted in Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 6-7.

<sup>62</sup> Steven Oliver, 'Tararua Environmental Issues Report' (2002) Wai 863 #A35, 31.

not clear from these quotes, though, that Hine-i-paketia was talking of the Seventy-Mile Bush, since the Waipukurau Block was to the north of the forested area, or that Colenso was writing of the Tararua end of the Seventy-Mile Bush, but rather of the Wairarapa end. Also, 1850 was very early for introduced predators to have wrought such devastation, and particularly so far from substantial Pakeha settlement.

Colenso also wrote of what is now known as Morrison's Bush, then an area of swamp forest:

The bush concealed a swamp, a network of deep pools between which ten or twelve feet high sedges luxuriantly grew, the whole intersected with rotten logs and prostrate trees. We little suspected that we were entering on Kaitara, a forest which for its entangled denseness and deep swamps has been proverbial for ages with the New Zealanders.<sup>63</sup>

The eastern ranges were also mostly in mixed podocarp/broadleaf forest while the lower hills were covered in bracken and small bushes. When Weld arrived at Whareama on the east coast, the hills nearby were mainly fern-clad, but mixed with much aniseed and grass, while at Castlepoint the hills were mostly covered in grass with some toe toe, manuka and fern. Access was mainly from the beaches, which were much less rocky at low tide.<sup>64</sup>

### **2.1.2. Land Use**

The land use in the 1840s by Maori and Pakeha did not entail a deliberate impact on the environment (apart, of course, from the effects on the flora of grazing livestock) and was largely channelled by the existing geographical features.

To the north was the great forest described in 1850 by New Munster Native Secretary Henry Tacy Kemp considering the possibility of constructing a road:

The length of the bush which divides the two districts [Wairarapa and Manawatu] cannot, I think, be less than forty miles, that is, from the Kotukutuku to the outlet of the Manawatu.<sup>65</sup>

The forest was used for a variety of food and other resources, particularly birds, eels, fruit, medicinal bark and leaves, wood for canoes 'and numerous other items'.

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<sup>63</sup> Colenso, 'Journal', Quoted in Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 9.

<sup>64</sup> Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 11-12.

Tararua Maori had cleared some of the forest themselves by burning, especially in the eastern Puketoi ranges—a significant part of the east of the Tararua district’—and in these cleared areas they cultivated aruhe, the rhizome of the bracken fern.<sup>66</sup>

Noting that there were few breaks further south in the Wairarapa bush cover other than Kuratawhiti clearing (near today’s Greytown), Bagnall describes the topography and Maori occupation of the central area thus:

This bush was the broad northern extension of the great forest of Kaitara, later known as Morrison’s Bush which curved from the north-western lake edge in a belt from two to six miles across, north to a wider fan on both sides of the Waiohine River. This forest cover formed the southern and eastern boundary to the Moroa Plain which lay between the Tauherenikau and the Waiohine. On the eastern side of this arc of bush, parallel to and not far from the forested banks of the Ruamahanga, a long narrow clearing extended from a little south of Papawai to the later site of the Morrison homestead. At Papawai itself there was a much smaller clearing of a few hundred acres and another of approximately the same extent to the north west on the Waiohine at Ahikouka. The Kuratawhiti clearing, roughly two and a half miles long by half a mile wide, lay parallel to the Waiohine from which it was separated by a narrow belt of bush.

The future sites of Greytown and indeed Papawai itself were not permanently occupied by any Maori village before European settlement. The Matatu track, the main Maori route up the valley from Palliser Bay lay to the east of the Ruamahanga which it crossed higher up at Hurunuiorangi. There was, however, a less used track across the river to Papawai and a more clearly marked route to the northward across the Waihakeke clearing. The subsidiary of the old Rimutaka war trail led north from Paetumokai (later Featherston) to the settlements at the upper end of the valley.<sup>67</sup>

The Wairarapa was attractive to the pastoralists because it provided readily accessible pasture:

... the fernlands of the Wairarapa provided pasture at a low clearance cost for the European colonists cramped in the valleys about Port Nicholson, and this, moreover, when the neighbouring districts were heavily forested.<sup>68</sup>

At the time of the pastoralists’ arrival, the valley area appeared thus:

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<sup>65</sup> Quoted in Peter McBurney, ‘Tamaki-nui-a-Rua: Land Alienation Overview Report’ (2002) Wai 863 #A47, 15.

<sup>66</sup> Steven Oliver, ‘Tararua Environmental Issues Report’ (2002) Wai 863 #A35, 7.

<sup>67</sup> A.G. Bagnall, *Old Greytown 1854-1954* (Greytown: Greytown Borough Council, 1953), 2.

<sup>68</sup> I.V. Sage, ‘The Wairarapa—A Comparison of Geographical Character in 1853 and 1953’ (MA thesis, Canterbury University College, 1954), 27. Quoted in K.R. Scadden, ‘An Examination of Farm Size and Ownership Changes in the Government Sponsored Settlements on the Site of the Old

The valley was composed of flax covered swamps, manuka scrub and patches of bush.... The land along the Ruamahanga River was in dense bush and fringing the Pihautea Ridge was swamp containing tall flax. About a mile to the north there were low lying ridges on which grew manuka and a small variety of flax, interspersed with open spaces covered with grass and small rushes.<sup>69</sup>

The swamps had much by way of natural resources for Maori to sustain themselves with. Weld reported that ‘the river and swamp are thronged with duck, widgeon and teal’, that is to say, pukeko, bittern, paradise ducks, grey ducks and wiho. Wild pigs were ‘extremely numerous’ in the drier scrub and fern land, according to Samuel Brees.<sup>70</sup>

In general terms, the farming activities within the Wairarapa have been in conformity with the geographic zones of the region. In the mid-twentieth century this was the overall picture:

In the foothills adjoining the Western Ranges, with their high rainfall and steep terrain, land utilisation is restricted to store sheep and cattle breeding. The East Coast Hills are devoted to store sheep and beef cattle and make the largest contribution to the Wairarapa’s output of primary produce. Farming practises [sic] in the valley lowland are governed by a variety of soils and climates. The Western portion is devoted mainly to dairying with some fat lamb raising. The rich alluvial flats adjacent to Masterton, Carterton, Greytown and Martinborough are intensively utilised for dairying and market gardening. On the silt and clay loams of the eastern and southern valley fringes, the dominant land uses are fat lamb raising and mixed cropping, with stud sheep and cattle breeding as an important specialised industry.<sup>71</sup>

Taking a historical view back to the mid-late nineteenth century, flooding is a likely event once every four years within the Ruamahanga catchment.<sup>72</sup> Often it was a great deal more frequent. Erosion and flooding were problems for the earliest settlers in the Wairarapa valley and this only increased with the removal of forest cover and closer settlement with more densely located small farming units in the twentieth century.

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Pihautea Station 1906 to 1979’ (BA(Hons) project in Geography, Victoria University of Wellington, 1979), 7.

<sup>69</sup> W.E. Bidwill and A.E. Woodhouse, *Bidwill of Pihautea* (Christchurch: Coulls Somerville Wilkie, 1927), 2, 8. Quoted in Scadden, ‘Pihautea’, 9. C.R. Bidwill set up what became his Pihautea Station along the ridge across the Ruamahanga River from Weld at Wharekaka.

<sup>70</sup> Hill, ‘Land and Squatter’, 9-10.

<sup>71</sup> Moira A. Black, ‘The Wairarapa—A Regional Economic Study’ (BA(Hons) dissertation in Geography, Victoria University of Wellington, 1964), 5.

<sup>72</sup> Scadden, ‘Pihautea’, 48.

Climate is important also. The inquiry district has a distinct climatic profile of its own:

Wairarapa (south of Norsewood and Porangahau). Apart from the northern Wairarapa Plains area which is relatively sheltered, this zone experiences more wind than Southern Hawke's Bay. Wind is an agriculturally significant element of the Wairarapa climate. Rainfall is variable, with summer drought periods and winter flooding occurring. Colder winter temperatures, higher wind velocities, and a shorter growing season for some crops ... suggest that this zone is less versatile for cropping than the northern zone [i.e. southern Hawke's Bay]. The lower Wairarapa Valley is very exposed to cold winds from the south, making shelter necessary for horticulture.... It is presumed that the lower levels of stock carrying capacity and forestry site index are related to the frequency of strong winds which appear to be more prevalent in the Wairarapa zone.<sup>73</sup>

So from the bare survey of the physical features of the Wairarapa ki Tararua inquiry district it can be readily seen that there are regions which are more desirable economically than others, that are more agriculturally productive than others, and from which it is easier to make a living or even do very well financially than others. This was even more so in the mid-nineteenth century. Land that is now productive, even if only in certain carefully developed ways, was then under enormous forests or undrained swamps. The areas from which a living could be made were more circumscribed again, with almost the only options being large-scale pastoral farming or much more closely settled dairy farming. Areas along the coast were nearly all unusable for cropping apart from a few small sites. The eastern hills, then and now, were often steep and broken especially along the coast, windswept, dry in summer, and with poor soil, making pastoralism, requiring large holdings of land, the only viable land use. The western ranges, apart from the foothills, were forest covered, steep and largely impenetrable. The central river valley of the Ruamahanga and the downs northward towards the Manawatu Gorge were the only land that could be classed as fertile, but their usefulness depended on how swampy and floodprone they were. Beyond them, lay the Forty-Mile and Seventy-Mile forests that would take thousands of settlers and much axe-work and fire-setting to clear. Apart from some birding and use for the gathering of remedies and the like by Maori, and later some

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<sup>73</sup> K.E. Noble, *Land Use Capability Classification of the Southern Hawke's Bay-Wairarapa Region* Water & Soil Miscellaneous Publication No 74 (Wellington: National Water and Soil Conservation Authority, 1985), 16.

hunting of wild pigs, until that clearing took place they could not be used for agriculture.

A survey from three decades ago provides a useful summary of what can be done with the different areas, at least in the present day using modern farming methods:

The higher slopes of the western ranges, once extensively farmed, erode easily and are generally reverting to gorse and scrub. Despite heavy rainfall that washes away nutrients, the lower foothills have adapted to store sheep running and cattle breeding. With a continuing topdressing programme, this area has a production potential of four ewe equivalents to the acre.

Although flooding is sometimes a problem [this was after over a century of flood protection schemes], the rich alluvial flats in the river valleys around Masterton, Carterton, Greytown and Martinborough are highly productive dairying and market gardening areas.

The western portion of the valley concentrates on dairying and some fat lamb raising. To the east, soil and climate favour maize, wheat, barley and oat cropping....

On the better eastern hill country land, lambs and cattle are fattened. Most of the rest that is farmed—and this includes the coastal region particularly—carries store sheep and beef cattle.<sup>74</sup>

Although it is never quite spelled out, this survey seems to cover the Wairarapa Catchment Board area, so reaching up through the Forty-Mile Bush area, but certainly not into Tamaki-nui-a-Rua north of Woodville. It also says it covers the region, but in fact says little about non-hill areas.<sup>75</sup> It is difficult to translate the survey into information to usefully inform this present report, however some comments on soil type are applicable.

Soils derived from siltstone and mudstone are higher fertility hill soils. They include:

- **Akitio** silt loam comprises mudstone and argillite. Located in a limited area of moderately steep coastal hills, it is of medium fertility, presently providing a mix of good pasture and rough grazing. It is, though, prone to severe erosion and its potential is only for store stock and largely protective forestry.

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<sup>74</sup> Wairarapa Regional Development Council, *Wairarapa: Resources of a Region* (Wairarapa Regional Development Council: np, 1978), 1-2.

<sup>75</sup> Wairarapa Regional Development Council, *Wairarapa*, Natural Resources Appendix.

- **Owahanga** steepland is also a composite of mudstone and argillite and in a limited area of steep coastal hills. It is of high to medium fertility and is presently used for rough to improved pasture. Similarly prone to both slip and slump erosion, its potential is only for store stock and protection forestry.

Soils derived from poorer siltstone, limestone and loess are of medium fertility.

Examples include:

- **Mauriceville** steepland, a mixture of sandstone, limestone and siltstone on steep to very steep slopes is of medium fertility and is used for rough and improved pasture. It has a marked summer dry period and is prone to slip erosion, with the potential for use for store stock.
- **Tora** steepland is a mixture of limestone, sandstone, flint and greensand on steep to very steep hills subject to severe erosion. Used for rough grazing it is suitable for store stock and protection forestry.
- **Pirinoa** silt loam is loess over sandstone or siltstone on rolling to moderately steep slopes. Of medium fertility it forms improved pasture with nutrient limitations, and can be developed for fattening stock.
- **Konini** silt loam is shallow loess over sandstone and gravel in free-draining rolling to moderately steep hills. It supports a mixture of rough and improved pasture as well as scrub and fern invasion. It has nutrient limitation for pasture and potential for forestry and store stock.

Soils from sandstone, greywacke and conglomerate are of medium to low fertility. Examples include:

- **Whangaehu** has moderately consolidated silty sandstone on steep to very steep slopes that are prone to shallow slips and are slow to heal. The soil is shallow with nutrient limitations. It is presently in rough pasture and scrub and suitable for forestry, protection forestry and store stock.
- **Ponatahi** steepland is greywacke with a thin cover of loess, with steep slopes in a lower rainfall area such as Ponatahi. Presently in rough pasture, it is prone to gorse invasion and slip erosion. Its potential is for store stock.

- **Putangirua** steep land is formed from conglomerate, on steep slopes with excessive drainage causing severe slip erosion and gullying. It is suitable for protection forestry, limited commercial forestry and store stock.

Soils from poor greywacke and argillite are of low fertility. Examples include:

- **Tinui** silt loam is from argillite. Moderately steep slopes and thin pastures lead to sheet, wind and rain erosion. Stony droughty soil and scrub invasion needs heavy topdressing to maintain pasture. Suitable for forestry and store stock.
- **Mataikona** steep land is from argillite on steep and very steep slopes prone to sheet, slip, wind and gully erosion. Presently in rough pasture and scrub, it has a lack of nutrients and poor soil structure leading to a scrub invasion and a suitability for forestry.
- **Tuhitarata** silt loam is shallow loess over greywacke. Stony, dry, infertile soil it is prone to erosion and scrub invasion and is suitable only for forestry and protection forest.

For some reason, the survey does not describe the alluvial central valley, instead concentrating on topography of rolling hills, or even steeper terrain. What is readily apparent from the descriptions, though, is the seasonal dryness, proneness to erosion, and medium to poor quality of all these hill areas. Many have additional problems even in the modern era with reversion, and very few are suitable for fattening stock, being suitable only for store stock and forestry, even only protection forestry. Overall, the survey comments: ‘On very few [hill soil] properties are there any significant areas of flat croppable land....’<sup>76</sup>

A government survey produced ten years previously also drew the boundary for the Wairarapa across the northern boundaries of the Pahiatua and Akitio counties, but noted that it is by no means a region in other than a physical sense. It drew an east-west line near Eketahuna to produce two areas:

Northern Wairarapa (which should properly extend beyond ... [the Pahiatua-Akitio boundary] and into southern Hawkes Bay) drawn economically, socially and culturally to Palmerston North and Manawatu, and with firm links developing also with Hawkes Bay; and southern Wairarapa, orientated similarly towards the Wellington area.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Wairarapa Regional Development Council, *Wairarapa*, Natural Resources section 1.

### 2.1.3: Conclusion

The changing relationship between land use and forest and other vegetation cover can be seen from several of the maps in Appendix Four. The map from Hill's thesis at Figure 1 shows the original pre-European forest cover. The shrinking forest is shown dramatically in Figure 6, which also correlates that with the location of Maori land remaining at various times. The work of the Scandinavians especially in the northern part of the inquiry district can be clearly seen in the change between 1880 and 1910, but most of the rest of the inquiry district was also cleared by the end of the nineteenth century. The story of the changes taking place in that period of the late nineteenth century has been told in Rollo Arnold's book *New Zealand's Burning*. Then, too, the current state of vegetation cover, also correlated with current Maori land, is shown in Figure 7. This reveals not only the relatively small amount of native forest remaining, but the extent of the scrub areas still in existence, or that have come into existence following reversion. It can be seen immediately that several of the most significant Maori land blocks in terms of size are greatly affected by the scrub problem. This is shown in detail in Figure 8b. Figure 7 also reveals to some extent where the good quality land is located—the clearer the land is of scrub or exotic forest, the better quality it is and therefore worth keeping clear and used for various forms of agriculture. Again it can be seen that the remaining Maori land of any size is nearly all in the more marginal areas.

The foregoing description and discussion makes it clear that all land within the Wairarapa ki Tararua inquiry district is not equal. Where one's land is located is of considerable significance to what can be done with it and what its economic value is. Some of the central Wairarapa is of better quality soil, but flood-prone. Some, especially but not entirely on the eastern and western margins, is land that is too steep to do much with apart from leave under protective forest. Areas down the central strip of the district can support good quality grass and are readily accessible by road and rail, and can therefore be used for dairy farming. In terms of area, most of the inquiry district, especially the eastern hills running from Cape Palliser north up the eastern coast, is suitable only for running dry stock of various sorts. The land will not support

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<sup>77</sup> Department of Industries and Commerce, *Economic Survey of Wairarapa* (Wellington: Department of Industries and Commerce, 1968), 10.

good quality grass, the climate is too prone to drought, and the hilly nature of the terrain does not permit closer farming or cropping. The coastal area itself is generally rocky, exposed to the wind, and with extensive cliffs. The exceptions are relatively small areas where rivers have cut valleys down to the sea—often where Maori had settlements in pre-European times.

In the central valley area, small farms can be economically viable, however the further one gets away from there, the larger is the area of land that is necessary to make a farm viable. Dairy farms require scores and hundreds of acres; sheep stations require thousands. As is shown during the discussion below, the central question of the ‘sufficiency’ of land remaining in Maori hands is bound up with subsidiary questions of both the quantity and quality of land.

## 2.2. Economic Issues

### 2.2.1. The Situation of Maori in the 1840s: the Traditional Economy

What were the situation and activities of Maori prior to the intervention first of European settlers, then of the Crown?

Professor Foss Leach makes the general point that ‘to enjoy customary rights, guaranteed by the Treaty of Waitangi, there must be a resource to enjoy’.<sup>78</sup> His report deals specifically with Ngati Hinewaka in the south of the inquiry district. How representative this is of other groups within the district will depend on their access to similar resources.

Leach states that at the time of first European contact, in the late eighteenth century, Ngati Hinewaka’s settlement pattern was entirely coastal, beside their main source of food, the sea. Kumara were grown on the coastal flats of Palliser Bay and other suitable sites along the coast, while expeditions only went inland to exploit the forest resources. For such a lifestyle, he says, ‘long-term occupation of [the interior] would have been impossible’ as it would have been in the interior Marlborough Sounds, for example.<sup>79</sup> However, the arrival of Captain Cook and other Europeans, introducing potatoes and pigs, resulted in an enormous change which ‘it is impossible to over-emphasise’. In the Wairarapa, cropping potatoes allowed Maori to sustain themselves in settlements up the Wairarapa Valley and its subsidiary river valleys. Leach also quotes James Belich’s observations that the potato allowed cropping that was so much more reliable and productive that the wars of the early nineteenth century might be better called the ‘Potato Wars’ than the ‘Musket Wars’. This increased military capability of course was largely to the disadvantage of Ngati Kahungunu, Rangitane and other tangata whenua of the southern North Island. Given the planting of potato and vegetable gardens by Cook in Queen Charlotte Sound in 1773 to 1774, and the observation of Bellinghausen of ongoing potato production there in 1820, Leach concludes that it is quite probable that the new crop had reached Wairarapa a long time prior to 1820. He cites evidence that the cropping rate could

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<sup>78</sup> Foss Leach, ‘Depletion and Loss of the Customary Fishery of Ngati Hinewaka’ (2003), 3.

well have been as high as 30 tonnes per hectare.<sup>80</sup> The spread of pigs was negligible until the 1820s, but probable that they had reached Wairarapa by 1826, such that they were reported to have been 'extremely plentiful' by 1842.

Leach also reports calculations that the pre-European Maori population of Palliser Bay was between 210 and 319 people, although not all would usually be present at any given time. From Cape Palliser to Flat Point there 'could easily have been ten similar communities' totalling a further 3-400 people, giving a 'climax coastal population' of Ngati Hinewaka of between 510 and 680 people at European contact. He comments that although little enough is known about Hinewaka, 'even less' is known about the various groups located north of Flat Point at that time.<sup>81</sup>

Anne Aburn summarises the archaeological research of the Leaches and others in the Palliser Bay to Cape Palliser district and comments:

These early people practised a subsistence economy and there were five areas from which they obtained their food:

Offshore—this provided food in calm weather only. Canoes and trolling lines were used to catch cod and groper.

Inter-tidal platforms—here shellfish, crayfish, paua and spotted parrotfish were collected.

Land between the sea and foothills—this was used for gardening. By 1400 there were signs of a decline in gardening, probably as a result of soil exhaustion.

Forest-zone—here birds such as the tui and parakeet were snared and berries were collected.

Rivers and streams—eels and ducks were trapped here.

The coast strip was the most important area in the provision of food.<sup>82</sup>

Climatic and other changes such as the depletion of food resources and erosion in the river valleys, Aburn says, resulted in a decline in the Maori population of the southern Wairarapa district from about 1600. From about 1600 for 150 years eastern Palliser Bay was deserted. However the arrival of other groups led to the settling of the area around Lake Onoke and up the Wairarapa valley on the flat land adjoining both lakes.<sup>83</sup>

The situation in the southern Wairarapa in 1840 was barely stabilised from the traumatic arrival of the Ngati Toa-led coalition in the early to mid 1830s. Of the

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<sup>79</sup> Leach, 'Hinewaka', 6.

<sup>80</sup> Leach, 'Hinewaka', 9-10.

<sup>81</sup> Leach, 'Hinewaka', 11.

<sup>82</sup> Anne Aburn, *Pirinoa: People and Pasture* (Carterton: Pirinoa School & District Centenary Committee, 1987), 11-12.

<sup>83</sup> Aburn, *Pirinoa*, 13-15.

invaders, none came to settle in the region, but they sent frequent raids into Wairarapa, driving out most of the Ngati Kahungunu inhabitants. Counter-raids by Kahungunu came southwards, preventing the northerners' spread any further up the eastern coast. Rangitane had returned to the upper Wairarapa valley after a brief absence, but retreated into the mountains and forests whenever an enemy raiding party appeared. Although the region had fish, forests and birds, it was essentially unoccupied just at that point. Roberta McIntyre comments: 'Thus, when the New Zealand Company vessel *Tory* sailed into Te Whanganui-a-Tara in September 1839, Wairarapa gave every appearance of a ripe plum waiting to be consumed by Pakeha.'<sup>84</sup>

The Maori population of the Wairarapa valley in 1840 reflected the slow return from the north, especially Mahia, where most had gone during the Musket Wars. Old villages were re-inhabited and pa rebuilt. Initially, the main southern settlement was at Te Kopi, with others at Omoikau and Whakatomotomo.<sup>85</sup> When the CMS missionary, the Rev. Octavius Hadfield, toured the district in 1842, he reported that Maori were gathering food, gardens not having yet been planted.<sup>86</sup> Colenso on his travels from the mid-1840s found settlements at Akitio, Mataikona, Rangihakaoma, Waipupu, Wharaurangi, Pahaoa, Oroi, Te Kopi and Upokirikiri on the coast. Inland, Rangitane, who had not withdrawn entirely but remained out of harm's way in the bush villages of Ihuraua and the upper Tauweru, moved out to occupy the clearings of Te Hawera and Tutaekara. Kaikokirikiri, near today's Masterton, was at the centre of a network of paths east to the coast, south to Hurunuiorangi, Huangarua, Tauanui, Otarua and Kapekahinga, while 'the Ruamahanga provided a highway to favoured bird snaring areas and cultivations'.<sup>87</sup> Bagnall continues:

Most of those later identified with Papawai settled in 1845 at Otarua under Ngatuere, Manihera Rangitakaiwaho and Wi Kingi. The much respected chief Pirika Po who died in 1875 and Te Warahi would appear to have had the greatest interest in the Papawai Block. The decisions to make a college reserve at Papawai and to erect a flour mill there were made at the time of the general purchase of 1853, because of the presumed central position of the clearing and its anticipated proximity to the small

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<sup>84</sup> Roberta McIntyre, *The Canoes of Kupe: A History of Martinborough District* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2002), 27.

<sup>85</sup> Aburn, *Pirinoa*, 15.

<sup>86</sup> A.G. Bagnall, *Masterton's First Hundred Years* (Masterton: Masterton Centennial Committee, 1954), 2.

<sup>87</sup> A.G. Bagnall, *Wairarapa: An Historical Excursion* (Masterton: Hedley's Bookshop/Masterton Trust Lands Trust, 1976), 191.

farm settlements. The fact that a number of hapus for these reasons afterwards settled on the land was later to be a minor source of disagreement among those interested. The Otaraia chiefs above mentioned were still living in the southern village at the end of 1850 and appear to have moved to Papawai at different times between 1853 and 1856, all being in occupation by the time Rev. Ronaldson was appointed in the latter year.<sup>88</sup>

By 1847, though, the lower valley was fairly closely settled by Maori groups, with now a smattering of Pakeha squatters amongst them. Another settlement was at Upokirikiri (Lake Ferry) which was originally a seasonal fishing village but became increasingly important as the trade and traffic with Port Nicholson picked up. Aburn describes the Maori use of local resources:

At this time most of the Maori activities were at subsistence level, with the lakes providing eels and freshwater fish. There are some references to fishing parties visiting Pararaki [along the coast towards Cape Palliser] and Te Kopi, but there is no record of the species caught, although paua and crayfish are mentioned. Karaka berries and fern roots were collected and there was probably some kumara cultivation. One European received a gift of freshly prepared rats! The main article of trade with the Europeans in the beginning was crayfish.<sup>89</sup>

She also notes the plentiful supply of regularly hunted pigs by 1842 and the change to European meats and foods as they became available, as well as to European crops such as cabbages, turnips, pumpkins, corn and wheat.

Ronald Hill provides a concise summary, based on several official reports, of Maori settlement and economic activity in southern Wairarapa at the time of European arrival in the 1840s:

In 1849, there were about 780 natives in the area, of whom nearly half lived in a concentration of villages in the southern portion of the Valley, east of the Lake. The largest settlement was in the upper Valley at Kaikokirikiri (196 inhabitants). Other villages were located at valley mouths along the east coast, but a number of these, like some of those within the Valley, were not permanently inhabited. The Maori had undoubtedly had some pre-squatter contacts with Europeans, if only at the Te Kopi whaling station set up in 1843 or with traders set up along the east coast in 1840....

The Maori economy was based largely on subsistence crops such as Kumara ... and the semi-cultivated fern root supplemented by hunting and collecting. Karaka, tawa, tutu, pura-pura, matohi, titoki and fuchsia trees all bore edible berries that were highly prized. Ducks in the Lake, birds in

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<sup>88</sup> Bagnall, *Greytown*, 3.

<sup>89</sup> Aburn, *Pirinoa*, 16.

the forest and pigs in the scrub provided abundant quarry for the hunter. Eels in the lake and swamp and fish in lake and sea were very important items of native diet. Clothing was still largely traditional ... but it is not clear to what extent European clothing or tools had been adopted before the arrival of the squatters.<sup>90</sup>

The Kaikokirikiri settlement, rebuilt about 1842, was the closest to present Masterton, being located on the terrace beyond the Mahunga golf links on the north bank of the Waiapoua. A second group of Pakeha, led by James Grindell, came exploring up the valley for farm sites in 1844. They reached Kaikokirikiri exhausted and without supplies, but with a little money of which they were quickly relieved. Grindell reported that the pa's inhabitants were 'less hospitable and generally more mercenary and covetous' than were those elsewhere.<sup>91</sup> All of which suggests that at the commencement of substantive Pakeha contact with Maori these ones at least had an understanding of money.

Maori settlement became dispersed through the two decades after 1840. Since the country now enjoyed the Pax Britannica there was no longer any requirement for people to live in large groups in fortified pa for protection; they were free to move where they would. Also, as they came to allow Pakeha pastoralists in and to alienate land, this disrupted the traditional links with sites and dispersed the people even more. In 1858, CMS missionary William Ronaldson, complaining about the difficulty of getting a substantial group of Maori together reported:

A Native Chief at a Meeting of their own referring to their Pa's in olden times, said, our Pa's now consist of a man and his sick wife, Christ is our only Pa now, we are scattered abroad. This is quite true in this District.<sup>92</sup>

This discussion has largely been of Wairarapa, and central and southern Wairarapa at that, because that is where most sources focus. The Tararua district to the north was dominated by Seventy-Mile Bush and Pakeha penetration there was minimal until the 1850s and 1860s. Their involvement with Maori in the northern area was limited to the few settlers on coastal blocks such as Tautane, or to Colenso the missionary passing through occasionally from the mid-1840s.

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<sup>90</sup> Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 14-15. He relied on reports such as Kemp's in the *New Zealand Journal*, 1851.

<sup>91</sup> Bagnall, *Masterton*, 3.

<sup>92</sup> Ronaldson to CMS, 6 July 1858. qMS 1720, ATL.

### 2.2.2. Initial Contact: Maori and the Squatter Economy 1843-1853

Hill notes the aspects of Wairarapa's geography that made the region appealing to European pastoralists—as opposed to the heavily forested Tamaki district:

To the ploughman soils are crucial, but to the stockman it mattered little whether 'the depth of soil by the side of the Turanganui [is] above six feet,' or the soil 'consists of a slight hazel loam, in some parts mixed with gravel.' More important to him are the answers to the diverse questions about feed for stock, rainfall to maintain its growth, streams to supply domestic water, to wash fleece or to provide transport by boat, or the questions of game to add variety to a monotonous diet, distance from markets and the attitudes of indigenous people. In the Wairarapa, answers satisfactory to the squatters' questions could be given....<sup>93</sup>

Pastoralism appealed to Europeans as capital was tied up in stock only. Grass and scrub land leased from Maori could mostly be grazed immediately and the heavily forested areas were ignored.

When the first pastoralists explored up the Wairarapa valley in July 1843, they found a large area of open grass land suitable for their flocks. They reported dealing with Maori who were eager for them to come. Frederick Tiffen wrote:

The native chiefs Te Raro, Te Teira, E. Hiko [Te Hiko Piata Tama-ai-hikoia], and Maniera [Te Manihera Te Rangi-taka-i-waho], are very anxious to have white people among them, that they and their people may obtain such comforts and luxuries as they see the Ngatiawas possessed of. From them I learn that the River Ruamahanga is navigable for 20 miles above the part I have examined.<sup>94</sup>

Apart from the matter of the economic usefulness of a river that was navigable, this report presented the primary Maori interest in Pakeha as being materialistic and economic. Here, the reason why Pakeha were desirable was not for their ability to 'civilise', but principally for their ability to provide comforts and luxuries, tangible things that would come through trade and industry. As Stirling points out, already by this time 'Wairarapa Maori were becoming aware of the value to them of the increasing number of Pakeha visitors. They still fed and sheltered them ... but they

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<sup>93</sup> Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 1. He did also note that although there was this considerable satisfaction, there were some aspects of the habitat that did need to be modified considerably.

<sup>94</sup> *NZ Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 24 January 1844, 3. Quoted in McIntyre, *Canoes*, 37. This report was interpreted by the newspaper editor as meaning that Wairarapa 'may be had at present for a moderate amount, as the natives there are so convinced of the advantage of having immigrants settled in their neighbourhood, that they will agree to almost any terms to secure their presence'.

also began charging for assistance at river crossings and established ferries at rivers such as the Whareama'.<sup>95</sup>

Whalers were already in Palliser Bay, John Wade having an enterprise based there, although the first actual reference to him comes from mid-1843.<sup>96</sup> By October 1843, it had already been judged that the whaling venture was not a long-term prospect, implying that it had been tried for more than just a few months. Based at Te Kopi, Wade's station of 35 men, with four boats, had produced just 23 tons of whale oil (from a national total of 1265 tons obtained by 734 men). Instead, Wade proposed to set up a flax trading depot. This, though, struck disaster almost immediately with the death by drowning of all but one of his team of seven Pakeha and two Maori as they moved up the 'Wyderop' River to establish the depot. The whaling station kept going at reduced strength in 1844, but there is no information about whether any Maori were employed there as they were in considerable numbers in the Marlborough Sounds stations.

In early 1844, Te Manihera coaxed a group of pastoralists up the Ruamahanga, thus demonstrating a major usable mode of transport, canoes on the river. When they reached Wharekaka (near today's Martinborough), they agreed on a site for two runs there, the second being Kopungarara. A sum of £12 per annum was settled on as the rent for each run. Hill comments that Maori welcomed these first squatters not only for the rent, but also 'to buy their pigs and potatoes and supply them with tobacco in return for work'.<sup>97</sup>

The commercial instincts of Maori were further promptly demonstrated, as these pastoralists required assistance. They immediately negotiated to provide a ferry service across the outlet of Lake Wairarapa, a difficult first negotiation as the settlers did not want to set a crippling precedent by paying too much on the first commercial contact and thus setting Maori expectations too high. One of the settlers, future Premier Frederick Weld, thought these Maori 'the keenest hands in the world at a bargain [especially] when they knew we were entirely dependent on their services'. Weld's opinion was that the fee they had to settle on was double what they would have had to pay any English ferryman.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Bruce Stirling, 'Karanga: The Promise', 30.

<sup>96</sup> Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, 47.

<sup>97</sup> Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 17.

<sup>98</sup> Cited in McIntyre, *Canoes*, 41.

It was in the Maori interest to develop and maintain a close association with the settlers; as soon as Weld and Bidwill set up the pioneering Wharekaka Station, shortly followed by the neighbouring Pihautea, Te Manihera and his people moved to a pa about a mile away and planted potatoes, which were already a staple crop for them by this time.<sup>99</sup> Further south, Te Hiko Piata Tama-i-hikoia and his people built a pa at Te Waipatu to be near ‘Hiko’s Pakeha’, Angus McMaster at Tuhitarata in the lower valley near Pirinoa.<sup>100</sup>

Te Manihera Te Rangi-taka-i-waho was a prime mover in the welcoming of Pakeha by Maori to the southern Wairarapa.<sup>101</sup> This was sometimes in the face of opposition from others and was certainly part of what seems to have been a challenge by the younger aspiring leaders of the older existing leadership—in Te Manihera’s case with regard to Ngatuere Tawhao especially—and to appear the equal of the Pakeha gentleman settlers. By 1853, he had built a large European-style house, ran his estates as an individual proprietor, ‘and was noted for his elegant European clothes’. Yet he was soon in debt, just as were those Maori who did not do so well out of either the renting or, later, the sale proceeds. His biographers state that part of his apparent enthusiasm for land selling was driven purely by the need ‘to keep afloat’. If this were the case for such a prominent seller of land and cultivator of connections with Pakeha, one wonders what hope there would be for the ‘ordinary’ Maori who lacked his advantages and access to the proceeds of these transactions.

The Barton incident in 1845, when Forsaith took Ngati Hinewaka east coast land after assaults and muru, indicates that at this time the Maori groups concerned had a quantity, perhaps a surplus, of pigs and potatoes, as they offered some as a payment for the harm they were supposed to have done, and indeed apparently handed over 40 pigs even after the ‘confiscation’ of their land.<sup>102</sup>

McIntyre stresses the reciprocity and mutual benefits in the Maori relationship with the early settlers. She comments that the settlers relied on Maori for food, labour, shelter and transport, while the Maori gained protection from their enemies to the west and access to European knowledge, technology, goods and money.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> McIntyre, *Canoes*, 43.

<sup>100</sup> McIntyre, *Canoes*, 51.

<sup>101</sup> Mita Carter and Angela Ballara, ‘Te Manihera Te Rangi-taka-i-waho’, in W.H. Oliver (ed), *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1990), vol 1, 498-99.

<sup>102</sup> Bruce Stirling, ‘Ngati Hinewaka Lands: 1840-2000’ (2003) Wai 863 #A59, 22, 26, 52.

<sup>103</sup> McIntyre, *Canoes*, 47.

The deal making continued. Another example of Maori being prepared to take a realistic and pragmatic approach to retaining 'their' Pakeha and improving relations was 'E Meri's' negotiation of a compromise when those from Otarua were in dispute with the settlers at Wharekaka. For an additional payment, her people would forego a disputed paddock, the land between the settlers' two runs, plus some bush land and a house. The rent had risen to a 'not inconsiderable' £36.<sup>104</sup>

The directly commercial relationship between Maori and squatters extended beyond that of landlord and leaseholder, nor did it consist solely of the payment of rents to both employment and trading. Maori undertook some work on the squatters' runs from earliest days. This was not as extensive as might have been expected as the squatters used primarily family members and a small number of other Europeans. Also, the work required around the early stations was not all that extensive while flocks were relatively small, building was restricted to house and woolshed and fences were seldom used. When Maori were employed—'a willing if somewhat unreliable source of labour'—they were apparently paid about one-third of the average wage of £35-50 per year paid to Europeans, i.e. £15-25 per year or a pro rata portion thereof.<sup>105</sup>

Some of the rent and wages came promptly back to the squatters to purchase trade goods such as European food and clothing, a taste for both of which was developing amongst Maori in preference to the traditional versions. Many of the stations, such as Pharazyn's, maintained an extensive stock of commodities for trade, such as foodstuffs, tobacco, cloth, blankets and clothing. Maori gave in return their labour, cash or pigs which were salted down and transported to Wellington for sale. Pharazyn recorded one such transaction in which five pigs and ten shillings in cash were paid for blankets, trousers, two shirts, 100 'fingers' of tobacco, a red worsted shirt and a rabbit-skin hat.<sup>106</sup>

The pigs went with sheep and cattle on a small fleet of tiny schooners out of Te Kōpi, providing most of Wellington's butchers with their stock. Wellington merchants then provided the goods for maintaining the trade with Maori. Hill comments that the demand for manufactured goods was sufficient to make it worth the merchants' while

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<sup>104</sup> McIntyre, *Canoes*, 49.

<sup>105</sup> Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 73.

<sup>106</sup> Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 70.

specifically to seek Wairarapa custom.<sup>107</sup> However, it does appear to have been at second hand as far as Maori were concerned, they trading with the squatters, who then passed on the pigs and any other goods to Wellington.

The shipping was restricted and hazardous. Not only were the ships entering Te Kopi no bigger than eight to ten tons, but the lake bar and coastline were exposed and dangerous. Already in 1850, McLean reported that ten vessels had been wrecked at Wairarapa alone. Then goods had to be transported through or over the lake bar, between the lake and the Ruamahanga, and then between the river and the run, or in reverse for exports. The Ruamahanga itself remained navigable for up to 20 miles, depending on the river's flow and the size of the canoe or whaleboat used.<sup>108</sup>

The installation of roads made transport a little easier. Up-valley by 1850 a road had been cut through the Kaitara forest, which then became known as Morrison's Bush after the road maker. The road over the Rimutakas from the Hutt Valley was completed as a bridle track in 1848 but took a long time to become a commercial success as it remained an arduous and expensive trip. Jerningham Wakefield complained in 1856 that:

It takes two horses two days at least to perform the distance [from Wellington to Burling's near present-day Featherston].... Not more than 12 cwt can be carried.... The net cost can hardly be estimated at less than £5 10s a ton.<sup>109</sup>

The Reverend Ronaldson was little happier with the road in April of the same year as he shifted his wife and little household over to Papawai. The roughness of the hill road smashed most of the windowpanes for his new house being carried in the cart. Even by that time, the last two miles to Burling's required goods to be re-packed onto bullocks, and then packed a third time for drays that carried them on to Greytown. The road from Burling's to the Tauherenikau was across a stony plain, the stones impeding progress by shifting underfoot. From that river to Greytown, the 'road' was a track discernible only by the surveyor's poles, which were rapidly disappearing. The road from Greytown to Papawai through the bush was 'a perfect bog', but the Papawai Maori were promising to themselves put in a new road and church. Presently, the two miles from Greytown took over an hour to walk, it taking

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<sup>107</sup> Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 23.

<sup>108</sup> Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 55.

<sup>109</sup> NZG, 3 November 1856. Quoted in Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 23, n 35. Cwt is the abbreviation for a hundredweight, i.e. 112 lb = 50.8 kg, a standard weight for a filled large sack.

Ronaldson forty minutes to cover a mile on foot. When the Papawai house was being built, the bullock dray could make only one trip per day over the road. The cost the Ronaldsons had to pay for cartage was £1 per 100 lb, but this was reduced by one-third to 12 shillings per 100 lb; their shifting to Greytown costing £60 in total.<sup>110</sup> The Ronaldson saga thus illustrates not only the state of roading and thus communications over the Rimutakas and between settlements, but the cost of such transport, which was not to be taken lightly.

The rapidity with which Pakeha squatters were able to turn a profit from the Wairarapa lands they leased from Maori has long been recognised. There was a boom for sheep farming, fuelled by the relative prosperity and rapid growth of the Port Nicholson settlement. By 1850, Weld's personal net profit was £4000 from a gross £6000 profit made by his station. Hill observes:

Virtually all the squatters had to do was to turn their stock loose, keep a watch over them, treat them for disease, shear the sheep, sell the cattle and wait for the profits to mount up.<sup>111</sup>

The profit making was so rapid, a modicum of care and luck were just about all that was needed to expand modest beginnings into commercially substantial enterprises, particularly compared with 'Home' from which most colonists had just come more or less directly. As the *Wellington Independent* trumpeted:

With £1000 for a tenant to enter upon a small farm of 120 acres in England ... he deems himself well off if he realises £100 per annum as a return for his capital and labour. Now £1000 judiciously laid out in sheep farming in this colony will, under proper management, after the first year, produce at least £500 annually clear of all expenses.<sup>112</sup>

Hill calculated the profitability of the station running 500 ewes in 1850 which in its first year would have a gross income of £163, yielding a net profit of £46, some 28% on turnover and 8% on capital. By the fifth year, it would have made a net profit of £458, being a net profit of 72% on turnover and 85% on capital. These figures correspond reasonably closely with the actual profits made by Weld or William Mein Smith and Samuel Revans. However, they are only inclusive of sheep-related income

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<sup>110</sup> MS 1829; qMS 1720.

<sup>111</sup> Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 23-24.

and did not include, for example, income from sale of beef and surplus milk from cattle, or profits made on trade with Maori.<sup>113</sup>

Partly, the profit was rapid because a smaller flock could yield higher returns. Weld recorded that a well-bred Merino flock on a good run in New Zealand, such as those in the Wairarapa, could earn £4 per fleece, compared with only £2 10s for the average New South Wales flock, the New Zealand wool being of a higher quality, largely because of more abundant food, and of heavier weight (some 4lb instead of 2½lb).<sup>114</sup> The pasture was ready to hand and available all year round, unlike Britain where stock had to be housed and fed from fodder crops during winter. The pastoralists themselves could largely live off the land at little expense, buying from or bartering with Maori for pigs, kumara and potatoes to supplement what they hunted or grew themselves in the cottage gardens they established.

The profit was sufficiently great to make Wairarapa wool economically competitive from the pastoral industry's inception. By the end of 1846, wool was selling for 11¼d per pound and by 1850 up to between 15¾d and 18¾d. From the gross income earned from the wool, freight to the mills in the Midlands had to be deducted, and the rate from Wharekaka to Wellington in 1848 was the same as that from Wellington to London, one penny per pound weight. At the same time, prices on the Wellington market for other produce were remunerative: beef some 6d per pound and butter about 1s 9d per pound.<sup>115</sup>

An additional boost given to the fledgling Wairarapa pastoral economy in the 1840s was the need to supply the imperial troops stationed in Wellington, and especially during the several years of warfare in the Hutt Valley and towards the Kapiti Coast. The pastoralists may have done this directly as key providers, but of course they required sources for the pigs and potatoes and such, and so would have been able to purchase larger quantities from Maori suppliers. This need helps explain the government's tardiness in enforcing the ban on squatting and land dealings with Maori. As Bell commented later, 'it was unfair to take advantage of that Stock for the Commissariat, and then to prosecute the parties who supplied it'.<sup>116</sup> The

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<sup>112</sup> *Wellington Independent*, 5 April 1845. Quoted in Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 39. One caveat is that newspapers such as this in the 1840s were politically owned and operated and their editors had vested financial interests in 'puffing' the colony to encourage a steady supply of new colonists.

<sup>113</sup> Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 69-70.

<sup>114</sup> Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 49.

<sup>115</sup> Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 61.

<sup>116</sup> Quoted in Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 59.

Commissariat's purchases helped to maintain prices paid for produce during the Wairarapa pastoral industry's crucial early years.

Trade in various commodities went on between settlers and Maori. For example, in 1852, a schooner from Wairarapa reached Wellington carrying, in addition to some passengers: '41 bales and 3 bags of wool, 6 kits of onions, 10 kegs of butter, 4 kits of whalebone, 8 hams, 1 bundle of bacon, 5 live pigs'.<sup>117</sup> For the return journey, Wellington merchants provided various manufactured goods, and cheap clothing for bartering with Maori. Unlike some regions further north, such as in the Bay of Plenty and Hauraki/Coromandel areas, the vessels do not seem to have been owned by the Maori; perhaps some Maori got work as crew members aboard.

Maori comprised a 'significant proportion' of the labour force for the early squatters, although the pastoralists also recruited (and seemingly preferred for long-term employment) other Pakeha settlers, such as the many Scots who had a pastoral background, and even some 'drifters' and 'ne'er-do-wells' 'for whom the area was conveniently beyond the direct jurisdiction of the government'. The labour force on the runs was profitably minimal. Even the employment of Pakeha shepherds was necessary only if the runholder(s) had insufficient or insufficiently skilled labour within his own family or partnership.<sup>118</sup>

The squatters and their pastoral farming agenda had a substantial impact on the physical environment of Wairarapa ki Tararua, which must have in turn significantly affected the way in which local Maori were then able to live. In the open grass and scrub areas especially, the indigenous flora were modified by cutting, burning and grazing and altered through the sowing of exotic grasses. The forests, dense, green and healthy, were apparently little affected by the burnings that were put across the open areas to clear unwanted scrub and provide fresh palatable growth of the tussock. Hill states that in firing the tussock, the squatters and travellers were not only helping themselves, but were 'simply following a long-established Maori custom'.<sup>119</sup>

Nonetheless, the substantial changes to the physical environment must have impacted on the ability of Maori to use it as they had previously for various natural resources for food and materials. Numerous exotic weeds were introduced, often

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<sup>117</sup> *Wellington Independent*, 24 January 1852. Quoted in R.D. Hill, 'Pastoralism in the Wairarapa, 1844-53', in R.F. Watters (ed), *Land and Society in New Zealand* (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1965), 38.

<sup>118</sup> Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 30, 38.

attached to the sheeps' fleeces, and sowthistles replaced the burnt forest, except where English grasses and clover were deliberately sown. As had pigs earlier, various animals, especially cattle, became feral; so did some deer, dogs, horses and rabbits. All of these also had uncontrolled effects upon the vegetation. Hill states that the tapeworm endemic to the squatters' dogs and sheep had little effect on indigenous fauna as there were no indigenous hosts, apart from Maori dogs—although surely there was now the distinct possibility of humans becoming infected.<sup>120</sup> The effect of all this change on local Maori initially varied according to their remoteness from Pakeha settlement and the actual degree of local environmental change. It also varied depending on how 'Europeanised' any given Maori group had become. The change away from dependence upon traditional mahinga kai seems to have been rapid, though. For the Tamaki-nui-a-Rua district—more remote from Pakeha activities than was Wairarapa—Oliver considers from the study he has made that:

Traditional food gathering, and pre-European crops, may have been largely replaced by introduced European food crops and domestic animals as early as the 1850s.<sup>121</sup>

He quotes a number of examples. The first was settler George Hamilton from Mangatoro, who found that by 1871 there were only a few pig hunting expeditions and cultivations in the Puketoi ranges and said that in his opinion Maori seemed to have lost interest in the land. Others are from testimony given before the Native Land Court in 1890 concerning Puketoi 6 to the effect that the Puketoi hills—the area long since burnt off for aruhe cultivation—were unoccupied and reserved for the huia.

Oliver also cites evidence of the drop in numbers of traditional food gathering expeditions from the 1840s, even before Pakeha settlement, such that:

There appears to be a change in the use by the late nineteenth century Maori of land which they were not living on or farming. Traditional resource gathering, by the late nineteenth century, may have been reduced and increasingly replaced by settled cultivation with hunting and fishing expeditions to bush areas.<sup>122</sup>

As he notes, the introduction of new crops and domestic animals 'allowed for larger settled cultivations and reduced the need for food gathering expeditions to

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<sup>119</sup> Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 42. In support of this assertion he cites works by Sage (MA thesis, Canterbury University College, 1954, pp 55-61), Cumberland (1941) and Cumberland (1961).

<sup>120</sup> Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 43-44.

<sup>121</sup> Oliver, 'Environmental Issues', 29.

distant areas'. What this would have meant, though, was that given that they still needed food, if they were not getting it from their traditional food sources then it was even more imperative that they have enough land of suitable quality to sustain themselves.

Grazing animals did, though, affect all types of vegetation, even the forest. Cattle were particularly partial to native shrubs and juvenile forms of broadleaves such as mahoe, karamu, tawa, karaka ('invariably devoured as far as cattle can reach the leaves'), hinau, ribbon-wood, hebes and various other species even including the poisonous tutu. 'Cattle thus had significant effects on the species composition of the forest and undoubtedly tended to promote the growth of podocarps at the expense of the broadleaves.'<sup>123</sup> They would also eat all forms of grasses, including toe toe, bracken fern, flax and cabbage trees. By trampling the larger vegetation, they would also open up more country to sheep. One colonist wrote in 1849—only five years after the pastoralists' appearance there—of the squatters' strategy:

Cattle running in a district speedily destroy the fern and grass takes its place; the more this is eaten, the more turfy the land, as a matter of course, becomes. The Wairarapa is, in consequence of cattle running in it, becoming a rich grazing district; the fern has, in many parts, disappeared, and thousands of acres of the native rye-grass, and other grass, are now to be found.<sup>124</sup>

Hill also comments that although sheep were probably not deliberately grazed in the forests, since they were largely contained by natural boundaries only at this time, some will have helped the cattle to prevent the growth of young forest trees 'and in preparing the forest for invasion by grass and scrub species'. They naturally preferred the grass/herb areas and enjoyed these after the cattle had trampled the fern. Merinos, with which Wairarapa was mostly stocked, were renowned as foragers and, while eating the tussock down to a more even sward, rapidly exterminated various small species including aromatic herbs, coastal ferns, and native carrots.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Oliver, 'Environmental Issues', 30.

<sup>123</sup> A.J. Allom, 'Stock-farming in the Wairarapa', *New Zealand Journal*, vol 9 (1849), 201. Quoted in Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 45.

<sup>124</sup> Quoted in Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 45.

<sup>125</sup> Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 45-46. He writes: 'Sheep have been observed by the writer to have completely stripped the undergrowth of a small patch of secondary forest within a period of five years, at the end of which only the larger trees and twiggy remnants of shrubs remained and most of the ground was grass-covered following natural seeding from adjacent pasture.'

Edible animal and bird species were actively hunted by the squatters, and to some extent by Maori seeking to earn an income in addition to the traditional aim of providing food for their own tables alone. Pigs, admittedly in the area for only a generation at most, were now hunted with dogs by both Europeans and Maori for local supply and also for salting down and trading to Wellington. Ducks and widgeon from the swamps, and kaka, pigeons and weka from the forests were also hunted for both food and sport. Squatters may also have indulged in fishing, but it would have been on a recreational basis only and of little overall impact. Overall, Hill concludes that: 'It is doubtful if the squatters made any significant inroads on the numbers of edible animal species.'<sup>126</sup>

Two caveats to that statement must be entered. The first is that there are more ways than hunting of making 'significant inroads' on animal (and bird) species. It is clear from Hill's own discussion that from their first arrival the pastoralists and their animals began on the process of radically altering the habitat of these indigenous species, especially the forest birds. Every juvenile tree that those first cattle ate did not make a 'significant inroad' on the habitat in the 1840s, but it did prevent the habitat from existing in succeeding decades.

The second caveat is that Hill was writing solely about the period up to 1853, the time of the McLean purchases. As settlement of the Wairarapa valley proceeded apace after 1853, so must have it been matched by the impact on the indigenous flora and fauna; farms were cleared, roads cut, and hunters multiplied as did the mouths in the area that required feeding. While Maori 'mouths' remained reasonably static at the 6-700-ish calculated by Kemp and Colenso, or dropped slightly, Pakeha 'mouths' increased significantly every year from the handful of squatters in 1844/5 to the nearly 100 by the early 1850s and then with scores more each year thereafter as the small farms and townships were created.

To these caveats we can also add that the forest bird population was devastated by introduced rats and other predators, to the extent that Hine-i-paketia was prepared to sell land in the Waipukurau Block in 1850. She said the birdless land was now useless and instead wanted European settlers with whom her own people would be able to trade.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 46.

<sup>127</sup> Oliver, 'Environmental Issues', 31.

Maori dogs seem also to have suffered from contact with the pastoralists. From the beginning, ‘wild dogs’ were a danger to sheep and there were reports of runs near Maori kainga losing up to half their lambs from this cause. The farmers’ remedy was poison, so that by as early as 1849 the ‘wild’ dogs were ‘much thinned by the free use of strychnine about the runs’.<sup>128</sup>

Hill summarises the growing impact of the cash economy on Wairarapa Maori prior to the McLean purchases:

The Maoris generally welcomed Europeans as the source of trade goods, as buyers of produce or providers of money rents. And if the Maoris were unwilling vendors of land, they were eager landlords, as is indicated by a letter to Sir George Grey requesting ‘some white people to feed sheep’.... [By 1851] Potatoes, wheat, horses, cattle and sheep were raised, and pig-hunting was placed on a semi-commercial basis. Kemp noted that some Maoris were ‘holders of Cattle, others of Horses and sheep and in every village is to be seen the Wheatfield, the Stock, Mill....’ In these commercial enterprises the squatters’ homesteads became trading posts.<sup>129</sup>

He adds that it was a feature of Wairarapa that no strong commercial centre grew up, partly because each station was, in a sense, a service centre itself.

In general terms, Wairarapa Maori welcomed the pastoralists, provided they came on the Maoris’ terms. These were not onerous, however. As one contemporary observer noted, at a time when other parts of New Zealand had broken out in armed conflict, all that had seemed necessary to keep Wairarapa Maori contented was ‘a small tribute for permission to occupy their land’, while Weld added that they also sought the opportunity to trade with the colonists in pigs, potatoes, tobacco and ‘slops’ (i.e. ‘crudely made garments and tawdry knick-knacks’).<sup>130</sup>

Stirling has pointed out that the income derived from rents and trade was being applied to try to emulate the European standard of living. Occasionally, weatherboard houses were beginning to appear, but the newly built churches indicated the importance attached to their new religion, the Turanganui chapel’s £200 cost being funded almost entirely by Maori donations. Weld wrote in 1848 of them ‘daily improving—dressed in smart blankets, shirts and trousers’, while many were also ‘riding good horses and eating wheaten cakes’, and turning their minds to economic development on their own behalf with considering building a flour mill, and

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<sup>128</sup> Allom, ‘Farming’, 201. Quoted in Hill, ‘Land and Squatter’, 53.

<sup>129</sup> Hill, ‘Pastoralism’, 40.

presumably the crops to be milled there.<sup>131</sup> Kemp noted in February 1849 how Wairarapa Maori had made ‘rapid advancements’ and were enjoying ‘to a very great extent’ a variety of European comforts. The numbers of their livestock and horses were increasing while ‘in every village is to be seen the wheat-field, the [hay] stack, and mill’. He concluded on this evidence that their income from trade must approximate that being received from rents, some £600 at that point and rising.<sup>132</sup> So one-third of a year’s rental for the entire region must have been spent on the Turanganui chapel alone—this seems comparable with the resources medieval towns devoted to the construction of the great Gothic churches and cathedrals. Kemp concluded that overall they were ‘increasing in general wealth, tending not only to their own prosperity and comfort, but also to the prosperity of the country at large’.<sup>133</sup>

Horses seemingly featured strongly in their use of the cash that came in. Many accounts mention them and Colenso condemned the prevalence, even then, of horse racing which required expenditure on the animals themselves and then subsequent gambling. Up to £36 had been paid for one horse—although partly on ‘long credit’—and Masters noted later that at a race meeting Maori had offered for sale many good horses, albeit at prices he found preposterous.<sup>134</sup>

A small commercial opportunity was available for a handful of Maori providing a ferry service at the sea outlet of Lake Onoke. This was required until the 1855 earthquake altered the landscape such that travellers were able to pass directly up the western side of the lake. It is unclear just how many Maori could have derived any sort of income from the service, though. A.A. (‘Forty-Five’) Ross opines that ‘to judge by all accounts the service was of little value as the ferryman was loath to take his leaking craft over the river-outlet in other than remarkably fine weather’.<sup>135</sup> If it was that unpopular and useless the ferry can have done little trade after the earthquake.

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<sup>130</sup> G.B. Earp, *Handbook for Intending Immigrants...* (1849); Weld quoted in Lady A. Lovat, *Life of Sir Frederick Weld* (1914). Cited in Hill, ‘Land and Squatter’, 57.

<sup>131</sup> Stirling, ‘Karanga’, 47-48.

<sup>132</sup> Kempt to Colonial Secretary, New Munster, 9 February 1849. Quoted in Stirling, ‘Karanga’, 49.

<sup>133</sup> Quoted in Stirling, ‘Karanga’, 51.

<sup>134</sup> Quoted in Stirling, ‘Karanga’, 52.

<sup>135</sup> A.A. Ross, ‘An Account of the Settlement of the Wairarapa by the Small Farms Association with special reference to the township of Masterton by “Forty-Five”’ (MA thesis, Victoria University College, University of New Zealand, 1945), 31. He does not, though, say whose accounts give this impression.

Another nearby site of commercial value was the tiny port at Te Kopi, on the eastern side of Palliser Bay, south of Lake Ferry. Several small ships plied on demand between there and Wellington through the early 1850s. From there, their cargo was trans-shipped to boats with a draft of only a few feet for carriage up the Ruamahanga River, perhaps requiring changing again to canoes at the point where the Ruamahanga emptied into Lake Wairarapa. The canoes could then go between 20 and 30 miles upriver, depending on the volume of water. However, the earthquake raised the land at Te Kopi up so that most of the area was only 2-3 feet of water at low tide, rendering the port useless. The trade-off for the settlers was that the rocks along the coast were also raised, allowing a much safer and easier passage by foot. However, Maori must have participated as labour at least in the harbour and the carriage trade and probably providing accommodation and such at Te Kopi, which then became another lost opportunity.

The human context for the New Zealand Company and then Crown land purchasing attempts beginning in the late 1840s was not limited simply to the arrival of Europeans and various interactions with them. At least in the lower Wairarapa Maori were apparently suffering from a high mortality. Weld's account, intended to be read in Britain and foster interest there in settlement was upbeat and presented Maori as improving culturally, morally and economically:

Dressed in smart blankets, shirts and trousers, and many of them riding good horses they are hardly recognizable, externally, for the same filthy, half-starved, quarrelsome beggars they were less than five years ago when our first sheep were driven down the valley.<sup>136</sup>

But the reports of both Colenso and Kemp give the lie to any impression of unremitting rosiness and progress. Kemp in January 1849 found 780 Maori living in 10 lower Wairarapa and 6 coastal villages, but eighteen months later in June 1850 there were only 573 (473 adults and only 100 children). Colenso, too, reported a dramatic drop in the district's Maori population at this time. At Huangarua in March 1850, he found that 46 Maori in the valley had died, together with another 10 in the coastal villages south of Castlepoint, within just the previous ten months. He estimated that, during just that period of less than a year, one-thirteenth of the region's Maori population had died. The survivors were moving away, leaving only the elderly

behind, if anyone. Te Wereta's centre of Wharaurangi on the east coast was reduced to five people in 1849 and to one solitary old woman in 1852, while 'the number of abandoned solo grandparents on the coast is astonishing'. Two miles north of Wharaurangi, the village of Te Wakauruhanga was inhabited by two old women, while north near Waipupu two more old women lived alone, three miles apart.<sup>137</sup> The living conditions of those remaining were deteriorating, too. Otaraia in 1850 was now 'nearly a wreck' having been abandoned by Ngatuere after the death there of his favourite daughter. Tauanui had been deserted for Hurunuiorangi. Te Hawera in the upper valley was a village of 29 Rangitane people who 'cultivate nothing but the potato and live in two or three rude unfinished huts'. Kaikokirikiri was 'in a despicable state and the Natives very unhealthy'. Hurunuiorangi was a model of 'neatness and good workmanship', but at Huangarua the uncompleted chapel had been abandoned to Mein Smith's cattle; Kemp thought the change for the worse there 'almost incredible' after several deaths, 'huts decaying and destroyed and the whole a complete wreck'. As Bagnall observes: 'Colenso's reality focussed on a different area of the horizon from that of the Native Secretary [Kemp], although their impressions agree.'<sup>138</sup>

It may be noted, though, that Stirling suggests that it was Kemp, not the propagandist Weld, who had it wrong. He comments that the population of Huangarua had actually nearly doubled in a year, and that many of the abandoned homes at the pa might have resulted not from their inhabitants' deaths but from their moving further afield to plant more crops and locate nearer their Pakeha market.<sup>139</sup> He also doubts Colenso's observations of the emptying out of the coastal kainga, commenting that the inhabitants lived a highly mobile life and may merely have been absent. Stirling seems to give the likes of Colenso little credit for being able to see for themselves whether things were derelict, ask those remaining about their relatives' whereabouts, and generally keep tabs on their parishioners and acquaintances. The missionary did not just talk of those moving or absent, he counted those dying and may well have buried some of them.

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<sup>136</sup> Lady Lovat, *The Life of Sir Frederick Weld*, 74. Quoted in McIntyre. *Canoes*, 60. Keeping some balance, at least, he presented the often squalid settlers' properties as 'just what one would see in an English village'.

<sup>137</sup> Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, 197.

<sup>138</sup> Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, 194-195; McIntyre, *Canoes*, 60-61.

## Sources of Cash Income for Wairarapa Maori

Maori sold food to the early settlers; never a large market due to the relatively small number of pastoralists, this must have dwindled as the settlers began to provide for themselves. New settlers would have required some ongoing local provisioning, but this too would have diminished proportionately as access to Wellington improved supply possibilities and the settler communities developed their own infrastructures and merchants.

Wairarapa Maori were clearly au fait with the developments amongst the settlers, observing the relations between Company and Government; by then, they had after all been approached by purchasers trying to provide for the Company. Moreover, they already possessed sufficient commercial sense to wish to take full advantage of the evolving conditions and alter the terms of the leases correspondingly, trebling Clifford and Weld's Wharekaka rent in three years. Clearly, too, they had begun to supply pork and to grow European crops (potatoes and wheat) for sale and trade, presumably as well as for their own consumption. When Judge Chapman came through the district in 1847, nearby to Wharekaka was a Maori cultivation of 60 acres of wheat that he estimated as being saleable at 2s to 2s 6d per bushel. They were also selling pork and potatoes, as well as deriving their rental income. Maori women were cohabiting with most single Pakeha as, in Chapman's observation, 'a cheerful and willing *drudge* to her keeper'.<sup>140</sup> This cohabitation may have taken the form of spousal relationships, or it may have been closer to the 'sex industry' James Belich identified as operating in other areas, where the women themselves were commodities provided by their men folk to the settlers or effectively earned an income from the relationship which then was applied to the greater familial good.<sup>141</sup> Chapman's information is sketchy and his emphasised 'drudge' suggests a more 'economic' aspect than do the contrasting 'cheerful and willing'. Chapman's use of the term 'sale' confirms that bartering was not the only type of transaction undertaken, but that actual cash changed hands too. What is not clear from this account is how far afield the Maori produce was being traded by Maori themselves, as we have already seen it was supplying Wellington, particularly for the soldiers, but maybe the trading with Maori

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<sup>139</sup> Stirling, 'Karanga', 49.

<sup>140</sup> McIntyre, *Canoes*, 56.

<sup>141</sup> For example, James Belich, *Making Peoples* (Auckland: Allen Lane, 1996), 152-54.

themselves was being conducted by just the relatively small group of Wairarapa pastoralists. The buying 'on the spot' suggests that the trading was done locally and if the produce was going further it was being done within the context of Pakeha commerce. Also, of course, in 1847 the Wairarapa was still relatively difficult to reach with no port other than Te Kopi and no established route across the mountains.

At much the same time, missionary William Colenso recorded that South Wairarapa Maori were in negotiations with settlers to sell timber. One 'respectable' settler, J.P. Russell, sought Colenso's assistance in negotiating a 'proper' price for the timber, as they were driving too hard a bargain for his liking.<sup>142</sup> Six months later, another settler, McDonnell, had included in his lease from Ngatuere for grazing land, a rent of £50 per annum 'and not to cut a stick'.<sup>143</sup> Clearly the question of timber was a prominent one.

Colenso readily admitted to advising the Maori not to sell, but to pursue the leasing option, an option which 'I as a Christian considered best'. He told Mein Smith that he had indeed told Wairarapa Maori not to sell, not to lease their lands for a term of more than 21 years, not to lease the whole of the good grazing land and to use the remainder themselves for grazing their own cattle and sheep and growing crops, not to lease the land in very large blocks to individuals, to choose carefully to whom they leased land, to faithfully fulfil their own obligations under the lease agreements, and to be kind to the Europeans.<sup>144</sup>

Shearing work was available on the settlers' runs virtually immediately the flocks became established. In 1847, Judge Chapman noted that at Wharekaka Clifford and Weld were paying shearers £1 per 100 plus five meals a day, a high wage, but he did not say whether any of the shearers were Maori.<sup>145</sup>

By June 1848 there was a sheep and cattle station as far north as Castle Point. W.B. Rhodes (the Wellington whaler/merchant/landowner) and W.H. Donald were arranging with a chief named Waitau to lease Manaia near Kaikokirikiri for £16 10s annually. It was a cattle run originally but grew to encompass all the land north and south of the Three Mile Bush running up to the eastern slopes of the Tararuas. Two

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<sup>142</sup> Colenso, diary, 8 November 1847. Quoted in Tony Walzl, 'Land Purchasing in the Wairarapa 1840-1854' (1999), para 2.87.

<sup>143</sup> Colenso, diary, 29 May 1848. Quoted in Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', para 2.136.

<sup>144</sup> McIntyre, *Canoes*, 52.

<sup>145</sup> McIntyre, *Canoes*, 56.

years later in 1850, Richard Collins took up the Te Ore Ore run east of the Ruamahanga.<sup>146</sup>

Another form of earning a cash income available to Wairarapa Maori during this period came with the opportunity to provide the unskilled labour for the making of roads, especially that connecting Wellington with the Wairarapa. From 1847, most of the work on the road over the hills was done by Maori road parties, overseen by James Grindell and William Swainson, and under the control of ex-Company surveyor Thomas Henry Fitzgerald.<sup>147</sup> Maori from the Hutt Valley were readily involved, but those from Wairarapa were more reluctant, perhaps partly due to a reticence about working in association with the northern invaders, perhaps due to the 1840 peace accord negotiated with the northerners before Kahungunu returned to the Wairarapa,<sup>148</sup> and perhaps due to the opposition from their missionary. Ngati Raukawa's workmen were the most welcome to Fitzgerald, but the Kahungunu men quickly picked up the bushmen's skills. Reasonable sums were to be made; Raukawa had saved over £277 towards a flour mill at Otaki by 1850. Maori road labourers were paid 2s per day, one shilling less than European labourers, each raised by 6d in 1850. By October 1851, Maori labourers (first class) were earning 3s and second class 2s 6d per day. Originally, the plan was that the men would also supply themselves, but this was soon abandoned. As late as 1853, the road on the Wairarapa side was still only four feet wide and materials were packed by bullock on that side, while drays could be used on the Hutt side. The first consignment of wool, two drayloads, went over in May 1853. The first drayloads went over the completed road in June 1856. The trip still took from two to three and a half days from Hutt Bridge to Greytown, but the cost of freight dropped from £20 to £12 per ton.

This work necessitated the men leaving their homes and living in camps where their lifestyle was also impacted on. Colenso, never less than judgmentally censorious, tried to dissuade them from the undertaking this work, both because it harmed 'this very promising portion of my field of labor' but because 'many of them have indeed made shipwreck both of Faith and of good conscience'. He did make a distinction between the 'mere work of road making [being] of itself good employment', and 'the abominations which were there committed against which I

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<sup>146</sup> Bagnall, *Masterton*, 5.

<sup>147</sup> Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, 109-21.

waged war'.<sup>149</sup> These 'abominations' included prostitution and no doubt alcohol. However, not all the opposition was stirred up by him directly. Ngatuere reported extreme statements allegedly made by Colenso, but both the missionary and his companion Archdeacon William Williams insisted that Ngatuere was trying to stir up trouble for Colenso with the authorities, the missionary having prevented the chief from acquiring a young second wife.<sup>150</sup>

An additional source of income available to a few Maori during the purchasing process was wages earned by assisting the surveyors. In March 1852, C.H.L. Pelichet complained that the Maori of Whareama and the northern Wairarapa coast wanted 'very high wages hereabouts'.<sup>151</sup> A year later, after arranging the Castle Point purchase, McLean authorised the surveyor Octavius Bousfield to employ four Maori and gave him an advance of £5 to do so, although he did not say what their pay rate was to be.<sup>152</sup> However, there was a distinction between actual surveying work and simply going with the surveyor to point out the purchase and reserve boundaries to be marked. McLean told Mein Smith that he could employ two Maori assistants, but that he should not pay any others who came as well merely to provide information 'as they go to point out their own lands for which they are to be paid'.<sup>153</sup>

### 2.3. Maori and the Small Farms Development after 1853

The development of small farms, concentrating almost exclusively on dairying, was the alternative agricultural development in the Wairarapa to the rampant spread of pastoralism. If Maori lacked the land area and financial resources to break into pastoralism as it developed through this period, perhaps they could have tried this form of farming instead which required less of both those two resources.

Small farms were soon seen in colonial New Zealand as a suitable option for breaking in and rendering productive the areas, especially cleared forest, that were unsuitable for large-scale pastoralism. The technique had been tried successfully in

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<sup>148</sup> See Bruce Stirling, 'Wairarapa Maori and the Crown. Volume One: Karanga: The Promise' (2002) Wai 863 #A48, 19-20.

<sup>149</sup> Colenso, diary, 11-14 November 1847. Quoted in Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', paras 2.90-91.

<sup>150</sup> McIntyre, *Canoes*, 53.

<sup>151</sup> Pelichet to McLean, 6 March 1852. McLean Papers 1295.

<sup>152</sup> McLean to Bousfield, 27 June 1853. McLean Papers 1316.

<sup>153</sup> McLean to Mein Smith, 20 October 1853. AJHR, 1861, C-1, 263.

the Wellington town district and a group of Hutt Valley settlers formed their own committee to investigate prospects in Wairarapa. A selection committee of two, comprising Jackson and Masters, travelled up the Wairarapa valley, probably in July/August 1853 and at Ngautaua/Ngaumutawa, near the present Masterton railway station and by now the area's principal settlement, negotiated with the chief Retimona (Richmond) Te Korou to purchase land. The two returned with Ihaia, Retimona's 'son-in-law', to consult with Sir George Grey about this purchase. Apparently Ihaia was satisfied with the discussion, when Grey flattered him and gave him 'sovereigns for his pains', as he returned to Wairarapa 'and promised to induce his tribal friends to sell their land when the Land Purchase Commissioner [McLean] came to the valley in the course of a few days'.<sup>154</sup>

In 1853, in the wake of McLean's early purchasing activity, the Wairarapa Small Farm Association was formed to promote a programme for establishing such farms in the Wairarapa. The Association negotiated with the Government for a 25,000-acre block to be set aside for small farming, but the squatters' political influence resulted in their being provided with two smaller blocks, consisting mainly of bush that had been spurned by the pastoralists. These two blocks became the initial small farm settlements known as Greytown and Masterton, populated largely by former labourers from the New Zealand Company's Wellington settlement. Difficulties with land acquisition meant that some had to be reallocated lands at what became Taratahi and Moroa also. Each of the prospective small farmers was allocated one town acre and 40 'suburban' acres, the intention being to adopt an English village model where the settlers lived together and then went out to work their respective lands.<sup>155</sup> The plan provided that there should also be 'rural allotments' of 40, 60, 80 and 100 acres each available for purchase at a fixed price. These would enable the settlers to develop farms of a size suitable for supporting themselves and their families. They aimed, too, to set up the town with a range of amenities, such as a school, and with 'shops and stores where goods could be obtained'.<sup>156</sup>

The expectation was that the new farms would provide dairy produce to be exported to the new Australian gold fields, while the clearing of 40 acres of heavy

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<sup>154</sup> Ross, 'Small Farms', 6; Bagnall, *Masterton*, 9.

<sup>155</sup> Raymond Ernest Hambly, 'Dairying in the Wairarapa: A Socio-Economic Survey Interpreted in Terms of Historical Small Farm Settlement' (MA thesis in Geography, Victoria University of Wellington, 1966), 5-8.

<sup>156</sup> Ross, 'Small Farms', 9, 16.

bush each would occupy the farmers, although time would soon show this area to be insufficient to support a Pakeha family. Another 10,000 acres at Featherston was subdivided by the Wellington Provincial Government into sections of between 5 and 50 acres at higher initial prices, but with the advantage of being some distance closer to the intended market.

The prices of the day obtainable on the Wellington market, and expectations of crop yields upon which the small farm settlements were established, were set out by Joseph Masters in February 1854:

If we suppose a man to have five or six acres of land to begin with ... [and] crop as follows—one acre of wheat for his own use, once acre of barley, or two acres of red clover, one acre of potatoes ... one acre will produce 300 bushels of potatoes, and one acre of barley 40 bushels; with these and the clover he may rear and feed 20 pigs per annum and send to market after the first year, 4000 lb of good bacon or pork worth 6d per lb—£83 6s 6d [sic, should be £100] ... and I think 8 good milking cows will produce 2000 lb of butter—£83 6s....<sup>157</sup>

While the settlers in these towns had generally had the advantage of some prior New Zealand farming experience, those who founded Carterton in 1857 were newly immigrated from Britain. Carterton was also founded not as a farming settlement so much as a forestry one; the settlers were given 10-acre blocks which they were supposed to clear and farm in their spare time from forming a road through the dense Three-Mile Bush between Greytown and Carterton. The four small farm settlements were thus intended to be not simply places for Pakeha immigrants to become farmers, but even more to be a tool for bush clearance and road construction. This was also the case with the Scandinavian settlements northwards, such as that established at Mauriceville in 1872. In return for being allocated 40-acre segments of Seventy-Mile Bush, they were to be employed on road building and bush clearing—and deliberately imported for the purpose.<sup>158</sup>

The cost of living in the new settlements was higher and the returns distinctly lower than Masters had anticipated. Wages were about 6d per day, but:

Wheat ... was 12s per bushel, scarce; potatoes 12s per 100 lb, and we had to go a long way to find them; as for meat the fare was eels, pigeons and wild pork, if you caught them.... One had a steel mill to grind the wheat;

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<sup>157</sup> *Wellington Independent*, 1 February 1854. Quoted in R.D. Hill, 'Pastoralism in the Wairarapa, 1844-53', in R.F. Watters (ed), *Land and Society in New Zealand* (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1965), 26.

<sup>158</sup> Hambly, 'Dairying', 8-11.

charge, sixpence per half bushel. Everything else was packed over the [Rimutaka] hill at £1 per 100 lb.<sup>159</sup>

In the mid-1850s, just when the incoming small farmers were trying to develop a Wairarapa economy, a slump at the end of the Australian gold rushes of 1852/53 dried up the market. Wellington businesses complained of the dull business, potatoes dropped to 4s per hundredweight and hardly any butter was now wanted. At least there was enough scope in cereal production for a small self-sufficiency and they could get 30-35s per 100 lb, or avoid having to pay it to others. The Bennington family were dependent on their father working, until his death, for Donald on Manaia. 'Potatoes and wheat could be obtained from the natives at very high rates, and during a whole season, before any return could be obtained from the land, the settlers often went hungry to bed'.<sup>160</sup>

The Hutt road was finally completed as a road and not merely a bridle track in mid-1856, allowing a comparatively fast and cost-efficient trip over the hills, as distinct from the rocky coastal walking route or the transport in tiny ships to Te Kopi, and giving greater access for commercial dealings with the Wellington market. Still, the trip was not to be undertaken lightly: in 1858 the first postal service left Masterton on alternate Mondays at 10am and took until 3pm on Wednesday to reach Wellington, travelling at reasonably high speed by horse.<sup>161</sup>

The small farmers on the Wairarapa lowlands, while in a distinctly marginal situation, were at least better off than those at Mauriceville (north of Masterton) and further north into the Tararua district. The southerners at least had accessible sections along the road lines and timber milling assisting in the clearing of the lands. The northerners were on isolated sections, without access, supported by no such industry, and with 40 acres on land where 150 acres soon proved insufficient. All of the five settlements together (Featherston, Greytown, Carterton, Masterton and Mauriceville) formed the basis of the dairying industry in Wairarapa, while the road building provided essential stability of income for the farmers. These 'little men' got most of their money income from road building, together with shearing and fencing on sheep stations and lumbering in the timber mills. It was a difficult life for decades although the production stayed small, local and restricted, such that even as late as 1886 it was

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<sup>159</sup> J. Hall. Quoted in Hill, 'Pastoralism', 26.

<sup>160</sup> Bagnall, *Masterton*, 22. Unattributed quote, 23.

<sup>161</sup> Ross, 'Small Farms', 45.

commonplace for goods from the store to be paid for in kind with butter, rather than with cash. Farms were seldom cleared completely and grass sown amongst the stumps was the main crop, and milk the main harvest.<sup>162</sup> The model English practice of mixed animal and crop farming was never adopted, the result being that the Wairarapa farms were effectively divided between small and large graziers (running dairy cattle and sheep and beef cattle respectively), rather than a variety of farming types.

Some of the variables that affect the viability of farms (and thus their ownership in a free market) include: export prices, availability of finance, farm size, stocking rates, stock prices, working capital and technological innovations.<sup>163</sup>

Appreciating land values benefited those who acquired holdings early in the piece. When Featherston was established in 1856, for example, the original settlers were paying 10s per acre. By 1859, suburban land was opened by proclamation for sale, but now the asking price was £3 per acre.<sup>164</sup>

In Greytown, the market value of town acres in 1862—amidst threats of war—was £20, while suburban land ranged between £1 10s and £5 per acre.<sup>165</sup>

Largely as a result of the development of Masterton under the small farms scheme, roading was pushed on up through the northern Wairarapa towards Hawkes Bay. In 1859, 80,000 acres of the Forty-Mile Bush was thrown open for sale, stretching from north of Masterton up to the Manawatu River, while Masterton itself acquired a new role as a port of call for those travelling north, en route to their new properties.<sup>166</sup>

By the late 1860s, the small farmers were trying to increase the size of their holdings. It had been concluded that 40 acres, in the Masterton area at least, was insufficient to support one family in reasonable comfort.<sup>167</sup> It was not only the acreage itself that was a factor, but also the number of people it had to support and the productivity of the block itself were factors. Quite apart from the familial ties and obligations for Maori, Pakeha families were large. One child of an early settler remembered that when he was growing up in Masterton, about 1870, the average family consisted of 8-10 members, while one family had 21 children. Ross comments:

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<sup>162</sup> Hambly, 'Dairying', 12-22.

<sup>163</sup> Scadden, 'Pihautea', 60.

<sup>164</sup> Ross, 'Small Farms', 54.

<sup>165</sup> Bagnall, *Greytown*, 38.

<sup>166</sup> Ross, 'Small Farms', 52.

<sup>167</sup> Ross, 'Small Farms', 81.

When Masterton was first founded forty acres of virgin soil would support such a family [with 11 children] but after a few years had passed the farmer found that he could no longer get large crops from his land and this led to a desire for more suitable land adjacent to his existing farm.<sup>168</sup>

This led to demands for 100-acre farms.

The small farm schemes did not have a place for Maori who did not accommodate themselves to the plan. The settlers were imported either from other places such as Wellington, or for the later northern schemes even from overseas. Some Maori did of course acquire some dairy cattle for themselves, but they were not participants in these major and relatively closely planned economic developments.

There appears to have been just one Maori who did fit into the scheme and who managed to buy his way in: Ihaia te Wakamairo/Wakamairu—the son-in-law of Retimana—‘a civilized Maori’, who on 15 December 1850 [sic] bought section 32 in the Masterton scheme, totalling 45.75 acres. By 1859, he was registered as a voter on the (property-based) electoral roll, but by 1867 he had disappeared from the list of Masterton residents.<sup>169</sup> This was the same Ihaia who had supported the scheme in the pre-purchase negotiations with Grey. Ross makes no comment on the anomaly of his appearance in the settlers’ list, nor on his disappearance. Ihaia had not disappeared, though, and bought another town section in Perry Street in 1877. By 1897, this section and the two houses on it, together valued at £500, were owned by Ihaia’s son, Hapeta Whakamairu.<sup>170</sup> As has been observed by Innes and Metcalf, it is a reflection of how far the Pakeha community in the Wairarapa had by then become divorced from their Maori hosts that Hapeta, the son and grandson of the men who had facilitated their very being there, had his occupation listed in the Valuation Department’s Masterton register as ‘Nigger’.<sup>171</sup>

Ihaia, though, was an anomaly, but he was an influential local chief who had been instrumental in the settlers getting the Masterton land.<sup>172</sup> Acquiring a section such as this sounds very much like McLean’s policy of providing for important chiefs by giving them small tidbits as incentives or rewards for cooperation. Thus in Napier, for example, Tareha was given a town section at Westshore and a suburban block,

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<sup>168</sup> Ross, ‘Small Farms’, 148.

<sup>169</sup> Ross, ‘Small Farms’, 25, 49, 78. Surely the date of 1850 is wrongly given by Ross as the plan did not exist in 1850 and everyone else listed bought no earlier than 1854.

<sup>170</sup> Craig Innes and Bob Metcalf, ‘Te Karaitiana Te Korou Report’ (2003) Wai 863 #A61, 27.

<sup>171</sup> Innes and Metcalf, ‘Te Karaitiana’, 27.

known as Tareha's Reserve, to the south of the new town. In any case, Ihaia was seen to be 'the only Maorie [sic] at Masterton, who evinces a desire to imitate the Europeans, in house and manners....'—even though his wife threw tantrums and refused to have anything to do with 'his pakeha ways'.<sup>173</sup>

If Maori in the Masterton region were producing grain crops, they may well have had to take them to the mill owned by Renall. However, even amongst Pakeha, Renall was regarded as charging exorbitant prices for milling their wheat, so this would have harmed the prospects of anyone trying that type of farming, perhaps fatally.<sup>174</sup>

It is hard to tell just what part of the situation in which Maori found themselves by the late 1860s was avoidable, what was simply the result of circumstances, and what was part of the 'Wairarapa experience' shared by their Pakeha neighbours. The provision of amenities for the district was a bone of contention between the settlers and the authorities, too, especially with the provincial government. For example, in 1869 the *Wairarapa Mercury* waged constant war with the provincial government over its failure to develop schools, roads, bridges and such. It complained, amongst other things, that the schools were closed for lack of funds, the roads remained unformed quagmires, and the bridges were unsafe.<sup>175</sup> This was merely a single salvo in a sustained campaign against what the newspaper alleged was the incompetence, laziness, and even corruption on the part of the provincial politicians and officials, who made tough times impossible with their profligacy with provincial funds and ignoring of the relatively unimportant Wairarapa. For example, the revelation that the provincial superintendent, some of his government politicians, and staff were travelling to Britain at a cost of over £5000, ostensibly to raise more funds, sat poorly with taxpayers:

Also the fact that a large number of officials of the two governments, provincial and general, drew their salaries but undertook private work in the offices fostered extremely dangerous relations between the people and their 'servants'. (For example, the Under-Secretary of Defence did not once leave his home at Waihi for a year where he was a stock-broker and station agent [sic, probably stock and station agent], whereas the Wellington Provincial Secretary was to be found at his official office but

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<sup>172</sup> Thus, Joseph Masters, quoted in Innes and Metcalf, 'Te Karaitiana', 23.

<sup>173</sup> Masters, quoted in Innes and Metcalf, 'Te Karaitiana', 26.

<sup>174</sup> Ross, 'Small Farms', 126.

<sup>175</sup> Ross, 'Small Farms', 106.

usually at his private office as editor of the *Wellington Independent* which was now decidedly 'anti-small farm'.<sup>176</sup>

This situation was viewed by the 'ordinary' settler in the Wairarapa as a bias towards the wealthy and influential large landowning pastoralists, to the detriment of the 'little man', even those in communities. One example they cited was that the constable in Greytown went unpaid for at least six months in 1869, allegedly due to the province's straitened circumstances, while the Superintendent and high provincial officials drew their large salaries unchecked although failing to do an efficient or effective job.<sup>177</sup>

The Small Farms Association developments were not a success. Even with the government assistance they did receive from general and provincial government most of their activities had folded within less than two decades. The block sizes allowed the original farmers proved uneconomic in the situation in which they found themselves. They therefore provide an example of developments in the Wairarapa from which Maori were excluded, one way or another, and an object lesson concerning the amount of land that was needed to make a farming property viable in the inquiry district at that time. The small farmers' blocks show that even with some experience and some funding behind them blocks of 100 acres could generally not be made to work well enough, while there were many other costs and difficulties associated with such an activity beyond simply buying and stocking the land. Such a farmer would have been expected to support no more than a nuclear family on his land. Maori would therefore, even at that early time, have needed blocks of at least that size per whanau and at least the level of funding and other organisational and technical assistance that these small farmers had.

## **2.4: Conclusion**

By 1853, then, when Donald McLean arrived in the Wairarapa ki Tararua district to bring to a conclusion several years of land purchasing attempts, local Maori were well used to seeing and dealing with Europeans. They had had a decade of first

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<sup>176</sup> Ross, 'Small Farms', 107.

‘explorers’ and then squatters arriving in increasing numbers and bringing with them Pakeha culture, Pakeha pastoral agriculture, and aspects of the Pakeha cash economy. The sources indicate that they took to the new economy well, apparently seeing that this was the way the new world was going and doing their best to adapt. They were sharp in their business dealings and almost instantly developed ways of deriving income for themselves from the opportunities being presented. They participated in trade, providing goods, especially types of food, as local Pakeha needed them and as a market opened up over the hills in Port Nicholson. They provided services such as guiding and ferrying and labour for the road-making that would open up their lands to further Pakeha economic development. The rental income they demanded from earliest days was significant and rapidly increasing through the 1840s and early 1850s—they were gaining income but not losing control of their irreplaceable asset. At this time, it appears that the Maori of Wairarapa ki Tararua were adapting quickly and fluently to the novel economic challenges and opportunities with which they were being presented.

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<sup>177</sup> Ross, ‘Small Farms’, 112.

### **3. Issue 22.4.8: Crown Priorities: Settlers Over Maori?**

**Are there instances where the Crown gave priority to the needs of settlers over the needs of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori in its land settlement policy? What was the impact of such decisions on the quality and sufficiency of land owned by Maori?**

#### **3.1. Company and Crown Purchasing: 1847-1855**

The discussion of the Crown purchasing policy and its implementation in Wairarapa as such is beyond the scope of the present report and has been discussed extensively in the works of other historians giving evidence to the present inquiry, such as Rigby, Stirling, Walzl, Oliver and McBurney. The present focus is instead on economic elements of this policy and activity, especially the promises made, expectations created, and evidence that Maori expected rather a different economic outcome from the process than that which transpired in reality. This section therefore goes more to the second question in the Issue, rather than the first.

The initial and crucial context is the Native Land Purchase Ordinance 1846 in which any dealings with Maori land were forbidden, most importantly alienation by leasing. Grey's restoration of Crown pre-emption was of course very important, but behind it the prohibition on leasing meant that Maori were unable to derive any economic benefit from settlement without actually parting permanently with their land; their land could not be made a source of cash income within the law. Wairarapa Maori had already begun to derive just such an income stream from leasing lands to incoming pastoralists, and apparently pretty much on their own terms. As Walzl portrays it, Grey failed to recognise the extensive self-regulation that the existing framework of Maori law and usages provided and instead portrayed the post-FitzRoy situation as descending into uncontrollable chaos beyond the government's control, and possibly even into inter-racial warfare. An orderly system was needed permitting determination and registration of titles in order to make the customary title cognisable to the common law.<sup>178</sup> Grey himself was operating to a different agenda and was intending that the Crown's control over land acquisition be re-asserted through pre-

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<sup>178</sup> Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', paras 2.170-4.

emption and that the fledgling colonial government's coffers be replenished through the proceeds of the land fund system.<sup>179</sup>

Crown pre-emption has been much criticised for many reasons. For present purposes, the really pernicious aspect was not that Maori lost their choice of purchaser and had to sell to the Crown, but rather that they were given no choice about whether or not they sold. Of course, the purchase prices paid by the Crown may be regarded as extremely parsimonious, as the claimants do, but in order to gain any substantial cash income from their land in the pre-Native Land Court era Maori had to sell to someone. The enforced inability to lease created by the 1846 Ordinance meant that to participate legitimately in the new cash economy Maori could really only acquire substantial amounts of cash from land sales. They were deprived of legal choice, rendered unable to decide to accept smaller amounts in rent but to continue receiving them over years while retaining their sole asset: land. As Walzl observes: 'Although by extension it is possible that Maori would also benefit from [Grey's land purchase and rental schemes], as far as Wairarapa Maori were concerned a system was already in place which for them was working.'<sup>180</sup>

Walzl quotes Grey as actually saying that the Crown would protect the situation and property interests of existing lessees:

... the Government do not propose unless under some extraordinary circumstances to attempt to dispossess any persons already in possession of depasturing or timber stations but on the contrary to secure to them all such advantages as it may be found expedient from the circumstances of this country and attach to a right arising from pre-occupancy.<sup>181</sup>

This general statement of policy, though, must be balanced against rumblings, from the time of the Ordinance's enactment, that indicated the Crown would indeed use the legislation against Wairarapa Maori presently benefiting from leasing. Clarke and Bell on their initial purchasing trip bore a letter from Grey informing Maori that they should sell and receive 'ample reserves', but:

... if you will not conclude such an arrangement, then I shall desire the Europeans to depart from your land and shall put an end to the arrangements at present existing.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> Donald M. Loveridge, "'An Object of the First Importance': Land Rights, Land Claims and Colonization in New Zealand, 1839-1852' (2004) Wai 863 #A81, esp. paras IV.16.22-52.

<sup>180</sup> Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', para 2.176.

<sup>181</sup> Quoted in Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', 114.

Of course, in keeping with Grey's undertaking to protect existing lessees at least—and inability to make good on his threats at that time—it is apparent that the rental income being derived by Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori did not cease on the day that the Ordinance was passed; in fact, it grew for several years. Indeed, as Stirling discusses, the Crown's ability to enforce such an edict in the Wairarapa (or anywhere else much) was scant and 'the Crown's hold over both the Wairarapa settlers and Wairarapa Maori was limited'.<sup>183</sup> It would have been even less for the more remote Tamaki-nui-a-Rua. Bagnall tells of Maori destroying the letter from Grey that came with Bell and Clarke in 1847 advising them of the newly enacted restrictions and threatening enforcement against the squatters if Maori did not sell.<sup>184</sup> Others in 1849 composed a waiata mocking government impotence and ineptitude.<sup>185</sup>

Nevertheless, as will be discussed below, the key point for present purposes is that the Ordinance meant that any such dealing was illegal and could be curtailed at any time, depending solely on the will of the Crown and its ability to enforce that will. The threat was a real one and used more through its potential as a coercive device rather than being enforced in reality, although the Crown's ability to enforce it in practice grew over time.

The discounted purchase prices paid by Crown agents are another issue. Seldom were lump sum payments vastly greater than the amounts earned as income. This has been commented on extensively by others giving evidence to the Wairarapa inquiry, but will also be commented on to some extent later in the present report.

As Walzl says in the quote just above, Wairarapa Maori had a system that was working for them, leasing their lands to Pakeha squatters, from the time the first settlers arrived looking for a place to depasture sheep. This leasing was a crucial factor in the Wairarapa at a very early date, compared with most of the rest of New Zealand. When Bell and Clarke were making their purchase attempts in early 1847, Wairarapa Maori were already quite familiar with the concept of leasing and alive to the pitfalls of alienating land permanently. Bell himself reported:

From what passed in the communications with the natives on our return down the valley, it was evident that the younger men, who by continual intercourse with the Europeans had acquired tastes which a large sum of money for the purchase of their land would enable them to gratify, were

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<sup>182</sup> Quoted in Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, 84.

<sup>183</sup> Stirling, 'Promise', 37.

<sup>184</sup> Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, 84.

<sup>185</sup> Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, 89.

nearly all willing to sell; it was the older chiefs, strongly attached to ancient customs, and a way of life for all the wants of which their rental was more than sufficient, who saw no charm in the possession of gold, and looking only to the seeming disinheritance of their children, held out against the sale.<sup>186</sup>

As frustrated purchasing agents, Bell and Clarke thought that the financial independence of Maori, derived from the leasing regime, was the principal and effective stumbling block to their purchasing aims. Bell reported:

It was clear to me, then, that so long as the present system of renting the land was permitted to continue, it would be nearly hopeless to obtain a unanimous consent from the natives; and that the only way to make the early acquisition of the district at all probable, was to put an end at once to that system, and stop the payments made under the leases.<sup>187</sup>

Bell reiterated this point and argued that the Governor would have to personally intervene by threatening to use the Ordinance in order to encourage Maori compliance:

The real obstacle in the way of the acquisition, Wairarapa, is the receipt by the natives of a rental already exceeding £300 a year, for only a portion of the valley used as runs for stock; and ... I am sure that neither [Maori nor squatters] believe you will really interfere to put a stop to it.

If your Excellency would yourself write a few lines to the Wairarapa chiefs, telling them that after a certain time they would not be allowed to receive rents from private persons, and recommending them to sell their interest in the land, subject to ample reserves for their own use, and would at the same time direct a letter to the same effect to be addressed to the squatters, I believe there would be little difficulty remaining in the way of the purchase.<sup>188</sup>

Grey duly drafted such a letter, directly threatening the Wairarapa chiefs that ‘if you will not conclude such an arrangement, then I shall desire the Europeans to depart from your land, and shall put an end to the arrangements at present existing between you and them’.<sup>189</sup> This seems to have been delivered immediately but I note that Walzl’s account does not actually record its effect on them, if any. Nevertheless some points may be derived for present purposes:

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<sup>186</sup> Bell to Wakefield, 23 March 1847, within Wakefield to Sec. NZCo, 25 March 1847. NZC 3/7.

<sup>187</sup> Bell to Wakefield, 23 March 1847, within Wakefield to Sec. NZCo, 25 March 1847. NZC 3/7.

<sup>188</sup> Bell, memo to Grey, 17 March 1847. Quoted in Walzl, ‘Land Purchasing’, para 2.54.

<sup>189</sup> Richmond to Bell, 20 March 1847, encl Grey’s draft letter. Quoted in Walzl, ‘Land Purchasing’, 2.55.

- By early 1847 Wairarapa Maori were already deriving some £300 pa in rental income from the portions of the valley leased to a handful of Pakeha at this very early stage in the settlement process. Stirling observes that £12 per annum was a common rental through this period, regardless of the size of run;<sup>190</sup> perhaps it was a round £1 per month.
- This rental income was something appreciated by Wairarapa Maori, who were aware of its value to them, had negotiated it by themselves with the Pakeha squatters, and were therefore very reluctant to give it up.
- The Crown acted to deny them this rental income with the express purpose—even spelled out to them—of forcing them to sell their land as they would no longer be able to derive income from a source other than outright sale.
- Whether or not the Crown actively enforced this ban on alienation by leasing, the threat of their doing so, which was explicitly made to Wairarapa Maori, was made from the highest level, the Governor, and with the intention of explicitly denying them an existing income stream and permitting them only one way of making any cash. They had neither the capital to stock their own lands, nor the knowledge of how to manage sheep runs, and so could gain income from the blossoming pastoral industry only at second hand, through being paid rental by Pakeha who did have such knowledge and capital.

Later, when Kemp was sent in October 1848 to renew purchase negotiations, the Government's direct intentions seemed to be to use the Ordinance as a lever to counter obstruction against the squatters, rather than a coercive device against the Maori landowners. His instructions included the advice that:

... it is only necessary to observe that Government will be quite prepared, as far as it may prudently be done, to carry out your suggestion by enforcing the 'Native Land Purchase Ordinance' whenever you call upon it to do so in any particular instance. But His Excellency sincerely hopes that it may not be necessary to resort to a measure which Government could only adopt with the utmost reluctance, and the results of which, whatever their particular character, could not fail to involve the most serious injury if not entire ruin to the squatters concerned.<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> Stirling, 'Hinewaka', 62.

Not only Maori would be affected economically by the enforcement of the Ordinance's ban on leasing, especially on existing leases as distinct from any newly entered into. Here the interests of the settlers and Maori intersected, in opposition to the political agenda of the Crown. Justice Chapman travelled through the district in late 1847 and described the problem as well as commenting on the economic situation there:

The Wairarapa settlers are uneasy about their tenure. They want to know how their position will be affected by the new arrangement between the [New Zealand] Company and the Government. At present they are lessees of the Ngati Kuhunu [sic]. The price they used to pay in 1844 and 1845 was about £1 per annum per square mile but the natives increase their demands and Clifford for about 24 square miles pays no less than £74 per annum. In all the natives receive about £300 a year besides enjoying a sale for pork, potatoes and wheat and supplies of tobacco blankets etc which they can now buy on the spot. These advantages will make them not over ready to sell and if they do sell they will require much more than they would have been content with a year or two since.<sup>192</sup>

The clash of political and legal difficulties swirling around the leasing ban was commented on by Justice Chapman:

The sort of contract which the squatters make with the natives is void by the common law for 'the Queen (or the King) is the only source of title'. At common law therefore the lease is a mere nullity. The Court would refuse to look at it. But by an ordinance it is now a punishable misdemeanour to deal with the natives without licence. The Wairarapa squatters were there before the ordinance but they must move off if the Governor chose to give them notice. But no Governor would venture to inflict such ruin. There is the difficulty. To drive away the settlers and make them dispose of their property in the best way they are able suddenly deprives the natives of £300 a year. This would give rise to another Maori outbreak there and that is certainly to be avoided.<sup>193</sup>

Even if pre-Ordinance leases were left intact because of the harmful effects on both settlers and Maori, those arrangements were not permanent, and would sooner or later require renegotiation, while there was the possibility of Maori owners leasing out their extensive other lands, too. Both of those opportunities would be forestalled by the Ordinance.

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<sup>191</sup> Domett to Kemp, 12 October 1848. NM 10/09/48/1102, 334-7. Domett continued by pointing out the advantages that would accrue to the squatters if the purchase went ahead as envisaged.

<sup>192</sup> Chapman to Chapman, November 1847. Quoted in Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', para 2.83.

<sup>193</sup> Chapman to Chapman, November 1847. Quoted in Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', para 2.83.

The Ordinance and proclamations by Eyre (and Richmond earlier) did not seem to stop the settlers and Maori entering into agreements, despite the Crown's intention. On 13 September 1848, William Fox, the principal agent for the Company in New Zealand, reported to London that:

The great increase in the number of squatters since Mr Eyre's proclamation against such occupation of that district proves how little influence he possesses over the stock-owners and makes me anticipate some difficulties in dealing with them....<sup>194</sup>

This 'great increase' appears, by Fox's own count to have amounted to about 20 squatters in addition to the 15-20 who had occupied before the Ordinance, so that when the Kemp-Bell purchase attempt was made in late 1848 there was still only a total of perhaps 40.<sup>195</sup> However, Fox estimated they had the noteworthy total of some 20-30,000 sheep and 2000 cattle in the valley.

### **3.2. The New Zealand Company Purchase Attempts**

It was not the Crown that first tried to purchase the Wairarapa from Maori, but the New Zealand Company. In a very significant break with the legal requirement that only the Crown could purchase Maori customary land under the pre-emptive right conferred in the Treaty, deals were reached between the Company and the imperial and colonial authorities whereby the Company would itself be allowed to identify and purchase a large area to provide for its settlers coming to found the Canterbury Settlement. The initial choice was the Wairarapa, given its proximity to Wellington and desirable pastoral land.

By the time purchase agents Henry Tacey Kemp and Francis Dillon Bell arrived in the Wairarapa on their preliminary foray, the amount of rent being paid to Maori for leases had doubled from that being paid previous year, from £300 to more than £600, for over 1,000,000 acres leased by some 30 squatters. As Bell observed:

Thus the inducement to the natives to retain the ownership of land which produced them an income already so considerable and certain to increase

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<sup>194</sup> Fox to Harington, 13 September 1848. NZC 3/8, no 78.

<sup>195</sup> Fox to Bell, 7 October 1848. NZC 3/9, 68-77. He had an interest in making such a count because the squatters would have to be compensated to some extent if the Wairarapa was purchased on behalf of the Company and its proposed settlement.

unless squatting were peremptorily put an end to, had been much enhanced in the course of the last eighteen months.<sup>196</sup>

Kemp confirmed that economics were highly significant in the Maori attitude to the sale negotiations:

It was evident during our negotiation [sic] with the natives, and from some of the speeches delivered by them, that they had been and were still reluctant to alienate the land: this reluctance may be chiefly attributed to the fact, that a considerable sum of money had been annually paid into their hands in the shape of rents by the settlers for the use of the land, as cattle and sheep runs, in addition to which, a brisk trade was being carried on; and with an accession to the number of Europeans within the last two years both in the valley and upon the coast, it might be presumed that this increasing source of wealth made it an object with the native proprietors to retain the land.<sup>197</sup>

It must be borne in mind that these were the perceptions of the officials, but they were both on the spot and relatively proficient in reo Maori, as well as having the benefit of the observations of the squatters, all in addition to the actual information and arguments they heard directly from Maori. Kemp did not identify the nature or extent of the 'brisk trade' nor whether it was internal to the Wairarapa or directed towards Wellington. Less than three dozen local squatters themselves hardly comprised a large market. Also Kemp discerned other reasons, such as the obligations already entered into with respect to the squatters, which Maori felt they had to fulfil. This was additional to how they felt about alienating the land permanently.

Wairarapa Maori had clear expectations that they would benefit greatly economically from the purchase being negotiated by Kemp and Bell, and these expectations were fostered by the agents, as by those who would follow them. This is not surprising; no-one would use the likelihood of the vendor being worse off in the future as an inducement to sell. Kemp, for example, pointed out the European influences already present in their lifestyle and assured them:

It was false that they would be banished into the scrub: ample Reserves would be made for them by Government; they would not be asked to leave their paha and cultivations unless they were themselves willing to surrender them; a town would be laid out for them similar to the one at

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<sup>196</sup> Bell to Fox, 31 December 1848. NZC 3 1849/1804. He noted, too, that the squatters were far more established also and had almost universally extended their houses. Quite apart from the inherent value of their pioneering work, he estimated the monetary value of their property at £45-50,000.

<sup>197</sup> Kemp to Colonial Secretary, 4 December 1848. GBPP. Quoted in Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', para 3.92.

Otaki, where the Natives were fast improving in everything. Nor let them say that they were satisfied with their Maori customs. They had virtually abandoned them long ago. Their worship, their food, their clothes, were the white man's. The wheat growing around, the horses, the very pigs, were his gifts—in short, when they first invited the pakeha to come and sit down on the grass with his sheep and cattle they had changed or abandoned all their old habits.<sup>198</sup>

Later, he also reported that the promise of far greater benefits, particularly economic, was the key element in persuading Maori to acquiesce in the sale:

... to this I would beg most particularly to draw your attention, viz... the assurance given by us to the natives of the speedy settlement of an English colony upon the land proposed to be sold. I think Mr Bell, who is quite conversant with the language, will bear me out in the opinion, that this pledge was the real inducement for their yielding up the land, and not so much on account of the price to be paid in money, as in consideration of the great benefits they would at once derive by the selection of the Wairarapa as a site for an inland town, and the consequent influx of trade, which would prove to them more than an equivalent for what they are now willing to relinquish.<sup>199</sup>

However, the government response was more cautious, advising Kemp not to stress this so much as by now there were several other candidate locations for the Canterbury Settlement. The general principle held, though, and he was to point out that even if this particular organised settlement did not take place there would soon be other European settlements to replace it.

Bell was alarmed at this new development as subverting all he and Kemp had been doing and potentially provoking a revocation by Maori of the agreement. To Head Office in London, he reported:

The Commissioner [Kemp] and myself proceeded throughout on the distinct presumption, amounting to more than a supposition, that if the Wairarapa could be got, Canterbury was to be founded there. That formed the principal—I had almost said the only—inducement to the natives to give up a large annual rent actually in their hands, in exchange for a comparatively modest purchase money. In the establishment of a large Settlement the demand that it would create for their produce or labour, the benefits of civilization which it would assure them and especially the advantages of religious and educational provision offered by the Canterbury scheme—they saw an equivalent for the unpalatable condition that their land should go to the white man for ever.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> Bell to Fox, 31 December 1848. NZC 3, 1848/1804.

<sup>199</sup> Kemp to Colonial Secretary, 4 December 1848. GBPP. Quoted in Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', para 3.95.

<sup>200</sup> Bell to Harington, 21 December 1848. NZC 3/09 No 25.

He repeated his concerns to Principal Agent Fox in Wellington:

All our discussion with the natives, all the arguments we had used with them and the settlers, were based on that expectation. Indeed, but for it I am certain we should never have got as far as we did with either.... Then on the natives part also, they would gain nothing by a sale of land at anything like the price that would be offered for it, except a large settlement were founded there at the same time. Receiving £600 a year now in the shape of rental, what benefit would they get from selling the land outright for perhaps £3000 and so receiving over a period of three years (on the principle of payment by annual instalments) for the final extinction of their title, a sum only equal to that which they would obtain in two years more without parting with their title at all? They were keen enough, and awake enough to their own interests to see this plainly.... So the natives regarded that scheme as a principal—if not the only inducement to listen to a proposal to buy their land. It promised to bring their labour into demand—to open a ready and profitable market for their agricultural produce, now increasing much beyond their own wants ... and to improve them both morally and economically in a high degree. I beg to assure the Directors that these statements were made by themselves, and that similar ones are advanced now almost wherever it is attempted to buy land from natives in New Zealand.<sup>201</sup>

So in Bell's opinion the promised benefits of the settlement scheme—social, educational and especially economic—were those that convinced Wairarapa Maori not only to accede to the purchase proposal but even to listen to it in the first instance.

He realised that now the Maori would demand a higher purchase price, too, than the Company would have been able to get away with a year earlier and if they had assurance that the Canterbury Settlement was to be founded there. Although they had never discussed a price with the Maori, they had found out 'by indirect means' that £3000, five times the annual rental, would probably have been acceptable, but now he thought they would be lucky to get it for £4000. The prospective price was becoming increasingly steep as Maori became aware of other purchases around the country: 'But even £4000 would not be at the rate of more than three-farthings an acre, and £5000 would not be more than one-penny-farthing per acre.' Comparing other recent purchases, he set aside the extremely low Kemp Purchase of the entire central South Island and the 'extremely high' Wellington and Porirua purchases, but he was still left with the 400,000-acre Otago Purchase at 1.5 pence per acre and 87,000 acres at Wanganui at some 2.75 pence per acre. So getting the Wairarapa Block for £5000

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<sup>201</sup> Bell to Fox, 31 December 1848. NZC 3, 1848/1804.

‘would not be extravagant if compared with other purchases in the North and Middle Islands’. But, he added, ‘of course we shall endeavour to reduce the demands of the natives within the smallest possible compass.’<sup>202</sup> Bell would not have been contemplating the higher sums out of altruism; although he does not say so directly, he would have been expecting to have to pay more because Wairarapa Maori would have been aware of the prices paid elsewhere and commercially competent enough to accept only something comparable.

The expressions with which the Maori demonstrated their initial agreement to the purchase of ‘the whole valley and district of the Ruamahinga [sic] from the Tararua range to the coast’, included:

Give us our new settlement—give us our white man to carry on our shoulders and bring here! Pour the white men like sea-sand into our hands, that we may see their numbers—they shall be all our wealth and all our property....<sup>203</sup>

As Walzl observes, what seems never to have been made quite clear to either the Maori or the squatters was exactly how the arrival of the Canterbury Settlement would benefit them both, ‘and yet such a promise was to be the main incentive held out to each’.<sup>204</sup> He notes that to some degree the two sets of interests would actually have been in competition with each other and also with the new Pakeha arrivals. Domett’s request to Colenso simply noted the prospective benefit of more Anglican ministers, superior schools, and ‘from the neighbourhood of a numerous European population’. Presumably this was simply self-evidently a good thing and explains the official annoyance at Colenso when the missionary retorted that, as far as he could see, all such measures were guaranteed only to result in the extinction of Maori.

When the negotiations began in earnest, Kemp offered £4000 (on the basis of five years’ rental at £800 per annum) and this was rejected and a counter offer of £16,000 was proposed, which he rejected. The agents identified the leases as still the key stumbling block, and when Kemp went up the coast towards Whareama (on the coast east of present Masterton), Wereta wanted to continue leases. The agents would have to move quickly, Kemp found: ‘From all that Wereta said ... the prevailing disposition of the natives on the coast is not to sell but to lease, and the squatting

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<sup>202</sup> Bell to Fox, 31 December 1848. NZC 3, 1848/1804.

<sup>203</sup> Bell to Fox, 31 December 1848. NZC 3, 1848/1804.

<sup>204</sup> Walzl, ‘Land Purchasing’, para 3.182.

system seems to be fast extending [into southern Hawkes Bay]'.<sup>205</sup> However, the Executive Council were outraged at the temerity of Maori proposing £16,000 and instructed Kemp to cease the purchase negotiations immediately.

At this time there seem to have been at least 400 Maori in the area. In December 1848, Anaru (Andrew John) Rongotira/Rongotua told Lieutenant-Governor Edward Eyre that 200 people had assembled to discuss the sale, while there were another 200 who had not arrived but were close at hand.<sup>206</sup> Kemp had conducted an informal census while travelling throughout the district and came up with a grand total of 780 Maori: 363 men, 255 women and 162 children.<sup>207</sup>

After the collapse of the purchase negotiations, Kemp reported on the state of the Wairarapa Maori:

His Excellency will be pleased to learn that the tribes who now inhabit the valley and coast (considering that they were but a few years ago amongst some of the most barbarous in the Southern district [New Munster?]) have made rapid advancement, and are now to a very great extent in the enjoyment of European comforts. Some are holders of cattle, others of horses and sheep; and in every village is to be seen the wheat-field, the [hay]stack, and mill, and what is still more gratifying, the use of bread is now becoming universal, and is an article of daily consumption.

... it would seem their trade with the settlers must be very considerable, if not quite equal to the rents they are receiving, which, as I have already remarked, seems to be the great obstacle in the way of accomplishing the purchase at anything like a reasonable sum.<sup>208</sup>

If indeed Kemp was accurate in his comments—and he had just travelled through the entire district, including covering the block boundaries—Wairarapa Maori were taking to the cash economy and changing to European-style agriculture and diet with enthusiasm less than five years after the arrival in the valley of the first pastoralists. This suggests an eye to the future; they certainly were not isolationist, but through these negotiations and lifestyle changes were demonstrating a desire to participate on as favourable terms as they could achieve. The keenness for the Canterbury Settlement showed, too, that they wanted full access to all the benefits of European culture and society, but the collapse of the negotiations seems to have indicated that they did not want it on just any terms. The negotiators commented that

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<sup>205</sup> Kemp, 'Journal of Mission to the Wairarapa'. Quoted in Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', para 3.138.

<sup>206</sup> Andrew John Rongotira to Eyre, 12 December 1848. GBPP. Quoted in Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', para 3.88.

<sup>207</sup> See the tabulated return by kainga in Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', para 3.150.

they were sure the purchase would have gone smoothly if the settlement had been guaranteed. The Maori, though, remained aware of the increasing economic value of their lands, and of the rental income they could derive from them and would not part with them merely to oblige the government purchasing programme.

Walzl has also discussed in some detail the nature of the agreement they thought they were making with regard to whether or not it was even a permanent alienation, or some adaptation of the customary tuku of land by which they retained rights.<sup>209</sup> He points out that of course the negotiations and prospective transactions were not taking place in a vacuum, but in a context in which, as Kemp put it, ‘native usages are in force in this district’. The ‘purely economic’ matters were, as viewed by Maori, inextricably dependent on the ongoing relationships, even to the extent of the Canterbury Settlement being viewed as an impending heke of the Queen. An example is the anger expressed by Te Manihera over the Pakeha to whom the Maori owners had leased Wharekaka—Gilbert—transferring the lease to Revans. This, he said, was ‘no good’:

It is for us to make the arrangements for our kainga.... for indeed friend, it was declared in our Deed, that if those Pakeha, if they have not completed their term of occupation at that kainga, it will be relinquished to us again.... [Revans] was very angry, nevertheless, the practices of our kainga will be ours to determine.<sup>210</sup>

This incorporates an ongoing insistence on their undiminished control over their traditional lands and reversion as under customary tuku, as well as a new reliance on the terms of a European contract.

This present report does not inquire into the full understanding of Maori regarding whether they were entering into a full sale, as contrasted with a traditional tuku, or some variant of either. Such a discussion is beyond both the brief and the expertise of the present writer. But it is apparent from the evidence that Maori expected to be intimately associated with the incoming settlement and to continue to reap both social and economic benefits from it. They did not intend to simply be paid a sum of money and then fade away out of sight and mind, but wished to trade with and learn from the newcomers, which presupposes that they would themselves retain

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<sup>208</sup> Kemp to Domett, 9 February 1849. GBPP. Quoted in Walzl, ‘Land Purchasing’, para 3.149.

<sup>209</sup> Walzl, ‘Land Purchasing’, paras 3.189-240.

<sup>210</sup> Manihera to Grey, 27 May 1852. Quoted in Walzl, ‘Land Purchasing’, para 4.136.

enough land and standing in the district to enable that scenario. Walzl has also reached this conclusion:

However, in this [new permanent] *tuku*, Wairarapa Maori did not want to go away and leave the land. They wanted to be near so as to experience the expected benefits. Therefore they wanted a portion to be kept for them. The understandings associated with the transfer had to be tested through *korero*. Therefore in negotiations, this became a focal point for those who had concerns. Assurances were sought that Wairarapa Maori would benefit from the arrival of the Europeans and that they would keep the land necessary to experience these benefits. Having listened to the agents, Wairarapa Maori believed they got both of these assurances.<sup>211</sup>

Walzl has also formed the opinion that the very purchase process itself did not fully take into account the needs and interests of the Wairarapa Maori.<sup>212</sup> Their need for land to be reserved from the purchase was recognised, but then left to the purchase agents to deal with. Particularly, there was no mechanism for dealing with situations arising when the needs of Maori and requirements of the proposed settlement clashed. Ultimately, though, this problem remained potential rather than actual as the purchase did not proceed at that time and the opportunity remained to address the issue when purchasing interest was revived.

The leasing by squatters continued and even expanded, to the chagrin of both the New Munster Government and the New Zealand Company, which was still prepared to purchase the Wairarapa. In September 1849, Principal Agent Fox complained to New Munster Colonial Secretary Domett:

Two cases have recently come to my knowledge; one, of a party taking a Run on the Coast beyond the Wairarapa at a very high rent likely to increase the avidity of the Natives; and to induce them to stand out for an extravagant price, when asked to sell, the other, of a party entering on a Run near the Lake, since the issue of the Proclamation....<sup>213</sup>

There had actually been four recent cases of squatting: Vallance taking a run 'near the Lake', Kelly taking a run adjoining Mein Smith's, and C. Cameron and Ashton St Hill taking runs on the coast.<sup>214</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', para 3.289.

<sup>212</sup> Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', para 3.289.

<sup>213</sup> Fox to Domett, 7 September 1849. McLean Papers 1295.

<sup>214</sup> Fox to Domett, 18 September 1849. McLean Papers 1295. Walzl comments that the lease to Vallance shows that the southern Maori were both interested in a sale to the Crown and in earning income from a lease. Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', para 4.369.

It is interesting in passing to note how often the tone of the discussion, as in Fox's comment here, seems to assume that the purchase of Maori land was not merely a commercial transaction, and that Maori had no legitimate rights to negotiate for the increasing market value of their land. Such raised expectations were characterised morally in Pakeha comments as greedy and grasping, and thus reprehensible; here their 'avidity' is increasing, presumably eagerness for 'extravagant prices'. On the other hand, the increased commercial value of the land resulting from settlement and development was accepted as a legitimate capital gain and to be passed on in the purchase price paid to settlers who would then buy at the higher price. Government or Company intentions to turn a profit from the transactions were mere financial dealings, with no moral content, greed or extravagance. Presumably the squatter paying the very high rental, to whom Fox had referred, rather than being implicitly subversive of official intentions had made the commercial calculation that this was an acceptable market rental and that it was still economically preferable to dealing with the Crown.

The New Munster officials all wished to enforce the Ordinance, but Governor Grey had directed the stay of such proceedings as had already been begun by Lt-Governor Eyre in the Manawatu, to Eyre's frustration and Fox's outrage on the Company's behalf. By now, Fox estimated that Wairarapa Maori were receiving between £800 and £1000 in rentals, which was not only a significant increase in itself, but also a further substantial growth from the earlier estimates.<sup>215</sup> The solution arrived at by the New Munster officials was to commission Donald McLean to commence a new round of purchase negotiations, although it was expected that now the price might well exceed £5000. McLean was otherwise engaged in Manawatu and Taranaki and did not commence the work for some time—again to Fox's frustration, especially since Fox believed he could during that interval have been able to find virtually any level of funding required. McLean later explained that the leasing to squatters, especially in the Wairarapa, was also giving Maori in other regions reason to pause when purchase agents sought their lands, while those who had already sold complained that they would have preferred to use the lease system but had complied with the Crown requirements.<sup>216</sup> There were thus broader public policy ramifications

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<sup>215</sup> Fox to Harington, 15 September 1849. NZC 3/10.

<sup>216</sup> Minutes of the Executive Council of New Munster, 6 May 1852. NM 7/01. Quoted in Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', para 4.131.

to the issue of enforcing the Ordinance than simply the effects on land purchasing in the Wairarapa.

Some change was occurring with regard to the relationship between the Maori lessors and the squatter lessees, revealing the risk the squatters were taking. In October 1850, one runholder, W.H. Donald, wrote a circular letter explaining that in the past, although the lease arrangements were admittedly extra-legal, they had been negotiated conscientiously and the relevant chiefs carefully identified, and the lease terms scrupulously observed. However, the newcomers paying higher prices were jeopardising those already in occupation who feared eviction, loss of property, or at least higher charges against which they had no protection in law. He had himself begun to experience this harassment and there resulted a general memorial seeking Government assistance, especially through expediting the purchase of the district.<sup>217</sup>

Three years later, when McLean was finally completing the Wairarapa purchases he commented on the insecurity the squatters had endured. He observed that Kelly was regarded by his landlords as ‘a mere tenant on sufferance that could be at any moment ejected [while] one of his servants was struck by an insolent native having no claim to the place because he was prevented from taking all the food he wished out of the kitchen’. He also reported how Gillies, having cautioned some Maori using his mill not to break it was ‘violently attacked and knocked down’ by Ngatuere and ordered to abandon the property that night, leaving it for Ngatuere’s use. McLean considered his work in leading towards secure titles was a valuable contribution towards the squatters’ well-being, who had earned better consideration:

... in the meantime with a few exceptions the settlers are obliged to put up with insults and use the [illegible] not only towards the chiefs but to every insignificant member of the tribe or otherwise subject themselves to the loss of all their improvements and property the result of many years, hard labour and toil.<sup>218</sup>

Some of this increased tension may have resulted from the changing society in the district. Perhaps the ‘few exceptions’ were the old hands and the newcomers were mostly those experiencing the difficulties. One cause of tension that could have contributed to the difficulties was certainly the realisation amongst Maori that the settlers were intending to be there to stay. Te Manihera complained to the Governor in

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<sup>217</sup> Walzl, ‘Land Purchasing’, paras 4.96-102.

<sup>218</sup> McLean to Grey, 14 September 1853. McLean Papers 1295. Quoted in Walzl, ‘Land Purchasing’, para 4.238.

May 1851 about a lessee who proposed to remain past the term of his lease. The original agreement was for twelve years, after which the Maori intended the property to be vacated, however the Pakeha was now saying he would not leave, an ‘outrage’ to Te Manihera, who sought the Governor’s assistance in ordering him to go.

Clearly there was a degree of economic prosperity amongst Wairarapa Maori at this time. The rental income had not yet been curtailed by Crown enforcement of the 1846 Ordinance and the increase in squatter numbers, and the Maori ability to raise rents, had actually resulted in a substantial increase in that rental income—much to the discomfiture of the Crown and New Zealand Company officials who realised only too well that this made their task of purchasing Wairarapa ki Tararua land all that more difficult.

The changes in both the number of extra-legal leases of runs and the rental income derived by Maori from them through this period have been tabulated by Helen McCracken.<sup>219</sup>

**Table 1: Extra-legal lease of Maori Land in Wairarapa 1844-1852**

<b>Year</b>	<b>New Runs</b>	<b>Total Runs</b>	<b>Total Annual Rent (£)</b>
1844	5	5	84
1845	5	10	120
1846	4	14	168
1847	3	17	325
1848	3	20	609
1849	1	21	588-800
1850	2	23	950
1851	1	24	1100-1200
1852	3	27	1200

The district covered by her report is generally from the south coast up to the line of the Waimata River on the coast and along the Manawatu River until it reaches the Manawatu Gorge, roughly the southern boundary of the Hawkes Bay Province.<sup>220</sup>

<sup>219</sup> Helen McCracken, ‘Land Alienation in the Wairarapa District Undertaken by the Crown and the Wellington Provincial Council 1854-c1870s’ (2001) Wai 863 #A46, 7. She uses calculations made by Dr Brad Patterson.

<sup>220</sup> McCracken, ‘Land Alienation’, 3.

What they did with that money is another matter. In Pakeha eyes they squandered it. Of course, even with a total of some £1200 throughout the region that had to be divided amongst the 6-700 Maori people who lived in the region, which amounts to less than £2 per person per annum. Allowing for unevenness of distribution as rangatira may have taken a greater share, children probably had none, and so on, that would have been far greater for some individuals in reality. Donald McLean later said, when arguing against the allowing of continued leasing by Maori to Europeans:

... from all that I can learn, these rents obtained without much care or labour, are injudiciously expended, and the greatest recipients are frequently, if not always, the most idle and dissolute characters of their tribe....<sup>221</sup>

The growing economic prosperity—as measured in European terms, at least—was becoming evident in more than just figures of cash income. Stirling reports Weld's comments that in 1848 many southern Wairarapa Maori were 'dressed in smart blankets, shirts & trousers & many of them riding good horses & eating wheaten cakes'.<sup>222</sup> Kemp recorded on his second trip in 1850 that in the lower Wairarapa there were 85 huts (although not weatherboard houses, and presumably being the total number of dwellings in the area), and that the Maori there owned 49 horses, 5 head of cattle, an unrecorded number of sheep, 349 tame pigs, and 3 goats. They were cultivating 15 acres of wheat, 32 in maize and 102 in potatoes. The cropping appeared to have been an initial success with the crop at the Ruamahanga villages of Waihenga and Kapekahinga being 'some of the finest wheat I ever saw', but already the crop at Huangarua was yielding less than the year before and with various villages being abandoned due to disease prospects appeared fragile at best. On the other hand, even at this early date Kemp thought the inhabitants of Turanganui in the lower valley to be lazy because of 'the comparatively easy manner in which they obtain European comforts through ... rents,' presumably because they were doing this rather than working the land for themselves as yeoman farmers.<sup>223</sup>

Kemp reiterated this opinion in the following year, implying that the easy acquisition of 'unearned' income was morally harmful to them (although what he thought of Pakeha landed gentry or landlords who also lived off rents is not recorded):

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<sup>221</sup> AJHR, 1862, C-1, 312.

<sup>222</sup> Quoted in Stirling, 'Promise', 48-9.

Those (natives) inhabiting the Wairarapa, considering the intercourse they have had with white people, are not much improved. They are far from being industrious, or anxious to obtain employment; and this is to be accounted for by the comparatively easy manner in which they obtain European comforts through a considerable sum of money annually paid to them in the shape of rents for the use of the land.<sup>224</sup>

Thus, the evidence is clearly that in the late 1840s and early 1850s Wairarapa Maori were taking some control of the management of both their lands and the admission of Pakeha on to those lands. Kemp's comments on their possessions indicate that a small start had been made on farming with sheep and cattle. They were striking commercially realistic deals with prospective lessees, as well as taking advantage of the small but growing number of associated income-earning opportunities, such as ferrying or transporting goods. The amount they were earning from rents was growing rapidly, although if Kemp's assessment is even remotely accurate the total amount thus derived was still nowhere near enough to support, say, 600 people; at its absolute peak it was never more than £2 per person a year. They were then, at this time, able to make a growing income from their land without alienating it permanently, and they were also able to derive additional income from selling their labour, as the ferrying, transporting, roadmaking and such tasks were ones that required no particular cash outlay before startup nor particular training or education in a European sense. Such activities and cash income were all additional to the ongoing access to and use of the traditional lands and resources that they retained.

There is an issue as to whether this situation was sustainable. The matter is entirely speculative and 'counter-factual', of course, but Professor Hawke has given evidence that it would not have been. He told the Hauraki Tribunal that in his opinion leasing 'would not have provided a secure form of revenue for Maori ... because I don't think that that would have been a system of land tenure which would have continued to attract migrants to New Zealand'.<sup>225</sup> To the extent that it was working in places like the Wairarapa, it was in a context where the settlers concerned expected it would be temporary. He does not mention the additional problem of an attitude amongst settlers, apparent in the contemporary sources, that in addition to resistance

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<sup>223</sup> Quoted in Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, 195.

<sup>224</sup> H.T. Kemp, 'Report on Maori Population', *New Zealand Journal*, 15 March 1851. Quoted in Hill, 'Land and Squatter', 58.

<sup>225</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, 'Transcript: Hauraki Inquiry: Cross-examination of Professor Hawke', Wai 863 #G10, p 124, lines 24-29.

to exchanging tenant status in Britain for tenant status in the colony, they would not be prepared to become tenants of Maori particularly. Perhaps, if Maori had retained and leased out their lands, there would have been in settlers' minds competition between the rational economic choice of leasing lands and still making huge profits from them (as the early Wairarapa squatters did) and the emotional rejection of becoming tenants of 'Natives'.

Because leases were informal, they were not exclusive and if they still required access to a resource, Maori were able simply to go there and the lessees were in no position to gainsay them. While not an ideal arrangement, at this time there seem to have been few tensions over it except where Maori physically interfered with stock or other property and that does not seem to have been frequent. At this time there was still plenty of land to go round and the lack of exclusivity of possession seemingly eased matters more than it caused trouble.

This situation would change dramatically over the next half decade. Crown purchases and virtually immediate onselling removed huge areas not only from Maori ownership but also from access and use by them. Their growing and ongoing rental income was replaced by one-off lump sum payments, or at best instalments over several years. Those payments for permanent alienation were not necessarily of amounts hugely above what they were earning from their rentals; although the total amount that would be paid was for much more, the rentals were not spread over the entire area purchased nor shared by all the people in it. They would then have to rely much more on being able to make the transition to a more Pakeha lifestyle and earn cash income from skilled labour, requiring education and training.

### **3.3. Crown Purchasing: Governor Grey and Donald McLean from 1853**

After the failure of the purchasers associated with the New Zealand Company to acquire any Wairarapa land, the Crown's new Land Purchase Commissioner, Scotsman Donald McLean, was sent to the Wairarapa to work the magic he had

already displayed in Taranaki, Wanganui, Manawatu, Hawkes Bay and elsewhere in persuading Maori to agree to sell large tracts of land. The narrative of his purchasing activities has already been covered in great detail by other historians in evidence previously prepared for the present inquiry and so it is not proposed to do more in the present report than to comment on a number of aspects of the process, particularly the expectations aroused in Maori by the promises made by McLean and Grey, and the final outcome in terms of land purchased, prices paid, and land remaining in Maori hands.

The occasional side deal was entered into with Maori as McLean completed his flurry of purchases from mid-1853. Shifting the squatter Sutherland off Castle Point, McLean directed him to a vacant area inland of the Mataikona reserve for his stock. Since it was impossible to move there in mid-winter due to lack of roads, McLean further came to an arrangement with Wiremu Te Potangaroa that Sutherland's sheep could remain on part of the reserve until it would be possible to shift them. Sutherland could have a designated area for a homestead for £10 rental, his sheep could be depastured on such portions of the reserve as did not interfere with the Maori cultivations, and as payment for that service Sutherland would keep fifty of Wiremu's sheep and their increase up to a total of 200, whether on the reserve or not, free of charge except shipping costs for the wool.<sup>226</sup> This deal gave the Maori a little cash and the nucleus of their own flock. This arrangement is presumably the genesis of the 47-acre Sutherland Block at Otane, a piece of flat land up the Mataikona River, which was removed from the Mataikona Reserve and sold to Sutherland by McLean in 1856, just two years after the creation of the reserve.<sup>227</sup>

The rush of purchasing by McLean in 1853-54 proceeded in an order that shows Maori were not simply throwing all their land at him indiscriminately, but prioritising their alienations. After several months, McLean reported to Grey that he had so far acquired some 560,000 acres and while he had paid 'something less than 3s an acre' for what was often 'very indifferent land' these transactions still amounted to 'a great thing' from the Crown's perspective'. He clearly did not consider the land to have

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<sup>226</sup> McLean to Domett, 7 July 1853. LS-W2, 1851-1853. Quoted in Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', para 4.164, n 679.

<sup>227</sup> George Ngatiamu Matthews, 'Brief of Evidence' (nd) Wai 863 #E38, para 67.

been over-priced at that rate; the Crown had made a good bargain. He was now working back to the core valley area of greatest agricultural value:

The Natives have now disposed of all their extensive districts of waste land beyond Tararua so that every future purchase effected here must include the best parts of the valley and I am endeavouring as far as I can to confine the sales to those parts most available for agriculture and settlement as I know that the rest of the coast line can always be obtained at moderate prices and the land is not essential for any immediate purpose [The great thing is to acquire the whole of this valley and if it is not done now it may here after be a question of years. I am therefore extremely anxious that two or three additional good blocks should be acquired here so that the question can be finally disposed of....<sup>228</sup>

Clearly, McLean's aim was to acquire the best agricultural land, most useful for settlement purposes, which meant that his methodology was to 'endeavour as far as he could' to persuade Maori to part with it rather than other less valuable land, especially up the coastline. This then is a conscious prioritisation of the interests of settlers ahead of those of Maori. The aim was not simply acquiring land so that it would then be held under Crown-derived title and thus extending practical sovereignty; it was to remove the land from Maori and re-distribute it to Pakeha settlers. This in itself provides an obvious answer to the issue question concerning prioritisation of settlers ahead of Maori.

Apart from the question of how land might be divided between Maori and Pakeha on a quality basis, there is also the matter of sheer quantity. Although he was consciously intending to acquire the best agricultural land for the Pakeha settlers, via the Crown purchasing and Crown grant process, extensive reserves of even second or third class land on which Maori could provide for themselves were not part of McLean's agenda. As a matter of principle, the reserves to be set aside for Maori from the purchases were apparently not intended to provide Maori with a generous patrimony to permit their continuing to live as they always had, or to become landed gentry or monied proprietors as a reasonable number of the settlers were becoming. In a letter to Mein Smith on 20 October 1853, he stated that Wairarapa Maori had agreed to sell a large tract of country of which he wanted Captain Mein Smith, being a surveyor, to make a sketch map so that the area and quality could be estimated before the price was settled. He warned that the Maori would demand 'extravagant reserves' at places like Opaki, Makoura and Kohangawareware (near today's Masterton), but

warned Smith to refuse to agree to any such arrangement. While confidently leaving the details to Smith's own discretion, McLean asked him to settle the native reserve boundaries as much as possible to avoid future disputes.<sup>229</sup> He told the surveyor that without consulting first with himself, Smith could allow nothing more than 'what you may consider essential for their welfare'.<sup>230</sup>

This seems a low limit; while Smith retained some discretion, the restriction to what was essential did not permit much generosity and implies an expectation that they would in future operate at a subsistence level, unless they found some way of acquiring wealth that did not depend on their real estate assets. Walzl comments that it amounted in the case of the 160-strong Ngai Tumapuhia, who received 7635 acres in reserves, to 47.6 acres per head, more than triple what had recently been provided for Ngai Tahu.<sup>231</sup> Which is not to say that even the greater allowance was generous or even adequate; the quality and suitability of the lands likewise determined what could be done with them. Further, the reserves were not made inalienable, which meant that they could contract further as sales and subdivisions pared them down.

The initial Crown purchases were not done cleanly in the southern Wairarapa valley, with clear title being able to be passed along to settlers, and thus they caused difficulties for everyone, both immediately and subsequently. In the case of Bidwill's Pihautea station:

Nestling in the meanders of the river were numerous patches of unsold land, which in the contentious reappraisals of who had sold what, made difficulties both for C.R. Bidwill and the Crown. The original estimate of 12,000 acres shrank initially to 6,800 acres freehold, and the homestead was not acquired until 1859.<sup>232</sup>

This situation resulted in confusion for all concerned. Maori cannot have been given a clear impression of what the purchase process was entailing and the settlers were also left in an unresolved situation. Other historians, such as Walzl and Stirling, have discussed this situation in detail. For present purposes, it clouds the issue of purchase prices and their adequacy, as the target is a constantly moving one. It also makes the discussion of 'sufficiency' more difficult as the amount that Maori were left with remained unclear for another two decades. As Rigby notes:

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<sup>228</sup> McLean to Grey, 22 September 1853. McLean Papers 1316.

<sup>229</sup> Bagnall, *Masterton*, 11.

<sup>230</sup> McLean to Mein Smith, 20 October 1853. AJHR, 1861, C-1, 263.

<sup>231</sup> Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', para 4.434.

Before 1871 Maori could not obtain a clear picture of what land had changed hands and what land had been retained. In the absence of such compelling information, Maori had little upon which to base protest about particular boundaries ... or a particular reserve.<sup>233</sup>

He also notes other events that conspired to keep Maori uncertain of exactly what they had retained from the McLean purchases, such as the fact that McLean retained the deeds and they had to rely on what officials (and presumably other Pakeha) told them—not to mention the intractable problem of inaccurate estimates of block sizes and lack of surveying in most places.

### 3.3.1. Maori Expectations

What Maori received and anticipated as a result of the Crown purchase process formed the foundation of their subsequent economic history, to say nothing of other aspects of their lives. The expectations Maori had from the McLean purchases included both social and economic advancement. Walzl has explained about the allowance of £7000 from the Civil List from 1851, supported by 15% of the land fund,<sup>234</sup> and Grey's explanation of the general policy as central to the whole purchasing programme:

I have to acquaint you that as the natives have been given to understand on many occasions, on disposing of their land, that the proportion of the land fund above alluded to would if necessary be expended in promoting their welfare, and as it has also been frequently explained to them that such expenditure of part of the land fund, rather forms the real payment for their lands, than the sums in the first instance given to them by the Government, it will be proper, so long as such a course is necessary, to continue to expend one fifteenth part of the gross proceeds of the land fund in promoting the benefit and civilisation of the native race, regarding the expenditure as one of the several items of expenditure which are necessarily incurred in extinguishing the native title to lands, which are purchased for the Crown.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, 347.

<sup>233</sup> Rigby, 'Crown Purchases', 73.

<sup>234</sup> Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', paras 4.169-178.

<sup>235</sup> Grey to Wynyard, 2 September 1852. G32/1. Quoted in Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', para 4.176.

Walzl also shows that Grey took this general policy a step further including in the purchase deeds specific clauses concerning the expenditure of a percentage of future land sales, the Wairarapa Five Per Cents.

It is hard to imagine that Grey's visit to the Wairarapa in 1853 did not include the promises of material prosperity as well as social well-being that he and his purchase agents promised elsewhere. He later reminded the neighbouring Hawkes Bay Maori—some of whom were participants in the Wairarapa purchasing—of the 1853 trip:

I came here first to you a great many years ago to ask you to sell me some land, for the Europeans to be settled on by them. I told you all then that that would be for your benefit—that you would get protection from your enemies, and that an end would be put to your wars among one another. I told you of a good many things—carts, horses, ploughs, cattle, property, which you had not then—that you would get schools for your children, and doctors to nurse you when you were sick. I told you that I was going to marry you to the European race, and that you would have to live together afterwards....<sup>236</sup>

Before the Smith-Nairn Commission in 1879, Grey acknowledged that these were the standard terms offered in Crown purchasing at that time:

... those were the instructions I always gave. They were instructions I gave in the old Hawkes Bay purchase, and I explained that the payment made to them in money was not really the true payment at all.<sup>237</sup>

Collateral benefits, many social and cultural, but many also economic, were thus conceived of by the Crown agents as the real value passing to Maori in alienating their lands. Of course, although they were future benefits, they were definitely expected and not merely potentialities, possibilities that might or might not come to pass. Such was the confidence the early colonial administrators in their culture, their actions and their outcomes.

McLean confirmed only a couple of years after Grey's visit, in 1855, that such economic promises had been made explicitly as part of Grey's purchase negotiations for the Wairarapa. Referring to a mill to be provided for the Papawai village by the government, McLean explained:

The Mill was promised by His Excellency Sir George Grey during his first visit to Wairarapa in August 1853. I was present myself at a conference

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<sup>236</sup> *Te Wananga* newspaper, 29 December 1877. Quoted in Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', para 4.195.  
<sup>237</sup> Quoted in Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', para 4.409.

with the chiefs when the promise was made, the Mill was to be erected on a college reserve at Papawai and was to form part of a school establishment there. One condition, however, of granting the Mill was that the natives should sell the Wairarapa. This condition has been fulfilled by the Natives consequently they expect this Mill.<sup>238</sup>

As the General Government was tardy in honouring this promise, McLean reiterated a year later that ‘a promise was made by Sir George Grey to the Natives of Wairarapa at the time of the first purchase of land in that valley that a mill should be erected for them at the expense of Government as a present’. However, he also recognised that it went beyond being a mere present and was ‘a promise of the late Governor’s which amounted in fact to a condition of purchase of the Wairarapa valley’.<sup>239</sup>

Kemp put it equally emphatically:

They [the mills] were always understood to have been gifts from the Government, and as a special acknowledgement, for the willing manner in which at the request of Sir George Grey they [Maori] had while enjoying a large annual rental, relinquished that income for the Public good and transferred the land to the hands of the Crown.<sup>240</sup>

This explanation also gave the promise the added quality of a special recognition that Wairarapa ki Tararua Maori were suffering an immediate economic disadvantage in selling their land to the Crown. This was conceived of by Kemp as effectively an act of public service, a sacrifice knowingly made for the advancement of the Colony more than themselves, and shows that the Crown officials at the time did appreciate that the price they were paying was not in itself adequately compensating Wairarapa Maori for the permanent alienation of their lands. Governor Gore Browne agreed that ‘the gift of the mill admits of no dispute’.

However, in the event it is unclear that the mill was of much immediate benefit to Maori or anyone else. Te Manihera claimed it as his own and refused to allow Ngatuere to use it. Others such as the new resident CMS missionary, the Rev. William Ronaldson, were likewise unable to grind their corn there either. Resident Magistrate William Searancke believed that the Maori owners, whoever they might rightly be, would anyway be unable to pay a miller’s wages. In any case, he complained to McLean: ‘I need hardly say how much I am disappointed in the Wairarapa natives. I

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<sup>238</sup> McLean minute, 25 May 1855. IA 14/6.

<sup>239</sup> McLean to Private Secretary, Officer Administering the Government, 5 August 1856. IA 14/6.

consider them to be the greatest scoundrels unhung constantly worrying me by some confused unfounded claims or statements.<sup>241</sup>

Walzl provides a clear example of the Wairarapa Maori relying on the Grey promises, including the five percents, and taking a keen and informed interest in the next step of utilisation of what they derived from the purchase process. McLean reported almost immediately:

Manihera is in an excellent humor [sic]. I told him that I had no doubt Your Excellency would sanction his having a nice cottage built for himself at Papawai out of the proceeds of the 5 per cent and I have been encouraged to suggest this from the additional control which the words suggested by Your Excellency 'or other purposes of a like nature in which the Native race are interested' gives to the Govt. for the disposal of this fund.

The Crown Grant for Raniera is producing a wonderfully good effect among the other young chiefs who are anxious to have all their title on the same footing—this young chief has placed £120 in my hands which in accordance with a wish expressed by Your Excellency I have safely invested for him by lending it to one of the settlers for one year at ten per cent.

I have also on hand £300 for another chief to be invested in a similar manner but this is such a large sum that I suppose I must write for instructions before I do anything with it, beyond as I have already done using some of it to conclude the purchase of a homestead as Capt Smith's until I receive funds from Wellington.<sup>242</sup>

Raniera's £120 was invested in the settlers Joseph Kelly and Angus McMaster. The £300 came from Wiremu Tamihana Hiko and was invested in Hugh Morrison, Biddulph Hutton and Archibald Gillies. All of these men then used this Maori money to buy land from the Crown out of the areas just purchased. Rigby observes that this practice of loans and reinvestment was done at the express wish of Grey, but that it is not clear whether it was widespread or restricted to those who would prove most useful to McLean. He does not say whether these were the only Maori to receive sufficiently substantial sums from the initial payments to have had a surplus available for such reinvestment, but it would seem likely that other Maori chiefs received such large amounts, quite apart from whether they wished to use it in that way. He adds: 'It

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<sup>240</sup> Quoted in Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', para 4.402.

<sup>241</sup> Searancke to McLean [May 1858?]. Quoted in McIntyre, *Canoes*, 76.

<sup>242</sup> McLean to Grey, 22 September 1853. McLean Papers 1316.

is clear that this policy was one in which a schooling in European economic practices directed at key individuals supposedly led to the betterment of all.’<sup>243</sup>

These three quoted examples all show chiefs exercising commercial sense, not frittering away the proceeds of their sales immediately on consumer goods that promptly wore out, or were smoked or eaten. It is also interesting to note that in the Wairarapa at least some of the settlers, having had Maori as landlords for a number of years, seem to have been prepared to have them as creditors also, borrowing money from them at commercial rates. This is in contrast to the sentiment often to be seen elsewhere of antipathy to the very idea of white men being beholden to brown, of tenant settlers being at all dependent on landlord Maori. Whatever else it indicates, this shows that Maori-Pakeha relations in the Wairarapa at this time, and however briefly, must have been relatively harmonious and commercial transactions could still be conducted that minimised racist overtones. It also shows a substantial degree of trust by Maori placed in McLean and the settlers concerned.

As to McLean’s attitude, in this he seems to have been acting responsibly and with the best interests of the Maori in mind over such monies—while also assisting the settlers to purchase more land from the Crown, and the Crown to recoup some of the substantial outlay it was having to make to acquire the land even at the prices he had negotiated. He considered Raniera’s money to have been ‘safely invested’ and was cautious about taking unilateral responsibility for so large a sum as £300 without specific instructions. Once again he fully accepted the five percents as a standard feature of Wairarapa transactions, and was prepared to interpret the fund’s purpose liberally to benefit Maori. It may be possible to regard his accommodation of Manihera’s personal wishes as a tacit bribe or at least greasing the wheels of purchasing to the Government’s ultimate benefit, but there is no prima facie evidence of subterfuge and Walzl also notes that he was using the promise of benefits to ‘accede to the chiefs’ wishes’.<sup>244</sup>

Rigby is not so sure. He quotes Governor Browne as expressing satisfaction in 1856 with McLean’s method of encouraging closer links between Maori and the Crown (and Pakeha generally) by ‘giving homesteads in the neighbourhood of our settlements to chiefs of importance, or enabling them by loans to purchase small

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<sup>243</sup> Rigby, ‘Crown Purchases’, 65-66.

<sup>244</sup> Walzl, ‘Land Purchasing’, para 4.256.

holdings for themselves'.<sup>245</sup> This suggests that the small reserves such as Manihera's, close to European settlers, were seen as 'homesteads' for individual chiefs, personal estates for particular persons, rather than reserves on which a tribal group might live or utilise for their communal benefit. It may be noted that given the way purchasing and settlement proceeded, those blocks adjoining settlers' acquisitions were much more likely to be good land than larger ones left in the hands of groups of Maori usually in areas where settlers were less keen to occupy.

William Mein Smith also advocated allowing Maori to live near settlers:

I'll tell you what has struck me, that it would be right when lands in this or any other district are advertised for sale, that the Maoris should have notice in time for many would buy land if they had timely notice and were told that they must be ready with their cash. Notice in the Gazette is all very well to the Pakeha but the Maoris never see the paper and could not understand it if they did.<sup>246</sup>

Rigby does not comment on either of these quotes, but simply on McLean's 'good business sense' in channelling Maori money to increase settlers' ability to buy land immediately from the cash-strapped Crown. But they are not directly relevant to that point and instead indicate that there was an intention to keep some Maori—'chiefs of importance', at least—within the settled areas. The loans mentioned by Governor Browne were not to Pakeha but to Maori to buy back portions of the land they had just sold to the Crown, but with the addition of a Crown title and actual or prospective Pakeha neighbours as the added value justifying the difference in price. Smith did not say on what basis he could be so certain Maori would buy if only they had adequate notice, nor did he say where he expected them to get their cash from. Without wanting to make too much of one isolated statement, Browne's specification of 'chiefs of importance' could be taken as impliedly rejecting Maori who did not possess that status, and thus consigning them to remote and undesirable areas.

The Five Percents agreement bore immediate additional fruit for Maori. Domett wrote to the Native Secretary getting more material for the Wairarapa:

The Governor directs that a plough be bought for Wi Kingi of Wairarapa and sent there by the boat to Te Kopi the first time it goes. Also a cart for E Hiko a chief of Wairarapa and a flour mill for Ngairo another chief of Wairarapa also to be sent to Te Kopi by the boat. These presents are to be

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<sup>245</sup> Quoted in Rigby, 'Crown Purchases', 66.

<sup>246</sup> Smith to Bell, 20 May 1855. Quoted in Rigby, 'Crown Purchases', 66.

charged against the 5 per cents reserved out of the proceeds of land to be sold in the Wairarapa district for the benefits of the natives therein.<sup>247</sup>

Again, these were substantial items, and of immediate economic use, if without the longer term value of the house and investments. A confusion creeps into the official mind here, however, as Domett calls them ‘presents’ while simultaneously charging them against the five percents. If *presents*, then they might be regarded as being more at the grace and favour of the government, and less of an obligation on the government predicated upon the initial Maori consent to sell their lands and the express terms of the various deeds. Also, if *presents* then they should not have been charged against the five percents as the Maori were thus actually paying for the items themselves.

The combination of attractive features such as the promises of government contributions towards economic prosperity, the immediate payment of some cash, the prompt provision of economically valuable items, and the inclusion of the Five Percents in deeds convinced Wairarapa Maori to part with over 1,225,000 acres in an avalanche of sales to McLean in the months following Grey’s visit until January 1854.

An additional reason for some sales appears to have been a desire to gain a Crown title. White records Land Court evidence that Wiremu Kingi and Waaka sold Wharehanga for £100 in order to gain a Crown title and thus preserve it for Kingi’s younger cousins, including Te Whatahoro Jury. It seems difficult to think how this might have been done unless the Crown immediately sold it back to them without making a profit, but the evidence (from thirty years later) is that McLean told them they had to do this in order to be able to preserve the land legally.<sup>248</sup> However it may have been expected to work, the desire is clear, that the land should be preserved as an asset in Maori hands, regardless of the title’s derivation.

Similarly, after McLean’s purchases in southern Wairarapa, to the annoyance of New Zealand Company representative William Fox, McLean allowed Te Manihera to buy back from the Crown 640 acres at Wharekaka for £320 (i.e. 10 shillings per acre, rather more than Maori had just been paid for it). McLean told Fox that the purchase had been of land adjoining the 1000-acre reserve he had made there for Te

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<sup>247</sup> Domett to Native Secretary, 26 September 1853. CS 3 vol 6, 53/1397. Quoted in Walzl, ‘Land Purchasing’, para 4.259.

<sup>248</sup> 4 Wairarapa MB 145 (16 September 1883). Quoted in Tom White, ‘Jury Whanau Land Claims’ (2002) Wai 863 #A34, 17.

Manihera.<sup>249</sup> This suggests two things: first, that Te Manihera was attempting to create as extensive an estate as possible in the area where he and his folk wanted to be. Secondly, it also reveals that some ‘constructive’ use was being given to the proceeds of the land sales, which is the most likely source for that large a lump sum, rather than the profligacy of which Wairarapa Maori were continually accused. It may also suggest that some Maori did accept the officials’ argument that they were better off with land in Crown title and were prepared to pay for the ‘added value’—or it may just be that by 1857, several years after McLean’s purchases and with the Crown passing land over to settlers at a great rate, Te Manihera had realised how little land was being left available to Maori and was making a belated effort to accumulate what he could.

### **3.3.2. Purchase Prices**

The actual prices paid by the Crown purchase agents, having been canvassed in detail by Rigby, Stirling and Walzl particularly, have not been pursued here. Rigby considers the issue of their adequacy and summarises:

Were the Crown’s payments, and the way it distributed those payments, always fair and transparent? This question is difficult to answer. Although Crown agents attempted to price land in relation to acreage, their acreage estimates (except at Castlepoint) were invariably inaccurate. The Crown’s failure to survey any first wave purchases after Castlepoint meant that it could not calculate unit costs. The only way of determining a fair price for land was to do so in relation to both surveyed acreage, and in relation to a careful assessment of the quality of the land under negotiation....

The Crown failure to survey first wave purchases, therefore, meant the price it offered Maori was almost inevitably arbitrary. Its handling of the distribution of price, too, was bound to be arbitrary.... Payment by multiple instalments over several years also proved to be an unwieldy system of rewarding different people in a somewhat arbitrary fashion. The Crown’s second, third and subsequent instalments usually went to smaller and smaller groups of people....<sup>250</sup>

Such an assessment impacts on the consideration of whether Maori could realistically have been expected to ‘get a start’ in the new economy funded by the proceeds of the land sales. If the payments were artificially depressed because of

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<sup>249</sup> Rigby, ‘Crown Purchases’, 81.

McLean's agenda and low budget, then the acreages being bought were markedly under-estimated so that the quantum was further reduced (to the extent that these matters were actually decided by acreage), and then the method of payment resulted in many, even most, owners missing out on even their fair share of that quantum, then there is no way that the sale of land, even on the massive scale of the mid-nineteenth century, could have provided all of the Maori population of Wairarapa ki Tararua with the funds necessary to give them a foundation for participation in that new economy. This was especially so when they no longer had the land resource to which they could apply those funds, or what they had left was of a quality that required more money than they had.

Rigby's more detailed discussion of the adequacy and distribution of the purchase prices notes that in the first eight months of purchasing in Wairarapa, McLean had acquired some one and a half million acres for a total cost, including later instalments, of £23,000.<sup>251</sup> This price, well up on the £16,000 Maori had originally asked for in 1849, was paid out in instalments, with about £14,000 paid initially and the balance over the next five years. Rigby cites historical geographer Dr Brad Patterson who has calculated that the Wairarapa land purchased between 1840 and 1876 was at the 'bargain rate' average of 5.2d per acre. By contrast, the rate at which the Crown onsold the same land to settlers was up to 20 times what it had paid to Maori—as indeed was the 10 shilling rate charged Te Manihera for the 640-acre block mentioned above. There were other problems Rigby identifies that all can be seen to have impacted on the real value to Maori of the purchase prices paid to them for their lands, particularly if viewed from the perspective of providing them with capital on which to base their future in the new agricultural economy:

Further, the speed of purchase and neglect of surveys (after Castlepoint) failed to identify boundaries to provide necessary information on acreage, or to provide a basis for subsequent five-percent payments. Finally, instalment payments were introduced to provide a variety of functions, mostly beneficial to the Crown, which in some instances caused uncertainty by failing to ensure the identity of the rightful instalment recipient(s), and failure to adhere to instalment dates has created further difficulties in determining payments made.<sup>252</sup>

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<sup>250</sup> Rigby, 'Crown Purchases', 103.

<sup>251</sup> Rigby, 'Crown Purchases', 72. At p 61 he says 1.5 million acres in five months for £13,000.

<sup>252</sup> Rigby, 'Crown Purchases', 72.

The prices paid in the McLean purchases varied hugely, depending on the size and type of block, including whether they already had European homesteads on them. Thus Blacksmith's homestead was acquired for 10 shillings per acre, and Northwood's for a very high £1 per acre, while owners of large blocks were paid relatively little, Whareama No 3 (North) going for a mere 2d per acre—0.8% of the Northwood price. Rigby shows that not all Maori did very poorly from it, though, with Te Manihera being paid £1000 for the 18,000 acres of Owhanga near Featherston, including a reserve, probably because he was a supporter of Crown purchasing.<sup>253</sup>

Some land-related payments may have been hidden in the annuities paid to some chiefs for appointments they received, such as Te Manihera's £50 salary as an assessor as well as assistance with debts, and £30 to Te Hapuku in 1862 and perhaps other years. But then within a few years there seem to have been proposals to make ongoing payments to certain chiefs at least primarily because they had already sold virtually all their lands. Thus, of Ngatuere it was said:

His social character renders him unfitted for the office of assessor by the RM [Resident Magistrate] of his District thinks he is one for whom some provision ought to be made. He has sold nearly the whole of his land to the Crown and has little to depend upon except his own labour.<sup>254</sup>

Likewise, of Wereta Kawekairangi it was noted that he 'has sold nearly the whole of his land to the Crown and has little to depend upon except his own labor, [and therefore] is a fit subject for an allowance'.

For all these reasons, Rigby concludes:

Attempting to establish a price per acre standard, therefore, is impossible. Given McLean's approach in treating each purchase (and in some cases each vendor) on its individual merit, and in the absence of surveys, there could be no proper price per acre calculation.<sup>255</sup>

It may be noted though, what McLean's general opinion was of the deals that he was making: they were bargains for the Crown. Commenting on the payment of £100 for only 800 acres (i.e. 2s 6d per acre) at Huangarua for the land on which Smith and Tully had their runs, he explained that this was apparently excessive because when

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<sup>253</sup> Rigby, 'Crown Purchases', 62-63.

<sup>254</sup> Quoted in Rigby, 'Crown Purchases', 63.

<sup>255</sup> Rigby, 'Crown Purchases', 64.

purchasing small areas the settlers' homesteads occupied a disproportionate amount of the area, but nevertheless it was essential for their homes to be secured. Smith at once repurchased at 10s per acre, giving the Crown an immediate £300 profit. Regarding this more expensive land, he enthused:

At the same time, I cannot help thinking that this land has been secured at a wonderfully cheap rate when it is considered that the Natives are generally so apt to take advantage of improvements to increase their demands, and they are sufficiently intelligent to know that Captain Smith, as well as all other settlers on Native land, are quite in their power, and that the gentleman alone has expended upwards of £1000 on his establishment.<sup>256</sup>

Of course, for a buyer to get a bargain, the vendor must be selling for less than the object's normal worth. In this case, the Maori owners had foregone the usual five percent clause in exchange for a higher lump sum, yet even so McLean considered his outlay 'wonderfully cheap'. Maori were 'intelligent' enough to know the power they had in the situation and the value of the already settled lands; in most cases they used this to negotiate an increased price, but in this block they allowed a better bargain for the Crown, perhaps because they particularly liked Captain Mein Smith as a settler and neighbour. Whatever their reasons in this instance, the comment does, though, confirm once again that they did possess a degree of commercial understanding.

McLean continued to find that the substantial rentals hitherto received by the Maori from whom he was trying to purchase were compared unfavourably with the lump sums he was offering:

The renting system has had such a hold on these people that it is most difficult to convince the old men particularly, that it must be abandoned to give place to better and more permanent arrangements.

I conceive that the Government is pledged to the chiefs and tribes who have already sold their land as well as in vindicating the law of the country to put an end to such a system and I am really glad that it has been already checked in the [Wellington] Province to the extent of Seven hundred and fifty pounds a year.<sup>257</sup>

Bagnall does not find such reluctance surprising. He observes of the simultaneous drastic drop in income available to Maori from some £1200 in rents to very little, and the subsequent resale for very different amounts: 'They were capable of simple arithmetic and the process whereby lands for which they were paid a few

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<sup>256</sup> McLean to Domett, 20 September 1853. AJHR, 1861, C-1, 262.

pence an acre were immediately resold for ten shillings an acre must have proved a little puzzling.<sup>258</sup>

McIntyre summarises a number of factors that contributed to the decision of Wairarapa Maori to sell to McLean and Grey in the mid-1850s, a mix of economic push and pull factors, social elements, and the promises of the Crown representatives:

Why did Wairarapa Maori leaders sell? Because, in the absence of Colenso's protective defences, they were openly exposed to a volley of threats and enticements. They feared the loss of their leases and their mana if they did not sell. The older chiefs were shaken by hot-headed younger men who were eager to receive immediate material gain and heightened mana. Subjected to the intense flattery and persuasive powers of two highly skilled negotiators, Grey and McLean, Maori were lured by their promises of the benefits that would ensue from their involvement in the new European economy. They were influenced by the precedent set by Te Hapuku [selling Waipukurau and other blocks in southern Hawkes Bay].... Grey and McLean also offered reward for compliance: Te Wereta was reportedly 'delighted at being entrusted with such a large sum' of gold coins; Te Raniera received a Crown grant for his reserve; and Te Manihera, Ngatuere, Te Wereta Kawekairangi, Hemi Te Miha, Raniera Te Iho-o-te-rangi, Te Hiko Tamaihotua and Karaitiana Te Korou were among those made assessors.... The threat that Pakeha leaseholders would be prosecuted and forced out of Wairarapa ... was probably used as a bargaining chip by Grey, along with a provision unique to Wairarapa [the five percent clauses].... A further concession was Grey's absolute assurance that European squatters 'adopted' by Wairarapa Maori, such as Angus McMaster, would have the first option to buy their homesteads and essential parts of their runs.<sup>259</sup>

These are points for which evidence is clear. As has been noted, the threat of the loss of lease income was prominently—not 'probably'—wielded by the Crown representatives, so that Wairarapa Maori could lose any opportunity for a substantial cash income. The nearby example and influence of the senior chief, Te Hapuku, who assisted McLean to convince Maori groups through this period, would have been important, too, especially as he had been convinced by the prospects of increased wealth through the closer association with Europeans. The last promise mentioned, protection of existing arrangements with lessees was important as frequently Maori

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<sup>257</sup> McLean to Grey, 14 September 1853. McLean Papers 1295.

<sup>258</sup> Bagnall, *Greytown*, 37.

<sup>259</sup> McIntyre, *Canoes*, 61. She writes, though, of the assessors being appointed to the Native Land Court in the 1850s, when, of course, the court was not created until 1865, over a decade after the purchases. Perhaps she means assessors to assist the resident magistrate/district court system, although there is still the question of a time lag between the purchase negotiations and the reception of the 'perk'/incentive/bribe she is implying.

resisted the purchasers' offers from a sense of loyalty to the squatters with whom they already had agreements they felt honour-bound to uphold. One factor McIntyre omits from this list is the influence of the ravages of disease and death on Wairarapa Maori, especially those in the south about whom we have noted Kemp's and Colenso's reports. Death and depopulation must have entered into the calculation when they were pondering whether or how much land to part with.

The reserve lands retained by Maori in South Wairarapa after the initial Crown purchasing have been summarised by Aburn:

Raniera Te Iho o te Rangi received a Crown grant on 20 January 1863 for 2840 acres. This area, known as Raniera's Reserve, comprised the tableland between Lake Onoke and the Russell block adjoining the present Turanganui-Whangaimoana road. An area of 80 acres was set aside for the Ferry Reserve. At Whakatomotomo Hemi Te Miha and others retained 1160 acres. The Pirinoa reserve of 466 acres was vested in the family of Piripi Te Maari, Hohepa Aporo, Hinetauria Hohepa, Maikara Te Amo and others. At Turanganui the owners at a later date were Retine Tamihana, Katerina Whakarekura, Hui Te Miha, Maraati Toatoa Rakai, Huriana Kingi and Raki Tamihana.

Eighty acres forming the Tauanui reserve were assigned to H. Maomao and others. Apiata Hakiaha and others retained 310 acres of the Okoura reserve surrounding the Kohunui village.

At Tuhitarata Hiko Piata had 24 acres; Ruihi Te Miha 100 acres at Waitapu; Ani and Wi Hutana 47 acres at Matiti and Te Retimona Te Ruahi 20 acres nearby. Paratene Matenga also had a block near Waitapu. Manihera Rangitekaiwaho had an individual title to a block of 315 acres not far from Otaraiā.<sup>260</sup>

On this list, in South Wairarapa Maori retained reserve lands totalling something over 5442 acres. More than half of this, though, was in Raniera's single reserve. Another fifth was in Hemi Te Miha's reserve at Whakatomotomo. The rest were in small blocks that cannot have been intended as more than personal lands, but even so areas such as 20, 24 or 47 acres were not sizable enough for even the imminent small farming initiatives to make viable.

The matter of the gap between what Maori received for their land and what the government then onsold it for resurfaces here. Professor Hawke has stated that it is a 'misconception' to say that 'buying cheap' and selling dear' was an exploitation of Maori, since the gap between the two was an important source of government revenue. He points out that the gap was:

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<sup>260</sup> Aburn, *Pirinoa*, 27.

... a payment by the Pakeha settlers for the services provided to them by the government. These included the establishment of a land register and a court system which protected property rights. But they also included subsidies to further immigrants, and those further immigrants would further enhance the value of the land in question, Landowners would have supplies of labour skills and there would be a larger local market for their produce.... Both nineteenth century ideas and modern economic analysis would see government revenue derived from its land acquisition and sale policies as an appropriate instrument for ensuring that the settlers who benefited paid the cost of subsidised immigration and infrastructural development.<sup>261</sup>

That is true enough, but it omits to mention one half of ‘the gap’.

Perhaps the key question, though, is what Maori were left with. Professor Hawke’s evidence was entirely silent on this. They had lost the land and they had received for it an amount admitted to be small. That amount had to be spread around amongst all those who had previously relied on the land concerned for their sustenance and support. General benefit to the Colony as a whole from increasing government revenue which could then be spent for the greater good does not help particular groups or individuals who were left with little or nothing at the end of the process. A new road was only of benefit if they could travel on it, or if they had a farm along which their flocks or produce could be moved. An improved education system was of scant assistance to Wairarapa Maori if the funds derived from the sale of their lands built schools for new colonists in Christchurch or Auckland.

A contemporary analogy might be the current use by successive governments of the 47 per cent of the price of petrol to enrich the Consolidated Fund. The benefit to the country as a whole of reducing national debt is small consolation to the driver who, having paid this tax every time she buys petrol, sits for hours each day in gridlocked traffic because new roads are not built, or who is injured or killed because a particular road is not well maintained or realigned.

Professor Hawke uses instead the analogy of the tax on cigarettes, which he says rightly is not exploitation of buyer or maker, but ‘a contribution to the social costs of smoking’.<sup>262</sup> During cross-examination on that report, he broadened his discussion to agree that: ‘it is the fact that it is the higher price paid by the Europeans that generates

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<sup>261</sup> Hawke, ‘Economic History’, para 42.

<sup>262</sup> Hawke, ‘Economic History’, para 42.

the revenue, but it is indeed the gap between that and the amount which the Government has paid which is crucial'.<sup>263</sup>

The Turanga Tribunal has considered this situation in some detail, having the benefit of Professor Hawke's evidence and cross-examination before it. It found that a similar situation obtained in Poverty Bay to what appears to have been the case for Maori in Wairarapa ki Tararua, that for nearly all individuals land sales simply did not result in the kind of income necessary for alternative investment or development strategies. For a few, usually rangatira, sales could yield returns of hundreds of pounds and '[t]his was clearly sufficient to support an investment strategy if the owner wished it.' As in Poverty Bay, so in Wairarapa ki Tararua there were individual chiefs who were able, one way or another, in the nineteenth century to establish a profitable farming enterprise: Mahupuku, Tunuiorangi, Iraia te Whaiti and Nireaha Tamaki are significant examples. However, they were very much the exception. As the Turanga Tribunal observes:

For the rest, sales would net no more than £20 and, in most cases, £10 or less. This simply did not amount to a capital sum sufficiently useful to allow for effective investment in alternative assets. Nor would it have been enough to fund the development of related lands, assuming they were not scattered throughout the district. Even the sale of interests in four or five blocks would not have rendered a sufficiently useful amount.<sup>264</sup>

This is the same point as is made in various other Wairarapa reports, such as those by Walzl, Stirling and McBurney, as well as in the present report, that there was little enough to go around from even a large sale, where the proceeds had to be divided amongst a number of people with interests. Prior to 1873, this division was on a reasonably ad hoc basis and was probably often left to the discretion of the rangatira involved. After the Native Land Act 1873 came into force, that division, or at least the relative rights of owners within it, was spelled out by the Native Land Court as it fragmented the ownership of land blocks not into individual titles, but into shares, thereby determining the proportion of a sale price to which a given individual was entitled.

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<sup>263</sup> 'Hauraki Transcript', p 93, l 23-26. He stated that the resulting infrastructure could not be allocated to either the high or low price, but is allocated to the gap. Key discussion fell in the gap during recording tape changeover.

<sup>264</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Turanga Tangata, Turanga Whenua*, 514.

### 3.4. Conclusion

The leasing economy had not been overthrown by the 1846 Ordinance, but remained strong until the arrival of the Crown's Chief Land Purchase Commissioner, Donald McLean. At this time, he and Governor Grey then used the Ordinance's prohibition on any type of alienation, including leasing, to anyone other than the Crown, as a threat to persuade Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori to sell extensive lands to the Crown, in fact roughly half of the entire inquiry district in one campaign. Until then regional Maori were able to derive a growing cash income from this source. At £1200 per annum, it was far from being sufficient for their support on its own, amounting to something under £2 per head per annum, but it would only have increased as more land was leased by squatters, more land was cleared for them to use, and the land became more valuable in commercial terms due to its increasing productivity, growing markets, improved external communication and transport, greater pressure for land from more potential farmers, and so on.

The Crown purchase policy clearly favoured settlers over the Maori of Wairarapa ki Tararua. McLean's stated objective, in his own words quoted above, was to gain as much of the good agricultural land as possible. He did not want the more difficult, less productive coastal land, at least not initially. Not only that, but his attitude was that the reserves allowed for Maori from these purchases should not be liberal but should be closely restricted to what was 'essential for their welfare'. However their 'welfare' may be conceived, it seems to have been intended to relate only to their present needs; McLean did not indicate that he intended that their future needs should be provided for in any obvious way. The list of South Wairarapa reserves given immediately above suggests that McLean's concept of giving reserves—in Wairarapa at least—may have been more personally oriented than tribally. Particular people may have 'won' concessions of reserves from him rather than his awarding a large block to a whole hapu collectively. There was little chance of more than a few people being able to support themselves on nearly all of the reserves granted there. How that worked out for each individual would depend on the access they still retained to the as yet unsold lands remaining in the district.

## 4. Issue 22.4.7: Crown Provision for Maori Needs

**To what extent did Crown settlement policy in the Wairarapa ki Tararua district attempt to evaluate and provide for the needs of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori with respect to quantity and quality of land, access to European settlements, and provision of social services?**

This question has been succinctly addressed—with special reference to Ngai Tumapuhia—by Tony Walzl with regard to the early period of Crown purchasing, as he concluded his study of the land purchasing process with a statement setting out the many ways in which the Crown failed comprehensively to evaluate and provide for the needs of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a Rua Maori. He states:

Instead of supporting the mutually beneficial occupation occurring in the Wairarapa, the Crown continued to support [New Zealand] Company land purchasing intentions. Pre-emption remained waived in the Company's favour. In 1845 permission was given to the Company to purchase 300,000 acres in the Wairarapa as part of the settlement of its claim to land in New Zealand, and in 1847 the reserve of one million acres was granted. In addition, the Company's endeavours were supported by loans and the provision of Crown officials to oversee matters. All of this policy development took place without any consultation or reference to the wishes or concerns of Wairarapa Maori. In addition, the negotiations were being predetermined without any consideration of Maori requirements. The size of settlement was determined and reserved by the Crown without any consultation with Maori or investigation of their needs. For example, there seemed to be no need to ascertain whether firstly 300,000 acres and then one million acres was too much land to acquire from local Maori without endangering their economy.<sup>265</sup>

Later in the same report, Walzl reaches overall conclusions about the reserves set aside during the Grey-McLean purchasing period in the mid-1850s.<sup>266</sup> He agrees that in principle, the instructions given by Governor Grey and Lieutenant-Governor Eyre set parameters for the Crown agents that specifically included reserves that would provide for the existing and ongoing needs of Maori. He cites Grey's instructions at the start of the New Zealand Company's attempts in 1847/48, to the effect that 'ample reserves' should be left to Maori. The following year that was

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<sup>265</sup> Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', 451.

somewhat watered down in that Kemp was instructed only that the reserves to be made were such ‘as it may be necessary to make for the Natives’—although this may have assumed the earlier instructions’ parameter or may merely have envisaged providing what Maori actually insisted on, since ‘necessary’ was given no definition. Eyre was prepared to tell Maori that they could retain whatever they used or might subsequently use: ‘The lands you are occupying yourselves or those you or your children may require hereafter must be reserved to yourselves.’

The reality of what the Crown purchase agents allowed—and their superiors approved—was rather different, though. In Walzl’s opinion:

These conclusions reveal that although the Crown always maintained the importance of securing reserves to Maori who were transferring their land, and although the instructions to purchasing agents often reflected [sic] that the reserves be ample for present and future requirements, in actual practice there was little consistent idea or policy on what this might mean. The awarding of reserves in land transactions [elsewhere in New Zealand] between 1848 and 1852 reveals a minimalist approach which was also applied during the Wairarapa negotiations.<sup>267</sup>

#### 4.1. The Wairarapa Five Per Cents

Most of what follows in this section is derived from the report on this topic written by Mr Walzl.<sup>268</sup>

The Five Per Cent issue derives from an understanding incorporated into the 1853-54 Crown purchases. The fullest version of it is in a lengthy clause incorporated into the 1853 deed for the Turanganui Block, originally written and signed in Maori, and quoted here as translated into English by Steven Chrisp:

This is a further arrangement that is agreed by the Queen of England, that she will provide at certain times in future years, as agreed by the Governor of New Zealand and ourselves, certain benefits [*he koha*] derived from our homes that we have passed over to provide for the establishment of schools for our children, for the erection of mills to grind flour, for the establishment of hospitals and [provision of] doctors for us, and for the payment of pensions in future years for some of our Rangatira. In this regard, we and the officers of the Queen or the

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<sup>266</sup> Walzl, ‘Land Purchasing’, 461.

<sup>267</sup> Walzl, ‘Land Purchasing’, 461.

<sup>268</sup> Tony Walzl, ‘The Wairarapa Five Per Cents 1854-1900’ (2001) Wai 863 #A40.

Governor of New Zealand will consider in committee the allocation of those monies. The payments for our Rangatira in future years will be made by the Governor of New Zealand, or by someone with his delegated authority. The basis of those payments shall be as follows: when the land that we have passed over to the Queen of England and the Kings and Queens after her has been surveyed, a portion of the monies received by the Queen, or by the Government of New Zealand, as payment for those lands shall be set aside for the arrangements for us that have been outlined above. The sum of money that shall be returned to us will be 5 per cent, equivalent to 5 pounds in one hundred £100 following the payment of costs for surveys and public works on those lands.<sup>269</sup>

As Mr Chrisp notes, the thrust and most details of his translation are echoed by the English translation of the September 1853 deed for the West Side of Lake Wairarapa:

It is further agreed to by the Queen of England on her part to pay us at certain periods within certain years to be decided on by the Governor of New Zealand and ourselves, that is, that we are to have a certain additional consideration for the lands we have sold, to be paid to us for the forming of schools to teach our children, for the construction of flour mills for us, for the construction of Hospitals and for Medical attendance for us, and also for certain annuities to be paid to us for certain of our Chiefs; but it is also hereby agreed that we ourselves and certain officers who shall be appointed by the Queen or the Governor of New Zealand shall carefully discuss in Committee to which and at what times and in what proportions the said money shall be applied to each of the purposes above specified. The payments to be made annually to our Chiefs are to be decided upon by the Governor of New Zealand only or by an officer appointed by him who shall have the power of deciding as to which Chiefs shall receive the said annual payments. These payments for all the above purposes are to be as follows, that is, when the surveys are complete and the land is resold which we have transferred to the Queen of England or to the Kings or Queens who may succeed Her: a certain portion of the money to be received by the Queen or Government of New Zealand as payment for the said land is to be deducted for the purposes which have been above specified the amount of money which is to be returned to us is 5 per cent or equal to five pounds out of every hundred pounds, after deducting the surveys and other expenses connected with laying off the said lands.<sup>270</sup>

There are a number of salient points:

- Payments were to be made additional to the purchase price;

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<sup>269</sup> Steven Chrisp, 'Statement of Evidence', 10.9.04 Wai 863 #F11, para 26.

<sup>270</sup> Quoted in Walzl, 'Five Percents', para 0.2; Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', para 4.211.

- The payments were to comprise 5 per cent of every £100 the Crown received from onselling the lands presently being sold to the Crown, net of surveys and other costs associated with laying off the lands;
- The timing of the payments was to be mutually agreed by the vendor Maori and the Crown;
- The monies were for social purposes, to benefit the group—building of schools, construction of flour mills, construction of hospitals, provision of medical care—rather than to be disbursed to individual vendors as simple supplementary payments;
- The exception to that was annuities to be paid from these monies to specified chiefs;
- The quantum of those annuities was to be decided by the Governor or officer appointed by him;
- The identity of those chiefs was also to be decided by the Governor or officer appointed by him;
- The translation of *he koha* in Maori becomes ‘certain benefits’ in Chrisp’s translation and ‘certain additional consideration’ in the West Side deed. As he notes, the benefits are in the plural, which means that they would not have consisted of, say, simply a cash payment;
- In the opinion of Mr Chrisp, ‘the commitments are tense neutral’.<sup>271</sup> I am unsure of exactly what that means as in English although the list itself contains not tense-qualified verbs, it is governed by the future of ‘will provide at certain times’ and ‘payment ... in future years’, as well as the subsequent arrangements, all of which were to be made in the future. Perhaps he is indicating that there is no directly specified end to the payment of the koha, which does appear to be the case and must be implied from one’s interpretation of the finiteness of the payment of monies to Queen for the land.

This deed wording was reiterated by McLean to the Government when commenting on one purchase, even as he was pointing out once more that Wairarapa Maori were giving up a substantial cash income in addition to the ownership of their land:

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<sup>271</sup> Chrisp, ‘Statement’, para 27(a).

The Deed of Sale provides that the five per cent payable to the Natives in addition to the following sums should be set apart for the following purposes, in such proportions, and at such periods as the Governor of New Zealand (or an officer appointed by him) and the Natives themselves may mutually agree to:—for schools, hospitals, and medical attendance, flour mills, and annuities for the Chiefs who have ceded their lands. But it is reserved entirely to the Governor, or an officer acting for him, as to whom, at what periods, and how, these annuities are to be distributed. Rents which will now cease to the amount of One hundred and twenty pounds (£120) a year have been paid to the Natives for land leased within this purchase by the parties named in the margin.<sup>272</sup>

Walzl notes that in subsequent transactions, this full and detailed explication was generally reduced to some formulation such as: ‘The five (5) per cent usually agreed upon in the Wairarapa purchases will be paid to us.’ Further, some of the deeds from that period did not include even this abbreviated version, but there is no apparent evidence to explain why some blocks included recognition of it and some did not.<sup>273</sup> There were 11 deeds from this purchasing campaign that included the koha/five per cent clauses.

Donald McLean had his own understanding of the nature of the five per cents. First was that it did not apply to all Wairarapa lands, but solely to several identified blocks, totalling some 140,000 acres.<sup>274</sup> Second, he conceived of the purposes somewhat more broadly:

The deeds of sale by the Natives ... specify that the five (5) per cent is to be applied for the erection of Mills and Schools, for Medical aid, for presents to chiefs, and such other similar purposes as may tend to the advancement of the Native Race.<sup>275</sup>

In this McLean version, the application to mills and schools remains unchanged, but the construction of hospitals and provision of medical services has become more vaguely ‘medical aid’. The annuities or pensions for specified chiefs have become ‘presents’ to unspecified chiefs, while a whole new category of ‘similar purposes that tend to the advancement of the Native race’ has been added. I am unsure of the extent to which such watering down had been discussed with and agreed to the Wairarapa Maori concerned, but I have seen no evidence that it ever was.

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<sup>272</sup> McLean to Domett, 2 September 1853. AJHR, 1861, C-1, 258.

<sup>273</sup> Walzl, ‘Five Per Cents’, paras 0.3-4.

<sup>274</sup> McLean, memorandum, 16 January 1856. IA 14/6.

It may be noted that no formulation of the five per cent understanding requires that the five per cents were to be the sole government funding applied to the designated purposes; the government was free to spend additional funds on schools, medical services beyond what the five per cents raised. Indeed this was only to be expected as the Maori needs for such services would not end, whereas the income from the five per cents would end relatively soon with the completion of the onselling of the lands. What does seem to have been envisaged was that the proceeds would be spent on these purposes, and perhaps as McLean thought for the general advancement of Wairarapa Maori, and not merely handed over as unencumbered supplementary purchase payments or rental income.

Walzl notes another early government recognition of the Wairarapa five per cents and intentions regarding their expenditure, this time by Domett on Grey's behalf to the Wellington provincial superintendent:

His Excellency has every reason to think, that a Hospital having now been established at Otaki and its being intended to establish one at Wairarapa the number of patients in that at Wellington will diminish. But His Excellency will undertake that if all the funds derived from the lands which have been granted as endowments for the Hospital be appropriated to the native patients, that the General Government shall pay the costs of any native in door patients, calculated at the average expense of each in door patient, whose treatment at the Hospital that funds above alluded to do not suffice to pay for.<sup>276</sup>

However, this document is not referring to the five per cents, but to income derived from lands in the Wellington Province, perhaps within Wellington itself, that had been designated as endowment lands to support the Wellington Hospital. The government intention was to set up another hospital for Maori in the Wairarapa, and the resulting hope was that this would further diminish the numbers of Maori seeking treatment at Wellington Hospital. The promise of the General Government being made here was to underwrite the cost of the treatment of Maori at Wellington Hospital, Maori who had been coming from both Kapiti/Horowhenua and the Wairarapa. If the income from the endowment lands were dedicated to the treatment of Maori, Grey's promise here is simply to make good any shortfall, so that

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<sup>275</sup> McLean to Colonial Secretary, 18 January 1856. IA 14/6.

<sup>276</sup> Domett to Featherstone, 13 October 1853. CS 3, vol 2, No 53/1504. Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', para 4.272.

Wellington Province was not out of pocket. The promise applies to the treatment of any Maori, not just those of Wairarapa; it is not related to the Wairarapa Five Percents, but to the General Government's generic responsibility to look after Maori, as distinct from that of the provincial governments.

The missionary, Ronaldson, was aware of the five per cents as giving to the Maori, in addition to the initial purchase money, 5 per cent of the price when sold to Europeans. This 5 per cent was 'to be laid out for them in the erection of a Mill, Church, Parsonage, School and Hospital'. The mill had been duly built by 1858, and then the builder wished to lease it from them. However, the Maori owners were paralysed by disagreements over proceeds, especially since the many who would share in it would get only a few shillings. After working the mill for some months, the builder could go on no longer and left, leaving the mill not being used at all.<sup>277</sup>

The Wairarapa Maori clearly relied on the five per cent promise, however it had been phrased or understood. In the case of Rangitane, Mr Chrisp has given evidence of their reliance on them. He states that from the Maori text he believes that they and other Wairarapa [ki Tararua] Maori 'would have understood that the clause promised several mills, schools, hospitals etc that would be provided in the contemporary present and future'.<sup>278</sup> He says that it is not apparent from the Turanganui deed's Maori text:

whether the koha fund was meant to be collected once following the initial resale of the land by the Crown, or whether it was to operate as some sort of ongoing "land tax" every time the affected lands were sold or resold. There is some evidence that some tupuna [e.g. Ngatuere] thought the latter.... In addition, there is no deadline specified in the Maori language text of the Turanganui Deed for this component of the agreement. The situation was exacerbated by the koha fund being paid out intermittently over several decades, which may well have led to an impression, perhaps mistaken, in the minds of some tupuna that the koha payments would be ongoing.<sup>279</sup>

Other historians giving evidence to the Wairarapa Tribunal have discussed at length the 'koha' and Five Percent payments and expectations. James Mitchell

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<sup>277</sup> Ronaldson to CMS, 15 November 1858. qMS 1720.

<sup>278</sup> Chrisp, 'Statement', para 27(a).

<sup>279</sup> Chrisp, 'Statement', para 28.

observes that: ‘The “koha” clauses could also be interpreted as a recognition of the ongoing rangatiratanga of chiefs over the territory that had been transacted.’<sup>280</sup>

Maori expectations regarding the Five Percents and ongoing ‘koha’ payments for their lands feature in the reports penned by District Commissioner William Searancke from the time of his appointment. Searancke had as part of his brief to clear up the outstanding purchase negotiations and administer the completion of payments and conditions of those already negotiated by McLean. He seems to have taken an immediate dislike to Wairarapa Maori, though, and had no patience for their claims on his time and money:

A more unmitigated set of scoundrels than your Wairarapa Pets it never was my fortune or misfortune to meet what with disputed boundaries of blocks & of reserves and claims for payment over again of lands sold & settled years ago. I am almost crazy the fact is they are fearfully hard up and are now trying it on with me to raise the [?] by any means.

I may tell you that not being able to give what they the natives so much need (i.e. money) I am very fast getting as unpopular as any man could reasonably wish to be.<sup>281</sup>

Searancke’s version of what happened to the purchase monies was produced in 1860, only a few years after McLean’s purchases had been made.<sup>282</sup> He clearly believed that the Maori had simply frittered away the whole lot:

These [very large] monies, instead of being laid out advantageously, were spent with a total disregard to the future, and in many instances, by some of the leading chiefs, they, childlike, said that certain further instalments were to be paid to them at certain stated intervals, and believed them to be inexhaustible.

This seems a clear reference to the five per cents. It may also have been some form of misunderstanding related to the Crown payment regime, under which they were actually receiving instalments over several years, as McLean and Grey lacked the cash to pay in full at the time of purchase. Walzl has also identified the sloppiness of translating the five percent term as being ‘koha’ in Maori texts and documents, an expression which might well lead to differing expectations than those held by officials

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<sup>280</sup> Mitchell, ‘Alienations’, 7.

<sup>281</sup> Searancke to McLean, 28 May 1858. Quoted in McIntyre, *Canoes*, 75.

<sup>282</sup> Searancke to McLean, 21 February 1860. MA 1/1/1860/153.

at the time, let alone subsequently.<sup>283</sup> He has also shown that regardless of what Searancke thought was going on in 1860, Maori were still discussing these ‘koha’ with McLean and being told that there was more to come, even if at some indefinite time when land was sold to Europeans. For example, in September 1861, Wi Waka and McLean corresponded over ‘koha’ for the Kopuaaranga Block (not one for which the deed recorded a five percent clause) and reminded McLean that he had said there was still more to be paid on it.<sup>284</sup>

Further, despite Searancke’s scorn, the fixed and consistent Maori belief was that those payments had been promised on an ongoing basis, that McLean had told them this. For example, in 1864 the Wairarapa’s leading chiefs wrote to Governor Grey requesting that the koha

whether the amount be little or great, be given to us every year, whilst we are alive, and after death to our children, should any dues remain at that time let them receive them, and after them to their children.<sup>285</sup>

This letter does not envisage that the percentage/rent/koha would provide a constant income at a fixed level in perpetuity. These chiefs clearly appreciated that the amount would vary and also that it would cease, perhaps during their children’s lifetimes. What they did want was some sort of revenue stream resulting from it, rather than an unknown credit balance accumulating in the government coffers, and perhaps being disbursed without their knowledge, while they struggled to make a living. However, Walzl does record examples of other Maori who did believe that the payment would be perpetual. In 1884, Rakai Hikuroa understood that the arrangement was ‘to continue to my children and grandchildren’, and in 1886 Waaka Kahukura and others from Te Ore Ore stated that McLean’s words had been: ‘Interests [koha] upon your lands will be continually paid to you for ever and ever.’<sup>286</sup>

Searancke did not say what had become of the money that was not spent recklessly, such as that invested on their behalf by McLean. Still, less than two years after the large sums of money had begun to come in, and while the later instalments were still being paid out, the Wairarapa Maori had already hit financial rocks, in his

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<sup>283</sup> Walzl, ‘Land Purchasing’, para 4.359.

<sup>284</sup> Walzl, ‘Land Purchasing’, para 4.361.

<sup>285</sup> Quoted in Walzl, ‘Land Purchasing’, para 4.363.

<sup>286</sup> Quoted in Walzl, ‘Land Purchasing’, para 4.364.

opinion thanks to two causes: the irresponsibility of the chiefs in their spending and the willingness of purveyors of consumer goods to give them credit.

The payment of these instalments ceased principally in 1856, though, previous to that year, all the leading chiefs of the Wairarapa were deeply indebted to the Store keepers and Merchants of Wellington, with whom their credit appeared to have been almost unlimited.

Since my arrival, early in 1858, the sums I have paid the Natives have been spent in clearing a portion of their old Debt, and thereby establishing renewed credit.

Their creditors now find that [the Maoris'] immediate wants swallow up all the monies paid them for Lands, and that they are without anything to fall back upon; which has led to an almost general refusal of credit; and the consequence is, that being deeply in debt without the means to pay and without credit, they have become dissatisfied and discontent, and reduced to a very hopeless State of pauperism.

Searancke failed to explain why the merchants persisted in giving credit so readily, some time after there was apparently any more saleable land to speak of. Nor did he consider the overt promises of economic prosperity made to Wairarapa Maori by the purchase agents up to the level of Commissioner McLean and Governor Grey, upon which they must surely have been justified in relying to some extent. Instead, what might well have been their looking for those promised benefits, he dismissed as childish envy, resulting in their petulant adoption of Kingitanga discontent as some form of diverting entertainment:

They are too lazy to work or make any exertion to help themselves, and only too ready to seize at any excitement which gives them an opportunity of galloping about the Country, and for the moment causes them to forget their own misery in the hope of change ... and has led to the King movement being adopted most cordially by great numbers of the Natives.

Another reason might be, that in a district like the Wairarapa, where the Natives are constantly brought into contact with Europeans, they are made to feel more sensibly their own inferiority. They see themselves every year diminishing in numbers and hope to cause a reaction by excitement.

There is, of course, nothing here that suggests what Searancke thought they could be doing by way of work. Bearing in mind that it was a bare half decade since they had been being promised all manner of prosperity and benefits by the highest Crown representatives, they must still have been wondering when and how that was to

happen. Settlement had unfolded much as officials had envisaged it with pastoralism and the emergence of some small towns, but the corresponding bright future for Maori remained unrealised. Still, the promises were recent enough and the settlers still few enough, that they might well have been expecting the trickling down of the benefits of settlement as held out to them by Kemp and Bell, then Grey and McLean.

Over the years a number of withdrawals were made from the account, ‘drawn by different chiefs’, and several flour mills were either given or built for them, including one for which they were given the money but which they did not then build.

In 1870, Commissioner H.T. Kemp paid out £2000 on account of the sum outstanding. Over the next couple of years, there were further payments and by 30 September 1873, the final account balance stood at £596, the sum Heaphy distributed.

The balance of the payments calculated as owing on the Wairarapa Five Percents was paid out to eligible Maori by the Commissioner of Native Reserves, Major Charles Heaphy, in December 1873 under instruction from Donald McLean, now Native Minister. There were only ten blocks recognised as liable for the five percents: Turakirae, Turanganui, Tuhitarata, Wharekaka and Puhangina, Moroa and Tauherenikau, Makoura, Whareama No 1, Whareama No 2, Pahaua, and Manawatu, totalling 387,066 acres.

In the 1878-79 financial year, Parliament appropriated £150 to be paid with regard to the Wairarapa Five Percents; in the event, £131 19s 7d had been paid. In the same year, various Wairarapa Maori were receiving incomes from the Civil List to the total of £390.<sup>287</sup>

#### **4.1.1. Disruption during the Wars**

Wairarapa Maori were amongst those invited to the government-sponsored conference at Kohimarama in 1860. Searancke interspersed his land purchasing activities with delivering invitations to the limited number thus invited. He had difficulty persuading them to go, until Ngatuere accepted, prompting the others to follow suit. However, Searancke thought: ‘it is a pity that the invitations in Wairarapa were confined to such a few. I have written an official requesting [sic] that Hiko and

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<sup>287</sup> AJHR, 1879, G-1, 17, 18.

Raniera of Wairarapa ... should be invited if not too late.'<sup>288</sup> The reluctance to go to Auckland was related to the dissatisfaction already felt regarding the land, according to Searancke:

The natives had a large meeting at te Waitapu, Tuhitarata, ... nearly the whole are anxious for peace and money and not for fighting. Manihera is very bumptious the fact is his debts & difficulties make him desperate he had not until the last moment any intention of going to Auckland even now I think it is very doubtful.

There is still considerable discontent about the 5 per cents not being forthcoming.<sup>289</sup>

Ronaldson reported not only his personal opinion that the Governor was in the wrong over the Taranaki War, which was 'unjust and unholy', but that the Wairarapa Maori who had attended the Kohimarama Conference to a man declared that they did not intend to support the government position and instead claimed to have been misled over what was being put to them. They held Governor Gore Browne in contempt and their restraint over manifesting their dissatisfaction over land purchases was 'to be attributed solely to the great esteem in which the Head of that Department [i.e. McLean] is viewed by the Natives at large'.<sup>290</sup> This suggests that McLean remained trusted at this time either because the Maori had not yet given up hope over the fulfilment of the koha and five percent promises, or because they did not perceive the purchases McLean had made as being harmful or improperly conducted. Unfortunately Ronaldson did not explain why they held him in such high regard.

The split in the early 1860s amongst Wairarapa Maori over support for the Kingitanga or the Government had economic ramifications as well as origins.

The Kingites under Wi Waka threatened to block all traffic along the newly made road through the Bush between the Tauhere and Ruamahanga rivers where timber had been felled to clear the passage, but some bridges were still needed. There was also an open area of plain around the native land of Te Oreore across which the traffic had to pass. The other owners of Te Oreore were willing for the road to pass over their land. At the same time, there was a dispute internal to the Kingites over a

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<sup>288</sup> Searancke to McLean, 28 May 1860. Quoted in McIntyre, *Canoes*, 81.

<sup>289</sup> Searancke to McLean, 28 May 1860. Quoted in McIntyre, *Canoes*, 81.

<sup>290</sup> Ronaldson to CMS, 27 December 1860. qMS 1720.

small block near Hurunuiorangi, leading to the planting and digging up of a potato crop.<sup>291</sup>

In November 1863, Resident Magistrate Wardell reported that a ‘scuffle’ between the two Maori groups had taken place at Te Oreore, where at least some of the Maori land, owned by a number of people, had been leased by Marakaia to a settler, Collins. It seems that others were trying to dislodge Collins by driving his horses through the homestead property, while Marakaia’s people were driving them off again. Part of the deal arranged with Collins’ manager was that Marakaia should have the proceeds of the first year’s shearing.<sup>292</sup>

There were two ‘invasions’ by government military forces taking heavy-handed precautionary measures in 1865 and 1867, largely in response to tensions elsewhere in the colony. However, one Maori seemingly did well out of it as Sam Hami became Masterton’s first policeman in 1865 or early 1866. In June 1866 the local authorities were seeking government provision of a policeman as the town was currently unprotected due to Sam being away planting potatoes by the Waiohine.<sup>293</sup> It seems not to be recorded how local Maori viewed the settlers of Masterton later sending a contingent to participate in the government forces at Parihaka.

## 4.2. Conclusion

The first part of this issue question, as to the Crown attempts to evaluate and provide for the needs of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori with respect to quantity and quality of land, has been addressed in the reports by other historians who have dealt in detail with the purchasing process. A statement like that of McLean to Mein Smith quoted above concerning the provision of reserves is suggestive of arguments for a negligent attitude, but on its own is not conclusive and certainly not for periods later than the era dominated by McLean. This is a different question from that of ‘sufficiency’—or the actual result which ensued after any such attempted evaluation and provision—with which the present report is principally concerned.

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<sup>291</sup> Wardell to Native Minister, 3 October 1863. Le 1/1863/114.

<sup>292</sup> Wardell to Native Minister, 4 November 1863. Le 1/1863/114.

<sup>293</sup> Bagnall, *Masterton*, 37.

Access to European settlements was unhindered by any government action, so far as I am aware. There may have been resistance on a local level to Maori living in the townships themselves, but then Maori were living on the outskirts of the towns in their own settlements such as Papawai and Te Oreore. The example of Ihaia buying into the Masterton settlement stands out as the only early example, but he may well have got in because of his special circumstances. Other Maori may not have been able to afford the cash outlay necessary to buy a township property and then live there in a situation when one could not survive without a cash income, or maintain the town house as a second property. They may well have preferred to live in their own settlements anyway, at least in the nineteenth century. Also, ownership is not the only option and there is some evidence, discussed elsewhere in this report, of Maori renting town properties owned by others.

As to physical access, roads around the district were readily made except out to the more remote parts of the coast, such that some of the coastal stations had to transport their goods and receive supplies by ship, the last of these being around 1940. I am unaware of any decision or policy not to provide such road access to Maori properties. That would have been a local government decision anyway and if it occurred would have most likely been because of considerations regarding rates and whether they were both levied and paid. It might well have been more of a problem to Maori where the roads were put, as public works takings nationally have been a generic issue relating to the loss of Maori land while their location has typically been more for the road board's convenience than with the interests of Maori landholders in mind.

The Five Percent provision related principally to the provision of social services, such as health and education, and practical amenities such as flour mills. As discussed here and elsewhere, it is apparent that the Five Percent provision was only patchily applied in terms of inclusion in purchase deeds and even more patchily applied when it came to its payment. There was confusion amongst politicians and officials as to exactly how it was constituted with it being thought of sometimes—especially by those more directly involved—as a specific obligation placed on the Crown. At other times, the provision of items or services was referred to as ‘presents’, the direct implication being that any such provision was entirely at the Crown's pleasure and of

its grace and favour. As discussed above, though, the Five Percents were part of the explicit contractual terms of at least some of the purchases and on a Maori understanding of the terms of agreement, whether written down or not, apparently of pretty much all of the purchases made at that time. They were payments to be made to Maori as of right and promptly upon the Crown's receipt of payments from the onselling of the lands concerned.

At the very least, though, the koha and Five Percent provisions created expectations for Maori as to ongoing benefits to be received, perhaps in perpetuity, following on from the McLean purchases. There were the specific items of schools, medical services and flour mills that were looked for, and chased up when they did not materialise. But there was also clearly a widespread expectation that there would be ongoing monetary benefits for them. As Chrisp has pointed out, it is entirely possible that the expectation was even of a continuing 'land tax' on later transactions than just the initial re-sale by the Crown. Such expectations shape one's economic and financial planning. If they expected to get a long-term income from this source, as well as having key infrastructural needs met, then that cannot but have affected how they spent the money they received in the short-term, and also what they believed their ongoing needs for land to be.

## **5. Issue 22.4.3: When was Land Insufficient?**

**By what period in time was there insufficient land for the present and future needs of the Maori communities of Wairarapa ki Tararua?**

This question assumes that at some time there was, in fact, insufficient land for the present and future needs of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori. The Crown has, of course, conceded this for Wairarapa ki Tararua as discussed above.

On the face of it, it would appear possible to argue that there was insufficient land for the present and future needs of the Maori communities of Wairarapa ki Tararua immediately after the McLean purchases. As discussed above, the newly appointed official with responsibility for the region, William Searancke, seemed to think those Maori communities were already in the grip of poverty before the end of the 1850s.

To the extent that Searancke was right in his assessment of the position, as opposed to allocating responsibility for it, this report shows that economically Wairarapa Maori were in dire straits virtually instantly after they were persuaded to part with their lands on the Crown's terms. It was not something that crept up upon them gradually and imperceptibly, but was immediate and catastrophic. On this showing, they were reduced within a mere six years—or perhaps only two, by 1856—from relatively wealthy landlords to unemployed, demoralised paupers.

At much the same time, Searancke made a general report on land purchasing in the district and its outcome. He was of the opinion that the system of the payment of instalments was 'a system well adapted to enable the Maories to establish themselves comfortably and lay the foundation of future wealth and prosperity'. However, 'from Native jealousy and other causes', the government had not retained control of the expenditure of purchase money. The actual result was the direct opposite of what he understood the deferred payment scheme to have intended:

... an incessant craving desire not only to sell the lands still in their hands but also to keep a constant agitation over the lands formerly sold in order

to obtain from the Government renewed supplies of money for wasteful purposes which they appear to think they are entitled to.<sup>294</sup>

He blamed this dire situation entirely on the Maori themselves

The leading Chiefs of Wairarapa have sold nearly the whole of their available land, and they are now in a helpless state of debt and poverty, they lived on, or rather wasted in a thoughtless and prodigal display the capital derived from their lands, in place of laying it out to advantage and living on its interest. Flattered by Storekeepers and others with whom they wasted their money and who seemed to have listened with eager credulity to their description of their lands as boundless, they were able to obtain credit to an extent almost incredible considering that they had to overreach European sagacity.

Perhaps the Europeans were not so sagacious after all, and Maori were not so thoughtlessly prodigal. As is repeatedly apparent from the evidence from the earliest times, Maori seem to have expected from the very beginning to be entitled to receive a continuing income of some sort from the government. Also, the Europeans could have been the gullible ones, or had with the Maori a realistic basis for belief in the Maori continuing to receive funds, or (more sinisterly) they might simply have been deliberately and cynically getting Maori into debt so as to turn a quick immediate profit and encourage them to part with their remaining lands. This was certainly what happened in the Hawkes Bay region a decade later. Searancke seems not to have considered other possibilities than that of Maori profligacy and silliness, though, and continued to outline the present state of things and how they had affected the relationships between Maori and Pakeha:

But a small proportion of these liabilities have been liquidated, and this state of debt and poverty has paved the way for discontent and jealousy against both the Government and the Europeans generally; has caused a much higher price to be demanded for the small pieces of land eagerly offered for sale, and also the claims on them to be boundless. They see the Europeans thriving in possession of lands which they now believe to have been foolishly sold at too low a price, and without disputing the actual sale of the land, unceasingly make renewed demands for payments, which demands having no other alternative, according to the terms (already fulfilled) of the deeds of sale, but to dispute and prove the fallacy of it, has led, I am aware, to a very indifferent feeling on the part of the claimants to myself....

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<sup>294</sup>

AJHR, 1861, C-3, 3.

Again, perhaps the higher prices demanded were because (a) the land now being offered was actually of higher average quality than what had gone before and (b) the market value was higher due now to actual rather than potential European settlement, exactly one of the benefits McLean and Grey had promised. Searancke berated Maori for displaying no commercial sense, but then criticised them when they exercised some as he did not want it to impede his work. It might well be thought, too, that the lands had indeed been sold at too low a price, particularly when the failure of the prospective ‘trickle-down’ effect is considered. But whose fault was that? Maori were obliged to sell at McLean’s price or not at all; even then, as we have seen, they were criticised for inflating the prices for which they would settle, based on what they earned from the rents. In the same report, Searancke refused to continue with the purchases then under negotiation ‘until the payments required were more moderate and within the limit of my instructions’. Whether or not Maori received ‘too low’ a price or not therefore remained firmly within the Crown’s control. As with all Crown pre-emptive purchases, it was not a case of willing buyer, willing seller in an open market.

There is the possibility that the five percents, together with their non-fulfilment, could have given rise to the ongoing Maori claims for further payments. Certainly, Searancke reported that they were demanding the payment due on these. Maori may have failed to appreciate how much revenue these would actually bring in for them, so at least the confusion is a possible explanation for both the apparent Maori profligacy, if they were anticipating a continuing income stream, and the ongoing demands for additional payments.

Another issue Searancke failed to take into account was the adequacy of the purchase money, combined with the remaining reserves and their income-earning possibilities, to actually achieve the kind of financial luxury he envisaged. Had they not spent a penny, but invested it all, what return would they have received, and what would it have provided once divided amongst the entire Maori population of the Wairarapa? Could they have used it to develop capital works, such as mills, increase their agricultural skills and resources, or build better houses?

Searancke’s opinion that the system of the payment of instalments was ‘a system well adapted to enable the Maories to establish themselves comfortably and lay the foundation of future wealth and prosperity’ is also open to question. Perhaps it might have been so if one assumed that Maori were incapable of managing a penny

they were paid and required constant supervision with anything financial. In fact, it appears that it really contributed to achieving the precisely opposite effect, preventing them from laying down such a foundation for future prosperity.

Ronaldson put a moral interpretation upon the dissipation of Maori funds, reporting the ‘spirit of worldliness’ that seemed to have come over them:

Many are imitating those amongst ourselves whose glory is not God but the Public House—drunkenness is practised amongst them to a great extent. Nor can I say that they are honest in their dealings, nor do they value their word so as to feel themselves bound to keep their promises—if they can take advantage of anyone they will not hesitate to use any means. A spirit of reckless purchasing of goods for which they have no actual means of paying but to obtain which they will promise anything. Whether this is to be attributed in whole or in part, to the bad example set by our own Countrymen, or to an innate evil disposition, is not of much consequence.... They are following an example that has been set them though they know it to be wrong.<sup>295</sup>

Shortly afterwards, Ronaldson seemed to blame the Crown’s acquisition of their lands for the parlous spiritual and moral state they were in:

The fact is the Natives of Wairarapa are looked upon as a very bad specimen of Maoris and especially since they commenced selling their Land....<sup>296</sup>

Searancke reported that by mid-1860, the reserves taken out of the land alienated and remaining in Maori ownership totalled 20,224 acres. These were, he said, ‘much more than they occupy or make use of’, so he had leased out pastoral grazing rights on their behalf to neighbouring runholders, while reserving the Maoris’ rights to occupation for agricultural pursuits over whatever lands they wished. Of the approximately 1,200,000 acres in the district, 957,864 had been sold to the Crown (from which the reserves were set aside), 40,480 acres were still under negotiation, and 187,856 acres were ‘still in their hands and at their absolute disposal’.<sup>297</sup> So, according to Searancke, approximately one-sixth of the district was still in Maori hands seven years after McLean began purchasing. Also, simultaneously with criticising Maori for being eager to gain an income from selling, Searancke was negotiating to purchase these 40,000 acres, a ‘large’ area as he admitted, and doing what he could to force them to accept a low price. Ironically, he was also instrumental

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<sup>295</sup> Ronaldson to CMS, 16 November 1856. qMS 1720.

<sup>296</sup> Ronaldson to CMS, 29 January 1857. qMS 1720.

<sup>297</sup> AJHR, 1861, C-3, 4.

in facilitating the leasing of some of their remaining land—creating precisely the barrier to purchase Kemp, McLean and their colleagues had struck a decade earlier.

One intractable problem that Searancke said was prevalent was the unequal division of the proceeds of sales and leases, so that some benefited disproportionately and other Maori missed out. He reported several times that the main problems were internal to Maori over such issues, more than between Maori and Pakeha, the financial discrepancies leading to social breakdown. This was not, though, simply a case of the important chiefs siphoning off most money and leaving those of lesser rank impoverished. He stated that not only were the rents received from private lessees much larger than if the lands were owned by the government, but that ‘these rents were generally received by those who did not join in or receive any benefit from the land sales of 1853 and 1854’. If those who had sold then anticipated the continuing income from the deferred payments and five percents, which did not keep coming, then saw others receiving regular rent monies, this too could have fuelled internal resentments. He denied that the overall feeling regarding the purchases was bad.

As noted, Searancke did report that Maori were demanding the payment of the five percents. He acknowledged this obligation, at least in respect of the southern deeds of sale, and recommended that the matter be ‘settled’, particularly since their immediate object was to finance a mill, which would encourage them to engage in ‘industrial pursuits’.<sup>298</sup>

The issue of the five percents and Crown promise of resulting amenities and services for Wairarapa Maori is a vexed one. However, Bagnall five decades ago went to the core of what presently remains the conundrum facing the Tribunal and the claim process: ‘It may be thought unrealistic to claim that the Maori should have had amenities which were not within the power of the white settlers to obtain but the fact of the specific promises remains.’<sup>299</sup> In general terms, if a party enters into a transaction unable to meet their side of the bargain, knowingly or otherwise, how does that affect the validity of the transaction, or place alternative obligations upon the defaulting party? Merely shrugging off the promises as if they were of no consequence or relevance is not an option.

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<sup>298</sup> AJHR, 1861, C-3, 4.

<sup>299</sup> Bagnall, *Greytown*, 37.

A later straw in the wind regarding the Tamaki-nui-a-Rua district is the comment made in 1882 by R.J. Seddon (who must then have been an ordinary Member of the House of Representatives), regarding the suitability of the Tamaki Block for European settlement. There were two difficulties for the government in acquiring the block. The first was the existing leases held by the Hawkes Bay Timber Company, but the second was ‘the landless Native difficulty, which is fast becoming serious’.<sup>300</sup>

## 5.1. Land Alienation

### 5.1.1. The Pace of Land Alienation

The scale of the conversion of Maori land into Crown-derived title, and thus usually Pakeha ownership, is revealed in the Ellis and Small report on acreage and alienation data.<sup>301</sup> They find that the area of the inquiry district and thus of the amount of land that Maori ‘owned’ in 1840 is 2,571,638 acres.<sup>302</sup> Of that, the area of the northern, Tararua part of the district is 1,077,714 acres, although there is some overlap with the Wairarapa district.<sup>303</sup>

During the Crown pre-emption period of 1840-65, they then find that 1,526,445 acres was purchased by the Crown.<sup>304</sup> That is, 59% of the total inquiry district passed out of Maori hands during just the first twenty-five years after the signing of the Treaty.<sup>305</sup> They were left with little more than 1 million acres of the 2.5 million that had been theirs less than a generation earlier.

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<sup>300</sup> R. Seddon to W. Rose, 22 March 1882. Quoted in Berghan, ‘Block Narratives’, 252.

<sup>301</sup> Dougal Ellis and Fiona Small, ‘Maori Land Blocks in the Wairarapa ki Tararua District Inquiry: Acreage and Alienation Data from 1865’ (2003) Wai 863, passim.

<sup>302</sup> Ellis and Small, ‘Maori Land Blocks’, para 36.

<sup>303</sup> Ellis and Small, ‘Maori Land Blocks’, paras 37, 38. The definition notes that Ngatapu 1 and 2 blocks were included in the northern calculations as they were part of the Seventy-Mile Bush purchase.

<sup>304</sup> Ellis and Small, ‘Maori Land Blocks’, para 45. I note that the figures they give appear to be net of any reserves made for Maori, so the totals do indeed reflect what was remaining to Maori in one form or another.

<sup>305</sup> This should leave 41% remaining, but due to rounding the more exact percentage is 42.7% para 47.

**Table 2: Crown purchases to 1865**

	<b>Acres</b>
A. Land at 1840	2,571,638
B. Land at 1865	1,045,193
Crown purchases to 1865 (A – B)	1,526,445
<i>Crown purchases to 1865 as % of inquiry district</i>	<i>59%</i>

Of the Crown purchases of 1,526,445 acres, Castlepoint and Tautane, the only two substantial blocks properly surveyed by that time, together comprised 551,262 acres.

Then, between 1865 and 1900, a further 820,282 acres was purchased, leaving in 1900 only 278,080 acres, or 10.8% of the district, meaning that some 31% of the district went from Maori during those 35 years. This acreage has dropped further to 37,749 acres or 1.5% of the total inquiry district remaining in Maori hands in the present day.<sup>306</sup>

**Table 3: Maori land remaining in Wairarapa ki Tararua district**

<b>Inquiry District</b>	<b>Acres</b>	<b>As % of Inquiry District</b>
<i>Land at 1840</i>	2,571,638	100.0
<i>Land at 1865</i>	1,045,193	40.6
<i>Land at 1900</i>	276,551	10.7
<i>Current Maori Land</i>	37,749	1.5
<i>Unknown 1865-1900</i>	14,130	0.5

Dr Loveridge's Table 3 isolates the southern area.<sup>307</sup>

**Table 4: Southern Area: Maori Lands Remaining and Acreages**

<b>Acres At</b>	<b>Southern Area</b>	<b>As % 1840 ttl</b>	<b>Alienations</b>	<b>Acres</b>	<b>Total Alienations</b>
<b>1840</b>	1,493,924	100.0%			
<b>1865</b>	348,528	23.3%	<i>1840-1865</i>	1,145,396	1,145,396
<b>1900</b>	158,512	10.6%	<i>1865-1899</i>	190,016	1,335,412
<b>2003</b>	16,104	1.1%	<i>1900-present</i>	142,408	1,477,820

<sup>306</sup> Ellis and Small, 'Maori Land Blocks', para 47.

<sup>307</sup> Don Loveridge, 'Set of Tables in Relation to Acreage' (2003) Wai 863 #A74, Table 3.

This indicates a reduction in the southern area of 76.7% by 1865. If just over half of the area went with the McLean purchases in 1853/54, then more than another 20% went during the following decade, the period when Searancke especially was active. Then of the remaining 348,528 acres, an additional 190,016 or 54.5% was alienated in the succeeding 35 years to 1900, so that by the end of the nineteenth century, 47 years after McLean began his purchasing programme, Wairarapa Maori had lost effectively 90% of their lands. In twentieth century the total loss was a ‘mere’ 142,408 acres—but that represented over 90% of the 10% remaining. Now only 1% of the Wairarapa district remains as Maori freehold land.

Specifically within the Northern area, the land in Maori hands at 1840 departed from their ownership and control a little later than in the south. Of the 1 million acres in the north in 1840, there were 696,665 in 1865, a reduction of 35%, compared with the reduction of 59% for the whole district and 76.7% in the southern area. Then by 1900, this area had caught up with the south: there were only 118,039 acres remaining, or 11% of the original total, meaning that within 60 years, perhaps two generations, 89% of the Northern area had been lost to them. This had dropped to 21,645 acres or 2% of the Northern area remaining to them currently.<sup>308</sup>

**Table 5: Northern Area: Maori Lands Remaining and Acreages**

<b>Land at (Date)</b>	<b>Acres</b>	<b>% remaining</b>
<i>1840</i>	1,077,714	100.0
<i>1865</i>	696,665	65
<i>1900</i>	118,039	11
<i>Current</i>	21,645	2

### **Proportionate Loss**

These figures give the proportions alienated or remaining in Maori hands as compared with the total area of the inquiry district and thus 100% Maori owned in 1840.

However, if the proportion of existing lands is taken as at 1865 and then again at 1900, the rate of alienation is seen to be somewhat different, although this does not seem to have been considered directly by Ellis and Small.<sup>309</sup> If, over the entire district, the percentage sold was 59% in the 1840-65 period, then in the 1865-1900 period the

<sup>308</sup> Ellis and Small, ‘Maori Land Blocks’, para 48; Loveridge, ‘Tables’ Table 4.

acreage sold was 74.7% of what they still had in 1865. In the twentieth century, the loss, though ‘only’ 240,331 acres, was actually 86.4% of the land they still owned.

In the North, the loss during the 1840-65 period was 35% of what was originally held. During the 1865-1900 period, the loss was 578,626 acres, or 83% of what they still held at the beginning of the period. During the twentieth century, their loss was ‘only’ 96,394 acres, but that was 81.7% of the land they held in 1900.

The rate of alienation as a proportion of what Maori actually had at given points in time therefore increased dramatically, by the periods Ellis and Small use. The quantity of land alienated in later times was much less in absolute terms, but, one might think, the most dramatic impact would be felt as the land that was being lost was much ‘closer to home’ and relatively more of the land held. Intuitively, all other things—like the quality of land involved—being equal, it might be thought less traumatic to lose a large quantity when a large quantity remained, than a much smaller quantity when only a tiny amount remained.

### **Annual Rate of Loss**

Since the periods Ellis and Small used are of unequal length, the **annual rate** is different again. For the entire inquiry district, the annual rate of alienation in acres per annum was:

- in the 1840-65 period, 1,526,445 acres ÷ 25 years, that is 61,058 acres per annum, or, as a percentage, 4% of the Maori-held land was being alienated each year;
- in the 1865-1900 period, 820,282 acres ÷ 35 years, that is 23,436 acres per annum, or, as a percentage of the net amount in 1865, 2.9% of the Maori-held land was being alienated each year;
- in the twentieth century, 240,331 acres ÷ 100 years, that is 2,403 acres per annum, or, as a percentage of the net amount in 1900, 0.86% of the Maori-held land was being alienated each year.

The northern district figures work out as follows for an annual rate of alienation:

- in the 1840-65 period, 381,049 acres ÷ 25 years, that is 15,242 acres per annum, or, as a percentage of the amount in 1840, 1.4% of the Maori-held land was being alienated each year during this period;

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Of course the periods are not of equal length.

- in the 1865-1900 period, 578,626 acres ÷ 35 years, that is 16,532 acres per annum, or, as a percentage of the net amount in 1865, 2.37% of the Maori-held land was being alienated each year;
- in the twentieth century, 96,394 acres ÷ 100 years, that is 964 acres per annum, or, as a percentage of the net amount in 1900, of the Maori-held land was being alienated each year.

The annual rate does not give an entirely accurate picture of what was going on as purchases tended to be in large chunks, especially in the early period. Thus, the most obvious distortion comes with the McLean purchases of hundreds of thousands of acres being concentrated in just a few years in the mid-1850s, while no purchases had taken place over the thirteen preceding years. To derive a completely accurate annual rate these would have to be calculated year by year, rather than over a lengthy period of time.

There is some doubt still swirling about the exact extent of land left to Maori following the McLean transactions. James Mitchell points out that Paul Goldsmith had concluded that although roughly half of the McLean transactions included reserves for Maori, less than 3% of the total area was included in those reserves, and that many of those reserves were then themselves alienated rapidly through lease or sale. Three percent of the 1.5 million acres involved is 45,000 acres. Mitchell notes that Searancke's report in 1860 was that Maori reserves totalled only 20,224 acres.<sup>310</sup> These are not necessarily incompatible though, depending on how much less than 3% one starts with, and the rate of alienation.

What Searancke actually reported in July 1860 was that the reserves taken out of the land alienated and remaining in Maori ownership totalled 20,224 acres. These were, he said, 'much more than they occupy or make use of', so he had leased out pastoral grazing rights on their behalf to neighbouring runholders, while reserving the Maoris' rights to occupation for agricultural pursuits over whatever lands they wished. By his calculation, of the approximately 1,200,000 acres in the district, 957,864 had been sold to the Crown (from which the reserves were set aside), 40,480 acres were still under negotiation, and 187,856 acres were 'still in their hands and at

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<sup>310</sup> Mitchell, 'Alienations', 7.

their absolute disposal'.<sup>311</sup> So, according to Searancke, approximately one-sixth of the district was still in Maori hands seven years after McLean began purchasing. Also, despite in the same breath criticising Maori for being eager to gain an income from selling, Searancke was negotiating to purchase these 40,000 acres—a 'large' area as he admitted—and doing what he could to force them to accept a low price.

Rigby, too—on looking at Wairarapa, not Tararua—has commented on the pace of that early alienation, with possibly 95% of the region moving out of their ownership and control within little over one and a half decades. He notes that by 1871 'Maori retained about 5% of their Wairarapa land,' the largest reserve being the 18,000-odd acres at Mataikona.<sup>312</sup> He contrasts this with the quantities with which prominent Pakeha furnished themselves, how the total acreage at Mataikona was much the same as what Mein Smith and Revans selected and surveyed for themselves around present Martinborough, while the quality also differed markedly: 'The Mataikona area, now the property of a Maori Incorporation, is rough hill-country. The Martinborough area today is prime rural real estate.' While that comparison depends to some extent on the changing land use in the Martinborough area, one feature that has not changed is the blocks' relative accessibility. The Martinborough area was always relatively accessible to the markets and thus farming incurred lower costs for both supply and export while services such as electricity and roads were readily available. However, Mataikona has always been remote and difficult of access, making any farming there more marginal and difficult with services later in arriving.

Rigby also contrasts Mataikona's situation with dealings relating to land much closer to that area, McLean's acquisition of 10,000 acres at Akitio within four months of negotiating the Castlepoint purchase in 1853 and then leasing and later freeholding nearly the same amount again. In 1875 he sold this 19,800-acre station for £35,000. The history of Akitio is discussed briefly later in the present report.

By some time apparently within a few years of the McLean and Searancke purchases, there seem to have been proposals to make ongoing payments to certain chiefs at least primarily because they had already sold virtually all their lands. Thus, of Ngatuere it was said:

His social character renders him unfitted for the office of assessor but the RM [Resident Magistrate] of his District thinks he is one for whom

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<sup>311</sup> AJHR, 1861, C-3, 4.

<sup>312</sup> Rigby, 'Crown Purchases', 105.

some provision ought to be made. He has sold nearly the whole of his land to the Crown and has little to depend upon except his own labour.<sup>313</sup>

Likewise, of Wereta Kawekairangi it was noted that he ‘has sold nearly the whole of his land to the Crown and has little to depend upon except his own labor, [and therefore] is a fit subject for an allowance’. Unfortunately Rigby does not identify the specific date of these entries in the Wairarapa Register, although they are with a comment on Te Hapuku receiving a pension in 1862.

Nevertheless, regardless of the specific year, here were important chiefs already impoverished and without land to support themselves very soon after the beginning of Crown purchasing and probably prior to private purchasing. In the context of the ‘sufficiency’ question, they clearly had insufficient land already. One then wonders, if such men, who would probably have received a greater share of the sale proceeds than others, were already in such a predicament, would not those who had done less well out of the sales be in an even worse situation? Moreover, since it would have been only Crown purchasing occurring until then, to the extent that the Crown had a responsibility to stay its hand when Maori were being left with insufficient land, that responsibility had apparently been breached in central Wairarapa at least. On this showing, for these people in central Wairarapa, there appears to have been an insufficiency of land left to them by the 1860s.

### **5.1.2. Early Native Land Court**

The arrival of the Native Land Court regime in 1865 did not prevent further alienation of Maori land. In the court’s first fifteen years of operation, up to 1880, a further 384,000 acres of Wairarapa Maori land was alienated through sale. The Crown purchasing in this period took two main forms. The most obvious was the aggressive purchase of a smallish number of large blocks in the Seventy Mile Bush and Tararua areas. The second was the slower acquisition of individual owners’ interests in collectively owned blocks throughout the rest of the district, a process James Mitchell calls ‘jigsaw’ alienation as, from 1877 and 1882 respectively, the Crown and private

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<sup>313</sup> Wairarapa Register, MA 23/25. Quoted in Rigby, ‘Crown Purchases’, 63.

purchasers were able to have the interests they acquired partitioned out, irrespective of the wishes of non-selling owners.<sup>314</sup>

The participation of Maori throughout the Wairarapa and Tararua districts rapidly became reluctant. Together with the increasing shortage of land in customary tenure that required a title investigation, there was a resistance by many to participation in a process that seemed to lead inexorably to the loss of the land. Resident Magistrate Edward Maunsell reported in 1880, fifteen years after the court system's creation:

A strong objection still pervades their minds against the Native Land Court as a means of acquiring land titles, the process being vexatious and incomprehensible to them. They have on many occasions of sittings of the Court, withdrawn their applications for investigation through this objection and in anticipation of a more simple tribunal being substituted. Even now, Natives withhold their land from the operations of the Native Land Act, except in cases of claims to succeed deceased grantees and of disputed titles forced into Court by one party having animosity toward the other.<sup>315</sup>

The next year, he commented that it was not just the complexity of the process that disinclined Wairarapa Maori to engage in the court process, but an opposition by those who had good claims to the outcomes, such that it was resorted to only by the penurious driven to it by need, or the unscrupulous lured by the possibility of acquiring what was not theirs. Maunsell observed that such cases as came before the court were:

as a rule, reluctantly submitted for investigation; they are brought on by outside pressures and importunities and by some who have doubtful interests.<sup>316</sup>

It should be noted, though, that the figures relating to the land brought through the Native Land Court in the 15 years of the court's operation prior to Maunsell's complaints, show that hitherto there had been a much greater acceptance of the court system. Paul Goldstone's evidence concerning the Native Land Court's operations through that period reveals that during the first two decades, of the area excluding the Seventy-Mile Bush and Tararua districts, 150,000 acres were passed through the

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<sup>314</sup> Mitchell, 'Alienations', 8-9.

<sup>315</sup> AJHR, 1880, G-4, 12-13.

<sup>316</sup> AJHR, 1881, G8, 11.

court, resulting in 118 titles being awarded.<sup>317</sup> Although, as Goldstone observes, this ‘pales’ beside the pre-1865 government purchases of 1,526,445 acres in Wairarapa and 461,942 acres in Seventy-Mile Bush, yet as a proportion of what remained it took on additional significance. It may, as he says, have been only 6% of the total Wairarapa ki Tararua region, but, as he also comments, the earlier purchases had included large expanses of land of lesser quality—which, incidentally, were good for the pastoralists and their sheep—but had left significant lands up the central Ruamahanga Valley in Maori hands. It was these lands that were the prime focus of the Native Land Court’s work in those first two decades.<sup>318</sup>

The Turanga Tribunal has concluded that the Native Land Court regime was socially and economically harmful to Maori, as well as making their lands difficult to hold and work viably. It commented:

There is no question then that the native land regime was destructive of community decision making in respect of alienation and land development. This removed the ability of communities to develop their own sale and retention strategies and it made it impossible for community leaders to rally their people around community planning.... the chiefs complained constantly of this.<sup>319</sup>

### 5.1.3. Land in the Early Twentieth Century

Using Gawith and Hartley’s figures, Walzl concludes that Wairarapa Maori began the twentieth century still owning just 7% of the land within the Wairarapa district, amounting to a total of 168,950 acres. This was, though, spread amongst some 101 blocks, with 49% of the total being in only four of those blocks: Kawakawa 17,814 acres and Waitutuma 21,151 acres, both on the southern coast; Mataikona 17,717 acres in the north-east; and Nga Waka-a-Kupe 26,920 acres reached up the inland side of the Aorangi Range. The other 51% was generally held in very small subdivisions, papakainga and reserves actually occupied by the owners.<sup>320</sup>

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<sup>317</sup> Paul Goldstone, ‘The Native Land Court at Wairarapa’ (2004) Wai 863 #A86, para 24.

<sup>318</sup> Goldstone, ‘Court’, paras 26-27.

<sup>319</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Turanga Tangata, Turanga Whenua*, 514.

<sup>320</sup> Walzl, ‘Overview’, 10.

He then takes the next seven pages of his report to identify eight groupings for the 101 blocks and the characteristics and peculiarities of the blocks in each of those geographical groups.

By 1908, about 50,000 acres was not leased out to Pakeha farmers.

By 1920, up to 74,302 acres had been purchased, by the Crown and privately. Walzl gives the figure of at least 68,814 acres or 40.7% of the land still in Maori ownership only twenty years after 1900. He suggests that another 17,863 acres can be added in which cannot be put into other time periods, in which case 51.3% of Wairarapa Maori land held in 1900 had been alienated by 1920.<sup>321</sup> He then groups them again and surveys the state of each group in 1920.

Steven Oliver has identified there being still some 115,825 acres remaining in Maori ownership in the Tararua District in 1900, which has been reduced to 21,885 acres in the present day.<sup>322</sup> Of that original total, nearly 88,000 acres was purchased either by the Crown or privately, while 5276 acres was Europeanised under the Maori Affairs Amendment Act 1967 (and 739 acres remains unaccounted for). A particular point to note is that of the remaining 21,885 acres, 17,482 comprise the Aohanga Station in the Mataikona reserve, so that only some 4400 acres remain in Maori hands throughout the rest of the district.

#### **5.1.4. The Quality of the Land Remaining—early 20th Century**

A parliamentary return in 1906 listed all ‘unproductive Native land in the North Island’.<sup>323</sup> The lands still remaining in Maori hands were listed, together with many details about them (when such information was available), but they were clearly not all ‘unproductive’ lands. In fact, the large majority of blocks were indeed ‘occupied and productive’, although not necessarily by Maori owners as much was leased to Europeans. Unfortunately the return is divided by land district and then only roughly into unidentified geographical areas.

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<sup>321</sup> Walzl, ‘Overview’, 68.

<sup>322</sup> Oliver, ‘Tararua’, 2-3. He conveniently summarises in a table the individual identified blocks and their depletion over the century.

<sup>323</sup> AJLC, 1906, No 5.

The information from this 1906 return has been tabulated for this report by Jamie Mitchell and appears as Figure 4 in Appendix 2 below.

In the Tararua district up to Norsewood, the reserves apparently had no residents at all, being leased to Europeans. The three Rakautatahi blocks had 17 residents between them and since they were listed as ‘Native occupation’ these were presumably the Maori owners. But those blocks were just outside the present inquiry district and no others in the district were in Maori occupation and very little, if any, was classed as ‘unproductive’. The blocks were variously described as agricultural and/or pastoral in class. This then indicates that in the Tararua district between Norsewood and Woodville, no lands, ‘unproductive or otherwise, were in Maori occupation and use.’<sup>324</sup>

Of the land in the Wellington Land District, that south of Woodville, Mataikona, Whakataki, Piripi and Te Maipi to the north were listed as third-class land, containing both open and scrub or bush land.<sup>325</sup> In the south, Matakitaiki and Te Kopi Waitahuna contained third-class land, although most of the remainder was second class land. There was some first-class land around Mangatainoka and Pahiatua, and at Oroi, while parts of the south-eastern hills from Pukengaki down to Nga Waka-a-Kupe and Kawakawa also contained some first-class land. The southern coastal blocks were described as ‘high, hilly, coastal country’. As to use, the 1247-acre Wainuioru Block was ‘used for pastoral purposes by Natives’ and Te Maipi and Ngapuketuru—what became Homewood—were part utilised by Maori. No notice was taken of the fact that the Whaiti and Sinclair partnership was in operation, so a number of the blocks designated as leased to Europeans did in fact have Maori using them too. Missing such a salient feature casts some doubt on the precise reliability of the rest of the figures. None of the lands were designated as unfit for ‘close settlement’, but given the range of types of country included this ‘closeness’ must have had a fairly elastic definition.

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<sup>324</sup> AJLC, 1906, No 5, 18.

<sup>325</sup> AJLC, 1906, No 5, 20-21.

### 5.1.5. Waitutuma

The events at Waitutuma in the early twentieth century illustrate both the issue of the quality of land remaining in Maori hands by then and the issue, discussed further below, of the link between poverty amongst Maori and their selling their remaining lands.

Apart from some large shareholders in Waitutuma 1A, the forty owners of Waitutuma (4800 acres), Waitutuma 1A (17,800 acres) and Waitutuma 1B (233 acres) were all interested in selling in 1909.<sup>326</sup> However, they did not wish to sell to the Crown which would have paid only the government valuation of 17s 6d for 3468 acres and 7s 6d for the remainder, but for the land to go to public auction for sale to the highest bidder. They were 'fortified with public local opinion in assessing the value at a much higher figure'.<sup>327</sup> The sellers represented all of Waitutuma and Waitutuma 1B, and 7772 acres of 1A (called 1A7 after a Native Land Court partition of 1A in March 1909).

The lands to be sold were gazetted in July 1909 as being brought under the Native Lands Settlement Act 1907 for purchase by the Crown, or, failing that, of being offered by the Ikaroa Board for public sale. Special valuations valued the lands at a flat £1 per acre. Access would be from the coast up the Makotuhutuhu River, but the 2000 acres of Waitutuma near the sea was 'valueless', being rocky and hemmed in by cliffs. The Crown therefore offered to purchase at £1 per acre, which was rejected but they agreed to sell Waitutuma at 10s and 1B at 22s 6d, while the 1A7 owners asked for 27s 6d as they had received a private offer of 25s. The Crown counter-offered 7s 6d for Waitutuma, £1 for 1B and 22s 6d for 1A7. William Workman/Wakamana wanted to know why Waitutuma itself was valued so low, as it was exactly the same land class as the neighbouring block and had several possible accesses. There were, he said, at least 300 deer stalkers on the land in the last year and for £1 per acre the Crown would get a bargain as the site of a deer park.<sup>328</sup> He was supported by Judge Jack, the Board President.

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<sup>326</sup> MA-MLP 1 1910/10. The sellers held shares or interests of from 29 to 600 acres in Waitutuma and 400 to 1200 acres in Waitutuma 1A.

<sup>327</sup> Confidential draft report of the Native Land Commission [Stout-Ngata]. MA-MLP 1 1910/10.

<sup>328</sup> W. Workman to J.B. Jack, President, Ikaroa Maori Land Board, 2 August 1911. MA-MLP 1 1910/10.

The Crown wished to proceed, but then found an unexpected technical hitch—the poverty of the owners. Native Under Secretary Fisher explained that members of the Workman family had come to see him personally to stress the urgency of completing the sale. They had told him that this was because they needed the money ‘to work their other lands’. Now, though, having proceeded on the basis that that statement was correct, the Department had found out that in fact ‘it was not so, as these persons have no other land’. This formed a bar to the purchase as s 373 of the Native Land Act 1909 stated that no purchase should be made which allowed a Maori thereby to become landless. The explanation was given to an MP who had been approached by one of the Workman whanau urgently seeking his payment.<sup>329</sup>

Other Waitutuma owners had needs too. Hui te Miha was earning nothing from 1A1 and offered to sell at £1 7s 6d as he had a mortgage due on other lands and 1A1 was ‘wholly unproductive of revenue’. The Crown refused to consider this, but in 1912 a valuer employed to make the 1911 government valuations was asked by the Maoris’ solicitor to point out to the Under Secretary that the Waitutuma lands were worth—and were fetching—significantly more than the government would pay. He valued 1A1 (3310 acres) at £2000 i.e. a little over 12s per acre, saying it was closer in value to 1A7 than Waitutuma. In the meantime 1A5 and 1A6 had been bought for 32s 6d per acre and offers of 30s had been made for 1A7. He added that there were other reasons than the bare value for acquiring the land, including the maintenance of a forest reserve which would be destroyed by farmers. The owners’ solicitor warned the Department that although it was ‘bound by valuations’ down at the 12-shilling end, they were operating on actual sales and had an offer in hand of 30s. The whole process then descended into chaos with the discovery that the partitions had been mis-surveyed, often by a substantial margin, and the amounts offered and already paid were correspondingly inaccurate.

Walzl concludes that other Waitutuma subdivisions were sold at these higher prices, but the Crown would not budge on its substantially lower offer. The Crown’s persistence seems to have paid off for it as the 1A7 owners finally capitulated and accepted its lower rate.<sup>330</sup>

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<sup>329</sup> Fisher to Duncan, 16 November 1911. MA-MLP 1 1910/10. It was open to the Department to use s 425 of the same Act to override the s 373 protection but it required the Land Board to make a recommendation to that effect.

## 5.2. The Stout-Ngata Commission 1907-08

The Native Land Commission, comprising the elderly Chief Justice, Sir Robert Stout, and the youthful Maori MHR, Apirana Ngata, travelled through the North Island in 1907–08 investigating the extent to which remaining Maori land was available for sale or lease, and how much was actually needed by Maori for their own support. The government’s intention was to facilitate access by settlers to the land, but the two commissioners seized their opportunity to go well beyond their brief and produce a district by district survey of the state of Maori landholdings and many other issues relating to the ownership, management and purchase of Maori land.

Tamaki-nui-a-Rua was dealt with in the Commission’s reports on Hawkes Bay lands to the north, their division reaching down to Woodville. Their first report was that on the **Rakautatahi** and **Otawhao A** blocks immediately to the north of the present inquiry district boundary.<sup>331</sup>

As regards Rakautatahi, some 9994 acres was still in Maori hands divided into 14 subdivisions. More than half of that area was occupied by some of the owners, who had sheep, cattle and horses as well as having built a woolshed and other farm buildings, while on other parts crops were raised. There was, though, a problem which exemplified the difficulty with the state of titles of Maori land:

... the Maori owners who are in possession have really no title. For example, there are in some of the sections five, six, seven, or more owners. Perhaps only one of the owners is in possession, and he occupies the land with the tacit consent of the other owners, but has no legal title from them. If any of the owners were to die, the devisees or successors could interfere with his possession. This might necessitate further partition, which might make the land useless for a farm. It is necessary that those who are in possession should have leases and have some title.<sup>332</sup>

In this particular case, the owners were all willing that this should be arranged, but the insecurity resulting from fragmentation of title is one that has bedevilled Maori land since at least 1873. In the first instance, the initial owners had to be able to reach agreement over who would occupy their block, but subsequently the rapid

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<sup>330</sup> Walzl, ‘Overview’, 96.

<sup>331</sup> See, for example, Map 8 in Map Book One, #A20.

<sup>332</sup> AJHR, 1907, G-1e, 1.

multiplication of successor owners threatened the ownership and use of the land through either the challenge to possession as described or through the possibility of partitioning, potentially carving an economic unit into uneconomic ones, with all the attendant costs of the process to be covered also. The Commissioners did not necessarily discuss this in each of their reports, but they mentioned here that it was a widespread problem. Indeed, it would have applied wherever Maori land was held by more than a single owner, as it was throughout the inquiry district.

An example was in Rakautatahi 2B where Te Kani Rukiruki occupied and improved the land although he was only one of 41 owners and actually owned only two fifty-fifths of the area. As to how this particular land would fare, the Commissioners were glad to be able to say that some of the aspiring lessees were ‘young men, intelligent, active, and ... enterprising and thrifty’.<sup>333</sup>

Otawhao A was a block of very similar size, but there little remained in Maori occupation, being mostly leased to Europeans. Only a few owners had land elsewhere and were very anxious that none of this should be alienated permanently. They sought to have the land made ‘absolutely inalienable’ and the Commissioners agreed with them.

Other blocks north of Woodville were discussed in the Commission’s report of 19 December 1908 on ‘the lands generally belonging to the Hawke’s Bay Natives’, which covered the Hawke’s Bay, Patangata, Waipawa, and Rangitikei counties.<sup>334</sup> None of those counties was entirely within the present inquiry district, but it seems as though both Patangata and Waipawa included lands that were.

Within Patangata and Waipawa counties, Maori land ownership stood as follows:<sup>335</sup>

**Table 6: Maori Land ownership, Patangata & Waipawa counties, 1909**

County	Leased/Under Neg	Not Dealt With	Total
Patangata	88,407	2429	90,837
Waipawa	50,369	74,044	124,413
TOTALS	138,776	76,473	215,249

<sup>333</sup> AJHR, 1907, G-1e, 1.

<sup>334</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1c.

<sup>335</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1c, 1.

Of the lands ‘not dealt with’ throughout the entire region they were discussing, some 80% of it was in just three blocks, of which Puketoi on its own totalled 59,800 acres. No valuation had been supplied to the Commission for the Puketoi lands, but the other two large blocks had been virtually unusable because of the poor quality of the land and the rabbit problem. Again, throughout the entire region, the remaining 40,531 acres of lands ‘not dealt with’ were in small subdivisions, averaging only 164 acres in size—although some were of several thousand acres.

As to valuations (which were reported for virtually no blocks), they considered lands with values of 7s 6d per acre to be of poor quality and some reported went down to 1s 6d per acre.

An important issue specifically addressed by the Commissioners in their report in this region was the renewal of existing leases, a generic issue which applied throughout the present inquiry district also. Both the Aotea and Ikaroa Maori Land Boards had implemented a blanket rule that no existing leases were to be renewed to the same tenant. This refusal was on the basis that such renewals were not in the interests of the Maori lessors. The Stout-Ngata Commission ‘cordially approved’ of such a rule, even though ‘drastic’, and hoped that it would soon be adopted by all boards. The key reason was that only the Europeans acquiring the renewed leases benefited. Competition was precluded by the arrangements already existing between tenant and lessors:

... if it were understood that such arrangements could be freely made there would be nothing to prevent the creation of an obligation between the Maoris and their tenants that would commit the former to a new lease whenever demanded. In the Hawke’s Bay and Wellington districts, where so much of the most valuable Native land is under lease, such freedom of action would militate against [additional European] settlement. In the mass the Maoris are anxious to resume occupation of a large area now under lease to Europeans; individually they will be found unable to resist the temptation of increased rentals, and thus their young people may be debarred from obtaining land for farming.<sup>336</sup>

They suggested exceptions to the rule on a case by case basis and then only where the land was unsuitable for closer settlement and preferably where the board could be satisfied that the new rent was a significant improvement on the old. The

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<sup>336</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1c, 2.

Commissioners noted that ‘the Maoris do not object to the promotion of general settlement being ever [i.e. always] kept in view.’<sup>337</sup>

In the context of the time, and probably speaking directly to the Liberal Government which was renowned for its policy of trying to ‘burst up’ the large estates in order to promote closer settlement, Stout and Ngata observed pointedly as their report’s final comment:

We may add that in the districts named it is not the Maoris who have any large monopoly of land suitable for settlement. If monopolies exist, they are in the hands of Europeans, either as freeholders or Maori lessees [i.e. leasing from Maori owners].<sup>338</sup>

In the **Patangata County**, the blocks mentioned that also appear in Paula Berghan’s ‘Block Research Narratives for Tararua’ report are Tautane and Ngapaeruru (part).

At this time, **Tautane** 1, 4, 5 and 6 remained in Maori ownership, but were either leased to Europeans or were under negotiations for such a lease. They were small blocks: Tautane No 1 being 43 acres, No 4 517 acres, No 5 220 acres and No 6 218 acres—a total of 998 acres. Tautane 2 and 3 remained in Maori ownership, or at least were not dealt with by lease or purchase and were apparently not occupied by them. These blocks were even smaller, being only 48 acres and 50 acres respectively, a total of 98 acres. Thus, in total, less than 1100 acres of the Tautane Block remained in Maori ownership by 1908.<sup>339</sup>

**Ngapaeruru** 7F2B of 1262 acres remained in Maori ownership, too, but it was leased or under negotiation for lease by a Pakeha.<sup>340</sup>

In **Waipawa County**, the blocks that also appear in Berghan’s report are: Kaitoki, Manawatu, Mangatoro, Ngapaeruru (part), Puketoi, Tahoraiti, Tamaki, Umutaoroa, Waikopiro, Wharawhara, and Whitiatara.

**Kaitoki** 1 (2036 acres), 2A (130 acres), 2B (293 acres), 2C (586 acres) and 2D (879 acres)—a total of 3924 acres—were either leased or under negotiation. None of the block appears to have remained in both Maori ownership and control.<sup>341</sup>

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<sup>337</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1c, 3.

<sup>338</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1c, 3.

<sup>339</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1c, 9-10.

<sup>340</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1c, 9.

<sup>341</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1c, 10.

**Manawatu** 2B South (347 acres) and 4D (7027 acres) were both either leased or under negotiation. **Whitiatara**/Manawatu 6 (1370 acres) and from **Wharawhara**/Manawatu 8 the 8B subdivision (505 acres) were too. However, from Wharawhara, blocks 2 (252 acres) 4 (189 acres) and 5 (568 acres), totalling 1009 acres were still in Maori ownership and control. Blocks 2 and 4 each had a single owner and Block 5 had two.<sup>342</sup>

All of the **Mangatoro** blocks remaining in Maori ownership were leased or under negotiation. These were 1A2 (857 acres), 1A3A to H (totalling 5137 acres), and 2A (397 acres). None of the block appears to have remained in both Maori ownership and control.<sup>343</sup>

Similarly, all of the **Tahoraiti** blocks remaining in Maori ownership were also either leased or under negotiation. These were 1A to H and 1K (altogether totalling 3473 acres) and the large No 2 Block (5924 acres).<sup>344</sup>

Within **Waikopiro**, many blocks were leased: B2, B3, B4, B5, B7, B8 and B14 (totalling 1809 acres), together with 2B2 (1191 acres) and 3B2A to D (totalling 2855 acres), altogether totalling 5855 acres. There were also several Waikopiro subdivisions remaining in Maori control: B9, B12 and B15 (totalling 678 acres) and 1B2A (299 acres) and 1B2B2 (199 acres). The three B blocks had one owner each (although 178.5 acres of B12 had already been sold) and 1B2A and 1B2B2 had five and four owners respectively.<sup>345</sup>

For **Ngapaeruru**, there were three blocks leased or under negotiation: 6B1 (300 acres), 7B (492 acres) and 10 (1420 acres), totalling 2212 acres. Another five subdivisions of Ngapaeruru remained undealt with, in Maori control: 1B2B (725 acres), 1B2C (675 acres), 2B2 (243 acres), 3B (143 acres) and 4B2 (378 acres), totalling 2164 acres. However those five blocks had 44 owners, giving an average of less than 50 acres each, unless of course some were owners in more than one block; 3B was the worst with 10 owners for only 143 acres.<sup>346</sup>

The two subdivisions of **Puketoi** still in Maori hands were of very significant extent; Puketoi 2 was 28,500 acres and Puketoi 4 was 31,300 acres. Each had 8 owners, perhaps they were the same 8 people. As noted above, the Commission's

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<sup>342</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1c, 10, 12.

<sup>343</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1c, 10.

<sup>344</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1c, 11.

<sup>345</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1c, 11, 12.

<sup>346</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1c, 11, 12.

report gave no idea of the value of these two blocks, but their counterparts in the area were of little value and marginal as farms, if indeed they could be farmed at all.<sup>347</sup>

One part of **Tamaki**, the 1000-acre 2A1, was known to have been leased out. The 2672 acres comprising the four blocks still in Maori control—2A2, 2A3, 4A and 5A—were actually also said to be under lease to the Hawke’s Bay Timber Company. So all of Tamaki was out of Maori hands, although there would have been rental income available for the 15 owners.<sup>348</sup>

**Umutaoroa/Manawatu 1**, designated a reserve from a Crown purchase, totalled 4973 acres. No owners were recorded for it, but it was said to be under a timber lease.<sup>349</sup>

So in the two counties comprising the northern part of the inquiry district, Tamaki-nui-a-Rua north of Woodville, there was a total of at most 42,960 acres owned by Maori but leased out or under negotiation to be leased. There was a further total of at most 9420 acres ‘undealt with’, i.e. still under Maori control.<sup>350</sup> This second category was possibly occupied by them also, but the Commission’s annotations indicate where a block was actually occupied by the owners, either as a farm or a kainga; none of the blocks in the inquiry district were noted as being occupied by their Maori owners.

In blocks where there were several subdivisions remaining in Maori control, and in contiguous blocks of different names, it is quite possible that on the ground the smaller subdivision blocks could have been operated together as a larger economic unit. Whether or not they would have to be discovered through investigation not just of ownership but of other sources that might reveal how people in specific locations were dealing with their land. Certainly, Pakeha farmers did this, making economic farms from leasing several blocks of Maori land, or appending leased Maori land onto their adjoining freehold farms. Whether Maori were able to do that would have depended at least in part on the ability of multiple owners not just of one block but of several to agree together. Apart from Ngapaeruru, the inquiry district blocks remaining in Maori control in Patangata and Waipawa counties seem to have had

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<sup>347</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1c, 12.

<sup>348</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1c, 11, 12.

<sup>349</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1c, 12.

<sup>350</sup> These two figures may need to be reduced depending on where the northern boundary cuts through the Maori land blocks, especially Ngapaeruru and Wharawhara.

relatively few owners, many having only one or two, so this problem of gaining agreement would potentially have been minimised.

To the south of Woodville, the Commission reported twice on Maori lands in the Wairarapa district in 1908. Their initial investigation revealed that:

... there was no considerable area of Native land unoccupied, the larger portions of the Native lands being under lease to Europeans.<sup>351</sup>

Maori, they found, actually undertook 'very little' farming on their own behalf in the district. Instead, 'most of the younger people are working for Europeans, and the older ones are depending largely on rents for their livelihood'.

This was not the whole story, however, as Maori did not want to remain in this condition of labourers for others or 'idle' landlords. Rather,

There was a laudable desire manifested among many to begin farming on a proper basis; and to assist them in their desire they have asked that the small remnant of lands left unalienated should be reserved to them for Maori occupation.<sup>352</sup>

However, the Commission pointed out emphatically, since they had not previously been engaged in 'practical farming', they would require expert guidance in order to make a success of it. Stout and Ngata spelt it out:

We would therefore again urge what has been already recommended in our previous reports [on other districts], the necessity of appointing instructors for the several districts in which Maoris are farming. In a few districts the Maoris are capable farmers, and are not in such need of extraneous aid; but where they are experimenting it is absolutely essential that such guidance should be afforded to them.<sup>353</sup>

What Stout and Ngata found was that at least some Europeans were dissatisfied with what the complainants argued was both the brevity and the high cost of their leases from Maori. They wanted both longer terms and lower rentals, or, failing that, a renewal of the present lease for a further term. The commissioners disapproved of both proposals and said that it should not be permitted except in exceptional circumstances, when it might well require special legislation in any case.

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<sup>351</sup> AJHR, 1908, G-1r, 1.

<sup>352</sup> AJHR, 1908, G-1r, 1.

<sup>353</sup> AJHR, 1908, G-1r, 1.

They also criticised the existing system of granting leases to ‘favoured Europeans’ without any public competition.<sup>354</sup> This, they pointed out, was unfair both to the Maori owners and the general public. Presumably—although they did not spell it out—the unfairness arose from Maori not receiving as high a rental return as they might have at auction, and from any other than a favoured cabal of settlers being able to access Wairarapa lands. Nor did they say who was running this system, however at the time such matters were all supposed by law to be dealt with by the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board, so it would have been a failure by the officials to observe due process. Given that lay members of these boards were likely to have been notable locals, this may well have indicated that there was a small, oligarchic group of settlers controlling access to the region’s lands for their benefit and that of their friends. After 1912/13 the boards basically consisted of the district’s Native Land Court judge and his registrar.

They gave an example of the Board’s having approved a sale of the 183-acre Mangatainoka K2B1 to the present lessee, Mr Hart Udy, apparently after a direct offer to the Board and owners, and no public discussion or offer. Since the specific facts were positive, including the details that the Maori owners approved of the sale and the price offered was £1 per acre above government valuation, the Commission recommended that it be allowed to proceed. But Stout and Ngata reiterated their opinion that, in general, ‘no system save open competition for Native land should, unless in very exceptional circumstances, be recognised’.<sup>355</sup> The region’s land quality was so good that it was very suitable for closer settlement and so no renewals of leases should be granted. Instead, every newly available lease should be advertised and sold by public auction.

Another factor that swayed the Commission was that the Maori owners, Erini Korou Nini and Ngawhiro Marakaia, were not only satisfied with the price but had begun farming on other lands and needed the proceeds of this sale to purchase stock and otherwise develop the new farm.<sup>356</sup> On the one hand this might be seen as positive, a rationalisation of useless assets to finance a progressive new venture; on the other, it might have been that they were so poor that they were stripping themselves of their assets merely to be able to conduct any sort of business. Would

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<sup>354</sup> AJHR, 1908, G-1r, 1.

<sup>355</sup> AJHR, 1908, G-1r, 2.

<sup>356</sup> AJHR, 1908, G-1r, 2.

not the better approach normally have been to borrow against their lands in order to acquire the stock? Were they forced into selling some land because there was no access permitted for them to development finance? There was no indication in the Stout-Ngata report of the detailed circumstances.

At this time, the commissioners were able to identify 12 blocks, totalling 15,584 acres, that were leased or under negotiation for purchase. There were 14 blocks, totalling 5294 acres, that they recommended to be reserved for Maori occupation under Part II of the Native Land Settlement Act 1907.<sup>357</sup>

The Commission's second report, written in December 1908 but not published until the following year, identified by county (a) the lands that were already subject to lease or negotiation, and (b) those that remained in Maori hands and were therefore not dealt with by the Commission because of time constraints, or were unavailable for settlement. Their report, giving an apparently complete listing of the Wairarapa blocks, is attached to the present report as Appendix Three.

The following table gives the Commission's breakdown by county of the two categories, the lands that remained held by Maori and those that were partly alienated or somewhere in the negotiation process:<sup>358</sup>

**Table 7: Maori Land ownership, Wairarapa counties, 1909**

<b>County</b>	<b>Acres Leased/Under Negotiation</b>	<b>Acres in Maori Occupation</b>
Masterton	5981	13,209
Featherston	49,855	15,244
Wairarapa South	11,856	5359
Pahiatua	3008	634
Eketahuna	1525	2307
Castlepoint	52	19,682
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>72,280</b>	<b>56,839</b>

As well as the 72,280 acres that were under lease or negotiation, a further 22,800 acres of the Waitutuma Blocks were in the process of being sold by public auction,

<sup>357</sup> AJHR, 1908, G-1r, 2-3.

<sup>358</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1d, 1. For present purposes, the acres alone are given. The tables contain more exact measures to the perch, and the report has schedules detailing the land block by block.

and the 569-acre Mangatainoka K2A Block was proposed for lease to four specified Maori for small farming. Ignoring the second since it was remaining fully in Maori hands, this brought the total officially out of or leaving Maori hands at 95,080 acres at that time.

Again bearing in mind that the district they were dealing with was south of Pahiatua County inclusive, the position then regarding land in Maori ownership was this.<sup>359</sup>

**Table 8: Maori land south of Pahiatua county inclusive covered by Stout-Ngata Commission, 1909**

Lands leased	72,280 acres
For lease to Maori	569 acres
For sale by public auction	22,800 acres
Not dealt with	56,539 acres
TOTAL	152,188 acres

The commissioners commented that the land still remaining in Maori hands with the exception of three large blocks, was ‘in very small subdivisions, and consist for the most part of papakaingas and Native reserves in occupation of the owners’. Official information supplied to them confidentially had also shown that even of these blocks, some of the larger ones were occupied by Europeans under unregistered leases, while the Maori themselves used some for grazing.<sup>360</sup> The three large blocks referred to appear all to have been in Castlepoint County: Mataikona 1 (8318 acres, 59 owners), Whakataki 10B (6148 acres, 25 owners), and Matakitaiki 1 (3660 acres, 10 owners), all of which were supposed to be under lease. Other than that, the largest blocks in the district reported on were Tahuroa 1 in Featherston County (2652 acres, 4 owners), and Wangaehu 2 in Masterton County (2077 acres, 41 owners). Every other block in Maori occupation was of less than 1000 acres, and very many were of fewer than 100 acres.

It was noted that there was ‘an important Maori sheep-farming community in the Wairarapa district, towards the coast’. In the 1907 sheep returns, the commissioners said, there were 23 registered Maori flocks throughout the district, numbering nearly [sic] 36,656 sheep. A particularly large one was owned by Iraia Te Whaiti in

<sup>359</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1d, 1.

<sup>360</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1d, 1.

partnership with a Pakeha.<sup>361</sup> Presumably the community referred to was in the Homewood district where a number of Maori had flocks of several hundred sheep at that time.

Many owners of Waitutuma (4800 acres, 40 owners), Waitutuma 1A (17,800 acres, 38 owners) and Waitutuma 1B (200 acres, 8 owners) had asked the Commission to be allowed to place their interests on the market in public auction. The commissioners thought that first the Native Land Court should be given the opportunity to partition out non-sellers' interests, particularly as some such as Iraia Te Whaiti had shown themselves well able to run pastoral farms on a large scale. They then said that the sellers' portions should be vested in the Ikaroa Maori Land Board and upon sale the proceeds should be held in trust for the purpose of acquiring other lands for the sellers.<sup>362</sup> They did not say what reason the sellers gave for wishing to sell, but clearly they believed that while those reasons had at least partial validity the sellers did not have the necessary other land remaining to support themselves, and therefore required the provision of more from those proceeds.

The commissioners also recommended that the Maori desires for Mangatainoka K2A be given effect to as it was valuable land and suitable for small farming.<sup>363</sup>

The government has seemed to think since the 1850s that a 100-acre block size was a minimum for its small farm settlement schemes—bearing in mind that the government then selected land it thought suitable for such development. Taking that 100-acre divider as a rough guide to what might have been thought to comprise a usable farm it is possible to see that what the Stout-Ngata Commission meant when it said that most of the remaining lands were held 'in very small subdivisions, and consist for the most part of papakaingas and Native reserves in occupation of the owners'.

In **Masterton County**, of the lands undealt-with and thus usually (although not always) in Maori hands, there were 94 blocks in total in this category.<sup>364</sup> Of those, 24 were of 100 acres or more and of those larger blocks only 7 were of above 500 acres, 5 of those being in the Te Maipi Block. Many were of only an acre or so, or even a few roods and were presumably just residential sections.<sup>365</sup> Significant total acreages

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<sup>361</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1d, 2.

<sup>362</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1d, 2-3.

<sup>363</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1d, 3.

<sup>364</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1d, 4-5.

<sup>365</sup> 1 rood = ¼ acre/40 perches/0.1012 hectare. 1 perch = 1/160<sup>th</sup> acre/30¼ sq yds/25.3 sq m.

were clustered in Te Maipi 6B-7C7 (4324 acres, 17 owners), Maungaraki 3-4 (1666 acres, 5 owners), Ngapuketuru 2, 3, 4, 5c, 6 (1152 acres, no owners listed), and Wangaehu North, South, and 2 (2753 acres, 61 owners). While they may have been clustered within parent blocks, this is no guarantee that they were actually contiguous, or even very close. Fragmentation of titles is apparent in the numbers of owners for each block. While some were held by individuals, others were very fragmented, such as: several of the Akura blocks each with more owners than acres, Ahirara sec 764 block V of 45 acres but with 40 owners, the two Hupenui blocks with 9 owners for 1¾ acres, or Te Whiti South 5 with 3 owners for 3 roods. Of course, some of the owners in neighbouring blocks will have been the same and this would permit greater use of the lands instead of their being limited to the smaller subdivision. But alternatively it also meant that those fragments could be pared off the total holding more readily than if an entire block remained intact representing the whole lands of a group.

**Featherston County** had 158 Maori land blocks undealt-with.<sup>366</sup> Of those, only 21 (13%) were of 100 acres or more. Only 6 were of more than 500 acres, the 2652-acre Tahuroa 1 standing out. The problems of small block size are even clearer here than in Masterton, although very many of these small blocks are individualised and held by single owners, presumably as residential sections or small farmlets. There are relatively few blocks with a large number of owners, such as Okoura 5B with 6 owners for 11 acres. This may indicate that the Maori owners were trying to do the best they could to operate as Pakeha farmers on individualised holdings and had partitioned blocks accordingly. The largest block areas were Oroi (N, 1-10) 3065 acres, Potakakuratawhiti (1-3 and Tawhara) 1157 acres, and Tahuroa (C and 1) of 3107 acres. The large blocks such as Nga Waka a Kupe were in the 'Lands leased or under negotiation for lease' category, although in that particular case the lessees were largely Maori at that time.<sup>367</sup>

**Wairarapa South County** had 84 Maori land blocks undealt-with.<sup>368</sup> Of those, 14 (16.7%) were of 100 acres or more, while 3 of those larger blocks were of 500 acres or more. The largest clusters of land were Hinana (1, 6-9, A-C) 1336 acres, and Pukengaki (4-6, 12 etc) 2030 acres. All of the rest were in smaller parcels so that while Hurunuiorangi, for example, had numerous blocks they were nearly all of only

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<sup>366</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1d, 6-9.

<sup>367</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1d, 6.

<sup>368</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1d, 10-12.

an acre or two while the largest at 31 and 53 acres had 10 and 14 owners respectively. Again many of these small blocks had multiple owners as did the larger ones. For example, Hinewaka 3A was 248 acres but had 11 owners, Wharaurangi was 220 acres but had 34 owners, Waikekeno 1 was 52 acres with 22 owners. The largest single-owner block was Pukengaki 4 of 556 acres; this owner may well have been Charles Jury.

**Pahiatua County** had but 3 Maori land blocks undealt-with, totalling 634 acres between them.<sup>369</sup> Pahiatua 2 and 3 were large enough at 392 acres and 201 acres respectively, but had 3 and 2 owners, while Block 3 was under negotiation for sale anyway. The third block, Ruataniwha, was a singly owned 40 acres. There were only another 3008 acres in Maori ownership in this county and those blocks were all either Pahiatua or Mangatainoka blocks and either already leased or being leased.

**Eketahuna County** had 2307 acres in 27 blocks of undealt-with Maori land.<sup>370</sup> They were all in two clusters, 18 in Mangatainoka and 9 in Tutaekara. The blocks had been largely individualised with all but one having only either one or two owners. Ten of the Mangatainoka blocks were of more than 100 acres. Another Mangatainoka block, K2C (1525 acres), was leased or under negotiation.

**Castlepoint County** had 1 block, Whakataki 3 (53 acres) under lease and 13 blocks undealt-with, totalling 19,682 acres.<sup>371</sup> Seven of these were under 100 acres and two, Matakitaiki 2 and 4, were of more than 500 acres. There were also three large blocks: Mataikona 1 of 8318 acres, 59 owners, Whakataki 10B 6148 acres with 25 owners, and Matakitaiki 1 of 3660 acres with 10 owners. But each of these was not free for use either by Maori or for Crown acquisition, Mataikona 1 and Whakataki 10B being supposed to be under lease, while a sale of two-thirds of Matakitaiki 1 to 'Te Whaiti [presumably Iraia] and another' was under negotiation.

The commissioners reported that they had not been permitted by statute to investigate papatupu lands, but they set out their extent and location. None were in the Wairarapa/Tararua region, the closest being in Rotorua and Waiapu counties.<sup>372</sup>

Concluding their enormous series of reports, published district by district over three years, they also produced a final generic report including a number of nation-wide recommendations, supported by others such as Chief Judge Seth-Smith and

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<sup>369</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1d, 12.

<sup>370</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1d, 13.

<sup>371</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1d, 14.

Judge J.W. Browne citing the Valuer-General. The payment of land tax where lands were held in trust for several owners frequently meant that they were charged taxes out of all proportion to the value of their interest in a block. The payment of rates on land with standing timber that would not be cut for decades also resulted in charges of several times that timber's value. These were not directly problems relating to Maori land but affected them particularly. Others relating to the administration of the Native land laws and Native Land Court fees were—they cited the unnamed case of a 20-acre block, leased at sixpence per annum, which passed to 43 successors, from whose rental was deducted 7s for the court order and swearing fee.<sup>373</sup> Such problems were not specific to Wairarapa Maori, but would have also impacted on them and how they related to the court, the Ikaroa Maori Land Board, and the land system generally.

### **5.3. Maori and Farming**

By the mid-1860s, at least some Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori were attempting to participate in the emerging Pakeha economy, especially in work relating to the wool production of the sheep runs that had sprung up around them, and to some extent in emulation of them. They also moved in a small way into dairying which required less land, but still considerable outlay—and good quality land.

#### **5.3.1. Sheep and Dairy Farming in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

It is unfortunate that just as Wairarapa was recovering from the tension of the wars of the 1860s an economic depression struck in 1868-70. This set back all efforts at developing the fledgling farming initiatives, and must also have hindered Maori from making their remaining holdings economically viable.<sup>374</sup> About this time, Wi Tutere received £30 and 100 sheep as rent for Nga Waka-a-Kupe.<sup>375</sup> This suggests that at least some Maori owners in the district were trying to establish their own flocks

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<sup>372</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1g, 1.

<sup>373</sup> AJHR, 1909 sess I, G-1g, 8-11. It is unclear whether the sixpence was per acre or the total rent, but the overall point remains unaffected either way.

<sup>374</sup> Ross, 'Small Farms', 75.

and run their own livestock, in this case foregoing cash income from rent in exchange for the nucleus of a flock that could be managed into a much more substantial asset than the equivalent number of pounds in cash, which might well have been frittered away on trivia or divided into so many shares that it would give individual Maori owners little of real value. Such sheep also had value to Maori (apart from as wool and mutton) as the running of sheep on a property was taken as being an act that would demonstrate *ahi kaa roa*, ancestral use and occupation, as against the world.

The depression hit Wairarapa sheep farmers badly, the animals fetching only 5-6s each when sold to Wellington butchers. The Wairarapa Boiling Down Company was formed in 1869 to enable the boiling down of sheep, which would then bring in between 10s and 18s each.<sup>376</sup>

Prices received by farmers of various sorts are difficult to establish, given changes over time, location, variations in product quality, and so on. Also, how they translated into actual income is even less apparent, as such calculations had to take into account the costs incurred in producing and transporting the product.

Wool prices varied greatly over the half century between the New Zealand Wars and the First World War. Between 1861 and 1866, the runholder received between 1s 0¾d and 1s 1¾d per lb for his wool after freight costs. By 1869, that had dropped to 8¾d but rose rapidly to a record of 1s 3d in 1872, a level not attained again until the Great War, after recovery from a slow decline bottoming at 6¾d in 1894. Against price declines must be set higher productivity due to better management and breeding, improved nutrition and so on which may have ultimately resulted in a better net return.<sup>377</sup>

Clear information regarding the returns available from the sheep is not readily available. From 1871 to 1879, the prices of sheep swung wildly between 2s 10d and 7s 6d. The distance from market also had a harmful effect on the price stock would fetch: James Cooper of Hikurangi near Gladstone found that after he had driven his flock down the valley to Featherston he could only get 1s each for them. Cattle, of course, were worth more, averaging £8 each over the same period of the 1870s.<sup>378</sup>

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<sup>375</sup> Michael Batson, 'Nga Waka-a-Kupe Block Research Narrative 1870-1970' (2004) Wai 863, 23.

<sup>376</sup> Ross, 'Small Farms', 104.

<sup>377</sup> Stephens, 'Sheep Runs', 59.

<sup>378</sup> Fearon, *Gladstone*, 151.

In 1880, butter was only 4-5d per pound and took 2.5-3 gallons of milk to produce one pound, yet farmers would turn down 3½d per gallon of milk offered by the early factories (equivalent to 8¾-10½d per pound of butter), preferring to feed it to the pigs.<sup>379</sup>

By 1882, a 'big' dairy farmer was one with a herd of 60-70 cows.

One small farmer in 1890 gave his income from a 50-acre block, on which he was able to graze 11 dairy cows on 45 acres, as £38 8s 5½d from butter making, and £11 14s 6d from the sale of vegetables, fruit and eggs, a total of just over £50 i.e. marginally under £1 per week. This was sufficient to support a family of four adults and one child, although that can hardly have been in luxury.<sup>380</sup> This was a mere third of what Joseph Masters had predicted for such an enterprise in 1854, but Hambly considers it probably typical of the small farm economy at the time. He also comments that such a farmer would not have been concentrating on anything beyond providing the necessities of life, 'so close to barely gaining a living'; he was striving only for bare self-sufficiency. If this is so, then this must be regarded as the bare minimum adequate to support a rural family at the time.

One example of the profits to be made from the development of the Wairarapa's lands, as opposed to income derived directly from any agricultural activity those lands supported, is in the history of the Akitio Station, north of Castlepoint. Originally acquired by a surveyor, Captain Joseph Thomas, in the mid-1850s, his agent Wellington merchant James Kelham took over his 12,000-acre interest with assistance from Donald McLean (who was already a substantial pastoralist in Otago and Hawkes Bay). McLean bought out Kelham's interest in 1865 for £5000. His manager, Reid, was able to develop it slowly and overcome a 'plague of wild dogs' and scab. In 1875, McLean sold his 25,000-acre block to James Armstrong for £29,000. In 1881, Armstrong's executor bought the 31,385-acre Akitio North Station for £55,000 and the entire estate (82,457 acres of which 43,547 were held as freehold) realised £96,000.<sup>381</sup>

Under the Liberals in the 1890s, more support came for the conversion of some of the large pastoral estates east of the Ruamahanga into small farms i.e. dairying, such as were based around the settlements on the west. There was also considerable

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<sup>379</sup> Hambly, 'Dairying', 34.

<sup>380</sup> Hambly, 'Dairying', 26. This was based on receiving 7d per pound for butter, a higher figure than usual in the 1854-90 period. Butter in summer was often almost unsaleable.

resentment towards the pastoralists who owed much of their vast fortunes to the small farmers opening up the valley and providing access, raising property values and improving pastoral profitability too. Little progress was made though, despite concern that the southern valley was stagnating.

The northern Wairarapa was faring little better, if at all. One correspondent complained that: ‘There is no question that the district round about Mauriceville is in a most depressed condition. Stagnation broods over almost everything [and] settlers have discontinued all improvements.’<sup>382</sup> They struggled to set up their own dairy factory because of a lack of capital due to a slender money income, while they lacked supply given the low carrying capacity of the 40-acre hill blocks they farmed. Of the seven attempts to set up dairy factories in Wairarapa in the 1890s, this was the only truly cooperative venture (due to Scandinavian social cohesiveness), but only Taratahi and Dalefield (southwest of Carterton) were at all commercially successful. Further south, most ventures were scuppered as much as anything by the short-sightedness and stubborn individualism of the farmers. The dairy industry thus remained stunted and largely ineffective.

### 5.3.2. Shearing and Farm Work

In 1862, moving from his run at Tuhitarata (or perhaps adding to it) Angus McMaster took up the 16,000-acre Tupurupuru Estate, part of the 42,000-acre block of the same name purchased by the Crown in January 1859. He soon had 10,000 merino sheep on the run and employed Maori to do the shearing at a rate of £1 per hundred.<sup>383</sup> Apparently McMaster was a reasonably generous employer, but rates dropped over the next few decades especially as workers became more readily available than they had been in the 1850s and 1860s. Nationally, rates of more than £1, and commonly 25s or even £2 per hundred were paid simply to attract enough labour in conditions of acute shortage, but as the 1860s drew on rates fell noticeably below £1 per hundred and rates above that figure would never be repeated until well into the twentieth century. Shearers’ conflicts with employers grew from 1870, although apparently more in the South Island than Wairarapa, and would ultimately

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<sup>381</sup> Evans, ‘Possession’, 16-18.

<sup>382</sup> *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 30 July 1895. Quoted in Hambly, ‘Dairying’, 50.

lead to the unionisation of labour. The rate constantly sought by the shearers was £1 per hundred.<sup>384</sup> In 1863, in the first documented attempt to organise shearers, central and southern Hawkes Bay Maori shearers decided that they would not work for less than £2 5s per hundred. While the pastoralists' response was to employ only Pakeha shearers and to import others to break the 'combination', the dispute certainly came past Waipukurau and may have reached down into the present inquiry district.<sup>385</sup>

In 1893, branches of the nascent Shearers' Union were established at Woodville and Masterton due to pressure of numbers wanting to join, while a Maori speaker in Hastings rallied workers to the cause. Early in the twentieth century, a union representative was appointed to cover Wairarapa alone, using a motorbike to get around.<sup>386</sup> Martin's history of the Shearers' Union says very little about Maori shearers, and nothing specifically about those in Wairarapa. However it does include a photo of a Maori shearing gang numbering 15 at the Eparaima Station during the 1904-05 season.<sup>387</sup> Two had come from Wairoa. Three women were with them, and three young children. One woman was a shearer's wife, another her mother and the third another shearer's sister. To the extent that this may be taken as representative, it suggests that Maori dealt with this work communally, the whole family group being involved. It was not simply a job to which men went off to, later returning with money at the end.

At the 1914 conference of the union, it was estimated that Maori comprised 1000 of the union's 4100 membership and it was said that some of the country's best shearers were Maori.<sup>388</sup> It is fairly certain, therefore, with the combination of dedicated union official and high Maori proportion overall of union membership, that Wairarapa Maori shearers would have been union members, but it is not known how many or whether they joined because of particularly unsatisfactory working conditions in the district.

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<sup>383</sup> Fearon, *Gladstone*, 60.

<sup>384</sup> Martin, *Tatau Tatau*, 1-2

<sup>385</sup> Martin, *Forgotten Worker*, 174. Ironically, in the 1880s pastoralists in the same region used Maori shearers and their own station hands rather than employ militant Pakeha shearers seeking a fixed general rate, even though they were employing Maori at the same or dearer rates than the unionists were demanding. Martin, *Forgotten Worker*, 182.

<sup>386</sup> Martin, *Tatau Tatau*, 19, 39.

<sup>387</sup> Martin, *Tatau Tatau*, 43. This also appears, with the additional information, in Martin, *Worker*, 42.

<sup>388</sup> Martin, *Tatau Tatau*, 44.

Employees at Akitio Station were well-paid, according to Evans—but her comparison is with counterparts in England. In the 1880s, most workers on Akitio earned 25-30s per week, plus board and lodging. An experienced shepherd could earn £2 per week. Most men were employed on a monthly basis, except for those who were taken on casually at shearing time as cooks or milkmen at 25s per week. Those who earned the lowest at 20s per week tended to be rabbiters and horsebreakers, but both of these could supplement their income with what were effectively productivity bonuses. The rabbiters could sell skins to the station store, while horsebreakers were paid an extra allowance for every horse broken in.<sup>389</sup> These lower paid men would also often work as shearers in season.

Various Wairarapa stations will also have employed gangs of men for development work on a project by project basis, for example for bushfelling, scrub cutting, draining swamps, grass sowing and building dams. Specialists might be used for carpentry, fencing and scrub cutting. While rates for unskilled workers did not increase during the late nineteenth century, by 1890 a skilled shepherd's pay had risen, although by less than 10%.

Maori seldom if ever featured in the nineteenth-century employment records as skilled or even permanent employees on the stations. They appeared particularly as shearers, but their employment was reliant on the prejudices and preferences of owners and managers. In 1867, Isaac Featherston was employing a high proportion of Maori shearers on the Akitio South station, but there seem to have been no Maori employed at Akitio itself between 1882 and 1890, despite its popularity as a place to work. The records are not definitive, though, as by then many Maori were known by anglicised names.<sup>390</sup> After some years, the majority of the employees of John Purvis Russell on Whangaimoana Station were Maori.<sup>391</sup>

Supporting Evans's comment that at Akitio the Armstrongs were less likely to employ Maori than their predecessors as owners had been, and contrasting with the failure to employ any Maori in the 1880s, in 1859 Maori were heavily involved in shearing on that station. In that year, 'Heta and his mates' shored 2096 sheep, while five Pakeha shearers shored 3130.

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<sup>389</sup> Akitio Station Account Books, 1882-90. Cited in Evans, 'Possession', 95. E.g. in 1886 the rabbitier earned another 57s from pig skins @ 3d per pig, 9-12d per rabbit skin, and £1 each for 5 wild dogs.

<sup>390</sup> Evans, 'Possession', 99.

<sup>391</sup> Aburn, *Pirinoa*, 50.

Martin comments that still into the 1860s Akitio employed ‘many’ Maori on contract for sheep washing, fencing, thatching, as shedhands, and for building whares, gathering firewood, and cooking for shearers. The station acted as a sort of general store and sold them various provisions, such as tea, sugar, flour, soap, tobacco and meat. However, confirming the other observations above, he states that from the 1860s onwards in the Wairarapa Maori struggled to gain employment on the stations as ‘most of the available casual work was snapped up by the struggling settlers’. Maori gained a limited employment only at times of labour shortage such as harvesting and shearing.<sup>392</sup>

There were no shearing gangs as such until the 1920s. Prior to then, the ‘open shed’ method was used, where men paid their own way to a station, then stood in line and awaited the station owner or manager’s unexplained decision to hire or refuse them. Some stations, such as Riddiford’s Te Awaiti, annotated the station shearing book with terse comments that often had nothing to do with a shearer’s work but which would determine whether they were ever re-employed. The station would advertise the date on which shearing would begin and then wait for men to turn up to offer themselves for the October-December season. Once the shearing contractor and his gang came on the scene in the 1920s responsibility for hiring shearers rested with the contractor rather than the station.<sup>393</sup>

The standard rate of pay for shearers was 20s per hundred sheep through the 1860s and 1870s. However, tougher economic conditions in the 1880s drove down the pay offered. At Akitio, for example, it was reduced in a couple of steps to 17s 6d per hundred by 1888. Thus, a man who had shorn 1800 sheep in 1882 earned £2 more than one who had shorn 1850 sheep six years later in 1888.

Although Akitio apparently employed no Maori during the 1880s, the station records help with a picture of a station’s employment structure and where Maori might have fitted.<sup>394</sup>

**Table 9: Employee Turnover at Akitio Station 1882-90**

	1882	1884	1886	1888	1890
Total employed	45	46	41	48	49
Total less shearers	27	26	23	22	26
Employed > 12 mths	8	9	10	9	10

<sup>392</sup> Martin, *Forgotten Worker*, 40.

<sup>393</sup> Evans, ‘Possession’, 99-100. She notes that the contractors used by Akitio from the 1920s for nearly half a century were the Hape brothers of Dannevirke.

<sup>394</sup> Evans, ‘Possession’, 108.

	1882	1884	1886	1888	1890
Employed > 6 mths	3	4	3	1	1
Employed < 6 mths	16	13	8	12	15
Shearers	18	20	20	26	23

The number of ‘shearers’ actually included additional cooks, pressers, fleece packers and a wool classer. Although shearing was certainly an option for Maori, the number of actual shearing jobs available, even at a large station, was thus not all that great, say a dozen. Sometimes (certainly not at Akitio) Maori women, the shearers’ wives, might be employed in the cooking and shed jobs alongside their husbands. Still, a dozen jobs multiplied by the number of sheep stations around the greater Wairarapa would have provided substantial opportunities for Maori, even when shearers came from as far as Australia to stand in line at the ‘open shed’.

Martin also quotes a station owner regarding why Maori were constantly given piecework, such as shearing, rather than teamwork, where the farmer says that in his experience Maori were no use for cooperative working together in continuous toil. They needed to be confined to small contracts and jobs where completion of the task was more important than how long it took. Shearing was a prime example of this kind of activity. Contract work and shearing also permitted Maori to work in kin-based groups.<sup>395</sup>

There were some other options. At Marainanga, near Akitio, a slaughter house was built in the nineteenth century and from then until the early twentieth century sheep were killed there and rendered down for fat to send to England.<sup>396</sup>

However, sheep runs were never going to provide large-scale employment opportunities for Maori (or anyone else for that matter). The key to a sheep station’s profitability is essentially the very limited number of workers required. Apart from shearing time, the operation can be kept going by a mere handful of workers and this was also the case in the nineteenth century. Sheep runs in Wairarapa can not have provided much opportunity for Maori to increase their wealth because other than the small amount of seasonal employment they might have gained, the wealth generated by the operation largely bypassed the surrounding community. The involvement of the wealthy Wairarapa landowners in the social, political and economic development of Wellington is documented by McIntyre’s work on John Martin (founder of

<sup>395</sup> Martin, *Forgotten Worker*, 43.

<sup>396</sup> Wright, ‘Brief’, para 26.

Martinborough) and others, while constantly they were supplied from outside the district with all manner of goods and services. Relatively little trickling down of the wealth thus acquired took place east of the Rimutakas, and this of course was one of the bones of contention between the pastoralists and other Pakeha settlers, not simply relative to Maori. The problem for Maori was that pastoralism on their former lands simply cut them off from another opportunity to be financially successful.

In 1891, Inspector J.B. Thomson of Wellington instructed the police constables stationed throughout the Wairarapa to report on the accommodation provided for labourers and station hands on the various sheep stations in their districts.<sup>397</sup> This was part of a nationwide survey made by the Liberal Government, which was more sympathetic to workers' conditions, and in response to the growing political power of the unionising shearers. The most detailed was that from Martinborough and they became more abbreviated the further north the location, until Pahiatua said nothing there was worthy of the 'station' title. Although the constables often reported on the numbers of farm hands employed either permanently or seasonally, Maori featured explicitly only as shearers. This does not clarify whether any Maori did gain ongoing employment as farm labourers, although some did say that the farmers generally used either family labour or employed neighbouring small farmers who returned to their own homes at night. In most cases where Maori shearers were mentioned, it was usually stated that they returned to their own homes at night, indicating that they were local to the stations concerned, as at Holmes's Matahiwi station near Masterton, Table Lands station near Martinborough, or the Ponatahi station only a few minutes' ride from Papawai. Some went to nearby marae/pa as at Wardell's Te Whiti station near Masterton, suggesting that they were itinerant shearing gangs, perhaps from elsewhere in the district, perhaps from further afield. Where shearers remained on the station property, some employers provided accommodation, often thought by the constables to be comfortable and 'good', and occasionally in the homestead as at Whakaponi station near Martinborough. However, mostly, especially in the southern district, Maori shearers provided their own accommodation in the form of tents, and fed themselves as well. For example, of Glenburn station near Martinborough, Constable Bowden commented: 'The shearers sleeps [sic] in tents and being Moaris [sic] they

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Le 1/1891/177.

generally provide their own food.’ William Martin of Huangarua did provide separate accommodation and a cook for shearers, but it is not said whether they were Maori.

The only Wairarapa station which drew strong criticism from the constables was the Riddifords’ Te Awaiti station, where the sleeping accommodation for the general hands was ‘wretched and not fit for any man to sleep in’, being located in the roof above the main kitchen and dining room, reached through a narrow crawl area, too leaky for six of the eight beds to be usable when raining, and a death trap should there be a fire. The whare for shearers was similarly:

not fit for any one to sleep in, it consists of a great shed with 18 Bunks fitted up in it no floor and is dark and wretched.<sup>398</sup>

Also, at Awhea Station no real provision was made for the shearers’ accommodation. They had to use the loft above the sheep pen which was unpleasant and unhealthy, especially when the shed was full of sheep.<sup>399</sup> It was not reported whether the shearers on these stations were Maori.

The wide variation between the content, detail and style of the reports makes it very difficult to draw conclusions from them. Were Maori employed only as shearers and not as permanent farm workers? How many Maori were employed by station owners? How many of the Maori employed were from the Wairarapa and how many from other regions? Were Maori apparently generally quite separate because ‘being Moaris’ they chose to be, or because ‘being Moaris’ they were given no choice? Nor did the constables report on the conditions of service more generally, so it is unclear whether Maori were remunerated at the same level, whether they were given contracts because they were cheaper since they did provide for themselves.

The Wairarapa situation and its range of treatment of Maori shearers was typical of the whole country, or at least the North Island. In the House of Representatives, the comment was made that:

many of these reports were good ... but, on the other hand, some were bad—very bad indeed. The accommodation was such as to show that some of those who were engaged in the sheep industry on a large scale had completely failed in this matter. Furthermore, the police officers reported that they were denied access to the men’s quarters.<sup>400</sup>

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<sup>398</sup> Bowden to Thomson, 26 May 1891. Le 1/1891/177.

<sup>399</sup> Bowden to Thomson, 26 May 1891. Le 1/1891/177. William Barton, a lawyer who owned White Rock station, refused to allow any visitation without a search warrant.

<sup>400</sup> NZPD, vol 83, 1894, 554. Quoted in Martin, *Worker*, 151-52.

Fifty-four North Island stations were surveyed, and forty-two of these had their shearers living in tents, with another eight providing bad housing. In general, the standard provided in the South Island, though far from always perfect, was considerably better. Furthermore, Martin observes that Maori shearers were treated worse than Pakeha by runholders as a matter of course:

While some runholders were generous with their accommodation, many others supplied only the bare minimum or nothing at all. This was especially true of the North Island runholders who commonly supplied little or no accommodation for their Maori shearers, claiming Maori preferred it that way. They thereby avoided having to provide the kind of accommodation which was taken for granted elsewhere. Maori conditions remained inferior—virtually all those in the Hawke’s Bay and East Coast lived in tents, with the exception of those who lived at home in settlements close by. Where tents were not used, the woolshed often made do instead.... Such conditions meant that the mortality rate amongst Maori shearers was particularly high during the disastrous influenza epidemic of 1918-19.<sup>401</sup>

Although the elite Wairarapa families had—for New Zealand—extensive groups of servants employed within their households, few if any were Maori. Maori had been employed more frequently in earlier years throughout the colony, but as time went on were increasingly used only in northern New Zealand. A few of the increasingly Pakeha servants were local, especially from families like the well-bred but overly numerous Moncktons of southern Wairarapa who were therefore snapped up as governesses, but most servants were British immigrants, partly at least because the elite tried to model themselves on the English upper class back ‘Home’.<sup>402</sup> Thus this employment opportunity was closed to Wairarapa Maori both in the district and amongst the Wellington elite (who were, of course, closely associated with Wairarapa).

Similarly with the long-term and permanent station staff. Nicholls (now McIntyre) gives the example of Huangarua, belonging to the Martins. She makes no comment about the seasonal staff, who would have included shearers, but all the five permanent staff were Pakeha.<sup>403</sup> Other stations may well have been the same, as they were with household staff, but her focus is solely on the Martins and theirs.

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<sup>401</sup> Martin, *Worker*, 151.

<sup>402</sup> Nicholls, ‘Magnate’, 157-158.

<sup>403</sup> Nicholls, ‘Magnate’, 172-181.

In the Tamaki-nui-a-Rua district, there was little work for Maori available in the roading and similar state-sponsored work, most of which was undertaken by the immigrants—who were themselves often desperate for work to support themselves in their own dire situation. As with those further south, Maori in this district had to rely on seasonal work on the large pastoral stations, especially shearing and scrubcutting—or selling land as a last resort.<sup>404</sup>

### 5.3.3. Nga Waka-a-Kupe: the Exception Proving the Rule

A prominent example of nineteenth-century Maori success in European farming is the Nga Waka-a-Kupe Block in south-eastern Wairarapa from the 1860s to the 1920s—although it must constantly be borne in mind that this block is exceptional, because of both its size and the men who developed it.

In June 1867, Wi Mahupuku was issued a wool lien of £250 by Richard Fairbrother, runholder of Longbush (Te Uhiroa, south of today's Gladstone), instead of direct payment, perhaps of rent. Mahupuku would shear all of Fairbrother's sheep and would in return be paid part in goods and part in money. There was, though, some mixture of the sheep belonging to Mahupuku and his 'tribe' with those of Fairbrother. Mahupuku signed a statement on 10 November 1876 [sic] declaring:

He [Mahupuku] had sold sheep from his hapu lands of Nga Waka-a-Kupe to Richard Fairbrother with the consent of all the people. The sheep have not been divided; I do not know how many belong to me. I cannot say that a part belongs to me. The tribe have not given them to me. They are on the hapu's land.<sup>405</sup>

This statement shows that there were a substantial number of sheep involved. Three thousand sheep were mentioned, but Batson's report is not clear on exactly whose they were. Then there is the issue of tribal, rather than individual, ownership of livestock and land. Wi Mahupuku himself was not in good financial shape, he was adjudged bankrupt by the Supreme Court in 1869. He had been employed to manage

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<sup>404</sup> McBurney, 'Tamaki-nui-a-Rua', 34.

<sup>405</sup> Quoted in Michael Batson, 'Nga Waka-a-Kupe Block Research Narrative 1870-1970', Report commissioned by CFRT (2004), 12.

his uncle's sheep, a job he had lost. His assets were estimated at £240, including one mare worth £5 and two surprisingly valuable goats together worth £20. His land was also taken into consideration, but luckily for him and the other owners it had not yet passed through the Native Land Court, otherwise it would have been liable to being taken.<sup>406</sup> It was not only Wi Mahupuku who was in financial straits. The land concerned was bringing in £91 per year in rent, but it had all been prepaid. At this time, the total rent being paid by Revans and Smith for Nga Waka-a-Kupe lands was £305, however when a lease agreement was signed in 1867, only £87 11s 4d was to be paid out, the remainder being retained for debt repayment, £152 to Revans himself for what was owed to him by the Maori owners.<sup>407</sup>

When the Nga Waka-a-Kupe Block (towards Cape Palliser) was being reheard by the Native Land Court in 1892, the personal/tribal issue was even more confused. Counsel for the Mahupukus stated that:

The Mahupukus say they have a preferential right to that part of the Block because it has always been in their own personal occupation for many years and they always used it as their sheep run and expended moneys on the improvements on it. The appellants say in reply that the sheep belonged to the tribe and that Hikawera were custodians of these sheep and that the Mahupukus have no preferential rights to the block and that the moneys expended were the tribe's.<sup>408</sup>

On the Mahupukus' own representation, they were owners of a considerable number of sheep, and running them on what admittedly remained tribal land of some sort. On their opponents' showing, they were at best managers of a tribal flock, and the tribe itself was owning and playing an active part in operating a sheep run on the land. Either way, this is substantial evidence of Wairarapa Maori attempting to emulate their Pakeha neighbours and engage in pastoral sheep-farming. They had managed to acquire the capital to stock the land and by this time had been doing so for over two and a half decades. How well they had done is not revealed here.

This was part of an ongoing attempt, by the Mahupukus at least, to raise a considerable sum of money. In 1895 Hamuera Tamahau Mahupuku petitioned Parliament to be able to borrow against the security of his land worth (he said) a huge £18,000. He seems to have been after something like that full value as in 1898 he was

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<sup>406</sup> Batson, 'Nga Waka-a-Kupe', 12-13.

<sup>407</sup> Batson, 'Nga Waka-a-Kupe', 12.

asking for a 'further' £5000. He had some thousands of pounds of debt outstanding for at least a year already, on which his creditors were pressing him and for which they had already gained judgments. He could not meet them without being able to sell or mortgage his land, and since he was reluctant to sell, he wished to be allowed to mortgage them to the AMP, the insurance company.<sup>409</sup> A total of £23,000 was seemingly required just to clear Hamuera's debts, his lands being worth £40,000.<sup>410</sup> Most of this debt was to the Public Trustee, who had made large advances on the security of the land in 1896.

The difficulty of taking an example such as the Mahupuku/Nga Waka-a-Kupe story is that this was an exceptional case. Maori generally had no chance of obtaining credit and amassing debt to this extent, for any purpose. The key appears to have been the amount of land to which Hamuera was able to lay a personal claim and thus advance as acceptable security. Batson's account is also unclear as to the reason for the debt levels; did they result from the personal profligacy of a wildly improvident individual, or were they debts run up more or less in the ordinary course of business in running a large sheep run (and if so were they really Hamuera's personally?), or was there some mixture of the two?

The **Whatarangi Station** was the creation of Charles Pharazyn in 1846 on land leased from the Maori owners. It was not until 1870 that he purchased the 1510-acre homestead block from Hemi Te Miha and others for £488. In 1860 he took over the lease of the 17,790-acre Kawakawa Station from John Russell and by adding the 2600-acre Te Kopi Block and the Matakitaiki Block, Whatarangi eventually totalled 26,810 acres. It was sold in 1894 to **Iraia Te Whaiti and John Sinclair** who put Sinclair's brother-in-law, James Oliver Sutherland, another Pakeha, in as manager.<sup>411</sup>

**Iraia Te Whaiti** inherited from both his parents considerable land interests around the south Wairarapa. These he began farming in 1881, following a direction from the prophet Paora Te Potangaroa that he serve his people in this way. In 1894, he extended his activities by entering into a partnership with John Sinclair, buying the Whatarangi station from Charles Pharazyn for about £10,000. The station included much land still in Maori ownership which Pharazyn was leasing, and Sinclair and Te

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<sup>408</sup> Quoted in Batson, 'Nga Waka-a-Kupe', 34. The court concluded that it could only give judgment on the land and that it had no jurisdiction to make a ruling on the ownership of chattels.

<sup>409</sup> Batson, 'Nga Waka-a-Kupe', 40-41.

<sup>410</sup> Batson, 'Nga Waka-a-Kupe', 43.

<sup>411</sup> Aburn, *Pirinoa*, 29-31.

Whaiti bought the rights to the leases. As well as Iraia, his brother Hone (Tutu), Hemi Te Miha, Ruihi Aporo and others were part owners.<sup>412</sup> The partnership name changed when Mary Sutherland replaced her brother, Sinclair. In 1907, they added Kaiwaru, while later Iraia purchased Te Karanga, 770 acres, in his own right. In 1912, he estimated his holdings as 18,000 acres; Whatarangi alone carried some 20,000 sheep and 500 cattle. He provided some employment for local hapu through shearing and other farming labouring activities.

The extent to which Iraia Te Whaiti was an exception to the general situation of Wairarapa Maori is spelled out by Chrisp:

Te Whaiti was one of the few Maori engaged in buying land, and his purchase and operation broke a 40-year pattern of Maori land alienation in the Wairarapa Valley. In 1908 only 140,000 acres of land remained in Maori ownership; of this, only 33,000 acres was being farmed by the owners. Te Whaiti owned at least as much livestock as all other Wairarapa Maori farmers combined. He experimented with various methods of farming and employed Pakeha as well as Maori workers.<sup>413</sup>

Until his death in the post-World War I influenza epidemic, Iraia's skills and experience at land management were used as a resource by other Wairarapa Maori. He served on a number of committees including those for the Wairarapa lake reserves and for the Pouakani Block. He was widely involved in Wairarapa community affairs including holding a commission in the Wairarapa Mounted Rifle Volunteers and even becoming the first ever Maori freemason. When he died in 1918, his personal wealth was estimated at a huge £36,000, but at this time the Te Whaiti-Sutherland partnership was dissolved and his holdings were divided between his three sons.<sup>414</sup>

The Pakeha, **Mary Sutherland**, kept the northern homestead block and the Whatarangi name, while the Maori Te Whaiti family took the Kawakawa Block until selling it in 1927.<sup>415</sup> The 7000-acre Matakītaki Block, which ran from the Mangatoatoa Stream past Cape Palliser to the Waitetuma Stream, had only been leased to the partnership and went back to its owners, the Te Miha and Aporo families. Mangatoetoe remained in Mary Sutherland ownership and was farmed in conjunction with Whatarangi. The 690-acre Waitetuma Block remained in the

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<sup>412</sup> Aburn, *Pirinoa*, 71.

<sup>413</sup> Chrisp, 'Iraia Te Ama-o-te-rangi Te Whaiti', 522.

<sup>414</sup> Chrisp, 'Iraia Te Ama-o-te-rangi Te Whaiti', 523.

ownership of the Aporo, Te Whaiti and Sutherland families. Ngawi remained in Maori ownership.<sup>416</sup> Kaiwaru had also been under the partnership since 1907. In 1913 the partnership exchanged 367 acres of Kaiwaru, called Pikihuia, for Hui Te Miha's share of Waitetuma, and Pikihuia was then sold. When the partnership dissolved, Mary Sutherland kept the part of Kaiwaru closest to Palliser Bay while the Te Whaiti family sold the balance. Iraia had bought the 770-acre Te Karanga from the Russell estate in the early twentieth century and gave it to his son Hohaia to farm. It was subsequently sold.<sup>417</sup>

Most of the **Okoura Reserve** surrounding the Kohunui Village remained in Maori ownership. It was thought to be divided into a number of small titles amongst various families. In 1879, Apiata Hakiaha was running 170 sheep there and in 1900 Piripi Te Maari's family had 900 sheep. In the mid-twentieth century several of the sections were used as dairy farms but the whole block was then turned into a sheep farm run by Roy Couch, a Maori, and later leased to neighbouring farmers.<sup>418</sup>

**Hoani Tunuiarangi** was actively engaged with the Native Land Court, serving as an assessor in the 1880s, but resigning in 1892, probably because of his commitment to Kotahitanga. He was an active litigant concerning lands in which he and his people had an interest in Wairarapa. A widely experienced and well-informed and connected leader, in many ways he acted as a representative for his people and those of the greater district, often communicating with the government on their behalf, whether petitioning the Queen on the jubilee trip to London, or seeking to convince the government in 1907 to buy part of Whangaimoana as compensation for the loss of the lakes.<sup>419</sup>

#### 5.3.4. The Sheep Returns: Maori Sheep Ownership 1879-1930

The official sheep returns for the region, listing every flock owner and their holdings reveal the almost complete failure of Maori to enter the pastoral industry that

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<sup>415</sup> Aburn, *Pirinoa*, 73. Aburn also includes a map of the many block subdivisions within the station at the time of its subdivision in 1919.

<sup>416</sup> Aburn, *Pirinoa*, 73-74.

<sup>417</sup> Aburn, *Pirinoa*, 74-77.

<sup>418</sup> Aburn, *Pirinoa*, 85.

<sup>419</sup> Angela Ballara, 'Hoani Paraone Tunuiarangi', in Claudia Orange (ed), *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (Auckland & Wellington: Auckland University Press/Dept of Internal Affairs, 1996), 540-541.

dominated Wairarapa in the nineteenth century, and then, to the extent that they did establish a toehold, to preserve and develop that niche more than a few years into the twentieth century.

To avoid burdening readers with excessive secondary detail, the tables listing the sheep holdings in each county in the inquiry district upon which the following comments are based are included at the end of this report in Appendix 1.

Generally the returns are made from the end of the 1870s on the division of the counties created after the dissolution of Wellington Province, the original two for this district being South (including Masterton and environs) and North Wairarapa. Not until well after the turn of the century do county boundaries come close to alignment with the northern boundary of the inquiry district, the Napier Sheep District and then the Waipawa County extending from Woodville north to well past the inquiry district boundary. Those better acquainted with specific locations in this area may be able to judge from the place names included in the appended tables exactly where the flocks were, but in any case the numbers of both owners and sheep were not large.

The returns do vary in consistency, too, with details sometimes being omitted, or perhaps doubled up. Names usually have been left as they were printed. Also, differences, often quite substantial from year to year may be accounted for by normal fluctuations in the farming and sale cycle rather than being indicators of sudden good fortune or calamity.

1930 was the last year for which the individual flocks and owners were enumerated. Thereafter the county figures alone were supplied so it becomes impossible to identify even in this way the degree of Maori participation in the pastoral industry as property and flock owners.

For present purposes, a snapshot every five years, beginning from the first such return, that for 1879, is sufficient to paint the picture of the extent of Maori participation in this industry as property owners and farmers, building capital and wealth, rather than unskilled labourers or shearers eking out a seasonal existence.

Briefly, the returns reveal the minuscule level of Maori participation, little more than half a dozen individuals in each of only some of the counties, and of those few only a couple had substantial flocks.

The high point of numbers of Maori sheep owners listed, certainly in Wairarapa as distinct from Tararua, seems to have been around the turn of the century, then the

numbers drop dramatically within a relatively short space of time. Some of this change will be due to the deaths of a number of the prominent nineteenth-century chiefs such as H.P. Tunuiarangi and Iraia Te Whaiti. Why did not others carry on? Were they prevented by succession divisions fragmenting the property as well as land ownership? Did the land loss and the pressure for further alienation by sale or lease catch up with Maori to the extent that they were unable to find areas on which they could run sheep?

The Maori sheep holdings seem to have been clustered in a relatively small number of places. Homewood was one, while some of the other 'Gladstone' sites may also have fallen within that locality. 'Gladstone' appears to have been an extremely elastic locality, taking in Pirinoa, for example, in the 1880s. Okautete became prominent in the twentieth century.

Another interesting pattern is revealed in the location of flocks by county. The southern part of the present inquiry district, what became the Featherston, South Wairarapa and Masterton counties, contained most of the Maori sheep owners. The northern Wairarapa counties remained a virtually Maori-free zone by this measure, with no Maori owners apparent. A smaller number appear also in the Waipawa/Woodville counties, although some may have been slightly north of the inquiry district boundary.

Only a handful of Maori are listed as having substantial flocks of several thousand sheep. H.P. Tunuiarangi was one in the late nineteenth century. Iraia Te Whaiti managed to establish and maintain a very substantial flock, but only through entering into partnership with a Pakeha. Many of the other holdings are in the low hundreds, which may well have been enough to provide a living, even a relatively good one, but certainly not enough to lift one into the category of being 'wealthy'. This remainder of at best middling size and dwindling down to only a few score or dozen animals were rapidly disappearing by the post-World War I period and the deaths of the likes of Tunuiarangi and Iraia.

Of course, there still remains the problem of the extent to which flocks listed here as being owned by individuals were in fact in practice the property of a whanau or hapu—e.g. were Te Whaiti's sheep his or his hapu's, or both mixed together?—a real enough difficulty arising in a number of places when individuals were trying to identify their share of property, both real and personal. For present purposes, though,

that distinction is of secondary importance as in either case the flocks would have appeared in the returns as belonging to Maori sheep farmers rather than Pakeha.

### *The Sheep Returns by County*

Those Maori who were able to participate in pastoral farming are identified individually and by specific location in the appended tables. The discussion below indicates the number of Maori by county, the number of Maori sheep owners in each county and the percentage they comprised of all owners, the number of sheep they held and what proportion that was of the total flock for the county and for the northern or southern district within the present inquiry district.

It should be noted that where ranges of flock sizes are given in the following discussion, they do not include those in the lower categories that are numerically and logically, also within that range. Thus, for the West Wairarapa County in 1885, where it says that there were 118 owners with flocks of less than 500 sheep, 33 had flocks of less than 1000, and 23 had flocks of between 1000 and 2000, what is meant is that the 33 had flocks of between 500 and 999, and the 23 had flocks of between 1000 and 1999. No readily accessible method of writing up this information sprang to mind, but the method adopted was thought, perhaps erroneously, to be preferable to alternatives spelling the distinctions out in detail each time.

### *The first return: 1880*<sup>420</sup>

There were a total of 355,403 sheep in the South Wairarapa district. Of these, 10,732 or 3% were in Maori ownership in 9 flocks (counting both Jury flocks).

By contrast, there were a total of 320,446 sheep in the North Wairarapa district, but less than half the total number of owners in the South Wairarapa, the average holding therefore being much larger and settlement being not nearly so close. However, in North Wairarapa County there were no Maori sheep owners listed at all at this time. At this time, the northern Wairarapa was still being cleared of the Forty and Seventy Mile forests and so was still not altogether available for such farming. The population of the district was also heavily weighted towards the settlers,

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<sup>420</sup> AJHR, 1880, H-9.

especially the Scandinavians, who had been settled there by the government to break in the country.

At this time the Napier Sheep District included the region at least as far south as Woodville. The sprinkling of Maori names in the return includes none closer to the inquiry district than Porangahau. Again, the southern part of that district included the forest areas still being broken and those by the settlers, so relatively little of the area was available and such farming as was taking place would have been by the settlers clearing their own lands.

*The second snapshot: 1885<sup>421</sup>*

This return was for East and West Wairarapa counties in the south of the district, a variant on the North and South division but covering the same area. There were eight Maori owners out of the total of 432 (1.85%), but while some in the south owned substantial flocks those in the north owned a total of 547 between them. Altogether, the Maori owners had 12,893 sheep, or 1.4% of the 930,979 total. To the north, in Waipawa County 7 Maori owners, as 3% of the owners held 0.6% of the county's sheep.

In the **West Wairarapa County** (within the South Wairarapa Subdivision), there were a total of 224 sheep owners, owning a much increased total of 427,852 sheep. Of these 224 owners, 118 owned flocks of less than 500 sheep, 33 had flocks of less than 1000, and 23 had flocks of between 1000 and 2000. Three owned more than 20,000. The average flock size was 1910 sheep.

Five of the 224 were Maori who owned sheep within this county, in six properties. They owned a total of 12,346 sheep, which was 2.9% of the county flock. This was an increase of 15% compared with the county increase of 20% since 1879.

2.3% of the owners held 2.9% of the flock. Apart from Apiata's 104, the Maori flocks were well above the lowest level of holdings and particularly Nopera's and Mahupuku's were very substantial.

Within the **East Wairarapa County** (in North Wairarapa Subdivision) there were 503,127 sheep belonging to 208 owners. Now there were three Maori owners, but between them they had only 547 animals, some 0.1%. Half of the county's runs

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<sup>421</sup> AJHR, 1886, H-8a.

had less than 500 sheep, and five had more than 20,000, but these three were right at the bottom end of the spectrum.

**Waipawa County** contained 1,012,167 total sheep belonging to 207 owners. 79 flocks had less than 500 sheep; 31 flocks had less than 1000 sheep; 34 flocks had less than 2000; and 16 had less than 5000. However 19 flocks had more than 20,000 sheep. Seven Maori flock owners had a total of 5980 sheep between them, i.e. as 3% of the number of owners they held 0.6% of the sheep.

*1890*<sup>422</sup>

In the Wairarapa, 14 Maori owners made up 2.4% of the total number of owners and their flocks, totalling 24,115, made up 2.32% of the district's total of 1,040,397 sheep. In the region north of the Manawatu Gorge, Maori made up 2.75% of owners with 2% of the county flock.

In **South Wairarapa County**, the total number of sheep had increased by 14,121 to 478,692 total sheep, belonging to 230 total owners. 113 flocks had less than 500 sheep; 31 less than 1000, while 12 had more than 10,000. Seven Maori owners had a total of 19,885 sheep or 4.15% of the total flock.

In **North Wairarapa County**, an increase of only 1246 gave 533,520 total sheep, belonging to 261 owners. 127 flocks had less than 500 sheep; another 55 had less than 1000. Seven Maori owners had a total of 15,543 sheep but all but 1480 of these were in just two flocks, one of which named 'Kahumingi Estate' may well not have been in Maori ownership. If it was then Maori owned 2.9% of the county's total flock, but without it they owned only 4230 sheep or 0.8% of the total flock.

At this time one new county was created within the region. **Pahiatua County** had 28,185 total sheep, belonging to 95 owners, but none of these were identifiable as Maori owners. **Waipawa County** had 499,280 total sheep belonging to 275 owners, of whom 168 had flocks of less than 500 sheep; 44 of less than 1000; 24 of less than 2000; and 17 of less than 5000. Flocks had a lower average size than in the Wairarapa counties. Ten Maori owners together owned 10,152 sheep, or 2% of the county's flock. Eight of those 10 were in the 77% of owners with less than 1000 sheep and seven of those eight were in the 61% who owned less than 500.

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<sup>422</sup> AJHR, 1891 sess II, H-15a.

*1895*<sup>423</sup>

By this time, almost all counties and owners were down in the size of their flocks, some by very little, some by a lot. In the Wairarapa district, 19 Maori owners as 1.95% of the total number of owners, owned 27,842 sheep, or 1.94% of the total flock of 1,438,083. In Waipawa, Maori as some 5% of the owners owned only 0.75% of the sheep.

In **South Wairarapa County** the total number of sheep was 575,994, a decrease of 22,450. They were held by a total of 265 owners, of whom 129 had flocks of less than 500 sheep; 37 had less than 1000; 27 had less than 2000. 15 had more than 10,000. There were nine Maori owners holding a total of 10,158 sheep, or 1.76% of the total flock.

**North Wairarapa County** had a total of 734,133 sheep, a decrease of 20,938. They were held by 485 owners, of whom 275 had flocks of less than 500; 79 had less than 1000; 55 had less than 2000. 13 had more than 10,000. Ten Maori owners had 17,684 sheep between them or 2.4% of the total county flock.

**Pahiatua County**, with 127,956 total sheep and 224 owners, still had no identifiable Maori owners.

**Waipawa County** had 669,513 total sheep, an overall increase of 1524. There were 382 owners, of whom 233 had flocks of less than 500 sheep; 65 of less than 1000; 27 of less than 2000; and 32 of less than 5000. There were seven Maori owners, owning a total of 5069 sheep, or 0.75% of the county flock. One of these, the Nepe te Apatu/Hori Tawhai partnership, stood out dramatically with 2400 sheep, compared with the next cluster below, none of which had more than 560 sheep.

*1900*<sup>424</sup>

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<sup>423</sup> AJHR, 1895, H-23.

<sup>424</sup> AJHR, 1900, H-23.

In the Wairarapa district, there were now 23 Maori as 2.6% of owners, with 17,529 or 1.2% of the 1,448,719 sheep. In Waipawa, 10 Maori as 2.3% of owners had 0.47% of the total flock.

In **South Wairarapa County** total sheep numbers had risen, then decreased to 590,936, owned by 294 owners. Of those owners, 79 owned fewer than 200 sheep; 66 fewer than 500; and 48 fewer than 1000. 13 owned more than 10,000 sheep. Fourteen Maori owners had a total of 3374 sheep, or 0.57% of the county flock. Of those, all but two were within the bottom half of owners, those who had flocks of less than 500 sheep.

**North Wairarapa County's** numbers had increased slightly to 659,476 sheep, with a total number of owners of 350. 77 owners had flocks of less than 200; 80 had fewer than 500; and 69 fewer than 1000. 13 had more than 10,000 sheep. Nine Maori owners had 14,155 sheep, 2.1% of the county flock.

The new **Eketahuna County** had total sheep numbers of 65,978, owned by 121 farmers. But there were no Maori owners.

Similarly in the equally new **Akitio County**, there were a total of 132,329 sheep, belonging to 107 owners. But there were no Maori owners.

In **Waipawa County**, there were 428 owners with 723,898 sheep. 110 had flocks of less than 200 sheep; 142 of less than 500; and 74 of less than 1000. 8 had more than 20,000. There were 10 Maori owners holding a total of 3413 or 0.47% of the county flock.

*1905*<sup>425</sup>

More counties had been created, spreading the return more thinly. There were a total of 24 identifiable Maori owners in the Wairarapa district—albeit only in the Featherston, South Wairarapa and Masterton counties—which compares well with the note by the Stout-Ngata Commission two years later that there were 23. They presumably had better information than does the present writer on the identity of Maori and so this is a small confirmation that the method adopted here may not in fact yield results that are all that far from the reality for this period.

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<sup>425</sup> AJHR, 1905, H-23.

These 24 Maori owners made up 1.9% of the 1245 flock owners from Pahiatua County south, their total flocks of 34,006 made up 1.95% of the district's total flocks of 1,737,015, a fair match apart from the concentration away from the northerly counties. There were 6 Maori owners in the northern part of the inquiry district: just over 1% of the number of owners owning 0.5% of the county flock.

**Featherston County** had a total of 432,511 sheep, an increase of 11,443, held by 159 total owners. There were 37 flocks of fewer than 200 sheep; 25 with fewer than 500; and 29 with fewer than 1000. However, 9 had more than 10,000, and 1 had more than 20,000. Nine Maori owners held a total of 27,340 sheep, or 6.3% of the county flock. However, if Te Waiti and Sinclair's enormous 19,600-sheep flock, the second-largest in the county, is deducted, then the other six held only 7740 sheep, or 1.8% of the county total. Of those six, only Jury and Tunuiarangi owned more than the 200 sheep limit of the bottom category.

**South Wairarapa County** had 168,685 total sheep, an increase of 15,276, held by 154 owners. There were 49 flocks of fewer than 200 sheep; 45 of less than 500; and 27 of less than 1000. The seven Maori owners (including a Pakeha partner taken on by Hamuera Mahupuku) owned 3190 sheep or 1.9% of the county flock, although groups of as few as 15 sheep can hardly be called 'flocks'.

**Masterton County** had 524,924 total sheep, an increase of 27,595, owned by 309 owners. 57 flocks had fewer than 200 sheep; 66 had fewer than 500; and 71 fewer than 1000. Eleven Maori owners appear, owning 3476 sheep or 0.66% of the county flock. Homewood appears in this county, as well as in South Wairarapa, as a major centre of Maori sheep farming, although all of the individual flocks are at the bottom end of flock size. Wainoki te Huki's flock at least appears to be held by some tribal group.

More new counties had been created, but there was no increase in the Maori ownership. **Castlepoint County** had 151,996 total sheep, belonging to 50 total owners, none of whom were Maori. **Eketahuna County** had only 56,636 total sheep, belonging to 118 owners, none of whom were Maori. **Mauriceville County** had 62,024 sheep, belonging to 79 owners, none of whom were Maori. **Akitio County** had 152,937 sheep, belonging to 146 owners, none of whom were Maori. **Pahiatua County** had 187,302 sheep, belonging to 240 owners, none of whom were Maori.

**Waipawa and Woodville counties** had 678,599 sheep, belonging to 508 owners. 101 flocks had fewer than 200 sheep; 139 had fewer than 500; 118 had fewer than 1000; 101 had fewer than 2500. But 4 flocks had more than 20,000 sheep. Six Maori owners held 3740 sheep, or 0.55% of the county flock, and all but one of them were in the bottom half of flock sizes. There is a clear concentration around the one locality of Rakautahi. Rakautahi has been included in case it was a misspelling of Rakaiatai, or Manawatu Block No 7, which is within the present inquiry district. 'Takapau' might or might not be within the inquiry district boundaries. Rakautatahi, of course, as is noted elsewhere, is not within the inquiry district but immediately adjoining it and the information, while not directly relevant to the present inquiry nevertheless informs discussion of the situation of claimants in that district.

*1910*<sup>426</sup>

At this time there were 32 Maori flocks in the Wairarapa district, making up of 2.3% of owners, and with 43,241 sheep still 2% of the total flocks of 2,168,947. From Woodville north had been further subdivided. There, 3 Maori owners (0.6%) had 2142 sheep or 0.2% of the northern district's total of 1,189,774.

**Featherston County** had 534,500 sheep, an increase of 37, 844, belonging to 197 owners. 29 flocks were of less than 200 sheep; 24 were of less than 500; 38 were of less than 1000; 48 were of less than 2500; 31 were of less than 5000; 10 were of less than 7500; 8 were of less than 10,000; 8 were of less than 20,000. There was 1 flock of more than 20,000 sheep. There were 12 Maori flocks comprising 34,205 sheep, or 6.4% of the county flock. However the vast bulk of these, 23,335 sheep, were concentrated in the lands of Iraia Te Whaiti, and if one also deducts C.J. Jury's flock, then the other 8 flocks, including that of Tunuiarangi, totalled only 3288 sheep, or 0.6% of the county flock.

In **South Wairarapa County** there were 195,937 sheep, an increase of 3754, belonging to 169 owners. 45 flocks contained fewer than 200 sheep; 44 fewer than 500; 40 fewer than 1000; 24 fewer than 2500; 10 fewer than 5000; while 6 contained

more than 5000. Six Maori owners, including two members of the Jury family, owned 3344 sheep, or 1.7% of the county flock; removing the Jurys nearly halves that number. Homewood again features.

**Masterton County** had 595,252 sheep, an increase of 20,944, belonging to 314 owners. 41 flocks had fewer than 200 sheep; 58 had fewer than 500; 68 had fewer than 1000. Fourteen Maori flocks contained a total of 5692 sheep, or 0.96% of the county flock Homewood is again a centre, together with the jointly owned flocks at Stronvar.

**Castlepoint County**, with 185,129 sheep in 64 flocks had no Maori owners. **Akitio County** with 232,494 sheep in 191 flocks had no Maori owners. **Pahiatua County** with 244,374 sheep in 218 flocks had no Maori owners. **Eketahuna County** with 98,521 sheep in 146 flocks had no Maori owners. **Mauriceville County** with 82,740 sheep in 95 flocks had no Maori owners.

**Woodville County** with 104,212 sheep in 105 flocks had no Maori owners. **Dannevirke County** had 281,606 sheep in 192 flocks. 14 flocks were of fewer than 200 sheep; 40 of fewer than 500; and 61 of fewer than 1000. One Maori owner at Rakautatahi had 800 sheep.

**Patangata and Weber counties** joined together in 1910. They had 803,956 sheep in 219 flocks. 55 (one-quarter) of those flocks had fewer than 1000 sheep. There were two Maori owners, both at Mangapuaka, one of whom had just above that mark while the other was far below it. Together they owned 1342 sheep, or 0.16% of the county flock.

**1915**<sup>427</sup>

By now, in the Wairarapa district, there were 17 Maori owners comprising 1.4% of the owners, but owning 28,272 or 1.5% of the total 1,874,875 sheep. But see the note re Iraia Te Whaiti, who single-handedly distorts the figures tremendously. In the

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<sup>426</sup> AJHR, 1910, H-23.

<sup>427</sup> AJHR, 1915, H-23; 1915, H-23b.

northern district, 11 Maori owners (2.1%) may have had 8856 sheep or 1.5% of the 575,715 total, or they may have had much less.

**Featherston County** had 405,635 sheep, a decrease of 82,386, in 184 flocks. 25 were of less than 200 sheep; 26 were of less than 500; 29 were of less than 1000; 51 were of less than 2500; 35 were of less than 5000; 6 were of less than 7500; 6 were of less than 10,000. Now there were no others over 10,000 – but see Te Whaiti and Sinclair on 14,700 together with the 2900 in Iraia Te Whaiti's name alone. There were 3 other Maori owners and altogether the Maori flocks totalled 17,190 sheep, or 4.2% of the county flock. Subtracting Iraia's holdings, the other Maori owners owned a total of 2490 sheep, markedly less than Iraia's Kaiwaru flock and only 0.6% of the county flock.

**South Wairarapa County** had 180,105 sheep, a decrease of 10,537, in 169 flocks. 42 were of less than 200 sheep; 43 of less than 500; 40 of less than 1000; 28 of less than 2500. Of the three Maori owners, two were Jurys. The total Maori holdings were 3524 sheep, or 1.96% of the county flock.

**Masterton County** had 562,408 sheep, a decrease of 41,676, in 318 flocks. 42 flocks had fewer than 200 sheep; 60 had fewer than 500; 65 had fewer than 1000; and 82 had fewer than 2500. The ten Maori owners held a total of 4658 sheep, or 0.83% of the county flock. The Maori were concentrated at Homewood and Okautete. None were in the bottom bracket of flock sizes, but all but one were firmly in the bottom half.

**Castlepoint County** had 171,985 sheep in 65 flocks but no Maori owners. **Akitio County** had 270,230 in 191 flocks but no Maori owners. **Pahiatua County** had 213,609 sheep in 214 flocks but no Maori owners. **Mauriceville County** had 70,903 sheep in 81 flocks but no Maori owners.

**Woodville County** had 96,035 sheep in 111 flocks but no Maori owners. **Weber County** had 111,614 sheep in 56 flocks. 3 flocks were of less than 200 sheep; 2 were of less than 500; and 14 were of less than 1000. Only one Maori owner appeared with a flock size not far from the bottom category. **Eketahuna County** had 81,491 sheep in 129 flocks. The sole Maori owner listed had no sheep, but was there because he had had in the previous year.

**Dannevirke County** had 286,575 sheep in 219 flocks. 32 flocks had less than 200 sheep; 48 had less than 500; 57 had less than 1000; 57 had less than 2500; 16 had less than 5000. 9 flocks had more than 5000 sheep. Eight Maori owners had a total of 8252 sheep, or 2.9% of the county flock. Peeti Luxford alone held half of that number, and there may well have been duplication in four of the other flocks, doubling the apparent number others held.

*1920*<sup>428</sup>

In the Wairarapa district, there were 14 Maori owners (1% of the total) with 37,308 sheep or 2% of the total flocks of 1,843,082. In the northern district, there were now only 3 Maori owners (0.77%) with 3129 sheep or 0.7% of the 455,951 total in the flocks.

**Weber County** had 113,019 sheep in 48 flocks but no Maori owners. **Pahiatua County** had 197,719 sheep in 219 flocks, but no Maori owners. **Akitio County** had 262,534 sheep in 170 flocks but no Maori owners. **Castlepoint County** had 160,759 sheep in 61 flocks but no Maori owners. **Eketahuna County** had 102,003 sheep in 136 flocks but no Maori owners.

**Dannevirke County** had 260,141 sheep in 237 flocks. There were now only three Maori owners listed and Peeti Luxford's flock size had fallen to one-quarter of what it had been five years previously. Together they all had 3129 sheep, or 1.2% of the total county flock.

**Woodville County** had 82,791 sheep in 101 flocks. The sole Maori owner had no sheep to record, but had had 150 in the previous year.

**Mauriceville County** had 62,092 sheep in 72 flocks. One of those owners was 'Jury Bros' with 1545 sheep.

**Featherston County** had 465,889 sheep in 202 flocks. 25 flocks had fewer than 200 sheep; 35 had fewer than 500; 28 had fewer than 1000; 60 had fewer than 2500; 33 had fewer than 5000; 9 had fewer than 7500; 5 had fewer than 10,000; 5 had fewer than 20,000, 2 flocks had more than 20,000 sheep. Now the only Maori owners were

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<sup>428</sup> AJHR, 1920, H-23; 1920, H-23b.

one Jury and Iraia Te Whaiti—presumably Iraia’s estate since he died in 1918. Adding Iraia’s holdings together would have given him the third largest flock size in the county.

**South Wairarapa County** had 178,640 sheep in 168 flocks. 33 flocks had fewer than 200; 42 had fewer than 500; 48 had fewer than 1000; 27 had fewer than 2500; 12 had fewer than 5000. Only 6 flocks now had more than 5000 sheep. Only 3 members of the Jury family now owned sheep in this county.

**Masterton County** had 475,538 sheep in 289 flocks. 30 flocks had fewer than 200 sheep; 60 had fewer than 500; 73 had fewer than 1000; 64 had fewer than 2500. Eight Maori owners, still concentrated at Okautete and Homewood, held 4068 sheep or 0.86% of the county total.

### *1925<sup>429</sup>*

In the Wairarapa district, 12 Maori owners (0.88% of total) owned 21,817 sheep or 1.05% of the total flock of 2,069,113. As usual this was only in the southern counties, those in the north of that district being without Maori sheep owners, and still included the remnants of Iraia Te Whaiti’s fast-diminishing flocks. In the northern district, there was but 1 Maori owner, although there had been 2 more the previous year. His flock of 2466 comprised 0.5% of the 483,145 total.

**Weber County** had 120,345 sheep in 53 flocks, but no Maori owners. **Pahiatua County** had 190,656 sheep in 217 flocks but no Maori owners. **Akitio County** had 290,766 sheep in 172 flocks but no Maori owners. **Castlepoint County** had 184,512 sheep in 64 flocks but no Maori owners. **Eketahuna County** had 154,007 sheep in 161 flocks but no Maori owners. **Mauriceville County** had 59,895 sheep in 74 flocks but no Maori owners.

**Dannevirke County** had 283,631 sheep in 245 flocks. Only one Maori flock was operational with 2466 sheep.

**Woodville County** had 79,169 sheep in 92 flocks. The sole Maori owner had had 860 sheep in the previous year, but had none to record now.

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<sup>429</sup> AJHR, 1925, H-23; 1925, H-23b.

**Featherston County** had a total of 475,660 sheep in 221 flocks. 28 flocks had less than 200 sheep; 29 had less than 500; 45 had less than 1000; 63 had less than 2500; 34 had less than 5000; 10 had less than 7500. 12 flocks had more than 7500 sheep. Iraia Te Whaiti had died and already the flocks in his estate were reduced to about one-third of what they had been five years previously. Other than W.M. Jury at Ponatahi, there was but one Maori owner with a flock of only 400.

**South Wairarapa County** had 206,384 sheep in 157 flocks. 28 flocks had fewer than 200 sheep; 39 had fewer than 500; 36 had fewer than 1000; 33 had fewer than 2500. The only owners identifiable as having Maori connections were the three Jury holdings which together totalled nearly 9000 sheep.

**Masterton County** had 507,233 sheep in 292 flocks. 35 flocks had fewer than 200 sheep; 44 had fewer than 500; 77 had fewer than 1000; 70 had fewer than 2500. The Homewood location had disappeared and the flocks, such as they were, mostly seemed to be at Okautete in the hands of the Paku whanau. Altogether 2499 sheep were owned or 0.5% of the county flock and three of the six Maori 'flocks' were tiny.

### *1930*<sup>430</sup>

Now there were 11 Maori owners in the Wairarapa district, but 4 of these were of the Jury family and possibly another 5 of the Paku whanau, leaving only 2 others. Eleven made up 0.77% of the total number of sheep owners, while they owned a total of 13,337 sheep or 0.57% of the total flock of 2,348,025. In the northern district, the single Maori owner possessed 1250 sheep or 0.22% of the total of 553,398.

**Weber County** had 114,490 sheep in 55 flocks but no Maori owners. **Woodville County** had 107,076 sheep in 116 flocks but no Maori owners. **Pahiatua County** had 234,283 sheep in 260 flocks but no Maori owners. **Castlepoint County** had 195,782 sheep in 67 flocks but no Maori owners. **Mauriceville County** had 66,656 sheep in 81 flocks but no Maori owners.

**Dannevirke County** had 331,832 sheep in 302 flocks. 49 flocks had less than 200 sheep; 80 had less than 500; 70 had less than 1000; 73 had less than 2500. The sole Maori owner had a flock of 1250 sheep.

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<sup>430</sup> AJHR, 1930, H-23; 1930, H-23b.

**Akitio County** had 295,612 sheep in 167 flocks. One of those flocks, that of Aohanga Station, now appeared as effectively in Maori ownership through having been taken over by the Native Trustee on behalf of the Maori owners of the land. It made up 3.5% of the county flock.

**Featherston County** had 558,905 sheep in 270 flocks. The sole Maori owner listed had a tiny flock (64) that was well down the bottom category of flock size.

**Wairarapa South County** had 246,284 sheep in 200 flocks. Again there were only members of the Jury family as owners with Maori connections.

**Masterton County** had 567,039 sheep in 337 flocks. 36 flocks had fewer than 200 sheep; 59 had fewer than 500; 89 had fewer than 1000; 83 had fewer than 2500; 43 had fewer than 5000. The five Maori owners all appear to have Paku whanau connections and Okautete was the centre. Together they owned 2770 sheep, or 0.49% of the county flock.

**Eketahuna County** had 183,464 sheep in 204 flocks. The sole Maori owner had a flock of a mere 91.

## **Conclusion**

These sheep returns help to put definite information to the general impression that one gains from other sources about how Maori were now participating in the European economy. They show just how much Maori were able to do in terms of involvement at the top level of pastoral agriculture, as farmers, runholders and employers, rather than labourers or seasonal workers such as scrubcutters or shearers. While an income might be derived from working lower in the employment hierarchy, only at the higher levels would it be possible to make a large income, or to support a bigger number of people than merely an individual or small family grouping.

The statistics seem to show that apart from a handful of individuals, such as Iraia Te Whaiti and the Jury family, there was little substantial sheep farming undertaken by Maori throughout the Wairarapa ki Tararua inquiry district, certainly after the turn of the twentieth century.

Sheep farming required extensive areas of suitable land; the best land had been targeted by Pakeha pastoralists since 1844 and then by Crown purchasers and private Pakeha lessees. Sheep farming also required significant financial resources to set up a pastoral enterprise of any size. Without either land or money by the late nineteenth

century, most Wairarapa Maori were in no position to set themselves up in the pastoral industry.

The sheep returns also indicate that Maori in various areas of the Wairarapa ki Tararua inquiry district were impacted differently by the access, or lack of it, to the pastoral industry. While significant sections were able to be maintained in the central and southern counties, although skewed by the contributions of the few individuals as noted, and some smaller scale pastoral farming was undertaken in the northern district, the counties in the northern Wairarapa/southern Tamaki-nui-a-Rua portion consistently showed little or no Maori participation in the industry, although, as the population figures discussed below show, there were Maori there. Presumably this anomaly reflects the previous relative absence of Maori and substantial reserves for them in that area, resulting from the Crown purchasing programme originally and then from the relatively organised and systematic injection of European settlers into the region, as opposed to further south where Maori presence on the ground was much stronger and more apparent and they had to be worked around more.

## 6. Issue 22.4.5: Statistics

### 6.1. *The Nature of the Statistics*

**Is it useful to attempt a correlation of Maori people and remaining acres in Maori hands in the nineteenth century? In particular:**

**Are the statistics adequate?**

Statistics vary for different purposes. Censuses are regular from the 1870s and so provide a certain level of population statistics, but they do not use constant parameters and in particular Maori tend to disappear after the first few years, certainly in the level of fine detail required to be of use to studies such as the present one.

Land use statistics relating to Maori appear to be available for only a narrow period either side of the turn of the century; they do not go back before 1886.

A summary table, prepared by Helen McCracken, of the extent of and income derived from pre-1853 leasing is included above.

As an example of other types of statistics, Rigby has tried to make sense of the various price and acreage statistics for the McLean purchases in 1853/54. He has found all manner of discrepancies in both, complicated by the idiosyncratic way in which McLean conducted the negotiations and arranged for the payments. These issues are discussed in several places elsewhere in the present report.

However, for all these reasons, Rigby concludes:

Attempting to establish a price per acre standard, therefore, is impossible. Given McLean's approach in treating each purchase (and in some cases each vendor) on its individual merit, and in the absence of surveys, there could be no proper price per acre calculation.<sup>431</sup>

I have attempted to both use the Ellis and Small report's statistics, supplemented by Dr Loveridge's, and to take that somewhat further in the discussion about

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<sup>431</sup> Rigby, 'Crown Purchases', 64.

quantities of land remaining over time, and various ways of looking at that and the rate of alienation, in section 5.1.1 above.

Taken overall, then, there are some statistics relating to most of the topics of relevance to the present study and to the correlation of Maori in Wairarapa ki Tararua and the land remaining to them in the nineteenth century. However, the data are not consistent in either coverage or in level of detail. The outcome, then, must be somewhat impressionistic and be bolstered by the substantial amount of qualitative evidence that is also available, if rather less conveniently presented in places such as block or correspondence files.

### **Do the statistics and other known information permit differentiation between claimant groups?**

The statistics and other known information seem seldom to differentiate between groups corresponding directly to present claimant groups.

The late nineteenth-century censuses did locate Maori groups in particular places but did not necessarily give them a tribal identity. Although there are hapu mentioned sometimes it is hard to tell whether the name is a place or group. Beyond that brief period the groups are identified only as 'Maori' but then are labelled as Maori within a county into the early twentieth century, as the tables in the appendices below indicate. So tribal identity can broadly be reconstructed on the basis of connection with the geographical area concerned. The later the time period, though, the less reliable such a connection might be as people moved around increasingly and some of those 'Maori' may have come from elsewhere, probably from within the inquiry district but perhaps from further afield.

Other information talks about groups based on individuals' names. Very often it will be the names of the landowners of particular blocks, ranging from one person to many. On other occasions it will be another identification based on a Rangatira or other key person, such as 'Ngatuere's people'.

Dealing with such specific information is beyond the knowledge and expertise of the present writer and it must, I think, ultimately be left up to the claimant groups themselves to identify their particular connection with such individuals and land blocks as these are identified in the documentary evidence. Pakeha historians, such as

Stirling for Ngati Hinewaka and Walzl for Ngai Tumapuhia a Rangi, have given evidence relating to tribal connections with the specific lands, but however compelling this seems to me, and as is apparent I have used their work extensively, others will know better than I how that has been received and evaluated by claimants. Steven Chrisp's summary, cited in this report, does that to some extent for Rangitane.

The more modern statistics, such as those used in the Portal Consulting report, do not readily permit a discernment of various claimant groups, as they tend to be generic figures for 'Maori' throughout the entire district.<sup>432</sup> This does not allow the making of distinctions between claimant groups, or even between the tangata whenua and Maori from other parts of the country who have moved into the district. Thus, in the recent period, only 38% of Maori in Wairarapa ki Tararua are drawn from tangata whenua iwi of Ngati Kahungunu, Rangitane, and Muaupoko (and thus 62 per cent of the Maori in the district are not amongst the claimant groups). Furthermore, only 7 per cent of the persons reporting a Wairarapa ki Tararua iwi allegiance live in the region. Such statistics reveal a picture of 'iwi structures that have little depth numerically within the region. They may also have a limited power base there. Both these points may have major implications for iwi dynamics and development, and ultimately perhaps for social cohesion.'<sup>433</sup>

The Portal Consulting Report itself warns that the Wairarapa ki Tararua figures generally are small (e.g. in 2001 the region's entire population was only equivalent to a provincial city elsewhere, such as Rotorua, with only 10,000 of those being Maori of any affiliation), and thus that the various analyses of sub-groups were subject to 'random fluctuations that may distort the overall patterns'.<sup>434</sup> Actually, on Portal's own figures, the populations are even smaller than that. See their Table 2.1, where the total population remained static between a low of 56,055 in 2001 and a high of 58,445 in 1991, although the Maori population rose dramatically in the same period from 4691 in 1981 to 9174 in 1996 before falling slightly to 8556 in 2001.<sup>435</sup>

Such statistics may be interpreted as resulting from the effects of the inability of Wairarapa ki Tararua to maintain themselves within the inquiry district. For some

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<sup>432</sup> Janet Sceats, Tahu Kukutai, Ian Pool and Portal Consulting, 'The Socio-Demographic and Economic Characteristics of Maori in the Wairarapa ki Tararua Region' (2002) Wai 863 #A28.

<sup>433</sup> Portal Consulting, 'Characteristics', 26, 27.

<sup>434</sup> Portal Consulting, 'Characteristics', 11.

<sup>435</sup> Portal Consulting, 'Characteristics', 28. One cannot, though, make much of the dramatic rise in Maori numbers as the writers explain (p. 29) that it is due almost entirely to shifts in definition in the censuses upon which they have relied.

reason they have been either pushed or pulled from the district by conditions that made it difficult to remain there or by other places being more attractive. While they lack explanatory power with regard to the history of the loss of land and resources by Maori of Wairarapa ki Tararua, and do not enable analysis of the relative effects of different factors—such as, say, land loss compared with unemployment—these figures show the ultimate outcome of the process. Overall, it appears to be one of a people largely divorced from their traditional lands, who have turned and gone elsewhere to support themselves.

**Are other factors, such as the quality of and access to remaining land, and other values attaching to the land, really more important?**

This question, as it relates to the Maori population of Wairarapa, is largely addressed by the tables derived from the census material from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

This is a more useful exercise than it would be for the twentieth century. Maori, although moving locations in the nineteenth century, were closer to their traditional centres.

The statistics vary considerably. There are overall totals of Maori. Accounts from people like Colenso, Kemp and Ronaldson in the earlier period include informal censuses; a range of these have been cited and quoted elsewhere in this report.

The statistics tell some of the story. ‘Other information’ can include the writings of people who worked with or, for various reasons, made a point of recording information about Maori, such as the missionaries and land purchase agents.

No direct and complete picture can be given of the location of Wairarapa Maori in the late nineteenth century. The census questions and standard of information gathering changed frequently, as the varying fields in the appended tables show. Usually the information gathering depended on the local resident magistrate, but also on what the general government was requiring him to report. The boundaries of the district, or subdivisions within it, being covered were also not usually spelled out, or if they were later, they were inclined to change as new counties were formed. Reports from the 1860s were more likely to be interested in the numbers of Maori capable of bearing arms against the Crown, and qualitative assessments of how likely they were

to do so. Those censuses from later in, say, the 1890s wished to know what agricultural activities Maori were pursuing.

## **6.2. Population Figures**

We have noted above that Foss Leach reports calculations that the pre-European Maori population of Palliser Bay was between 210 and 319 people, while from Cape Palliser to Flat Point there 'could easily have been ten similar communities' totalling a further 3-400 people, giving a 'climax coastal population' of Ngati Hinewaka of between 510 and 680 people at European contact.<sup>436</sup>

Purchase agent H.T. Kemp, trying to find out in January 1849 about how many Maori he was having to deal with in his attempted land purchases, found 780 Maori living in 10 lower Wairarapa and 6 coastal villages: 363 men, 255 women and 162 children.<sup>437</sup> But eighteen months later in June 1850 there were only 573 (473 adults and only 100 children) to be seen.

The number of Maori affected by the Crown purchases in the 1850s was diminishing at an alarming rate. Colenso's report on the numbers he had seen dying in various villages has been quoted above. In 1856 a census recorded 536 Pakeha settlers in Wairarapa while an official estimate of Maori in December 1857 put their numbers at 650, compared with a private census by the CMS missionary the Rev. William Ronaldson in 1856/7 which gave their numbers at more than 700.<sup>438</sup> Both are notable decreases on Kemp's 1849 estimate of more than 800.

The following discussion is based on Figures 1 to 3 in Appendix 2. Note that they do not generally include data for north of Woodville as this tended to be included in Hawkes Bay statistics that are inseparable from data from further north. Thus for many years, Woodville appeared as part of Waipawa County and it was not until the returns showing figures from the newly created Dannevirke County that data relating to the northern part of the inquiry district can be readily distinguished from Hawkes Bay information. An exception is the aberrant snapshot of the 1881 census which

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<sup>436</sup> Leach, 'Hinewaka', 11.

<sup>437</sup> See the tabulated return by kainga in Walzl, 'Land Purchasing', para 3.150.

<sup>438</sup> Ross, 'Small Farms', 40, 42-43.

included population by residence for 'Wairarapa' right up to Hastings, as discussed below. The data for the Forty-Mile Bush part of Tamaki-nui-a Rua are included in the data from at least the time of the formation of Pahiatua County in 1891 and presumably in Wairarapa North County prior to that.

The census tables from Appendix 2 show that in **1864** government assessments concluded that there were 843 Maori in the 'Wairarapa District', a marked increase from the rapidly decreasing numbers in the 700s and 600s reported by Kemp and Colenso in the 1840s and then in the various tallies made in the late 1850s.<sup>439</sup>

In **1868**, Resident Magistrate Wardell totalled Wairarapa Maori at 768, of whom 250 were adult Maori males (and thus a potential military threat if they 'rebelled').<sup>440</sup>

In **1870** the numbers in each 'hapu' were recorded, but not where they were located.<sup>441</sup> Thus, in the 'Wairarapa District', there were 850 Maori in total, which accords well with the 1864 figure. They were divided into six 'hapu' groups: Ngati Kahungunu (120), Hamua (150), Ngati Moe (135), Ngati Kahukuraawhitia (140), Ngati Tahu (230), and Rakaiwhakiri (75). Sometimes there may have been confusion between a tribal group's location and its name; for example, was Kahukuraawhitia intended to denote a place or a group? It is listed both ways in different censuses and is definitely a hapu, but may also have been thought of as a place.

In **1874**, Wardell conducted a census showing the Maori population of the district to have reduced by one-eighth in a decade, from 843 to 742. Seventy-nine of the 101 decreased were males and there was no reduction in adult females. He could give no reason for this apart from 'irregular habits of life, and ... intemperance, which is greatly on the increase'.<sup>442</sup> There had been no casualties of war and no epidemic of disease, so he was otherwise at a loss to explain it. Assuming his suggestions were correct, this would indicate that both adult and juvenile males were being badly affected by alcoholism, which seems unlikely, especially as adult females were not.

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<sup>439</sup> AJHR, 1874, G-2, 22.

<sup>440</sup> *Wairarapa Mercury*, 3 October 1868. Quoted in Ross, 'Small Farms', 100.

<sup>441</sup> AJHR, 1870, A-11, 10.

<sup>442</sup> Wardell to Native Minister, 4 June 1874. AJHR, 1874, G-2, 22.

His detailed statistics were reformatted by location and iwi in the general census of Maori.<sup>443</sup> The most densely populated area was on the east coast from Akitio to Mangaakuta with 13 settlements with populations in double figures. Other than that, those places with 20 or more were Te Warukaikihikihi (32), Hinewaka (20), Pahaoa (21), Whiwhia (34), Papawai (26), and Whitimanuka (34). Turanganui had only 13, Te Kopi 11, Wharekaka 2 and Te Ahikouka 18, but other than that virtually everywhere else had numbers in single figures, often only a single person. This indicates a widely scattered and not highly centralised society, spread thinly across the land. The distances in the Wairarapa are not huge, but still at this time the large land blocks had already been sold and the reserves restricted to a reasonably small number of localities. To get together a shearing gang of any size must often have required drawing people from more than one location. The concentration is in the north, where there was less completely open land and Pakeha settlement was not so intrusive at this time. None of the sites are listed as being the nascent Pakeha townships; although various marae were on the outskirts of the towns, such as Papawai at Greytown, this suggests that there had been little integration of Maori and Pakeha societies and no ‘urbanisation’ of Maori, to the extent that this term can be used of such places. Also, given the relative diffuseness of the Maori, there would seem to have been little scope for the development of a critical mass to work remaining reserve land or to operate communally in many ways. Presumably many of the individual men were farm labourers, while the individual women may have been in domestic roles on stations, some will have been couples. With the settlements being all relatively small, this indicates at best limited social or economic coherence of people living in a ‘pa’ and operating as a group.

Apparently indicating that in four years the numbers of Maori dropped by some 110, the later censuses from the 1870s give total numbers in the mid-low 700s, 742 in **1874** and then dropping further to 714 in the next count in **1878**.

In **1880**, Resident Magistrate Maunsell blamed the decrease in Wairarapa Maori numbers—now, he estimated, from some 1000 in the mid-1860s to no more than 650—on nothing more substantial than their ‘state of political and moral corruption’ caused primarily by their allegiance to the Kingitanga and then Pai Marire. This

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<sup>443</sup> AJHR, 1874, G-7, 13-14.

rendered them only about one-fourteenth the number of Pakeha and ‘they know and express their comparative weakness’.<sup>444</sup> This, although only an estimate and to be modified in light of the census the following year, indicates that Maunsell understood there to be by this time some 9000 Pakeha in the Wairarapa, compared with the 650 Maori. It is unclear just what the size of the district was that he was discussing and how far north it extended.

The **1881** census, though, suddenly raised the numbers to 1067.<sup>445</sup> But here when we look at the ‘Population by Residence’ table we can see that in 1881 the ‘Wairarapa District’ was defined as taking in everything south of Napier. Omahu and Pakipaki—effectively Hastings—contributed 133 to this total, Waipawa another 24, Porangahau 42, Waimarama 60 and so on. It therefore appears to be an aberration in the series.

Maunsell found that there were now not 650 but actually some 700 Maori in the district, although 44 of them had been added in as a result of the Forty-Mile Bush being included, so he was quite accurate if talking about the previous district.<sup>446</sup> There had been no actual decrease since the 1878 census as there were about 15 absent in other places, and although there were only about 10 of the ‘old men’ left alive, overall there had been comparatively ‘few deaths’. Now, he said that the long-term decrease was attributable to the ravages in the early 1870s of typhoid and pulmonary diseases, but still maintained that this was due to their ‘exposure and irregular mode of living during the height of the Hauhau fanaticism’, as well as some having travelled to the West Coast to join in the fighting under Titokowaru—which does not quite square in terms of time.<sup>447</sup> They were now more settled and improving morally and socially, and generally in robust health; Hurunuiorangi, Kaitekateka and Oahanga showing an increase in the number of children. He made no comment on their economic situation, nor on whether their problems with disease, or willingness to support ‘rebels’, were linked in any way to their material wealth.

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<sup>444</sup> Maunsell to Native Minister, 23 April 1880. AJHR, 1880, G-4, 13.

<sup>445</sup> AJHR, 1881, G-3, 11.

<sup>446</sup> So was southern Hawkes Bay up to Pakipaki and Omahu, meaning that the total for ‘Wairarapa’ was given in the tables as 1067.

<sup>447</sup> Maunsell to Under Secretary, Native Department, 28 April 1881. AJHR, 1881, G-3, 7.

Contrasted with the 1874 census, the 1881 figures are notable for recording very few groups in single figures and for showing some groups as being quite large.<sup>448</sup> The largest were Te Ahikouka (33), Hurunuiorangi (47), Kaitekateka (100) Oahanga [sic] (60), Papawai (89), and Ngaawapurua and Hawera/Forty-Mile Bush (34). Some such as Akitio had disappeared from the record.

In **1886** the total numbers in Wairarapa East and West totalled 707, corresponding to the 714 of 1878 (Fig. 2). 'East', referring roughly to east of the Ruamahanga, was similar to what became Wairarapa South and 'West' to Wairarapa North. In 'East' the 413 Maori were more numerous and at 9% were a higher proportion of the total population than the 294 who made up 5% of the 'West' population.

This census showed a small increase in numbers, especially of males.<sup>449</sup> Counting those usually present there was an overall total of some 757 Wairarapa Maori, an increase of 13. More children had been born within the last couple of years, generally due to an increased number of marriages with women of other tribes, these relationships having proved both more fruitful and healthier. Without that development, Maunsell believed he would be having to report another considerable numerical decrease although no epidemic diseases had struck them for some time.

The 1886 figures were not given by kainga, but divided into Wairarapa East (413 persons) and West (294), the division being by local counties. Maunsell failed to give the required figures for crops in individual cultivation, or livestock held, at this time, complaining that he was unable to discern this as everything was cultivated in common. Those common cultivations he calculated at 24 acres of potatoes (16 East, 8 West), 152 acres of wheat (150, 2), and 103¼ acres of 'other crops' (100¼, 3).<sup>450</sup>

In **1891**, the new Pahiatua County had 40 Maori, forming 2% of the total county population. Wairarapa North had 300 (6% of total population) and Wairarapa South had 399 (7% of total), so overall Maori were 6% of the district population. Although the proportion continued to drop, this was because the Pakeha population continued to rise, while that of Maori remained static.

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<sup>448</sup> AJHR, 1881, G-3, 25.

<sup>449</sup> Maunsell to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 9 April 1886. AJHR, 1886, G-12, 10-11.

<sup>450</sup> AJHR, 1886, G-12, 17.

Those 40 Maori in Pahiatua County cultivated 23 acres of potatoes, 256 acres of wheat, 7 of maize and 12 of other crops individually and 2 acres of potatoes and 12 of other crops in common, a relatively large per capita effort. They also owned 25 cattle and 166 pigs. Maori in Wairarapa North cultivated extensively at this time: 112 acres of potatoes, 399 of wheat, 38 of maize, 106 of other crops and 10 of sown grasses, together with 4 acres of potatoes and 1 of other crops in common. They owned 1510 sheep, 126 cattle and 135 pigs. Those in Wairarapa South, though one-third more numerous, cultivated only 53 acres of potatoes, 10 of wheat, 21 of maize and 120 of other crops individually, but had 50 acres of potatoes, 55 of wheat and 151 of other crops in common. They had twice as many sheep at 3440, with 118 cattle and 99 pigs.

A sudden drop took place across nearly all categories in **1896**, however. The population numbers changed with now only 30 in Pahiatua, a slight increase in Wairarapa North to 319, and a significant drop in Wairarapa South, giving a total of 697, down over 40 from the previous census and now making up only 4% of the total population.

In Pahiatua, now only 8.25 acres of potatoes, none of wheat, 5.5 of maize and 2.5 of other crops were cultivated individually and none in common—16.25 acres in total compared with 201 five years previously. Their cattle numbers had nearly doubled to 47 but their pigs had dropped by three-quarters to 43. In Wairarapa North, too, the individual cultivations had dropped significantly to 51.25 acres of potatoes, 39.25 of wheat, 20 of maize and 0.5 of other crops, although their common cultivations had risen hugely to 54.5 acres of potatoes, 32 of wheat and 37 of other crops. Perhaps this partly indicates a reclassification at this time, although even if the area in sown grasses is included the total cultivated area had now more than halved to 317.5 acres rather than 670. They owned slightly more sheep at 1630, slightly fewer cattle at 110 and only 24 pigs. In Wairarapa South, the cultivated area had also dropped to 14.75 acres of potatoes, 76 of wheat, 5.9 of maize and 70 of other crops with 32 acres of potatoes, 55 of wheat and 81 of other crops cultivated in common—a total of 334.65 acres compared with 460 previously. The big difference here was the dramatic area of 1640 acres in sown grasses reflecting an attempt to establish significant pasture areas. They now owned 3501 sheep, 83 cattle and many fewer pigs at 28.

Overall numbers were 74.25 acres of potatoes instead of 188, 115 acres of wheat instead of 565, 31 of maize instead of 66, and 73 of other crops instead of 238, while sheep numbers remained similar, cattle dropped slightly and pig numbers decreased by three-quarters.

The **1901** census saw the district broken up into several more counties. Eketahuna and Pahiatua counties each had 1% Maori population and Castlepoint 3%, where Akitio, Masterton and Wairarapa South had 5%, 7% and 8% respectively. Overall the Maori population had increased from 637 to 835.

With regard to agricultural production, Eketahuna County had 3 acres in potatoes and 182 in sown grasses, but also 30 acres in common potatoes and 20 acres in other crops. There were no sheep, but 40 cattle and 11 pigs. Akitio County's 57 Maori had 1 individual acre and 10 common acres in potatoes with 1 acre in maize and 12 acres in other crops, but only 4 cows by way of livestock. Castlepoint had no Maori agricultural activity by the 13 who lived there, apart from 5 acres of potatoes and 1 of other crops in common. The 24 Pahiatua County Maori cultivated a total of 23¼ acres of potatoes, had 50 acres in sown grasses and owned 14 cows and 6 pigs. The 234 who lived in Masterton County had 70 acres in potatoes, 85 acres in wheat, 9½ acres in maize and 33½ acres in other crops, with 30 acres in sown grasses. They owned 1000 sheep, 16 cattle and 27 pigs. In Wairarapa South, the 475 living there had 73 acres in potatoes, 86 acres in wheat, 7½ acres in maize and 101 acres in other crops, together with 5976 sheep, 112 cattle and 180 pigs.

The **1906** census showed an overall total of 876 Maori in the inquiry district (Mauriceville County being included this time, but contributing only 8), a small increase. Presumably because more of the country was being opened up for settlement during this period, this constituted a small drop from 5% to 4% of the total population. Other proportions were relatively unchanged.

Akitio County's 43 Maori now grew 8 acres of potatoes and 4 of maize, a large proportionate increase, if not in absolute terms. They still had no other agricultural activity and there was none at all in Castlepoint County. The 727 acres of potatoes in Pahiatua County seems to be a misprint. The Maori cropping for Eketahuna County dropped dramatically to only 13 acres of potatoes and 40 of sown grasses from 182 acres. No data were recorded for Woodville County. Masterton County's Maori had

created much new pasture from 30 to 4182 acres, while Wairarapa South now had Featherston County severed from its southern end and a corresponding reallocation of its land use statistics.

In 1911, Census Enumerator E.A. Welch noted an increase of 15, from 865 to 880, over the 1906 figures, throughout the eight counties from Pahiatua and Akitio south. He observed that the increase would have been greater but that ‘many of the Natives in the Pahiatua district have left there, and have taken up their abode in Dannevirke and Hawke’s Bay’.<sup>451</sup> The increase included an additional 34 children under 15 years of age.

This census was the first to distinguish the newly created Dannevirke and Woodville counties from Waipawa and Patangata. There were no data actually provided from Woodville, but Dannevirke contained 162 Maori, 3% of the population. Weber had only 3 of 529 people and Eketahuna 9 of 1923.

Over the whole district, which included all of the present inquiry district except the Woodville to Norsewood portion, Welch summarised the Maori agricultural activity for 1906 and 1911:

**Table 10: Maori agricultural activity (south of Woodville), 1906, 1911**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Potatoes, Maize etc</b>	<b>Sown Grasses</b>	<b>Sheep</b>	<b>Cattle</b>	<b>Pigs</b>
1906	989¾ ac	11,296 ac	6649	736	146
1911	941½ ac	11,364¼ ac	14,188	826	192

Each category had increased, apart from the lands being cropped where the area in potatoes had dropped from 827 acres in 1906 to 227 acres in 1911. This he explained by two factors: the departure of the Pahiatua Maori, who were the most prolific growers of potatoes in the region, and fear of potato blight. The other marked change was in the more than doubling of the sheep numbers which he thought might have been because of high prices, presumably those then being received for them.

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<sup>451</sup> AJHR, 1911, H-14a, 16.

The only academic study found specifically dealing with population in the Wairarapa, a thesis on three northern Wairarapa counties (Pahiatua, Akitio and Eketahuna) mentions Maori on only one page. It consists of a single table summarising twentieth-century census data and the following discussion:

The proportion of Maoris in the population is small, but increasing. The main areas of increase are in Akitio County and Pahiatua Borough. It is interesting to note that there is an increase in Maori population, while the three geographic counties are experiencing a decline.<sup>452</sup>

The author, McCalman, made no attempt, in a thesis of more than 160 pages with many supporting tables, to explain that ‘interesting’ counter-trend, nor to consider what the reasons were for a greater increase in Akitio County and Pahiatua Borough. Nor did she locate those Maori any more exactly than rural (‘county’) and urban (‘borough’). The table indicates a rise from a total of 24 Maori in the three counties in 1901 to a total of 375 in 1971, with a big jump from 96 to 153 occurring between 1946 and 1951, due almost entirely to a corresponding increase in ‘county’ Maori from 75 to 129. The 1971 figures perhaps indicate a shift towards the pattern previously experienced for half a century by Pakeha with a drop in ‘county’ Maori from 240 in 1966 to 215, being more than offset by a rise in ‘borough’ Maori from 109 to 157, giving a net increase from 349 to 375. By comparison, the Pakeha population in the three counties peaked at 7673 people in 1906 and then declined gradually to 3352 people in 1971. So in 1906 Maori comprised 1.27% of the population of these counties (and less in 1901), but by 1971 they made up 11.2%.

McCalman’s figures, too, appear unreliable as well as not fully analysed or explained. The statement that there were only 24 Maori in the three counties in 1901 is contradicted by the census figures for that year, which show that there were 24 Maori in *Pahiatua County*, but that the Akitio and Eketahuna counties also had Maori populations at that time.

In the late nineteenth century, the Wairarapa district south of Woodville experienced a doubling of Pakeha population to some 23,000 and then further growth with the prospering of the rural economy in the early twentieth century to 33,504 by 1926. The Depression and World War II years stabilised the population which rose to

only 34,118 by 1946, but then further post-war prosperity encouraged growth to 40,001 in 1956 and then 45,191 in 1966. Thereafter the general decline in rural population created stagnation until the very recent boom.<sup>453</sup>

In 1966, there were 2681 Maori resident in the region—no tribal affiliation specified—comprising 1.35% of the national Maori population, a proportion unchanged since 1936. The Maori population rose somewhat thereafter, though, to 3287 in 1976 which was 7.03% of the Wairarapa's total population, compared with 5.93% in 1966. This was a very urbanised Maori population, and increasingly so, with 38.3% of the region's Maori population living in Masterton in 1966, 45.3% in 1971 and c.50% in 1976. Martinborough in 1976 had the highest proportion of Maori at 15.8% of total population, of any borough or county in the region.<sup>454</sup>

### **6.3. Land Statistics**

The statistics regarding the amount of land still available to Maori at various times have been collated, computed, discussed and analysed by a number of other researchers in the course of the preparation of evidence for the Wairarapa inquiry. They therefore do not require extensive repetition and analysis to the same depth in the present report. As noted elsewhere, primarily the calculations by Ellis and Small have been taken as the most authoritative set of Maori land statistics for the inquiry district, at least for the nineteenth century, as they did not deal in detail with the twentieth century. These, together with Dr Loveridge's summary tables, are discussed above in more detail and give what appear to be as close as we can get to definitive quantifications of Maori land loss and retention.

The third part of the issue question, as to whether the quality of and access to remaining land, and other values attaching to the land, were or are really more important, would seem to depend on the period being asked about.

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<sup>452</sup> J.R. McCalman, 'Population Change in Pahiatua, Akitio and Eketahuna Counties from the Beginnings of Settlement until the Present Day' (MA thesis in Geography, Victoria University of Wellington, 1979), 20.

<sup>453</sup> Wairarapa Regional Development Council, *Wairarapa: Resources of a Region* (Wairarapa Regional Development Council: np, 1978), 2-3.

Such issues are always thrown into sharper relief when the quantity of the resource has shrunk to the extent that what remains has become proportionally more precious. Considering matters from a purely economic point of view, ignoring issues of cultural importance, if Maori had far more land than they could occupy and enjoy, and far more extensive resources than they could make use of, then they could better afford to part with some of them, even in large quantities. If, however, they were left with only a few hundred acres on which to support themselves, then the quality of each of those acres for agricultural purposes assumes a much greater importance and the loss of even a few might be enough to tip the balance between economic viability and an inability to survive on what remained.

Or to consider it in different terms from simple land loss, if Maori had hundreds of thousands of acres around the whole Wairarapa Valley on which they could farm, an event such as a flood or fire would cause but little harm as stock could be moved freely to higher or safer ground, crops would be growing out of reach of the water or flames, birds could be hunted in other bush areas, and so on. But if their crops and livestock were concentrated on a few hundred acres in the path of the flood or fire, then their property and means of support could be wiped out entirely.

As to land quality, obviously this determines what can be done with it. Large areas of poor land that can grow a little grass can nevertheless support pastoralism with extensive sheep runs. Small areas of good land can support dairying, or various forms of crop cultivation. Small areas of poor land are of little or no economic use as they cannot support enough sheep to make such farming viable. Swampy land might be valuable for producing flax (for the time when flax was a marketable product). Nowadays, land of formerly relatively low value is highly valuable if grapes can be grown on it.

The discussion early in this report of the topographical features and soil types also goes to this issue, indicating in general terms what sort of land the various blocks and reserves consisted of. It shows a regional variation in what was available and what could be done with what remained, which may also suggest quantities that were needed by Maori to make use of the lands concerned economically viable.

Early twentieth-century Valuation Department fieldbooks for several of the counties within the inquiry district have been found. These record the bases of

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<sup>454</sup> Wairarapa Regional Development Council, *Wairarapa*, 4.

valuers' calculations of the government valuations on a property by property basis within specific ridings. The data are almost entirely numerical and do not include evaluative comments but will still permit some assessment of the economic value of lands.

The Maori land and land cover maps in Appendix Four indicate the quantity and quality of the lands remaining in Maori hands in the present day. The actual details of those as derived from statistics are given throughout the Ellis and Small report.

The Centennial Atlas maps of the land loss over time, included in Appendix 4, give a dramatic indication of both the quantity of Maori land loss through the nineteenth century, a visual representation of the statistics tabulated by Ellis and Small. They also show how the Crown purchasing was targeted at the more valuable central valley and the open areas suitable for the large-scale sheep farming, areas desirable for European settlers. This confirms the conclusions drawn from Donald McLean's comments about how he was indeed aiming to separate Maori from their most economically valuable lands precisely because they were the ones sought by European settlers.

The map of remaining Maori land shows graphically the way in which Maori freehold land has shrunk to points on a map. Really there are only two sizeable chunks remaining, one at Aohanga/Mataikona and the other on the south coast and consisting of parts of Kawakawa and Matakītiki.

When these remaining Maori-owned blocks are compared and overlaid with the land cover data, it is apparent that these areas are, even now, frequently comprised of marginal or useless land. Waikopiro is almost entirely covered in scrub, so is the western portion of Makirikiri. The discussion in the text reveals how much of Mataikona has never been usable, although the combined blocks are so extensive in area and the map shows how much of the inland area remains under scrub. So with Te Maipi, north of Flat Point, the remaining parts of which are almost entirely scrub-covered, and Te Unu Unu, south of Flat Point, where the inland portions of the long narrow blocks are largely covered, too. So with Te Kopi on the coast of Palliser Bay, and the nearby Kawakawa and Matakītiki, the latter of which also includes a substantial area of enduring native forest. On these two blocks, much of the balance of the area is the rugged southern coast on either side of Cape Palliser, where nothing much will grow. The remnants of land around Pirinoa also lose a significant

proportion of their usable area to scrub as they run back into the hills towards where exotic forests have been planted to extract some value from the land, or simply to protect it.

Of course, the reason why many of these areas are covered in scrub is not just that gorse, bracken, manuka and such has been allowed to grow there by neglect, but that the country is too difficult to clear. Its soil is too poor, its topography too steep and erosion-prone to permit removal of the scrub that now infests it, and often always has done.

## **7. Issue 22.4.9: Development Schemes and Access to Finance**

**What assistance was offered by the Crown to Maori to participate in the European-style economy, for instance by means of training in farming or access to credit? Was this adequate? Is this relevant to the question of the sufficiency of land owned by Maori, in terms of their ability to actually use it?**

This issue question applies directly to Topic D of the Research Commission.

**22.4.9 (a) In particular, were development schemes a successful enterprise? Why were there so few of them and what results did they have for Maori?**

The Small Farms Associations and their movement into Wairarapa in the 1850s has been discussed to some extent elsewhere in this report. The key point to note is that these were bodies of settlers organising themselves, usually away in Wellington, to develop Wairarapa lands for their own benefit. As discussed above, Maori did not get an opportunity to become involved, apart from a lone individual in Masterton, and that was probably a result of his having been the man who sold the area to them and helped to convince Governor Grey to permit the scheme to go ahead. They therefore did not have the benefit of the mutual support and financial assistance available to the settlers under these schemes, however inadequate it may have been.

The story of these associations does give an insight into the amount of land that was 'sufficient' in the mid-nineteenth century in Wairarapa, in order to make non-sheep, mostly dairying farms economically viable. The Small Farms initiative in the 1850s and 1860s showed that the suburban lots of 40 acres and rural lots of 100 acres were not economic before the technological advances of the mid-twentieth century, even given that they were by definition in close proximity to the developing townships. Many small farmers had to take supplementary work on larger runs.

Pastoralism, too, was better suited to large holdings and to coping with difficult access to markets. Not until the 1880s did dairying become important, when smaller more intensive holdings benefited from improved transportation and the subsequent establishment of dairy factories.

Refrigerated transport was also available in New Zealand from the late 1880s. This worked well for transporting meat to overseas markets, especially Great Britain, and gave an additional market to the dairy industry as more perishable goods were able to be carried.

The development of small holdings in the 1870s and 1880s was uneconomic in the north of the inquiry district also, because of the collapse of wool and meat prices compounding the local difficulties of oversupply and transport problems. The wealthy large landowners saved many of the small farmers:

The paradox is that, much as the Government desired to have the bush peopled by smallholders, the opportunity for their economic advancement was made possible by the capitalists who bought up larger sections of land, and who were able to employ the ‘little’ men for clearing and stumping, thus enabling these labourers to acquire sufficient money for the purchase of their own modest holdings.<sup>455</sup>

This was but an early example of a problem that is alluded to in a number of places in the present report: even when blocks were set aside for farming purposes, they were not necessarily of an economic size. The small holders, be they Maori or Pakeha, found that their holdings were of a size that was difficult to make enough income from. This would have applied especially where part of that small holding was still in bush or on broken land and thus unusable—as still happened in the 1930s with the development schemes—or where the small holding was in country where the land and climate were such as to require a large area to run a sufficient number of sheep over, as in the eastern hill country—see the official estimates that on Mataikona holdings would have to be anywhere between 800 and 2500 acres at the end of World War I.

Government intervention occurred in all types of land and agricultural development, and the issue of trying to ‘grow’ the colony, then dominion, economically and of providing for the ongoing flow of immigrants was at the forefront of every ministry’s thinking. Initiatives were taken in different ways at

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<sup>455</sup> McCalman, ‘Population Changes’, 37-8.

different times to assist both through the settlement of groups on undeveloped or underdeveloped land.

## **7.1. Small Farm Development Schemes**

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there were several government initiatives to assist small farmers onto the land. These were generally targeted, especially those for returning servicemen, and so of little or no assistance to Wairarapa Maori. No sources viewed indicated that any Maori were assisted to be settled on Wairarapa land in any of these schemes.

Special Settlement Associations were possible under the Land Act 1885, whereby 25 settlers or more could obtain blocks of land at £1 per acre on either deferred payment over ten years (maximum 150 acres per settler), or on a perpetual lease (maximum 200 acres per settler). Each purchaser had to bring into production one-tenth of the total holding within six years, but there was no residence requirement until after two years in bush lands and if the improvement rate were doubled all residence requirements were waived. This scheme's introduction led to the formation of eight such special settlements in Tamaki-nui-a-Rua, each gaining an area of some 5000 acres, although none appear to have been created in Wairarapa to the south.

The various schemes sponsored by the government to enable the closer settlement and breaking in of the land encouraged a mushrooming of small villages in the late nineteenth century. However this did not last. Improved transport and access, closure of small creameries and sawmills, and the amalgamation of uneconomically small farms led to many of those villages being already deserted, particularly those closer to larger centres. Since 1906, there has been a gradual decline in the rural population of the northern Wairarapa counties (Eketahuna, Pahiatua and Akitio, the only ones for which analysis has been found), such that by the 1970s there were only about half as many people there altogether as the somewhat over 7000 in the early years of the twentieth century.

When the Liberals operated their policy of bursting up the big estates against the segments of Bidwill's old Pihautea Station in the central Wairarapa Valley, the 2350 acres the government acquired from the Tawaha portion under the Lands for

Settlements scheme was divided up into sixteen dairy farms and seven 'ordinary' farms, varying in size from 50 to 275 acres.<sup>456</sup> The acreage of these portions was determined by policy as much as by economics. The neighbouring landowners offered to buy them up as they wanted 'farmers not labourers' next to them, apparently believing the size permitted no more than a subsistence level of farming. But Chief Surveyor John Strauchan countered that he understood the main object of the Lands for Settlements policy was 'to get men with small means onto a piece of land that they can manage and not to provide land for adjoining owners who are already comfortably off'.<sup>457</sup> This settlement was within three years occupied by 59 men, women and children, running on the land 1000 sheep, 678 cattle, 68 horses and 95 pigs. The average size of farms in this settlement slowly increased, though, presumably at least in part because the size of an 'economically viable unit changed over time. In 1905 the 16 farms averaged 76 acres in size, but by 1979 the nine farms averaged 119 acres each, a 56% increase. There was less dramatic change in the area of sheep farms as they grew from 155 by 11% to 172 acres. Farms in Pahautea (changed from the original Pihautea station) grew 111% from 69 to 146 acres between 1919 and 1979.<sup>458</sup>

The Discharged Soldiers Settlements Act 1915 led to further government intervention and land acquisition for settlement by small farmers. Another 2200 acres of the old Pihautea Station was taken and cut up into 30 farms of 44 to 268 acres, mostly from Jury's Island south down the Ruamahanga past Tauparaha No 2. The land in this area was described thus:

The flats along the Ruamahanga River consist of rich alluvial soil, the undulating country further back from the river being good black soil on a clay subsoil and on the flat land along the Kahutara Road good black soil on a shingle subsoil.... [This was land which was] eminently adapted for dairying, fattening, grazing, cropping and market gardening.<sup>459</sup>

The third segment taken was from the Rototawai/Maramaamau portion of Pihautea, 585 acres subdivided into six farms of between 71 and 150 acres.

The size of blocks in such government settlements varied depending on the time and the nature of the block concerned. For pastoral farms in the more rugged eastern

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<sup>456</sup> Much of this was on the river flats one crosses coming from the intersection of the Featherston-Martinborough and Martinborough-Greytown roads, down the side of Pihautea Ridge and then across the flats towards Martinborough to the Ruamahanga River.

<sup>457</sup> Letter, 28 October 1905. LS 4/122, vol 1 no.92. Quoted in Scadden, 'Pihautea', 17.

<sup>458</sup> Scadden, 'Pihautea', 27-36.

hills, the block size needed was larger than in the central valley region. The eleven sections carved out of Tukurumuri Station in 1920 for returned soldiers ranged in size from 338 acres to nearly 1000 acres. However, after World War II the government had realised this was inadequate in such situations and the sections surveyed in 1952 out of the neighbouring Tora station ranged from 804 to 2749 acres as one-man farms.<sup>460</sup> These settlements were on the eastern coast between White Rock and Te Awaiti.

Government assistance in the early twentieth century, and its purchase of portions of larger pastoral estates, enabled the development of more dairying and closer farming by the First World War, especially at Dyerville and Tawaha (near Martinborough). The blocks there were larger, often 150 acres or more—a mixed blessing as the style of farming had to change with the numbers of cattle able to be run on this larger area.

Then there were new developments, especially for soldier settlements.<sup>461</sup> The earliest was that at Kaituna, west of Masterton, surveyed and cut into about a dozen small farms of 80-268 acres, sometime by the late 1870s. These were intended as gratuities for veterans of the wars of the 1860s.<sup>462</sup> A second soldier settlement was one of 300 acres at Dyerville, cut into six farms. A third was of another 2800 acres at Pihautea, cut into blocks mostly of 50-100 acres, although with five over 100 acres and four of less than 50. Others included the Battersea Settlement, Te Whiti, east of Carterton, and Te Ore Ore, east of Masterton. The small size of the holdings, the high charges levied on them, and the inadequate government start-up loans made most such properties uneconomic and many soldiers simply walked off their farms by the early 1920s. Amalgamations into more economic units soon followed.

Another round of Government purchasing of pastoral lands for conversion into a small number of dairy-based soldier settlements followed the Second World War. Nine farms were created at Purakau at the head of Lake Wairarapa, two at Ruamahanga and two more Booth, both east of Masterton. In these, many of the earlier mistakes were avoided as the government provided houses and infrastructure, as well as larger blocks to be farmed.

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<sup>459</sup> Crown Land Ranger, general description, Pihautea file. LS 4/68 vol 1. Quoted in Scadden, 'Pihautea', 21.

<sup>460</sup> Leckie, 'Think Small', 6-7.

<sup>461</sup> Hambly, 'Dairying', 67-76.

<sup>462</sup> Hambly, 'Dairying', 67.

Especially in the early twentieth century, there were various private schemes for the creation of small farms. In these, the holdings tended to be of 100 acres or a little more. However, small farming in Wairarapa has largely been the result of government intervention, if not always successfully.<sup>463</sup>

In the early twentieth century, a more successful dairy factory industry was established, largely due to a greater concentration than hitherto on cheese making. Better returns were to be had; through the 1890s a farmer who supplied a cheese factory had received an average of three farthings extra for every ten pounds of milk supplied, over a supplier whose milk had been made into butter. When the new Parkvale factory commenced cheese manufacture in 1901, some suppliers switched from the buttermaking at Taratahi. Various small factories were established around the different small farming settlements, but they often struggled, some not surviving. All were small scale, with only 12 and 17 suppliers for the Tawaha and Carrington factories respectively, but they could drop to as few as four before having to close. The maximum number of Wairarapa dairy factories was reached in 1915 at 22—no figures have yet been sighted for Tararua, although doubtless there were a number there associated with the various communities and townships—and then of cooperative factories at 19 in 1925, thereafter they decreased gradually to 13 in 1955, after which there was a marked drop to 5 in 1965.<sup>464</sup> The change resulted from the emergence of tanker transport on the high quality roads which the Wairarapa possessed by then, enabling the development and implementation of bulk milk handling methods. Factories therefore amalgamated, the new efficiencies permitting better returns to the farmers; one stating that he received 6d per pound of butterfat more once his factory amalgamated with another.<sup>465</sup>

In 1962, the Mauriceville factory finally had too few suppliers to remain economic and so closed, amalgamating with Masterton, which had already long since absorbed Kaituna, Longbush and Matahiwi. By the mid-1960s, the five factories remaining were negotiating over further amalgamation so that there would be only two major companies remaining.

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<sup>463</sup> Hambly, 'Dairying', 79-80.

<sup>464</sup> Hambly, 'Dairying', 88, Fig. 7.

<sup>465</sup> Hambly, 'Dairying', 98.

Advances in farming methods made larger herd sizes possible. In the nineteenth century, herds were often less than 50 cows. Once mechanisation arrived that number increased by 50% or more. By the mid-twentieth century, with multiple machines and herringbone sheds a single farmer could handle 140 cows.<sup>466</sup> By this time, herds of less than 30 cows were not economic, producing less than 10,000 lb of butterfat per year, and requiring the farmers to have additional sources of income.<sup>467</sup>

Maori around Wairarapa ki Tararua had varying degrees of involvement in dairying. In numerous examples cited throughout the present report it is mentioned that Maori farmers had herds of differing sizes, although they were never large and seem to have numbered their stock in the tens rather than the scores or hundreds. These numbers suggest that they were able to make a living from these small herds, perhaps as many as one man could handle alone, but one has no impression that they were getting wealthy from such a lifestyle or scale of operation. The farms mentioned were often ones that were in difficulties, generally either because they had not managed to clear the relatively small holdings they were operating on—see the examples of the Tahoraiti and Makirikiri lands subject to the development schemes—or because they had borrowed to develop the lands with clearing, grassing and fencing, or to then stock them with a viable herd and then ran into difficulty in servicing or discharging that debt. Perhaps such situations came about because the individual operation was simply not large enough for economic viability, or perhaps the farmer concerned lacked the knowledge and ability to manage the farm effectively. Seemingly, there were some of both and no doubt other factors operated too with price fluctuations, opening and closing of dairy factories, adequacy of access and roading, and so on. Each individual case would require detailed analysis to determine why it particularly failed or succeeded. Overall, though, as said the references noted do not create the impression that Maori operating dairy farms were able to do so at much more than a basic level with small herds on small land holdings.

## **7.2. Maori Land Development Schemes 1930s-1970s**

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<sup>466</sup> Hambly, 'Dairying', 150.

<sup>467</sup> Hambly, 'Dairying', 164-65.

The Maori land development schemes devised by Ngata were aimed at ‘the efficient occupation of lands by the Maori’ and particularly, in regard to the dependence of courts and banks on a certain form of land ownership, ‘a more speedy and elastic method which would promote settlement of desirable areas pending the permanent adjustment of titles’.<sup>468</sup> The Heretaunga Maori Land Development Scheme notionally included land in the present inquiry district as far south as a line from the top of the Ruahine Range just south of Dannevirke and along the line of the road passing through Weber to Herbertville at the coast.<sup>469</sup> By August 1931, no land south of Omahu had been actually brought into the scheme and little seems to have been afterwards, so that there was little to impinge on the northern part of the present inquiry district.<sup>470</sup>

The main difficulty was that the Hawkes Bay and Wairarapa were ‘all old farming districts, well settled, and with very little unencumbered Native lands available for development’.<sup>471</sup> This statement by Ngata explains in a nutshell the answer to the question above, as to why there were so few Maori land development schemes in Wairarapa, and implicit in it, too, is the answer to the question of what results they had for Wairarapa Maori. There was next to no land left available in Maori hands, which meant that they were too small and insignificant to have much impact on Maori in Wairarapa.

Two land development schemes were initially developed within the present inquiry district in the 1930s—Makirikiri and Tahoraiti—with three others at Rakautatahi, Porangahau and Mangaorapa nearby. Homewood was then developed several years later. Makirikiri has apparently been overlooked in Steven Oliver’s ‘Twentieth-Century Land Alienation Report’, but is mentioned in passing in Tony Walzl’s ‘Wairarapa Land Issues Overview 1900-2000’.

Walzl also comments that: ‘It appears that three schemes existed [in the region south of Woodville], Pirinoa, Makirikiri and Homewood.’<sup>472</sup> He seemingly was able to find out nothing about the Pirinoa scheme, however, and nothing additional on it has surfaced during the research for the present report.

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<sup>468</sup> AJHR, 1931, G-10, i, iv.

<sup>469</sup> AJHR, 1931, G-10, Plan 37.

<sup>470</sup> AJHR, 1931, G-10, 20.

<sup>471</sup> AJHR, 1932, G-10, 49.

<sup>472</sup> Walzl, ‘Overview’, 240.

### 7.2.1. Makirikiri

*Makirikiri*, gazetted in April 1937, was near Mt Bruce and four miles from the Mangamahoe railway station,<sup>473</sup> and comprised 806 acres, which was divided into holdings for six settlers, supporting 26 dependants. The land was variable from good second-class flats and easy hills to rough hilly country of poor quality; there were about 450 acres of ploughable land. Houses, cow sheds and other necessary buildings were provided for them, and extensive fencing was necessary.<sup>474</sup> Five of these settlers, milking 86 cows, supplied the local dairy factory by the late 1930s and achieved ‘quite satisfactory’ returns in their first year in 1938—7984 lb of butterfat, earning £525, of which the Department took £175. They also made £41 from livestock and £114 from ‘crops and sundries’. The land was badly infested with ragwort and blackberry, but substantial efforts were made to clear it, so that 160 acres were cleared in 1938. Twelve unemployed men were used for other work, too, such as fencing, stumping, logging and similar tasks. There were additional stock: 23 other dairy stock not milked, 258 breeding ewes, and 7 working horses. Five cow sheds and the same number of cottages had been erected, together with 3 other buildings.<sup>475</sup> A year later, there were five settlers, with eleven labourers and 25 dependants. Another 130 acres were cleared of blackberry and stumps, of which 100 acres were ploughed and grassed. The number of cows was to be reduced and that of sheep increased as they would cope better with the ragwort. The stock tallies were therefore: 102 dairy cows, 14 other dairy stock, 35 run cattle, and 250 breeding ewes.<sup>476</sup>

Walzl discusses the scheme in some detail from 1940, when the Makirikiri Blocks 1 and 2, leased since 1927 by Piripi Ngatuere, were added to the scheme (although his discussion seems to indicate that the scheme included only those two blocks).<sup>477</sup> Scathing reports on the land itself were made in 1944, six (or four by Walzl’s count) years after the scheme was implemented. Of Makirikiri No 1, it was said:

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<sup>473</sup> See the original Makirikiri reserve within the Manawatu Block in Map 5, Map Book 1 #A20.

<sup>474</sup> AJHR, 1938, G-10, 73.

<sup>475</sup> AJHR, 1939, G-10, 55, 58.

<sup>476</sup> AJHR, 1940, G-10, 46.

<sup>477</sup> Walzl, ‘Overview’, 231-40.

The property is in a dirty mess. There is no pasture of any value. The flat land requires draining. Blackberry and fern are exceptionally bad over the hill portion and also on portion of flat. There are practically no subdivisional fences and most of the road boundary fencing is of little value. There are no buildings on the block but Ngatuere and his wife and family live in a house which I think belongs to his wife.<sup>478</sup>

Similarly, No 2 Block was in a sorry state:

The pastures are very poor and the flat land requires draining. The whole property is in a neglected state, there being very little of the fencing of any value and there is plenty of blackberry and rushes and hawthorn is spreading. Practically the whole place is ploughable but drains and stumping and clearing timber is also necessary. I am satisfied that Ngatuere will never, if left to himself, develop this property or even increase his present production.

The land is suitable for dairying when developed.

Personal report on occupier: He has had very little farming experience and is making a poor showing.<sup>479</sup>

By 1946, only two development schemes were reported as still being operational within Wairarapa: Homewood and Makirikiri. In that year, Makirikiri was using some 275 acres for stock and slowly clearing more of bush and scrub, 15 acres in the previous year. Rabbits and ragwort remained out of control.<sup>480</sup>

Walzl's discussion indicates little development work or assistance being undertaken by the Native Department. In 1951, it was estimated still to need £7000 to set the two blocks to rights and would thereafter still take 12 years of the resulting production levels to recoup the outlay. Nowhere in his discussion is there any indication that the Native/Maori Affairs Department took any role in developing Makirikiri 1 and 2. Of the development scheme more generally, he comments: 'Of the first two schemes [i.e. Pirinoa and Makirikiri], research conducted to date has uncovered little. It is possible the schemes were small and short-lived.'<sup>481</sup>

### 7.2.2. Tahoraiti

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<sup>478</sup> Quoted in Walzl, 'Overview', 232.

<sup>479</sup> Quoted in Walzl, 'Overview', 232.

<sup>480</sup> AJHR, 1946, G-10, 26.

<sup>481</sup> Walzl, 'Overview', 240.

The other scheme, *Tahoraiti*, three miles from Dannevirke, gazetted in January 1938, was tiny: the 144-acre Kaitoki 2K2A block on the Weber Road, created for but one settler, who had 9 dependants.<sup>482</sup> The land, which was ‘rolling to hilly country of good quality suitable for sheep with a few ewes’, had to be surveyed and fenced, and a house and cow-shed were built for the settler, who stocked the land with 61 heifers from which a dairy herd would be selected. One additional worker was employed there.<sup>483</sup> The stocking was shortly changed to 25 cows and over 200 ewes, but gave little return in the short term as the pasture had been so poor when the land was gazetted.<sup>484</sup>

The last mention of the scheme in the parliamentary papers was in 1941, but in June 1942 it received an additional £384 in Maori employment grants. Oliver has identified only two other steps in the history of the Kaitoki 2K2A Block. In 1960, the block was leased to Tewa Herbert Chase, by his mother, and in 1967 the block was Europeanised.<sup>485</sup>

A third scheme, *Rakautatahi*, gazetted in September 1937, was located four miles from Norsewood and included 1945 acres of second-class land. It is therefore outside the inquiry district, but must be right on the district edge and thus of interest at least to claimants from that area. It is mentioned here for information only.

The bush had been cleared and milled early in the century, but as the land was poorly sown and the property had been unoccupied for six years since the previous Maori lessee had abandoned it early in the Depression, fern had now taken charge. Eight unemployed men under one prospective settler began work, clearing 120 acres in the first year.<sup>486</sup> It was decided not to develop the land as a whole, but as seven individual holdings. This plan, though, ran aground on the topography of the land, which was carved up by two steep gorges impassable to stock, so a re-partition of the land was necessary before development could proceed. The settlers were nominated in late 1938 and by mid-1939 one had begun dairying with 23 cows earning £121 cash, and two more were expected to start within a year. The land was virtually having to be broken in, with only 361 acres occupied in the first year, and with the planting of

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<sup>482</sup> The scheme is discussed in Oliver, ‘Tararua’, 30.

<sup>483</sup> AJHR, 1939, G-10, 56, 58.

<sup>484</sup> AJHR, 1940, G-10, 47.

<sup>485</sup> Oliver, ‘Tararua’, 30.

<sup>486</sup> AJHR, 1938, G-10, 72.

shelter belts and the fencing of paddocks where boundaries were known. By mid-1939, 200 acres had been stumped and a tractor acquired to help with logging. Shortly afterwards, another two Maori were settled on the scheme, still making only three settlers, 6 additional labourers and 31 dependents. They shared 9 other dairy stock and 2 horses. One cottage and one cow-shed had been erected.<sup>487</sup> The two additional settlers were provided with 20 cows each, but the scheme was supporting 39 people. By 31 March 1940, the stock tallied 78 dairy cows, 15 other dairy stock, and 1300 sheep. Clearing the land continued, but the production of various fodder crops was limited by weather damage.<sup>488</sup>

After the War, Rakautatahi, now comprising only 1500 acres, had three Maori carrying on mixed farming on the usable scheme lands. A policy of breaking in an additional 80 acres each year had been giving ‘excellent results’ for several years.<sup>489</sup>

### 7.2.3. Homewood

The *Homewood Development Scheme* was commenced in mid-1940, taking in some 2500 acres of the Ngapuketerua and Te Maipi blocks, in a dry coastal situation between Riversdale and Flat Point, where the land was second class, undeveloped hill country. Once again, Tony Walzl has given a full account of the development scheme’s rise and fall in his twentieth-century land overview sec 2Eiv, 3Bii, and 3Cii. An additional overview appears in the report of Field Supervisor J.H. Flowers written in 1958.<sup>490</sup>

The land was described in 1952, twelve years after the scheme began, as falling into three categories:

- (a) The hilly NW portion of roughly 750 acres which lies West of the main ridge which runs parallel to the coast. The land is for the greater part covered in light scrub. It is watered by the Kaiwhata river and one stream. The country is fairly steep and broken but similar surrounding country is carrying reasonably good pasture.

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<sup>487</sup> AJHR, 1939, G-10, 56, 58.

<sup>488</sup> AJHR, 1940, G-10, 47.

<sup>489</sup> AJHR, 1947, G-10, 11.

<sup>490</sup> Also quoted at length by Walzl in, ‘Overview’, 260-61. Flowers’ comments from that report are incorporated into the present report’s narrative.

- (b) From the main ridge eastward to within about sixty chains of the road is an area of approx. 2900 acres with an easterly aspect sloping from 1250 to 100 ft above sea level. A feature of this area is a series of parallel spurs and gullies running roughly east and west. Toward the north the tops of the ridges are somewhat flattened and there is a fairly extensive area of workable country, but to the south the land is broken.
- (c) Finally there is the land lying along the road and between the road and the sea. The low hills are somewhat clayey and where the surface is reasonably flat tile drainage would be of value in intensive farming operations. The portion which could be described as stream flats—that is the whole of the flat land is highly fertile.

Only small areas of the land are outside the category of moderately fertile so that it is contour rather than quality which limits the farming activities. Almost the whole area apart from stream flats requires lime and phosphates and given this pastures will establish and hold. There was little evidence of serious erosion, shallow slips being more the types experienced in this class of soil.

As has been indicated the front portion of this block consists of very good land which is suitable for intensive farming....

There is in the vicinity of 400 acres of undeveloped land which could be worked with heavy machines and I think the development of this should be put in hand. Over much of the balance there seems to be no alternative but to cut scrub, oversow and topdress to bring the country into production. If cultivation is carried as far up the ridges and valleys as machines will work this will tend to open up the country to stock and thus achieve progressive improvement. This is not easy country to work and spectacular results such as is obtained in lighter country will not be produced here....<sup>491</sup>

This assessment presented a much more positive picture than that given only the next year by another official and those which followed as the scheme was shut down later in the same decade. He did not, for example, mention the uselessness of a large portion to the scheme, nor the reversion problem.

The intention in creating the Homewood scheme was to provide employment for the couple of dozen unemployed Maori men in that vicinity, who were then drawing ‘sustenance’ with Flowers already having had a gang scrub cutting at

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<sup>491</sup> District Officer JJ Dillon to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs, 11 December 1952. AAMK 869/1437d. Quoted in Walzl, ‘Overview’, 253-54.

Homewood for some time. However, almost immediately there was an issue as to whether it cut across the immediate owners' use of at least some of the land for planting their own vegetables.<sup>492</sup> The actual situation as reported was that no-one had been barred from sufficient ground to grow 'their own requirements', and that there were some Maori living on the scheme lands who had lands fenced off around their homes, 'but no attempt appears to have been made to grow anything'.

There are two areas which were ploughed and cultivated by the scheme on which about four families are growing potatoes and vegetables and a further area was cultivated and passed over to the school for vegetable growing by the children and on this piece seed potatoes and manure were also supplied.<sup>493</sup>

The allegations of exclusion had, it was said, arisen when one individual wanted to benefit personally from the scheme's resources and work. The field supervisor stated that the Maori at Homewood had not in fact ever grown their own vegetables. They had 'a surplus of horses', but in his opinion wanted the scheme to do everything for them, even carting their firewood. Such claims and counter-claims were a continuing feature.

The scheme at that time in 1942 had eight owners' families living at Homewood, with five or six men usually working on the scheme, which does not sound much like the couple of dozen unemployed men intended two years previously. The total area ploughed and cultivated as a garden was a bare acre, but even this was on scheme land and worked with scheme tractor and equipment.

The scheme's development was hindered by the war with shortages of manpower and resources. Flowers commented that: 'The war was a severe blow to the Scheme as some of the young men went to the War and others migrated to the towns for more lucrative employment.' The shortage of labour was chronic, such that by 1951 only the manager was on the land, even the tractor driver having been lured away by the high wages available from shearing work.<sup>494</sup>

By 1946, the Homewood scheme ran sheep and cattle. Some 450 acres were thought suitable for cultivation and cropping, while 550 acres were better suited to

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<sup>492</sup> Under-Secretary to Registrar, 20 October 1942. AAMK 869/1437C.

<sup>493</sup> Field Supervisor to Registrar, 27 October 1942. AAMK 869/1437C.

<sup>494</sup> Registrar to Head Office, 26 November 1951. AAMK 869/1437D.

trees than pasture. A small amount of scrub cutting and breaking up of worn out pasture was undertaken, but more would be done as labour became available.<sup>495</sup>

In 1952, twelve years after the scheme had been commenced, the difficulty of the land overwhelmed the resources the government was prepared to sink into the scheme. The District Officer advised the Under Secretary that he considered further work on the scheme should be abandoned as uneconomic:

Development has been confined mainly to the Ngapuketuru sections and the pastures there are quite well maintained. A certain amount of development of the Te Maipi 7A1, 7A2 and 7B2 Blocks has been carried out. The major portion of the balance of the Scheme lands are very broken and I share the opinion of the Director of Land Development that it would be too costly to attempt any further development works on this Scheme. There may be parts of the balance area that could be developed but it would not be economic to attempt any further development at present and may be for some years to come.<sup>496</sup>

There were now no longer any Maori in the area for the development scheme to benefit directly, District Officer Robertson reporting in 1956 that: 'Settlement has been considered but there are now few Maoris at Homewood and so far as can be ascertained not suitable for settlement.'<sup>497</sup> I note an example of this leaving of Homewood in the evidence of Patricia Arohanui Bolstad when she states that her parents took their family from Homewood/Okautete into Masterton in 1945 so that the children could attend what they thought were 'better schools' and that they could be provided with 'more resources'. They were one of the first families to move into Masterton from Homewood and were a 'halfway house' for the other families that followed suit. She comments:

The families were moving into town for work, the husbands were losing their jobs shearing and parents wanted better education for their children.<sup>498</sup>

As owners decided that they would rather take back the scheme lands and lease it out privately, further thought was given by District Officer Apperley in 1958 to reasons why the scheme was difficult to run, these included the state of the land and its location:

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<sup>495</sup> AJHR, 1946, G-10, 26.

<sup>496</sup> District Officer to Under Secretary, 8 May 1952. AAMK 869/1437D.

<sup>497</sup> Quoted in Walzl, 'Overview', 255.

<sup>498</sup> Patricia Arohanui Bolstad, 'Brief of Evidence' (2004) Wai 863 #D15, para 7.

Major development work ceased [in 1953] ... and since then development of the existing area only has been maintained. The undeveloped portion of the scheme, which is mainly broken to steep hills of poor quality with a few patches of easy flat land, is covered mainly in heavy titree and on present day costs, it would not pay to develop this country, mainly because of the uneconomic cost of fencing isolated ploughable areas....

Another area of the scheme lands consisting of 743 acres ... which is situated in another watershed is only of use for an adjoining owner. No stock has been run on it during the currency of the scheme. Because of this the area is being offered in a separate lease so that adjoining owners can tender for it without having to tender for the main scheme area.<sup>499</sup>

Flowers advised that concerning Te Maipi 9B the block was so infertile and had reverted so much from what it had been as to be:

totally unsuitable for practical development purposes. The contour is from fairly steep to steep and broken, the easier fern slopes have stone outcrops and are unworkable. It has some grazing value to an adjoining owner who could limit fencing.... However, I consider the best use the land could be put [to] is afforestation together with the unworkable parts of Te Maipi 9A and approx 2000 acres of reverted European or Crown land to the North.

At the turn of the century all this country was in grass and possibly carried up to 1½ sheep per acre which would have justified the unimproved value of some 30/- per acre. However owing to reversion Te Maipi 9B was worth nothing like this sum in 1939 and I would not have placed more than 10/- per acre on this particular block, more likely 7/6.

From this evidence it can be seen that the Homewood lands were broadly in better condition at the turn of the century than they became by the mid-twentieth century due to the advances of gorse and scrub. Their 'sufficiency' to support local Maori thus appears to have actually diminished in that time. Related to this is the fact that the local Maori actually ceased to be 'local' and moved away, to go to war or to seek alternative, urban employment. The problem was therefore spiralling. The labour shortage contributed to the difficulty of maintaining the land; the difficulty of the work on the land and the poor return from it contributed to the decision to move away.

Having said that, though, it is clear that the land was far from easy to deal with at the outset. Both Te Maipi 9B and parts of 9A were 'unworkable', not just because of reversion but because of natural infertility, steepness, brokenness and rockiness.

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<sup>499</sup>

District Officer to Head Office, 23 January 1958. AAMK 869/1438B.

That was a characteristic of much of the land in that district, as Flowers' final comment indicates. Dillon's more positive assessment of the scheme lands in 1952 still noted that overall it was 'not easy country to work' and that the fertile lands were the flats, which did not comprise a high proportion of the scheme.

### **7.3. Native/Maori Trustee Operations**

Apart from the Native Affairs Department's small land development schemes, the Native Trustee ran two also, one being by a very great margin the biggest Maori land holding in the inquiry district since Nga Waka-a-Kupe was broken up after 1920.

#### **7.3.1. Aohanga Station**

The Mataikona region had been reasonably extensively settled in pre-European times due to the area being rich in kai moana, with prominent and extensive reefs, as well as 'extensive fertile river flats' on the Mataikona and Owahanga rivers, as well as the Akitio a little further north. It was therefore an obvious choice to be reserved from the Castlepoint purchase as an important food resource.<sup>500</sup> G Matthews describes in detail (paras 43ff) the various sites of importance along the Mataikona/Owahanga coastline. He also notes that the Takapuwai and Puetewai reserves, sought for 'a good number of years' to be reserved by the owners, were eventually set aside by the Crown in a grant that created Aohanga 5 sections 6 and 7. However, these were then alienated by perpetual lease, leaving them of minimal use to their owners.<sup>501</sup>

In the early twentieth century, Mataikona 1, 2 and 3, totalling roughly 18,000 acres, were leased to a settler H. Hume for rental of £1200. With six years to run on that original lease, some of the owners renegotiated the rent up to £1900, but this was rejected by Kuku Karaitiana and others who wished to have it cut up for closer settlement by Maori.<sup>502</sup> This did not happen, though, and Maori remained in actual

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<sup>500</sup> George Ngatiamu Matthews, 'Brief of Evidence' (2004) Wai 863 #?E38, paras 8-12.

<sup>501</sup> Matthews, 'Brief', para 71.

<sup>502</sup> Karaitiana to Carroll, 31 December 1907. MA 1/1907/846.

occupation of only a small portion of the area. Hume's leases remained in force until the end of the 1920s.

The Aohanga Station remained in Maori ownership as Maori freehold land through the twentieth century, although leased out to Pakeha farmers by the Native Trustee. Of its 17,723 acres, 907 were reserved for the use and occupation of the owners, while the balance of 16,816 was leased. In 1917, a proclamation made under the Native Land Act 1909 prohibited alienation except to the Crown. In July 1922, the Commissioner of Crown Lands recommended that the Crown should take no action to acquire and subdivide the property. In 1929, he reiterated that advice because of the high cost it would involve, but he also recommended that the prohibition on alienation be removed.<sup>503</sup>

The story of the transformation of the Mataikona 1, 2 and 3 Blocks into the Aohanga Station has been told in detail in Walzl, 'Wairarapa Land Issues Overview 1900-2000', sections 2Eii, 3Bii, 3Ciii, 4C and 4Diii and does not require repetition at length here. From the start, though, it should be noted that the station lands were always regarded as marginal, blocks that with proper management could pay their way but would never be a goldmine, as one official commented. It is important to set out in some detail the conditions of these blocks, which goes to the 'quality' and 'sufficiency' issues.

Since the Mataikona 1-3/Aohanga block of land has endured to be the single largest block of Maori-owned land in the Wairarapa by quite a margin, the nature of the land is important to note.

In 1917 Crown Lands Ranger Sutherland reported on the Mataikona blocks in the context of their being considered for a soldier resettlement scheme. Overall, the assessment was quite positive and portrayed the blocks as being well worth acquiring:

Mataikona No 1 comprising some 8257 acres is mostly hilly pastoral land, rising to an altitude of 1300 to 1400 feet above sea level. The hills rise steeply from the sea coast and the Aohanga river. The land is fairly well watered by several small streams and springs, also Aohanga river. There are several small flats along Aohanga Valley road and around the station and old Hotel site, also Native Pah. Several families of natives reside at the Pah, and have small areas cultivated. The land is mostly in Native grass in the hills, with a fair percentage of English on the flats, scrub and fern also heather appear in places. At present scrub-cutting is being done, there being a considerable area felled. The

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<sup>503</sup> AJHR, 1934, G-11, 30.

homestead is situated on this block, also the old Hotel and several native dwellings around the flats near the station.

Mataikona No 2 comprising some 8128 acres is also high hilly pastoral country with little or no land along coast frontage. The hills rise steeply from the coast and have a fair sward of English and native grasses on them. The land is fairly good for about from one to two miles back from the coast. There has been a considerable area of this block cleared of scrub during the last few years, and the land is looking well. The land is not quite so high in altitude as Block No 1. There is a fair area of easy to flat land along the Waipawa stream and Mataikona river.

Mataikona No 3 comprising some 1685 acres is mostly easy hilly land, with a fair area of flat near the mouth of the river and along the river bank. There is also several native houses in the flats at the mouth of the river, and some small areas of cultivation. This block is in fair order and fairly clear of scrub, having been recently cleared. The grass is good native with a fair proportion of English grass. There is a large sand face fronting the sea, which shifts with the winds. Marram grass appears to have been planted near Mr Hume's new dwelling house, which is situated on this lot on coast fronting the sea.

The Mataikona Blocks in my opinion are 2<sup>nd</sup> Class pastoral land, and only suitable for subdivision into fairly large areas, say from 1800 to 2500 acre lots or Pastoral holdings, owing to the want of flats along its coast frontage, and poorer nature of the back country, the land along the coast and back to the centre range running through the block is good and of fair quality, and might be termed as 1<sup>st</sup> Class. The frontage to Aohanga Valley road is fair, but lighter in quality, having rotten rock outcropping along the face of the hills, that portion of the land along the Mataikona river and Waipawa watershed is good and fairly easy in the valleys, but steep on faces. On the whole the land is in very fair order carrying a strong growth of Native and other grasses, and a very large amount has been spent during the last few years in clearing and grassing and fencing etc.<sup>504</sup>

Ranger Sutherland valued the blocks too, assigning a value of £4 per acre, £33,028 total value to Mataikona 1, £6 per acre, £48,768 total value to Mataikona 2, and £8 per acre, £13,480 total value to Mataikona 3.

Another soldier re-settlement report in 1922 noted the isolation of the area, that care needed to be taken that each section of any subdivision had access to water, the fragile nature of the country's farmable condition, the limited possible uses for the

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<sup>504</sup> Sutherland to Commissioner of Crown Lands, 18 January 1917. MA-MLP 1 1916/95. Quoted in Walzl, 'Overview', 57-58.

area, and again that it required large areas to be economic, although much smaller than Sutherland had recommended:

Owing to distance from markets all stock have to be sold as stores therefore larger areas will require to be allowed for so as to give settlers a reasonable chance of making a success of their undertaking and in my opinion no section should be of lesser area than eight hundred acres....

The land is in my opinion such that if not farmed strictly in accordance with the rules of good husbandry, it will rapidly go back in value.<sup>505</sup>

The opinion that seems to have been accepted is Sutherland's, that the land was only second-class, for pastoralism, and suitable only for division into blocks of 1800-2500 acres. In 1928, it was noted, too, that Mataikona 1E was a papakainga and should not be acquired.<sup>506</sup>

The last lease was due to expire on 28 February 1930, with a rental of £1750 per annum. However, it became apparent to the Maori owners that the current lessee was deliberately running the property down as (a) he wished to renegotiate a new lease at a lower rental, and (b) he was free to act in this way as the existing lease contained no compensation clause. Lacking the ability themselves to reinstate the land and not wishing to have to re-lease the land at the correspondingly low rental, the Maori owners therefore asked the Native Trustee to step in to prevent further deterioration of the property. In September 1929, the Head Supervisor for the Native Trustee, CF Jacobs, inspected the station and found that 'the block compares very favourably with other land in this district'.<sup>507</sup>

It is typical coast country, being high and healthy.... Behind this belt of good country runs a belt of very poor land which has the appearance of having been burnt and not grassed ... probably 2000 acres of this class of country, the balance of the block along the north end and back range is fair quality and would pay to bring in portions of it being 2 sheep [per acre] and the great part 1 sheep. The flats are mostly of very fair quality and would respond well to treatment, the greater portion of these, however, are included in the Reserves.

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<sup>505</sup> George Glacken report, 12 July 1922. MA-MLP 1 1916/25. Quoted in Walzl, 'Overview', 165.

<sup>506</sup> Walzl, 'Overview', 166.

<sup>507</sup> Jacobs to Native Trustee, 24 September 1929. MA-MLP 1 1916/95. Quoted in Walzl, 'Overview', 171-73.

However, the contour of the land itself aside, indeed it had been allowed to run down. The buildings were old and would shortly need replacement. Jacobs was unimpressed:

Generally speaking the property is in a disgraceful condition, buildings are old and require considerable repair. Fences practically all require rebuilding. Some of the handy front paddocks have been allowed to go back to gorse and practically two thirds of the entire property has been allowed to revert to manuka and tauhinu. It speaks well, therefore, for the quality of the country when it is able to carry the present number of stock in its present condition. The property appears to have been going back for the last ten years and the lessee, Mr Hume, is fortunate in not having to pay compensation for allowing the place to get into its present state. However, a large part of the property is of good quality and is too good to allow to revert altogether to weeds and rubbish. Owing however, to the large area and capital outlay required, there are very few people prepared or able to lease it.

There were Maori present there:

There are also a number of native buildings situated on the reserves—about 7 on the north end of No 1 block and about 5 on the south end of No 3 block. These however are mostly occupied by the Natives.

Some of these owners had suggested that they might reoccupy portions of the flat land and start dairying, but Jacobs thought this would only pick the eyes out of the larger block and make it harder to do anything with it.

Jacobs recommended that the only way the station could be saved for the Maori owners was to form a trust (under the Native Trustee) to take it over. He estimated that £40,000 would be needed to restock the property and another £25,000 would be required within the first five years to make the necessary improvements. However, that level of improvements in itself would increase the station's carrying capacity by probably two-thirds. It would require £7600 per annum to run the station but he thought this would be offset by a gross annual income during the first five years of £12,500. The Maori owners should continue to be paid £1750, what they were earning from the present rental. The ultimate object would be to enable the owners to take the land back in such a condition that they could farm it themselves.

Empowering legislation was therefore included in the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1929 and the Native Land Court duly made an order vesting the control and management of the station in the Native Trustee for the beneficial owners, provided the Native Trustee undertook to pay to the owners, for

a period of five years, a sum equivalent to the rent they had been receiving under the lease. This was duly done and Jacobs took over supervision, with a Pakeha manager and shepherds staffing the property. The Maori owners contributed labour for the shearing and crutching. In March 1930, the station received a government valuation of £62,924.<sup>508</sup>

An arrangement provided for in s 64 of the Native Purposes Act 1931 allowed the Native Trustee to continue to pay the equivalent of the old rental until the heavy advances he had had to outlay were recouped. The initial clearing of manuka and tauhinu which covered ‘practically the whole area’ was done by ‘a splendid burn’, and the unemployment workers were used on further areas. However, clearing soon slowed drastically as it was found impossible to get the labour to do the work, even in the midst of the Depression.<sup>509</sup>

By 31 May 1934, the Native Trustee had expended some £140,652 on capital and maintenance on the station. This was all expended under the direction of Jacobs alone, without consultation with various experts from other departments. The Unemployment Board had seen an opportunity to relieve its problems with unemployment in Wellington City and had reached an arrangement with the Native Trustee whereby 471 men were employed during the winter of 1931 on scrubcutting and clearing tauhinu on 4000 acres of Aohanga. This was ultimately a bad deal for the station, as Jacobs warned, but the Native Trustee complied reluctantly simply in order to assist the Unemployment Board. The gross cost was £18,160, of which £5500 was allowed as a free grant but the balance of £12,660 remained as a four-year loan at 3% pa. The net cost to the Native Trustee was £3 3s 3d per acre. Even this was vastly excessive, costing nearly three times the going rate of 22s 6d to 25s per acre.<sup>510</sup> On the face of it, therefore, the station at this time, rather than providing additional work for local Maori, involved them as owners subsidising the government’s efforts to relieve unemployment in Wellington.

Because of the huge outlays, including the additional costs such as the unemployment scheme, when even the Treasury turned him down for additional credit the Native Trustee was reduced to borrowing a further £17,000 from Dalgety and Co, a stock and station agency, in order just to meet his obligations to the ordinary

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<sup>508</sup> AJHR, 1934, G-11, 30.

<sup>509</sup> AJHR, 1936, G-10, 43.

<sup>510</sup> AJHR, 1934, G-11, 30.

beneficiaries, ‘even though rents and interests due to these beneficiaries had actually been received by him and had become part of his Common Fund’.<sup>511</sup> He did pay out the rent owed—£6397 in total by mid-1934—but the road to profitability was a long one. In the year ended May 1931 the station lost £8273 and in 1932 £7554, but by 1933 wool prices were starting to improve and the station’s losses became profits of £6927 in 1933 and £9374 in 1934. It appears too, that the borrowing from Dalgety’s on the Aohanga stock was not just to meet the obligations here, but because the Government and Treasury had refused to meet the Native Trustee’s requests for additional funding generally, and he was thrown back on his own resources.<sup>512</sup> The Aohanga station thus also assisted in funding the running of the Native Trust Office at this time.

The Native Affairs Commission concluded: ‘There seems no reason why this property should not be satisfactorily held and developed for the Native owners, provided prices remain at remunerative levels.’ It emphasised that trading risks were being run with it. However its main comment was directed to the station’s effectiveness as a means of providing employment for the local Maori:

It is also plain that sheep-runs do not provide employment for many Natives, and ... they are not apt for settling many Natives on the land.<sup>513</sup>

This finding, of course, ran directly counter to the Unemployment Board’s sole answer for the problem of employment amongst Maori, to place them back on the land as farmers and, given the nature of much remaining Maori land, sheepfarmers at that.

The problems facing the Native Trustee’s managers in trying to rescue the station have also been mentioned in W Wright’s evidence, beginning with the need to hunt down and gather in the wild cattle prior to beginning on the scrub cutting of the manuka. He says there were 660 men involved and that they came from all over the North Island to get work.

Two pack teams of 25 horses carted food out to the scrub camps where the men ate, slept and cut scrub. If there wasn’t enough food, the shepherds drove the sheep out to the scrub camps and killed them as the cooks needed them. Every now and then they’d come across a wild cow or bull that Bob’s crew had missed and they’d slaughter them for food as well.

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<sup>511</sup> AJHR, 1934, G-11, 31.

<sup>512</sup> AJHR, 1934, G-11, 146.

<sup>513</sup> AJHR, 1934, G-11, 31.

Once all the manuka had been cut, it was burnt off. Thousands of acres had been cut, which meant that for a month or so every autumn we lived in a cloud of smoke.<sup>514</sup>

As to the running of the Native Trustee's Office on these land development and management schemes through the early 1930s, the Native Affairs Commission was very critical of the people appointed to the tasks thrust upon the Office by government policy:

In the past, we think it plain that the Native Trustee has not been adequately equipped to manage and control large farming operations.

The persons responsible before the Native Land Settlement Board took control of farming expenditure from the beginning of 1933, were the Native Trustee, the Deputy Native Trustee, and the Chief Supervisor. The office of Native Trustee has been filled by the late Judge Rawson, and for a short time by Chief Judge Jones [who was simultaneously Native Under Secretary]. We think that a Judge, however experienced and learned he may be, is not fitted by his training to control a large farming business. The Deputy Native Trustee, Mr King, is a departmental officer who claims no knowledge of farming. He, too, is not fitted by his experience to exercise control. The Chief Supervisor, Mr C.F. Jacobs, told us that he laid down the farming policy and saw that the managers carried it out. We inquired into his experience, and we think that he had not sufficient experience to be entrusted with the sole control of the policy required of a trustee conducting large farming operations. We have no doubt that these officers did their best according to their abilities, but we think that their lack of financial prudence has contributed to some extent to the financial embarrassment of the Native Trustee.<sup>515</sup>

The Commission went further in recommending that the confusion of the financial and social roles of the Native Trustee be ended and that he should stick to his core business as a safe investment trustee for Maori financial assets. The generic problem was precisely that of Aohanga: should he pay out to the beneficiaries and allow the farm to go back, or should the investment be protected and the beneficial owners be made to suffer?

It might be of course, that the farming operations of the Native Trustee contributed so largely to the welfare of a large body of Natives that these risks should be run, but the facts are to the contrary. On these large sheep-stations, very few Natives are employed, except for seasonable [sic] occupations such as shearing and crutching. The Native Trustee may, and does, make advances for sustenance to the Native owners against their interests in the land, but the amounts so paid are an accumulating debt

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<sup>514</sup> Wright, 'Brief', paras 51-52.  
<sup>515</sup> AJHR, 1934, G-11, 147.

which must be met before the land can be resumed by them; but, quite apart from this and in any event, the prospect that the Native owners will be able to resume possession and farm as settlers on their own account is very remote. If they were so able, only a few Natives would be benefited.<sup>516</sup>

The Commission's criticisms may have rebounded back on the personnel concerned—and indeed this was around the time of the fall of Ngata and the almost immediate retirement of Chief Judge/Under Secretary R.N. Jones—but the Native Trustee nonetheless continued as manager of the Aohanga Station, and seemingly most if not all of the other properties in his care.

In 1936, there seems still to have been little more labour to continue the clearances. However, since the Native Trustee had taken over, there had been some 50 miles of new fencing, good permanent pasture created, good buildings erected, and full stocking with good quality young sheep and cattle. In the Trustee's first year there had been 9362 breeding ewes and 6638 other sheep; now there were 9500 breeding ewes and 19,891 others. There had been 796 breeding cows and 1278 others; there were now 800 breeding cows and 1073 others. There had been 230 bales of wool produced, resulting in £1983 in income; now there were 674 bales produced, realising £8119, with another 72 bales still in hand. The station was now valued at £108,100, plus £42,500 plant and stock, to give security for the £80,231 still owed to the Native Trustee.<sup>517</sup>

The following year its stock numbers were even further up and gross proceeds were £15,714, but still more could have been done had there been more suitable labour available. Maori unemployed were used whenever possible, but there were seemingly hardly any. No mention was made of why this was, whether a lack of Maori in the district, whether those there were not in need of such employment, or whether they would not work on Aohanga for some reason, was not explained. There were 11 employees and 20 unemployed labourers. One of the owners had been set up on a portion of the block, provided with his own flock of 500 ewes and a new house, 'and it is hoped that under the care and teaching of the Office this Native will make good progress in establishing himself as a sheep farmer'. As to the ongoing payments to the owners, advantage had been taken of the ability under the National Expenditure

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<sup>516</sup> AJHR, 1934, G-11, 147.

<sup>517</sup> AJHR, 1936, G-10, 43.

Adjustment Act 1932 to reduce the payment to them by 20%, but in the December 1936 payment that deduction was 'restored' (presumably meaning that the full annual payment was restored, rather than that the amount lost under the several years of reduction was repaid too). In any case, the accumulated losses incurred by the Native Trustee would be fully recouped from the 1937 year's trading of a gross income of £32,904, and a net profit of more than £8000 would be made, so the Trustee had decided to increase by one-third the rental payment to the owners.<sup>518</sup>

By 1939, the Aohanga Station was still run as: 907 acres reserved for the occupation of the beneficial owners, 16,816 acres of sheep and cattle run by the Native Trustee. The nine years of rehabilitation of the land since it had been taken over had worked well, so that the station was now considered to be at 'a high degree of efficiency'. New accommodation was built for shepherds and significant improvements made to that for shearers. There were 18 employees and 22 unemployment workers. A new development was the ploughing, cultivation and re-grassing of the easy land near the homestead, aiming to grow swedes and allow the making of hay. It was now carrying nearly 26,000 sheep, over 4000 less than previously, but the number of cattle had been increased to 2800. This was aimed at increasing the quality of the flock and allowing self-sufficiency except in rams and bulls. The wool clip was 556 bales, worth £8667, while £4953 had been received from sale of sheep and £6253 from cattle.<sup>519</sup>

Things continued to look up in 1940 after a hard winter had caused feed problems, but the lambing rate went up nonetheless. The sheep were culled hard, 10,321 were sold, of which 6600 were fat wethers. This left 9414 breeding ewes, 10,618 other sheep, and 2535 run cattle. The wool clip was 536 bales, worth £8765, while the station's total receipts were £22,581. The 18 permanent employees had been retained, but the number of unemployment workers had dropped to 16.<sup>520</sup>

After World War Two, Aohanga had a major rabbit problem. In 1947 alone 33,000 were killed without solving the problem. It was operating well, carrying 17,000 sheep, giving a wool clip of 407 bales, and 2500 cattle. Prices were good, with a record price of £15 per head being obtained for a large line of steers. The outstanding debt was still £26,899, but with such prices it was anticipated that the

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<sup>518</sup> AJHR, 1937, G-10, 83-84, 88.

<sup>519</sup> AJHR, 1939, G-10, 62-63, 66.

<sup>520</sup> AJHR, 1940, G-10, 50, 53.

debt could be cleared within another three years. The dividend had always been paid to the owners based on the previous rent, but over the last two years it had been increased by 50%.<sup>521</sup>

At a meeting of owners on 30 June 1954, it was explained that the Maori Trustee no longer had the previous authority to carry on farming the Aohanga Station and that if they wished the present situation to continue they must appoint him to do so for a further period, which they did for a period of two years. At that time, the station had a net credit of about £5500, while there was also £10,000 on fixed-term deposit for one year earning 3%. A further £3500 was held in the Wool Retention Account, which would take two years to retrieve. The Maori Trustee had also agreed to pay from station funds £3000 as a loan to the Tararua Power Board towards the supply of electricity to the station, so that in addition to receiving the electricity the station would receive 4% p.a. interest on the reducing balance of the loan which would be repaid over 15 years. The rabbit infestation had made it impossible to run more than 12,000 sheep for several years but after successful rabbit poisoning the stock numbers were being increased so that by 1956 there would be 2137 cattle and 17,000 sheep, while stock quality was also improving. The net profit for 1953 was £12,000, giving a distribution to owners of £5331, which the owners agreed to increase by 50%.<sup>522</sup>

The owners debated amongst themselves as to if or when it would be suitable for them to take over control of the station themselves. The district officer informed them that the Trustee did not want to remain indefinitely and suggested a transition period of two or three years, leading to the resolution mentioned above. They also appointed an advisory committee. Henry Paoa was granted a 21-year lease at £95 14s 8d of the 238 acres he had been occupying for years, the previous low rental being offset against the improvements he had made. Maata Rautu was given a life-time occupation licence at £213 9s per annum of 425 acres she had already been farming for some time, the same consideration applying to the previous low rental.

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<sup>521</sup> AJHR, 1948, G-10, 9. Unfortunately the amount of the dividend was not disclosed.  
<sup>522</sup> MA 15 1/1821.

The Aohanga Station continued at the owners' wishes under Maori Trustee management with a Pakeha station manager in charge.<sup>523</sup> By the early 1960s, some thought was being given to opening up the beachfront areas of the station for subdivision for coastal holiday homes to provide a cash injection independent of the vicissitudes of normal farming activities. There were in 1962 448 owners holding 1 million shares between them. By 1963 it was reported that of the 17,000 acres, 7000 had reverted to scrub, gorse and tawhinu to the extent that 'it can never be economically recovered', while of the other 10,000 acres a further 7000 acres had scrub, gorse or tauwhinu scattered through them requiring clearing by hand at £3 per acre. The problem of reversion, coupled with perennial difficulties with access, water and feed, made the place hard to operate even for the Trustee's manager.

Forestry then became a remote consideration by the 1960s, the Conservator of Forests advising that: 'Regardless of how the scheme was organized it would remain economically marginal because there is a substantial amount of poor farming land of comparable quality in the Wairarapa but better situated in relation to the local and Wellington markets.' Even for forestry, though, the access difficulties meant that it could be twenty-five years before Aohanga would be in demand for that industry.<sup>524</sup>

By 1970 the work on gorse and fencing meant that there were 8-9000 acres of clear grass and 140 miles of fencing. Now the idea of incorporation of the owners and their resuming control from the Maori Trustee, raised several times previously, reappeared and was voted for by the owners' meeting in October 1971, affirmed a year later and completed with the re-vesting of the land in April 1973.

An assessment of the nature and state of the Aohanga Station was produced by the Wairarapa Catchment Board in 1971. It noted that 'much reversion has occurred in the past twenty to thirty years, paddocks which were in grass having been gradually invaded with scrub', with the less accessible areas having poor pasture and being lightly grazed.<sup>525</sup>

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<sup>523</sup> There was, though, apparently a movement to take over the land once more, which must have remained in the minority for some time. Hepa Mei Tatere states that various independently minded owners, such as returned soldiers 'had proved that they were capable of managing their own affairs and wanted to take control of their own destiny'. It is also pointed out that since there was no opportunity to buy more land in the vicinity, the only option was to take back control of the Aohanga Station. Hepa Mei Tatere, 'Brief of Evidence' (nd) Wai 863 #E25, paras 11-12.

<sup>524</sup> Walzl, 'Overview', 396.

<sup>525</sup> Cited in Walzl, 'Overview', 403.

Today, that inland area is ‘a vast area of reverting bush, scrub, kanuka and gorse with regenerating slave trees of the indigenous bush coming through’.<sup>526</sup> It appears as though it is such difficult country that estimates of its size vary substantially, with Matthews saying it is roughly 9500 acres but Hepa Tatere putting it at about 11,000 acres, which is ‘very hilly and covered in dense bush’, such that this area ‘cannot be farmed today’. Another 4000 acres of the land was planted in pine trees by the Incorporation, presumably in the late 1970s because the trees are now mature and ready to be felled, but they cannot be dealt with as even in the twenty-first century the roads to Aohanga are not adequate to transport the logs out. The Incorporation has increased its holding from the original 18,000 acres to approximately 26,500 acres and there are some 1200 shareholders in the Incorporation.<sup>527</sup>

The problem of labour has continued. Those few owners who actually remained on the land had to be very versatile to cope with the range of farm work. C Kurei’s evidence states that her father is the only owner living and working on Aohanga today, while other workers had to be imported although whanau members were working on other farms. When building their whare tipuna they duly recognised Ngati Porou who have provided Aohanga’s main labour force.<sup>528</sup>

One activity that did bring in some additional income for the people of Mataikona/Aohanga in the mid-twentieth century was agar seaweed, the collection of which involved ‘lots of people’.<sup>529</sup> From D. Power’s brief account, though, that seems only to have lasted for a relatively short period about half a century ago.

### **7.3.2. Tiratu Station**

The 733-acre Tiratu Station, some four miles from Dannevirke and comprising Manawatu No 4D Block (Oliver says it was the Tiratu No 1 Block), was also run by the Native Trustee in the 1930s.<sup>530</sup> One of the two owners, Nireaha Paewae [sic], had been advanced £6000 by the Public Trustee but had defaulted and been declared bankrupt, leading to the Public Trustee threatening to take the place over. Since the

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<sup>526</sup> Matthews, ‘Brief’, para 72-3.

<sup>527</sup> Hepa Mei Tatere, ‘Brief of Evidence’ (nd) Wai 863 #E25, paras 24, 28, 34.

<sup>528</sup> Cheryl-Ann Broughton Kurei, ‘Brief of Evidence’ (2004) Wai 863 #E45, paras 17, 24.

<sup>529</sup> Dick David Power, ‘Brief of Evidence’ (nd) Wai 863 #E24, para 23.

condition of the block as security was rapidly deteriorating, the Native Trustee stepped in to preserve the farm for the owner<sup>531</sup> and in September 1930 took over the mortgage, as well as lending a further £1000. In 1931, the position not having improved and no alternative being viable, the Native Trustee took possession under s 25 of the Native Trustee Act 1930. A Pakeha manager and a farm labourer were placed in charge and casual Maori labour was used for various seasonal tasks. An allowance was paid under court order to the wife of the owner beginning at £10 5s 10d per month but reducing as each child turned 14. In the first year of working, the pastures had run out, no ploughing had been done, and the land had not been top-dressed, so practically no lambs could be fattened off the mothers.

Originally the property was farmed in conjunction with Aohanga Station and its losses were charged against the larger enterprise, on the basis that when Tiratu was developed and running profitably Aohanga would be repaid through two-thirds of Tiratu's profits. This system was maintained for only a few years presumably because the Native Trustee took over the debt to release Aohanga from the additional burden of an entirely separate operation.<sup>532</sup>

By 1936, Tiratu was being used productively for raising fat lambs. The property had been restored by clearing surface timber, stumping, cropping with turnips and rape, and then re-sowing with English grasses. Stock numbers were up to 1900 breeding ewes, 260 others, 65 breeding cows and 78 others, while 41 bales of wool had been produced giving an income of £508. The property was now valued at £11,285 and the stock at £4126, which covered the £12,011 debt to the Native Trustee. Three employees and five unemployed labourers worked on the farm.<sup>533</sup>

In 1938, 1000 fat lambs and 404 ewes were disposed of for £1075, and cattle for £582. The total stocking was 2100 sheep, including 1500 ewes, and 11 cattle, producing 65 bales of wool, worth £863. A tractor was purchased to plough and permanently improve the pasture and allow some sowing with swedes. Stumping was improving the land and its value was now considered high enough that the debt was transferred from a floating account to a fixed mortgage. There were 3 employees and 3 unemployment workers.<sup>534</sup>

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<sup>530</sup> See also Oliver, 'Tararua', sec 1.9.2.

<sup>531</sup> A second owner, Harata Walker, owned a tiny number of shares in the property.

<sup>532</sup> Oliver, 'Tararua', 32.

<sup>533</sup> AJHR, 1936, G-10, 45.

<sup>534</sup> AJHR, 1939, G-10, 63, 66.

The investment in the tractor paid immediate dividends as it was used extensively for 70 acres of ploughing and sowing, cultivation, 90 acres of stumping, 450 acres of top-dressing and eight miles of mole-draining. Over 1200 lambs were raised, of which 743 were sold for satisfactory prices, while the wool clip was 58 bales, worth £846, the farm's total receipts being £2366. Now there were 4 employees and 2 unemployment workers.<sup>535</sup>

After World War Two in 1946 Tiratu seemed to continue running well. Work required was largely maintenance, repairing fencing, resowing 30 acres in grass with rape for fattening 700 lambs, and stumping another 20 acres.<sup>536</sup> By 1950 it was returning a profit of £6940. Through the time it remained under the Native/Maori Trustee's control Paewae was paid £2 5s per week, reduced to £1 for him and £1 5s for his wife when they separated. In 1950, he owned 117,233 shares in Tiratu and the other shareholder, his wife, owned only 400. His payment was then increased to £7 per week and he was given a £100 lump sum, but he died late that year. Although he bequeathed Tiratu to all his children, he directed it be maintained whole in a trust. Europeanised in 1967, it was sold to family members in 1974 for \$53,000.

It should be noted that the family perception of the management of Tiratu is not quite as positive as the government reports suggest. Punga Paewai, Nireaha's son, states that Nireaha had originally borrowed money against his property in order to finance his successful pursuit of an animal husbandry degree in the United States, in Utah. Nevertheless, the Maori Trustee persisted with European managers who apparently implemented Nireaha's innovative ideas. The whanau were obliged to have only minimal contact with their own land for decades, but finally managed to win the contract to shear what were in effect their own sheep. The sale to the brothers took place only after they had made a successful bid to purchase the balance of the family shares and then 'for the very first time were able to set foot on land that was previously theirs'.<sup>537</sup>

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<sup>535</sup> AJHR, 1940, G-10, 51, 53.

<sup>536</sup> AJHR, 1946, G-10, 35.

<sup>537</sup> Paewai, 'Brief', paras 43-45.

## 7.4. Conclusion

The Wairarapa ki Tararua land development schemes thus had very minimal results for local Maori. The small farm/soldier resettlement schemes did not cater for Maori and were not large in scale.

There were only two tiny land development schemes run by the Native Affairs Department for Maori of Wairarapa ki Tararua, Makirikiri and Tahoraiti, together with the larger scheme at Homewood, all in Tamaki-nui-a-Rua, and perhaps one at Pirinoa. The chief reason for this lack of size and scope would appear to be that there was little other Maori land not already alienated by sale or lease to Pakeha and therefore remaining in Maori hands and available for such development.

The biggest success appears to have been the two development schemes run by the Native/Maori Trustee, Aohanga and Tiratu. Both of these were returned to Maori ownership, to an incorporation and a whanau, after having been rescued from reversion, mounting debt and probable loss or worthlessness. However of these Tiratu was basically a one-man farm with no broader impact beyond the owner and his immediate family. It went back to the family over four decades after the Trustee took it over.

Even the very large Aohanga was run for the beneficial owners of the specific land—as the Trustee must have done—and whatever benefits the station returned went to them, rather than to Maori of the entire inquiry district, or even Tamaki-nui-a-Rua. They received an annual income from the dividends the Trustee paid out, and this seems to have been paid at a fair level, but when divided amongst the numbers of owners, now 1200, this dividend cannot have amounted to enough for anyone to live on. In terms of a labour force for the station itself, even under the present Maori ownership the station appears to be too remote and difficult of access to have retained even local Maori as a labour force and they have gone elsewhere, presumably for higher pay and better perceived social opportunities.

## **8. Issue 22.4.10: Viability of remaining land**

**To what extent was the remaining land viable in terms of:**

- **quality**
- **quantity**
- **shape and location**
- **access**
- **title (in the sense that the form of title allowed it to be used in some way, whether to raise capital, for farming, or some other purpose)**
- **infrastructure**
- **Maori cultural use or values?**

This Statement of Issues question corresponds to the Commission Topic C concerning the quality of remaining lands in Maori hands.

### **8.1. Physical Nature of Remaining Land**

#### **8.1.1. Inaccessible and Unusable Lands**

This is another aspect of the issue of land quality, firstly whether anything could be done with a piece of land at all, and secondly whether it was usable—regardless of vegetation, contour or soil type—simply because the owners could not get at it due to the ways in which blocks had been partitioned.

Walzl comments on the state of the blocks in Wairarapa (as opposed to Tararua) at the beginning of the twentieth century:

For a number of blocks by 1900, there was very little utility [sic] for the owners to keep them. This might be because the blocks were too small, too isolated or too marginal in quality.<sup>538</sup>

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<sup>538</sup> Walzl, 'Overview', 71.

He then gives as an example the 500-acre Mangapokia reserve which had originally been set aside from one of the 1853 Whareama Crown purchases. By 1900 only 15 of those 500 acres remained unsold and these were dissipated within a few years. The four owners, who had only just come of age, did not occupy the land, which was leased to a Pakeha neighbour who did use it. Further, there was no road access. 'This block was therefore too small and isolated to use, and the only person who could benefit from its use was the adjoining European farmer who was at the time the lessee.'<sup>539</sup>

Walzl also gives the example of Pahaoa 2 in 1916, where the owners tried to sell the hilly country, but to retain the coastal flatlands.<sup>540</sup>

Further north, Waikopiro 2B2C to the south-east of Norsewood was both land of very poor quality and inaccessible. In 1916, the valuer reported:

This land has no accessible road frontage, and can only be reached through the Field Bros run. The land is undulating to steep and covered at the highest part with bush and on the lower slopes with manuka and tawhini. There are some open patches where the scrub is burnt off, filling up with danthonia and hawke weed. The present carrying capacity of the land is one sheep to 10 acres. Grass will not grow with surface sowing except on the western end and on the high ground after the bush is felled and burnt. The scrub country would require ploughing before grass would take. There is no water on the block except Te Whangi and Mangapuka creeks which form the boundary. About one tenth of the land is bush and [illegible] stunted, manuka [illegible] all the land is cleared and it is ploughable, is ploughed and laid down in English grasses. Estimate the carrying capacity of the block as a whole at one sheep to the acre. I estimate its present all round value at £4 per acre.

The land is uniform in value because the steeper and unploughable part on western end is compensated for by having bush on it which is better soil while the ploughable land is poor soil.<sup>541</sup>

Similarly, in 1927 the Commissioner of Crown Lands reported on Waikopiro B15:

The difficulty regarding the area in question is that it has no access and it is not sufficient by itself for a person to make a living off. It consists of steep and broken country on papa [sic], formerly in forest, but now all clear and in good pasture. It rises to a height of 2050 feet. It is suitable for grazing only and will carry 2 dry sheep to the acre and 20 steers and

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<sup>539</sup> Walzl, 'Overview', 100.

<sup>540</sup> Walzl, 'Overview', 100.

<sup>541</sup> Quoted in Berghan, 'Block Narratives', 429.

heifers during winter and spring. The Field Inspector values the area at £10 per acre.<sup>542</sup>

Then there were blocks that for various reasons were now inaccessible to their Maori owners and thus could not be worked by them. Hinana 2A of 152 acres was leased by James Strang from at least late 1937. In 1961, three years after the lease's expiry and when he could have stopped paying rent if he wished, Strang offered to purchase it at the government valuation of £3000. Any rent would have been only about £150, shared between 75 owners. After a couple of meetings showing it was the owners' clear preference to retain and lease the land, the fact that it was landlocked and unusable except if worked as part of Strang's farm, convinced them to sell for £3800, slightly above g.v. and equivalent to 25 years' rent.<sup>543</sup>

Hinana 1B2 (32 acres, 5160 shares) was sold for £900 in 1961 to Strang's neighbour with the two considerations being, as with Hinana 2A, that the block was landlocked and of use to the neighbouring farmer only. He had leased and farmed it since 1926 at £20 per annum.<sup>544</sup>

Similarly in Te Kawakawa 2A1, near Cape Palliser, Te Ao Hau Te Whaiti was quite ready to sell as the land was also landlocked and unusable by anyone except the farmer wishing to purchase it after many years leasing. Te Whaiti intended to use some of the proceeds to build and furnish himself a house at Martinborough and spend the remainder on purchasing land from the other owners at Okoura to consolidate his interests there.<sup>545</sup>

Once more with Hinewaka 3B, the block of 34 acres, all cultivable, was accessible only across the land of the proposed purchaser, therefore there was no point in seeking other purchasers, by auction for example.<sup>546</sup> As is noted above, this was being sold in conjunction with two other blocks as the owners were in straitened circumstances.

In the Waipuna and Ahirara Blocks on the eastern coast the problems were of both fragmented titles and access. Neither reserve had any legal access. In 1949 they each had 115 owners and by 1969 they had 165 owners. Each owner had but a few shares which were of very little financial value. Their reluctance to sell also derived

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<sup>542</sup> Quoted in Berghan, 'Block Narratives', 437.

<sup>543</sup> MA 15 1/2303.

<sup>544</sup> MA 15 1/2304.

<sup>545</sup> MA 15 1/2426.

from the facts that as a group they had little or no other land, that the lands had given traditional access to the sea, and that Ahirara had an urupa.<sup>547</sup>

By contrast, the Tautane Reserve provides an example of a surfeit of access. As a neighbouring farmer, John Speedy, no longer wished to have the private road giving access to his property interfering with his paddocks, he prevailed on the Porangahau Road Board take by proclamation in 1905 a roadway through the reserve. The Maori owners, requiring the land for their own farming purposes, had already refused to lease to him and thought that the land was already sufficiently cut up with roads. The Native Department did investigate but found that since the new road had already been proclaimed the matter was a *fait accompli* and all they could do was ensure that the Maori owners were fairly compensated.<sup>548</sup>

In reference to a different type of access problem, Robert McLean's work on the inland waterways has indicated that there were some times when the operation of the river board adversely affected Maori land adjoining the river, including blocking access to that land. An example is the erection of the Kahutara stopbank after 1923, partly on Maori land which formed a road access to the Otaupuroaroa and Ti Tipua blocks, and thereby blocking that road. In 1953, an investigation by Judge Jeune in the Maori Land Court found that the Kahutara River Board had built its stopbank without following proper procedures or notifying the Maori landowners. The court concluded:

There is no evidence of any notice being given nor any action taken for compensation ... and it would appear that the River Board carried out its work, (possibly legally) with a reckless disregard of the Court's Orders laying out the access to Otaupuroaroa and Tipua land.<sup>549</sup>

McLean notes, though, that there is no research to indicate the extent to which river protection works, authorised or otherwise, impinged on Maori land or property rights more generally, such as with this access problem.

To turn to considering whether land was usable in itself: in the north, Mangapuaka II was of too poor quality and too heavily covered in scrub to be worth even purchasing by the Crown in 1918. In 1934, Erina Tirikia Nikora sold a Mangatoro block partly because it was costing her more to keep than she could derive

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<sup>546</sup> MA 15 1/2332.

<sup>547</sup> Walzl, 'Ngai Tumapuhia', 85.

<sup>548</sup> Berghan, 'Block Narratives', 307-10.

<sup>549</sup> Reserved decision of Judge G.J. Jeune, 22 May 1953. Quoted in Robert McLean, 'Wairarapa Twentieth Century Environmental Overview Report: Inland Waterways' (2002) Wai 863 #A41, 30.

in income from it. Mangatoro 1A3C4 was sold in 1961 because the block was landlocked and covered in scrub, while it could be of value to an adjoining farmer only. Mangatoro 1A3C5 and 7 were also sold in the 1960s because they were scrub covered and of too poor quality to be readily usable.<sup>550</sup> Walzl has noted that the Part Pahaua and Wilson's Block was of interest to a Pakeha purchaser only because it was an adjacent property, while Maori reserved lands were often not economically viable to farm as separate units. He gives the example first of Te Unu Unu where it was said in 1914 that a European farmer would not be able to farm the reserve as a separate unit and that its only value was as part of the surrounding Cameron station. Another example was where the Riddifords noted that Wharaurangi was not an economical farm property on its own account, largely because it was completely surrounded by the Glenburn Station.<sup>551</sup>

Rabbits were a problem in Masterton County and some sections of the Te Maipi Native Reserve required immediate attention. However, rather than the Department of Agriculture disposing of them through its rabbiters, the Secretary understood that the Maori owners of Te Maipi were 'well to do'. He therefore asked the Native Department for the names of the owners of the respective sections as it was intended that they should be required to carry out the destruction work themselves.<sup>552</sup>

However, as a general principle, ratepayers paid for rabbit control through rabbit boards created specifically to deal with the pests. It may be that what was thought here—although there is no such statement explicit or detectable in the document—was that the Maori landowners were not paying rates and could therefore be expected to deal with their own problems. Apart from any question of rating, and the Department of Agriculture seems to be thought here to have the responsibility, such an attitude would have been incredibly short-sighted as any breeding ground for rabbits would simply render it impossible for the animals to be eradicated from neighbouring properties within a district. In any case, given that there were government rabbiters available, unless there were at that time no general provisions for overall eradication, any reason for singling out Maori landowners for refusal of assistance with rabbiting seems similarly short-sighted, or penny wise but pound foolish given the community's need for total eradication.

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<sup>550</sup> Oliver, 'Tararua', 28.

<sup>551</sup> Walzl, 'Ngai Tumapuhia', 54.

<sup>552</sup> Ritchie to Under Secretary, Native Department, 19 February 1907. MA 1/1907/200.

We have noted several comments in official reports concerning Wairarapa—not Tararua—that the Maori there were well to do, and thus not in need of government assistance for rabbiting or medical care. Some Wairarapa Maori were certainly not destitute. The lawyer for the lessor of Hinewaka 3A2 and 3 in 1942 told the Native Land Court that his client was a shearing contractor and that this work together with his rents provided him with ‘an ample livelihood’. This man liked his lessees the Strangs so much that he was prepared to reduce their rent from 25s to 15 s per acre for three years in 1932 when the Native Trustee as mortgagor refused to agree to a reduction below 22s 6d for two years. In 1942, he set the rent at £1.<sup>553</sup>

Scattered throughout these files are accounts and letters from various businesses seeking payment as promised by individuals from the amounts held for them. The standard response was that the Maori individuals were unable to assign their interests in Native lands, that the Board would not recognise accounts incurred without its prior authority, and that therefore the creditor had to look back to the individual for payment.

Then there was the related issue of lands being purchased privately by lessees, which may have amounted, at least in part, to a recognition that the land concerned was inaccessible to, and unusable by, anyone other than the lessee. As is apparent from studies of the inquiry district, many lessees built up long-term, family relationships with the Maori owners of the land, and were able to pass the lease down in the family also. Walzl observed this pattern in the Wairarapa district.<sup>554</sup> Oliver has also noticed that in the Tararua district: ‘Long term purchasing sometimes took place over generations ... with children purchasing land which had been leased by their parents.’ He gives the examples of the Wrenn family, amongst others, accumulating leasehold land converted into freehold in the Oringiwaiaaruhe, Tahoraiti and Tiratu blocks, and those of Clifton Williams in the Mangapuaka blocks and S.P. Guthrie in the Mangatoro 1A3C blocks.<sup>555</sup> In such a situation there appears often to have been a convergence of both relationship and economic necessity or good sense. The land was often inaccessible because the lessee owned the blocks rendering it landlocked and they alone were able to make any use of it. By the time the proposal was being put to the Board, it was often submitted that there was no way in which the Maori owners

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<sup>553</sup> MA 15 1/2603.

<sup>554</sup> Walzl, ‘Overview 1900-2000’, 102.

<sup>555</sup> Oliver, ‘Tararua’, 20.

could use it, even had they wanted to do so (which was not usually the case). The situation had become one by then of making the best of a bad job and getting what they could for it in order to use the proceeds for other purposes. Of course, the purchase price will have reflected the fact that only the proposed purchaser could make use of it, if only through the government valuation which seems to have been the usual basis for setting prices.

It was possible that the private purchaser in such situations might not be Pakeha, but another Maori, perhaps one of the tribal group buying out the shares of other co-owners. Oliver gives a couple of examples of this happening. John Hape Kani acquired Mangatoro 1A3C7, Tahoraiti 2A18A, Tiratu 2B3 and leased Tahoraiti 2A4, 2A19C and 2C3. Alan Peeti owned Tiratu 2B7 (part) and Tahoraiti 2A13B and leased Tiratu 2B3 and four Kaitoki blocks. In neither case did this list of blocks represent the entire collection of properties farmed by each man.<sup>556</sup> In such cases, the net overall economic position of 'Maori' per se had not necessarily worsened, and indeed by one measure might well have improved if the new individual Maori owner was then able to make a good fist of running a farm that would otherwise have remained fragmented and uneconomic in its separate pieces.

The very large Ngapaeruru Block was valued in 1894 for prospective purchase by the Crown. Crown Surveyor Thomas Humphries inspected the land personally (although without actually walking over some parts of it) and reported:

From two trig stations I obtained a birds eye view of about 30,000 acres of the southern portion of the block and from what I saw am convinced that nothing short of a fortnight of hard work would be required to do it properly.

It is wholly forest clad, and a large portion of it rough, though hardly to be called rugged. A high range which forms the watershed between the Coast and the Manawatu waters runs through the eastern portion of the block, the high part of which would suit for a forest reserve.

The block is for the most part fair sheep country, with but a small proportion, so far as I could see, that would eventually come under the plough, hence it would not command very high prices.

Subdivision 1—Of this, the northern portion was not yet seen by me, but as it abuts on the Manawatu river, where the country is easier, I think 15/- an acre may safely be put down as the selling price....<sup>557</sup>

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<sup>556</sup> Oliver, 'Tararua', 20.

<sup>557</sup> Humphries to Surveyor-General, 10 February 1894. Quoted in Paula Berghan, 'Block Research Narratives of the Tararua 1870-2000' (2002) Wai 863 #A39, 136.

The remaining 9 subdivisions he valued at either 12s 6d and 15s, apart from No 3, which he described as ‘very fair’ and worth at least £1 per acre. These, though, were what he thought the selling prices would be. As regards what Maori should be given for the lands, he commented: ‘It will be perfectly safe to offer the usual third of the selling prices given, as mine if anything are under the mark.’ He had heard that there was totara on the block and decided that this would likely be on 1, 2 and 3 near the Manawatu River and therefore raise their values. Overall, he thought the block ‘fair grazing country, in some parts very good though hilly’, and recommended the Crown acquire it for settlement.

Humphries’ report indicates (a) the low value of the land as it stood, (b) that the low quality of the land was compounded by the block being entirely covered with forest, (c) that nevertheless he thought the land of ‘fair’ grazing quality, presumably once it had been cleared, and (d) the low amount Maori received from the sale of the lands. Even at the end of the nineteenth century, there was a significant gap between the purchase price paid by the Crown and the selling price paid by prospective settlers, just as there had been since the 1840s. Crown purchasing proceeded thereafter. As is discussed above, the Stout-Ngata Commission found only a little over 4000 acres remaining in Maori ownership a decade and a half later, and half of that was already leased or being negotiated. The remaining holdings were small, of a few hundred acres at most.

## **8.2. Infrastructure: Roading and Communications**

While the development of a community infrastructure benefits all, those who are least able to pay for alternatives or otherwise mitigate the consequences of lack of such an infrastructure will suffer most from any failure to provide one.

The possibility of linking Wairarapa with its provincial capital was under consideration by the 1860s. Cobb and Co were by then offering a daily coach service between Masterton and Wellington, initially for £1 each way and then in 1868 for 10s. Any railway could largely follow the route of the bridle track turned coach road, coming from the top of the Hutt Valley across the Rimutakas, but others proposed turning off at Petone, crossing to Wainuiomata and then following the old coastal path, or alternatively turning north at Wainuiomata and by travelling north also cross

the Rimutakas near Wairongomai. Although those routes not servicing the Hutt were doomed anyway, all these schemes were repeatedly shelved as it was not believed possible to construct railway tunnels of the necessary six miles in length.<sup>558</sup>

The northern Wairarapa had some rail access in the later nineteenth century from the two ends of the Wellington-Napier railway inching towards each other. It was not until the Liberals in the 1890s funded the development that they finally met in 1897 when the Eketahuna to Woodville section was completed with the construction of the bridge over the Manawatu River near Woodville.<sup>559</sup>

The roads remained sparse and poor in northern and coastal Wairarapa through the mid-nineteenth century. It was not until 1865 that there was a serious effort to connect Hawkes Bay with Wairarapa by road. Such roads as there were in southern Hawkes Bay were constructed by the pastoralists to carry wool to the coast, like that built by J.D. Ormond and others to give access from Wallingford to Blackhead. On the Wairarapa coast, the coastline itself was used as a highway and as early as 1854 regulations were gazetted to establish a series of ferries on the dangerous rivers. Wool was shipped out, but 'muttons' for the Wellington meat works were driven down the coast until well into the 1880s. In 1880, one landowner from Herbertville, near Cape Turnagain, asked the Waipawa County Council that his rates be reduced as the roads which the council had constructed were useless to him as he lived on the coast.<sup>560</sup> After 1876, the construction of roads was in the hands of local authorities and depended on rate income. Often large landowners would contribute themselves so as to speed the process of gaining access to their own properties. Until the 1930s, the road from Dannevirke to the coast remained only a clay track and the roads of Akitio County remained in a relatively poor state well through the twentieth century. In the inter-war period, road access remained so bad that the farmers at Akitio garaged their cars at TiTree Point, seventeen miles inland, and rode to the station on horseback. Wright has also commented that the Akitio 'road' was:

a clay track that was dusty in summer and impassable in winter. This meant that Akitio was blocked in for the season. The road men would live in a caravan ... and would spend all winter slowly shifting the slips off the road with their wheelbarrows so that by summer time it was usable once more.

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<sup>558</sup> Ross, 'Small Farms', 101.

<sup>559</sup> McBurney, 'Land Alienation Overview', 173-174.

<sup>560</sup> Evans, 'Possession', 60-61.

It was hard to get in and out of Akitio, so we lived off the land and were reliant on traders to come into [sic] us.... The coastal ships visited regularly over the summer months, which was good as it meant the whanau out there had some regular groceries.<sup>561</sup>

Prior to the advent of developed road and rail links, there were two choices of transport: by horse to the nearest coaching point along the single main road, or, on the coast, by one of the little steamers that piled the coast between Wellington and Napier. There was no port, of course, so these steamers also had to stand off the coast while lighters ferried passengers and cargo, especially wool, out to them and mail and supplies in from them. This system was necessary for most coastal stations until the First World War and in some of the more isolated, such as Akitio, until the Second World War. It was during this era that roads were developed that allowed motorised transport, cars and trucks, to penetrate further into the rural countryside.

Telegraph services did make one form of modern communication available in the mid-1860s relatively cheaply. By April 1868 the telegraph lines had even been extended from Masterton as far as Castlepoint.<sup>562</sup> By later in that year, Wellington and Napier were linked. Morse operators were stationed in remote places such as Herbertville, which had had its own post office since 1861. Telephone links were made right at the end of the nineteenth century, such that outlying stations had at least one link with the outside world. Electricity took half a century longer in many places in both the north and south of the district. To the north, places like Akitio were not connected until 1953. In the lower valley, electricity reached Tuhitarata in 1925 and Lake Ferry in 1927 but not until 1953 did it reach Kaiwaru, Te Kopi in 1964 and Cape Palliser lighthouse not until 1966.<sup>563</sup>

The opening up of the northern Wairarapa was expedited by the channelling of Scandinavian immigrants into the Seventy-Mile Bush, to carve out the bush by their own efforts without the government having to pay for the development. Ross estimates that since they were able to create three towns—Dreyerton, Mellenskov/Eketahuna and Mauriceville—they must have been relatively numerous, not less than 300 and possibly as many as 500.<sup>564</sup> Such an influx of a relatively cohesive, culturally distinct group must have had an impact on Maori of the region.

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<sup>561</sup> Wright, 'Brief', paras 22-23.

<sup>562</sup> Ross, 'Small Farms', 101.

<sup>563</sup> Aburn, *Pirinoa*, 99.

<sup>564</sup> Ross, 'Small Farms', 148.

However, Maori are invisible in Petersen's accounts, presumably because the settlements were along a line through the most impenetrable and remote part of the primeval forest, where Maori would have only passed along tracks. The destruction of the bush by the settlers would have had an effect in terms of the removal of the forest resources used by Maori, however, even if there was little personal contact between the groups during the nineteenth century.

Various works by Petersen especially<sup>565</sup> have described the terrible hardship the Scandinavian bush settlers endured, breaking in the forest areas, provided with nothing and largely having to pay for the process themselves while literally starving to death—another chapter of New Zealand's history from which the late-nineteenth century governments come with little credit. To the extent that the work had to be done, the importation of the immigrants to do both it and public works such as road and bridge making through the district, initially seems to have closed another employment avenue for Wairarapa Maori. Nor did they benefit directly from the results at first, except to the extent that they were subsequently able to gain access to cleared farm land for dairying. Indeed, given that the vast forests had been the source of many birds, eels, pigs, honey, rauriki, edible fungi and other resources, they may have lost considerably in traditional terms.

On the other hand, indicating Tararua Maori taking advantage of new employment and income opportunities, Oliver has shown that perhaps from 1861 in one case but at least by the 1890s Maori were participating in the clearances.<sup>566</sup> After 1861, Henare Matua and Ropiha had not objected to a lessee cutting the timber on Mangatoro while two Maori participated in the bush clearing. In 1903, Nireaha Tamaki spoke of clearing the bush on Mangatainoka 1B2C2 and building several houses there to replace the kainga of Te Moreo Tamaihi. In 1893 one of those houses had been destroyed by fire, and the occupant, Huru Te Hiaro, paid some Europeans some £36 to clear 30 acres of bush. At much the same time, Wirihana had cleared at least 30 acres of Mangatainoka 4E2, and Ruhia Tarangi—who appears to have been something of an entrepreneur—had employed Europeans to clear the 30-acre part of the block she lived on and leased to Europeans a site for a timber mill. Oliver discusses several examples of timber leases in the northern district and the Maori expectation of deriving long-term income from the timber through what amounted to

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<sup>565</sup> E.g. Petersen, 'Pioneering', 73-76.

sale of the trees. In Tiratu, for example, a Pakeha leased land on a thirty-year timber lease under which he paid £600 per annum for the first six years, £700 in the seventh years, and £1000 for all subsequent years.<sup>567</sup>

Oliver has also noted the rapid increase in value of the timber in the Tararua district during the quarter century after the Crown purchase of the Seventy-Mile Bush district. In Tiratu, Carlson, the same Pakeha sawmiller mentioned above, opposed a partition in 1898 of the block that would have given all the most valuable timber areas along the Manawatu River to one person. It was the timber, probably totara, that gave that portion its value.<sup>568</sup> Totara also appears to have been valued whereas rimu and matai were not; at least that was what was argued in 1895, but, whether or not that was generally so, in the example Oliver gives it appears have been to the advantage of the prospective lessee to argue this and thus be able to lower the rent.<sup>569</sup> Probably a better gauge is the 1886 parliamentary report noting that the totara forests were the most valuable part of Hawkes Bay timber resources and prominent among them were the 5000 acres of Umutaoroa near Tahoraiti, and the Tamaki forest. Totara was worth between 1s and 2s per super foot whereas ‘ordinary pine’ (i.e. rimu, matai and kahikatea) was sold for only 3d to 6d. Thus one totara forest was valued at £64 per acre, whereas mixed forest was only £5 per acre.<sup>570</sup>

As one of the immigrants, passing north, stayed in Masterton around 1870, he wrote home to Norway that:

The town ... is well provided with hotels and shops; almost anything can be bought here although expensive owing to the goods having to be transported over the hills from Wellington. People appear to be well to do; all have fine clothes and horses, even the Maoris. Meat as usual is cheap, for instance a pig with four or five little ones can be purchased for a few shillings. It is noticeable that people eat meat three times daily.<sup>571</sup>

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<sup>566</sup> Oliver, ‘Environmental Report’, 56-57.

<sup>567</sup> Oliver, ‘Environmental Report’, 58.

<sup>568</sup> Oliver, ‘Environmental Report’, 59.

<sup>569</sup> Oliver, ‘Environmental Report’, 59.

<sup>570</sup> Oliver also notes reports that the extensive devastation of non-totara forest was recognised by some as premature, wasteful, and environmentally harmful as early as an official and authoritative report in 1870 and by later in the century there were warnings that all timber had a value and certainly would by the early twentieth century. Legislation was passed as early as 1874 which could have been used to manage and conserve the forest—although of course to do so would have negated the very purpose of putting the Scandinavian and other settlers in the area in the first place. This, of course, was almost entirely before the Seventy-Mile Bush was obliterated from the map.

<sup>571</sup> Quoted in Petersen, *Forest Homes*, 31-32.

One cannot make too much of this without knowing exactly how many Maori he had seen and who they were, but at least it can be said that some were in town and were not visibly penurious, possibly families such as the Te Korous and Jurys.

The development between 1870 and 1890 of the Seventy-Mile Bush region was dramatic. One contemporary observer in 1891 described it and its effects:

The occupiers have done a great deal of heavy clearing work, the bush throughout the district for a great many miles being exceedingly dense.... This work of clearing has proceeded at a very rapid rate since the extension of the frozen meat trade has enabled the land to be held profitably for sheep grazing.... We saw immense quantities of felled timber awaiting a favourable opportunity for a 'burn' which is of utmost importance to the settler.... After the bush has been burnt off, the land is immediately sown with English grasses and clover, and in a few months afterwards, sheep and cattle may be grazed upon it. I was assured that this land will carry, on average, from three to eight sheep to the acre, all the year round.<sup>572</sup>

This clearance extended from the Mangatainoka Valley in the 1870s to the eastern side of the Puketoi Range in the 1890s, deforesting virtually the entire region.

However, because the native forest had been so lush, further miscalculations were made and the land carved up into small holdings that could not in fact be supported, which were soon uneconomic and abandoned.

Problems facing the new farmers once the pasture had been created included: declining soil fertility, erosion, flooding, reversion to scrub and weeds, and rabbit infestation. Stocking rates needed to be kept high to prevent reversion and this could not be sustained on poorer quality land and where erosion stripped the soil. In 1951, it was reported that for Akitio County it had been known since the 1920s that the hill country could not sustain production because there was little natural fertility beyond the ash of the original bush burns and farms' production was too limited to fund adequate topdressing.<sup>573</sup> In both sheep and dairying areas, therefore, farming was forced to become more, not less, extensive from the late nineteenth century until the advent of aerial topdressing in the 1950s.

The development of roading around the region continued to impact upon Maori communities. In 1879, Wardell reported having undertaken several negotiations in

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<sup>572</sup> W. Copley, 'Report on the Village-Homestead Special-Settlement System in New Zealand' (1891). Quoted in McCalman, 'Population Changes', 24.

<sup>573</sup> McCalman, 'Population Changes', 25.

cases where proposed roads ran through Maori reserves, the title to which had not been determined by the Native Land Court. In each case, he reported that the negotiations had been ‘satisfactory’, which presumably means that Maori had been persuaded to let the road go through, for a suitably economical compensation; he did not say how much.<sup>574</sup>

Travel, commerce and communications around the Wairarapa were hindered in the 1870s and 1880s by the existence of toll gates on the only main road, the north-eastern highway. The Wellington Provincial Council erected a number along this road between Wellington and the Wairarapa from 1871 and along that road in the Wairarapa in 1872, the purpose being revenue gathering for roading and bridge construction. In 1877, there were five on the road, at Kaiwharawhara, the Hutt Bridge, Kaitoke, Featherston and the Waiohine bridge. Over the next fifteen years, those actually within the Wairarapa were located at Featherston, Waihenga (Martinborough), the Waiohine, Te Ore Ore, Tauweru, Hurunuiorangi, Mangamahoe and Ngaawapurua.<sup>575</sup> These toll gates were run by private individuals who paid an annual fee for the franchise, and who then turned a profit on top, so that by 1877 the franchisee in Featherston was paying £660 in rental and that at the Waiohine £860.

Bagnall comments on how ‘wasteful and unpopular’ these toll gates were, often returning less than 50% of the total receipts to the provincial council, or, from 1876, the local county council or road board. One sign of competition between local authorities was in 1881 when the Featherston Highway Board moved its Rimutaka gate to one bank, confronting that of Taratahi-Carterton on the other. By this time some were being removed in the face of community pressure, County East removing those at Tinui and Te Ore Ore in 1883, while the Waiohine and Waihenga gates remained until 1886. Others disappeared slowly, the local bodies reluctant to relinquish any source of income, and the last, at Tawataia on the Alfredton road was maintained by Eketahuna County until World War I.

It is not clear what financial harm these toll gates did to the Maori community specifically. It is apparent that they discouraged travel and commerce, with the early charges being 1d for every sheep, goat or pig, 2d for every pedestrian, 6d for each harnessed horse, and so on, with large vehicles being liable for 1s 6d.<sup>576</sup> It is unclear

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<sup>574</sup> Wardell to Under Secretary, Native Department, 28 May 1879. AJHR, 1879 sess I, G-1, 8.

<sup>575</sup> Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, 431

<sup>576</sup> Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, 431.

whether the fee was charged at each gate along the journey or just once per journey, but such fees would be particularly onerous for those, such as Maori, with less means to pay. People did, of course, avoid toll roads where possible, and the situation mostly lasted less than a couple of decades, applying to both Maori and Pakeha. Still, such fixed levies hit hardest those least able to pay, which very definitely included Maori, and would have discouraged the development of trade with the big market in Wellington.

Land payment problems were not confined to the nineteenth century. In the mid-1950s, a new bridge was completed at Gladstone and a new road was made through the centre of Hurunui-o-rangi Pa to connect with it. Shortly after the bridge was opened, the Maori living at the pa erected a fence across the new road, claiming that they had not been paid for the land. This direct action brought about immediate negotiations with the county council and an agreement was reached within a single day, enabling the prompt removal of the fence.<sup>577</sup> This situation is discussed further by Cathy Marr in her Public Works report, but although the payment issue may have been resolved in the short term, the road's location has been an ongoing grievance.

### **8.2.1. Leased Lands Vested in the Ikaroa Maori Land Board**

The Maori lands that were leased out to Europeans had long been a problem as the leases came to their expiry. This was not merely a nineteenth-century problem. As late as 1940 the Sheep-Farming Commission saw it as a substantial problem that invariably the lands were allowed to run down as the expiry date approached. This would not only cause a problem for the Maori owners but, of greater concern to the Commission, it discouraged the best use of the lands by the tenants, while such lands then posed a 'menace' to neighbouring farms. They asked the government to overhaul the tenures, the terms of the leases, especially where there was little prospect of the Maori owners re-settling on the land. These terms might include more substantial

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<sup>577</sup> Fearon, *Gladstone*, 131.

compensation to tenants for improvements, especially if the lease could not be renewed.<sup>578</sup>

A Royal Commission, chaired by former Chief Justice Sir Michael Myers, appointed to investigate various blocks of Maori land vested in Maori Land Boards, reporting in 1951 identified only one block of such land in the Ikaroa District, and it was within the present inquiry district.<sup>579</sup>

Sections 6 and 7 of Block V, Aohanga Survey District, were vested in the Ikaroa Maori Land Board after the Native Land Act 1909 and leased until 1954 under s 263 of that Act which also provided for compensation for improvements. They totalled only 192 acres and had been rented for £34 annually and then £30 on renewal. At renewal, the unimproved value was £618 while the improvements were valued at £1723. These Ikaroa sections were different from most of the other vested lands in that the Maori owners did not live on or near the land.<sup>580</sup>

The rentals were lower for the second term in each case as they had been renewed subject to a rental reduction imposed by statute in 1932. Once the renewal had taken place, there were further 'substantial reductions' made by order of a Court of Review. Those further reduced rates were still the rentals being paid in the early 1950s despite the country's economic climate having long since improved greatly. Any increase was, naturally, opposed by the lessees, particularly given the looming difficulties over paying them for the improvements; they preferred being given the option to buy the lands through the Board. The Board, though, refused to be involved in a sale to which the owners were opposed; it would, they said, 'look as though the Board were taking steps to confiscate Maori land'.<sup>581</sup>

The Ikaroa Board was the only board to have set aside any funds against the eventuality of having to pay compensation for improvements. A premium of about 25% of the rents was paid to the Government Life Insurance Office for a sinking fund policy to meet a substantial part of that compensation. Even so, the Myers Commission thought it would not be possible to raise from ordinary sources on ordinary terms enough to meet the balance that would then be owed, as well as stocking the land sufficiently for it to be taken over by the Maori owners. The owners'

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<sup>578</sup> AJHR, 1940, H-29a, 6.

<sup>579</sup> As with the development scheme, there were also 1453 acres of the neighbouring Rakatautahi blocks similarly vested in the Ikaroa Board and discussed by the Myers Commission.

<sup>580</sup> AJHR, 1951, G-5, 39-40.

<sup>581</sup> AJHR, 1951, G-5, 42.

individual shares were all too small to allow any one to gain an area large enough for a viable farm.

The Commission thought that the ownership records of these blocks ‘very clearly exemplify the chaotic state into which the ownership of Maori land is rapidly developing with the passage of time’. The interest of each owner was being divided amongst all descendants. The Commission discussed in detail the situation of Rakautatahi 5B, and then pointed out that in the Aohanga sections, the position was similar, with ‘a considerable number’ of the owners receiving less than 2s with each distribution of the rents, which happened only once every two years.<sup>582</sup>

The Maori owners of these two blocks made it clear to the Commission that their desire was to have the land back in their own possession, so that they could farm it themselves, or that it should be farmed for their benefit. This would, of course have entailed paying the lessees the compensation due them, a very significant hurdle to be overcome. The Commission heard evidence around the country opposing the return to Maori of the various vested lands, but they had seen with their own eyes that many Maori were proving excellent farmers, noticeably superior to many Pakeha. It was rather, they thought, ‘substantially a matter of training and experience and there is no reason why the Maori farmer given encouragement and advice should not make a complete success of his farming operations if he has any love for the land’.<sup>583</sup>

Furthermore, the legislation under which the lands had been vested in the Boards had had in view the eventual return of the land to its beneficial owners. Although in some districts—not Wairarapa—young Maori were not markedly keen to go on to the land as farmers, this was ‘not to us an adequate reason why the Maoris should be deprived of their lands by having them leased to pakehas on a tenure which would prevent the Maoris from resuming possession when they are able and willing to do so’.<sup>584</sup>

In cases such as these Aohanga blocks where individual interests were too small to make it practically impossible for an individual to negotiate to buy a worthwhile acreage, the Commission thought that the individual ownership had really taken the form of group ownership. They therefore recommended that something in the nature of an endowment be set up through adapting section 422 of the Maori Land Act 1931

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<sup>582</sup> AJHR, 1951, G-5, 40.

<sup>583</sup> AJHR, 1951, G-5, 54.

<sup>584</sup> AJHR, 1951, G-5, 54.

so that the land could, for instance, alienated to the Maori Trustee. They also recommended amending section 258 so that individuals could alienate their interests to any other of the tenants in common, or their descendants, without the necessity of holding an owners' meeting or gaining the Governor-General's consent.<sup>585</sup>

### 8.3. Poverty, Debt and Land Alienation

Historians have frequently pointed out the prominence of debt as a motivation for Maori to alienate their land. It could arise in several ways. Personal debt could arise from a 'profligate' lifestyle, an accusation frequently levelled at individual Maori when they came to seek some sort of relief and were generally expected to atone for what was considered to be their extravagance by digging themselves out of the hole they had created.<sup>586</sup> Or it could arise from 'good' causes, such as emergencies of various sorts impacting on the person or property, such as medical emergencies or chronic illness, or damage to a house that needed repair. Some could be anticipated debt, as when an expense was about to arise, in buying or developing a house or farm, say—another 'good' cause economically, provided it was a sound investment.

Debt is a common cause of action in the courts in the nineteenth century where Maori were concerned. Harriet Kennedy researched the plaint books of the Carterton and Masterton magistrates' courts.

In the Carterton Magistrate's Court between 1898 and 1911 there were 19 plaints entered against identifiable Maori.<sup>587</sup> One was a Pakeha bank agent suing for £7 of damages (perhaps a default to a bank) but all of the others were from storekeepers, blacksmiths and tailors for payment for goods supplied, work done or balance of account. They were all also for small amounts, ranging from a mere 12 shillings to a maximum of £26 14s 1d. Given that going to court is not usually the first

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<sup>585</sup> AJHR, 1951, G-5, 75.

<sup>586</sup> Such terms are slippery in themselves. No doubt some Maori were profligate, thoughtless, careless, extravagant, and so on, as are some people of any ethnicity. On the other hand, there are many ways in which at least some of such an assessment may have resulted from varying cultural imperatives, such as 'European' thrift versus 'Maori' manaakitanga.

<sup>587</sup> Magistrate's Court Carterton. Plaint Book 1898-1911.

option taken for recovery, these details suggest that the Maori concerned were unable to pay even these small debts.

The Masterton Magistrate's Court was far busier, and from Ms Kennedy's records appears to have had several plaintiff books operating simultaneously. In one book there were 203 actions recorded for the period 1868-1880. Apart from a handful each of 'disputed impoundings', 'detinues', 'rates' and 'dishonoured promissory notes', and 11 seeking damages, the remainder are all seeking the recovery of debts. Those debts range from £1 10s to £24 (apart from one where Raniera te Hu of Turanganui settled a debt of £54 in 1871, a second where J Maeara of Greytown successfully sought judgment for £45 4s 2d from M. Rangitakawaho of Papawai in 1874, and another where G.T. Farmer of Greytown successfully sought £67 10s again from M Rangitakawaho in 1878). The plaintiffs were generally successful in gaining judgment for the full amount where both parties appeared before the court, while a significant proportion of cases resulted in judgments by confession, that is where the defendant submitted a written admission of the debt. Lawyers were seldom used in early cases, but increasingly through the 1870s, but almost always by the plaintiffs and only 5 times by defendants—who, if they could not afford to repay debts of less than £10 would have been unlikely to be able to afford legal representation.

Interestingly, occasionally Maori were prepared and able to use the court system to recover debts from other Maori. Presumably, the 1874 case above of Maeara v Rangitakawaho is one example. The second case in the book in 1868 was Hori Taha seeking £3 15s from Te Manihera for disputed impounding. In 1872, M. Mokai received judgment for £10 owed by Ngatuere, both of Waiohine, and in 1873 H. te Toru received judgment for 5 shillings (and the same in costs) of the £1 he claimed in damages from Ihaka and Hemi, all parties being from Papawai. In 1876, M. Hemara of Papawai sought £50 in damages from Ihaka and Hall of Papawai, but this case was adjudged out of jurisdiction. In 1877, J.A. Jury sought a debt of £14 from H. te Toru and was awarded £17 plus 13 shillings costs. There seem to have been no more, though, in the later 1870s, perhaps as the stirrings that would lead to the Kotahitanga intensified.

A second Masterton Magistrate's Court plaintiff book, covering 1879-81, similarly was comprised entirely of actions to recover debts apart from 2 seeking damages and 1 possession. The debts were again all small, ranging between £1 5s and £12, with only 5 being above £14. Only twice did Maori use the court. In 1879, H.P.

Tunuiorangi sought £5 damages from Te Kohea Tohanu, both of Gladstone, but was nonsuited. In early 1881, Paora Tihi sought to recover a debt of £29 16s 6d from Tinitara te Raewa, both of Te Ore Ore, but no result is recorded.

Another Masterton Plaintiff Book for 1878-1909, perhaps for the District Court, listed few actions involving Maori, and none for debt per se, but all involving larger amounts. For example, in 1903 Martinborough storekeepers Pain, Haycock and Kershaw sued Niniwa Heremaia over a dishonoured £100 promissory note, which sounds like debt again, but in a more formalised way than a storekeeper's ledger. The only action where the plaintiffs were Maori was one in 1902 where Taihio te Tau led 5 other Masterton chiefs in seeking £100 damages for libel from Tamahau Mahupuka and 2 other Greytown chiefs. No judgments are recorded in this book, so we do not know the outcomes.

A later plaintiff book for Masterton covers the period 1913-1918. Once more, the overwhelming cause of action was failure to pay a debt for either goods or services and the plaintiffs were still storekeepers or tradesmen—with the addition of a Masterton taxi cab owner who wanted £4 from a Maori who lived in Dannevirke, perhaps for taking him home there. The sums involved were much larger, though, with only perhaps one-quarter under £10 and a very small number well over £100. Several of the cases, too, related to money advanced but obviously not repaid, again indicating an inability to repay loans of generally £20-30. In 1917, Manaena Waaka sued Whitu Waaka, both of Homewood, for the repayment of £59 10s loaned—there would appear to have been a story behind that action. Otherwise, Maori did make some use of the court against other Maori: Manaena's action has just been mentioned, in 1915 Aoturoa Raiwera of Masterton sought payment for £200 worth of goods supplied to Takana Kingi of Greytown. One different case was the Masterton County Council suing Kate te Tau of Masterton for £11 17s of unpaid rates; in the handful of rates cases in the earlier period, the charges had been brought in the names of various individuals.

Such a summary is, of course, potentially slightly misleading in that serious crimes would have been dealt with in the Supreme Court, the records are far from complete, and that Ms Kennedy has had to rely on the records themselves specifying that the 'occupation' of the defendants was 'Aboriginal Native', 'Native' or 'Maori', or some such. Nevertheless, these court records are yet another straw in the wind to indicate the financial situation of many Maori of Wairarapa ki Tararua. Debt was

clearly a significant problem whereas these books, at least, reveal virtually no other civil charges laid against local Maori for different causes of action. The problem may have been worsening, too, as there were significantly more such cases recorded in the 1913-18 books than there were in the 1868-80 book.

There is evidence available from the earliest Native Land Court era days of Wairarapa Maori trying to sell land because of the debt they were in. In July 1872, Te Whatahoro Jury tried to sell Wharehanga in order to raise the money to discharge his debts. What he owed was so substantial an amount that he had been jailed for it.<sup>588</sup> Wardell recommended acquiring it for another £100 plus the value of the fencing and other improvements Jury and associates had made, but this was not done and in 1883 Richard Gill reported that it was now leased for £300 per annum rent.

In April 1872, Native Agent T.H. Hill at Masterton had been in discussions with Manihera, Ngatuere, Wi Tutere, Ngairo and 31 others over selling 100,000 acres at Nga Waka-a-Kupe. They were asking 10d per acre, but the lands concerned were already bringing in £1500 per year in rents.<sup>589</sup>

By the early 1870s, if not before, some Wairarapa Maori were involved in thousands of pounds' worth of borrowing, not just the getting in debt to a storekeeper who gave goods on credit, but substantial, formal loans. Wiremu Mahupuku and Ngawhara, who wished to retain Nga Waka-a-Kupe Block, in 1872 dubbed in Te Manihera, who wished to sell, saying that Te Manihera 'is ever extending his schemes to other men and property and the reason is because he has become in debts and mortgages'. And then, Mahupuku said, Te Manihera was a social climber, trying to buy his way into the Pakeha gentlemen's society. In fact, Te Manihera and his people were 'overtaken by poverty, and involved in debts and mortgages and other ills to which they are subject, [and] are in the habit of going to the Government and lying'.<sup>590</sup> Like Mahupuku, Te Manihera must have seemed an attractive proposition to some lenders for them to have allowed the creation of mortgages in the first place.

In 1891, Hare Rakena te Aweawe and others sought the removal of alienation restrictions on the Eketahuna Reserve, but since their names did not correspond with those on the Crown grant the application was refused. Three years later, Ereni te

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<sup>588</sup> White, 'Jury,' 19.

<sup>589</sup> Cited in Batson, 'Nga Waka-a-Kupe', 14.

<sup>590</sup> Quoted in Batson, 'Nga Waka-a-Kupe', 17.

Aweawe and ten others including Nireaha Tamaki again sought the removal of restrictions, declaring that they wished to sell the land to the lessee who had made a good offer, and stating that they all had an abundance of other land. They gave three reasons for wanting the proceeds:

We want the money partly for improving and stocking other land; then we have several cases going through the Native Land Court at Hastings and elsewhere; and finally we have certain debts which must be paid.<sup>591</sup>

Of these three, only one is obviously a 'positive' use, viz the improvement and stocking of other land they held. Still, the loss of a permanent asset to finance current development was not altogether positive. Second, the sale of land for the repayment of debt may have been positive, depending on the reason for which the debt was incurred, but would certainly not be if it was merely for dealing with current expenses and the cost of daily living. The financing of litigation in the Native Land Court was seldom of great direct benefit to Maori and in this money largely evaporated in various compliance costs, such as court fees and survey costs, as well as the simple costs of attendance at places as far away as Hastings.

They wished to sell the whole block, and it appeared that the lessee was not in a position to take more than 640 acres of the 1000 acres of the reserve, so the question arose of the government purchasing the lot. However the block was immediately partitioned so that those who did not have other land were left with 97 acres comprising Eketahuna 1 and the sellers who did have other land gained Eketahuna 2A and 2B totalling 898 acres, which was then promptly sold to the lessee for an unknown sum.<sup>592</sup>

In 1902, the Native Land Court, when considering compensation for the area of Tahoraiti 2 which the Crown was in the process of acquiring, found the Crown claiming it was worth but £4 per acre and the owners saying that due to its being of good cultivable quality, suitable for a native township, and only two miles from Dannevirke, it was valuable land, and as they were also going to lose half a mile of important river frontage, it was worth £25 per acre. The Court inspected the land and found that the Crown had undervalued it, but nevertheless it was only of 'indifferent

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<sup>591</sup> J1/1897/597.

<sup>592</sup> McBurney, 'Seventy Mile Bush', 22-25.

quality and much was of little value apart from the purposes for which it was being taken. The court-assessed value was therefore £5 per acre.<sup>593</sup>

The owners were nonetheless keen to receive the proceeds and a delay in the necessary partition seems to have caused considerable hardship. In 1906, they asked the court to hear the partition case in Dannevirke as they had no potatoes to support themselves nor money to pay for lodgings in Hastings. In 1909, Te Peeti Hoera Rangiwakaewa petitioned for the partition to take place expeditiously as the land was lying idle due to so many people living on it in common and he was living in ‘a state of destitution’, unable to provide for his family while awaiting progress.<sup>594</sup>

The repayment of debt features in the saga of the carving up of the Nga Waka-a-Kupe Block. Apart from the Mahupukus’ distinct story, others were also moved to alienate their lands or borrow against them in some way because of a need to service other debt. In February 1896, Horiaana Natanahira sought to have her lands in Nga Waka-a-Kupe B and 2C exempted from the operation of the Native Land Court Act 1894 s 117 so that she might borrow £2500, a sum that she required ‘in order that I may pay off liabilities incurred by me, which are pressing’. Unsuccessful at first, she then successfully explained the following year that she now needed to get a mortgage from the Public Trustee against her land in 2C to cover her debts to various Wellington and Wairarapa tradesmen for £3000, and wished to complete her partially built house for £500 and another £500 for ‘pressing needs’, all totalling £4300.<sup>595</sup>

At much the same time, Niniwa Kawana/Heremaia sought a similar exemption from her lands of Nga Waka-a-Kupe 2D. Her liabilities, many stemming from the death of her father, the rangatira Heremaia Tamaihotua, totalled £7000. The loan would be repaid by assigning the future rents to the Public Trustee.<sup>596</sup> In 1900, Rihara Te Parera sought an Order-in-Council to permit him to mortgage Nga Waka-a-Kupe 3B to the Public Trustee for £500. This money he intended to apply to repayment of debt £150, erection of a house £250, and the purchase of household furniture for himself and his family £100.<sup>597</sup>

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<sup>593</sup> Berghan, ‘Block Narratives’, 231-32.

<sup>594</sup> Berghan, ‘Block Narratives’, 234-36.

<sup>595</sup> Quoted in Batson, ‘Nga Waka-a-Kupe’, 61.

<sup>596</sup> Batson, ‘Nga Waka-a-Kupe’, 62-63.

<sup>597</sup> Batson, ‘Nga Waka-a-Kupe’, 63-64.

In 1906, the poverty of some Wairarapa Maori was so great that they were reduced to asking the government to provide them with basic food. As his three kainga had no potatoes at all, Nireaha Tamaki asked the Minister for food for them.<sup>598</sup> He asked for one ton of potatoes for each kainga and five boxes of kumara, some of both for present food and some for seed. Apparently their potato crops had been destroyed by disease and he wanted the kumara as he heard that it was immune to such disease. He also asked for ten poha of muttonbirds, one ton of flour and fifteen bags of sugar. It is unclear from the file how much they received, or on what conditions, as a file note says that the Minister had approved the supply of the stores, but another lists only one ton of potatoes, ten bags of sugar, one ton of flour and eight bags of muttonbirds and is annotated '4 months to pay', suggesting a loan rather than a grant. This was at much the same time as Nireaha was having to fund taking his case to the Privy Council; that drain on funds therefore coincided unluckily with the crop failure and the people's inability to supply themselves.

Another cause of Maori offering to part with land, as mentioned above, was expense incurred in dealing with the Native Land Court system. The largest usually remained the survey charges, but there were many others charged within the system, in addition to the legal fees Maori paid to their conductors and lawyers. The various block history reports have already listed these in their discussions of individual blocks. The trouble is to know what their financial impact was on the Maori owners who had to pay them, especially in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when the Native Land Court did not consistently keep records of Maori reasons for selling. Oliver cites two examples from the Tararua district. In 1901 the Tamaki block had a £450 mortgage over it resulting from the costs of surveying it; this was a sizeable amount and when the block was partitioned in 1902 became part of the Crown's interests partitioned out. Secondly, in 1909 one-seventh of the Ahuataranga reserve was sold by its Maori owners to pay the legal costs associated with it.<sup>599</sup>

In one case where dire personal necessity was apparent (although no land alienation was involved) Native Under Secretary Fisher agreed in 1909 to make a grant of 10 shillings per week for six months to Hoani Ngatuere of Black Bridge (Te Uri o Tane) Pa, Greytown.<sup>600</sup> The local constable reported that Hoani was 51 and had

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<sup>598</sup> Nireaha Tamaki to Native Minister, 22 June 1906. MA 1/1906/387.

<sup>599</sup> Oliver, 'Tararua', 24.

<sup>600</sup> MA 1/1909/280.

lived there all his life. He was married and although there had been 18 children, only two (aged 21 and 7) were still living. For the previous two years, both parents and children had been ill under a doctor's care, meaning that he could not work. He had no income other than the rental of 6s per acre for 67½ acres, but he was some £200 overdrawn on that and so had nothing coming in to support the family, while they had barely food for a week and even the doctors were not coming as they were not being paid for their attendance. He himself approached the local Pakeha MP in person and wrote to Ngata as MP for the East Coast for help for his dangerously ill daughter. He explained that he had overdrawn the rent as a result of having to pay for two funerals. The constable and MP were both convinced that it was a deserving case and one of 'dire necessity', but no comment was made as to the uniqueness of his situation. Hoani Ngatuere was descended from the prominent nineteenth-century Rangatira Ngatuere Tawhao; chiefly descent has been no guarantee of financial well-being.

The issue of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori selling their lands in order to finance current expenditure remained alive through the twentieth century. While this may be characterised as simply making choices about where to keep their wealth, or how to spend it, in practice the information on the various block files viewed seems to indicate that the choice was frequently one not freely made. The sales of land assets made in order to fund current expenditure seem to show clearly that the expenditure was not frivolous, or even discretionary in any meaningful sense. Rather, people were choosing to dispose of assets that were seldom producing any income that was worth having, and using the proceeds to provide for themselves and their families. If that provision was not for simple survival, it was for only the next level up, for things that were necessary to maintain what most would regard as an acceptable lifestyle.

The use of the land to provide lump sums of cash seems to have been common in the **Nga Waka-a-Kupe Block**. Portions of the large Nga Waka-a-Kupe Block were made inalienable by the Native Land Court, except by 21-year lease. The owners, though, found they wanted money from the land in other ways. As mentioned above, Rihara Te Parera petitioned for an Order-in-Council to allow him to mortgage Nga Waka-a-Kupe 3B to the Public Trustee for £500 in 1900. This money he wanted to repay debt (£150), build a house (£250) and purchase household furniture which he

and his family apparently lacked (£100).<sup>601</sup> Five years later, Atiria Punua sought successfully to have the restrictions from sale lifted on Nga Waka-a-Kupe 1A (1513 acres) so that a deal could be finalised to sell it at £2 10s per acre, for £3782. She wanted to repay a debt to the Public Trustee (£1600), and other debts (£400), build a house (£700), 'lodge' another £1000 with the Public Trustee, and pocket the remaining £82. Judge Palmer found she had sufficient land left for her maintenance and support 'or for the purposes of a papakainga' and presumably the £1000 was by way of an investment sum on deposit.<sup>602</sup> In 1907, the court varied the restrictions on Nga Waka-a-Kupe so that, with the Governor-General's consent, it could be mortgaged to a government lending department. In 1908, Niniwa Heremaia applied successfully for an £8000 loan on 2D from the Government Advances to Settlers Department, £3000 of which was to pay off a £3000 loan from the Public Trustee taken out a year before.<sup>603</sup> The sale of Nga Waka-a-Kupe B, which had realised £7402, had resulted in £2800 paid to the Public Trustee to liquidate a mortgage, £3000 being invested with the Public Trustee, and another £1602 being used to buy stock.<sup>604</sup>

The Ikaroa Board did not rush to allow sales of Nga Waka-a-Kupe land as organised by Horiaana Natanahira; it refused a sale which would have broken a lease in 1907. There were a series of applications by her over the next five years. It later took some eight months in 1912 to disapprove of the sale of B1 (1044 acres for £4437), noting that it was not in the interest of Maori owners to alienate upon the expiration of existing leases. The Board also rejected the application to sell B3 (1135 acres for £4993). It then turned down an application for a £6000 mortgage over 2945 acres of B, although the land was worth £15,000. Horiaana sought to use the loan money to buy land and stock (£2500), pay interest on purchase money (£100), repay advances already made privately (£2100), repay sundry debts (£850), and provide for the first half-year's interest (£360).<sup>605</sup> The refusal was apparently based not on some desire to hold the land in suspended animation, but on the Board's assessment that as an individual she was merely wasting money, even when there was an apparently substantial asset in view:

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<sup>601</sup> Batson, 'Nga Waka-a-Kupe', 64.

<sup>602</sup> Batson, 'Nga Waka-a-Kupe', 66.

<sup>603</sup> Batson, 'Nga Waka-a-Kupe', 68.

<sup>604</sup> Batson, 'Nga Waka-a-Kupe', 70. It is unclear from Batson's account by and for whom the investments had been made; he mentions only Horiaana Kingi/Natanahira directly in this connection.

This Native has gone through a very large amount of money during the last few years. She has purchased motor cars, also a large house property in Carterton which since the novelty has worn off, has been left to look after itself and is consequently going to pieces. The Board does not view the mortgage with favour and has no recommendation to make.<sup>606</sup>

Finally in February 1913, the Board did recommend the sale of the Nga Waka-a-Kupe B Block on condition that a proportion of the money was invested for Natanahira. The total sum involved seems to have been just over £15,000, a very large amount, of which nearly £7000 was to go on repaying her debts and buying out the existing lease, while £7000 was to be invested for her and only £1100 was to go to her directly.<sup>607</sup>

Horianahira Natanahira thus joins the small group of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori who had substantial assets in the early twentieth century, although it appears as though her wealth may have come from selling land in Nga Waka-a-Kupe, rather than from commercially productive activity such as pastoral farming.

In 1915, the owners of Te Unu Unu 2 were tempted to sell and asked the President of the Ikaroa Board for permission to sell 'as they owed money to Cameron and were practically penniless'.

They said they lived near Castle point and cultivate in common. They had no money to fence, plough or clear. Their rents were small and in some cases scarcely worth coming for. They had been in the habit of getting advances from Cameron to meet their pressing needs. He now offered them ten guineas an acre for the land and they were willing to accept that sum. They would not agree to the money being retained by the Board under Sec 92 of the Act of 1913. They wanted the money to pay their debts and to buy fencing material a slight majority had been in favour of selling the minority desired to lease.<sup>608</sup>

The response by the President of the Board is revealing of the difficulties Maori were up against in trying to set aside sums of money usable for more than financing ongoing consumption, or even of accessing their own money for what they perceived to be their own pressing needs. Effectively they were caught between the rock of needing to have cash to live on in the present and the hard place of retaining land for a long-term income and security. The Board felt obliged to interpret and apply what it considered was the outcome in their best interests. In this case, the President told them

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<sup>605</sup> Batson, 'Nga Waka-a-Kupe', 71ff.

<sup>606</sup> Quoted in Batson, 'Nga Waka-a-Kupe', 75.

<sup>607</sup> Batson, 'Nga Waka-a-Kupe', 76.

<sup>608</sup> Quoted in Walzl, 'Ngai Tumapuhia', 23.

the Board would not approve their democratically voted resolution to sell unless it considered it was in their best interests and would not leave them landless.

Their own evidence indicated that the income from their other Native lands were [sic] insufficient for their adequate maintenance as they had to come cap in hand to a European who had leased and was anxious to buy their land. The way things were going they would soon become a burden on the state. A temporary relief might be given them by allowing them to sell and pay off Mr Cameron and other pressing creditors but their condition would be in no wise improved and all credit and advances of money would immediately cease once they parted with their lands. The Board was a statutory tribunal set up specially to protect the Native and to save him from rendering himself destitute by his overwhelming anxiety to change the few acres he had left for coin of the realm which he was quite incapable of retaining. The land in question comprises 380 acres [and] would readily lease at 10/- to 12/6 an acre and the Board does not consider it advisable to permit the Native owners who are practically landless to divest themselves of it by sale.<sup>609</sup>

So here the owners were stuck with an insufficient income from all of their existing lands to maintain themselves as they were at present, and they had ‘pressing’ debts owed to both Cameron and others. But the Board thought that the roughly £200 per annum they could make from renting the block in addition to the inadequate income from elsewhere was preferable to being permanently divested of their lands. It is also interesting how the judge/president saw his role, protecting Maori from rendering themselves landless—but because Maori were incapable of retaining/saving/investing money once they had acquired it. This is in itself a patronising and stereotypical statement, but it is an odd thing to say when the express purpose of the sale was to rationalise their financial situation, to repay debt and use the balance to develop their other lands. As it stands, it appears to have been thought better that they remain in a tricky financial situation that had no obvious solution and with no ability to develop their other lands, than for some of them to become landless by clearing the present situation. Whether or not the Board’s judgment was accurate, the Maori owners themselves were thus denied the opportunity to manage their own affairs.

The matter continued. Rangatauria Hamuera told the court that he and his wife lived on other land at Tahoraiti. The £200 he owed Cameron he had spent buying cattle, bringing his herd to 40 cows. The land being leased for only 2 shillings per

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<sup>609</sup> Quoted in Walzl, ‘Ngai Tumahia’, 23.

acre, he had only £10 10s per year income from Cameron's rent, £8 per year rent from Matapihi, 37/6 from Mataikona and 3/6 from Okurupatu—a total of £20 11s per annum in rental income from all sources—and no other money with which to repay the loan. He had already sold interests in Okurupatu and Waikekeno for a total of £700 but that money was now all gone. Furthermore, he owed tradesmen's bills of £60, there were 3 summonses out against him for £25 and a judgment order for £5. Without the proceeds of the sale, he would have to go to gaol.

Similarly, Arapata Piripi testified that there were summonses against him for about £40. He supported a family of 8 and received a total of £80 per annum in rental income from all sources, with no cows or other sources of income. All his lands were leased. He had sold his interests in Waikekeno and Waitutuma for a total of £270 which was all gone, some in purchasing land at Piriroa. His wife had sold her interest in Kawakawa and seemingly this together with his Waitutuma money had gone to acquire Piriroa—but his testimony seems to indicate that they now had debts and nothing with which to stock and develop that land. The Ikaroa Maori Land Board again refused to approve the sale.<sup>610</sup>

Years later in 1962, Judge Jeune refused to permit the sale of F.C. Cameron's half-interest in Te Unu Unu 4B when she wanted to use the proceeds to repay a debt to the Maori Trustee and buy clothing and furniture. Repaying this debt, he considered, was not in her interest. He did approve the sale the following year when both owners applied to sell and the land was described to him as coastal hill-country, 'Not of use to anyone else', apart, presumably from the prospective purchaser who was presumably the lessee whose lease was expiring, or a neighbouring farmer.<sup>611</sup>

Not every Maori approached desired or was obliged to yield to the temptation to sell—or was restrained by the Board from doing so—when offered cash by a Native Land Purchase Officer or private purchaser. In 1918, Mrs Tatere was approached with an offer to purchase 30 acres of her land adjoining a returning servicemen's settlement being established in Mangatainoka. She refused, preferring to keep the 118 acres she held as a viable farm in itself. The land remains in Maori ownership.<sup>612</sup>

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<sup>610</sup> Walzl, 'Ngai Tumapuhia', 24-25.

<sup>611</sup> Walzl, 'Ngai Tumapuhia', 43.

<sup>612</sup> Oliver, 'Tararua', 18.

In 1926, Hoani Paraone Tunuiarangi sold Hinana 1B1 (112 acres) for £1575 (g.v. £2833) because it was the only way to save his heavily mortgaged Carterton property.<sup>613</sup>

When Potakakuratawhiti 3A (also known as Potakakuratawhiti Tawhara) was sold for £308 in 1919, at least some of the proceeds were retained by the Maori Land Board on behalf of owners. In 1929, Under-Secretary Jones released £37 of the £75 being kept for Komene Patara so that he could repair his house at Parihaka, Taranaki. In the following year, apparently in response to his requests for more assistance, Komene was advised that the board president had authorised payment to him of a monthly allowance of £8 10s to help keep his family, while preserving the fund as long as possible.<sup>614</sup>

The Native Land Court refused in 1928 to confirm a sale of Potakakuratawhiti 3A to a Pakeha farmer who was already leasing it. The court considered both that the vendors were otherwise landless within the meaning of the 1909 Act (although they did also share in 3 other blocks totalling 33 acres), and that the conditions of the existing lease made to the proposed purchaser in 1909 were more advantageous than the proposed sale. The lease, which was due to expire, was for £74 11s annually, while the proposed purchase price was £508 3s 9d.<sup>615</sup>

In 1928, Judge Gilfedder confirmed the sale of the twenty-acre Hinana Reserve A, B and C (near Gladstone) for £300. He agreed because the land was returning no revenue and the five owners' interests were very small.<sup>616</sup>

At around this time, during the Depression, others further north were also in dire straits, although they did not sell land. Many of the families who were associated with the Akitio area lived at Papaumu Marae, on the Aohanga Station near the mouth of the Owahanga River. W Wright's evidence is that 'the bulk of them were living in disgusting conditions—my father said that there were families sleeping under sheets of iron.' His father had to pay off the debts of some who could not afford to pay their store bills of 30s.<sup>617</sup>

After the sale of Otaupuaroro after World War I, Whare Turei wrote to ask if the vendors could come straight away to be paid. He said, 'We need the money

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<sup>613</sup> MA 15 1/2332.

<sup>614</sup> MA 15 1/661.

<sup>615</sup> MA 15 1/524.

<sup>616</sup> MA 15 1/737.

<sup>617</sup> Wright, 'Brief', para 41.

immediately. Inia Manihera wants to pay the carpenters for the building of his house. Ropata Turei wants to do the same and I want to renovate mine.’<sup>618</sup>

When the 110-acre Otaupuararo 1D was being sold in 1960, the agreed purchase price of £1705 (£55 above gv) was to be shared amongst 110 owners. Thirteen or more of these were already deceased, so their proceeds would be shared amongst descendants, while there were another 15 remaindermen to the life interest of Ria Kingi. The interests of nearly all the owners were uneconomic and for many their rental income was mere pennies per annum.<sup>619</sup> The purchaser had already lived on the land as lessee for 53 years and was paying £65 15s annual rent.<sup>620</sup>

Hinewaka No 1, Waikoukou No 2 and Hinewaka No 3B, near Gladstone, were being sold together in 1960 for a number of reasons.<sup>621</sup> The intended purchaser had leased, farmed and improved the blocks, together with his own freehold land, for 37 years and his family had done so for 60 years, so the Maori owners had long since lost direct occupation and control of the land. The three blocks were each of an awkward shape and location, making separate use difficult if not impossible, while separating them from the purchaser’s own land would render his farm uneconomic also. If Hinewaka No 1 were to be fenced to its correct boundary, an immensely difficult and costly fence would have to be put half-way down a rocky limestone face. If left unfenced, it had access to water. It had no good access unless the neighbouring Waikoukou No 2 were also owned. The owners could therefore never occupy or farm the land and even if it were joined to that block the whole would not make an economical farm. Vendors included at least three people who desire the money in order to make their existing houses habitable. The circumstances of one were spelled out by their lawyer:

[The applicant] has a house (built 4 or 5 years ago with Maori Housing Loan Finance) at ... Carterton. It is occupied by himself, his wife and 9

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<sup>618</sup> Whare E. Turei to Registrar, 9 May 1921. MA 15 1/147.

<sup>619</sup> Court report, 18 July 1960. MA 15 1/187.

<sup>620</sup> He was E. Charlton Holmes, who had unilaterally offered the price above valuation as he wanted to satisfy all the owners and ‘to make a fund for educational purposes of [sic] the Maori people’. This promise he honoured in 1963, gifting a 740-acre farm, perhaps including this land, to the Maori Trustee for a Maori Education Foundation. McLean notes that it was the residual portion of the Te Hopai Station left after the balance was taken for flood protection work. Most of the 740 acres was actually land beneath the Te Hopai lagoon. McLean, ‘Inland Waterways’, 95. Bagnall describes this gift as ‘more than a mere symbolic gesture of recognition by the Wairarapa Europeans of their unquestionable debt to those who were on the soil before them’. Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, 233. The more cynical might say that it was a quixotic gesture of individual philanthropy in which few if any other Wairarapa Europeans shared credit.

<sup>621</sup> MA 15 1/310.

children. It comprises a house with no sheds. The paths are only a thin layer of metal and the back yard is unmetalled. It is not possible to prevent mud coming into the house. The family lacks beds, bedroom furniture, bedding and blankets. The house lacks floor coverings. Three rooms (the children's) require re-papering. [The applicant] earns his living largely by taking fencing contracts and doing shearing and crutching. To carry out this work a motor vehicle is an essential to him. He has a 1939 V8 Ford car for this purpose and he owes £204 12s 6d on it. Payment of this is very difficult from current earnings and he wishes to clear his debt on the car from the purchase money. He proposes to use the purchase money from Hinewaka No 1 and Waikoukou No 2 in:

1. Laying down concrete paths and a concrete back yard and erecting a garage. I have a builder's quote for this work at £650.
2. Settlement of liability for motor car £204 12s 6d.
3. Paying legal expenses of making and clearing title, and purchasing beds, bedding, furnishings and re-papering to the extent that the balance (estimated at about £300) will go.<sup>622</sup>

This report reveals a number of things relevant to the present discussion. First, it shows the detail in which Maori applicants were expected to bare their lives to the Maori Land Court in order to have their wishes regarding the land put into practice. That may well be seen positively as a safeguard against land loss, but it must nevertheless have been very intrusive and given that it was happening by 1960 may also be seen as somewhat paternalistic. It was not as if they were having to declare their financial details to a potential lender entitled to assess their prospects as borrowers.

Secondly, the century old reliance of Wairarapa Maori on seasonal farm work is still in evidence. This man lived in 'urban' Carterton, but had to travel around the district for employment.

Thirdly, the man lived in housing funded recently by Maori Affairs in the mid-1950s, for which he had an ongoing mortgage. The need for re-papering may or may not be attributable to carelessness by his family or previous owners, but the description indicates that the housing was of little more than 'four walls and a roof' standard. Even state houses built in the 1940s at least had a shed and minimal concreting supplied. Maori Affairs housing loan assistance clearly did not envisage any more than what could be taken as security over the loan. Still, it may be noted that this was another source of finance available to Maori, even if it was closely targeted

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<sup>622</sup> Court report, nd. MA 15 1/310.

to housing rather than land development; it may have been available for farm houses, though.

Fourthly, the nuclear family of 11 was so poor they lacked even adequate beds and bedding. The pre-war car was hardly flash—although this was still the era of import restrictions and needing overseas funds to buy new vehicles and many New Zealanders drove decrepit cars.

Fifthly, the proceeds from the land sale, expected to be some £1150, were all to be dissipated on alleviating current needs, apart perhaps from the concreting. The car was vital if he was to earn his slender living, the legal costs were unavoidable compliance costs in the process returning nothing to him directly, and the bedding etc was required to provide a minimal standard of living for his family.<sup>623</sup>

Finally, the court also required a detailed listing of each owner's other lands, including both those suitable for personal occupation and shares in other blocks. In this owner's case, he had interests in 11 other blocks, one of which returned a rental income of some £160 p.a., while his interest in another was 71 acres, but the extent in the others was not set out. Other owners also had interests in other blocks, but (a) they were often listed as being the holdings of an entire family and (b) many were far afield such as Pouakani and Pipiriki.<sup>624</sup>

Another of these vendors, aged 57, was also providing for his wife and 11 young children (five of his own and six more for whom responsibility had devolved to him). They lived in their own, mortgage-free home at Gladstone on 10 acres. The house, basically sound and not old, required £2312 of alterations and repairs to make it fit for the family, by also adding a water supply, together with another £441 of essential furniture and bedding. This was not considered to be a wise use of money, though, and for about the same amount as the renovations a suitable five-bedroom house in Masterton in good condition could be had. 'His family's housing and furnishing needs can only be financed by the acquisition of substantial sums of cash and the present proposed sales [of the three blocks] are considered to be the only practicable means of achieving this'—as well as paying £500 for his taxes, legal costs

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<sup>623</sup> Others would get far less, sums such as £80 and £240. One who was named intended to use his £80 to provide the materials to build a back porch on his house at Homewood.

<sup>624</sup> MA 15 1/310.

and other such accounts. Apart from rents from these blocks, he had an annual income of some £500 from rents on other blocks.<sup>625</sup>

Although from the mid-twentieth century the Native Land Court recorded much more detail regarding vendors' reasons for selling land, the question of personal debt as a motive for selling land does not come up constantly. It is not rare, though. Oliver has noticed this in Tararua, too, commenting that there are but few documented examples; he cites five.<sup>626</sup> The two owners of the Wharawhara Block sought to sell their land in 1914 to repay debts owed to trades people in Waipukurau and Hastings. The Native Trustee sold Oringiwaiaruhe 1B2B2 in 1928 as a mortgage sale, presumably because the owners had debt they could not otherwise meet. In 1955, Te Uira Cooper sold Tahoraiti 1G1B in order to repay debts of some £1100 owed to the Public and Maori Trustees and to repair her house. In 1934, Jury H. Takirangi tried unsuccessfully to sell to the Crown Mangatoro 1A3C7 in order to meet debts arising from his mother's death, including Native Land Court succession duties.

Having shares that amounted to a negligible value or income must have influenced Maori owners' attitudes towards land sales also. In 1957, 68 owners agreed to sell Pukengaki 23B2 to Jack Jury for £1300, slightly above government valuation.<sup>627</sup> The block of 112 acres was landlocked, a mile from the nearest road, in scrub and grass suitable only for grazing. However, it was held not in 68 shares, which would have been of little enough value, but in 115,000 shares. One woman held 50,714 shares and another family some 30,000 between them (these owners being entitled to about 80 acres), but some 5 owners held as few as 57 and another 10 only 14. The rent had been only £39 2s since 1927 so no-one was becoming rich from their interests, but when the block was sold the one woman would have received about £573 but the small shareholders would have received as little as £0.16 or 3s 2d.

Even where an apparently substantial sum was received from a land sale, this would not necessarily guarantee a comfortable and secure lifestyle. In 1933, Mitai Mikaera was the sole owner of Hinewaka 2A, sold for £1035. While £280 went immediately towards discharging an existing mortgage from the Native Trustee, Mitai received but £118 at the time of sale since the purchaser could then afford only £400. The balance was covered by a mortgage by the purchaser to the Ikaroa Maori Land

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<sup>625</sup> MA 15 1/2332.

<sup>626</sup> Oliver, 'Tararua', 24.

Board. Payments were made as cash advances for all sorts of living expenses to Mitai from interest and then principal, as well as covering his son's school expenses at Silverstream College, and about £100 to make improvements on his farm, especially building a cowshed (which may be seen as an investment). By 1939, £150 remained. Mitai occupied Otuapuaroaro B3 at Whangaimoana/Pirinoa, running through the middle of and landlocked by Otuapuaroaro B, leased to one Holmes, and there was friction from Mitai's use of the 22 gates he needed to pass through to access this land.<sup>628</sup> The block was low-lying and swampy, 2.5 miles long by 5 chains wide, with a lagoon in the middle, suitable for dairying for only a few summer months. Mitai's house was a shack of kerosene tins and sacking, which he shared with his European wife and her niece (both Canadians), but which had been condemned as a dwelling by Judge Harvey, as he found the land effectively useless as a dairy farm. Mitai applied to the Native Minister in 1935 and Prime Minister in 1937 for funds to improve the shack but was declined because of the unsuitability and unhealthiness of the site.<sup>629</sup> Even this was taken away from him in 1940 by a fire which destroyed all his effects too. The dregs of his account were more than used up by a payment of £18 towards replacing his effects and £34 for the construction of accommodation using materials from the recently demolished Plimmerton military camp.<sup>630</sup> Since he was still milking and was receiving an age benefit, he was asked to pay the debit balance of £3 15s.<sup>631</sup>

This was not, though, the local Board's fault and the file reveals that Judge Harvey and various officials tried for years to get him to leave the land to which he apparently had no right, and a living situation which endangered himself and his family, to stop throwing good money after bad, and shift to other good land he owned at Waipoapoa where a habitable house would be built for him and he could enjoy his rental income. It even refused to let the intending purchaser of the Hinewaka land pay off the mortgage before the due date as Mitai was earning 6 per cent from the interest when the market rate had fallen well below that.<sup>632</sup> On the other side, Mitai pointed out that he had been well educated at Te Aute and Queen's University, Kingston,

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<sup>627</sup> MA 15 1/524. They may also have been willing to sell given the Jury family's connection with that area and long-term ownership of Pukengaki land.

<sup>628</sup> Mitai owned Otuapuaroaro B1, a similar narrow strip along the other side of Holmes's property.

<sup>629</sup> Mitai Mikaera to Premier, 26 August 1936. MA 15 1/1051.

<sup>630</sup> This may actually have been the American forces' camp at Titahi Bay, near Takapuwahia marae and across the Porirua Harbour from Plimmerton.

<sup>631</sup> MA 15 1/1051.

<sup>632</sup> Judge Harvey to Under Secretary, 25 July 1935. MA 15 1/1051.

Canada, that he was not a minor, a spendthrift or mad, that he had a right to do with his own money as he wished, that he and his family were 'in great distress and need of nourishment', and that he did not deserve or need the 'patronising tutelage, protection or supervision of any Maori Land Board of callous Government officials who do not know what is to go without the ordinary necessities of life and who would squeal of their pay is with-held for even one day....'<sup>633</sup>

As can be seen from many of the examples cited, housing was a common reason for seeking funds held by the Board, perhaps because it was realised that such purposes would be more likely to be favourably considered than others. Again the owner of Potakakuratawhiti 1B2A sought portions of his £1385 funds from its sale for repairing and outfitting his house in the Marlborough Sounds, as well as for his wife's clothing bills, and for paying his son's fees and school costs at Te Aute College.<sup>634</sup>

Maori might also sell to make their money work for them in other ways. In 1967, Rangiaranaki Wirihana/Wilson sold his one-fifth interest in Potakakuratawhiti 1A2 to Awaroa Station so that he would have a substantial fund available to enable him to purchase his own business. Married with children, he had been a shearing contractor for eight years, with his own gang of twelve, but wished to give up seasonal work away from home. He stated positively that he had no debts and was not selling for the purpose of meeting existing debts. The 216-acre block itself, though largely sandhills and currently leased at £541, was an integral part of the Awaroa Station and had for many years comprised part of the one farm.<sup>635</sup>

Scattered through the examples, too, are cases where the money from one land sale was to be used to develop other lands. This also applied in the northern district where the owners of Mangatainoka K2B1 applied to the Stout-Ngata Commission in 1908 for the restrictions on the land to be lifted so that they could sell and raise the money necessary to stock and develop their other lands. Teniti Hapukuku sought in 1921 to sell his shares in Tahoraiti 2A17B to finance his setting up a dairy farm on another block he owned where the lease was expiring. In 1957, the Maori Land Court approved the sale of Tahoraiti 2A10B but stipulated that rather than provide for her

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<sup>633</sup> Mitai Mikaera to Native Minister, 5 July 1935. MA 15 1/1051. He did, though, misrepresent the land he occupied as being his own freehold of which he was being deprived and claimed that the problems with his farming and house could be fixed by the release of the funds. He also had interests in Waipoapoa, Otaupuaraoa No 1 (30 ac), Otaupuaroo No 2 (55 ac), Otaupuaroo No 4 (21 ac), Aohanga, Whareongaonga, Puninga and Pouakani.

<sup>634</sup> MA 15 1/2769.

<sup>635</sup> MA 15 1/1928.

son, the owner was to use the proceeds to construct buildings on her own dairy farm. John Hape Kani acquired blocks of land in 1964 and 1967 as the owner of the first wished to pay for his wife's funeral, repay debt and buy other land, while the owner of the second, an estate, intended to dispose of what was a useless block to them and develop other lands the estate owned. Several other northern examples are also apparent.<sup>636</sup>

Ivan Hape has commented on this action by his father. The block acquired in 1964/5 was Tahoraiti 2A18B of 58 acres and the second, which was leased, was the 23.5-acre Tahoraiti 2A19C. His father had originally held the 28-acre Tahoraiti 2A19B but stretched to find the money to acquire the other two blocks both to keep the land in family hands, but also to try to create an economically viable farming unit from the smaller fragments. It was still only 110 acres. The original block carried 4½ sheep per acre and a total of 270 sheep and the extra land meant that they could raise the numbers to 530-550 breeding ewes, 20 breeding rams and 40 hoggets for meat. He says:

This was enough to run a good farm, but without the extra acres it would have been difficult. Even with the expansion of the farm into neighbouring blocks, it could only financially support the family. The land blocks given to our families by the Land Court were too small to ensure that families could use them to make a living from.... We still want to use them, but the economic reality is that they are not sustainable in the long term.<sup>637</sup>

Professor Hawke has explained this sort of activity, using sales to develop other lands or for other purposes, as 'reassembling one's portfolio'. He stated:

People reassemble their portfolios. But the reason for it again is because the money is a vehicle. It is not that you sell land to get money, it is because you sell land as part of a reassembly of your portfolio of your assets in the process of which you acquire finance which you then use to acquire other assets or finance consumption. But it is putting the money aspect of it to one side and getting people to seeing the underlying economics and not thinking they are simply running a household cash account.<sup>638</sup>

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<sup>636</sup> Oliver, 'Tararua', 25-26.

<sup>637</sup> Ivan Wiremu Hape, 'Brief of Evidence' (2004) Wai 863 #E31, paras 14-16. He also notes that in 1900, 3 acres of 2A18B, which was still Maori land, had been taken under public works legislation for a gravel pit, which was exhausted in the 1930s.

<sup>638</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, 'Transcript of Excerpts of Evidence and Questions: Crown Hearing Three 27-30 May 2002 Wai 814 (Poverty Bay/Combined Gisborne Inquiry)' Wai 863 #G11, 98.

While this may well be so generally, a question remaining in the present context is what other elements there were in the 'portfolios' of local Maori. To what extent is this analysis helpful if the people being considered were actually poverty-stricken and selling the land for mere subsistence?

### **8.3.1. Access to capital (Issue 22.4.13)**

**To what extent could and/or did Maori access resources for capital development, whether by mortgage loans from lessees, assistance from the Public Trustee, or by ‘advances to settlers’ loans? Has the type of land tenure affected access to capital resources?**

This Statement of Issues question contributes to Commission Topic D.

The initial type of resource available to Maori for capital development was the purchase monies paid to them by the Crown. Under normal circumstances, the money received in parting with one asset would be re-deployed in developing another so that the second asset would be improved and an improved income stream would result.

The adequacy of purchase prices is a contentious issue. On the one hand, Crown evidence in other inquiry districts has considered the alleged lowness of these payments to really be simply the equivalent of Maori paying their share of taxes to fund the development of the newborn colony.<sup>639</sup> In this view the Pakeha settlers then paying the Crown a much higher price for the same land was contributing their share of these infrastructural development costs. Thus the actual value of the land must be presumed to have been something in between, with Maori paying their contribution in the non-receipt of that actual value when the Crown purchased it, and the Pakeha paying their contribution by having to hand over more than the actual value. Such an ‘actual value’ is of course purely hypothetical because the Crown controlled both the purchase and the sale on terms that largely suited itself, and so there is little opportunity to test that, except where there are records of other private citizens trying to purchase or rent and details of their offers have been preserved, or where other contemporary, comparable transactions have taken place. This, though, was largely impossible in the pre-Land Court era when the large Wairarapa purchases were made.

Set against this view is the question of whether what Maori were paid was in any way adequate to (a) recompense them for parting with their primary asset, and (b) permit them to participate in any meaningful way in the emerging cash economy. If they were losing not only the land on which they lived but on which they depended to

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<sup>639</sup> Thus Gary Hawke, ‘Evidence Concerning Economic History Issues’ (2000) Wai 686 #01, paras 41-42.

provide many, perhaps all, of the resources they needed to live, what did the purchase give them to allow them to live and continue to provide for themselves?

Normally in the present day one would use the proceeds from sale of a property to finance oneself into another property, or perhaps invest and derive an ongoing revenue stream to rent another place to live. One's income or means of sustaining oneself is not usually also bound up in the property sale, unless perhaps in the case of farms where farmers both live and derive their income.

However, the historic sale of Maori land meant that Maori no longer had either the places to live or access to the resources from which they could derive their livelihood or support themselves. They therefore needed the purchase money to make up for both of those crucial aspects. The eventual provision of infrastructure such as roads from the subsequent Crown profit was only of benefit to those who then lived and farmed on the lands with which Maori had parted, or who had produce to carry to market in Wellington, and so on.

The problem became more acute as time went on, as Maori had parted with all their 'surplus' lands and bites were taken from their core areas. Crown purchasers of course, wanted the best land first, for the anticipated settlers and the process naturally tended to pick the eyes out of the land and so apart from relatively small, designated reserves, what Maori did retain was always going to be harder to work than the land parted with. Just one example is the Awhea Reserve where Searancke resisted setting aside the 1800 (actually 2230) acres precisely because he thought it was the best land on the block. Searancke then could not understand the Maori insistence on including an area which he thought to be no good for cultivation, but which Stirling indicates may well have been desired because they wanted to run some sheep and also use it as a fishing reserve.<sup>640</sup>

The Wairarapa situation was that the problem was not gradual, but that a huge proportion, nearly 60% of the land went out of Maori ownership virtually instantaneously with the McLean purchases of 1853/54. This change must have been an economic and social cataclysm. In 1852, Maori owned all of the Wairarapa ki Tararua district and even where Pakeha leased blocks Maori continued to assert various rights of ownership and live a traditional lifestyle little altered; within five years they owned and controlled but a portion of the district that dwindled rapidly

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<sup>640</sup> Stirling, 'Hinewaka', 82.

over the next decade or so to a mere fraction of the district. An effective enclosure system divided the district into individual sheep runs and small farms, and Maori had little option but instantly to become agricultural labourers.

Taking on new roles as sheep run owners was hardly an option for other than a mere handful of Maori. They required a large area of land still in their hands, which was counter to Crown policy of purchasing as much as it could for Pakeha settlement. They also required substantial capital to stock and develop runs, money which no-one was going to provide them with and for which the purchase monies were woefully inadequate. Even the most important chiefs seem to have received little more than a few hundred pounds. They did not come to the situation with capital from Britain or Australia, as did most, perhaps all, of the squatters, or the ability to borrow. Only one chief appears to have managed to join in with the Masterton small farm scheme and it is hard to imagine that any more would have been welcome to the Small Farm Association settlers trying to provide for themselves and their aspirations. Maori lacked the knowledge and skills to instantly operate such farming enterprises from scratch in the 1850s; even where they did manage to set up sheep farms on the East Coast in the 1860s, their initial flocks had to be destroyed as infected with scab due to poor stock management practices. Not until the 1880s do any Maori appear to have had substantial flocks, or to be raising their own finance by borrowing from the Public Trustee, and of course Iraia Te Whaiti managed this through partnership with an experienced Pakeha and with Pakeha managers, not by himself. We can name the individuals who owned (or appeared to own) those flocks.

As well as any purely financial considerations, European expertise was necessary to be able to conduct successful farming operations. When early settler C.R. Bidwill set up his Pihautea Station, for example, between 1844 and 1864 he was able to improve the stocking rate from 350 to over 5,000 sheep and 1000 cattle. First, he replaced the original merinos with Romney Marsh sheep better suited to the damp, riverside conditions. He was able to diversify so that he was fattening and selling up to 400 cattle per year and breeding and selling horses added to his income. Drainage of swamps and clearing of bush opened up more land for this type of economic activity by allowing the planting of English grasses. Willows were planted to begin flood control and river protection work along the Ruamahanga. Wheat, turnips and rape were grown as fodder crops. Every paddock brought into production had its windbreaks of pines or gums planted as shelterbelts for stock. By the 1870s, rabbits

had replaced the Maori dogs of the 1840s as the chief menace to stock, as they competed with cattle and sheep for pasture.<sup>641</sup>

As mentioned above, the Turanga Tribunal considered the point of sale proceeds funding Maori branching out into the new farming economy.<sup>642</sup> It was of the opinion that the prices Maori received for their land, especially when divided amongst multiple owners, were simply too low to provide the income necessary for alternative investment or development strategies. A few rangatira were able to amass sufficient income to support such an investment strategy, if they wished, but for the large majority of Maori landowners it was simply impossible to accumulate from land sales the quantity of funds necessary to give them a start in the alternative economy with which they were now confronted.

The Turanga Tribunal also took note of what could be done with the amount of money received from land sales. It received evidence that in the 1870s a sheep farmer needed in excess of 500 acres for a viable wool-growing operation and that this would have cost roughly £1 per acre to buy.<sup>643</sup> This means that if Maori were to purchase Crown-granted land to replace their customary land as they sold it, they would need a minimum of £500 at that time. There was then the cost of stocking the farm with good quality sheep at between 6 and 16 shillings per animal in Wellington Province in 1882, the cost of stock varying between years, regions, fatness and wool quality. Fencing would add a significant additional cost—in Hawkes Bay in 1878 this was 20-25 shillings per chain (i.e. 22 yards or approx 20 metres).<sup>644</sup> There were very many metres around even a 500-acre farm, let alone with paddock divisions and no doubt the cost for difficult country was greater than for flat, clear land.

The Turanga Tribunal continued, describing a Poverty Bay process that in many ways paralleled the Wairarapa ki Tararua experience, except that for Wairarapa as distinct from Tararua the process will have begun in the mid-1850s, a decade before the developments in the 1860s in Tararua and Poverty Bay/East Coast:

By the second generation of owners the problem was worse. The land base was decreasing and the number of owners, static or increasing. The fragmenting effect of this meant that from the 1890s, even the larger owners were without enough land to exchange for a sum sufficient to

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<sup>641</sup> Scadden, 'Pihautea', 11.

<sup>642</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Turanga Tangata, Turanga Whenua*, 514.

<sup>643</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Turanga Tangata, Turanga Whenua*, 515.

<sup>644</sup> Julius Vogel (ed), *Land and Farming in New Zealand: Information Respecting the Mode of Acquiring Land in New Zealand* (London: Waterlow & Sons, 1879), 59. Cited in Waitangi Tribunal, *Turanga Tangata, Turanga Whenua*, 515, n 324.

pursue individual investment or development strategies, even if the land was in one title. In reality, it never was. Owners had to contend with small fragmented interests scattered over a tribal rohe. To put this in perspective, in the 1890s, an average payment on land sales of between £10 and £20 would have been the equivalent of five to 10 weeks' wages for a farm labourer. A draught horse without equipment would cost up to £45, a cow £6 10s, and a lamb seven shillings sixpence, and £10 to £20 would not, therefore, have gone far in purchasing productive assets. Thus, the data available on the limited payouts received per average individual owner are sufficient to discount alternative capital investment as a motive for land selling in most cases, except sale by chiefs. The average price provides powerful contextual evidence in this respect. In our view, the prices were insufficient to be used for anything other than consumption (either to meet immediate needs or to purchase relatively small assets that assisted employment: that is, dogs, shearing equipment, and the like), or to meet debt arising out of past consumption on credit.<sup>645</sup>

Government figures for the mid-1870s are also available for the Wellington Province and even for the Wairarapa. The *Official Handbook* for 1875 stated:

The price of farm stock varies slightly in different parts of the Wairarapa. At Greytown milch cows are quoted at £5 and upwards, while at Masterton they range from £6 to £12. Common hacks fetch an average price of £5 at Greytown. At the same place, store cattle, two years old, sell for £2 10s each; over that age, £3. Fat sheep bring 8s to 16s, and ordinary, 6s to 10s, at Masterton....

In the country districts [of Wellington Province], the price of flour is 18s to 19s per 100 lb; potatoes 3s to 5s per cwt; tea, 3s to 3s 6d per lb; sugar, 6d to 7d per lb; butter, according to season, varies from 6d to 1s. Beef, mutton, and potatoes are usually to be obtained at lower rates in the country than in the town, a larger quantity being taken at one purchase; but, on the other hand, articles which require land or water carriage, such as tea, sugar, flour, and general groceries, are usually about 10 per cent higher in the country than in the town.<sup>646</sup>

While a single cow for milking might have provided enough for a 'nuclear' family, to operate a herd as an economic proposition would have required in 1875, then, the outlay of at least a minimum £200 for a herd of 40 cows. If Maori were receiving a similar amount per individual for each land sale as the Turanga Tribunal has identified there, then they were making only one-tenth of that sum, let alone the costs of the Native Land Court, fencing, horse and dray, and other costs associated with setting up the farm.

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<sup>645</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Turanga Tangata, Turanga Whenua*, 515-16, citing figures from the *New Zealand Official Year Book*, 1893.

Even government departments did not, it seems, readily assist Maori farmers trying to farm their own lands. In 1897, the two grantees of the 1052-acre Tautane Block petitioned for their block to be exempted from the restrictions of the Native Land Court Act 1894 s 117 so that they could mortgage it to the Public Trustee and raise a loan for £3500. Initially, they said they wanted the money for ‘their private wants’ and were declined an exemption. However, they then had their solicitor explain that they actually farmed on other lands and wanted to clear the debts they had run up developing those lands, or they were in danger of losing their flocks. They pointed out:

That the Public Trustee will not advance any money to Natives upon land unless it is leased to Europeans. That their only means of raising money therefore is upon Tautane. That they are not raising more than they actually require (Eight years rental only). That Tipene and Heta require some money for the children of whom they act as Trustees. That they will only become further and more greatly involved unless they can pass their lands into the Public Trustee’s hands, and clear off their indebtedness at a low rate of interest.<sup>647</sup>

The Native Minister merely noted on the request that the previous decision had been adhered to. On the face of it, therefore, these Maori farmers were denied access to cheap finance to permit the development of farms on a sound commercial basis and were condemned to borrow at high interest rates, if they could gain access at all to private funds, which was not usually the case.<sup>648</sup>

Lack of access to finance for development could render the land concerned impossible to develop and therefore uneconomic to own for Maori. In such a case, alienation might well be preferable to retention, especially if debt or some other pressure compelled the raising of funds immediately. Walzl gives the example of Whareama 884, where the failure to raise £1150 in 1910 by the owners as a group was immediately followed by partition into individualised single-owner blocks in 1911, and then the sale of those blocks in 1912.<sup>649</sup>

As well as ‘simple’ difficulties for Maori with raising loans against their lands held under fragmented multiple titles, McBurney points out that the Native Lands Act

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<sup>646</sup> Julius Vogel (ed), *The Official Handbook of New Zealand* 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London: Wyman & Sons, 1875), 211.

<sup>647</sup> Phillips to Under Secretary, 2 June 1887. Quoted in Berghan, ‘Block Narratives’, 293-94.

<sup>648</sup> There may have been other reasons as there appears from Berghan’s discussion to have been questions over the names on the Crown grant, but this does not appear on the actual decision concerning the exemption and loan.

1878 [sic] had a specific prohibition on Maori obtaining mortgages secured against their land. He observes that it was probably well-intentioned legislation to help protect against the rampant loss of land to pay off debt at that time. The legislation is actually the Native Land Act Amendment Act 1878 (No 2) and s 4 reads:

It shall not be lawful for any person to pay any sum of money by way of mortgage on any land held by a Native under memorial of ownership or Crown grant.

Unfortunately, the *Parliamentary Debates* show that there was almost no debate at all about this statute, nor specifically explaining what the object of that section was. J.N. Wilson MLC introduced the Bill to the Legislative Council by saying the clause was ‘an important one and involved a great principle’, but did not expand on either statement.<sup>650</sup> Mr G.M. Waterhouse MLC did criticise it, though, saying that it was regrettable that it was not thought that Maori were capable of exercising a right—‘the birthright—of every British subject’—of mortgaging his own property. He went further in criticising the Grey Ministry’s consistency:

If the Native race were not sufficiently advanced in intelligence to be able to manage their own affairs, if they could not be intrusted [sic] even with their own property, if they must be prevented by law from mortgaging their property, then it appeared to him inconsistent to regard them as fitted for the far higher duty of deciding what should be the legislation for the Europeans of the colony.... If the Natives were deserving of the franchise to the full extent that it was contended they were, they certainly should not be treated as children in this way, and forbidden to get advances on their property in the same manner as Europeans did.<sup>651</sup>

There was no government reply, but to some extent this criticism foreshadows comments discussed above, about the issue of paternalism and protection versus laissez-faire in letting Maori do whatever they liked without restraint and with the Crown assuming no responsibility for the outcome. It may also be observed that the debts in question were not necessarily those relating to land, acquired through mortgages, but were very often debts to storekeepers, surveyors and others. This blanket prohibition may have helped protect the land from being traded for food and clothing, but it also foreclosed any possibility of Maori landowners gaining funds for development of the land in question, as other property-holders might. It is not known

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<sup>649</sup> Walzl, ‘Overview’, 100.

<sup>650</sup> NZPD, vol 30 (1878), 1224.

<sup>651</sup> NZPD, vol 30 (1878), 1225.

to the present writer just what the effect of this prohibition was, in Wairarapa ki Tararua or elsewhere, given other relevant factors such as (a) the rapid change in Maori land legislation and (b) the reluctance of lenders to lend formally under a mortgage on multiply owned Maori land, as opposed to advancing credit for consumer purchases.

In general terms, Professor Hawke has agreed that such a specific prohibition might well be of less importance than might be supposed given that lenders of all sorts were, and remain, reluctant to lend money against the security of Maori land at any time. During cross-examination by Mr Boast in the Poverty Bay Inquiry, he pointed out that he had ordered his evidence given then in what he saw as the order of importance:

So it is the clear title, the multiple title, the acceptance of the rules and understanding of the rules and then the particular Government intervention and I deliberately chose that order to reflect what I think is the right sort of level of significance.<sup>652</sup>

Accepting this order, the question then raised is the nature of the tenure Maori possessed, which then leads back into the extensive discussion of the operation of the Native Land Court. Without revisiting that, the central point is that the crucial problem for Wairarapa ki Tararua Maori was the nature of the tenure with which they found themselves once their lands had passed through the Native Land Court and become Maori freehold land. Professor Hawke's point, made repeatedly in his evidence in both Hauraki and especially Poverty Bay, is that Maori land simply was not an attractive prospect for lenders. For example, he states: 'The most fundamental problem with Maori land was that the safety device most commonly relied on by lenders to ensure the repayment of their principal was not as readily available as the security which could be offered by Pakeha.'<sup>653</sup> During cross-examination by Mr Boast, he stated:

But above all the point that I wanted to make here is that access to finance is dependent on the confidence of the lenders that their interest will be paid and that their principal will be repaid.<sup>654</sup>

He also indicated that in his opinion the financial situation was largely neutral and depended on the economics of the particular deal, rather than being ethnically

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<sup>652</sup> 'Poverty Bay Transcript', 96.

<sup>653</sup> Hawke, 'Capital', para 8.2.

prejudiced. He stated: ‘The decision about the loan would depend on the security of the principal and the assurance that interest would be paid and that would be overwhelmingly more important than the ethnicity of the borrower.’ He based this on his personal study of two major banks and examples of Maori such as Wi Pere who managed to borrow precisely because they were ‘in a position to offer security comparable to that offered elsewhere and also a large number of Pakeha people got turned down when they sought bank finance’.<sup>655</sup>

A few blocks seem to have been large enough to have overcome lenders’ concerns, although they were not private lenders. Nga Waka-a-Kupe was one where even the partitioned blocks were large enough and the owners both few enough and clearly identified so that funds were available from several government sources, particularly the Public Trustee—there was no Maori Trustee at that time—and then other government lending departments. Rihara Te Parera petitioned for an Order-in-Council to allow him to mortgage Nga Waka-a-Kupe 3B to the Public Trustee for £500 in 1900, to enable him to repay debt (£150), build a house (£250) and purchase household furniture which he and his family apparently lacked (£100).<sup>656</sup> Five years later, Atiria Punua sought successfully to have the restrictions from sale lifted on Nga Waka-a-Kupe 1A (1513 acres) so that she could repay a debt to the Public Trustee (£1600), and other debts (£400), build a house (£700), ‘lodge’ another £1000 with the Public Trustee, and pocket the remaining £82. Judge Palmer found she had sufficient land left for her maintenance and support ‘or for the purposes of a papakainga’ and presumably the £1000 was by way of an investment sum on deposit.<sup>657</sup> In 1907, the court varied the restrictions on Nga Waka-a-Kupe so that, with the Governor-General’s consent, it could be mortgaged to a government lending department. Taking advantage of this new opportunity, in 1908, Niniwa Heremaia applied successfully for an £8000 loan on 2D from the Government Advances to Settlers Department, £3000 of which was to pay off a £3000 loan from the Public Trustee taken out a year before.<sup>658</sup>

This was the only time about which evidence has come to light showing that a Maori from the inquiry district did manage to access the Advances to Settlers fund

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<sup>654</sup> ‘Poverty Bay Transcript’, 93.

<sup>655</sup> ‘Poverty Bay Transcript’, 108.

<sup>656</sup> Batson, ‘Nga Waka-a-Kupe’, 64.

<sup>657</sup> Batson, ‘Nga Waka-a-Kupe’, 66.

<sup>658</sup> Batson, ‘Nga Waka-a-Kupe’, 68.

that had been set up over a decade earlier. The Advances to Settlers legislation had in fact made it difficult for such loans to be made. It listed categories of land that were eligible for the fund's assistance, but while land leased from Maori was one of those, Maori freehold land was not. Briefly, the lessees of Maori land could receive assistance but it was very difficult for Maori owners to do so. Such a situation is a direct result of government policy as expressed in legislation. There is the point to be made, of course, that 'settlers' per se were not necessarily Pakeha, but simply people who wished to develop land—and later there would be mentions of Maori 'settling' on their lands with twentieth-century development schemes—but the restrictions basically prevented Maori from accessing this major source of development finance.

The sale of Nga Waka-a-Kupe B, which had realised £7402, had resulted in £2800 paid to the Public Trustee to liquidate a mortgage, £3000 being invested with the Public Trustee, and another £1602 being used to buy stock.<sup>659</sup> These mortgages to the Trustee must all have been for purchase and development work on the lands in question and the Advances to Settlers loan certainly would have been.

Later, in the mid-twentieth century, there were additional opportunities for Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori to access government funding targeted to specific purposes. As noted elsewhere in this report, by this time a number of Maori from the inquiry district had received Maori housing loans, administered by the Maori Affairs Department, presumably on much the same terms as the ordinary state housing finance generally accessible from the Housing Division of the Ministry of Works, and then the State Advances Corporation.

### **8.3.2. Maori Land Board Administration**

Changes in the administration of Maori land may perhaps have helped Wairarapa and Tararua Maori, but by the time there was any significant reform in the system, around the turn of the century, the land remaining to be administered was minimal and generally not actually being occupied and used by Maori themselves, as is shown by the 1906 survey of 'productive' lands and the 1908 Stout-Ngata review.

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<sup>659</sup> Batson, 'Nga Waka-a-Kupe', 70. It is unclear from Batson's account by and for whom the investments had been made; he mentions only Horiana Kingi/Natanahira directly in this connection.

Walzl, reviewing his detailed study of the land ownership changes around the turn of the century and afterwards, has summarised the situation thus:

[M]uch of the land management system proposed to be implemented through the Maori Lands Administration Act 1900 was largely irrelevant for the district. A leasing economy was already well-established in the Wairarapa so Maori land was not unoccupied and unproductive. Also, because of the dominance of the leasing economy, there was comparatively little land left on which development could proceed.<sup>660</sup>

After 1905, until 1953 when the Maori land boards were abolished, the leasing process was managed by the Ikaroa Maori Land Board, generally comprising the local Native Land Court judge and his registrar. Clearly, the judges took seriously their responsibilities to ensure that the system worked to the benefit of the Maori lessors, but the evidence discussed both below in this report and also in Mr Walzl's Twentieth-Century Overview particularly reveals that this was often done with a heavy hand and went well beyond the actual management of land transactions down to supervising the spending of the last pennies of sale or lease income by the Maori concerned. From 1909 that purchasing could be done once more by private individuals as well as the Crown and despite the Ikaroa Board's supervision at least 39,000 acres, and probably more, of Wairarapa Maori land was alienated between 1910 and 1920.<sup>661</sup>

The Ikaroa Land Board's supervision did not result in the complete locking up of Maori land from alienation possibilities, but it did generally ensure that a formal process was followed and often that a realistic price was paid.

Sometimes land sales were not confirmed as the Land Board deemed the alienation not to be in the interests of the owners or that better alternatives existed. Although effective at preventing particular confirmations, the protective mechanisms were usually able to be circumvented through the partitioning of interests and the purchasing of individual interests at a later date.<sup>662</sup>

The block files reveal a constant, minutely detailed oversight and administration of the funds and interests of Maori individuals by the Maori Land Board. The Maori concerned had to apply for every pound released to their use, and if the judge or registrar did not approve of that purpose for some reason then they would simply

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<sup>660</sup> Walzl, 'Overview', 417.

<sup>661</sup> Walzl, 'Overview', 418.

decide to withhold the money, using especially the Native Land Amendment Act 1913 s 92 which empowered the Maori Land Boards to retain the proceeds from the sales of Maori land and to invest them with the Public Trustee to pay interest at 4% per annum on funds thus withheld from the Maori vendors. Funds were then released solely at the Board's discretion. The situation was not, therefore, like a bank, where an account holder can withdraw as much money as they wish and use it for whatever purpose seems good to them—and suffer the consequences should the outcome be unfavourable. The officials decided on whether or not a deal was a good one, they reported to the Board on the extent of an applicant's need, they vetted the tradesmen's estimates and accounts for work to be done, and so on. The Ikaroa Board decided as a matter of policy that it would release funds for some purposes, such as housing, but not for others, such as food.

Judge Harvey's refusal to let a Pakeha purchaser pay off the mortgage on Hinewaka 2A early, reported in more detail elsewhere in this report, is a good example; the judge compared the interest rate payable with current rates and decided the Maori owner would be better off if he declined to accept the early payment and required the mortgage to run full-term. The file for that block is full of the Board's efforts to protect the individual concerned from making what they regarded as financially and personally unreasonable decisions—and this was a man who had been educated at a Canadian university and therefore could have been presumed to be capable of managing his own affairs. As the judge portrayed it, the man was trying every possible way to ruin himself and only the Board's intransigence stood between him and complete disaster for himself and his dependents. Another example is the Ikaroa Board's refusal for years to acquiesce in Horiara Natanahira's deals to raise cash for herself until an arrangement was made by which the proceeds were not entirely dissipated.

The case of Maihi Hangina in the period immediately after World War I is another where, as McBurney says, the Board's actions reflect favourably on it.<sup>663</sup> It was concerned to protect the money Maihi was making and to ensure that sales were not made recklessly. It repeatedly checked his attempts to sell Mangatainoka 2BC 2C2A. In 1916, for example, Judge Gilfedder stated that he 'seems to exhibit a feverish anxiety to get rid of his Native land', and considered that the better course

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<sup>662</sup> Walzl, 'Overview', 418.

would be to renew the soon to expire lease on the land at a better rental, so that any sale was 'prejudicial to the interests of the Native owner'.<sup>664</sup> However, once it transpired that Maihi was incurably ill and bed-ridden, and the money was needed to cover development expenses on a farm and his substantial medical bills, the Board paid out the full amount owing of £800 quickly.<sup>665</sup>

Some of the other examples were less clearly to the benefit of the Maori concerned and appear to have stifled commercial and agricultural opportunities for the Maori by binding them up in bureaucratic red tape. Again, McBurney provides an example from the Seventy-Mile Bush area and the efforts of Nireaha Tamaki's heir, Ngawhiro Marakaia, to deal with his lands and money to further develop his remaining lands.<sup>666</sup> Particularly, in 1915 as sole owner he sold the 143-acre Mangatainoka J4F4 for £2026 and wanted to use the proceeds to purchase land adjacent to Mangatainoka J4E which he was currently farming and thus consolidate his business interests. His lawyers recounted to the Board a series of dealings by which Ngawhiro had already used sales and leases to develop the lands he held presently, although he had lost a crucial block, including his homestead, owned by his late wife which was awarded not to him but her sister. Because of this, he could not make any use of the block he now wished to sell, but if the sale was approved he could save all the plant, stock and machinery on the property and make good use of the land he still had. The Board, though, refused to approve the sale, considering that Ngawhiro was in financial difficulties, that he was being 'extravagant', and that it would be prejudicial to his interests to sell. Later, in 1918 the Board approved of the sale of the land, Mangatainoka J4E, which Ngawhiro had intended to develop. Of the proceeds from this, Ngawhiro proposed to invest £3000 at 6% in a Pahiatua farm (rather than the Public Trustee's 4%), but in the time the Board took to respond positively, the opportunity had been lost. McBurney concludes concerning the thwarted sale of J4F4:

No specific evidence of extravagance was recorded.... The loss of his wife's farm must have had something to do with Marakaia finding himself in these circumstances. Establishing a farm is capital-intensive. The Board's conservatism may have saved Marakaia from further financial loss. On the other hand, it denied him the opportunity to develop

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<sup>663</sup> McBurney, 'Seventy-Mile Bush', 163-171.

<sup>664</sup> Quoted in McBurney, 'Seventy-Mile Bush', 166-67.

<sup>665</sup> McBurney, 'Seventy-Mile Bush', 170.

<sup>666</sup> McBurney, 'Seventy-Mile Bush', 173-181

his business as he chose, and cut his farming enterprise off at the knees before it could get established, thus compounding the earlier reversal suffered by the loss of his wife's inheritance. In any event, he appears to have had no alternative but to lease his land to European farmers when denied the capital to develop his farming business.<sup>667</sup>

McBurney contends that there were 'many Maori' thus affected, who were prevented by the Board's undue paternalistic over-protection from being able to make flexible arrangements for raising money and using what they could put together themselves to make successful business arrangements relating to the diverse and often widely spread lands they still retained.<sup>668</sup> Even his conclusion quoted above, though, is rather more ambivalent than that. The Board may have stifled his enterprise, or it may have protected him from loss. Even in McBurney's account it does seem to have paid out readily enough when a proposal was made that fitted within its criteria, especially land purchase.

Berghan gives the example of Hiria Heta and her attempts to part with her interests of some 99 acres in the Oringi Waiaruhe 1B1A1 in 1918.<sup>669</sup> The Board managed every aspect of the sale and subsequent dealings, raising the consideration from £1850 to £2200, leaving £1000 as a mortgage on the land for 5 years at 6% interest, paying Hiria £400 immediately, and holding the balance of £800 under s 92 of the 1913 Act. Hiria was in debt and the Board then doled out the £800 to her in instalments of £20 to £200 until only £68 was left, when it decided to instead pay her a weekly allowance of £1 10s until the balance was exhausted, which would have taken nearly a year at that rate. The Registrar noted in 1926 that: 'The file indicates that ever since the confirmation of the transfer Hiria and her son and Solicitors and Agents on Hiria's behalf have been pestering the Board for money', although he did not record why she wanted it.

In 1927, the Registrar again noted that: 'This woman has been continually worrying the Board to obtain the £1000 which is invested on her behalf' (although this was 9 years after the sale, not the 5 for which it had apparently been originally invested). This time, she wished to use the money purchase a property at Hokio, but the judge refused to consent since the new property was European land, i.e. general freehold, and since she was in debt any such European property would be

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<sup>667</sup> McBurney, 'Seventy-Mile Bush', 181.

<sup>668</sup> McBurney, 'Seventy-Mile Bush', 172.

<sup>669</sup> Berghan, Block Narratives', 161-62.

immediately seized by her creditors. The notes make no mention of the option of using the £1000 to discharge her indebtedness, but here the Board clearly considered itself to be acting in a protective role.

Another potentially problematic example was the desire of Hinerangi and Mere Harris to sell their shares in Tahoraiti 2A30B in 1956. In the previous year, the neighbouring block had been sold in order that the two vendors and their families could afford to acquire permanent accommodation. Hinerangi and Mere wished to sell as they were in poor health, had large families to support, were practically landless, and one wished to pay off a mortgage while the other wanted a housing deposit. The Maori Land Court refused to approve the application on the ground that they would have lost their rental income.<sup>670</sup> On the face of it, the long-term benefit of retaining the rental income seems a lesser priority than dealing with their debts and providing for their families in the short term.

As a gatekeeper, then, the Board controlled access by Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori to finance, using powers and observing its responsibilities as set out in statute. In a key difference from other instances where the finance is to be borrowed from a third party, the finance in these cases was generally money actually belonging to the Maori concerned. The interventionist style of that control may well have worked for the best for individual Maori who were incapable of managing their own financial affairs, but it seems hard to escape the feeling that there was an overly judgmental and restrictive style employed. It is possible, of course, that the files record only difficult cases that were thought to require intensive management and that other Maori in other blocks did not have as close a relationship with the Board as did those in the examples cited above.

The assertion has often been made that the state of Maori land titles after the fragmentation following the Native Lands Act 1873 has prevented Maori from accessing development funds, especially through loans. Lenders will not lend if the security for their loan is not adequate and the fragmentation has hindered that. In Wairarapa ki Tararua fragmented title—as distinct and very different from individualised title—has been a problem from earliest days with the awarding of titles to large numbers of owners. In just two examples given by Mr Walzl, at the time of

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<sup>670</sup> Oliver, ‘Tararua’, 25.

the original Crown granting of the Waharaurangi Block in 1887 there were already 33 owners placed on the title and in 1891 there were 75 persons with interests registered in the Te Unu Unu Block.<sup>671</sup> Elsewhere he notes that the 45-acre Ahirara Block was initially granted to 40 persons in 1887 and by 1949 this number had grown to 115 and to 165 by 1962.<sup>672</sup> The Waipuna Block was also initially granted in 1887 and also to 40 persons, although it was only some 60 acres in area.<sup>673</sup> Yet again, in 1887 the Pukaroro Block of 106 acres was initially granted to 50 persons.<sup>674</sup> None of these can have been economic holdings and the fractured title cannot but have rendered the blocks very difficult to develop or use as security for raising finance.

This is not merely a historical problem belonging to the distant past. P. Paewai has given evidence from personal knowledge that such was also the case in Wairarapa ki Tararua in the mid-twentieth century, as it is today, commenting:

That is the difficulty of multiple [sic] owned lands and the fact that financial institutions in many cases were reluctant to provide funding because they did not consider Maori land as being adequate security for their loans.<sup>675</sup>

Whatever the extent this applied to private institutions, he also found the same with state counterparts, giving the example of the Rural Bank which fobbed him off to Maori Affairs.

He also observes that Maori also often lacked the skills to run commercial ventures so that they could develop the resources and land they did still have, or begin other business enterprises. Those with funds tended to lack skills, and those with skills may not have had access to funds; this was not a lack of passion or will to enter the farming industry, but a lack of know-how. There were no local or central government programmes to help Maori in this way until the Access and Maccess programmes in the 1980s. He states that despite government policies in more recent times, including the formation of Maori Land Advisory Committees, they were still hindered by the fragmented ownership, by four factors particularly:

- a) applications to develop uneconomic blocks;
- b) applications to develop poor land blocks with difficult access;

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<sup>671</sup> Walzl, 'Ngai Tumapuhia', 53.

<sup>672</sup> Walzl, 'Ngai Tumapuhia', 70-71.

<sup>673</sup> Walzl, 'Ngai Tumapuhia', 72.

<sup>674</sup> Walzl, 'Ngai Tumapuhia', 82. The present Pukaroro 2 of 6 acres has 66 persons with interests

(p. 86).

<sup>675</sup> Punga Barclay Paewai, 'Brief of Evidence' (2004) Wai 863 #E15, para 33.

- c) multiply owned land, requiring 75% attendance or proxy vote; or
- d) lack of security.<sup>676</sup>

This chapter indicates that indeed there were difficulties for Maori within the inquiry district concerning the acquisition, application and access to finance, especially as it related to their land. They used land on occasion as a source of cash to tackle debt arising from past or present consumption. They found it difficult, if not impossible, to access other sources of funds for the acquisition or development of land, generally due to their inability to use what land they did have interests in as security for loan finance as regular freehold land would have been. They struggled with the control exercised by the Ikaroa Board over their money, once it had been acquired by these other means, and the Board's determined protection of their perceived best interests.

The difficulty with all of these matters is in gaining an accurate evaluation of just how widespread the particular difficulties were and the extent to which they were individual and personal, or entrenched and systemic resulting from 'the system'. The sources by definition are skewed to some degree in the direction of the 'problematic' cases where much correspondence ensued, and we are left wondering about transactions that left a minimal official paper trail or about people who did not interact with the courts, boards and officials in this way.

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<sup>676</sup> Paewai, 'Brief', para 38.

## 9. Commission Issue H: Economic Status of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori Communities

Almost any aspect of life could be fitted into this topic. Several aspects have been chosen as both important to the issue and also on which evidence may not have already been presented to the Tribunal. Since each topic requires a systematic and substantial study of its own, the presentation here is necessarily truncated to varying degrees.

### 9.1. Changes in Maori Society

A series of small incidents at the start of the ministry of the new CMS missionary, the Rev. William Ronaldson, in the district indicate a certain level of property ownership by Maori.

One of the reasons why it was decided to locate Ronaldson in Wairarapa was that the Maori there had offered to give tithes for a missionary's support. Bishop Abraham also selected the Papawai site for the mission as the Maori there had already given 400 acres for a parsonage and industrial school to be built there.<sup>677</sup> By 1857, they had collected from amongst themselves £100 towards Ronaldson's support and had pledged to match this annually.<sup>678</sup>

This was matched by their willingness and ability to pay for printed copies of scripture. Ronaldson reported that a New Testament bound in calf cost 2s 6d and in sheep 2s, Genesis (or perhaps the whole Pentateuch) 2s. He had gone through a 'small' supply of 100 prayer books in less than a week, leaving the majority unsupplied. He requested 500 copies of the New Testament, and 300 copies of each of the Pentateuch and the Historical Books, confident they would not last long as his parishioners had gone as far afield as Hutton in the Hutt, Hadfield at Otaki and

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<sup>677</sup> Ronaldson to CMS, 16 November 1856. qMS 1720.

<sup>678</sup> Ronaldson to CMS, 1 July 1857. qMS 1720.

William Williams on the East Coast in search of copies. This in a district of perhaps 700 Maori, of whom only 125 men and 110 women were baptised communicants.<sup>679</sup>

Down at Turanganui, Ronaldson attended a feast for the marriage of Wi Tamihana on 31 March 1856. Ronaldson noted that a young bullock and two sheep had been killed for the occasion, and he also saw three bags of sugar, three firkins of butter and 'an immense quantity of Bread made in small round loaves'.<sup>680</sup> At this time, also the mill at Papawai was being built by a millwright named Hooker.

Ronaldson's house at Papawai was to be built with timber supplied by Manihera. The price was to be £38, Manihera having deducted £10 as his subscription towards the house, as well as offering that his people would transport it wherever it was wanted to build the house. However, the timber had been cut into unusable lengths and not stacked, so that much would be waste.<sup>681</sup> The mission and school were to be built on the 400 acres the Maori had donated there; there was another 200 acres donated at Ngaumatawa. A Maori town had been laid out at Papawai by 1856 and the Maori told Ronaldson that they were only waiting for his taking up residence there before moving onto the site themselves.<sup>682</sup>

In April 1856, near Masterton, Piripi had had four pigs killed by other Maori. The settlement was the price of the pigs, plus a 25% penalty as a caution. At Ngaumutawa Pa, at Ronaldson's service the 65 communicants gave £2 13s 5½d in their offering.<sup>683</sup>

A grand feast was being prepared for in late 1858. Ronaldson condemned it as a folly and a sin to thus waste their resources, saying that they agreed with him but were unable to resist their custom:

In many places they have denied themselves the necessaries of life in order that they may make a show at the coming feast. Horses, Cattle, Sheep, Pigs, Flour, Wheat, Potatoes, dried fish of various descriptions, together with sugar and other like articles will I believe be collected together in great quantities.<sup>684</sup>

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<sup>679</sup> Ronaldson to CMS, 4 July 1857. qMS 1720. In passing, it is interesting to note that this enthusiastic demand was well after the period when such things had the cachet of literacy and spirituality that they had in the missionaries' heyday in the 1830s. Perhaps there was more to the Maori interest than simply learning to read.

<sup>680</sup> MS 1829.

<sup>681</sup> MS 1829.

<sup>682</sup> Ronaldson to CMS, 16 November 1856. qMS 1720.

<sup>683</sup> MS 1829.

<sup>684</sup> Ronaldson to CMS, 15 November 1858. qMS 1720.

His letters do not record that taking place, but in mid-1859, amidst the rumours on both sides of the Maori and Pakeha preparing to attack one another, Maori put on another feast at Te Waihinga to which they invited all the settlers of Wairarapa. Over 100 Pakeha attended, including women and children, but this time Ronaldson approved because, as he said, if Maori had had any nefarious designs this would have been the perfect opportunity to strike a devastating blow.<sup>685</sup>

At much the same time, in August 1859 there was a large meeting to discuss the Kingitanga also held at Te Waihinga. Ronaldson lamented: 'The attendance was numerous and the expense great, and if they would only as willingly spend Money in a better cause might have been the means of extended usefulness.'<sup>686</sup>

Maori were still in their own settlement on the coast in the vicinity of the Akitio Station throughout this period. In 1865, one of McLean's managers complained to him about their behaviour. McLean replied that 'they are apt to take liberties, but in general they are a well-disposed tribe'.<sup>687</sup> Evans comments only that since the settlement was actually on the north side of the Akitio River, it would have been more convenient for the group to form ties with the neighbouring Marainanga Station. But all she says about the nature of the relations between them and the Akitio Station is that unlike McLean from 1865 and the two previous owners, the Armstrongs who owned Akitio from 1875 had little to do with the Maori. This Maori group remained at that location until the 1930s when they re-settled mostly at Makuri, near Eketahuna, apparently to be nearer employment opportunities in Eketahuna and Pahiatua.<sup>688</sup> By 1980, the 76-acre block of land was still Maori freehold land with 16 names listed on the title, and it was leased to the Moanaroa Station.

Wardell reported in 1873 that the tone of Maori-Pakeha relationships in the district had improved markedly since the early 1860s and were 'most friendly', while Maori now yielded generally 'a ready obedience to the law'. While they acquiesced in the decisions of the Native Land Court, apart from Ngatuere with Te Ahikouka, they also had strong sympathy with Henare Matua and the Hawkes Bay repudiation

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<sup>685</sup> Ronaldson to CMS, 8 October 1859. qMS 1720.

<sup>686</sup> Ronaldson to CMS, 11 January 1860. qMS 1720. He had though just commented that relatively speaking he thought the behaviour of the Maori Christians to be better than the Pakeha Christians in the district.

<sup>687</sup> Evans, 'Possession', 85. She gives no specific reference for the quote.

<sup>688</sup> A.E. Webb, oral interview, 1980 Quoted in Evans, 'Possession', 85.

movement.<sup>689</sup> The following year, he thought they regarded Matua as ‘their leader in political matters’.

As discussed above, by 1880 Maunsell reported a chronic disinclination amongst Wairarapa Maori to engage with the Native Land Court process and to withhold their lands from it—without appreciating that his situation was different from the preceding fifteen years, as has been shown with reference to Goldstone’s figures. He said they found the process ‘vexatious and incomprehensible’ and continually anticipated a simpler tribunal replacing it. It was typically used only for matters of succession and when there was a dispute and animosity, or ‘mercenary motives’, presumably meaning that they were intending to gain titles in order to sell them. Instead, they devoted much energy to ‘land disputes and social questions’ which were dealt with in hui called committees. Amongst these informal committees’ tasks was a judicial function and they imposed fines that were always paid. He mentioned a fine of £50 plus a horse being required of an adulterer, who was able to pay readily by cheque.<sup>690</sup> Such a hefty fine, and no indication that it was uniquely harsh, indicates a degree of wealth amongst at least some Maori. Maunsell also commented on his work in making ‘fair adjustments’ to resolve ongoing complaints about the non-issue of Crown grants and ‘non-fulfilled past promises of the Crown’, as well as land boundary matters. He did not specify the promises, but again perhaps we hear the echo of the five percent problem.

Maunsell was insistent in his annual report that the diseases and previous ‘considerable mortality’ had resulted from their Hauhauism, which had led to ‘acts of imprudence in irregular diet and clothing’ and thus ‘preyed upon their health’.<sup>691</sup> He linked their religion, social habits and financial dealings:

When I say that there is a visible improvement in their social and physical state, I allude to their steady abandonment of gross utterances and conduct pertaining more to beasts, which were common amongst them—of improper intercourse, of habitual drunkenness. They now substitute good clothing for the filthy habiliments worn during the periods of political and superstitious disturbance. They are still improvident, and no advice to husband their resources has any influence. They take advantage of any frivolous pretexts to hold meetings, and so waste their means.<sup>692</sup>

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<sup>689</sup> Wardell to Native Minister, 10 June 1873. AJHR, 1873, G-1, 14.

<sup>690</sup> Maunsell to Native Minister, 23 April 1880. AJHR, 1880, G-4, 12.

<sup>691</sup> Maunsell to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 17 May 1881. AJHR, 1881, G-8, 14.

<sup>692</sup> Maunsell to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 17 May 1881. AJHR, 1881, G-8, 15.

He gave the example of a meeting called at Te Oreore to hear revelations from Paora Potangaroa, a prophet from the East Coast but with associations with Te Oreore. Some 350 from outside the district attended, many fewer than had been anticipated and prepared for and overall the entire event was, in Maunsell's view, a religious and economic disaster:

They exercised a variety of ingenious modes of raising money for the purchase of food and other articles of consumption. They drew largely from lessees of their lands in advance. One vied with the other in giving liberally, until an enormous mass of food was accumulated and wasted. Caution and advice were of no avail. Paora did not make a favourable impression as to his pretended prophecies. The greater part dispersed in disappointment, having feasted well for about three weeks. The only conclusion come to was that Paora and Kere [the two prophets] were to control their individual affairs. There was to be no land-selling, no leasing, no debts to be incurred, and no debts to be paid. These were decided in solemn conclave, but when the meeting was over they individually repudiated the compact, and things go on as regards land dealings, etc, as before. In fact, generally they had expended all they had available, and force of circumstances compelled them to revert to European independence and privileges....

I fear, unless they abandon follies and excesses of that kind I have mentioned, poverty and starvation will result, and consequent disease and mortality.<sup>695</sup>

The expense must have been considerable for an event lasting three weeks and attended by 350 outsiders as well as an unmentioned number of locals. It would have been interesting to know what the locals did to raise money, but the desire to best rivals led to not only that expense but the additional wasting of 'an enormous amount' of food. One can see that such an event used up in advance not only their present resources but also their anticipated rental income as they sought advances on it; not only would they need to pay for things now but they were losing their ability to support themselves in the future.

While he reported that the Native Land Court was shunned by Maori if they could, Maunsell confirmed that Wairarapa and Forty-Mile Bush Maori were utilising their lands. Some 100,000 acres were still held back from being put through the court and instead were leased in illegal private arrangements. The invalid leases were 'preserved honourably between the parties' and while Maori received much the same

as if the land had a Crown title, the lessees avoided duties and the Maori saved on the many court and other fees imposed during the process to gain one.<sup>694</sup>

Maunsell also commented on the frustration of the meagre Maori attempts at gaining education, how the children had been banned from school as being in a filthy condition and 'infested with vermin', while European children in Greytown had actively ganged together to 'shew their contempt' by abusing the Maori children. He wondered if a 'small ward' might be set apart at the school both to protect Europeans from the health hazard and Maori from the persecution.

A year later, Maunsell looked hopefully to the cessation of what he perceived as the wastage of resources resulting from large hui. The komiti meetings had ceased and with the death of Paora Potangaroa and the arrest of Te Whiti o Rongomai they now lacked a spiritual leader to occasion great gatherings. He expected that 'the privations they have suffered, owing to the waste of their means at past meetings, will act as a deterrent for the future.'<sup>695</sup> He noted that a party of Ngati Porou had been employed for six months already on carving work for the meeting house at Papawai, and that it was intended to take eighteen months and to be so ornate as to eclipse all others around New Zealand. He did not, though, comment on how such a large undertaking was being funded.

Social and economic improvement continued to be linked. By 1885, 'a drunken Maori is rarely seen' due to a wave of enthusiasm for the temperance movement and a return to the religious beliefs and practices taught them by the missionaries. Old-style whare were also rare as Maori now rapidly adopted comfortable new cottages. Maunsell was now expressing concern at the mortality rate amongst children and youths due to consanguineous marriages resulting in low birth rates, sickly babies and congenital weaknesses.<sup>696</sup> There was apparently no Native medical officer for the Wairarapa at this time.

In 1886, Maunsell was appreciative of the many good houses having been built, particularly at Te Oreore and Papawai. Timber for these was purchased from sawmillers using the proceeds from the sale of totara and other timber which was still available in abundance (presumably on Maori land, since they were gaining income from it), and the Maori had erected the houses themselves. The meeting house at

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<sup>693</sup> Maunsell to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 17 May 1881. AJHR, 1881, G-8, 15.

<sup>694</sup> Maunsell to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 17 May 1881. AJHR, 1881, G-8, 15.

<sup>695</sup> Maunsell to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 9 May 1882. AJHR, 1882, G-1, 12.

Papawai was still under construction, after six years. Maunsell grumbled: 'Much money has been wasted on this house.'<sup>697</sup>

He also complained about the Maori not working hard enough to advance themselves economically:

It cannot be said that the Natives are less indolent. They look to rents and sale of whatever can be conveniently disposed of to supply temporary wants: cultivation and honest occupation is neglected. Their improvident habits often result in monetary difficulties, and compel them to raise money on crops and timber to satisfy the claims of creditors. What they will do when they have nothing to sell it is difficult to conjecture, unless they part with land. This, at present, they are most reluctant to do. However, in most cases their lands are 'restricted from sale'; but where they are free to sell they prefer to go to gaol when pressed by creditors rather than do so, yet at the last moment escape imprisonment by taking extraordinary means to obtain the money.<sup>698</sup>

He did not explain what those 'extraordinary means' might have been, presumably something more startling than selling some more timber. This comment does, though, confirm the ongoing importance to Wairarapa Maori of rental income. The difficulty, as Maunsell presented it, is that they were not generating much income from renewable sources, such as agriculture, but only by selling assets. If they were not parting with the land (and still it leaked away slowly) they were nevertheless bound to run out of trees to cut down. Already, Maunsell could envisage a time when the trees would indeed run out.

Maori appear to have been prominent in Greytown, if not in the records kept about the place which present only a white face. However, one newspaper correspondent visiting to report in 1891 commented on the town's general prosperity:

There is no doubt that there is a very large business done with the Maoris from Papawai and all round that district.... The Maori element in the population here is no inconsiderable one, either in point of numbers ... or from a business standpoint. A large number of the houses in the main street are rented or owned by Maoris, and whenever a house is vacant the owner can always rely on a native tenant for it—a tenant who pays his rent too, and often furnishes his home well and comfortably....<sup>699</sup>

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<sup>696</sup> Maunsell to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 28 April 1885. AJHR, 1885, G-2,

<sup>697</sup> Maunsell to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 25 April 1886. AJHR, 1886, G-1, 17.

<sup>698</sup> Maunsell to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 25 April 1886. AJHR, 1886, G-1, 17.

<sup>699</sup> Quoted in Bagnall, *Greytown*, 84.

Not all was well, though, and the correspondent found that there was dissatisfaction amongst the Papawai Maori concerning the reserve land set aside for the non-existent Native College:

Papawai district contains about two thousand acres of excellent bush land, mostly cleared.... it is probably the richest soil in or about Greytown. About 400 acres of this is a Native College reserve; 1500 acres, mostly leased, still belong to the natives, and the remainder is divided among a few small settlers.

There is a great deal of discontent among the Maoris about these Native College reserves, and this one is no exception to the rule.... I understand Bishop Hadfield has been approached on the matter, and some three or four months ago came to Papawai....

The native population is about one hundred ... living in European fashion in good, well-built homes.... Among the topics discussed that afternoon was Mormonism ... suggested by the sight of buggy loads of natives driving through the pelting rain to Mr John Jury's house [for a Mormon district quarterly conference].... I don't think these fellows do much harm. The average Maori cares as much for their tenets as he does for Christianity, and often the Mormon makes a teetotaler of him for a time at any rate....

I make across to the school which is nearly opposite (the Meeting House).... Mr William Franklin Browne is a strict disciplinarian and having been a sailor has learned the value of order.... Papawai school has a roll of forty-five, with an average attendance of thirty-seven. Natives and Europeans are about equal in numbers....<sup>700</sup>

The overall presentation here is of a happy, healthy, well-housed, suburban community—which may have owed something to Greytown boosterism as his critique and description of the district was 'kindly and tolerant'. Maori in Greytown appear to have had cash, if they could afford the town rents, and to have been responsible tenants and reliable rent-payers. As well, a 'good house' was being built in the centre of town for the chief, Te Nui Orangi [sic], while 'the Maoris' were 'talking about erecting a large meeting house at the south end of town'—perhaps the meeting house at Papawai. The school had been re-opened at Papawai, but if half of the pupils were Pakeha, then only about a score of Maori children were being educated. The only cloud on this reporter's horizon was the outstanding issue of the lack of a college although the land had long been reserved for it. It appeared to be the Anglican Church's responsibility to provide such an institution, not the government's. He reported also the existence of a Papawai Brass Band (there were actually two),

renowned for supplying the musical entertainment at community occasions, such as the opening in 1897 of the new bridge across the Waiohine connecting Greytown and Matarawa.

The Papawai community also hosted the Kotahitanga Parliaments of course and the cost for those must have been carried by someone. It is hard to think that Maori from central Wairarapa bore that burden alone, although it would have been primarily their responsibility. Bruce Stirling has discussed the phenomenon of the Kotahitanga and the Papawai Paremata—together with the huge associated costs—at some length and this does not require repetition here. He does point out, although not always in detail, that local Maori were indeed suffering as a result of fulfilling their customary obligations of hospitality. For example, in April 1897 some 500 manuhiri arrived for a Mormon convention and then, a week later, they together with a ‘much larger’ group met there for the opening of the new marae complex. Stirling comments:

Debts arising out of constructing the Papawai marae complex and hosting the Paremata and other hui—including those involving the Government (such as Wairarapa Moana hui or those held with Seddon and Carroll)—led to large mortgages and land sales for Hamuera Mahupuku and other leading rangatira.<sup>701</sup>

That apparent prosperity at Papawai carried over into the housing and marae construction and maintenance. A public health inspection of Papawai marae in May 1900 revealed that the toilet facilities greatly required improvement, eight closets being condemned. This had been dealt with within a month. Fowl houses were being maintained up to standard, as were pig styes and drains, while middens had been removed. Akura marae at Masterton had also had problems with drains, pig styes and mangy dogs. Te Uru o Tane marae north of Greytown<sup>702</sup> had also implemented Inspector Parata’s instructions especially concerning the hygiene of their homes. All this had been done ‘willingly, the people seeing that it is for their own benefit’.<sup>703</sup> This indicates not only a willingness to modernise and change, but also an ability to do so; they needed to have the money to build and repair and apparently did so.

The Turanga Tribunal has noted that, although individual ‘ordinary’ Maori may have made next to nothing from land sales, when Poverty Bay rangatira did there were

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<sup>700</sup> Quoted in Bagnall, *Greytown*, 87.

<sup>701</sup> Stirling, ‘Whakautu’, 276.

<sup>702</sup> On the northern side of the Waiohine River, the residence of the Kingi Ngatuere whanau.

<sup>703</sup> H. Parata to Carroll, 4 June 1900. J 1/1900/574 [#A51(b)].

some who used a portion of what they acquired for broader community purposes, including the construction of ornate whareniui or meeting houses in the 1880s and 1890s.<sup>704</sup> That may well have been the case in Wairarapa ki Tararua, too, especially with regard to the development at Papawai and the location of the Kotahitanga there—including the importing of carvers from Poverty Bay and the East Coast, taking advantage of their work on the more northerly projects. There was, too, the element of socio-political statement about the construction of the Papawai buildings and the Kotahitanga connections. As the Turanga Tribunal observed of the Poverty Bay whareniui: ‘these projects were statements of persistent community cohesion at a time when individual land sales were at their peak’.<sup>705</sup>

In the twentieth century those local Maori not moving into more urban centres, or leaving the area to find work elsewhere, seem to have remained living in clusters in places such as Homewood or Kaitoki, where there were some 14 families living in an ‘almost self sufficient community’.<sup>706</sup> That Kaitoki Reserve on which the kainga was located had been some 16,000 acres when first set aside during the purchase of the Tamaki Bush blocks in the 1870s, but it has shrunk to no more than 1000 acres today.<sup>707</sup> Various whanau owned smaller blocks within the larger, the Chase whanau having 140 acres, for example. Even although the soil itself was good enough, the block was difficult to work because of the constant fight to clear the scrub and remnants of the bush left in place by the Scandinavians earlier. Herbert Chase asserts that there was no government assistance with this labour:

My parents attempted to farm the land themselves but were faced with the difficulties of clearing the scrub. As far as I can remember, my parents never received any Government assistance to help develop their land at Kaitoki. During the years I was farming the land, I did not receive any financial or professional assistance from government to develop the farm. I had to borrow money, mortgaging the land, to put up fences, clear scrub and buy stock.<sup>708</sup>

He also makes the point that even in this labour, Maori did not necessarily know the best way to cut scrub to prevent it from growing back, making yet more difficulty for themselves as they toiled. He states:

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<sup>704</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Turanga Tangata, Turanga Whenua*, 517.

<sup>705</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Turanga Tangata, Turanga Whenua*, 517,

<sup>706</sup> Punga Barclay Paewai, ‘Brief of Evidence’ (2004) Wai 863 #E15, paras 7-8.

<sup>707</sup> Herbert Tewa-kite-iwi Chase, ‘Brief of Evidence’ (2004) Wai 863 #E6, para 6.

<sup>708</sup> Chase, ‘Brief’, para 18.

[The older generation farming in Tamaki and at Kaitoki in particular] did not have the expertise or the finance to successfully farm the land that they had retained but they still made an attempt at farming in some way or another.<sup>709</sup>

## 9.2. Health

The question of the provision of medical services had been on the agenda ever since the McLean purchases. It was raised repeatedly in the context of the discussions over the succeeding decades of the five percent and koha clauses.

H.P. Tunuiarangi wrote in 1898 asking for a doctor to be appointed for the Greytown Maori, presumably including a greater area of the Wairarapa. He enclosed a more general letter from 1896 to the stipendiary magistrate there, which pointed out the various McLean purchase deeds which included provision for such medical services in the five percent provisions. An 1895 petition had won the support of the Native Affairs Committee which recommended the government's favourable consideration and the appointment of a doctor 'without delay'. Stipendiary Magistrate Hutchinson investigated the matter and confirmed that the promises had been made but never fulfilled, and also that he had secured agreement that the matter would be satisfied if one of the doctors in each of Masterton and Greytown were contracted to add such responsibilities to their existing practices and a couple of cottage hospitals were set up. Tamahau Mahupuku wrote to Seddon saying that there was 'much illness' amongst Greytown Maori. By the time a police constable was sent there to investigate, the illness at Papawai had 'almost disappeared and that there is nothing much wrong with them at present'. The local GP, Dr Bey, also visited Papawai, finding about 50 people there. Those still ill had 'mild complaints', but he reported that a woman had died there recently of puerperal fever and that, as was usual, she had been attended only by a local woman 'who for years has done any amount of quackery amongst them'. The implicit comment is that they had had no other medical attention available.

In the face of all this, Justice Under-Secretary Waldegrave merely advised Native Minister Seddon that in his opinion, 'the Wairarapa Natives are fairly well off,

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<sup>709</sup> Chase, 'Brief', para 19.

and can afford to pay for medical attendance. Besides there are a good many more pressing demands upon the Civil List this year.’<sup>710</sup> That response, of course, simply ignored the explicit basis upon which the request was being made, the historic promise of such provision, and Waldegrave’s dismissive note gave no indication as to what might be more pressing than citizens’ health. Nevertheless he was instructed by Seddon to provide the service requested and in August 1899—another year later—asked Dr Palmer of Featherston to provide the service for Greytown, together with Dr Gault of Hamua and Dr Ross of Takapau.<sup>711</sup>

In 1899, Wairarapa Maori petitioned the government for various matters relating to the greater Wairarapa district, including creation of a separate Maori district. Te Morehu Tuhua and Horomona Rongopauae’s petition on behalf of Ngaitaku, Ngati Kirikiri and Ngati Toro-i-Waho in the north included requests for a doctor ‘to protect us from the numerous ailments of the world’, and a policeman.<sup>712</sup>

In April 1900, Dr Bey wrote requesting an appointment as adviser to local Maori on sanitation as ‘the plague’ was reaching the district, and without proper guidance Maori would suffer a great mortality rate. He argued that if it were pointed out that he was surgeon to the South Wairarapa Hospital and that municipal bodies looked after Pakeha, and that Maori were not given the impression that they were being singled out because of their habits, they would be much more receptive to such advice.<sup>713</sup>

The five percents appeared again in the early twentieth century during discussion of the provision of a medical officer for Maori in the Wairarapa. When asked whether there should be one, Maui Pomare replied that the terms of the deeds of sale included provisions for:

the free attendance of the Natives of that district. A Government Medical Officer was appointed soon after the sale but was eventually withdrawn. As long as no free Medical aid is available the Maories will go to the Tohunga, with the usual results.<sup>714</sup>

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<sup>710</sup> H.P. Tunuiarangi: request for a doctor, 6 July 1898. J 1/1900/842.

<sup>711</sup> Palmer did point out that Papawai was only a centre occasionally and requested quadruple the government subsidy to cover the entire valley from Greytown south, but the file in #A51(b) does not contain the government response.

<sup>712</sup> Te Morehu Tuhua and Horomona Rongopauae, petition, 22 June 1899. J 1/1899/830 [#A51(b)].

<sup>713</sup> Bey to Colonial Secretary, 25 April 1900. J 1/1900/1299 [#A51(b)].

<sup>714</sup> Pomare to Mason, 2 September 1908. MA 1/1910/3880. This was in response to a ‘supplication’ from 104 Wairarapa Maori to him directly for help gain a subsidy. Their petition lists their signatures, hapu and kainga.

Dr Mason, the Chief Health Officer, approved a small stipend for one doctor, but observed that his was not the proper department to be concerned about these other rights, as the Public Health Department was authorised to help only indigent Maori. This restriction was included in the offer made to Dr Cowie. His quarterly returns indicate that he treated 53 such patients in the year to 31 December 1909 and 57 in 1910. Some were babies and infants, some mothers, and of those patients many were people with respiratory or related infections such as pneumonia, pleurisy, bronchitis, and there was one case of gonorrhoea. Almost none were for injuries, only one was for TB.<sup>715</sup>

In 1910, the subsidy being paid to the doctor at Pahiatua for similar work was withdrawn as, in a period of government financial retrenchment, the Maori in his district were considered by the Health Department 'not in very necessitous circumstances', the subsidy still being provided solely for indigent Maori:

The Natives in the locality were not numerous, and they were fairly well provided for. Further ... comparatively few Natives presented themselves to him for medical treatment.<sup>716</sup>

Dr Dawson had written to Under Secretary Fisher of the Native Department, which now administered the scheme, complaining of the removal of the subsidy, clearly not of the same opinion as officials concerning his patients' actual financial state, nor of their level of need:

The natives in Pahiatua do not understand paying for medicine and Doctors, I explain the situation to them but they have no money, so it is a matter of them going without or me giving them advice and medicine free.

There are about One hundred Natives all told in the Pahiatua district. They live three, eight, and ten miles away and the only time they appear to have any money is at shearing time.

If your Govt does not see its way to subsidise as formerly, then I will have to attend them free, as I know them personally and if they send for me I have to go independent of remuneration....

During the past year there has been considerable sickness among the natives including tubercular troubles.

If your Govt stop subsidy they are doing a grave injustice to natives & myself.<sup>717</sup>

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<sup>715</sup> MA 1/1910/3880.

<sup>716</sup> Carroll to Ross, 2 February 1910. MA 1/1910/3882.

<sup>717</sup> Dawson to Fisher, 22 January 1910. MA 1/1910/3882.

A note on one document asking how many medical officers had been dispensed with was answered with only two names, Dawson in Pahiatua and Wilson in Palmerston North. The file gives no indication of any investigation of the actual state of things in the northern Wairarapa, simply recording an apparently spontaneous memo from Chief Health Officer Mason to the Minister of Public Health stating:

This I think is one district which hardly needs a Medical Attendant for indigent natives. The Natives are few and they are fairly well off. I recommend that Dr Dawson's services be dispensed with.<sup>718</sup>

It is thus impossible to say on what basis the Wellington bureaucrat had formed his opinion of the economic state of Maori in the district. There is also an unanswered question as to what was supposed to happen to those Maori in the district who were indigent. Was the 'fairly well off' local Maori community—acknowledged to be only a few—supposed to support them by paying for their medical care as well as their own? This withdrawal of service was made from an entire district, not merely scaled down, and without any discernible assessment of the level of actual need and without provision for those who still did need the service.

At much the same time, Mihi Reita, Tangi Matutaera and 17 others of Whakataki on the east coast petitioned Carroll to have the local schoolmaster supplied with medicines for their children since it was impossible for them to get to Masterton to see the doctor, especially in emergencies. This petition was sent through the teacher, a doctor's widow who could hardly afford to supply them herself, to pass through the local MP in hope of getting better attention than they had received from Carroll directly. She had already tried Ngata unsuccessfully during a campaign that went on for months. The request was again denied as although there were more Maori in the district than Europeans (now some 50 people at the pa, groups at Aohanga, Mataikona, Whakataki, Tauwheru), and they had frequently sought medicine from her and other Pakeha, the school was a public one and funds were only allocated for Native schools. Also, Carroll said, 'the Natives in her district can hardly be called indigent'.<sup>719</sup>

In any case, quite apart from whether Wairarapa Maori were 'fairly well off', or 'hardly indigent', as Stirling has discussed at length in his evidence, by the turn of the century even the memory of the agreements made in 1853 had faded from the official

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<sup>718</sup> Mason to Buddo, 31 March 1909. MA 1/1910/3882.

mind. The Minister of Public Health's response to the 1908 'supplication' forwarded by Pomare was emphatic: 'We must not undertake any responsibility arising out of the sale of land.'<sup>720</sup> Clearly it was not felt necessary to treat the contract as anything binding on the Crown or affecting its honour after half a century's non-compliance.

There appears to be a conflict of perception here as to just how well off Wairarapa Maori were. The descriptions of apparently prosperous Maori are those associated with the townships, especially at Papawai and Pahiatua, while those seeking medical assistance included those from the most remote coastal areas. It is possible at this time that the prosperous Maori officials were thinking of were the likes of Tunuiorangi and Iraia Te Whaiti, but if so they were hardly the sum of all local Maori. Dr Dawson from Pahiatua may have been making a pitch for a guaranteed income for himself, but his description does not suggest so and indicates a real need. Their economic status and degree of need is thus unclear.

### 9.3. Education

We noted above the comments by Stirling that if land were not still available as a resource from which to derive an income, then education was necessary to allow access to other forms of employment and sources of income. Similarly, the Native Land Amendment Act 1913 No 2 indicated that the alternatives to retaining the land were either private wealth or having a trade, vocation or profession, which implicitly requires the availability of educational opportunities. Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori clearly realised this necessity and agitated consistently for the provision of educational opportunities for their children.

During Mr Powell's lengthy cross-examination of Professor Hawke in Hauraki, the question was traversed of what the government could or should have done to assist Maori to gain the skills they needed to participate in the new economy. Professor Hawke argued that extensive assistance, certainly beyond one-off grants and loans to help with particular problems, was not within nineteenth-century thinking. He stated:

I don't think in the sort of thinking of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, it is actually wise to think that [such training assistance] was something which was within

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<sup>719</sup>

MA 1/1910/4158.

<sup>720</sup>

Quoted in Stirling, 'Wairarapa Maori', 64.

the realms of practicality.... If [the government] had so thought, I think it would have had great difficulty in recruiting the sort of people that you have in mind—sufficient of them to deal with the range of activities—and that is because of the small size of the Government bureaucracy in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>721</sup>

Later—in the context of developing the Hauraki goldfields, but it applies also to agricultural farming and such activities within the Wairarapa—Professor Hawke disputed the bare description of some Pakeha having skills and Maori not as ‘not a level playing field’.<sup>722</sup> He also disputed that the Crown in the nineteenth century would have seen it that way and rephrased the issue:

The issue is that some Pakeha had skills which enabled them to use the land to generate a higher income than Hauraki Maori could do with their skills. It is not a question of skills and no skills; it is a question of the extent of skills and the level of income which can be generated therefrom. Pakeha with greater skills could see that the land along with other things would generate a higher income that was available to Hauraki Maori. They could therefore offer a price [to purchase the land] which would be attractive to Hauraki Maori....<sup>723</sup>

The two agreed that it would take time and participation before Maori could get to the point of having equal skills, however they apparently disagreed over whether it was therefore important that Maori retained sufficient land to utilise those skills once achieved. Professor Hawke suggested that that was but one strategy to deal with the situation; another was ‘to sell land with the intention of buying land again later on’.<sup>724</sup> That may have been an intention—we have the very early example of Te Manihera managing to do that for a small block adjoining his reserve after the McLean purchase—but there seems to be little evidence of it actually happening on other occasions.

The crucial point from this discussion is that there was a need for Maori of Wairarapa ki Tararua to gain an entirely new set of skills and knowledge if they were to participate in the new economy at any level. Some of those skills would have been at a relatively low level, such as learning to shear sheep, but others would have been

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<sup>721</sup> ‘Hauraki Transcript’, p 114, lines 18-24 (punctuation added).

<sup>722</sup> Later, he explained to Mr Hirschfeld that the government then would have seen itself as creating a framework ‘within which competitive business could be expected to produce a social optimum’, which meant that it was less concerned with particular groups. ‘Hauraki Transcript’, p 130, lines 34-40.

<sup>723</sup> ‘Hauraki Transcript’, p 120, lines 23-30.

<sup>724</sup> ‘Hauraki Transcript’, p 120, line 41.

of a different order in terms of farm and business management. To do this they needed education and as is apparent from the historical narrative, Wairarapa Maori recognised this need from earliest days but were largely frustrated until the early twentieth century.

Bagnall comments that one Crown promise at least was met in the foundation of the Native College of St Thomas at Papawai, opened by the Anglican Bishop of Wellington, C.J. Abraham, on 21 December 1860. However, it was hardly a meaningful fulfilment of a Crown promise. Bishop Abraham himself, partially at Ronaldson's prompting although it had been generally intended for years, took the initiative in approaching first the local representatives and then the government. A stumbling block for some years was that the government policy was to pay only an allowance of £8 per head for students enrolled (which Ronaldson thought was inadequate even to maintain the children), but nothing for providing a building to house them initially, which required a substantial sum. The Church had to do all the work with what support it could gain from the community, especially Maori themselves. By 1858, local Maori had promised five cows and one horse, which would have fetched £100 in earlier days but was worth much less by then.<sup>725</sup> The government did make an allocation of £500, chiefly from the Five Percents, and with that available a two-storied building was constructed with a class room, a master's room and two upstairs rooms. The initial sixteen pupils were taught by Ronaldson himself, however after the initial set-up grant, he complained that the only ongoing government funding provided was £10 per scholar per annum, barely enough to feed them. He added: 'For clothing and the necessary services of one man we do not know which way to look.'<sup>726</sup> And this was at the start of the school's life, not a situation into which it fell. These constraints, compounded by the unsettling effects of the events of the early 1860s, conspired to force the school's closure after only four years in operation. After the various Maori-Pakeha confrontations and alarms, real and imagined, of 1863-64 Maori refused to send their children for the start of the 1865 year.

The comparable Pakeha school at Greytown was run by a couple in a 30ft x 15 ft building, containing 31 pupils in 1862. Fees of 6d per week were charged per child and government assistance of £69 12s 10d was received in the 1861/62 year, while it

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<sup>725</sup> Ronaldson to CMS, 15 November 1858. qMS 1720.

also paid half the teachers' salaries. In 1864 the roll had grown to 40, of which 30 attended on average. Books were provided partly by the school and partly by the children. In 1863, a rate—controversial, especially amongst childless householders—of £1 per household per annum would be charged to enable the fees to be kept at 6d and a circulating library was attached which, by penny payments also generated an income of 12s. In 1867 the school inspector thought the teacher diligent and successful but the building was poor, being neither lined nor painted. The first teacher was forcibly removed in 1868, the second unpopular and driven out only two years later by the general non-payment of the rate. At least three private schools catered for the children thus left in the lurch.

Wairarapa Maori continued to want schools provided in the district. In 1878 Te One Paraone and others petitioned for this, but the Native Affairs Committee made no recommendation as it was a matter for the executive.<sup>727</sup>

By the early 1880s there were two Native schools in the district, at Te Oreore and Papawai. Although they each had nearly twenty students, neither had suitable accommodation, the official reports giving the clear impression that local Maori were reluctant to give the land required.<sup>728</sup>

In fact, the reports relating to the Native schools set up at Papawai and Te Oreore do not indicate a great enthusiasm amongst Wairarapa Maori for such education in the 1880s. The conditions at Te Oreore were repeatedly described as bad, even 'simply intolerable', largely because, although the teacher worked hard at his job, no agreement could be reached with local Maori about the provision of a suitable site and building in which to hold the classes.<sup>729</sup> In fact, in 1890 the Education Department gave up trying and closed the school. The building issue had made it no longer worth paying for, particularly since by then the attendance had dropped from 10 to 8 and the examination results were 'inappreciable', at 35% the third-lowest in the country.<sup>730</sup>

Even at Papawai, where the quality of the school was consistently praised—its 1889 examination percentage was 67%—the assessment of the district superintendent was that 'the Maoris of the district should use it more than they do. Besides European

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<sup>726</sup> Ronaldson to CMS, 27 December 1860. qMS 1720.

<sup>727</sup> AJHR, 1878, I-3, 32.

<sup>728</sup> AJHR, 1884, E-2, 9.

<sup>729</sup> AJHR, 1889, E-2, 6.

<sup>730</sup> AJHR, 1890, E-2, 6.

children there should be an average attendance of at least fifteen Maoris.<sup>731</sup> Or again in 1894: ‘It is to be regretted that the Wairarapa Maoris do not make full use of their opportunities. The Papawai School would do them much good if they would only let it.’<sup>732</sup> The basis for these comments is not entirely clear, given that the enrolments rose from 30 to 54 during 1889, with an average attendance of 41.<sup>733</sup> Perhaps most of those children were actually Pakeha attending the Native school, but Maunsell’s comments regarding anti-Maori feeling suggest that this is unlikely, just as it is unlikely that Maori children would have been welcome at the ordinary school (and not known to the present writer whether any tried or were permitted in that era).

Nireaha Tamaki and 185 others who were another group of petitioners in 1899 included amongst their requests a prayer that the government ‘give effect to the word that you left with us with respect to the establishment of a technical school where all those who have passed Colleges etc in the Wairarapa boundaries may be instructed’. They also asked that the Crown set aside some Crown land as ‘a place where the young people of Wairarapa proper may be taught farming’.<sup>734</sup> Clearly this wish for proper agricultural education had been a desire of long standing amongst Wairarapa Maori, and they had some time previously extracted a government promise to provide for this. It was, moreover, an ongoing desire for self-improvement such that they were prepared to pursue the government to have the promise fulfilled. It confirms that they were interested both in agriculture and in providing for themselves as best they could, whether on land they owned or land belonging to others that they farmed.

The large group petitioning also asked that Tipene Matua be included, together with Hami Potangaroa, as a member of an advisory board for retaining land and for ascertaining landless Maori. A month later, Nireaha and H.P. Tunuiarangi wrote again as persons designated in the *Kahiti* to give the names of landless Maori, and of those who wished to sell land to the Crown.<sup>735</sup> Of the landless ones, they said: ‘We have seen that they have no land, and that they are in a state of indigence.’ They gave four names, two from Masterton, and one each from Kahutara and Kohunui. There were two groups of sellers, one with land at Tahinewahine near Gladstone and the other with land at Te Popo part of Te Whititakitoa also near Gladstone. Although they

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<sup>731</sup> AJHR, 1889, E-2, 6.

<sup>732</sup> AJHR, 1894, E-2, 6.

<sup>733</sup> AJHR, 1890, E-2, 17.

<sup>734</sup> Nireaha Tamaki and 185 Others, petition, 28 June 1899. J 1/1899/830 [#A51(b)].

reported this desire to sell, they noted that the desire had sprung up suddenly during the recent Kotahitanga meeting and personally recommended that no purchases be made until after the passing of the 'Board Bill' (presumably the impending Maori Councils Act).

An Anglican Church of the Maoris was set up in Gladstone in 1889, although it was used by the whole community. In 1903, the building was shifted to Hurunuiorangi Pa on the south side of the Carterton-Gladstone road, before being moved again into Cole Street, Masterton many years later. It is not presently clear who paid for the building's construction or removals.<sup>736</sup> Two trusts were operating within the Anglican Church, comprising respectively the income from the 400 acres at Papawai and another 174 acres at Kaikokirikiri at Masterton and which were established in 1853 to fund education for Maori.

The Hikurangi College was opened for Maori children in November 1903. It was not a state institution but was run by the trustees of the new joint Papawai and Kaikokirikiri Trusts Board, meaning that Wairarapa Maori and the Anglican Church between them were providing the educational opportunity. The site was the Clareville estate, just north of Carterton, of the late Lady Tancred, where the land and large house had been bought for £1476 by the Harington Trust, a trust for educational purposes which was at the disposal of the Anglican Bishop of Wellington. The Harington Trust then leased the property to the Papawai Board, which contributed to its maintenance from its own land revenues.<sup>737</sup>

Long wished and planned for, such a school had been desired for half a century, but startup funding had not previously been available. The Rev. W. Ronaldson came out of retirement to assist in the preliminary work prior to the school's opening and the Rev. S.G. Crompton was brought out from England to be the inaugural headmaster. The pupils received free board, and the syllabus included instruction in English, religious teaching, and technical training.

The Papawai Trust Board took over the College in 1907, purchasing the property from the Harington Trust for the original price. At this time the building was enlarged to provide for more than the original 24 boarders and later a chapel was

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<sup>735</sup> H.P. Tunuiarangi and Nireaha Tamaki to Seddon, 31 July 1899. J 1/1899/980. [#A51(b)].

<sup>736</sup> Fearon, *Gladstone*, 78.

<sup>737</sup> Bagnall, *Carterton*, 75.

added. In 1905, there were 12 boys attending, and the maximum roll the school reached was 32.<sup>738</sup>

An additional fillip to the education of local Maori was provided in the early twentieth century when a branch of the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union was formed at Gladstone in 1913, with only some eight members. They had an interest in raising the educational levels of local Maori and to help in this aim were 'instrumental' in sending two Maori girls, Rangi Haeata and Pearl Panapa, to Turakina Maori Girls' College. Unfortunately, Pearl died before completing her schooling.<sup>739</sup>

In 1930, there were 24 primary and 4 secondary pupils, all private, boarding at Hikurangi College. In 1931, those numbers fell to 12 primary and 7 secondary, a drop from 28 to 19 overall.<sup>740</sup> The attendances were lower at 20 primary and 1 secondary in 1930 and 11 primary and 3 secondary in 1931.<sup>741</sup> At such schools, where they were secondary only, such as Te Aute, the trend was to encourage students towards practical vocational courses, particularly in agriculture for boys, and the training and facilities were considered suitable. However, the others such as Hikurangi, which were essentially primary schools, gave secondary education of 'little value'. The Inspector of Native Schools thought that these schools would render the Maori race a greater service were they to restructure as purely post-primary vocational training establishments. This would also necessitate restructuring the staffing, which in some cases was 'unsatisfactory and inadequate'.<sup>742</sup>

The difficulty was resolved in March 1932 when the Hikurangi College building was destroyed by fire and it proved uneconomic to rebuild. The chapel was wrecked in an earthquake in 1942. Bagnall comments:

The school doubtless filled a useful place in Maori education but the concept behind its establishment was one possibly more suited to the previous century and it is to be regretted that it did not operate sooner.<sup>743</sup>

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<sup>738</sup> Bagnall, *Carterton*, 75.

<sup>739</sup> Fearon, *Gladstone*, 75.

<sup>740</sup> AJHR, 1932, E-3, 7.

<sup>741</sup> AJHR, 1932, E-3, 8.

<sup>742</sup> AJHR, 1932, E-3, 5.

<sup>743</sup> Bagnall, *Carterton*, 75.

In 1943, a specially convened select committee heard two 1941 petitions from Toku Potangaroa and others and Hone McMillan and others seeking the winding up of the educational activities of the two trusts, and the turning of the schools into hostels in the vicinity of existing state colleges and under the management of the Native Trustee, while also preserving the lands from alienation. These petitions were opposed by a clutch of others, seeking to prevent any such change. The existing trust boards were proposing to offer scholarships to Church of England schools and to increase Maori and Education Department representation on the boards.<sup>744</sup>

The committee found that the trusts should be maintained in the name of the Church of England and as far as possible continue to work towards their original education objectives. It agreed that the Maori and Education Department representation on the boards should be increased. The lands at Masterton and Greytown, given by the hapu of the Ngati Kahungunu of Wairarapa (which was taken to include Rangitane, so far as they were then recognised to have a separate identity and status), together with their assets, should continue with their original aims but ensure that they focused on Ngati Kahungunu children from within an area bounded to the north by a line from Akitio to Pahiatua. Presumably one of the complaints had been that children from other districts were being educated at the expense of the locals who had made the initial gifts. Three of the eight board members were to be Maori from within that same district. It did also recommend that neither board should have the power to alienate any land, or make grants from the trust funds to any institution, unless that had been agreed to by a public meeting held as under the Native Land Act 1931 s 416. The funds could be used for bursaries, equipment such as books and uniforms, or for erecting or acquiring suitable buildings to house the pupils in.<sup>745</sup>

Maori children did not attend the 'native' or boarding schools only. In 1939, Elizabeth Rina Te Whaiti, aged 14, was travelling daily from Pirinoa to Featherston and thence to Masterton and return, to study at Masterton Technical College, a feat which clearly signals the commitment she and her family had to education.<sup>746</sup> Presumably, she was not the only Maori child attending or travelling to state schools, but the fact that she could do so on a daily basis was made possible by the road and rail infrastructure that had been developed by this time.

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<sup>744</sup> AJHR, 1943, I-3a, 2.

<sup>745</sup> AJHR, 1943, I-3a, 3.

<sup>746</sup> Hoani Robert Te Whaiti to Judge Shepherd, 20 January 1939. MA 15 1/2117.

Without the ambiguous contribution of Hikurangi College, the Wairarapa was not doing well in the mid-twentieth century for the education of Maori children. In 1948, twenty-four Maori children finally left school.<sup>747</sup> Of these:

16 were assured of employment

4 had no employment prospects

0 were at home

1 was a 'problem case'

3 there was no information for

Problems for school leavers were not always due to lack of employment opportunities, but sometimes were also attributable to the unemployability of the child. In this case, there seems to have been only one clearly identified as in that category, although there could have been as many as eight, one-third of the total.

Of those leaving school:

1 had attained Standard 3

1 " " Standard 4

8 " " Form 1

7 " " Form 2

5 " " Form 3

2 " " Form 4

This meant that only 29.1% had any secondary education and none above Fourth Form. This was a particularly low percentage attaining some secondary education. Of all the regions throughout the country only the West Coast with 14.2% and Southland with 25% were lower and there the small numbers could easily skew statistics. Most regions had percentages in the high 30s or 40, with Taranaki at 57% and Napier-Southern Hawkes Bay at 66.4%, and Wellington-Hutt at 85.7%. There is a possibility that children from the Wairarapa were sent to Maori schools in the Hawkes Bay region, or commuting into Wellington, where, when they graduated they would improve the statistics of those regions while their own languished. However the official compiling the report commented that the lack of achievement above Form 4 was indeed a local Wairarapa problem: 'That does not apply to any other North Island district, and it suggests that a campaign is needed among the Maori people of the

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<sup>747</sup> Report (1948). FW 3129 3/21 [#A51(b)].

Wairarapa to impress upon them the desirability of giving their children a higher standard of education'.<sup>748</sup>

A number of the cases discussed in this report's section on debt also provide examples of Maori using their sale proceeds to fund their children's education. This indicates both their enduring awareness of the importance of education and also that the problem in providing it was often their inability to afford it for themselves, rather lack of enthusiasm.

The history of campaigns by Maori of Wairarapa ki Tararua for educational opportunities indicates that they knew only too well 'the desirability of giving their children a higher standard of education', and indeed the necessity for it if they were not to be trapped in poverty. Education can thus be seen as a 'non-land resource' they needed to establish and develop to offset and overcome what by the late nineteenth century was the very extensive loss of their land resource. Their ongoing economic and social survival largely depended on gaining access to it.

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<sup>748</sup> Report (1948). FW 3129 3/21 [#A51(b)].

## 10. Non-Land Resources

In addition to examination of land and its sufficiency, Commission Topic G requires consideration of non-land resources. Such information is germane to the sufficiency topic also in light of the inclusion by previous Tribunals of such resources, mahinga kai, amongst the elements of what should be considered a ‘sufficient endowment’ to be left for Maori.

### 10.1. Fishing

During the purchases of the nineteenth century, Maori retained a number of blocks, or kept reserves, that were adjacent to the inland waterways. Robert McLean has identified a number of such riparian land blocks along the Ruamahanga River: Taueru, Taunui, Hurunuiorangi, Tuarawhiti, Waikoukou, Taumata, Manohaweia, Papawai, Uruokakiti, Waiotetuta, Waihinga, Te Awaawaroa, Potaka, Potakakuratawhiti, Okawa, Te Iiringa, Mapunatea, Otaupuarorao, and Te Tipua.<sup>749</sup> He notes that some of these were at strategic ferry and river crossing places, such as the Hurunuiorangi block at the Gladstone road ferry crossing, the Hikawera block near the Waiohine ferry crossing near the current State Highway One bridge, and the Waihinga blocks where an old track crossed the Ruamahanga at Pukeo. He concludes: ‘It can be assumed that Maori retained riparian landholdings in order to secure access to the river for transport, communications, and for kaimoana.’

Conversely, as Maori were separated from these various blocks it might also be assumed that they were separated to a large extent from those benefits of being beside the river. It would have become more difficult to access the river through private property for transport except, perhaps, at bridges and fords. They could no longer try to gain some economic advantage from being in possession of the ford and ferry sites, by, for example, offering ferry services as had happened at the lake in the early period. They would have lost some access to food resources, although that would have depended on what resources were where and how readily they could gain access

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<sup>749</sup> McLean, ‘Inland Waterways’, 15.

across private land or up the bed of the river itself. McLean did not go on, though, to discuss the effects, whether economic or social, on Maori in the nineteenth century of the loss of riparian lands.

As discussed by Stirling,<sup>750</sup> Maori continued to fish extensively around Lake Wairarapa, which complicated both the Crown attempts to purchase the lake and the relations with the neighbouring farmers who complained of being harmed by the lake's flooding which could not be remedied except by interfering with those fishing rights. This led the settlers and the Native Affairs Select Committee to call for a full government inquiry into the real owners of the lake with a view to reliable Crown acquisition.<sup>751</sup> It would also in these terms have been aimed at severing Maori from their use of the lake and thus a major food source.

Some Pakeha opposed their continued use of the area. In 1877, Peter Hume and others petitioned the Crown to keep the lake open to the sea, but in the subsequent committee inquiry Hume claimed that in addition to the flooding problem, Maori were using the pretext of fishing as a device to assert ongoing interest in the lake, rather than because they were fishing to eat. They were, he said, not really fishing, but pretending—'Sometimes they open the basket & let the fish out.'<sup>752</sup> Certainly there was a strong element of control in the business and formation of the Komiti in 1876 and the trespass notice it issued in 1885 is another example of this intention. But Hume's claim of mere pretence is rather difficult to square with the catch taken from the lake—32 tons of 'rika and hao eels' caught and dried during the 1886 season, for example.<sup>753</sup>

H.P. Tunuiarangi wrote to Seddon at the end of the century asking that the government provide him and his people with a fishing boat, 'for the maintenance of us and our children'. He specified that it should be 'strong, fast—pulling five or four oars, with a mast and sail', and made clear that it was 'to us Maoris an important matter'. He was making the request as one chief to another and said that the grant would be 'as a token of remembrance'.<sup>754</sup> The indication is that the people—he was writing from Ranana Pa—lacked the money to pay for one themselves and that they needed some such assistance in order to access kai moana.

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<sup>750</sup> Stirling, 'Whakautu: The Response', sec 6.4.2.9.

<sup>751</sup> AJHR, 1878, I-3, 38.

<sup>752</sup> Quoted in Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, 379.

<sup>753</sup> Stirling, 'Whakautu', 147.

<sup>754</sup> H.P Tunuiarangi to Seddon, 8 July 1898. J 1/1898/777.

Fishing and gathering kai moana have remained important activities not just around the southern lakes and Palliser Bay, but also along various parts of the Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua coastline. Hepa Mei Tatere described the abundance at Oahanga:

There was a great abundance of kaimoana at Oahanga, koura, karengo, paua, kuku, pipi, kina and finfish. Before I came to Oahanga I never knew that koura grew as big as the ones we caught at Oahanga. It was not even a matter of catching them, they were so abundant and easy to collect that it was not very difficult. You could sometimes even get them without getting wet. It was just a matter of gathering the kai, whereas now you have to hunt for it.

Older people there knew when, where and how to gather kaimoana, whether that be kina, paua, karengo, koura, kahawai, mullet, whitebait, tuna, sand sharks, or stingray. There was no calendar, they just knew when and where to be, it was just part of everyday life and just something they were naturally aware of.<sup>755</sup>

It was not only the coastal settlements and the southern lakes that were well provided for in terms of natural resources, especially for food. Kaitoki was also very rich in food sources:

In Kaitoki there was an abundance of food. Lake Mohanga Iti was like a supermarket providing us with kakahi, tuna, koura, pukeko and duck eggs. Puha and watercress were also plentiful. Other foods harvested were: kanga pirau, karaka berries ... paua and pipis which were gathered from Akitio would be dried then threaded on a wire for later use. There were many varieties of fruit trees: green gage plums, cherries, pears, apples, walnuts and chestnuts were all there. Kaitoki was an overflowing food basket. No one was hungry or went without.<sup>756</sup>

The collection at Mataikona/Aohanga in the mid-twentieth century of agar seaweed has already been mentioned.<sup>757</sup> I have seen no other references to this activity so am unable to state whether this was a feature elsewhere along the coastline of the inquiry district or for a longer period than appears from Mr Power's brief account.

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<sup>755</sup> Tatere, 'Brief', paras 15-16.

<sup>756</sup> Punga Barclay Paewai, 'Brief of Evidence' (2004) Wai 863 #E15, para 15.

<sup>757</sup> Power, 'Brief', para 23.

## 10.2. Timber

In the twentieth century, some of the land still remained valuable for resources other than its grazing potential. Timber was one such resource, located patchily around the inquiry district in places where it had survived the burnings and fellings of the settlers' arrival.

At Akitio there was a saw mill until 1917, when it burned down. The land between the Akitio and Owahanga rivers had 'only little patches of rubbishy bush near the coast' and the good timber had to be felled ten miles or more inland, so that big trees from Waione were floated down the river to the mill, and then surfed out to the coastal boats. Maori benefited from this extractive industry through gaining employment there, and possibly from being owners of land on which the trees grew.<sup>758</sup>

Maori landowners used the timber resource remaining on their lands. In 1936, the three owners of 40-acre Okoura 1A Block, near Kohunui Pa about three miles north of Pirinoa, were able to gain royalties for a licence to cut timber on the block.<sup>759</sup> Valued at 3s per hundred superfeet, this brought in a sum of £485 17s. The cost of the survey was to be paid by the vendors, while as was customary the cost of the timber valuation was borne by the purchasers. The Ikaroa Board president noted that 'The Maori Land Board should endeavour to see if possible that this money confers some lasting benefit upon the vendors.' Mrs M.A. Sutherland of Waihora wrote to the Minister of Health complaining that the previous generation of Maori had reserved this bush, the last in the district, to provide fuel for future generations, but that they had died within the last year or so and their younger descendants were interested only in ready cash. She suggested that as the generation now growing up would have nothing with which to supply themselves with fuel, and that therefore it was the Health Department's duty to intervene to preserve this bush.<sup>760</sup> This gives an interesting insight into possible changing intergenerational attitudes to land use, and perhaps also points to their greater need for ready cash.

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<sup>758</sup> William John Wright, 'Brief of Evidence' (2004) Wai 863 #E30, paras 19-21.

<sup>759</sup> The following account is a summary of the contents of file MA 15 1/2116. The three owners coming from the original whole share of Hoani Te Whaiti were Te Aohau Te Whaiti (½), Tame/Thomas Karaitiana (¼), Purvis Russell Karaitiana (¼).

<sup>760</sup> Sutherland to Minister of Health, 26 May 1936. MA 15 1/2116.

A mill employing twenty men set to with gusto to process as much timber as possible before the winter weather set in and before confirmation of the licence had been granted. Judge Harvey declined to intervene as Mrs Sutherland had no interest in the matter. But the Commissioner of State Forests refused to give the licensing deal his approval and put forward a sale proposal. The block's affairs then became mixed with Okoura 2G1 and 4, which were also to be milled returning £262 13s and £164 18s respectively, and 2G2. By March 1937, 1A had been cut, 2G1 and 2 were being cut and 2G4 had not been begun. Apparently the deal allowed the three owners a share of the timber slabs remaining.

The responses of the three owners then provide more examples of the economic situation of local Maori once they lacked the ability to support themselves on their own land and resources, as well as the Land Board's role as gatekeeper to their access to their own money and the tensions that created.

Immediately, Hoani Te Whaiti applied for £97 to be used in putting his home in order which had to be done before bad weather arrived, but died shortly thereafter. Te Ao Hou/Joe Te Whaiti then wished for payment of goods towards his house renovations and to pay off his stock liabilities. The departmental representative then reporting that the work included roofing and other necessary work, Harvey insisted that the house renovations take priority over other requests.

Then Purvis Karaitiana applied for financial assistance as he and his wife were hospitalised with TB and their three children needed caring for. Harvey resisted dissipating the Okoura funds and instructed his staff to see about other possible welfare assistance. Flowers reported that they were in need of £15 worth of clothing but not food. This was authorised, followed soon after by another £3 for clothes for Purvis. By mid-1937 he was out of hospital but seeking another £6 for more clothing plus a canvas shield for his verandah. Purvis remained unable to work and in July 1938 sought assistance when his wife was going into the Featherston maternity hospital.

In April 1937, 1A's third owner, Tame Karaitiana, applied for £15 to buy an old Ford lorry to carry from the mill slabs for which he already had buyers, but the Board refused. Early the following year, he asked for £10 for food and clothing, but only £3 for clothing was allowed. He must have been paid for other items, too, as his original share was £96, but by December 1938 he had only £60 remaining. In May 1939, Tame sought the payment of a medical account he had been unable to meet for some

time, and £5 for clothing for his children before the onset of winter and so he could send them to school. He had four children under 9, he was a semi-invalid who had also been treated at Waipukurau Sanatorium for TB, and he had been out of regular work for three months. Another £5 was authorised to outfit his children for the start of the 1940 school year and by May 1940 an account for blankets, food, clothing etc would use the last of the £14 16s 6d remaining to his credit from Okoura 1A. From the £164 received for 2G4, its owners paid £40 for fencing between it and 2G3, and £6 17s for survey costs.

As to the subsequent fate of Okoura 1A and other segments, totalling 60 acres, after the milling the land was re-occupied by Hoani Robert/Te Ao Hou Te Whaiti and then his son. During their occupation, money was advanced to enable improvements. In 1952, the land was leased to I.G. Sutherland for £122 p.a. and the income applied to paying off the debts not recouped by sale of livestock and plant. Hoani remained on the land and in 1954, when the debt was down to £70, successfully sought £100 to renovate his house there, and then more to re-roof the cowshed.<sup>761</sup>

A similar situation applied in neighbouring Okoura 2G1. By late 1936, owners were writing in asking for the proceeds so that they could repay old debts and ‘share a little comfort during the Xmas season’, then to pay for an operation (£25) and clothing etc. In May 1937, Hoani Robert Te Whaiti complained to the Native Minister that the Board had been withholding funds although he as trustee had repeatedly requested payment for the school clothing that his children required—but he had purchased without prior approval and failed to submit the detailed accounts as required. In December 1937, he had his lawyers ask for £10 each for the children for Christmas. By early 1939 he was asking for £10 each, to buy carpenter’s tools for the boy who would be employed by the Department in Dannevirke, and for books, clothing and travel for the girl who was studying at Masterton Technical College. In late 1938, Patihana Kokori insisted that the claimants had ‘a perfect right’ to the funds and that they should be released to enable them to renovate, discharge the rates and deal with other debts on a house that was leased. He also sought £45 for the payment of another’s funeral expenses. A year later, Hoani sought £25 as Christmas was approaching, but all the balance was required for fencing also sought by the owners. In 1940, Mihipa Kokiri successfully sought £10 as her husband was ill; she said she

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<sup>761</sup> MA 15 1/2116.

fully understood the judge's desire for the money to be spent on worthwhile projects, but commented that 'nothing concrete can be established' with the small amount the Board was so steadfastly retaining. The balance owing to all owners seems to have reached nil by mid-1941, discharging longstanding debts for clothing owed to merchants who were putting matters into others' hands for collection.

Okoura 1B (4 acres) was leased in 1936 for 21 years at £5 p.a.—a standard 5% of government valuation. Judge Harvey required that £21 be paid immediately in a lump sum and used on the house of Iriatara Kingi, the sole owner and lessor.<sup>762</sup>

Martinborough farmer Murdoch McLeod wrote in 1940 complaining of the difficulties to which he and his son had been put trying to lease Te Kawakawa 2A. With all of that he protested that he was sick of coming home to find Maori on his doorstep asking for money, some of which was not due to them. He did not entirely blame them either, but apparently sympathised with the difficult situation they faced:

Although [Te Ao Hou] Te Whaiti is far from what he should be, he has been up against it for years with a family of about 14 many of which have gone to their graves through neglect perhaps unavoidable.<sup>763</sup>

### 10.3. Flax

The flax industry, which had attracted the attentions of the failed whaler Wade in 1843—but then was apparently not pursued by him after the death of the team he sent in to begin the work—was picked up to some extent in succeeding decades. Bagnall records 'a slight boom' from 1868 until the early 1870s, initiated by the American Civil War. There were then at least four mills operating within the Ruamahanga basin. One was Pierce Cotter's plant in Underhill Road, Riverside, which was the first steam-driven mill in the Wairarapa. A second 'sharp upturn' occurred in the late 1880s, then a drop and 'mild revival' before, during and after World War I. During this second period, one of the larger mills was Tringham & MacKenzie's Otarua mill across the river at Kahutara. Although the process began with five stripping machines, the fibre was then caught by a number of small boys who 'in the most mechanical way ... laid it in hanks across their knees'. The hanks

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<sup>762</sup> MA 15 1/2147.

<sup>763</sup> McLeod to Registrar, 25 February 1940. MA 15 1/2426.

were then picked up by more boys and passed to men to wash off any remaining green material before more ‘scrutching’ machines produced a smooth even fibre to be dried and baled. Another factory, Bidwill Brothers, commenced operations in 1892 with employment for 30. Others were run by Burt at Whitimanuka, Tulloch at Martinborough, Wagland Bros, Fitton, and George Heron. Some of these were threatened with closure (Bagnall’s account is unclear as to whether any did close) when the London price dropped soon after in the mid-1890s from an economic £23 a ton in London to an uneconomic £16 a ton.<sup>764</sup> Bagnall makes no comment as to who these employees were, but it would seem highly likely that some, perhaps most were Maori, especially the ‘small boys’. He also makes no comment as to how the flax got from the swamps to the factories, but again the cutting and transporting phase is likely to have had significant Maori participation. This is so not only because the type of work is the sort that Pakeha preferred Maori to do rather than themselves, but also because the swampy areas where the flax grew were less likely to have been purchased for farming than drier areas, and thus there is a greater chance they were still in Maori ownership.

Flaxmilling was also important in parts of Tamaki-nui-a-Rua, especially in the Alfredton-Te Hoe-Flat Bush areas where it grew readily. A ‘highly lucrative’ product, it supplemented income derived from wool.<sup>765</sup>

The flax industry continued operating in Wairarapa until the mid-twentieth century. This gave the flood-prone areas an economic value although they might have been unsuitable for carrying stock. In the early period around World War I, Walter Toogood operated two factories, one at Featherston and the other at Fernyhurst. In 1906, Bale & Saunders were running a factory at Waiorongomai, while Roff & Thomas had another at Opaki employing 25 men—until the mill burned down. In the 1920s, Frank Wall was cultivating phormium, presumably to ensure that the flax available was of superior quality.<sup>766</sup>

Flooding was a mixed blessing, though, as what kept a productive area well-watered could kill recently cut flax plants if flood waters sat on the land for extended periods. In the case of Potakakuratawhiti 1B2 in the 1930s, the Kahutara stop bank trapped water on it for several weeks at a time and thus harmed the plants, reducing

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<sup>764</sup> Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, 465.

<sup>765</sup> McCalman, ‘Population Changes’, 45.

<sup>766</sup> Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, 465.

the millable flax. It was impossible to replant as young plants were killed in the same way and so the land was losing its value. Already at that time, the 162.5-acre block had had its rent reduced to £43 12s. The maintenance of drains on the property was estimated at £40 and control of noxious weeds at £25 p.a. This block had produced 4220 tons of green leaf flax in the 12 years 1925-37 i.e. 352 tons p.a. and it took 9 tons of green leaf to make 1 ton of hemp. A valuer thought a fair royalty would be 5s per ton of green leaf giving a total yearly royalty of £90. The block was much too small to sustain its own mill.<sup>767</sup>

Apparently, before the flax industry gave out altogether, the last mill was at Mahaki, near Martinborough, run by the Wall family who still grew paddocks of flax into the 1970s. However many there may have been employed in the industry earlier, by that time Maori had been excluded from the labour force by the local mill owners importing cheaper labour from Fiji to do the manual work on the crop.<sup>768</sup>

#### **10.4. Twentieth-Century Economic Developments**

Overall in the Wairarapa, between 1921 and 1945 there was widespread movement away from rural areas and to a lesser degree from smaller towns. Since 1945, with the exception of Eketahuna, borough population in the region increased slowly but steadily while county population declined correspondingly.<sup>769</sup> Partly these changes resulted from the technological advances that reduced the requirement for rural labour, while improved roading and transport also allowed rural workers, such as agricultural contractors, to live in country towns. Still, in 1963 35% of the Wairarapa labour force was engaged in primary industry, compared with the national average of 15%. This included shearing, dairy factories, freezing works, fencing, scrub cutting, drainage and forestry work.<sup>770</sup>

Depression unemployment was a problem for Maori as well as Pakeha, and many registered as unemployed (4219 nationally by early 1931). Early in the Depression era, the Native Trustee offered to provide opportunities for employment of

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<sup>767</sup> J.F. Will, affidavit, June 1937. MA 15 1/461.

<sup>768</sup> Gareth Winter, personal communication to author, 28 September 2004.

<sup>769</sup> Black, 'Wairarapa', 10.

Maori on suitable sheep stations his Office administered. The work this entailed was primarily clearing scrub from hilly country, cleaning up the land by fire, and then sowing with grass seed. The unemployment Board made available grant money and a loan of £15,000, provided that at least 500 unemployed men, preferably single, were taken on for at least four months. The stations chosen were Aohanga and Porangahau, with 6000 acres needing clearing on the former and 600 acres on the latter. Most of the men were recruited from Wellington's labour bureau, though, and only a few came from Wairarapa. Nothing like the 500 men were employed though, with initial groups of 250 going to Aohanga and 30 at Motuweka. It was happily anticipated that once the clearing was done, 'a considerable number of men will be provided with permanent employment'.<sup>771</sup> It was not explained what that 'considerable number' would find to do on a sheep station, though. A total of 471 men were employed on these stations through the course of the project and when the money ran out at the end of July 1930, the Native Trustee offered to find more work for them, provided more funding was supplied (he found the accommodation and food).<sup>772</sup>

By October 1932, 8000 Maori men had registered as contributors to the Unemployment Fund, and, as the Unemployment Board pointed out, this amounted to more than half of the 15,000 adult Maori males. Therefore, it stated: 'The situation calls for immediate attention.'<sup>773</sup>

Its analysis of the problem began with Maori, for the previous forty years or more, having ready to hand 'ample' work associated with the development of the country, especially 'making possible the settlement and development of large areas of country now richly productive in the occupation of Europeans'. Unfortunately for Maori, this had left the lands remaining in their hands undeveloped, while the end of this development period had coincided with the onset of the Depression. The analysis continued by expressing concern that so many Maori were now looking to the state for relief, a shift by the Board to moralising about the 'complacent acceptance of relief' which was thought to be not a good thing for Maori. The Board thought that Maori lands had remained in common ownership, while as people 'they are now out of touch with the communal system of land occupation and cultivation of their forefathers'. Individuals struggling to support themselves by cultivating portions of

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<sup>770</sup> Black, 'Wairarapa', 17.

<sup>771</sup> AJHR, 1931, H-35, 11.

<sup>772</sup> AJHR, 1931, H-35, 18.

the communally owned land were being defeated by their lack of protection against ‘the depredations of other and less energetic joint owners’.

The solution thus presented itself:

The remedy is plain. Maori lands must be individualized as has been the Maori himself. The process must be expeditious, and it must be accompanied by active steps to establish the Maori as a farmer side by side with the European settler.<sup>774</sup>

Hence the Unemployment Board now wanted substantial changes in Maori land ownership to solve the Maori unemployment problem, to relieve county councils of having large areas of unrateable land, and to diminish the £166,000 it was already spending on Maori relief work. Apart from the payments to Maori within the ordinary relief schemes, in the 1931/32 year £18,000 had been granted to the Native Department for relief in districts where there were many unemployed Maori. This was mostly spent on special development schemes, usually on contract work on farms. Nearly 2000 Maori had been employed in this way, scrub cutting, bush felling, stumping, grubbing and clearing, ploughing and harrowing, fencing and draining.<sup>775</sup>

By 1933 it had been recognised formally that the needs of Maori were different from Pakeha. Officials and politicians concluded that they required assistance particularly in being able to develop and settle their lands properly and efficiently. Consequently, by 1933, the unemployment relief finance designated for Maori had been combined with the Native Department’s expenditure on Maori land settlement to be channelled through the newly created Native Land Settlement Board. The object was ‘utilizing Maori unemployment-relief labour on the development of their own lands in order that they may subsequently occupy the areas as independent settlers’.<sup>776</sup> Such a policy, of course, presupposed the existence of sufficient land in a given area for Maori to be ‘settled’ on and thereby support themselves. As has been noted above in section 7.2, the land development schemes in the Ikaroa Maori Land District, including the Wairarapa, were negligible in scope precisely because they were in areas where there was virtually no suitable Maori land available. This raises the question of what unemployment provision was made for Wairarapa Maori in the absence of an applicable settlement scheme.

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<sup>773</sup> AJHR, 1932, H-35, 8.

<sup>774</sup> AJHR, 1932, H-35, 8

<sup>775</sup> AJHR, 1932, H-35, 22.

The Smith Native Affairs Commission found in 1934 that there was effectively no Maori land development involving farming being carried out by the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board. Instead, the Board's assistance to Maori farming was limited to providing advances for Maori mortgagors.<sup>777</sup> One place where substantial Unemployment Board money was deployed was the Aohanga Station. At the end of May 1934, the station owed £12,660 resulting from a Board loan.<sup>778</sup>

By 1935, the Native Land Settlement Board still had not managed to get unemployment schemes for Maori properly up and running. The Unemployment Board had earmarked nearly £108,000 nationally for relief of Maori unemployment through its sister board in 1934/5, but due to various contracts not being completed, or even begun, less than £40,000 of that allocation was spent. Overall, nationally, including that sum, £195,578 was spent in 1934/5 on relief of Maori unemployment. This was through a number of 'normal' schemes including Public Works Department and Forestry Department camps.<sup>779</sup>

The amount of unemployment relief paid to an individual Maori was determined by a number of factors such as family responsibilities and degree of necessity. The rates paid were said to be based not on some special Maori rate, but on the usual 'scheme 5' rates—but see the 1937 information below which contradicts this claim. These scheme 5 rates in 1935 included 10s 6d per week to a married man, rising to 12s, with 9s for a single man. Scale C, the lowest of three in scheme 5, rose in four-shilling increments to 41s for married men with seven or more children. Such men were also paid in kind with free boots, blankets, food and clothing, together with permission to earn what extra they could from casual employment. Overall, some 50% of men took advantage of the opportunity to supplement their relief earnings through casual earnings.<sup>780</sup> Some was under scheme 4A, which was employment of men on general farms, not Maori development schemes, but this amounted to less than £7000.

The work Maori undertook for the Native Land Settlement Board consisted of a very wide range of relatively unskilled rural labouring tasks: bush-felling, sowing, top-dressing, fencing, scrub-cutting, drainage, roading, ploughing, general cultivation,

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<sup>776</sup> AJHR, 1933, H-35, 5.

<sup>777</sup> AJHR, 1934, G-11, 24.

<sup>778</sup> AJHR, 1934, G-11, 31.

<sup>779</sup> AJHR, 1935, H-35, 9.

<sup>780</sup> AJHR, 1935, H-35, 2, 17.

planting trees and shelter belts, building drains, laying water-supply, building, river protection works, 'and generally effecting improvements to Native lands'.<sup>781</sup>

In 1935, the Board of Native Affairs was created to replace the Native Land Settlement Board. Its very senior official membership included: the Native Minister (Chair), Under Secretary of the Native Department, Financial Adviser to the Government, Under-Secretary for Lands, Valuer-General, Director-General of Agriculture, East Coast Commissioner James S. Jessep, and Hubert M. Christie. It oversaw a broader range of programmes relating to Maori, including funding land development and assistance to Maori farmers, Maori housing, expenditure by the Native Trustee and Maori Land Boards on farming operations, the management of trust funds by the Native Trustee and Maori Land Boards, and promotion of employment amongst Maori.

Beneath the Board, district committees were set up in each of the Native Land districts, comprising three members, of whom one was to be the district's Native Land Court judge, who would also chair the committee.

The Board saw itself as fitting within an ongoing 'gradual awakening of the Legislature' since the beginning of the twentieth century 'to the need for preserving the remnants of the ancestral territory of a race to which the State has peculiar obligations and responsibilities'. To that end, the present operations of the Board aimed to preserve the Maori people through empowering them to occupy and use their lands. The Board's new Chairman, Prime Minister Michael Joseph Savage, wrote in 1936:

The fundamental object of the development schemes now established, is to encourage and train the Maori people to become energetic, thrifty, and industrious farmers; to revive that passionate attachment to the soil, so inherent in the race; and to create a form of life which, while retaining the best elements of Native culture, will profitably settle the Maori on his own lands.<sup>782</sup>

The following year, he gave a basis for this in Maori historical and cultural heritage:

The future of the Maori, his material existence, his economic, physical, social welfare, is indubitably bound up in the soil from which alone the

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<sup>781</sup> AJHR, 1935, H-35, 9.

<sup>782</sup> AJHR, 1936, G-10, 1.

great majority of his people can win an independent livelihood. Specially adapted for rural life, naturally industrious, if at times spasmodic in his efforts, his tastes and inclinations are now centred in the remaining lands of his ancestors which must always represent his principal means of subsistence—in other words, his canoe.<sup>783</sup>

No explanation was given as to why this should have been the only source of an independent livelihood for Maori. Savage did recognise that many Maori people no longer had any land to speak of, but did not let this inconvenience the broad sweep of his single-minded policy. He declared:

The policy to-day is to assist the Maori to develop and farm his lands, to train him in those branches of agriculture most suited to his needs, to profitably occupy and improve his idle territory, to settle and cultivate the remnants of his tribal inheritance, and with the assistance of State funds to rehabilitate and establish him as a producing and self-reliant citizen.<sup>784</sup>

The Board of Native Affairs also assumed primary responsibility for Maori unemployment, and other employment-related bodies seem to have paid the funds tagged for Maori to the new Board for it to administer. Its policy did not really differ from what had gone before: Maori were to be aided to settle on their land. Native Minister George Forbes stated:

It is realized that the only permanent solution of the problem of Maori unemployment (as well as European unemployed [sic]) is to establish an industry which will at once be reproductive and absorb the largest possible number of men. In the case of the Maori, possessed as he is of considerable landed interests, the solution appears to be his settlement on his land. The Board has therefore directed its expenditure of unemployment funds ... upon the development of Native lands either included in the Department's development schemes or upon Native-owned lands being developed from the resources of the owners.<sup>785</sup>

As before, though, the actual applicability of this general policy must have varied from district to district, as in many areas 'the Maori' simply did not have 'considerable landed interests'. The Wairarapa was one such area without large quantities of Maori land available for new development, and certainly not enough to cater for the hundreds of Maori in the region. From the start, then, it must be

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<sup>783</sup> AJHR, 1937, G-10, 3.

<sup>784</sup> AJHR, 1937, G-10, 3-4.

<sup>785</sup> AJHR, 1935, G-10, 2.

wondered whether this ‘one-size-fits-all’, pre-determined government policy was ever going to work really well in Wairarapa.

On 31 May 1936, the Unemployment Board was abolished under the new Employment Promotion Act 1936 and its work was largely taken over by the Employment Division of the Department of Labour.

The statement cited above that Maori were paid on the same rates as Pakeha, is contradicted by a later report in 1937 by the new Department of Labour Employment Division, which stated that Maori were paid an unspecified lower rate than Pakeha until 2 March 1936. Two reviews of all rates under the new Labour Government then gave them a second increase on 1 June 1936. The lowest rate paid to single men thus rose from 9s 6d per week to £1 1s 0d, a 121% increase. Married men with no children received a 114% increase, from 18s 0d to £1 18s 6d, while at the other end of the married men’s scale, those with seven or more children received 75% more, up from £1 18s 0d to £3 6s 6d. These rates represented an average increase of 21s 9d per man per week.<sup>786</sup> Those were Scheme 5 rates, for men under ‘organised intermittent employment’ which was the Coalition Government’s unemployment policy.<sup>787</sup> Where relief employment was provided, Maori were taken on on contract and paid at the standard public works rate of 16s per day, but the contract included a proviso that men had to stand down for a specified period to average out their earnings for the entire period to special relief rates of £1 10s per week for single men, £3 per week for married men with up to five children, and £3 6s 6d per week for men with seven or more children.<sup>788</sup> These were higher than normal relief rates as Maori were not paid for sickness or wet time and normally had to provide their own tools.<sup>789</sup>

Under Labour, to get the relief benefits, Maori had to register as did Europeans, and then the same criteria were used to assess and pay them. The aim was to use registered unemployed Maori on the development of Maori lands. Only when such work was not available was Scheme 5 relief applied, and then only until the Native

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<sup>786</sup> AJHR, 1937, H-11a, 7.

<sup>787</sup> The Department provided a critique of the entire way the scheme had been run hitherto, providing much work for the sake of being able to say the payment had been worked for, instead of work that provided some value for the expense, while workers had been paid lower than award rates, leading to universal expectations of low quality and negligible supervision. The new approach was to seek full employment, or if that were not possible, to make the intermittent work full-time for fixed periods rather than part-time indefinitely, while payments were increased so that it was possible for recipients to earn much the same as a casual labourer doing the same work. AJHR, 1937, H-11a, 10-11.

<sup>788</sup> AJHR, 1937, H-11a, 8.

<sup>789</sup> AJHR, 1937, H-11a, 13.

Affairs Department was able to formulate further developmental work contracts. Sustenance payments were considered as not in the best interests of Maori and so the Secretary would approve them only in very special cases. Presumably the anticipated problem was that Maori would act irresponsibly with such payments as they were only given one-third of them in cash, with the balance in tightly controlled orders for rations, rent and such and weekly official checks on their income and payments. Similarly, if they were found to be 'misapplying' their scheme 5 income, the Secretary could direct they be paid a proportion in ration orders. Maori farmers were not permitted to register for unemployment relief, they had to seek assistance from the Native Department.<sup>790</sup>

The various full-time work schemes provided by the Native Department were classed as full-time employment, so those Maori who were employed on them were taken off the unemployment register. This had the advantage that they did not have a stand-down period imposed as those on Native relief contracts did. If the Native Department could not find such employment 'every effort' was made to place them with the Public Works Department, local authorities or other employing authorities. The Native Department work schemes included those on Native land development schemes, assistance to 'units' on Maori farms, builders' labourer schemes for indigent Maori housing, and private contracts on all other Native lands including the stations run by the Maori Land Board, the Native Trust Office, and the East Coast Commissioner.<sup>791</sup>

The Native Housing Act 1935 aimed for the better housing of Maori, especially through making finance available to those who would otherwise not be able to access it, and to do so at rates no greater than the State Advances Corporation lent at. Funds were available through the Board of Native Affairs for all purposes from purchase of land or housing to improvement and upgrading of existing properties. Various surveys were undertaken around the country in 1938 to ascertain the degree of need, finding that 'for years many Maoris have been living under distressing circumstances in surroundings gravely injurious to the health and welfare of the race'.<sup>792</sup> In the North Island portion of the Ikaroa District it was found that 'the living conditions of the

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<sup>790</sup> AJHR, 1937, H-11a, 13.

<sup>791</sup> AJHR, 1937, H-11a, 13.

<sup>792</sup> AJHR, 1938, G-10, 7.

Maori people are most unsatisfactory and in many cases appalling'. The district's Maori Land Board was supervising the entire process, which featured the creation of Maori carpentry gangs, consisting of three or more unemployed men organised under the supervision of a qualified builder, who was to direct and train them so that not only were houses produced, but so were skilled tradesmen. Practically none of the men employed had any previous building experience, but already through the few years the scheme had been running they had acquired many useful skills, a trend which was increasing the building rate. Throughout the district, 44 applications had been approved from 276 received.<sup>793</sup> Syndicates were encouraged to put small amounts away and ballot for the provision of houses on the model of building societies.

The provision of Maori housing under the Native Housing Act 1935 was difficult in the Ikaroa District generally, due to problems with ensuring applicants' titles were secure, and with finding qualified tradesmen to carry out the work. All projects in the district were carried out by teams of Maori workers under the control of qualified builders. The use of Maori men as builders' assistants doubled as both a training scheme and unemployment relief. The provision of housing was, though, dependent on people having both land on which to build and income to pay towards it. Those who had neither were 'encouraged to save for a deposit'.<sup>794</sup> In 1940 a qualified builder was appointed overseer for the Wellington District, including Manawatu and Wairarapa, and from this time he managed the construction of Maori housing on behalf of the Public Works Department, whose responsibility the task now was. The Board of Native Affairs continued to pay the salaries of the Maori carpenters who worked under him. In that year, 28 houses were built in the Ikaroa District, and 4 were repaired.<sup>795</sup>

Trapped in its policy of finding farm work for Maori, developing Maori land, the Board found it increasingly difficult to find employment for Maori throughout the Ikaroa District, including Wairarapa. As its Ikaroa committee commented in 1937, 'there is practically no undeveloped accessible land, and the only work offering is on lands leased to Europeans'.<sup>796</sup>

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<sup>793</sup> AJHR, 1939, G-10, 13.

<sup>794</sup> AJHR, 1939, G-10, 10.

<sup>795</sup> AJHR, 1940, G-10, 8.

<sup>796</sup> AJHR, 1937, G-10, 74.

In 1939, the Board of Native Affairs stated that its policy regarding Maori employment in the Ikaroa Maori Land District was to select the most promising young men to become builders' assistants on Native housing projects, supervised by skilled tradesmen. Those selected had shown an aptitude for and they were rapidly acquiring knowledge of carpentry, bricklaying, painting and related trades. Throughout the entire district, only part of which was within the present inquiry district, there had been up to 32 men taken on, and they were supporting 95 dependents. They were still finding it hard to find work for all the unemployed Maori of the district, but on average in that year they had employed 250 men on development schemes and other Maori lands.<sup>797</sup>

Immediately after World War Two, provincial New Zealand was able to provide considerable employment. The Masterton office of the Labour Department was confident in 1947 that there was full employment available for Maori youths, such that there were no vacancies. This was for two reasons, first that there were not actually large numbers of them and secondly that there were many positions available on shearing or crutching gangs, freezing works and other farming occupations. There was little available in retail stores as in that sector 'Maoris are not generally acceptable as employees', but some boys had been placed successfully in trucking, car painting and motor body building firms.<sup>798</sup>

In the Wairarapa in 1948 there were 19 Maori men employed on Forestry Department works. Twelve of these were in regular employment while 7 were casual workers.<sup>799</sup>

After World War Two, ex-servicemen were rehabilitated back into the community under various government programmes overseen by the Rehabilitation Board. Maori posed difficulties for the criteria laid down and special measures had to be introduced in 1946 to enable the handling of their loan applications. The numbers of Maori demobilised nationally had roughly doubled each year from 601 in the year to 31 March 1943 to 3990 in the year to 31 March 1946. By 1946, a total of 121 Maori ex-servicemen were undergoing Class A carpentry training, the main centres being at Rotorua and Kaikohe.

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<sup>797</sup> AJHR, 1939, G-10, 55.

<sup>798</sup> District Employment Officer to Director of Employment, 29 May 1947. L 1/30/1/28 Part 3 [#A51(b)].

Placement of men directly into employment had been relatively easy while there were few being demobilised, but now there were rapidly increasing difficulties as the numbers demobilised grew. Employment opportunities in agricultural and other work near the almost always rural Maori settlements failed to keep up with the demand, especially as married men naturally resisted being any further separated from their families.<sup>800</sup>

Given that the standard assumption at this time was that Maori wanted to be and should be on rural land, the preferred option was to facilitate the ‘settlement’ of land by the men. To this end, land was acquired explicitly for Maori soldier settlement, although by 1946 this amounted to only 4399 acres nationally for some £88,000, although another 5465 acres were under negotiation. If men were sole owners of property then their settlement presented few difficulties not encountered with Pakeha soldiers. In some cases, it was the wish of a wider group of owners, a whanau perhaps, that a particular man or men take over a block of Maori freehold land, in which case the Native Department did what it could to facilitate the arrangement, although the usual problem was the chronic inability to finalise matters owing to involved land titles.

This was a particularly pressing problem as the Rehabilitation Board as a matter of policy sought to treat Maori ex-servicemen on the same terms as Pakeha, giving them the same assistance under the same conditions. With regard to land, the Board—acting as a commercially responsible lender—required that the men acquire a freehold title, or, if it were a leasehold, security of tenure and compensation for improvements.<sup>801</sup> Of course, this was problematic when dealing with multiply owned Maori freehold land, and given that leases of Maori land were generally not subject to compensation for improvements and had not been for decades, perhaps ever, the security relating to leaseholds was also unlikely to be met. Hence the problem already noted of unsustainable land management where tenants used lands as they wished and then let them run down as the lease expiry approached.

Even were they to gain access to some land, they needed to know what to do with it. Training opportunities were envisaged, living and working with ‘suitable

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<sup>799</sup> Memo, 21 May 1948. FW 3129 3/21 [#A51(b)].

<sup>800</sup> AJHR, 1946, H-18, 19.

<sup>801</sup> AJHR, 1946, H-18, 20.

farmers'. However, there was a shortage of such suitable and approved farmers and the demand far outstripped the supply.

The types of loans available for Maori from the Rehabilitation Board and numbers who had benefited from them nationally as at 30 June 1946 were: farm (61), housing (188), furniture (261), business (51), tools-of-trade (32), and special grants (9), totalling 602 ex-service personnel thus assisted. Forty-one people had received educational assistance, compared with 35 for farm training. There were also 276 who had received or were receiving some form of trade training.<sup>802</sup>

Once the men had completed their carpentry training, a number were employed by the Native Department to work in its expanded Maori housing programme. The programme, while offering a 50% preference to ex-servicemen, was still completing only 35 houses a year nationwide, with another 37 under construction. Using the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, the Native Department had settled 25 returned soldiers. Although most of them had taken over family lands, they had been advanced a total of £22,000 for stock and development, an average of less than £1000 per farm. The Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee authorised the expenditure of £140,000 on ex-servicemen nationally.<sup>803</sup>

In 1949, the Labour Department Field Supervisor in Hastings reported that there was 'plenty of employment' for men in the back country of his district, particularly working as scrub cutters, fencers and rabbiters. At Porangahau, he had immediate vacancies in the development scheme for 3 camp-out, contract scrub cutters for three to four months' work. There were also jobs available for another 16 men as scrub cutters, fencers or rabbiters at Rakautatahi and Owahanga.<sup>804</sup> Maori Welfare Officer Te K. Karaitiana had been asked to survey the employment situation in greater Hawkes Bay. In the Dannevirke district, he reported that there was room only for perhaps six domestics in hotels and some gangs of workers scrubcutting on the coast from Aohanga to Herbertville. Otherwise the employment of Maori there was on a seasonal basis as Maori ran through a sequence of short-term employment that added up to most of a year's work, shearers and freezing workers returning to employers in the off season. This was a 'fairly satisfactory' equilibrium, 'but could easily be disturbed'. Maori men and women were generally fairly easily placed by the Labour

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<sup>802</sup> AJHR, 1946, H-18, 32.

<sup>803</sup> AJHR, 1947, G-10, 21.

Department ‘as most of them are good workers’ but the ones he mentioned were all in low paid manual jobs, domestic or factory employees. In the district based on Hastings, which included the Dannevirke sub-district, many transient Maori came through from other regions in search of work but often had to be transported home and were held to be responsible for 90 per cent of the crime allegedly committed by Maori, doing ‘irreparable harm’ to Maori-Pakeha relationships in the district.<sup>805</sup>

After World War Two, the Wairarapa participated in general urbanisation of Maori, fuelled by the post-war baby boom. While the overall Maori rural population rose from 79,603 in 1945 to 98,924 in 1961 (an increase of 124%), the urban population leapt from 18,915 to 65,833 in the same 16-year period, a 348% jump. In the same period, the changes in census figures for the Wairarapa Maori population were not quite so dramatic, probably due to the generally rural character of the entire district and with Masterton probably being the only ‘urban’ centre:

**Table 11a: Census figures for Wairarapa counties, 1945-1961**

	<b>1945</b>	<b>1951</b>	<b>1956</b>	<b>1961</b>
<b>Counties</b>	888	1016	1158	1215
<b>Towns</b>	422	561	724	1081
<b>Total</b>	1310	1577	1882	2296

**Table 11b: Census percentages for Wairarapa counties, 1945-1961**

	<b>1945</b>	<b>1951</b>	<b>1956</b>	<b>1961</b>
<b>Counties</b>	67.8	64.4	61.5	52.9
<b>Towns</b>	32.3	35.6	38.5	47.1
<b>Total</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Of course, what these overall figures do not reveal is other distorting factors, particularly migration. There is no indication here of how many Wairarapa Maori who chose a new urban lifestyle chose to live it in Wellington, Palmerston North, Hastings/Napier, or elsewhere, rather than in the Wairarapa. Masterton in the 1940s

<sup>804</sup> J. Dickin, Field Supervisor Hastings, to Registrar, Wellington, 2 June 1949. L 1/30/1/28 Part 5 [#A51(b)].

<sup>805</sup> Karaitiana to Registrar, Wellington, 8 June 1949. L 1/30/1/28 Part 5 [#A51(b)].

and 1950s would not have been a particularly ‘urban’ choice and continued not to offer factory work for example, beyond the Waingawa freezing works.

The Labour Department and Child Welfare Department tried to find employment for Maori youths as a group. In 1955, those in the Dannevirke district tended to take up farm work and shearing. Anything more was difficult as local families could provide only limited accommodation, while there were few candidates for apprenticeships as the wages were low.<sup>806</sup> In Masterton, although there was no ability to provide accommodation, there were three youths on apprenticeships (1 saw doctor, 2 motor mechanics) and two others being trained in timber yard work and stores/clerical work.<sup>807</sup>

Not all Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori were wage labourers employed by those who were themselves contractors to shear or conduct other work. Kay Pene has stated that her father was a shearing contractor in the mid-twentieth century who employed 80-100 men from October to January each year. In this role, he was responsible for providing employment for many others, and this required considerable organisation and logistical provision, including a fleet of trucks. He had sheds of between two and ten stand throughout Tamaki-nui-a-Rua from Hastings to Dannevirke, Akitio Station, Tautane Station, Burnview Station, Waewae Pa Station, Tikokino Station, Waitio Station and Pukehamoamo Station, as well as shearing locally, near to his own 90-acre farm at Kaitoki.<sup>808</sup>

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<sup>806</sup> District Officer Read to Head Office, Labour Department, 17 November 1955. L 1/30/1/28 Part 5 [#A51(b)].

<sup>807</sup> District Officer Lyttle to Head Office, Labour Department, 17 November 1955. L 1/30/1/28 Part 5 [#A51(b)].

<sup>808</sup> Kay Kahumaori Pene, ‘Brief of Evidence’ (2004) Wai 863 #E33, paras 5-8.

## 11. Conclusion

It will be apparent that there are many difficulties in constructing an economic history from the records we have.

A principal issue is the episodic and anecdotal nature of the evidence. Case studies and examples ‘volunteer’ themselves simply by appearing in the records where others do not. In many cases, it might well be argued that they appear in the records precisely because they were exceptional and stood out so that they required some form of special attention. Some issues, though, appear in different places and over time, and do not appear to be so dependent on specific individuals or groups, and so may be taken as constituting a more widespread phenomenon. The harking back to the five per cents and ongoing koha for the land, together with the associated official paper trail, is one such phenomenon.

It may be noted that other researchers trying to study similar aspects of the region have found the same difficulties: the inadequacy of statistical data to go much beyond an impressionistic result, the unavailability of information on many variables below ‘provincial districts’ or ‘statistical areas’, even at county level, boundary changes of local government areas, definitional uncertainty, and the changing definitions and significant gaps in data, especially agricultural statistics.<sup>809</sup>

### 11.1. Issue A: Economic History of Wairarapa ki Tararua

The Crown purchasing process in the 1850s relied heavily on the carrot of various promises, especially the much-controverted five per cent and koha clauses in a number of deeds, as well as the incentive that once initial sales were made and

European settlers arrived Maori would benefit socially and culturally and the remaining Maori land would become much more valuable—this only works if there is a substantial body of land remaining in Maori ownership, which soon there was not. It also used the stick of threatening to enforce the 1846 Ordinance and evict the squatters already there unless Maori sold the land.

The 1846 Ordinance in itself did not end informal leasing in Wairarapa ki Tararua; in fact leasing kept on growing until 1852/3, as shown in the McCracken table, as both squatters and Maori ignored it. However, once the Crown was in a position to assert itself and was motivated to acquire the district, the Ordinance was conveniently usable for coercion.

A particularly notable feature is the failure of nearly all Maori to participate at an ownership/employer level in the rapid pastoral development of the Wairarapa in the mid-nineteenth century. There were a handful of notable exceptions, principally H.P. Tunuiarangi and Iraia Te Whaiti, Iraia and his people managing to gain access to funding, livestock and expertise through entering into a partnership with a Pakeha. The Jury holdings grew in size and stability—although they were never huge—but there are differences of opinion, which need not be gone into here, as to the extent to which they might be classed as a ‘Maori’ success story. These very few identifiable examples, though, only throw into sharper relief the way in which hundreds of other Maori did not participate in the development of land they owned.

Maori participation was, apart from those few identifiable examples, generally limited to the lower levels of the economic hierarchy as it developed. Their employment usually consisted of the seasonal labouring and shearing kind, with apparently few moving into skilled trades either. There is a link here with the lack of education provided until the early twentieth century.

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<sup>809</sup> McCalman, ‘Population Changes’, introduction.

## **11.2. Issue B: An Analysis of the Quantum and Distribution of Remaining Land vis-à-vis the Maori Population**

The quantum of remaining land is accepted as being shown by the data given in the calculations by Ellis and Small. These statistics give an accurate overall picture of the depletion rate for Maori land in the inquiry district. But they do not indicate on a local level where land was being retained or alienated.

The distribution of remaining Maori land is shown on the maps in Appendix Four and the 1909 Stout-Ngata report reproduced in Appendix Three. It can be seen from these that the Maori land was, by well before the end of the nineteenth century, scattered and generally in small blocks. The Stout-Ngata Commission confirmed the smallness of the remaining holdings by 1907. Only a handful of blocks were of substantial size—particularly Mataikona and Nga Waka-a-Kupe—and by the 1920s all but Mataikona had disappeared.

These sources also indicate the location of the Maori lands. They show that the land remaining is mostly in places where the land is of relatively poor quality and difficult to farm. Throughout the region's history, as covered by the present report, such lands have required breaking in and then a constant struggle to develop, fence and keep clear of scrub.

The number and distribution of the Maori population is shown for the later nineteenth century in the tables giving numbers and locations in Appendix Two, Figures 1 and 2. The population distribution, linked with the land use information, is shown in the lists in the table of the 1906 land use and census data shown in Appendix Two.

Two notes should be added to the comments concerning the distribution of the Maori population vis-à-vis the land, both of which rather weaken the force of making the connection in the first place. First, there is the matter of ownership compared with use. As the discussion above of the Stout-Ngata report reveals, although Wairarapa ki Tararua Maori still owned tens of thousands of acres in 1907, relatively little of that acreage was available to them because it was leased out. That provided a certain level of income, but that was never going to be large when set on long terms and divided amongst numerous owners. The fragmented ownership meant that usually no-one benefited greatly from any particular land ownership.

The second point is that the distribution of population means little when, subsequent to 1865, the Native Land Court had determined particular owners for particular blocks. Thus, although the owners of Mataikona 1 to 3 may have done well from it—although this is certainly not readily apparent—no-one else did, even if they were Maori from Wairarapa ki Tararua. Similarly with other blocks. All had owners and only those owners benefited directly from that ownership, not the amorphous mass of ‘Wairarapa ki Tararua Maori’. Other reports given in evidence to the present inquiry will reveal in more detail, usually from qualitative rather than quantitative sources, the impact on individual people and groups of land ownership and alienations. Others may have benefited indirectly, as when the large gatherings at Papawai were financed by land sales and mortgages entered into by the hosts, but that was not a certain, regular, or necessary outcome of those alienations or of any other generosity exhibited by landowners.

### **11.3. Issue C: Land Use: Maori Compared with Pakeha**

Several parts of the report deal with the Pakeha experience in the Wairarapa ki Tararua region and have been included so as to provide the context for assessment of the various issues being dealt with. They show the size of sheep runs created by the pastoralists and the flocks that they were able to run on them. They document the vicissitudes of the various attempts to get the ‘little men’ on the land and how they struggled to succeed. There is information about the costs and returns for farmers.

By comparison, there is relatively little information about Maori and their farming. They have been searched for in the sheep returns. We know about the tiny land development schemes of the 1930s and 1940s.

The salient features of the Maori land use are:

1. From shortly after the McLean purchases, the land that was not being sold was being leased; Maori did not themselves occupy much of the land they still owned.
2. They mostly went into small farming, which typically meant dairying. This was a better option later in the nineteenth century when a multitude

of small dairy factories sprang up around the inquiry district and the improvements in road and rail made it easier to transport the produce.

3. By the late nineteenth century, only a handful of large blocks were available to them for use in pastoral farming. The Mataikona/Aohanga blocks were leased to Pakeha until the Native Trustee took them over in 1930. The Nga Waka-a-Kupe blocks were in Maori ownership and use but this depended on the remarkable Iraia Te Whaiti and his partnership operations. When he died at the end of World War I, the enterprise fragmented as did the landholdings and many of them soon passed out of Maori ownership.

There is the question of the actual usefulness of the land. This diminished over time as first sales, then Pakeha settlement, encroached on both the quantity of the land available to Maori and their ability to use it ways that approximated to those employed by their Pakeha neighbours. It is clear that the leasing system led to many cases in which Pakeha lessees eventually swallowed up the Maori land into their own farms, often because the Pakeha farm surrounded the Maori land block. Examples of this process have been given above. How the Maori blocks came so often to be landlocked is a significant question but one beyond the scope of this report.

As blocks shrank in size and became increasingly isolated, the attractiveness of retaining them diminished rapidly. Once more, the Turanga Tribunal has found a similar process occurring in Poverty Bay, and that it actually applied increasingly into the twentieth century:

The late nineteenth century ... was a period of intensive land sales. By the end of that period, the big blocks of land had been broken up. Any comments we have made concerning the prices that Maori received for their land in the nineteenth century are, we believe, even more apt in the twentieth century. The partitioning of interests that had been sold, the increasing fractionation that resulted from succession, and the rapidly growing population, combined to increase the economic pressures on remaining owners. By the twentieth century, owners would sell because there seemed no point in retaining shares in a block that were far too small to produce any return—let alone allow them to occupy. Turanga Maori followed the national trend in the second half of the twentieth century. Unable to live on the land, they moved rapidly and in large numbers to the towns and cities.<sup>810</sup>

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<sup>810</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Turanga Tangata, Turanga Whenua*, 517.

There is, then, a key difference between Maori and Pakeha land use in Wairarapa ki Tararua: Maori were leaving increasingly unusable blocks while Pakeha were consolidating their farms and holdings and their presence generally in the region. The Maori interest in the land, measured in the value of increasingly fractionated shares, was diminishing for individuals, while for Pakeha it was increasing. As the Portal Consulting report has shown, by the mid-twentieth century, even of the Maori in the region, the tangata whenua of Wairarapa ki Tararua made up only a small proportion of the people of the land in the inquiry district.

#### **11.4. Issue D: Access to Finance**

Maori could not borrow on a regular commercial basis when no-one who was likely to lend could see the land being a security. Until the Native Land Court system came into being, there was no way of determining ownership that a lending institution would have accepted. Furthermore the asset could not be sold (except to the Crown) and was therefore in itself useless as security. Even after that time, the multiple ownership recognised by the court was unattractive, and more so as in the case of most land blocks it fragmented exponentially after the Native Land Act 1873, This Act required both that all people with an interest in the land be placed on the certificate of title and that they all give their approval to any alienation—a requirement that proved impossible in practice as owners died, others moved away, and individuals could technically block the wishes of the majority in even a purchase with the best bona fides.

There was also the matter of the 1878 legislation prohibiting any lending whatsoever against Maori land. For the period of time that was in force it barred any use of the land for such purposes.

The Ikaroa Maori Land Board, as it was required to, exercised for the first half of the twentieth century an extremely tight control over Maori gaining access to their own money which was required to be paid to the Board. There is clear evidence of officials such as Judges Harvey and Gilfedder of the Ikaroa Board intervening directly and constantly to try to help Maori manage their money to their best advantage, and refusing to permit dealings and payments that appeared to be to the disadvantage of the Maori concerned. But they were working within the existing system; the

underlying and unalterable problem that was the sums they were husbanding were generally only a few tens or scores of pounds, resulting from a small piece of land being divided into even smaller shares. Their intervention was direct and brooked no contradiction, but was done for the best of paternalistic motives. As Professor Hawke has said in another context with regard to the Gisborne area: ‘It is not at all easy to see what was the appropriate balance of paternalism and recognition of autonomy....’<sup>811</sup> It is hard to argue in many of the cases they were dealing with that their strict, even parental, oversight of Maoris’ own money was to the ultimate economic detriment of those individual Maori.

The Pakeha farmers living around Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori were not only making a cash income (which of course varied immensely between individual farms), but taking additional income in the form of the rising asset value of their farms.<sup>812</sup> To the extent that Maori were no longer in possession of their lands they were excluded from this asset-based income and that was a problem that continued to grow every time they parted with more. On the other hand, it is certainly true that the lands remaining in Maori hands did increase in value; those such as Horiana Natanahira and others selling lands in the early twentieth century were doing so at rates of several pounds per acre compared with the few pennies or occasionally shillings that had been paid a half-century earlier. They were by this time, in some cases, also able to raise funds through loans from government lending institutions, especially the Public Trustee and occasionally the Government Advances to Settlers Department, although they had not been able to prior to the mid-1890s.

Stirling’s point cited above, that debt can be either ‘good’ or ‘bad’ needs also to be borne in mind. Borrowings for development are ‘good’ as they should give a return and overall make an improvement in the lives of the borrowers—provided the loan can be serviced and the development is one that does work. Money borrowed merely to finance a lifestyle and which then is instantly dissipated with little left to show for it is ‘bad’ in this sense. When that is matched with the sale of land, or borrowing against it, to finance such a lifestyle the net effect must also be negative, the asset being eaten away while nothing improves overall in the sellers’ or borrowers’ lives. The evidence from Wairarapa ki Tararua shows that Maori were trying to do both. There is evidence, such as the several investments McLean made straight after the

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<sup>811</sup> Hawke, ‘Capital’, 23.

initial purchases, or the requirements imposed by the Ikaroa Maori Land Board over some Nga Waka-a-Kupe sales, that there were investments made. The clearing of mortgages and such debts are also positive contributions to overall economic wellbeing (unless perhaps when the balance between the mortgage interest and the opportunity cost of the loss of other use of that money tips the rule the other way).

However, there is much evidence cited above of cases where people were selling land to finance a current lifestyle, apparently also often out of need as they had no alternative sources of income. The land, the asset on which they had depended for their very life support, and then which was their only ongoing source of income, was sold for cash which went to buy clothes, food, house renovations, and even in some cases alcohol and tobacco.

Professor Hawke has discussed elsewhere the economists' concept of time-preference, when a choice is made between consuming now or saving to consume later.<sup>813</sup> The question much of the evidence raises, individual, episodic and anecdotal as it is, is to what extent that was a real choice for Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori, or indeed, for many other people in the district in the nineteenth century. Hawke states, using the settlers clearing the bush in South Taranaki and northern Wairarapa as his example, that these farmers:

chose to retain their income when they might have used financial mechanisms to turn some of it into more immediate consumption and comfort.... The wisdom of such choices, whether those of Maori land sellers or dairy farmers, is not my concern here. What is important is that such choices be analysed in terms of time preference and not in terms of an alleged inability to use resources for capital formation rather than consumption.<sup>814</sup>

With respect, I wonder whether Professor Hawke has read the accounts, such as Petersen's, of the situations in which those settlers found themselves. They were repeatedly under threat of starving to death. There were no financial mechanisms available to them; the only mechanisms available were their strong right arms. They did not choose to retain their incomes; they had no incomes beyond what they could (not always) eke out to support themselves while they cleared bush and hoped that they could do so fast enough to be able to create farms before they went bankrupt or starved. Their only 'choice' was whether to stay or to leave, and abandoning the

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<sup>812</sup> Thus Hawke, 'Capital', 12.

<sup>813</sup> Hawke, 'Capital', 12.

hopes for which they had emigrated from the other side of the world was not an option easily taken.

Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori did not even have that choice; their land, family, cultural values and skills required them to stay where they were. It is a mystery to know—at least until the early twentieth century or possibly 1890s—what ‘financial mechanisms’ all but a very small, even privileged, handful might have used, other than what they did use: parting with their land permanently, leasing land to others who did have capital and skills where possible, and unskilled wage labouring at the bottom of the scale.

Elsewhere, Professor Hawke has commented that: ‘... it seems to me the debt is essentially the matter of the timing of consumption and income’.<sup>815</sup> To the extent that this timing is dependent upon choice between options, that is so, but it still leaves unanswered questions about the need to consume at a particular time, the items or services ‘consumed’, and the prospect of income with which to pay for them. This has considerable implications: one way of bridging the consumption-income gap is to steal what is needed, another is to starve or go homeless.

The Turanga Tribunal did not apparently discuss Professor Hawke’s evidence directly. However, the discussion of various related issues, as quoted in a number of places through the present report, suggests that they may have been unconvinced of the applicability to the situation of nineteenth-century Maori of his more general economic analysis. They very clearly explain that the sums of money Maori were receiving for their lands in the first place did not permit them to make significant choices between investment and consumption. The instalment system meant that the small sums were drip fed and the numerous owners of most blocks meant that they each received too little to do much with. This situation, combined with the inability of Maori other than a handful of chiefs to amass any substantial sum to do more than pay for immediate consumption (or past consumption on credit), meant that the choices of which Professor Hawke speaks were effectively denied them.

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<sup>814</sup> Hawke, ‘Capital’, 12-13.

<sup>815</sup> ‘Hauraki Transcript’, p 113, l 33.

## **11.5. Issue E: The Adequacy or Viability of Remaining Land**

Examples have been given to show that in many cases blocks of land left were small, inaccessible or unusable.

The experience of the various small farm development schemes set up for Pakeha suggests that the acreage they were allocated, generally 100 acres, was hard to make work as a viable farm in the inquiry district, particularly away from the townships. Many Maori farms were much smaller than that level even a century ago, as is confirmed by the tables such as those in the Stout-Ngata report.

The widespread inability of Maori to set themselves up on a viable sheep farm is shown by the sheep returns, which reveal the small number of Maori who owned sheep at all, their complete absence from a number of counties, especially in the northern Wairarapa/southern Tamaki segment in the middle of the inquiry district, and the generally small size of their flocks.

The sale of many blocks of land in the twentieth century came about as a result of the land being inaccessible. Generally this seems to have been because they were landlocked by the neighbouring properties. A frequent pattern throughout the inquiry district is that a longstanding lessee of a piece of land ended up buying it and it transpires that the lessee also owned the neighbouring, blocking land. Whose responsibility it was to ensure that blocks of Maori land were not in fact landlocked in this way has not been investigated.

## **11.6. Issue F: When Could Land have been Considered 'Insufficient'?**

The focus on the 'sufficiency' of the lands remaining in Maori hands to meet the present and future needs of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori leads to the question of whether Maori did retain 'sufficient' lands. The answer clearly is 'no'. They did not retain enough lands to live on and support themselves, and even less did they retain sufficient lands to participate in any meaningful way in the new Pakeha economy. To do so, they needed principally the land resource, finance with which to

develop and stock the land, and the appropriately skilled labour force to carry out the development and conduct the farming.

The labour force they retained for some decades, although it was employed around the region as agricultural labourers and shearers, but by the early twentieth century it was becoming more difficult to keep them when more lucrative employment beckoned elsewhere. There was not the education provision that would have upskilled the people sufficiently that they could have entered alternative employment and professions and raised (or even secured) their individual and group economic status. To gain that, they would have had to leave the district as even when Hikurangi College was operating it did so on a very small scale.

Finance they never seem to have had except in very isolated instances. One or two of the senior rangatira such as Te Manihera appear to have accumulated sufficient from the initial Crown purchases to attempt to use it for buying their former land back or otherwise investing it. There is little indication of others having been able to do this, although presumably some such accumulation was behind, for example, the funding of the Kotahitanga and other gatherings hosted in the late nineteenth century. There were one or two instances documented of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori having been able to access Advances to Settlers funds, but only one or two. The problem of fragmentation of title resulting from the Native Land Act system was a major contributor to this problem.

The land they had lost, either completely through sale, or through leasing as a resource which they could use to support themselves or gain a substantial income from by the late nineteenth century. Probably the initial McLean purchases did not leave them with 'insufficient' land except as they may have been left without reserves in particular places that they needed for accessing a particular resource, such as birds or eels. However, if the reports of Searancke from the late 1850s and early 1860s are to be taken at face value concerning the state even then of Maori in the central Wairarapa district at least, then they were already poverty stricken.

But certainly the ongoing alienation of land, by sale and lease, over the next two or three decades removed any leeway Maori still had. Even where a substantial block of land remained—and Mataikona and Nga Waka-a-Kupe are the two prime examples—because of the new title system the benefits from them went only to their owners. Within two decades of the turn of the century, Nga Waka-a-Kupe had been alienated and the estate Iraia Te Whaiti had welded together personally was largely

dissipated, while Mataikona was run down by the Pakeha lessee to the extent that the Native Trustee had to rescue it, a task that took decades. Thereafter any further loss of land, while not huge in quantity, further rendered Wairarapa ki Tararua Maori resourceless and without the ability to use their labour on a non-existent resource. For better or worse, the Ikaroa Maori Land Board controlled both the rate of alienation of the remaining land and the detailed expenditure of the proceeds, so freedom to act was denied to Maori. Clearly some thought this was worthwhile and necessary, but others found it unduly cumbersome and overbearing. Lacking land on which to support themselves, Maori of Wairarapa ki Tararua who were not willing or able to become agricultural labourers and shearers on others' properties often left the district or increasingly seem to have come to rely on state assistance.

Stirling points out that, for Ngati Hinewaka, the loss of their land meant that the 8000 acres remaining today, while not insignificant, is, 'given the quality of the land, not an area that can sustain the hapu'.<sup>816</sup> That is almost certainly true, but begs the question of why it might be expected to do so in the twenty-first century. Conditions and circumstances have changed dramatically since any Maori group lived entirely on and from its land and mahinga kai in the pre-European period. Nowadays, Maori groups seldom live on their land, or at least only a relatively small portion of a hapu, or even whanau, might. Others might live in the region, in this case throughout Wairarapa, while many more might well be in regional centres like Masterton, Dannevirke, or major urban centres such as Wellington, if not further afield. Those others earn their own livelihoods through various forms of employment unrelated to a traditional lifestyle. There is little expectation that a tribal group of any size might be completely sustained by the lands with which they had a traditional connection, and which their ancestors did indeed occupy and sustain themselves from.

If 'sustenance' were taken more broadly, including the sense of drawing spiritual and emotional refreshment from connection with a place, then the connection with the traditional lands is more apparent, but then the question surely is not related to the acreage per se, but to the 'quality' of the sites to which access and use rights are retained. Waka landing places, urupa, central maunga and awa, particular marae, social and political centres and so on feature in this sort of 'sustenance'. Whether

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<sup>816</sup> Stirling, 'Hinewaka', 4.

‘enough’ of these remain to a group depends on more subjective and internal evaluations of cultural importance.

Since an opinion on the timing of this insufficiency is required by the commission, several points should be made.

The initial McLean purchases would not have created a general insufficiency immediately in 1853/4. Maori of Wairarapa ki Tararua still retained some 41% of the district’s lands and doubtless retained access for some years even to many areas sold at that time but not immediately exclusively occupied by settlers.

There may be localised instances where those initial purchases did create an ‘insufficiency’ for a particular group in that they lost access to key mahinga kai and/or kaimoana food resources and/or urupa, especially in the lower Wairarapa valley. However, a loss of access to such resources may not have come to light or been experienced by Maori on the ground for several years after the purchases, i.e. until when it was clear on the ground what land had actually been sold, and what had and had not been reserved.

By the 1870s with the formalisation on the ground of the McLean purchases it is likely that ‘insufficiency’ in land occurred in areas such as the lower Wairarapa valley (where Searancke had written a decade earlier of their poverty). Rigby estimates that by 1871, Maori retained about five percent of Wairarapa land.<sup>817</sup> It is notable that around the same time the McLean purchases were formalised in surveys on the ground, the sale to the Crown of most of the Seventy-Mile Bush area in the Tararua district was also in the process of being finalised. Although the impact of Crown purchasing would have been felt more heavily in the southern and eastern areas where the relatively open countryside allowed immediate Pakeha settlement, the northern district would have soon caught up in this respect as the forest was cleared and Pakeha settlers alone occupied the newly opened up districts. The lack of Maori in the sheep returns and small numbers of Maori in several counties shown in the censuses confirms this.

The writer considers that by the turn of the twentieth century, insufficiency of Maori land had occurred in the inquiry district as a whole with only two relatively large blocks remaining in Maori ownership, Mataikona and Nga Waka-a-Kupe. Even then most of Nga Waka-a-Kupe was soon lost to permanent alienation by the early

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<sup>817</sup> Rigby, ‘Crown Purchases’, 102

decades of the new century. Mataikona, as noted above, is the only large land block remaining in Maori ownership today.

## **11.7. Issue G: Sufficiency of Non-Land Resources**

Generally speaking, the non-land resources went with the land. Relatively sparse Pakeha settlement around much of the district probably meant that if they had wished, Maori might have been able for some time to access various resources, but even so it was only by the good will of the new landowner. The erection of fences and the extension of Pakeha law enforcement would have curtailed such access over a period of years or decades.

It has not been possible to come to conclusions about the loss of these non-land resources because they are so varied in kind and their usage varied so greatly. Also, comparatively little information is available about them compared with that available concerning land.

The recent claimant evidence about Aohanga/Mataikona and Akitio indicates that although much of the land had passed out of Maori ownership yet they still had access to the kaimoana and other resources along the foreshore associated with the land. There of course uniquely they were still major landowners. In other places, they will have completely lost access and use rights, as with timber or flax on a block that had been sold or leased.

Other matters such as education may also be considered as non-land resources. The difficulties of obtaining adequate education for Maori in the Wairarapa ki Tararua district, despite their immediate donation of endowment lands in the 1853, has been discussed above. Some issues for coastal communities will be related to remoteness and access, too, but despite the desire of local Maori for access to Pakeha education, so that they might face the new social and economic situation as well equipped as possible, their enthusiasm was largely thwarted through the crucial decades of the later nineteenth century

## 11.8. Issue H: The Economic Status of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori Communities

As to the issue of whether the loss by Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori of their land led to their impoverishment and inability to function in the economy created by the Pakeha settlers, we return to Associate-Professor Boast's warning quoted in the Introduction of this report. Boast stated *inter alia*:

It is not a simple matter of an abundance of land creating wealth and landlessness creating poverty.... It is a mistake to believe that land ownership is a guarantee of wealth and prosperity—which is not of course to argue that land alienation is a guarantee of wealth either.

There is evidence that those Maori who did manage to retain and even create a degree of wealth in the nineteenth century were those who either received a relatively large sum personally from various land sales, or who managed to retain land upon which they could run a substantial number of sheep. As to land ownership guaranteeing wealth, even those who continued in ownership through the nineteenth century were parted from all but a tiny portion of it in the twentieth century. The large flocks in the hands of a few chiefs at the turn of the century were dissipated by the 1920s. Speaking of the late nineteenth century, Boast continued to say that:

Essentially Maori were trapped in a desperate economic situation. Maori could not join in the new capitalist agricultural economy being built around them as they lacked access to investment capital. Maori could not borrow on the security of their lands and thus improve and develop them. To obtain capital they were forced to either rent their lands or sell them. But neither renting nor selling generated enough capital for reinvestment, and the proceeds were often swallowed up by short-term debt.... However, Maori also faced the problem that 'transaction costs' were very high.... All this served to impose further costs on Maori in their attempts to realize the value of the only capital they had.

More than the simple retention of land, there is required the ability to use it. Maori could perhaps have tried to use the lands remaining to them, and others to which they could still gain access, to continue to support themselves in a traditional manner. To a small degree, they do so still today in the gathering of kai moana or puha, or farming where that is possible. But to conduct such farming and to do anything else with the land requires an infusion of funding from some source. Very occasionally Maori themselves have been able to supply it, and evidence has been

cited above to show that one way or another, sometimes by selling less ‘useful’ blocks, Maori have managed this. Generally, though, outside investment has been required. Borrowing had not in general been possible, except sometimes through the Public, then Maori Trustee. Renting often resulted in an income which was insufficient to live off, let alone use to develop other lands. At least through the middle of the twentieth century the leases did not provide for the land to be left in good condition at expiry (although compensation provisions would also have been a difficult burden for the owners) and so much land was deliberately run down by lessees as they prepared to leave and reverted to scrub and noxious weeds.

The question of transaction costs has been touched on with the Native Land Court and related fees, such as survey and legal costs. Others were hidden as there are occasional indications that better returns on investment could have been gained than the 4 per cent interest paid by the Public Trustee on money placed with him by the Maori Land Boards. None of these were avoidable as they were set down in statute and little about its method of operation was left to the Ikaroa Board’s discretion.

There is certainly a correlation between Maori land alienation and Maori poverty. But the correlation is not a simple one and has two aspects. Firstly, most obviously, land alienation may cause poverty. Maori lose a valuable asset—their land—and are therefore deprived of a number of possible economic options and are reduced to unskilled labouring as a means of support.... However, it is equally important to emphasise that, if land loss can cause poverty, poverty can also, and undoubtedly did, cause land loss.... To many owners the process of Crown purchasing represented a welcome escape from the pressures of short-term debt, an alleviation of desperate economic circumstances, or the opportunity to acquire some capital to finance sheep or dairy-farming ventures elsewhere.<sup>818</sup>

Short term debts were also certainly a problem and a cause of attempts to alienate land, although the extent of the problem remains unclear. Individual examples of such poverty leading to attempts to sell land are indeed present in the record. It may be that by the time it was an issue in the twentieth century, many Maori were at the bottom of the financial heap and thus needed the proceeds from the land sales in a way they had not in the nineteenth century when ‘poverty’ could be masked or compensated for by their ability still to live off the lands remaining to them. However, whether or not it caused the alienation of land, certainly it appears that a marked

proportion of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori needed the proceeds from such sales to pay for that short-term debt. Some of the debts resulted in more permanent benefits, such as house repairs, than others, such as payment for food and clothes. The examples are scattered through the block files and other sources. It may, of course, be objected that there are not all that many of them, that they do not crop up in even a majority of cases. But to the extent that it might also be argued that there were not a huge number of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori, so too those examples take on a greater significance as representing a higher proportion of the number of people who were located there.

By contrast, the use of land sales proceeds to clear long term debt such as mortgages and to develop other properties can be seen as a sensible and appropriate method of doing business, and thus 'good'. This applies especially where those lands sold were useless or inaccessible and returned little or nothing as they were.

Boast's general observation has been seen to apply in Wairarapa ki Tararua situations. The land alienation as a cause of poverty may be seen in the immediate reduction during the mid-nineteenth century of most Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-a-Rua Maori to seasonal labour, as shearers, road builders, flax workers and such. A handful, identifiable by name, managed to establish flocks of sheep and become wealthy, even if there is some question over what was personal property and what tribal. The rest disappeared into virtual oblivion, as their almost complete absence after 1870 from the region's historical accounts suggests. Once again, as with the individual pastoralists, a notable exception such as the Papawai community illustrates by its very uniqueness the more general rule, though even its relatively greater economic capacity and status was to fade by the early twentieth century.

The difficulties faced by Maori in the quantum of Crown purchase payments, the methods of making those payments, and the actual utility of the sums thus acquired have been identified by the Turanga Tribunal and discussed above in the present report. The conclusions come to by that Tribunal with regard to Poverty Bay seem very largely applicable in Wairarapa ki Tararua also. Maori were paid relatively little in the first place for their lands. This quantum was dissipated both in the instalment payment system diminishing the possibility of a person receiving a significant lump sum, and in the numbers of owners who were to receive it. Then,

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<sup>818</sup> Boast, 'Mohaka-Waikare Consolidated Report', 202-204. Quoted in Waitangi Tribunal,

when it came to spending the proceeds on an investment of enduring economic value, the small sum thus received would buy relatively little: a few sheep, a horse or milch cow, and so on. Nor, as has been pointed out, could that deficiency be made up by accessing loan finance from any source (apart from some government sources in the twentieth century) largely due to the fragmentation of land ownership resulting from the Native Land Court system after 1865. On the one hand, the Crown sought at a policy level for Maori to become individualised farmers as were Europeans, but on a practical level most of the Crown actions conspired against that being a realistic possibility for many, probably most, Maori of Wairarapa ki Tararua.

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MA 1/1909/280 Medical Aid: Hoani Ngatuere [#A51(c)]

MA 1/1910/3880 Medical Aid: Masterton 1908-1911 [#A51(c)]

MA 1/1910/3882 Medical Aid: Pahiatua 1907-1909 [#A51(c)]

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MA 1/1919/237 Indigent Maori, Wairarapa, 1919-37 [#A51(c)]

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MA 15 1/310 Hinewaka No 1  
MA 15 1/461 Potakakuratawhiti 1B2  
MA 15 1/463 Pukengaki 7A2  
MA 15 1/523 Pukengaki 24B  
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MA 15 1/562 Makirikiri 1 and 2  
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MA 15 1/2142 Pirinoa 1A  
MA 15 1/2147 Okoura 1B  
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MA 15 1/2332 Hinewaka 3B  
MA 15 1/2426 Te Kawakawa 2A1  
MA 15 1/2603 Hinewaka 3A2 and 3A3  
MA 15 1/2695 Hinana 9B  
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1878, G-2. Papers relating to the Census of the Maori Population, 1878

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1880, H-9. Sheep Returns for the year ended 31 May 1879

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1882, G-1. Reports from Officers in Native Districts

1884, E-2. Education: Native Schools

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1937, G-10. Report of the Board of Native Affairs

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## 13. Appendices

### 13.1. Appendix One: Sheep Returns

Note: Rakautatahi is included on the understanding that it is not within the inquiry district but being right on the border will be of interest to consideration of the area immediately adjoining it.

Generally, names of both people and places are recorded as they appear in the published records so they may be both incorrect and inconsistent.

1880

AJHR, 1880, H-9.

South Wairarapa

<b>Name</b>	<b>Farm</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No of Sheep 31 May 1879</b>
Apiata Hakiaha	Kohunui	Waihenga	170
Mahupuka	Longbush	Gladstone	4153
CJ Jury jun	Vermont	Carterton	1260
JM Jury	Glendower	Carterton	1059
Tiki Nopera	Mangahina	Gladstone	3000
Eramatia Taiktekitu	Hurunuirangi	Gladstone	130
Tunuirangi	Pirinoa	Waihenga	380
Tunuirangi	Hinana	Gladstone	380
Taiu Whakamairu	Waiherere	Masterton	200

1885

AJHR, 1886, H-8a.

West Wairarapa County (in South Wairarapa Subdivision)

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1884</b>	<b>No in 1885</b>
Apiata Hakiaha	Kohunui	Martinborough	130	104
CJ Jury	Vermont &	Greytown	2506	2591

	Glendower			
Tiki Nopera	Mangahuia	Gladstone	3000	3751
Tunuiarangi	Pirinoa	Gladstone	600	800
Tunuiarangi	Hinana	Gladstone	700	800
Wi Mahupuka	Longbush	Gladstone	5000	4300

East Wairarapa County (in North Wairarapa Subdivision)

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1884</b>	<b>No in 1885</b>
Henare Tamati	Te Oreore	Masterton	100	190
Ihaia Whakamairu		Masterton	290	250
Piripi Waaka	Kaihoata	Masterton	—	107

Waipawa County

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1884</b>	<b>No in 1885</b>
Mohi & Hiri Atua	Hampden	Tikokino	400	400
Nepe te Apatu		Waipawa	4000	4000
Paora Ropiha		Waipawa	—	500
Paora Tarona		Porangahau	1000	Nil
Renata te Pewa	Hampden		550	500
Ropiha Riwai	Hampden	Tikokino	300	280
Tuhua Tangaru		Takapau	—	300

1890

AJHR, 1891 sess II, H-15a.

South Wairarapa County

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1890</b>
CJ Jury	Vermont & Glendower	Greytown	5985
Kotea Tahana	Puahi	Gladstone	300
Natanahira	Rangatau	Gladstone	700
Anarua Pahira	Whakarae	Gladstone	400
Piripi te Maari	Pirinoa	Martinborough	900
H.P. Tunuiarangi	Henana	Gladstone	600
Wi Mahupuka	Longbush	Gladstone	11,000

North Wairarapa County

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1890</b>
Anaru Hanawira		Taueru	200
Kahumingi Estate		Taueru	11,313
Maika Matiaha	Kaiwhata	Masterton	280
Manaena Waka		Masterton	100
Piripi & Tiwi Waaka	Te Pamu	Masterton	700
Puihara te Tau	Takamaitu	Masterton	100 (1891)
Wiremua Hoera Rautu		Oahanga	2850 (1891)

#### Waipawa

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1890</b>
Hanita te Maro		Waipawa	500
Hori Tawhai		Takapau	4000
Manahi Pukerua		Tikokino	102
Maraera Puri		Tikokino	100
Nepe te Apatu		Waipawa	3000
Joseph Pana		Ashley Clinton	250
Paora Ropiha		Waipawa	500
Renata te Pewa		Tikokino	500
Ropata Riwai		Tikokino	300
Tuhua Tangaru		Takapau	900

1893/4

AJHR, 1894, H-17a.

#### South Wairarapa County

267 total owners; 122 < 500, 41 < 1000, 34 < 1-2000, 12 < 10-20,000

Overall annual increase 30,580; 1893 total 567,864; 1894 total 598,444

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1893</b>	<b>No in 1894</b>
Harris & Mahupuka	Mangahina	Gladstone	5000	0
Hemi Matiaha	Pane	Gladstone	300	292
CJ Jury	Vermont & Glendower	Greytown	7060	6344
Kohea Tahana	Puahi	Gladstone	400	400
Wi Toi Natanahira	Rangatau	Gladstone	700	704
Piripi te Maari	Pirinoa	Martinborough	760	1121
Takani Kingi		Gladstone	260	247
Tamahau Mahupuku	Longbush	Gladstone	—	10,020

Tiki Mahupuku	Longbush	Gladstone	8000	—
H.P. Tunuiarangi	Henana	Gladstone	800	1000

#### North Wairarapa County

463 total owners. Flock size 247 < 500, 85 < 1000, 61 < 2000, 40 2-5000, 10 10-20,000

1893 total 701,508 1894 total 755,071 Overall annual increase 53, 563

Name	Property	Location	No in 1893	No in 1894
Ihipera Pauwai & Horiana Tihitia		Oahanga	3500	3584
Iraia Tamati	Homewood		—	103
Kahumingi Estate		Taueru	12,770	11,845
Maika Matiaha	Kaiwhata	Masterton	400	436
Piripi & Tiwi Waaka	Te Pamu	Masterton	600	426
Puihara te Tau	Takamaitu	Masterton	655	770
Te Ao Anaru & Wairohu te Huki		Taueru	510	450
Tehiwa Paku	New Home	Homewood	100	228
Tu Hirini	Maungaru	Taueru	—	800

#### Pahiatua County

Total sheep 1893 106,193; 1894 134,315

Total owners 212

No Maori owners

#### Waipawa County

Total sheep 1893 627,923, 1894 667,989

Total owners 369

Flock size 220 < 500; 61 < 1000; 33 < 2000; 27 < 5000

Name	Property	Location	No in 1893	No in 1894
Arapeta Meha		Waipawa	510	791
Hanita te Maero		Waipawa	500	500
Wirihana Karaitiana	Kakahukura	Dannevirke	308	465
Manahi		Fernhill	200	Nil

Pukerua				
Nepe te Anaru & Hori Tawhai	Raurautotohi	Waipawa	3000	2996
Joseph Pana		Ashley Clinton	400	494
Ihaia Takerei	Hautotara	Dannevirke	170	353
Wiremu Takana	Tahoraiti	Dannevirke	81	462

1895

AJHR, 1895, H-23.

#### South Wairarapa County

Name	Property	Location	No in 1895
Hemi Matiaha	Pane	Gladstone	300
CJ Jury	Vermont & Glendower	Greytown	6600
Kohea Tahana	Puahi	Gladstone	655 (up 255)
Waaka Manaena		Masterton	Nil (down 260)
Wi Toi Natanahira	Rangatau	Gladstone	700
Piripi te Maari	Pirinoa	Martinborough	768
Takani Kingi		Gladstone	235
Tamahau Mahupuku	Longbush	Gladstone	Nil
H.P. Tunuiarangi	Henana	Gladstone	900

#### North Wairarapa County

Name	Property	Location	No in 1895
Ihipera Patuwai & Horiana Tihitia		Oahanga	4934
Iraia Tamati	Homewood		162
Kahumingi Estate		Taueru	9598
Maika Matiaha	Kaiwhata	Masterton	774
Manaena Waka		Masterton	(260 1894) 180
Piripi & Tiwi Waaka	Te Pamu	Masterton	536
Puihara te Tau	Takamaitu	Masterton	(770 1894) Nil
Te Ao Anaru & Wairohu te Huki		Taueru	500
Tehiwa Paku	New Home	Homewood	100
Tu Hirini	Maungaru	Taueru	900

#### Waipawa County

Name	Property	Location	No in 1895
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Arapata Meha		Waipawa	490
Hanita te Maero		Waipawa	500
Hoera Rangiwhakaewa	Kaitoke	Dannevirke	180
Wirihana Karaitiana	Kakahukura	Dannevirke	560
Nepe te Apatu & Hori Tawhai	Raurautotohi	Waipawa	2400
Joseph Pana	Ashley Clinton		444
Ihaia Takerei	Hautotara	Dannevirke	495

1900

AJHR, 1900, H-23.

South Wairarapa County

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1900</b>
Ani Marakaia	Rocky Hill	Gladstone	200
Hemi Enoka		Kahautara	181
Henare Poukiki		Featherston	107
Kohea Tahana	Puahi	Gladstone	Nil
Manihera Ruki		Featherston	103
W.H. Manihera		Featherston	32
Wi Toi Natanahira	Rangatau	Gladstone	309
Heremaiah Niniwa		Martinborough	670
Paea Tari Whatakarari	Paihuia	Gladstone	410
Piripi te Maire		Martinborough	778
Ihakara Roka Tipua		Martinborough	Nil
Tutura te Kahu		Featherston	84
H.P. Tunuiarangi	Turanganui	Featherston	500
Turiahira Paraone		Gladstone	Nil

North Wairarapa County

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1900</b>
Iraia Tamati	Homewood	Masterton	102
Kahumingi Estate		Taueru	11,263
Maika Matiaha	Kaiwhata	Masterton	366
Manaena Waka		Masterton	100
Pani Kingi		Taueru	540
Piripi & Tiwi Waaka	Te Pamu	Masterton	822
Te Ao Anaru & Wairohu te Huki		Taueru	300
Tehiwa Paku	New Home	Masterton	400
Waaka Tioi		Brancepeth	262

Waipawa County

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1900</b>
Haira Paora	Hautotara	Dannevirke	398
Hanita te Maero	Te Rakautatahi	Waipawa	610
Hoera Rangiwhakaewa	Kaitoke	Dannevirke	163
Hona Moni		Waipawa	Nil (250 1899)
Nepe te Apatu & Hori Tawhai	Rakautatahi	Waipawa	1491
Pahemata Pikihuia	Rakautatahi	Waipawa	437
Retitia Maremare	Waikopiro	Ormondville	100
Reupena Eruete	Waikopiro	Ormondville	50
Rukiruki Eraihia		Takapau	164
Wiremu Takana & Co		Tahoraiti	Nil (358 1899)

1905

AJHR, 1905, H-23.

Featherston County

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1905</b>
Hemi Enoka		Kahautara	80
Henare Poukiki		Featherston	155
Hui te Makau		Martinborough	Nil (435 1904)
CJ Jury	Glendower	Greytown	6659
Erete Mahupuku		Greytown	Nil (66 1904)
Manihera Ruka		Featherston	93
Te Kahu Tutura		Featherston	153
Te Waiti & Sinclair	Watarangi	Martinborough	19,600
H.P. Tunuiarangi	Turanganui	Featherston	600

South Wairarapa County

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1905</b>
Hamuera Mahupuku &	Paehuea	Gladstone	587

Hutton			
Joseph B Jury		Te Wharau	1110
Paea Tari Whatakarari	Paihuia	Gladstone	15
Paku Rawhira	Homewood	Gladstone	500
Paku Tamaireia	Homewood	Gladstone	143
Emma Pori		Gladstone	268
Renata Hape	Wharau	Gladstone	567

#### Masterton County

Name	Property	Location	No in 1905
Himiona Huia	Homewood	Gladstone	252
Himiona Raukura <sup>819</sup>	Homewood	Gladstone	252
Iraia Tamati	Homewood	Masterton	245
R Kingi Waipuka	Homewood		100
Maika Matiaha	Kaiwhata	Masterton	492
Manaena Waka		Masterton	131
Mane Anaru	Homewood		123
Piripi Waaka	Te Pamu	Masterton	1026
Piripi Whitu	Homewood		198
Waaka Tioi	Brancepeth		200
Wainoki te Huki & Ors		Taueru	457

#### Waipawa & Woodville Counties

Name	Property	Location	No in 1905
Arapata Meha	Rakautahi	Norsewood	324
Haira Paora	Hautotara	Dannevirke	32
Hanita Te Maero	Te Rakautahi	Takapau	900
Nepe te Apatu	Te Rakautahi	Takapau	1400
Pahemata	Te Rakautahi	Waipawa	700

<sup>819</sup>

Were these two the same person and thus the flock is being counted twice?

Pikihuia			
Rukiruki Eraihia		Takapau	384

1910

AJHR, 1910, H-23.

Featherston County

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1910</b>
Hemi Enoka	Awaaroa	Featherston	Nil (102 1909)
Henare Manihera Poukiki	Awaaroa	Featherston	100
CJ Jury	Glendower	Carterton	7582
Manihera Ruka		Featherston	100
Niniwa Heremia	Tablelands	Martinborough	1485
Niniwa Heremia	Whangaimoana	Martinborough	Nil (386 1909)
Rina Ihakara		Pirinoa	Nil (66 1909)
Te Kahu Tutura		Featherston	203
Te Whaiti Iraia	Kaiwaru	Pirinoa	3215
Te Whaiti Iraia	Te Karangi	Pirinoa	1900
Te Whaiti & Sinclair	Watarangi	Martinborough	18,220
HP Tunuiarangi	Turanganui	Pirinoa	1400

South Wairarapa County

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1910</b>
Joseph B Jury	Tokoroa	Ahiaruhe	900
William Marsh Jury	Ponatahi	Carterton	510
Paea Tari Whatakarari (estate)	Paihuia	Te Wharau	834
Paku Rawhira	Homewood	Masterton	600
Emma Pou		Gladstone	Nil (419 1909)
Paku Tamaireia	Homewood		500

Masterton County

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1910</b>
Himiona Huia	Homewood		304
Iraia Tamati		Okautete	412
R. Kingi Waipuka	Homewood	Masterton	203
Maika Matiaha	Paeruia	Homewood	700
Mane Anaru		Okautete	400
Joe R Paku	Te Haroto	Stronvar	
Piripi te Whitu	Homewood		305
Piripi Waaka	Te Pamu	Okautete	1306
Raukura Himiona	Homewood		250
Rua Manaena Waaka	Homewood		200
Te Huki & Paeti	Te Haroto	Stronvar	Nil (530 1909)
TW te Huki & Co	Te Haroto	Stronvar	606
Waaka Tioi		Stronvar	400
Wainohu te Huki & Ors <sup>820</sup>		Stronvar	606

Dannevirke County

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1910</b>
Hanita te Maero	Te Rakautatahi	Takapau	800

Patangata & Weber Counties

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1910</b>
Kaiunamu Hona		Mangapuaka	1030
Tungane & Ada Maihi	Te Whangai	Mangapuaka	312

1915

AJHR, 1915, H-23; 1915, H-23b.

Featherston County

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1915</b>
M Ahipene		Dyerville	1300
Te Kahu Tutura		Featherston	210
Iraia te Whaiti	Kaiwaru	Pirinoa	2900
Iraia te Whaiti	Te Karangi	Pirinoa	Nil (625 1914)
Te Whaiti & Sinclair	Watarangi	Martinborough	14,700
Te Whiti Bros		Pirinoa	980

South Wairarapa County

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1915</b>
Joseph B Jury	Tokoroa	Ahiaruhe	961
William Marsh Jury	Ponatahi	Carterton	963
Paku Rawhira	Homewood	Masterton	1600

Masterton County

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1915</b>
Huia Hapuku	Homewood		279
Iraia Tamati		Okautete	390
Maika Matiaha	Paerua	Homewood	316
Mane Anaru		Okautete	400
Piripi te Whitu	Homewood		700
Piripi Waaka	Te Pamu	Okautete	300
Raukura Himiona	Homewood		200
Mrs Rawhira Paku	Ngamahanga	Homewood	1467
Waaka Tioi		Stronvar	606
Waaka Maniwa	Okautete	Masterton	Nil (140 1914)

820

Were the two 606 flocks the same under slightly different names?

Weber County

Name	Property	Location	No in 1915
Te Ao Ruki Ruki		Mangapuaka	604

Eketahuna County

Name	Property	Location	No in 1915
Ngawhiro Marapaia		Hamua	Nil (1153 1914)

Dannevirke County

Name	Property	Location	No in 1915
Eriata Nopera		Dannevirke	400
Hirai Rangiwhakaewa		Dannevirke	405
Hohera Rangiwhakaewa 821	Kaitoki	Dannevirke	405
Wirihana Karaitiana		Dannevirke	2000
Napora Eriuta <sup>822</sup>		Dannevirke	400
Nikora Bros	Kaitoki	Dannevirke	628
Peeti Luxford		Dannevirke	2609
Peeti Luxford		Dannevirke	1405

1920

AJHR, 1920, H-23; 1920, H-23b.

Dannevirke County

Name	Property	Location	No in 1920
Wirihana Karaitiana		Dannevirke	1520
Luxford Peeti	Tamaki	Dannevirke	1108

<sup>821</sup> Were these two flocks the same one?

<sup>822</sup> Was this the same flock as that owned by Eriata Nopera above?

Hohera Rangiwhakaewa	Kaitoki	Dannevirke	501
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Woodville County

Name	Property	Location	No in 1920
Wirihana Kere		Maharahara	Nil (150 1919)

Mauriceville County

Name	Property	Location	No in 1920
Jury Bros	Waratah	Mauriceville	1545

Masterton County

Name	Property	Location	No in 1919
Huia Hapuku	Homewood		252
Iraia Tamati		Masterton	514
Maika Matiaha	Paerua	Homewood	400
Piripi te Whitu	Homewood	Masterton	600
Piripi Waaka	Te Pamu	Okautete	567
Raukura Himiona	Homewood	Masterton	252
Mrs Te Hiwa Paku	Opaki Rd	Masterton	932
Waaka Tioi		Stronvar	551

South Wairarapa County

Name	Property	Location	No in 1920
JM Jury		Carterton	2280
Joseph B Jury	Tokoroa	Ahiaruhe	3942
WM Jury	Ponatahi	Carterton	2932
Paku Rawhira	Homewood	Masterton	Nil (1020 1919)

Featherston County

Name	Property	Location	No in 1920
WM Jury	Ponatahi	Carterton	1690
Te Whaiti &	Kaiwaru	Pirinoa	3000

Sinclair			
Te Whaiti & Sinclair	Watarangi	Martinborough	16,700
Te Whaiti Bros		Pirinoa	1151

1925

AJHR, 1925, H-23; 1925, H-23b.

Dannevirke County

Name	Property	Location	No in 1925
Hanita te Maero	Te Rakautatahi	Takapau	Nil (600 1924)
Mariana Paewai & Co		Dannevirke	2466

Woodville County

Name	Property	Location	No in 1925
Wirihana Karaitiana		Dannevirke	Nil (860 1924)

Masterton County

Name	Property	Location	No in 1925
Iraia Tamati		Okautete	434
Paku Bros	Ngamahanga	Masterton	1106
Paku Tioi		Okautete	70
Mrs Te Hiwa Paku	Ngamahanga	Masterton	Nil (1065 1924) <sup>823</sup>
Paku Tihi Rei		Okautete	67
Waaka Tioi		Stronvar	730
Rua Waaka		Okautete	92

South Wairarapa County

Name	Property	Location	No in 1925
JM Jury		Carterton	2270

<sup>823</sup> Does this correspond to the 1106 of the Paku Bros?

Joseph B Jury	Tokoroa	Ahiaruhe	3647
WM Jury	Ponatahi	Carterton	3081

Featherston County

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1925</b>
Himona Whana	Kahautara	Featherston	400
WM Jury	Ponatahi	Carterton	2501
Te Whaiti (estate of)	Kawakawa	Featherston	6376
Te Whaiti Bros		Pirinoa	1043

1930

AJHR, 1930, H-23; 1930, H-23b.

Dannevirke County

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1930</b>
Paewai Nireaha		Dannevirke	1250

Akitio County

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1930</b>
Native Trust	Aohanga Station	Pongaroa	10,366

Eketahuna County

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1930</b>
M Tafaeta	Nireaha	Eketahuna	91

Masterton County

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1930</b>
PH Paku	Ngamahanga	Masterton	818
Paku Tioi		Okautete	255
WR Paku	Ngamahanga	Masterton	544
Paku Tihi Rei		Okautete	245
Waaka Tioi		Stronvar	908

Wairarapa South

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1930</b>
JM Jury		Carterton	3541
Joseph B Jury	Tokoroa	Ahiaruhe	3856
LR Jury	Kokotau	Carterton	Nil (115 1929)
WM Jury	Ponatahi	Carterton	3015

Featherston County

<b>Name</b>	<b>Property</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>No in 1930</b>
George Enoka		Featherston	64

## 13.2. Appendix Two: Tables of Population and Land Use

**Figure 1 - Data showing population and residence of Maori in the Wairarapa District as at 1874, 1878 and 1881\***

<i>Residence</i>	<i>Population</i>		
	<b>1874</b>	<b>1878</b>	<b>1881**</b>
Ahikouka	18	23	33
Ahipanepane	27	44	45
Akitio	15	4	
Akura	10	38	
Eparaima	16	22	43
Hinana	8	6	
Hinaua			9
Hinewaka	20	4	
Hurunuiorangi	15	21	47
Kahukuraawhitia		13	7
Kaiangoa	4	19	
Kaihoata	9	17	15
Kaitekateka		71	100
Kohunui	18	16	
Manaia		10	10
Mangaakuta	14	19	
Mangahuaia	7		
Mangarara	10		
Mataikona		13	25
Matiti	13		
Moiki	9		7
Ngaawapurua and Hawera (40-mile Bush)			34
Otaki and Poratawhao			40
Oahanga	37	36	60
Paekaka	16	13	13
Pahaoa	21	30	18
Pakihiroa	11		
Pakipaki and Omahu			133
Papawai	26	67	89
Parewanui			10
Pirinoa	15		11

<i>Residence</i>	<i>Population</i>		
Pohuehue	13	19	
Porangahau			42
Puahi		10	
Pukio	11	20	27
Tarahi	4		
Taueru	12	6	7
Te Kaitekateka	48		
Te Kopi	11		
Te Oreore	23		
Te Paerau	39		
Te Tawai	3		
Te Waihirere	14		
Te Waitapu	17		
Te Warukaikihikihi	32		
Te Whiti		13	12
Turanganui	13	16	25
Uhiroa			28
Waikekeno	22	26	27
Waikoukou	13		
Waimarama			60
Waipaawa			24
Waipoapoa		34	23
Waitapu		26	18
W(h)akataki	43	33	15
Whakawhirinaki	8	8	
Wharariki		7	
Wharekaka	2		
Whitimanuka	34		
Whiwhia	41	10	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>742</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>1067</b>
<i>Sources: 1874 Census, AJHR 1874, G-7, pp.13-15, Wai 863 database pp. 170-171 ; 1878 Census, AJHR 1878, G-2, p.10, Wai 863 database p. 234 ; 1881 Census, AJHR 1881, G-3, p.1, Wai 863 database p. 308.</i>			
Note: Grey areas indicate that this data was not available.			
*This data was only available in the census for 1874, 1878 and 1881.			
**1881 Population data is based on the 'usual residence' of Hapu in the Wairarapa District, which has been taken north to Porangahau.			

**Figure 2 - Data showing population figures for the Wairarapa ki Tararua District by County**

Date	District/County	Maori Population	AJHR Reference	Wai 863 database page(s)	Population exclusive of Maori	Reference	Total Population	Maori as a % of Total Population
1864	Wairarapa District	843	1874, G-2, p.22	156	?	N/A	?	?
1870	Wairarapa District	850	1870, A-11, p.10	1	?	N/A	?	?
1874	Wairarapa District	742	1874, G-7, pp.13-15	170-173	?	N/A	?	?
1878	Wairarapa District	714	1878, G-2, p.10	233	6590	Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand Taken for the Night of 3rd of March, 1878, p.10	7304	10%
1881	Wairarapa District	1067	1881, G-3, p.11	307	7195	AJHR, 1881, H-21A, p.2	8262	13%
1886	Wairarapa East County	413	1886, G-12, p.17	438	4184	AJHR, 1886, H-31, p.4	4597	9%
1886	Wairarapa West County	294	1886, G-12, p.17	438	5404	AJHR, 1886, H-31, p.4	5698	5%
<b>1886 Total</b>		<b>707</b>			<b>9588</b>		<b>10295</b>	<b>7%</b>
1891	Pahiatua County	40	1891, G-2, p.10	616	2365	Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand Taken for the Night of the 5th April, 1891, p.10	2405	2%

Date	District/County	Maori Population	AJHR Reference	Wai 863 database page(s)	Population exclusive of Maori	Reference	Total Population	Maori as a % of Total Population
1891	Wairarapa North County	300	1891, G-2, p.10	616	5143	Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand Taken for the Night of the 5th April, 1891, p.10	5443	6%
1891	Wairarapa South County	399	1891, G-2, p.10	616	4980	Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand Taken for the Night of the 5th April, 1891, p.10	5379	7%
<b>1891 Total</b>		<b>739</b>			<b>12488</b>		<b>13227</b>	<b>6%</b>
1896	Pahiatua County	30	1896, H-13B, p.13	789	3208	AJHR, 1896, H-13A,p.5	3238	1%
1896	Wairarapa North County	319	1896, H-13B, p.13	789	7209	AJHR, 1896, H-13A,p.5	7528	4%
1896	Wairarapa South County	348	1896, H-13B, p.13	789	5409	AJHR, 1896, H-13A,p.5	5757	6%
<b>1896 Total</b>		<b>697</b>			<b>15826</b>		<b>16523</b>	<b>4%</b>
1901	Eketahuna County	32	1901, H-26B, p.21	1013	2332	AJHR, 1901, H-26A, p.5	2364	1%
1901	Akitio County	57	1901, H-26B, p.21	1013	1048	AJHR, 1901, H-26A, p.5	1105	5%
1901	Masterton County	234	1901, H-26B, p.21	1013	3123	AJHR, 1901, H-26A, p.5	3357	7%
1901	Castlepoint County	13	1901, H-26B, p.21	1013	457	AJHR, 1901, H-26A,	470	3%

Date	District/County	Maori Population	AJHR Reference	Wai 863 database page(s)	Population exclusive of Maori	Reference	Total Population	Maori as a % of Total Population
						p.5		
1901	Wairarapa South County	475	1901, H-26B, p.21	1013	5419	AJHR, 1901, H-26A, p.5	5894	8%
1901	Pahiatua County	24	1901, H-26B, p.21	1013	3600	AJHR, 1901, H-26A, p.5	3624	1%
<b>1901 Total (exclusive of Mauriceville County)*</b>		<b>835</b>			<b>15979</b>		<b>16814</b>	<b>5%</b>
1906	Akitio County	43	1906, H-26A, p.31	1177	1394	AJHR, 1906, H-26, p.5	1437	3%
1906	Castlepoint County	9	1906, H-26A, p.31	1177	561	AJHR, 1906, H-26, p.5	570	2%
1906	Featherston County	365	1906, H-26A, p.31	1177	3470	AJHR, 1906, H-26, p.5	3835	10%
1906	Wairarapa South County	119	1906, H-26A, p.31	1177	2734	AJHR, 1906, H-26, p.5	2853	4%
1906	Pahiatua County	50	1906, H-26A, p.31	1177	3672	AJHR, 1906, H-26, p.5	3722	1%
1906	Masterton County	251	1906, H-26A, p.31	1177	3723	AJHR, 1906, H-26, p.5	3974	6%
1906	Woodville County	11	1906, H-26A, p.31	1177	2036	AJHR, 1906, H-26, p.5	2047	1%
1906	Eketahuna County	20	1906, H-26A, p.31	1177	2738	AJHR, 1906, H-26, p.5	2758	1%
1906	Mauriceville County	8	1906, H-26A, p.31	1177	1089	AJHR, 1906, H-26, p.5	1097	1%

Date	District/County	Maori Population	AJHR Reference	Wai 863 database page(s)	Population exclusive of Maori	Reference	Total Population	Maori as a % of Total Population
						p.5		
<b>1906 Total</b>		<b>876</b>			<b>21417</b>		<b>22293</b>	<b>4%</b>
1911	Dannevirke County	162	1911, H-14A, pp.20-1	N/A	4683	Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand Taken for the Night of the 2nd April, 1911, pp.14-15	4845	3%
1911	Woodville County		1911, H-14A, pp.20-1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1911	Weber County	3	1911, H-14A, pp.20-1	N/A	526	Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand Taken for the Night of the 2nd April, 1911, pp.14-15	529	1%
1911	Wairarapa South County	114	1911, H-14A, pp.20-1	N/A	2745	Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand Taken for the Night of the 2nd April, 1911, pp.14-15	2859	4%
1911	Mauriceville County	15	1911, H-14A, pp.20-1	N/A	950	Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand Taken for the Night of the 2nd April, 1911,	965	2%

Date	District/County	Maori Population	AJHR Reference	Wai 863 database page(s)	Population exclusive of Maori	Reference	Total Population	Maori as a % of Total Population
						pp.14-15		
1911	Eketahuna County	9	1911, H-14A, pp.20-1	N/A	1914	Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand Taken for the Night of the 2nd April, 1911, pp.14-15	1923	0%
1911	Pahiatua County	33	1911, H-14A, pp.20-1	N/A	3398	Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand Taken for the Night of the 2nd April, 1911, pp.14-15	3431	1%
1911	Akitio County	56	1911, H-14A, pp.20-1	N/A	1421	Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand Taken for the Night of the 2nd April, 1911, pp.14-15	1477	4%
1911	Castlepoint County	26	1911, H-14A, pp.20-1	N/A	620	Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand Taken for the Night of the 2nd April, 1911,	646	4%

Date	District/County	Maori Population	AJHR Reference	Wai 863 database page(s)	Population exclusive of Maori	Reference	Total Population	Maori as a % of Total Population
						pp.14-15		
1911	Masterton County	279	1911, H-14A, pp.20-1	N/A	4020	Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand Taken for the Night of the 2nd April, 1911, pp.14-15	4299	6%
1911	Featherston County	348	1911, H-14A, pp.20-1	N/A	3965	Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand Taken for the Night of the 2nd April, 1911, pp.14-15	4313	8%
<b>1911 Total (exclusive of Woodville County)**</b>		<b>1045</b>			<b>24242</b>		<b>25287</b>	<b>4%</b>

Note: Grey areas indicate that this data was not available and '?' indicates that this data was not found within the available time.

\*The 1901 census provides a figure for the population (exclusive of Maori) of Mauriceville County, however, Mauriceville is not even listed as a County in the section on the Maori population. The total population figures given for the Wairarapa District in this year are, therefore, exclusive of Mauriceville County.

\*\*In 1906, there is no census figure for the Maori population of Woodville County. All the total population figures given for the Wairarapa District in 1906 are, therefore, exclusive of Woodville County.

**Figure 3 - Data showing cultivation and live-stock of Maori in the Wairarapa ki Tararua District recorded in the AJHR, 1886-1911**

		Individual Cultivation (Acres)						Live-stock held					Common Cultivation (Acres)					
Date	District/County	Potatoes	Wheat	Maize	Other Crops	Sown Grasses	In tussock or unimproved	Horses	Sheep	Cattle	Dairy cows in milk or to calve	Pigs	Potatoes	Wheat	Other Crops	AJHR Reference	Wai 863 database page(s)	
1886	Wairarapa East County												16	150	100.25	1886, G-12, p.17	438	
1886	Wairarapa West County												8	2	3	1886, G-12, p.17	438	
1886 Total													24	152	103.25			
1891	Wairarapa North County	112	399	38	106	10			1510	126		135	4		1	1891, G-2, p.10	616	
1891	Wairarapa South County	53	10	21	120				34400	118		99	50	55	151	1891, G-2, p.10	616	
1891	Pahiatua County	23	156	7	12					25		166	2		1	1891, G-2, p.10	616	
1891 Total		188	565	66	238					269		400	56		153			
1896	Wairarapa North County	51.25	39.25	20	0.5	83			1630	110		24	54.5	32	37	1896, H-13B, p.13	789	
1896	Wairarapa South County	14.75	76	5.875	70	1640			3501	83		28	32	55	81	1896, H-13B, p.13	789	
1896	Pahiatua County	8.25		5.5	2.5					47		43				1896, H-13B, p.13	789	
1896 Total		74.25		31.375	73					240		95						
1901	Eketahuna County	3				182				40		11	30		20	1901, H-26B, p.21	1013	
1901	Akitio County	1		1						4			10		12	1901, H-26B, p.21	1013	
1901	Masterton County	42	76	9.5	27.5	30			1000	16		27	28	9	6	1901, H-26B, p.21	1013	
1901	Castlepoint County												5		1	1901, H-26B, p.21	1013	
1901	Wairarapa South County	35.5	86	7.5	91	6719.75			5976	112		180	37.5		10	1901, H-26B, p.21	1013	
1901	Pahiatua County	21.25				50				14		6	2			1901, H-26B, p.21	1013	
1901 Total													112.5					
1906	Akitio County	8		4												1906, H-26A, p.31	1177	
1906	Castlepoint County															1906, H-26A, p.31	1177	
1906	Featherston County	18.25		7	31.25	6207			1848	400		34	15		4	1906, H-26A, p.31	1177	

Date	District/County	Individual Cultivation (Acres)						Live-stock held					Common Cultivation (Acres)			AJHR Reference	Wai 863 database page(s)
		Potatoes	Wheat	Maize	Other Crops	Sown Grasses	In tussock or unimproved	Horses	Sheep	Cattle	Dairy cows in milk or to calve	Pigs	Potatoes	Wheat	Other Crops		
1906	Wairarapa South County	6.25		0.5	0.5	345			1120	13		23	17		1	1906, H-26A, p.31	1177
1906	Pahiatua County	727.5		5.5	21.5	429			751	145		44				1906, H-26A, p.31	1177
1906	Woodville County															1906, H-26A, p.31	1177
1906	Mauriceville County	0.5				93						1				1906, H-26A, p.31	1177
1906	Masterton County	53.5	6	10.5	76	4182			2930	95		4	22	9.5	136	1906, H-26A, p.32	1177
1906	Eketahuna County	13				40				83		40				1906, H-26A, p.33	1177
<b>1906 Total</b>																	
1911	Dannevirke County	30	32	11	50	200	3305	143	4660	231	20	86				1911, H-14A, pp.20-1	N/A
1911	Woodville County															1911, H-14A, pp.20-1	N/A
1911	Weber County						1									1911, H-14A, pp.20-1	N/A
1911	Wairarapa South County	48.5	24	18	182	1549	20	187	2928	138	37	18				1911, H-14A, pp.20-1	N/A
1911	Mauriceville County	1		2		310	450	14	700	72	18	19				1911, H-14A, pp.20-1	N/A
1911	Eketahuna County	7			23	70		12	200	14						1911, H-14A, pp.20-1	N/A
1911	Pahiatua County	12	2	2.5	16	571.5		37	610	115	47	14				1911, H-14A, pp.20-1	N/A
1911	Akitio County	17.5		9.5	7	120		75		10	1					1911, H-14A, pp.20-1	N/A
1911	Castlepoint County	9.5		2	4.5	43.5		35		4	2					1911, H-14A, pp.20-1	N/A
1911	Masterton County	81.25	9.5	30.25	61	5566	1100	203	2780	20	117	91				1911, H-14A, pp.20-1	N/A
1911	Featherston County	50.875	142	14.75	164	3434.25	4557	276	6970	146	85	50				1911, H-14A, pp.20-1	N/A
<b>1911 Total</b>																	
*Note: Grey areas indicate that this data was not available. Totals have only been provided when there is complete data.																	

**Figure 4 - Various data relating to the quality and use of blocks within the Wairarapa ki Tararua District, 1906**

<i>Hawke's Bay District</i>								
Block	Acres	Character of Country	Class of land	No. of residents	Acres in use	Area unproductive in Acres	No. of owners	Remarks
Rakautatahi 1L	2474	Forest, broken country	Pastoral	0	0	2474	107	
Rakautatahi 1F	1482	Level grass country	Agricultural and pastoral	10	1482	0	19	Native occupation.
Manawatu 4D	5761	Undulating forest	Pastoral	0			116	Sawmilling lease.
Mangatoro 1A	6120	Undulating and flat country	Agricultural and pastoral	0		0	17	Leased to Europeans.
Ngapaeruru 10	1420	Broken forest country	Pastoral	0	0	1420	5	Leased to Europeans.
Kaitoki 2	2008	Undulating country and flats	Pastoral	0	2008	0	15	Leased to Europeans.
Kaitoki 1	2037	Undulating country and flats	Pastoral	0	2037	0	1	Leased to Europeans.
Tahoraiti 1 and 2	9397	Flat forest country	Agricultural and pastoral	0	9397	0	142	Leased to Europeans.
Tamaki 2	1729	Flat forest country	Pastoral	0	1729	0	3	Leased to Europeans.
Oringiawairuhe	2300	Level country, mixed grass	Agricultural and pastoral	0	2300	0	7	Leased to Europeans.
N.R. 200	1575	Level country, mixed grass	Agricultural	0	1575	0	23	Leased to Europeans.

Source: Journals and Appendices of the Legislative Council, 1906, No. 5, pp.18,20-21. Database pp.1184-1186

<i>Wellington District</i>					
<b>Block</b>	<b>Acres</b>	<b>Bush or open</b>	<b>Class of land</b>	<b>No. of owners</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
Mangatainoka	3991	Bush	First	16	Part occupied and productive, part leased to Europeans; milling-timber mostly cut out.
Native Reserve	1000	Bush grassed	First	205	Unoccupied and unproductive; mostly bush; milling timber cut out.
Okurupata	5414	Bush	First	314	Occupied and productive; leased to Europeans for pastoral purposes.
Te Whiti	1933	Open	First	45	Unoccupied and productive; leased to Europeans.
Te Pohue	1619	Open	First	2	Unoccupied and productive; leased to Europeans.
Mangatainoko	2743	Open	First	38	Unoccupied and productive; leased to Europeans.
Pahiatua N.R.	1017	Open	First	14	Unoccupied and productive; leased to Europeans.
Mataikona	18070	Open and scrub	Third	377	Unoccupied and productive; leased to Europeans.
Whakataki N.R.	6298	Open	Third	38	Unoccupied and productive; leased to Europeans.
Piripi N.R.	1140	Open and bush	Third	5	Unoccupied and productive; leased to Europeans.
Te Maipi N.R.	6235	Open and bush	Third	24	Occupied and productive. Part utilised by Natives.
Ngapuketuru N.R.	2551	Open	Second	14	Occupied and productive. Part utilised by Natives and Europeans.
Hinana	2010	Bush grassed	Second	29	Occupied and Productive. Leased to Europeans.
Pukengaki	4635	Bush and swamp	First and second	140	Occupied and Productive. Leased to Europeans.
Te Wera-a-Whatiri	2964	Bush grassed	First and second	25	Occupied and Productive. Leased to Europeans.
Tahuroa	1670	Bush and swamp grassed	First and second	5	Occupied and Productive. Leased to Europeans.
Pahaoa	3213	Bush and swamp grassed	First and second	60	Occupied and Productive. Leased to Europeans.
Ngawaka-a-kupe 4	4044	Light bush and swamp	First and second	1	Occupied and Productive. Leased to Europeans.
Ngawaka-a-kupe 2	8685	Light bush and swamp	First and second	2	Occupied and Productive. Leased to Europeans.
Ngawaka-a-kupe B	4437	Light bush and swamp	First and second	1	Occupied and Productive. Leased to Europeans.

<i>Wellington District</i>					
Block	Acres	Bush or open	Class of land	No. of owners	Remarks
Ngawaka-a-kupe A	2021	Light bush and swamp	First and second	1	Occupied and Productive. Leased to Europeans.
Ngawaka-a-kupe 1A	1513	Light bush and swamp	First and second	1	Occupied and Productive. Leased to Europeans.
Te Unu Unu N.R.	1503	Light bush and swamp	First and second	106	Occupied and Productive. Leased to Europeans.
Waikikino N.R.	1660	Light bush and swamp	First and second	99	Occupied and Productive. Leased to Europeans.
Waikikino N.R.	1878	Light bush and swamp	First and second	74	Occupied and Productive. Leased to Europeans.
Wainuioru	1247	Open	Second	19	Occupied and Productive. Used for pastoral purposes by Natives.
Oroi N.R.	2280	Open	Second	46	Occupied and Productive.
Mapunatea N.R.	1468	Open	First	2	Occupied and Productive. Occupied by Europeans.
Te Kopi	2600	Open	Second	18	Occupied and Productive; high, hilly, coastal country.
Waitarangi	1510	Open	Second	*	Occupied and Productive; high, hilly, coastal country.
Te Kawakawa	17790	Bush and open	Second	18	Occupied and Productive; high, hilly, coastal country.
Te Kopi Waitahuna	22800	Bush and open	Second and third	94	Occupied and Productive; high, hilly, coastal country.
Mataikitaki N.R.	4855	Bush and open	Second and third	20	Occupied and Productive; high, hilly, coastal country.
Waiorua	1039	Open	Second	10	Occupied and Productive.
Te Ngarara West B, Puketapu	1464	Bush and open	Second	43	Not occupied nor productive; sandhills.
Parangarahau	5150	Bush and open	Second	152	Unable to state particulars of block.
Orongorongo	7196	Bush and open	Second	93	Unable to state particulars of block.

Source: Journals and Appendices of the Legislative Council, 1906, No. 5, pp.18, 20-21. Database pp.1184-1186

### **13.3. Appendix Three: Reports of the Stout-Ngata Commission**

13.3.(A) Interim Report of the Native Land Commission on Native Lands in Hawke's Bay, Patangata, Waipawa, and Rangitikei Counties AJHR 1909 sess I, G-1c [Excerpts]

13.3.(B) Interim Report of the Native Land Commission on Native Lands in Masterton, Featherston, Wairarapa South, Pahiatua, Eketahuna, and Castlepoint Counties AJHR 1909 sess I, G-1d

## 13.4. Appendix Four: Additional Maps and Figures

Figure 1: 'Vegetation c.1853 and main rivers [Wairarapa]'

*Source:* Ronald D. Hill, 'The Land and the Squatter—Wairarapa 1843-1853: an Essay in Human Ecology' (MA thesis in Geography, Victoria University of Wellington, 1962), Figure 2

Figure 2: 'Stock Numbers, 1847 [Wairarapa]'

*Source:* Hill, 'The Land and the Squatter...', Figure 4

Figure 3: 'Runs established by Wairarapa Squatters'

*Source:* Hill, 'The Land and the Squatter...', Figure 5

Figure 4A: 'Increase of Cattle and Sheep, 1844–1855'

*Source:* Hill, 'The Land and the Squatter...', Figure 6A

Figure 4B: 'Increase of a Flock of 500 and Income for a five year period c. 1850'

*Source:* Hill, 'The Land and the Squatter...', Figure 6B

Figure 5: 'Income and expenditure from an initial flock of 500 sheep c.1850'

*Source:* Hill, 'The Land and the Squatter...', Figure 11

Figure 6: Wairarapa ki Tararua District, Maori land and bushline

*Source:* Maori Land – G M Oulton: Oct '96, based on unpublished Centennial Atlas material

Bushline – CHA series, ATL

Figure 7: Wairarapa ki Tararua Inquiry District, current Maori land and vegetation

*Source:* MLIS, DOC GIS

Figure 8a: Key to Fig. 8b

Figure 8b: Wairarapa ki Tararua inquiry District, Selected current Maori land and vegetation – closeup

*Source:* MLIS, DOC GIS



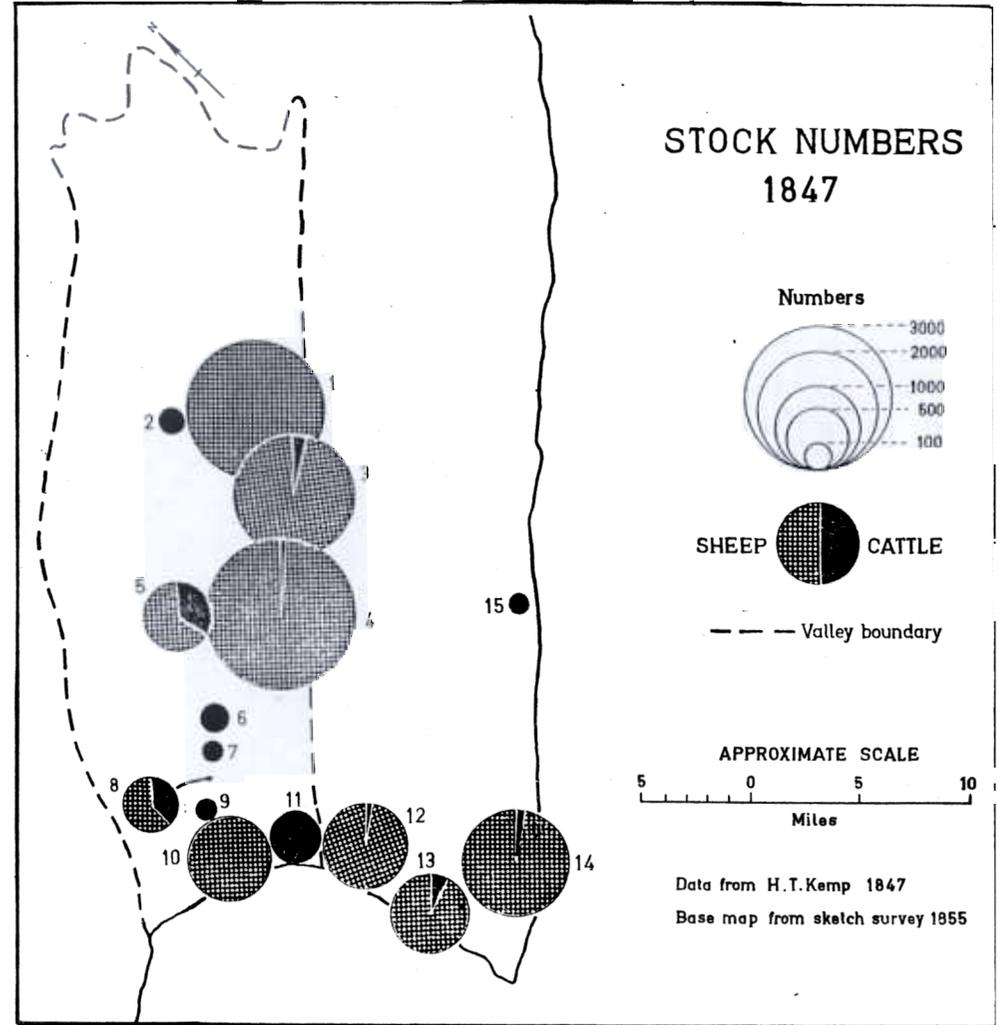
FIGURE 2

Hill 'The head and the Summit'

KEY

Stations

1. Ahiaruhe
2. Hakeke
3. Huangarua
4. Wharekaka
5. Pihautea
6. Otararaia
7. Tuhitarata
8. Tauanui
9. Turanganui North
10. Turanganui South
11. Whangaimoana
12. Whatarangi
13. Kawakawa
14. White Rock
15. Glenburn



Hill - The Lead out the Squatters

# FIGURE 3 RUNS ESTABLISHED BY WAIRARAPA SQUATTERS

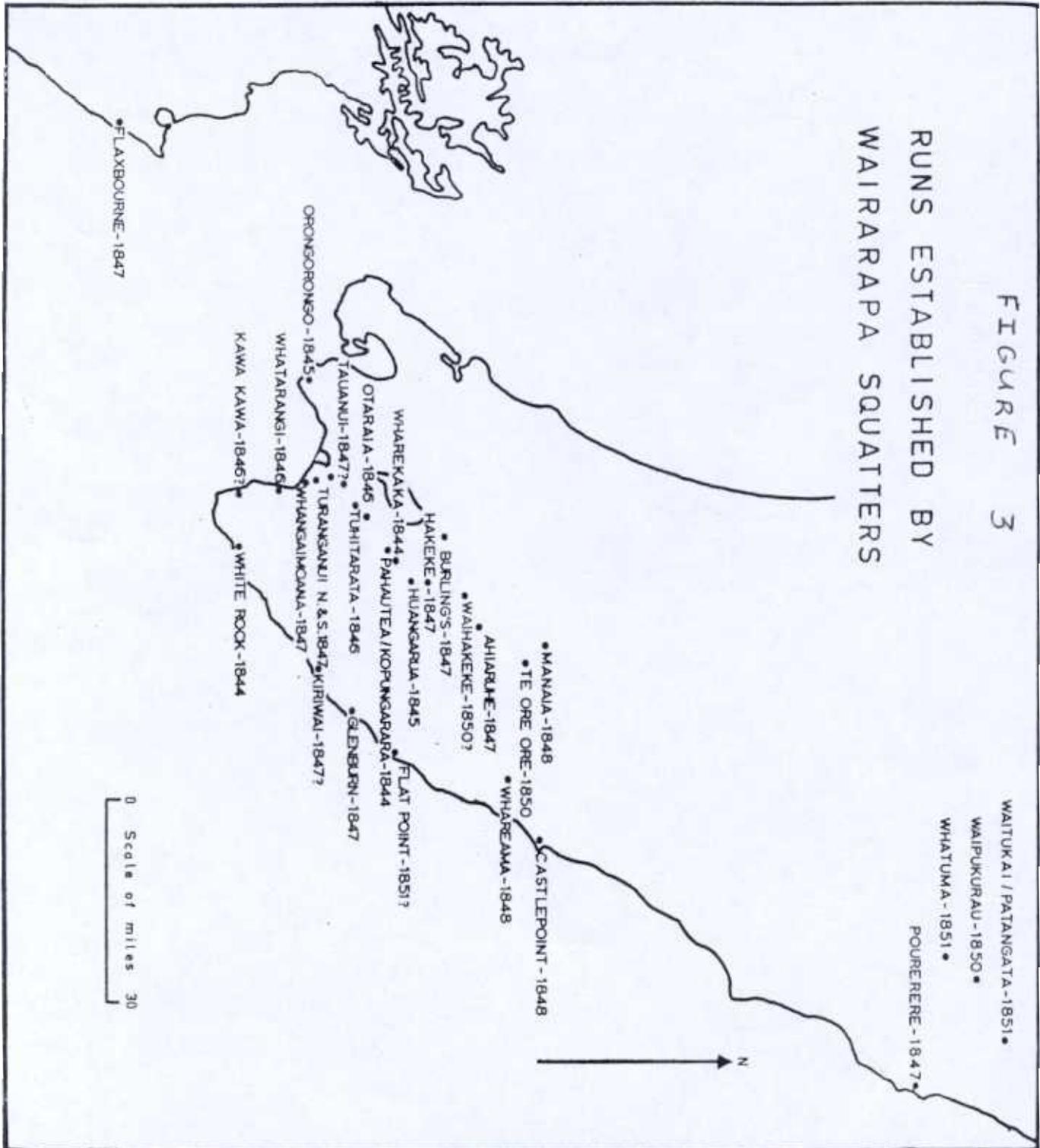
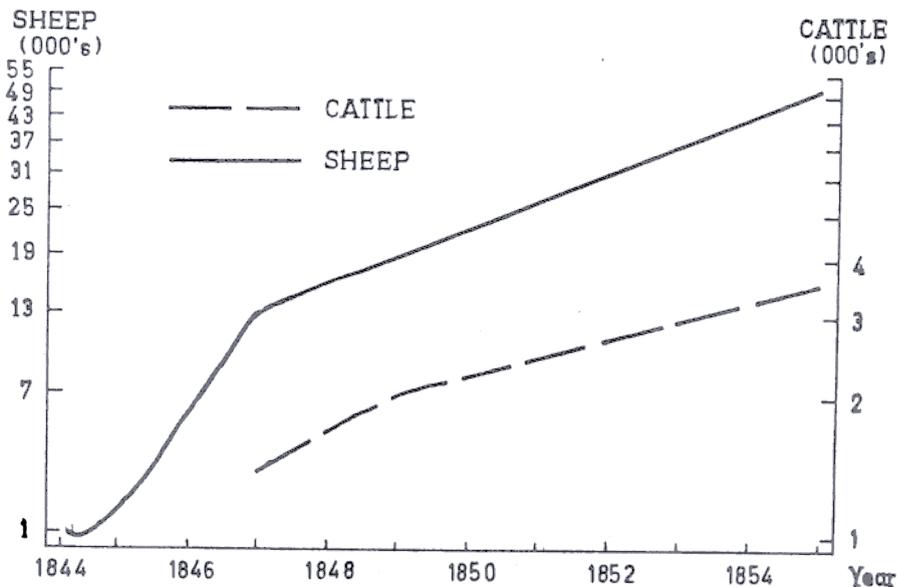
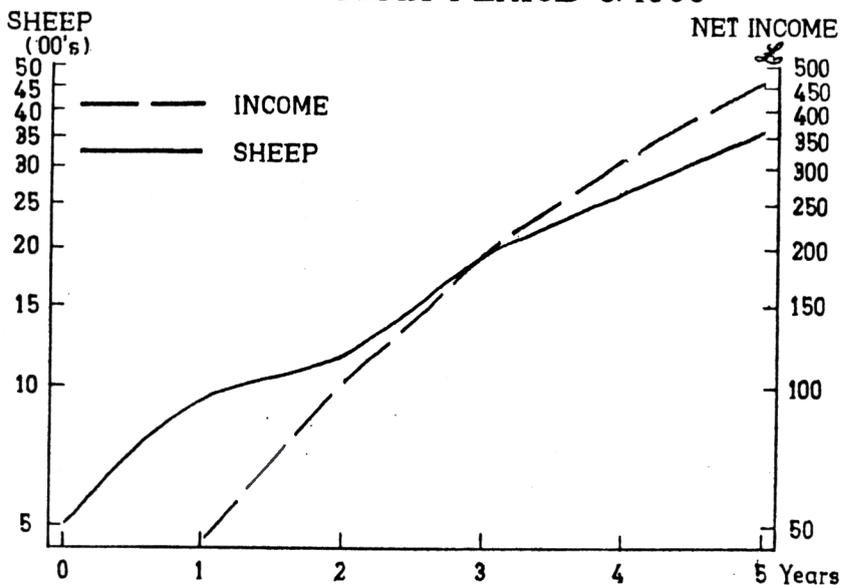


FIGURE 4A

### INCREASE OF CATTLE AND SHEEP 1844 - 1855



### INCREASE OF A FLOCK OF 500 AND INCOME FOR A FIVE YEAR PERIOD c. 1850



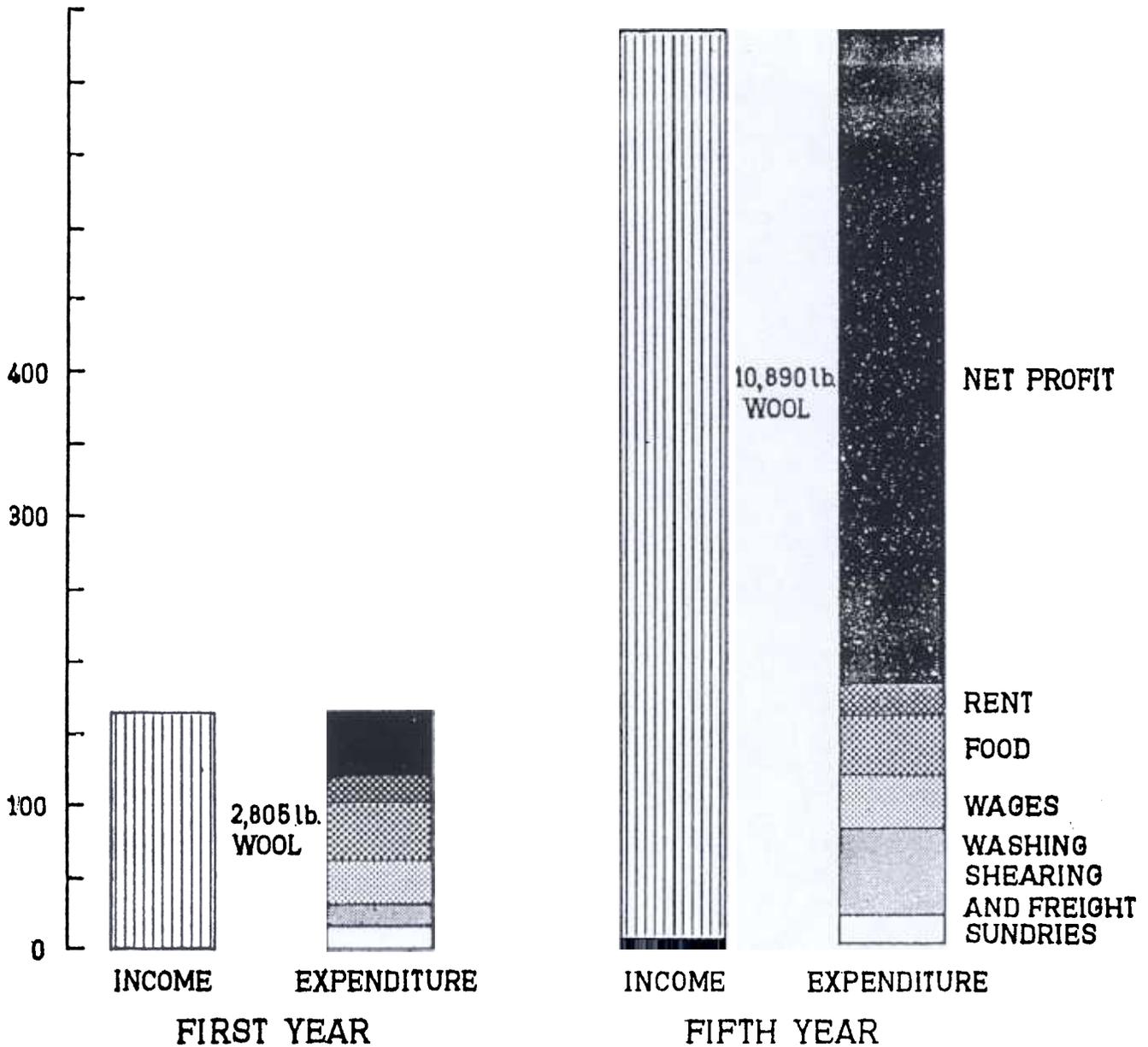
Stock numbers based on 90 per cent lambing and 3 per cent deaths.  
Net income after payment of all expenses. Wool at 14 pence per pound.

Data from N. Z. Journal 1850 pp.115-6

FIGURE 4B

FIGURE 5

# INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FROM AN INITIAL FLOCK OF 500 SHEEP c. 1850



INCOME BASED ON WOOL AT 14 PENCE PER POUND

Data from N.Z. Journal, 1850, pp 115-6

*Mill The Land and the Seawater*

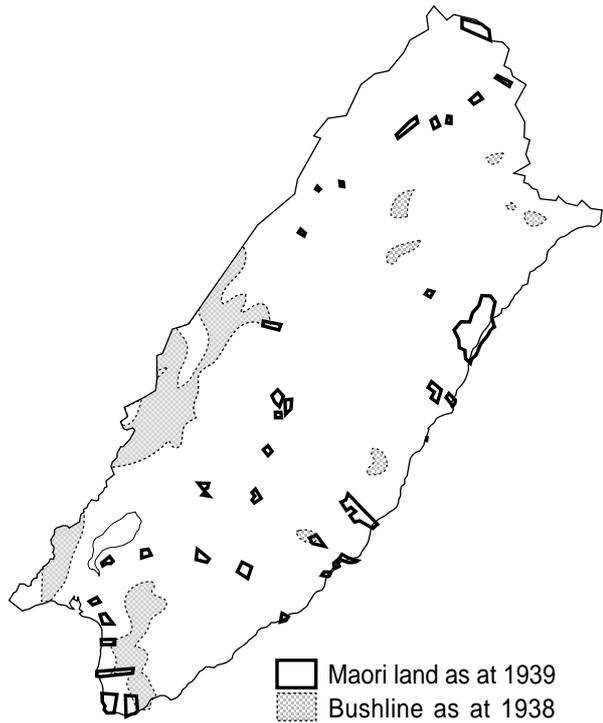
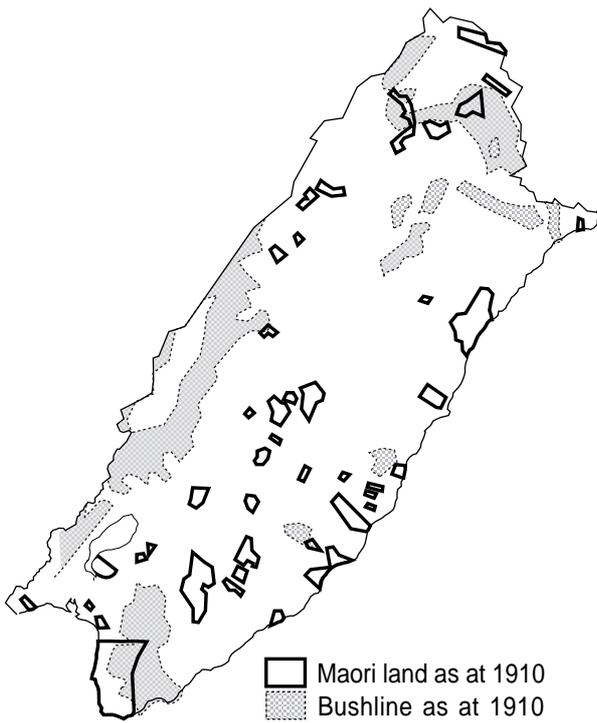
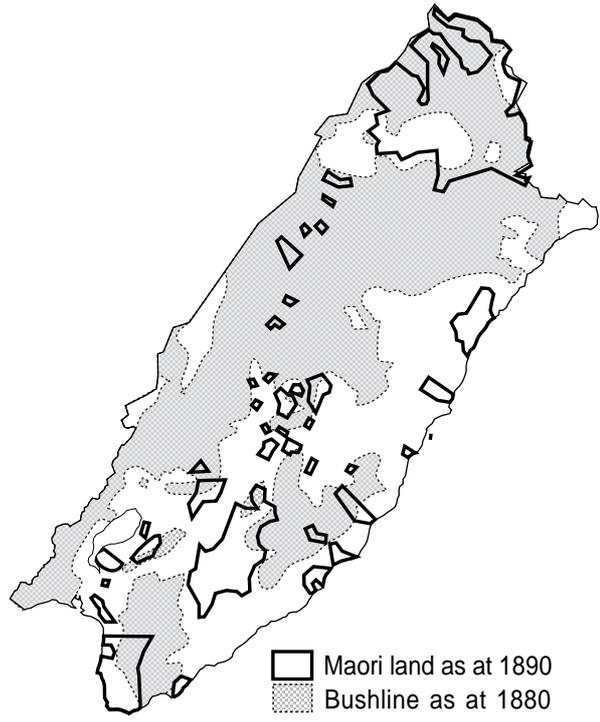
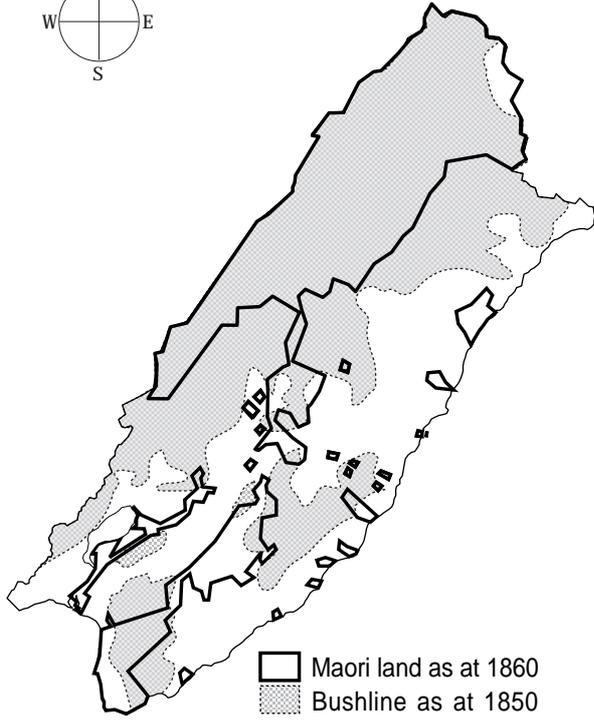
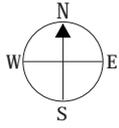


Fig 6:- Wairarapa Ki Tararua Inquiry District, Maori land and bushline

Source: Maori land GMOulton, Oct 1996, based on unpublished material from Centennial Atlas (1939) project. Bushline - CHA series, ATL

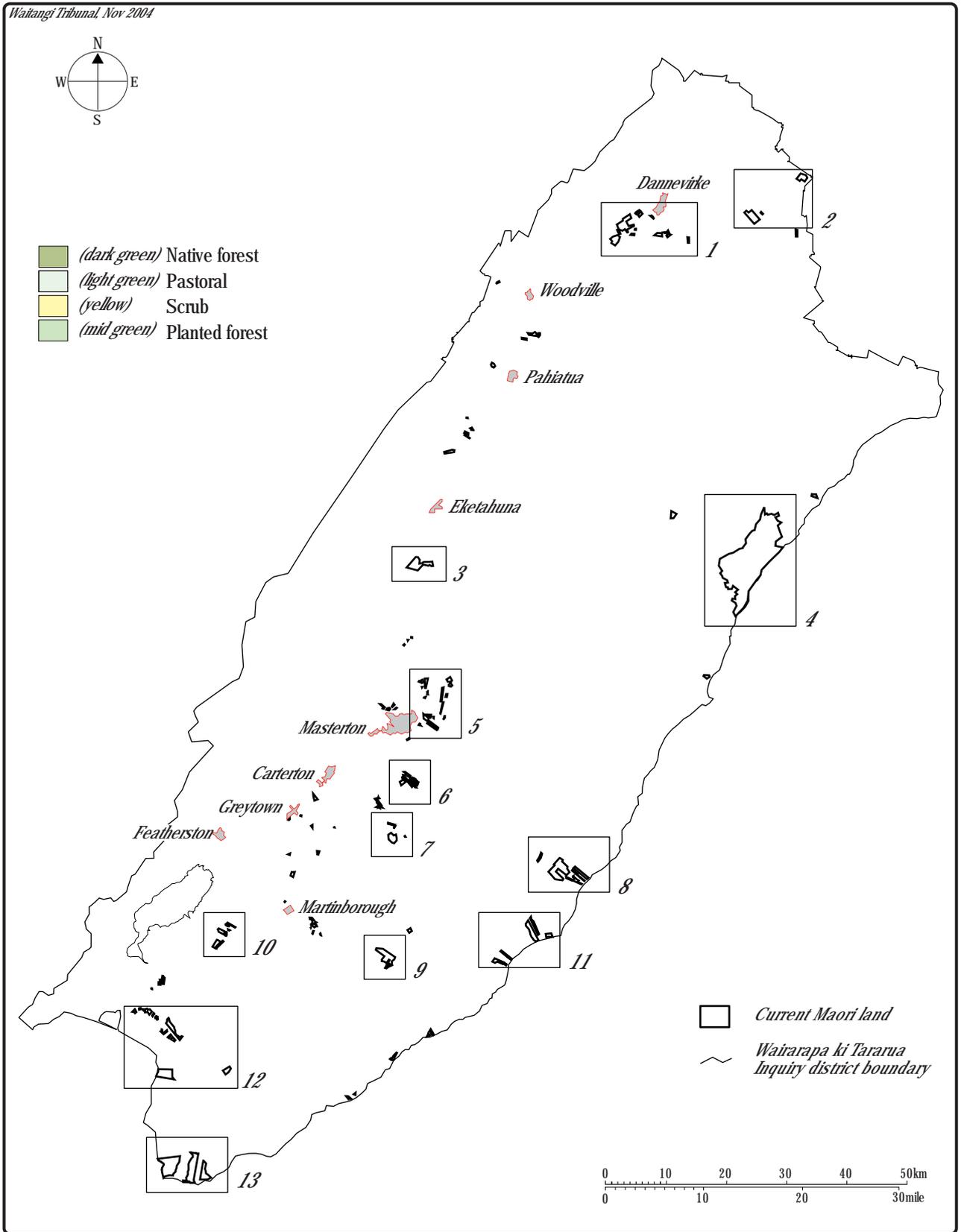


Fig 8a:- Key to Fig 8b