

Taumatamahoe Block Report

A report written for the Waitangi Tribunal by Steven Oliver

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Table of Contents

List of Maps.....	iii
Preface.....	iv
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1. Taumatamahoe to 1886.....	7
1.1 Introduction.....	7
Early history of the Taumatamahoe block and the surrounding area.....	7
1.2 The colonial wars.....	11
1.3 The Tangarakau block.....	12
1.4 The Main Trunk Line and the end of the aukati.....	17
Conclusion.....	21
Chapter 2. The ownership of Taumatamahoe and the survey issue.....	23
2.1 Introduction.....	23
2.2 The 1886 Native Land Court title determination of Taumatamahoe.....	23
2.3 Ngati Maru and the Taumatamahoe block.....	27
2.4 Hapu affiliations of the owners of Taumatamahoe.....	30
2.5 Surveying and survey issues.....	32
2.6 Conclusion.....	37
Chapter 3. The Crown purchase of Taumatamahoe to 1899.....	39
3.1 Introduction.....	39
3.2 The commencement of Crown purchase.....	39
3.3 Topia Turoa's petition.....	41
3.4 The 1893 determination of the Crown interest.....	42
3.5 The Railway Loan Legislation.....	46
3.6 The 1896 determination of the Crown interest.....	48
<i>Source: Taumatamahoe Block Order- Aotea Maoril Land Court Whanganui. WH330/ File 2.3.7</i>	
<i>Rewai Te Pokaitara's petition.....</i>	50
3.8 The 1899 determination of the Crown interest.....	52
3.9 Conclusion.....	53
Chapter 4 The Taumatamahoe No.1 block.....	57
4.1 Introduction.....	57
4.2 The beginning of European settlement.....	57
4.3 Whangamomona and the western settlements.....	58
4.4 The central Taumatamahoe districts.....	59
4.5 The Aotuhia settlement.....	61
4.6 Conclusion.....	63
Chapter 5. The Taumatamahoe No.2 block, 1893 - 1907.....	65
5.1 Introduction.....	65
5.2 The Maori settlement in the Taumatamahoe No.2 block.....	65
5.3 Individual petitions resulting from Crown purchasing.....	67
5.4 The 1900 cessation of Crown purchasing of Maori land.....	67
5.5 The Taumatamahoe 2B2 block.....	68
5.6 The Stout-Ngata Commission, 1907.....	69
5.7 Conclusion.....	71
Chapter 6 The Taumatamahoe No. 2B2B block.....	73
6.1 Introduction.....	73
6.2 The Taumatamahoe 2B2B block from 1907.....	73
6.3 The Mataiwhetu and Puketapu burial grounds.....	75
6.4 The 1909 partition of Taumatamahoe 2B2B.....	77
6.5 The 1910 surveys of Taumatamahoe 2B2A and 2B2B.....	78
Group leader.....	78
6.6 The exchange of land with the Whakaihuwaka block.....	80
6.7 The Dix and Bogle survey, 1914-15.....	82
6.8 The scenic reserve in section 2B2B14.....	83
6.9 The question of soldier settlement.....	84
6.10 Maori agriculture, and owners' reasons for selling shares.....	85

6.11 Conclusion	87
Chapter 7 Crown purchasing in the Taumatamahoe 2B2B sections	89
7.1 Introduction	89
7.2 The commencement of Crown purchasing.....	89
7.3 Crown purchasing in Taumatamahoe 2B2B from 1915.....	90
7.4 Crown acquisitions 1917-1920	92
7.5 The near completion of Crown purchasing of Taumatamahoe 2B2B	95
7.6 The proposed settlement of the Crown land in Taumatamahoe 2B2B.....	97
7.7 Roothing issues	99
7.8 The school site.....	100
7.9 Conclusion	100
Chapter 8. Reserves, State Forests, and the National Park	103
8.1 Introduction	103
8.2 Reserves in the Taranaki and central parts of the Taumatamahoe block	103
8.3 Reserves on the Whanganui River side of the Taumatamahoe block	104
8.4 The Whanganui National Park.....	107
8.5 Conclusion	109
Chapter 9 Report Summary and Conclusion.....	111
Bibliography	119

List of Tables

Table 1: Hapu affiliations of registered owners of Taumatamahoe found in the Western Maori electoral roll, 1908	31
Table 2: The Crown Awards in the Taumatamahoe block	53
Table 3: The 1909 subdivisions of Taumatamahoe No. 2B2B	78
Table 4: Crown purchasing in Taumatamahoe No. 2B2B to September 1917	92
Table 5: Crown acquisitions in Taumatamahoe No.2B2B to 1924	96

List of Maps

Map 1: Taumatamahoe block, showing river systems	1
Map 2 Detail of Tamatamahoe block.....	2
Map 3: Proposed routes for the main trunk railway line.....	18
Map 4: Sketch map	33
Map 5: Compiled map of Taumatamahoe block, 1892.....	36
Map 6 Taumatamahoe No.2 block (Non-sellers' award 1893).....	45
Map 7: Crown award 2A, 1896.....	49
Map 8: Non-sellers 2B, 1896	50
Map 9: Crown award 2B1, 1899	53
Map 10: Crown award 2B2A, 1907	74
Map 11: Non-sellers award 2B2B, 1907.....	75
Map 12: No. 2B2B 1909 partitions.....	77
Map 13: Exchange land 1914.....	81
Map 14: River Reserve Lands in the Taumatamahoe 2A and 2B blocks	106

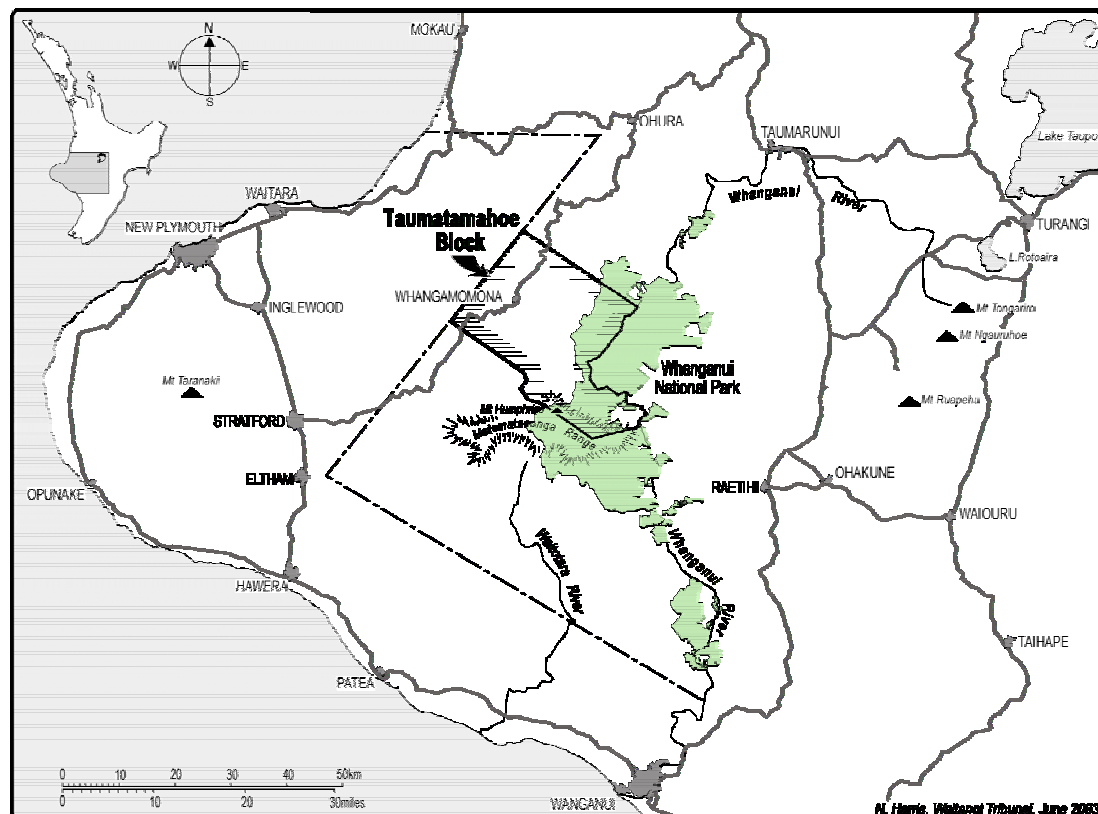
Preface

This report was written by Steven Oliver. He graduated from the University of Auckland with a Bachelor of Arts in History and a Master of Arts in Political Studies. He worked for the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography and has written reports on Gisborne harbour for the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, and on the Ruatoki block, the Tahora block (co-authored), and Tararua environmental issues, for the Waitangi Tribunal.

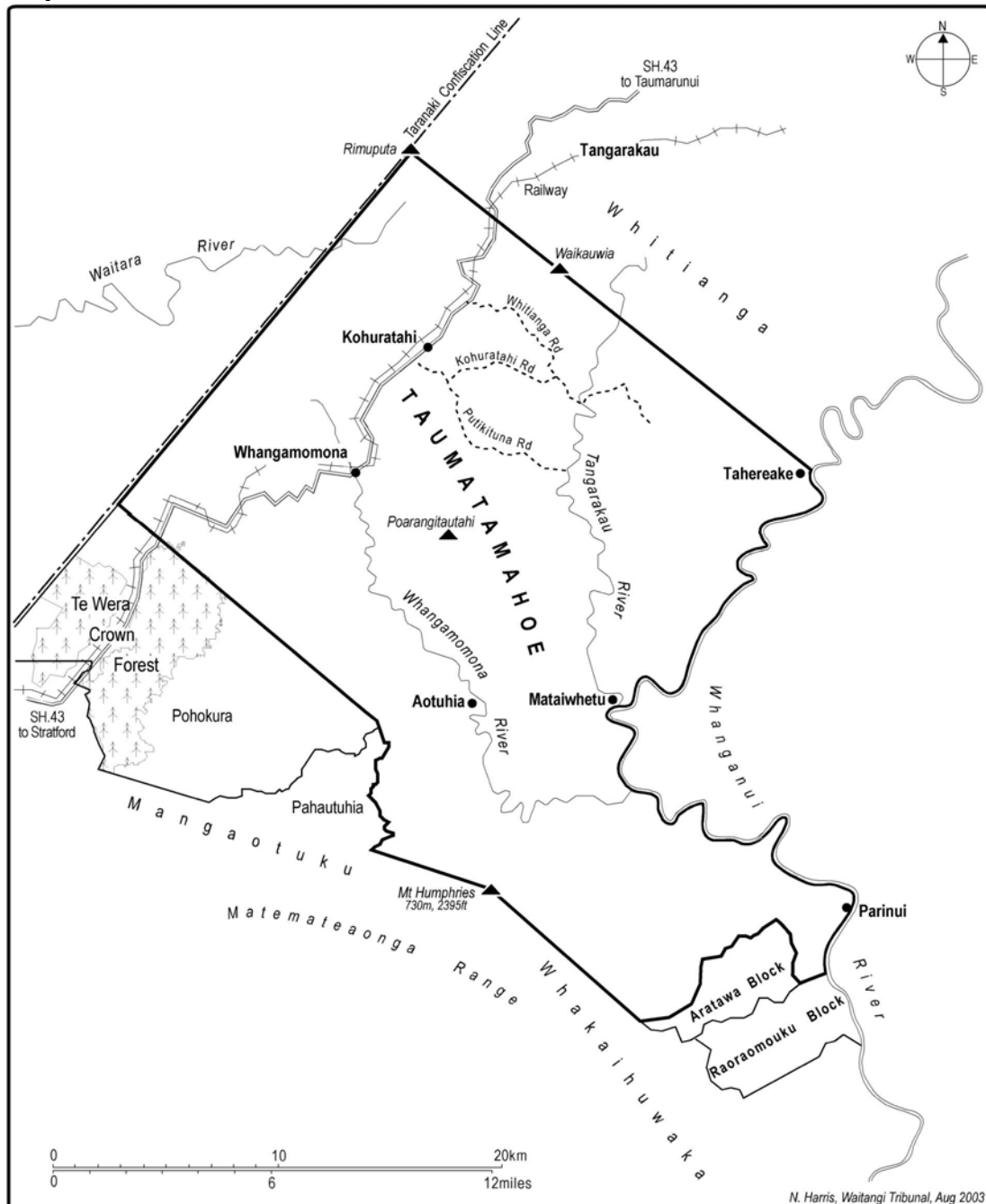
Introduction

Taumatamahoe is a land block which extends from the central part of the Whanganui River to the Taranaki confiscation line. The block is on the right side of the river, facing down stream, which is known as the true right side. Taumatamahoe block was originally estimated to contain 146,000 acres but was later found to contain 155,300 acres. The block begins on the Whanganui River at a point opposite Puahuhe, shortly before Paranui, which is also called Utapu. One of the first streams to enter the Whanganui River, within the Taumatamahoe block, is the Tieke stream, which is 113 kilometres from the river mouth at Whanganui. The beginning of the block on the Whanganui River is near the entrance to the Matemateaonga track. From opposite Puahuhe the block's boundary ran inland for a little over a kilometre and then went north to the Tangahoe Stream. The boundary followed the Tangahoe Stream to the Mangamingi Stream and then travelled north west to Whakaihuwaka (Mt. Humphries). After a variation along the border with the Pahautuhia block the boundary of the Taumatamahoe block continued north west, along the Pohokura block, to the Taranaki confiscation line.

Map 1: Taumatamahoe block, showing river systems



Map 2 Detail of Taumatamahoe block



The boundary of the Taumatamahoe block then followed the confiscation line to include the Pohokura, Whangamomona and Kohuratahi districts in the block. The boundary line met the Whitianga block near Rimuputa mountain. This mountain is also known as Skinner’s Hill. The boundary then followed the border of the Whitianga block past the mountain Waikauwia and rejoined the Whanganui River at Tahereake, which is near Matapihi. The junction of the Whanganui and Tangarakau rivers is approximately the mid-point of the block along the Whanganui River. The lower part of the Tangarakau River is in the Taumatamahoe block. The mountain Poarangitautahi is roughly in the centre of the block. The land block may be named after the Taumatamahoe track, which was a major Maori pathway linking the Waitara district

with the Whanganui River.¹ The Taumatamahoe block is included in a number of survey districts. These are the Upper Waitara, Pouatu, Heao, Ngati Maru, Mahoe, Kiri, Taurakawa and Omara survey districts. The Taumatamahoe block is distinct from the Taumatamahoe survey district, which is further down the Whanganui River and does not include any part of the Taumatamahoe block. The survey district known as Taumatamahoe is near Pipiriki, which is about 27 kilometres downstream from the Taumatamahoe block.

Scope

This report follows a scoping report, which was also written by Steven Oliver. The substantive report was commissioned in August 2002 after being identified by Dr Grant Phillipson, Chief Historian of the Waitangi Tribunal, as one of a number of projects necessary to complete the casebook of evidence for the Whanganui Inquiry. The report was commissioned to provide full details of the alienation of the Taumatamahoe block and to consider the adequacy of the 1886 Native Land Court ownership title investigation of the block. More specifically, the report was to cover:

- the reasons for the Crown's interest in acquiring Taumatamahoe
- the relevance of the railway loan legislation in the block's acquisition
- the lack of recognition of Ngati Maru's interest in the block, despite the later award to them of land in the Whitianga block to compensate for their exclusion from Taumatamahoe
- the exclusion of other (Whanganui) groups due to their opposition to the Court's proceedings, or ignorance of them
- the allegation in the Wai 555 statement of claim that the block was not surveyed in accordance with legal requirements
- the conduct of the Crown prior to the 1893 partition in purchasing undivided, individual interests in the block
- the non-sellers' boycott of the 1893 Native Land Court hearing at which the Crown was awarded more than half the block
- protest at the Crown award and how the protest was responded to
- the Crown's conduct in continuing the purchase of shares in the block
- why purchasing ceased in 1899 and resumed in 1906
- the comments of the commissioners Stout and Ngata on the Taumatamahoe block and any effect these comments had on Crown purchasing policy
- the purchase by the Crown from about 1909 of most of the land remaining to the non-sellers, and the reasons they may have had for selling
- the use of section 363 of the Native Land Act 1909 to establish a Crown monopoly of purchasing in the remaining sections of the block
- any further protests and petitions relating to the block and how they were responded to
- the uses the Taumatamahoe block was put to by the Crown, including when the Stratford to Taumarunui railway line was put through the block
- the extent of European settlement
- the proportion of the block which became part of the Whanganui National Park.

¹ I Church, 'Maori life on the Tangarakau River', in *Historical Record*, vol. 18, no. 1 (May 1987), p.18

Research for the report used: minute books of the Native Land Court, Maori Land Purchase files held at Archives New Zealand in Wellington; Land Information New Zealand files interloaned from the Hamilton office of LINZ; Department of Conservation files held at its Whanganui office and its National office; and the Taumatamahoe block order files at the Aotea Maori Land Court office in Whanganui. The main Archives New Zealand file used for the report was MA-MLP1 1905/3. This file includes the beginning of negotiations for the purchase of the Tangarakau block, a block which ceased to exist before its purchase was carried out, but which included the northern part of the later Taumatamahoe block. The file then contains correspondence covering the purchase of the Taumatamahoe block, the Crown awards of 1893, 1896 and 1899, and petitions arising from both the purchase and the awards of 1893 and 1896. The Hamilton LINZ office files 20/1 to 20/8 then cover the 1907 determination of the Crown interest, which left the subdivision Taumatamahoe 2B2B as the only part of the block remaining in Maori ownership, and the subsequent alienation of most of 2B2B to the Crown.

This case study report on the Taumatamahoe block has been commissioned because it is one of the largest of the Whanganui blocks. It is also illustrative of a number of issues, among them the breaking down of the Rohe Potae, the purchasing of Maori land for the main truck railway line, and of Crown purchasing generally.

The writer of this report met the claimants, Ngati Tamahaki, at a hui at Putiki marae on 7 September 2002. The claimants had decided before the meeting that they did not wish to contribute to the writing of reports. The claimants, accordingly, made no input to the writing of this report.

Structure

The report begins with a chapter which gives some of the pre-European history of the area, mentions the effects of the colonial wars, and the aukati established on the upper Whanganui River, after the colonial wars, by those of the Whanganui iwi who were affiliated to the King movement. The chapter then mentions the Government's determination to break down the aukati by making advance payments on upper-Whanganui land blocks. One of these land blocks was Tangarakau, a block which included the northern part of what became the Taumatamahoe block. The negotiations for the purchase of Tangarakau, and the cancellation of the negotiations are described. The chapter concludes with a section on Kemp's Trust, the supporters of which attempted to maintain Maori control over the upper-Whanganui River district, and the Government's intention to build the main trunk railway line through, or near, the area.

The second chapter describes the ownership of the Taumatamahoe block. It covers the title determination of the block in 1886 by the Native Land Court. The block was claimed for the descendants of Tamahaki and awarded to them. No counter-claims were made at the hearing. The chapter then discusses the Ngati Maru occupation of part of the block and possible reasons for their non-attendance. As there was no dispute over the ownership of the block, little evidence of occupation was given at the hearing. The report has therefore used hapu identifications from the 1908 Western Maori electoral roll to give an indication of the hapu affiliations of the descendants of Tamahaki. The chapter concludes with a section on surveying issues as the Court

directed that a proper survey be conducted. It is alleged by the claimants in the Waitangi Tribunal claim 555 that the Crown failed to carry this out, and that the whole Taumatamahoe block therefore remains the property of the descendants of Tamahaki.

The third chapter describes the Crown purchase of undivided, individual interests in the Taumatamahoe block, and Maori opposition to this. The chapter mentions the Kotahitanga movement, which sought to prevent the loss of Maori land by a number of methods including boycotts of the Native Land Court. One such boycott was made of the 1893 Court determination of the Crown interest in the Taumatamahoe block. The chapter includes a section on the Railway Loan legislation, as part of the Crown interest in Taumatamahoe was purchased with railway loan finance. The chapter describes the 1896 determination of the Crown's interest in the block, and the block's division into 2A and 2B blocks. The petition of Rewai Te Pokaitara against the Crown assumption that all shares it had purchased in the Taumatamahoe block were of equal value is discussed, as are other petitions resulting from Crown purchasing. The 1899 determination of a further Crown award is then discussed.

Chapter four of the report describes the history of Taumatamahoe No.1 block. The 1893 determination of the Crown award divided the block into Taumatamahoe No.1 block, which was the Crown award, and Taumatamahoe No.2 block, which was awarded to the Maori who had not sold their shares in the block. The settlement of Taumatamahoe No.1 block was largely part of the expansion of European settlement in eastern Taranaki.

The fifth chapter concerns Taumatamahoe No.2, the non-sellers' block, and the cessation of Crown purchasing which occurred between 1899 and 1906. The Taumatamahoe 2B2 block, which remained to the non-sellers after 1899 is discussed. The renewal of Crown purchasing, the Stout Commission of 1907, and its recommendations regarding Taumatamahoe, are then described.

Chapter six gives the history of Taumatamahoe No 2B2B block, the block which remained in Maori ownership following the determination of the Crown interest of 1907. The chapter includes a section on the burial grounds at Mataiwhetu and Puketapu which provided as part of the 1907 determination. The 1909 partition of 2B2B into 20 sections divided among its owners is discussed, as is the surveying and the establishment of the first reserve in the block. The question of soldier settlement in the block is considered and it is concluded that it did not occur in this part of the Taumatamahoe block. A section on farming by Maori in 2B2B is included as it may indicate why they gradually agreed to sell their interests.

Chapter seven describes the acquisition by the Crown of interests in the Taumatamahoe 2B2B sections; the Crown's use of section 363 of the Native Land Act 1909 in acquiring interests; and its reasons for wanting to purchase the land. The chapter considers proposals for settlement of the land the Crown had acquired and the reasons the Crown land in the Taumatamahoe block along the Whanganui River was not used for European settlement.

Chapter eight is concerned with the land throughout the Taumatamahoe block which became reserve land or state forest. The Crown land along the Whanganui River became river reserve land and the section on this shows that most of it is now part of the Whanganui National Park. Reserve land, and land gazetted as state forest land, in the remainder of the Taumatamahoe block, is now forest conservation land, administered by the Department of Conservation, apart from part of Taumatamahoe No.1 block, which is included in the Te Wera State Forest.

Chapter 1. Taumatamahoe to 1886

1.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a description of pre-European Maori occupation of the land which became the Taumatamahoe block, and the area around it. The block was mostly inhabited by Whanganui iwi, but there were Ngati Maru settlements in the west of block and along the northern part of the Tangarakau River. Two major Maori pathways from the west coast to the centre of the North Island passed through, or near, the block. These provided Ngati Maru with a means of escape to places of refuge during the musket wars. During the later colonial wars in the late 1860s and early 1870s both Taranaki and Whanganui iwi used the Tangarakau River area as a place of refuge.

The chapter then describes the situation after the end of the New Zealand wars when an aukati was maintained by upper and central Whanganui Maori to exclude European settlement and influence from the area. The aukati on the river began at Parinui, which made the Taumatamahoe block part of the area from which Government authority and European influence was excluded. The upper-Whanganui was a border area where the Government sought to begin the breaking down of the King movement aukati. One of the land blocks where purchase negotiations were commenced in 1879, by Europeans hoping to act as intermediaries between the Government and the Maori owners, was the area between the Whanganui, Tangarakau and Ohura rivers, which was known as the Tangarakau block. This chapter describes the course of these negotiations, up to their cancellation in January 1880 by the Native Minister, as part of the defunct Tangarakau block was included in the later Taumatamahoe block.

The chapter then mentions Kemp's Trust, an attempt by the Whanganui leader Te Keepa Te Rangihiwini to control the alienation of Maori land, as the Taumatamahoe block upstream from near the junction of the Whanganui and Tangarakau rivers was included in the Trust area. A description of the negotiations between the Government and the iwi of the central North Island to allow the completion of the Main Trunk Railway Line is then given. These negotiations were followed by the taking of the Taumatamahoe block to the Native Land Court for the determination of its ownership and, subsequently, the beginning of the purchase by the Government of shares in the Taumatamahoe block.

Early history of the Taumatamahoe block and the surrounding area

The Taumatamahoe block, which was established in 1886, is on the western side of the Whanganui River, from near Parinui to Tahereake. The block includes all the watershed of the Whangamomona River basin, which gives it a geographic unity. The block also extends beyond the Whangamomona River to include part of the headwaters of the Waitara River. The other of the block's major rivers, the Tangarakau, extended north of the block towards the King Country. The main tribe of the Taumatamahoe block was the Whanganui iwi, whose territory included all the Whanganui River's western tributaries and extended to the middle reaches of the Tangarakau River. The pre-European Maori population of the Whanganui River and

its tributaries is variously estimated. One estimate is as high as 30,000.² Other estimates are much lower, possibly as few as 3000. The calculation depends upon the total number of pre-European inhabitants New Zealand is believed to have had. This ranges from 250,000 to 100,000. A decline in the Maori population of the Whanganui River occurred from the mid-nineteenth century, due to introduced diseases. In 1891 a census gave the population as 1051.³

There were a number of settlements along the Whanganui River, in the area which later became the Taumatamahoe block. The first settlement in the block, coming down river, was near Tahereake, where there was a kainga at Haumia. There were settlements on the Tangarakau River and a burial ground at Mataiwhetu, at its junction with the Whanganui River. There were also kumara pits and hill terracing at Mataiwhetu, indicating there had been a settlement there in the past. There was a kainga at Mangohoiti, about a mile downstream from the junction of the Whangamomona and Whanganui rivers.⁴ There were also settlements at Mangapapapa and at Puketapu, where there were also kumara pits and a burial ground. Above the Tangahoe Stream, near Parinui, there was a large kainga called Otikoki. The main settlement on the Taumatamahoe block, in European times, was Parinui. There was also a settlement at Ramanui.

Ngati Maru, or Ngati Maru-whara-nui, a Taranaki tribe, also lived on the Taumatamahoe block in pre-European times. Ngati Maru was closely allied to Te Ati Awa and Ngati Ruanui, and held the whole of the upper Waitara valley, and most of its tributaries, from the Waitara River's junction with the Manganui.⁵ The western and central parts of the Taumatamahoe block, and particularly the upper Tangarakau River district, formed a border area between the Ngati Maru and the Whanganui iwi. Ngati Maru inhabited Pohokura and the south-west of the Taumatamahoe block in pre-European times.⁶

The Taumatamahoe block was traversed by two pathways, which connected the Taranaki coast to the interior of the North Island. The Taumatamahoe track, one of the pathways, ran east-south-east from the Taranaki coast near Urenui to the Taramoukou Stream, where it met a track from Waitara. It then crossed the Waitara River near Purangi, traversed a range, which is sometimes called the Taumatamahoe Range, and reached the Whanganui River at the river's junction with the Tangarakau River.⁷ The other pathway was the Tongaporutu track, which provided access from the North Taranaki coast to the upper Whanganui River and the interior of the North Island. It ran through the territory of the Ngati Maru tribe and provided Ngati Maru and another tribe North Taranaki tribe, Ngati Mutunga, with a means of retreat.⁸ The

² *Aotuhia Regional Land-use Study*, Land-use Series No.2, Department of Lands and Survey, and New Zealand Forest Service, 1978, p.22

³ A Ward, 'National Overview. Volume 3', Waitangi Tribunal Rangahaua Whanui Series, Waitangi Tribunal, 1997, p.151

⁴ T W Downes, *History of and guide to the Whanganui River*, Wanganui Herald Newspaper Co Ltd, Whanganui, 1921, p.37

⁵ S P Smith, 'History and traditions of the Taranaki coast', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 17, 1908, p.19

⁶ Whanganui Appellate Court minute book 4, 30 October 1895, fol. 232

⁷ S P Smith, 'History and traditions of the Taranaki coast', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 16, 1907, p.130

⁸ *Ibid*, p.123

Taumatamahoe track also served this purpose and the pa Puke-whakamaru was built on the track as a place of refuge. The Taumatamahoe track ended at Mataiwhetu, a village at the junction of the Whanganui and Tangarakau rivers.⁹ The first European to cross the track was the missionary Richard Taylor, in 1844. The name Taumatamahoe is also sometimes used for the land west of the Tangarakau River, through which the track passes.¹⁰

The Tangarakau River was also a major Maori means of travel and communication. Maori took canoes to the headwaters of the Waitara River, carried them to the Tangarakau River and travelled down it to the Whanganui River. Most of the Tangarakau River was the territory of the Ngati Tai and Ngati Ruku hapu of Te Ati Haunui-a-Paparangi iwi of Whanganui. The upper part of the Tangarakau River was disputed between the Whanganui hapu and Ngati Maru, who were supported by Te Ati Awa, another North Taranaki iwi. There were many battles in the area between them and the Whanganui people. In one incident, the date of which is uncertain but which seems to be pre-European, a chief of Te Ati Awa named Patakai led Ngati Maru to occupy the area. They met Tuhora and his brother there, who were Whanganui people. They were there on a rat catching expedition, presumably with others of their hapu. They gave Patakai two greenstone mere and he said he would leave the land.¹¹

The Ngati Maru chief Tuanini stated in 1895 that the Taumatamahoe block had been 'a battle ground for all the tribes'.¹² The tribes he named as involved in the fighting were Whanganui, Ngati Maru, Ngati Ruanui and Ngati Maniapoto. He said that four generations ago a Whanganui warparty had raided Waitara. It was followed on its return along the Taumatamahoe track by Ngati Maru and Ngati Awa and defeated on the Taumatamahoe block at Maringiawai. This was the last battle he knew of between Whanganui iwi and Ngati Maru. He said there was another battle, also on the Taumatamahoe block, at around the same time, at Omangere, where Ngati Maru defeated Ngati Maniapoto.¹³

There is evidence of habitation in the upper Tangarakau area with pa sites, urupa, food storage pits, terraces, hangi stones and artifacts being found. The area does not seem to have had a large permanent population but the river flats were used for seasonal cultivations, and some ridges were used for pa. The Tangarakau River was used for food gathering expeditions, like the one mentioned above. The area was a rich source of eels and freshwater crayfish and of numerous varieties of birds, including mutton birds, which were caught by luring them by firelight to cleared ridgetops. Bracken fern, or aruhe, the roots of which are edible after roasting and pounding, grows in some areas. Maori may have burnt bush land to encourage its growth, or the bracken may have taken over abandoned areas earlier used for the cultivation of kumara or puha, and later potatoes.¹⁴

⁹ Church, 'Maori life on the Tangarakau River', p.20

¹⁰ H T Whatahoro, 'Te Kauwae-rero', in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol.24, 1925, p.48

¹¹ Church, 'Maori life on the Tangarakau', p.18

¹² Whanganui Appellate Court minute book 4, 22 October 1895, fol.176

¹³ Ibid, 21 October 1895, fol.174

¹⁴ Church, 'Maori life on the Tangarakau', p.18

In the 1820s, there was a Ngati Maru village at the Tangarakau clearing, which is at the junction of the Tangarakau River and the Raekohua Stream,¹⁵ near the settlement of Tahora. Both these places are outside the Taumatamahoe block and are in the Whitianga block, but are near its border with the Taumatamahoe block. Ngati Maru had earlier been attacked by Waikato tribes, who had obtained muskets and invaded Taranaki, and some Ngati Maru had probably taken refuge at Tangarakau. Waikato warriors then came up the Waitara River to the river's headwaters and carried their canoes across the portage to the Tangarakau River and attacked Ngati Maru at the clearing. Ngati Maru fled down the river to the Whitianga Stream, where they were again attacked.¹⁶ Some Ngati Maru left Taranaki in the 1820s and 1830s and went to the Kapiti Coast but many returned after the musket wars ended. Donald McLean found Ngati Maru settlements at Te Pokuru and Te Autawa, on the Waitara River, when he and William King crossed the Taumatamahoe track in 1850.¹⁷

The Taumatamahoe block contains part of the Matemateaonga Range. This forms part of the central area of the block and divides the headwaters of the Patea and Waitotara rivers from the Whanganui River. The Matemateaonga Range formed the boundary between the Whanganui iwi and three Taranaki tribes, Ngati Rauru of Waitotara, Ngati Ruanui of Patea and Ngati Maru of the upper Waitara.¹⁸ It was thought by S. P. Smith and T. W. Downes, the early European historians of the area, that there had been little or no occupation of inland Taranaki, which includes part of the Taumatamahoe block. The finding at various times of Maori artifacts in the area led to an archaeological survey by Ray Hooker in 1969 of the valleys of the Mangaehu, Makahu, Mangaotuku and Mangarewa streams. These are tributaries of the Patea River, and border the Taumatamahoe block on the south west. Hooker found that the deeply cut river systems were quarried by Maori for fine grained, green coloured rock which, although it was not greenstone, provided material for adzes. There may have been a permanent population trading adzes with coastal groups or the quarrying may have been seasonal.¹⁹ A seasonal population is more likely due to the coldness of the area in winter. The quarrying ceased with the introduction of steel implements.

Along the Whanganui River there were a number of quite large settlements between Taumarunui and the Tangarakau River. There was, however, little Maori settlement along the 15 miles between the Tangarakau River and Parauui. This was partly due to the lack of landing places, and the steepness of the surrounding hill country, but may have also involved the conservation of the area's food sources and a belief the area was inhabited by supernatural creatures.²⁰ The lack of settlement in that part of the block may also have been due to the decline in the Maori population, which followed

¹⁵ D Morris, *The flat. Tangarakau: Taranaki's ghost town*, Tangarakau, 1989, p4 and Church, 'Maori life on the Tangarakau', p.18

¹⁶ Ibid, p.19

¹⁷ I Church, *The Stratford Inheritance. A history of Stratford and Whangamomona Counties*, Heritage Press Ltd, Waikanae, 1990, p.19

¹⁸ WR 30/2, Whanganui River Scenic Board, Matemateaonga walkway, vol.1, 1984-87, Department of Conservation, Whanganui

¹⁹ R Hooker, 'Field research in inland Taranaki', *New Zealand Archaeological Association newsletter*, vol.14, no.4, p.154

²⁰ A P Bates, *The bridge to nowhere. The ill-fated Mangapurua settlement*, Wanganui Newspapers Ltd, Wanganui, 1981, p.9

European contact, which led to a withdrawal from the less productive parts of the Whanganui River.

1.2 The colonial wars

The Taumatamahoe track was used during the 1860-61 war in Waitara between the Government and Taranaki tribes to bring reinforcements from the Ngati Maru settlements on the upper Waitara River and from the Whanganui district.²¹ On the Tangarakau River there were villages at Waikauwia, Haumapu, Otakamakaiwaewae, Putikituna, Paritea, Waipawa, Pohuepapa, Paitutu, Tawawhakauro and Autukituku. Some of these villages were probably refuges for Hauhau after their defeats at Moutou, an island in the Whanganui River, and at Weraroa in Taranaki. Others were temporary eeling villages. In the mid-1860s, the Tangarakau district was still inhabited by both Ngati Maru and Whanganui people. There was a pa at Omapu, near Tahora, which was evacuated by Maori in 1864, and villages at Kaieto, Pouatu, Rimuputa and Hurimoana. The Putiki chief, Hori Patene Ngakai, is known to have lived in the area as he was sometimes called Haumapu, after the village on the river. He was killed in fighting in Taranaki in 1864.²² He was probably killed fighting against anti-government Maori as the Putiki chiefs, and other lower Whanganui chiefs, supported the Government during the New Zealand wars.²³

Most upper Whanganui Maori supported the Maori King movement and later the Hauhau, or Pai Marire, movement. Hauhau were active in the Tangarakau area as there was a niu pole at Mangaone, which was still standing in the 1940s.²⁴ Hauhau attempted an attack on the town of Whanganui in 1864 but were defeated by pro-government Maori from the lower part of the river at Moutua. In January 1865 Government forces occupied Pipiriki, a settlement on the Whanganui River, near the area that later became the Taumatamahoe block. The settlement gave access to the interior as it was connected through Raetihi to the centre of the North Island. They were besieged there in July by upper Whanganui tribes with allies from Taupo and Waikato until the siege was lifted by a relief column from Whanganui.²⁵ This ended fighting in the Whanganui district, although the upriver Whanganui Maori remained Hauhau.

The war in Taranaki was followed by land confiscation and this led to renewed war in 1868, when the Ngati Ruanui leader Titokowaru refused to hand over an escaped hostage.²⁶ Titokowaru and his followers advanced to the outskirts of Whanganui and it was feared the upriver Maori would join him.²⁷ This did not happen and by mid-1869 the wars fought by some Maori against the Government were over, apart from

²¹ J Garcia (ed), *History of Whangamomona County*, The Taranaki Daily News Coy Ltd, New Plymouth, 1940, p.8

²² Church, 'Maori life on the Tangarakau', p.19

²³ R Anderson, 'Report of Whanganui Iwi and the Crown, 1865-1880', draft, October 1999, p.1

²⁴ Church, 'Maori life on the Tangarakau', p.19

²⁵ Anderson, '1865-1880 report', p.10

²⁶ J Belich, 'Titokowaru, Riwaha', in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, vol 1, 1769-1869*, Allen and Unwin New Zealand Ltd, and the Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1990, p.544

²⁷ Anderson, '1865-1880 report', p.14

the pursuit of Te Kooti. Te Kooti was of Rongowhakaata, a Poverty Bay people. He had been deported to the Chatham Islands as an accused Hauhau. He and his followers escaped, were defeated on the East Coast, after some initial military success, and had then gone to the Urewera mountains. Te Kooti then led his followers, and some Tuhoe, on an expedition to Taupo. After being defeated at Te Porere, in October 1869, Te Kooti fled to the uppermost headwaters of the Whanganui River.²⁸ The upper Whanganui chiefs met in November and decided to deny him sanctuary. Topia Turoa, a former Hauhau upper Whanganui chief, advanced against Te Kooti in December.²⁹ He reached Taumarunui on 10 January 1870, shortly after Te Kooti had left the area. Te Kooti then withdrew to the Waikato River and returned to the Urewera mountains. A relic of the pursuit of Te Kooti in the Whanganui area was discovered in 1925 when workmen clearing the Tangarakau flat, near Tahora, found a watch which had belonged to a New Zealand Bush Ranger.³⁰

1.3 The Tangarakau block

In 1871 and 1872, the upper and lower Whanganui Maori made peace with each other and a reconciliation with the Government was sought by the upriver people.³¹ Peace, however, did not mean an acceptance of settlement and an aukati, or ban, was maintained on European entry to the upper Whanganui district. The aukati of the upper Whanganui people was part of the aukati maintained by the Maori King movement. This sought to exclude Europeans from the lands of the Ngati Maniapoto iwi, where the Maori King, Tawhiao, had taken refuge, and from the surrounding lands, which included much of the interior of the North Island. Part of the area of the King movement's aukati was a large area known as Tuhua. This area was north of the upper Whanganui River, along the Tuhua River. This was a name used for the part of the river system that connects the upper Whanganui River with the Ongaruhe and Mangakawa rivers near Taumarunui.³² The Tuhua district was largely within the territory of Ngati Maniapoto.³³ However, the Tuhua area also included some of the upper Whanganui land blocks. Among these were Retaruke, Tangarakau (incorporated into the later Taumatamahoe block), Opatu and Raoraomouku.³⁴ The aukati began at Parinui, a short distance upriver from the Tieke stream. This stream is in the Taumatamahoe block, opposite Tieke marae, which is on the other side of the river in the Waimarino block. All the Taumatamahoe block was included in the autaki, apart from a small area downstream from Parinui. It is said that the man in charge of the aukati at Parinui was named Taumatamahoe, and that the Taumatamahoe block is named after him.³⁵

Tuhua was an area of interest to gold prospectors. In addition, John Sheehan, the Native Minister from 1877 to 1879, and, earlier, the Premier William Fox, saw Tuhua

²⁸ J Binney, *Redemption songs. A life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*, Auckland University Press; Bridget Williams Books, Auckland, 1995, p.190

²⁹ Anderson, '1865-1880 report', p.194

³⁰ Morris, p.6

³¹ Anderson, '1865-1880 report', p.34 and p.90

³² 'Map of the North Island to accompany survey report, 1881', AJHR, 1881, C-4

³³ Binney, p.191

³⁴ Anderson, '1865-1880 report', p.99

³⁵ Downes, *History of and Guide to the Whanganui River*, p.71

as an area where the Kingitanga aukati could be broken down.³⁶ Advance payments for land interests were made in the upper Whanganui blocks, often secretly, to Maori who claimed ownership. Negotiations began for the purchase of Retaruke, and the neighbouring Kirikau block, in 1875. Both blocks went to the Native Land Court for the determination of title ownership in 1876.³⁷ Following this, there was renewed opposition to surveying, which led to a suspension of land purchase negotiations in 1877.³⁸ Negotiations had resumed by 1879 as advance payments, or payments made before title to the land was determined by the Native Land Court, were made then by Government agents in the Tangarakau block in 1879. This block later ceased to exist and the southern part of it became part of the Taumatamahoe block.

Tangarakau was the name of the land between the Tangarakau, Whanganui and Ohura rivers. It was first offered to the Government for purchase by its Maori owners, or some of them, through Richard Blake and Neville Walker.³⁹ Blake was a surveyor to private parties. Both men were private agents who sought to arranged sales of Maori land from which they would receive a commission. In January 1879, Sheehan was informed by Walker that Blake was negotiating with Maori for the purchase of a block of land bounded by the Tangarakau, Whanganui and Ohura rivers, which was estimated to contain 150,000 acres. The land between these rivers was called the Tangarakau block. Walker described the block as comprising rich open country and containing totara and a coal seam. Walker telegraphed Sheehan that there had been purchase offers for the land made to Blake from private buyers. The private negotiations had been stopped by Walker as he thought the Government would be interested in acquiring the block. This was because the block extended towards the Mokau district, which was within the King Country aukati. The Tangarakau block extended further towards the King Country than the later Taumatamahoe block did, and was seen by Walker as being of interest to the Government in breaking down the exclusion of the Government from the King Country. He suggested the Minister get one his officers to contact Blake about the land.⁴⁰

The following day Walker again telegraphed Sheehan and informed him that an offer had been made to the Maori owners of 6 shillings per acre with an advance payment of £1,000. Walker referred to the matter as being urgent. Sheehan replied by telling him to consult the magistrate, James Booth, at once. Walker wrote to the Minister on 31 January repeating the details of the offer that had been made the previous day, and adding that the offer had been made by private purchasers. This was the reason for the urgency he had mentioned. He also reported that another agent, Colonel Thomas McDonnell, on hearing of this offer, had offered the Maori owners 8 shillings per acre. McDonnell was another private agent. Walker then gave removing the aukati from the Whanganui River as a reason for purchasing the block and said this would open other land blocks to Government purchasing. He added that the Tangarakau block was very valuable and that the Maori owners were in town and were waiting

³⁶ Anderson, 1865-1880 report, p.99

³⁷ Ibid, p.100

³⁸ S Cross and B Bargh, 'The Whanganui District', Rangahaua Whanui Series, Waitangi Tribunal, April 1996, p45

³⁹ MA-MLP1, 1905/3, Sheehan to Gill, 6 September 1880, Archives New Zealand, Wellington

⁴⁰ Ibid, Walker to Sheehan, 29 January 1979

impatently to close the negotiations.⁴¹ He believed the block could be obtained for 7 shillings per acre and an advance of £2,000.

Blake advised the Minister on 4 February that McDonnell had engaged with the Maori owners to get 8 shillings per acre and an advance of £1,800 for them from the Government for the Tangarakau block. He told the Minister that this offer only had to be declined to put an end to McDonnell's negotiation. He added that there was 'no other buyer but the Government in the field now'.⁴² This would allow Blake to arrange the sale of the block for 7 shillings per acre and a £2,000 advance.

On 19 February 1879, the Tangarakau block was brought under the provisions of the Government Native Land Purchase Act 1877.⁴³ Section 2 of this Act prohibited private purchase in Native land blocks where the Crown had paid money to acquire shares or where negotiations to do so had been entered into.⁴⁴ From February 1879 only the Crown could purchase the shares of Maori in the Tangarakau block.

When it was proclaimed the Tangarakau block was described as being of 70,000 acres. Its boundary began at Tokakura and went to Te Whawharua, Ngaroto and Te Waitanga, and the in a southerly direction to Pukerauhue, Te Pakaru and Motumaire. From there it went in a westerly direction following the Wheao River to a point known as Te Pohue. It then went in a southerly direction to Omaruiti on the Whanganui River. The boundary then followed the river to Araarahanga, Kowhaiturua and Ngamatapura and then back to Tokakura.⁴⁵

On 22 February 1879, the Government advanced £2,000 to Hinepare et al, Maori owners of Tangarakau, for their interests in the block. Some of the advance money was in the form of goods provided by S. Mauson, a storekeeper. In March, Te Rangiwhakarurua offered to sell his land in Tangarakau for £2 per acre.⁴⁶ In the same month, Te Rangihautau was given a gun and ammunition, valued at £6 4s 6d, by Native Land Purchase officials.⁴⁷

In May Booth informed Lewis that negotiations were complete, with a sale price of 7s per acre. R. J. Blake of Whanganui subsequently claimed he and a Mr Walker had been instrumental in negotiating the purchase of Tangarakau for the Government and were to receive a bonus from the Native Minister for their efforts. Blake wanted part of his bonus paid to S. Mauson, to whom he was under an obligation. This probably refers to a debt incurred while advancing purchase money to owners of the block. Mete Kingi Paetahi also assisted in the purchase of the block and received £20 for his assistance. Mere Takerei was paid £5 on 27 August 1879, although it is not clear if

⁴¹ Ibid, Walker to Sheehan, 31 January 1879

⁴² Ibid, R Blake to Native Minister, 4 February 1879

⁴³ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1879, no.19, 19 February 1879, p.254

⁴⁴ D V Williams, *Te Kooti Tango Whenua. The Native Land Court 1864-1909*, Huia Publishers, Wellington, 1999, p.331

⁴⁵ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1879, no.19, 19 February 1879, p254 (the gazette notice has Wheao River but this is usually written as Heao River).

⁴⁶ MA-MLP1 1905/3, Te Rangiwhakarurua to Native Minister, 19 March 1879, Archives New Zealand, Wellington

⁴⁷ MA-MLP 7/8, Land Purchase Accounts Journal, p454, and MA-MLP 7/9, Land Purchase Accounts Journal, p44

this was for her share of the block or her assistance in the block's purchase. In October 1979, S. Mauson received £3 for the provision of food to Maori in connection with the Tangarakau negotiations.⁴⁸

By September 1879 a surveyor named Matthews was ready to proceed with the survey of the block.⁴⁹ However, in December, Meiha Paiaka, a Whanganui Maori, wrote to the Native Minister saying that the Tangarakau, Heao and Motumaire lands had been sold by theft by Toakohuru. The letter named a number of Whanganui Maori who had agreed to shoot Toakohuru if he took surveyors on to the land. Paiaka asked that Booth provide £2900 and said that if the money was given he would distribute it but give none to Toakohuru. He wrote that if the money was given he 'will drag the survey chain and the work will be done soon', but if 'Mr Booth does not give the money what else can I do'.⁵⁰ This letter does not indicate opposition to surveying or land sales but a dispute over Toakohuru's right to sell the land. Paiaka concluded his letter by saying that when Topine sold Retaruke, he and the people he represented did not get their share and that they would not let the Europeans come here while there was evil. No inquiry was carried out into Paiaka's claim that money had been paid to the wrong person (or people) although R. J. Gill, the Under Secretary of the Native Department, later stated that Paiaka's letter ought to have been referred to Booth for a report.⁵¹

Richard Woon, magistrate for the upper Whanganui native district, advised caution over the survey. Blake was asked for a report on the block, possibly before Paiaka's letter was received. Blake reported there was a large extent of open land on the Ohura side of the block and that although the Tangarakau side was forested, it contained many open spaces. The block contained, he said, deep soils, coal seams and in the north of the block there were rumours of gold to be found. He considered the survey and purchase of the block to be of importance.⁵²

Sheehan, no longer Native Minister, also considered the block's purchase important and advised the Native Minister that the block extends to the Mokau River and 'is at no great length from the very heart of the King Country'.⁵³ Sheehan wanted the survey continued as the survey and the purchase negotiations had gone on for some time without opposition and he believed they could be completed without trouble. He added that the agreement of former supporters of the aukati to surveying and the sale of Tangarakau was very significant. The agreement of the former supporters of the aukati to the survey indicated a lessening, or cessation, of opposition to the operation the Government and its agents in the area, which was particularly important as the area was near the border of the King Country.

On 12 January 1880, Booth wrote to John Bryce, the Native Minister, saying the contract for the survey of the Tangarakau block had been signed some months ago and that Maori owners had come from Tuhua to take the surveyors to the land. There was

⁴⁸ P Berghan, 'Block Research Narratives of the Whanganui Inquiry 1865-2000', CFRT, 2003, p889, and MA-MLP 7/9, Land Purchase Accounts Journal, 1878-1884, p. 10 and p. 44

⁴⁹ MA-MLP1 1905/3, Blake to Gill, 6 September 1879

⁵⁰ Ibid, M Paiaka to Native Minister, 6 December 1879

⁵¹ Ibid, Gill to Under Secretary, Native Affairs, 30 March 1880

⁵² Ibid, Blake, report, 9 January 1880, attached to Sheridan to Native Minister, undated memo

⁵³ Ibid, Sheehan to Native Minister, nd

likely to be some opposition and a small group at Utapu (Parinui) had established a kati to stop the survey. The surveyor, Mr Matthews, was awaiting instruction, from the Minister. Booth advised postponing the survey but not abandoning it. On the same day, 12 January 1880, Bryce cancelled the survey of Tangarakau, saying that he did not intend to proceed with the purchase of the block, apart from what was necessary to cover the amount already expended.⁵⁴ He seems to have believed there was significant opposition to surveying in the area. If so, he was subsequently shown to be correct. Bryce also cancelled surveying in the Tuhua lands at this time as there was a rejection of surveying through-out the district, and a fear of a return by Maori to complete support for the King Tawhiao and the exclusion of the Government from the Rohe Potae.⁵⁵

Blake gave an account of his negotiations for the purchase of the Tangarakau block in a letter to R. J. Gill, the Under Secretary of the Native Land Purchase Department, in February 1880. He said that the negotiations were conducted in an open manner and with the knowledge and consent of all the owners. He said all the owners agreed that Hinepare and her people should complete the survey and the sale of the land. The other Maori leader Blake named in his letter was Pitama.⁵⁶ He said Pitama's part of the block was not large and had been added at a late stage to the larger piece belonging to Hinepare. Blake said he had expected trouble over Pitama's portion. Blake claimed Pitama had taken money for the land and then opposed the survey. He thought the opposition to the survey from Pitama and other supporters of the Kingite autaki could be overcome by explanations and gifts. He urged that the survey of the block go ahead as it would add to knowledge of the interior and of possible railway routes.⁵⁷

Pitama was one of the signatories to a letter forwarded to Bryce by Booth in January 1880, which opposed the stopping of the survey and said that to survey the land at once was the proper course. The other signatories were Te Kura Peretui, Te Ngohi and Ngarangi. They had come down the river by canoe to transport the surveyor upriver.⁵⁸ Pitama had earlier been against the survey. Blake said this inconsistency was due to Pitama being the guardian of the aukati, which he had to maintain, although his protest against the survey was merely a matter of form. The purchase negotiations for the block did not resume for a number of years after January 1880. The Government had, however, purchased some shares within the block, and in other upper Whanganui lands, and the ability of the Kingitanga to keep the Tuhua district closed was declining.

James Booth wrote a letter in 1880, concerning the sale of the Raoraomouku block, in which he referred to Rangihuatau, a leader of the upper Whanganui River district, and gave his full name as Pitama Rangimarukai Rangihuatau.⁵⁹ This suggests that the Pitama who at one stage opposed the survey was the same person as Te Rangihuatau, who represented the claimants to the Taumatamahoe land block to the Native Land

⁵⁴ Ibid, John Bryce, file note, 12 January 1880

⁵⁵ Anderson, 1865-1880 report, pp. 114-5

⁵⁶ Pitama appears to be the same person as Te Rangihuatau (see below)

⁵⁷ Ibid, Blake to Gill, 28 February 1880

⁵⁸ Ibid, J Booth to Native Minister, 21 January 1880

⁵⁹ MA-MLP1 1886/134, Booth to Gill, 27 April 1880

Court in 1886.

The Tangarakau block had been proclaimed under the Government Native Land Purchase Act 1877 so that the Government could complete the purchase it had begun without competition from private buyers. Bryce noted in November 1880, that as the purchase of the block was not proceeding the only reason for keeping it under proclamation was to recover the advances.

The advances were stated by Gill to amount to £2028.⁶⁰ This may include expenses as only £2000 were advanced to Hinepare and others. Gill estimated that a further £22,472 would be needed to complete the purchase. He also recorded that he strongly believed that if the survey of Tangarakau went ahead it would be stopped, possibly with bloodshed. The purchase of the Tangarakau block was not proceeded with, following Bryce's cancellation of its survey in January 1880.

1.4 The Main Trunk Line and the end of the aukati

In 1880, the Whanganui chief Te Keepa Te Rangihwinui (Major Kemp) formed a trust to maintain collective Maori authority over the Whanganui land to which title had not been determined by the Native Land Court.⁶¹ The boundaries of Kemp's Trust were marked by posts. These were at the mouth of the Kauarapaoa stream, Te Reureu, Moawhango and the Waitotara River.⁶² The Taumatamahoe block was partly within the area from which Te Keepa sought to exclude the Native Land Court. A blockade was maintained at Puketapu, on the Taumatamahoe block, upstream from the mouth of the Tangarakau River, by Hoani Pehi and Te Hai. In 1883, the surveyor H. M. Skeet attempted to survey routes through the Tangarakau River district. His theodolite and provisions were seized by Whanganui Maori, led by Taumata (probably Taumatamahoe) and later divided among them at Utapu. Te Keepa's supporters were not involved in this but had gone up the Tangarakau River to stop the survey. Opposition to European entry to the district declined after the deaths of Pehi and Tahana Turoa.⁶³

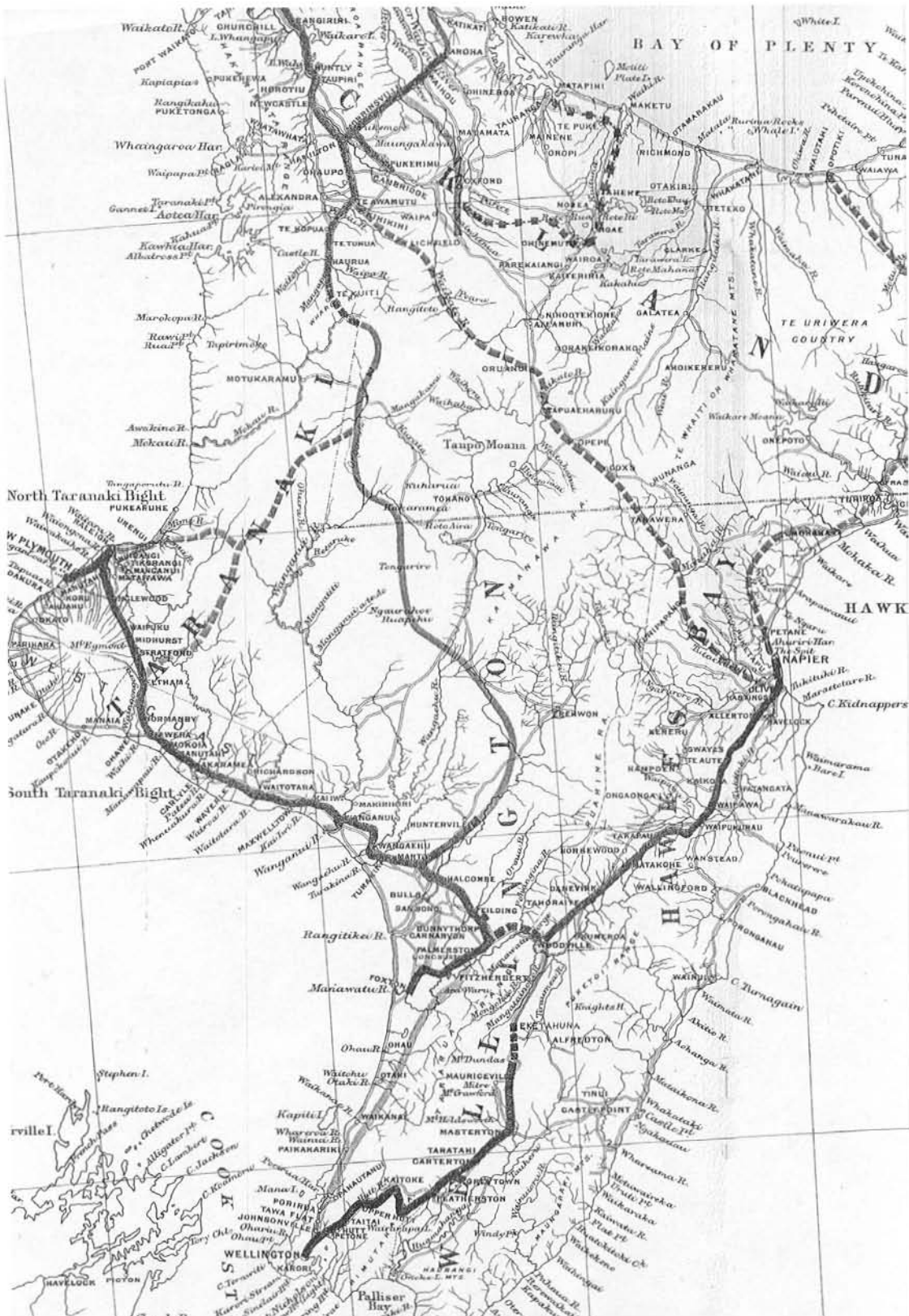
⁶⁰ MA-MLP1 1905/3, Gill to Native Minister, 9 September 1980

⁶¹ Anderson 1865 - 1880 report, p.159

⁶² Downes, *History of and guide to the Whanganui River*, p.71

⁶³ Church, *The Stratford inheritance*, p.23

Map 3: Proposed routes for the main trunk railway line



Source: AJHR 1889 D1.

The Kingite tribes were against the surveying required for a railway line as this could lead to the surveying of land and the introduction of the Native Land Court to the area. In June 1883, a petition was sent to Parliament by Wahanui and Rewi Maniapoto and

over 400 members of the Ngati Maniapoto, Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Tuwharetoa and Whanganui tribes asking that the Government recognise a Rohe Potae, or defined tribal area, from which the Native Land Court would be excluded. The area intended for the Rohe Potae of the four iwi included Tangarakau.⁶⁴

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Of the four possible routes for the main trunk railway line two went through Taranaki and one went east of Lake Taupo. The central route went through southern Wanganui and into the lands of the Rohe Potae. John Rochfort carried out a reconnaissance of the central route in September 1883.⁶⁶ He went up the Whanganui River with the support of Te Keepa but was twice forced by Maori opposition to return to Whanganui. On his third attempt he reached Taumarunui but was met by a refusal to allow him into the Rohe Potae. He then went through Tokaanu and Lake Taupo to Kihikihi, the Waikato, where discussions were held with the Rohe Potae tribes in late November and early December.⁶⁷

The meeting was attended by the John Bryce, the Native Minister. He warned the assembly that the Native Land Court could not be excluded from the Rohe Potae indefinitely as applications for the determination of ownership title had been made. He added that a number of reforms, including the establishment of native committees, had been made. An agreement was reached for the survey of the external boundary of the Rohe Potae and an application for one was made by the Rohe Potae tribes. This was agreed to by the Assistant Surveyor General, S. Percy Smith, on 19 December 1883.⁶⁸ This agreement is known as the Aotea Agreement. The survey was carried out in the first half of 1884 and resulted in the creation of the Aotea block. The Aotea block extended from Aotea harbour on the west coast of the North Island to Maungatautari in Waikato and from there to Lake Taupo and Mount Ruapehu in the centre of the island. The boundary of the block returned to the west coast at the Waipingo stream, which is near Pukearuhe. The Taumatamahoe block was south of the Aotea block.⁶⁹ The Whitianga, Maraekowhai and Opatu land blocks were between Taumatamahoe and the boundary of the Aotea block.⁷⁰ By May 1884, both a railway survey and the Aotea survey were being made. In addition, a trigonometrical survey, which the Government believed had been agreed to at Kihikihi, was also being made of the

⁶⁴ Anderson, 1880-1900 report, p.40

⁶⁵ Anderson, 1880-1900 report, p.40

⁶⁶ Ibid, p.41

⁶⁷ Ibid, p.43

⁶⁸ P Hamer, 'The Crown's purchase of the Waimarino block and related issues report and supplementary report', October 1992, p.1

⁶⁹ "Sketch map of the 'King Country' " in 'Report on the Surveys of New Zealand for the years 1883-1884', AJHR, 1884, C-1, p.28

⁷⁰ A Ward, 'National Overview. Vol. 3', p.153

whole Rohe Potae.⁷¹ Although outside the Aotea block, and in the extreme south of the Rohe Potae, Taumatamahoe was affected by the opening up of the whole region. The Taranaki railway line was later built through the Tangarakau clearing to connect with the main trunk line near Taumarunui and finance authorised by railway legislation was used to purchase land in Taumatamahoe. The land trust organised by Te Keepa declined during the early 1880s, eroded by the purchase of individual interests in Maori land blocks.⁷² The same process undermined the influence of the King movement in the adjacent Maniapoto district.

A decision to build the main trunk railway through the central route, bypassing Taranaki and the Taumatamahoe block, was made by the Government in October 1884. The Government then passed the Native Land Alienation Restriction Act 1884, which established Crown pre-emption, or a Government monopoly, on the purchase of the lands through which the railway would run. Crown pre-emption was thereby established over the lands of the Rohe Potae, and over the land along the middle part of the Whanganui River.⁷³ The resale of Maori land, acquired cheaply by the Government as a monopoly purchaser, and increasing in value from the construction of the railway, was essential to the Government as a means of repaying the debt it incurred for the construction of the railway and other public works. On 15 April 1885 Premier Robert Stout turned the first sod for the completion of the main trunk line at Te Awamutu, in a ceremony which involved the Maori chiefs Wahanui, Rewi Te Maniapoto and Taonui.⁷⁴ Stout then went to Taumarunui and travelled 291 kilometres by canoe down the rivers to Whanganui.⁷⁵

The main trunk line was constructed to the east of the Taumatamahoe block. To the south-west of the block another railway was slowly being constructed from New Plymouth. It reached Stratford in 1878. Settlement did not occur rapidly in eastern Taranaki, by 1881 there was still only one store in Stratford. During the 1880s, the Atkinson Government declined to purchase the Toko, Huiakama and Pohokura, blocks which were near or bordered Taumatamahoe.⁷⁶ The East Road, from Stratford to the confiscation line was not surveyed until 1888-89. Government purchase of land in eastern Taranaki largely occurred after the Liberal Government instituted its improved farm settlement schemes in the 1890s.⁷⁷ The provision of land for the expansion of settlement in Taranaki was not a reason for the Crown's interest in acquiring land in the Tangarakau block up to the end of the unfinished negotiations in January 1880. During the mid-1880s, there was no Crown purchasing of ownership interests in the area which became the Taumatamahoe block. Purchasing commenced after the ownership of the Taumatamahoe block had been determined by the Native Land Court in 1886. After 1900, a railway line was built from Stratford along the route through the Taumatamahoe block, which had been one of the proposed routes for the main trunk line.

⁷¹ Anderson, '1880-1900 report', p.59

⁷² Ibid, p.34

⁷³ Ibid, p.51

⁷⁴ J Cowan, *The Romance of the Rail. Through the heart of New Zealand. A description and historical story*, Publicity branch, New Zealand Railways, Wellington, 1928, p.58

⁷⁵ 'Reports of Officers in Native Districts', AJHR, 1885, G-2, p.19

⁷⁶ Church, *The Stratford Inheritance*, p.23

⁷⁷ Ibid, p.23

Conclusion

The Crown interest in acquiring land in the central and upper Whanganui district was part of a general policy of purchasing Maori land, but also provided the opportunity to begin the opening of the land from which the Government was excluded by the autaki of the King movement. The Tangarakau block was within the aukati and purchase negotiations were commenced in January 1879. The private purchase of interests was prohibited the following month, creating a Government monopoly on purchasing. Maori opposition to the negotiations developed as there was a belief that secret agreements were being made between the Government and some Maori. The ownership of the land was never determined by the Native Land Court, and the negotiations were ended by the Native Minister in January 1880. Advance payments (tamana) of £2028 had been made by the Government on interests in the Tangarakau block. The block ceased to exist but part of it formed the upriver part of the later Taumatamahoe block. Kemp's Trust, an attempt by Whanganui Maori to control land alienation was formed in September 1880 and included the area north of a point near the junction of the Whanganui and Tangarakau rivers.

Government interest in the upper Whanganui district increased in the 1880s as routes were being considered for the completion of the main trunk railway line. One of the proposed routes went through Taranaki and the Taumatamahoe block, and the block was later the route of the railway line built between Stratford and the main trunk line.

Negotiations between the Government and the Maori tribes of the central North Island, west of Lake Taupo, resulted in the Aotea Agreement in December 1883. This agreement allowed surveying of the railway line, which was constructed to the east of the Taumatamahoe block, and created a large land block, named the Aotea block, which was to be surveyed and its ownership title determined by the Native Land Court. Taumatamahoe was outside the Aotea block, but the end of the autaki of the King movement tribes was followed by taking of the block to the Native Land Court and the revival of the Government purchase of shares in the block.

The Government was concerned in the late 1870s with extending its land purchasing and authority into the area of the King movement and the upper Whanganui area was a borderland where the Government's influence could be exerted. To this was added in the 1880s the need to complete the railway. These, and a general demand for land for settlement, appear to have been the reasons for the Government's interest in acquiring land in the area which became the Taumatamahoe block. The acquisition of land for the Taranaki settlement does not appear to have been a cause of Government purchasing in the mid-1880s. The expansion of settlement in eastern Taranaki appears to have developed as an influence on the Government some years later and is first recorded in 1891. Government officials in 1879 were interested in acquiring the Tangarakau block because it bordered on the Rohe Potae of the King movement and in the mid-1880s were concerned with negotiating a settlement with the King movement and the iwi associated with it, through whose lands the main trunk line was to be constructed. Attempts by Maori to maintain the aukati, or to maintain any strategy or policy in regard to Taumatamahoe, and other land blocks, were weakened by Government negotiations, and were later be be undermined by the operations of the Native Land Court.

Chapter 2. The ownership of Taumatamahoe and the survey issue

2.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the determination of the ownership title of Taumatamahoe by the Native Land Court in 1886. Taumatamahoe was claimed by members of Whanganui iwi who were descended from Tamahaki. The block was awarded to them after their representative, Te Rangihuatau, presented their claim, and no objection was made. As there was no dispute over ownership no witnesses were called and no evidence was given. This chapter attempts to determine the hapu affiliations of the 472 descendants of Tamahaki to whom the block was awarded. During the rehearing of the adjoining Whitianga block in 1895 Ngati Maru claimed a right in the Taumatamahoe block. They said they had not been at the 1886 hearing of the Taumatamahoe block as they were unaware it was taking place. Ngati Maru appear to have been excluded from the block as they did not know its ownership title was being decided.

The main issue resulting from the Court hearing of the Taumatamahoe title in 1886 is the adequacy of the block survey. The block went to the Court with its boundaries shown on a sketch map. The Court directed that a proper survey was to be made of the block. A survey plan was subsequently prepared but it used the boundaries of other blocks, rather boundaries made from a specific survey of the Taumatamahoe block. The chapter examines if this met legal requirements, or failed to do so, as claimed in the Wai 555 statement of claim.

2.2 The 1886 Native Land Court title determination of Taumatamahoe

The exclusion of European influence and institutions from the upper Whanganui River area was coming to an end by the mid-1880s.⁷⁸ The creation of the Aotea block, resulting from the agreement at Kihikihi in late 1883, placed some Whanganui tribal land, upriver of the Taumatamahoe block, in a block with other tribes, notably Ngati Maniapoto. This raised the possibility of a loss of control of their land by Whanganui as the survey of the Aotea block was made under the auspices of the Ngati Maniapoto leaders.⁷⁹ Some blocks had already been to the Native Land Court for the determination of title. These were Kirikau and Retauruke in the 1870s, and Raoraomako, Aratawa, and Mangapukatea. In 1885, there was a withdrawal from allegiance to the Rohe Potae by both Whanganui and Ngati Tuwharetoa iwi. The Government had encouraged applications to the Native Land Court for title investigation, while discussing possible Maori involvement in title determination with the Rohe Potae iwi. In September 1885, Te Rangihuatau applied for a determination of title to the Waimarino block by the Native Land Court. Leaders of the Tuwharetoa iwi applied to the Court for a determination of the Taupuniatea block the following month. Te Rangihuatau was a Whanganui rangatira of, among other hapu, Ngati

⁷⁸ R Ward, 'Reports of Officers in Native Districts', AJHR, 1885, G-2, p.19

⁷⁹ Anderson, '1880-1900 report', p.60

Maringi.⁸⁰ He was later prominent in the hearing of the Taumatamahoe block by the Native Land Court. An attempt to organise a boycott of the operations of the Native Land Court in the upper Whanganui area was made by Hori Ropiha. He claimed that a member of the British Parliament had said he would come to New Zealand and cause the Native Land Court to be abolished, but he gained no following and was opposed by Te Keepa.⁸¹ By 1885, Te Keepa supported the construction of the railway, and also roads, a steamer on the river, and closer settlement, but wanted the management of the Whanganui district's development shared by Government and tribal leaders.⁸²

Taumatamahoe was one of a number of Whanganui blocks taken to the Native Land Court for the determination of ownership title in 1886. The main legislation governing the process by which title to Maori land blocks was then determined was the Native Land Court Act 1880, and the Native Land Act 1873. The Native Land Act 1873 had replaced the earlier provision for the award of Maori land to 10 owners, who could be seen as trustees for a larger tribal group, with a memorial of ownership, which included all those who could be regarded as owners.⁸³ Maori land legislation acted generally to transform Maori customary land into freehold title. This individualised title to land and broke down the previous communal ownership of land. The maintenance of tribal estate in land had been the objective of both Kemp's Trust and the earlier aukati.

The Tangarakau block had ceased to exist, as its survey was not proceeded with in 1880 and it was never taken to the Native Land Court. The Tangarakau block had lapsed and was replaced by an application to the Native Land Court for title to the larger Taumatamahoe block, which included the southern part of the previous Tangarakau block.

Notice of the determination of the ownership of a block by the Native Land Court was usually published in the *Kahiti o Nui Tireni*, the Maori gazette. This does not appear to have been done for the Taumatamahoe block, but notice of the hearing of title to two areas, which seem to be within the block, was published in January 1886. These were Paranui-o-Mata, which might be the Paranui area of the Taumatamahoe block, and Tareheake, which is the up-river boundary of the block.⁸⁴

The investigation of the title to Taumatamahoe began in the Native Land Court in Whanganui on 23 February 1886, before Judges Lachlan O'Brien and Edward Puckey. A sketch map (map 2 in this report) of the Taumatamahoe block was held by the Court. The sketch map had earlier been sent to the Native Minister by the land purchase officer W. J. Butler with the comment:

Attached is a sketch plan of a block of land called Taumatamahoe, which is advertised for hearing by the Court now sitting. The adjudication however cannot go on for want of a plan sufficiently accurate for the purposes of the Court. The

⁸⁰ Ibid, p.63

⁸¹ 'Reports of Native Officers in Native Districts', AJHR, 1885, G-2, p.19

⁸² Anderson, '1880-1900', p56-7

⁸³ D V Williams, *Te Kooti Tango Whenua*, p.342

⁸⁴ *Kahiti o Nui Tireni*, 21 January 1886, p10

accompanying sketch ... appears to me to contain sufficient information to enable the survey dept to furnish a fairly correct map.⁸⁵

Te Rangihuatau later said that he and Matewhitu were the chiefs who effected the hearing of the Waimarino and Taumatamahoe blocks.⁸⁶ This suggests they made the application for a determination by the Native Land Court, of the ownership of these blocks. There reason for applying for a determination of the ownership of the block was probably to prevent anyone else from gaining ownership of it. The lack of objection to the claim to the block from Tamahaki may indicate that this had been agreed to outside the Court, at least by the Whanganui hapu with an interest in the block. Te Rangihuatau and the claimants he represented may have been under some pressure to secure the ownership to the block as there were advances from the Tangarakau block which the Crown wished to recover.

It was later stated by the surveyor Thomas Humphries that the Native description of the boundaries of Taumatamahoe on the application could not be followed as it included a large area of confiscated land (in Taranaki) and of Maori land blocks that had previously passed the Native Land Court.⁸⁷ The sketch map left out the overlapping areas claimed in the application and used the Taranaki confiscation line and boundaries of existing land blocks to define the area of the Taumatamahoe block. The northern boundary of the block is not shown on the sketch map.

The boundaries of the block were from the Pohokura block, along the confiscation line to a point near Rimuputa, from there to the Whanganui River near Tokakura, then down the river to Umuponga on the boundary with the Raoraomouku block. The boundary then went by the Raoraomouku, Aratawa and Whakaihuwaka boundaries to the trig station Whakaihuwaka (Mt. Humphries) and then along the Pahautuhia and Pohokura block boundaries to the point where the boundary with the Pohokura block met the confiscation line.

The block was estimated to be 146,000 acres in area. One claim to the block was made by Kimata Te Ngaruariki and others.⁸⁸ Another claim was made by Winiata Te Uaruariki.⁸⁹ Both claims were represented at the Court by Te Rangihuatau, which suggests the two claimants had combined their cases under him. Te Rangihuatau lived at Tieke (Te Eke) and gave his hapu as Ngati Maringi and Ngati Tamahaki. He said the boundaries on the application for the determination of the block's ownership by the Native Land Court were correct. He claimed the land from his ancestor Tamahaki and said Tamahaki's descendants had remained in continuous occupation of the block. Te Rangihuatau asked for an order for the land to be made in favour of the descendants of Tamahaki. Descendants of Tamahaki belong to numerous Whanganui hapu. There were no objections. The Court stated that the name lists were to be read the following day.⁹⁰ The initial reading of the name lists for the block is not recorded in the Court's minute books.

⁸⁵ MA-MLP1, 1905/3, Butler to Lewis, 26 January 1886, Archives New Zealand, Wellington

⁸⁶ Ibid, Te Rangihuatau to Native Minister, 8 March 1889

⁸⁷ Ibid, Thos Humphries to Under Secretary, Native Land Purchase Department, 6 February 1889

⁸⁸ Wanganui Native Land Court minute book 9, 23 February 1886, fol. 189

⁸⁹ Judge O'Brien Native Land Court minute book 11, 23 February 1886, fol. 243

⁹⁰ Judge O'Brien Native Land Court minute book 11, 23 February 1886, fol. 190

The Court declared the land to be inalienable. A transcript of the Court's decision states that Taumatamahoe 'may be leased for any term not exceeding 21 years, but shall be otherwise inalienable except with the assent of the Governor'.⁹¹ Restrictions on alienation could be removed by the Governor under section 16 of the Native Land Laws Amendment Act 1883.⁹² The Crown was considering the purchase of shares in the Taumatamahoe block later that year. Maori, however, may have understood the term inalienable to mean no land would be alienated, except possibly by lease. Te Rangihuatau later petitioned against the purchase of Taumatamahoe by the Crown on the grounds that it had been agreed that the block would be a reserve for the Maori owners. The restriction on alienation in the Taumatamahoe block was removed in June 1886. The gazette notice removing the restriction states that on 8 June the block's title became ascertained and dealings in the land ceased to be prohibited from that date.⁹³ The ascertaining of the title means, among other things, that there had been no application for a rehearing of the case, in the time allowed under the Native Land Court Act 1880.

On 6 March 1886, additional name lists of owners were presented to the Court, one of which was from Tahana Ngaropeka. Te Rangihuatau consented to the additional names except for the list from Tahana. Mahurini Rangitauira of Ngati Hinearō, a hapu of Te Ati Haunui-a-Paparangi, said that the people on Tahana's list were of his hapu, Ngati Hinearō, and that Ngati Hinearō had no interest in Taumatamahoe. Tahana asked the Court for an adjournment until his father, who was unwell, could arrive to give evidence and this was granted.⁹⁴ Tahana's father did not arrive on 8 March, Tahana brought another witness to the Court. After the witness answered some questions, which were not recorded by the Court, Te Rangihuatau agreed to the admission of Tahana's name list.⁹⁵ The names on Tahana's list had already been placed on the ownership name list for Taumatamahoe on 6 March 1886.⁹⁶ Possibly they were going to be removed if Tahana failed to produce a witness whose evidence was accepted by Te Rangihuatau. The name list of owners of Taumatamahoe, presented to the Court on 6 March 1886, contained 474 names.⁹⁷ On 8 March, the Court ordered that a certificate of title be issued to the 474 owners 'when a proper survey has been made'.⁹⁸

The Taumatamahoe block included part of the earlier Tangarakau block, but the Tangarakau block was stated by one Government official to have been 'absorbed in Taumatamahoe'.⁹⁹ This can not be correct as the Tangarakau block is stated to have been bordered by the Whanganui, Tangarakau and Ohura rivers.¹⁰⁰ The Ohura River is considerably upriver from Tahereake, the upriver boundary of the Taumatamahoe block. Only part of the old Tangarakau block was included in Taumatamahoe.

⁹¹ Transcript, 8 March 1886, Taumatamahoe block order file 1, WH330, Aotea Maori Land Court

⁹² D V Williams, *Te Kooti Tango Whenua*, p.278

⁹³ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1886, no. 35, 24 June 1886, p. 768

⁹⁴ Wanganui Native Land Court minute book 9, 6 March 1886, fols. 233-4

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 8 March 1886, fol. 281

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 6 March 1886, fol. 243

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 6 March 1886, fols. 237-244

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 8 March 1886, fol. 250

⁹⁹ MA-MLP1 1905/3, Sheridan to W Davis, 8 September 1886, Archives New Zealand, Wellington

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, Blake, report, 9 January 1880,

There were old advances of £2028 which had been made by the Government to purchase interests in Tangarakau. These advances of purchase money had been made before the stopping of the survey of the Tangarakau block in January 1880 and without the determination of the ownership of Tangarakau by the Native Land Court. The money had been paid by James Booth for interests in Tangarakau, which was now partly in the upper part of the Taumatamahoe block. Butler therefore thought it would not be difficult to reach agreement with the non-sellers, over a partition of the block, as the non-sellers' settlement was at Parinui, in the lower part of the Taumatamahoe block. The advances on shares in the Tangarakau block had been paid to 24 Maori, of whom only 10 or so could be identified among the owners of Taumatamahoe registered by the Court. Patrick Sheridan, a land purchase officer, noted that:

To recover as much as possible of the old advances and to get a case (for a partition defining the Crown's interest in the block) in form for the Native Land Court it would be necessary to spend £3,000 to £4,000 on purchase of shares.¹⁰¹

The Court did not partition the Taumatamahoe block between the owners, or define their interests, but assumed they held equal shares in the block. There were 474 owners listed by the Native Land Court but in the same year as the Court's decision, 1886, the block was treated as having 472 owners. This may have been due to a duplication of two names in the name lists. Sheridan calculated that if the shares were equal, and the estimated area of the block correct, then, at a valuation of 1s 9d per acre, each share was worth £22.¹⁰² This was after a deduction for the old advances, but it is not clear if the whole £2028 was recovered or only the proportion paid to Maori subsequently found by the Native Land Court to be owners of the Taumatamahoe block. The advance for Tangarakau was recovered from all the owners of Taumatamahoe, of whom only 10 or so had received the advances.

2.3 Ngati Maru and the Taumatamahoe block

There was no debate over the title to the Taumatamahoe block and the Court reached its decision on the first day of the hearing. The Native Land Court minute book record of the hearing of the Taumatamahoe block makes no mention of the presence there of Ngati Maru. However, some discussion of the ownership of Taumatamahoe took place at the rehearing of the Whitianga ownership title in 1895 and conflicting evidence was given about the attendance of Ngati Maru at the 1886 Taumatamahoe hearing. Tarihira Kerete, Te Kaponga, Henare Te Haeretuterangi, who were of the Whanganui iwi, and Kerete's husband William Donald, stated that the Ngati Maru chief Mangu, and other Ngati Maru, were present at the Taumatamahoe hearing.¹⁰³ Haeretuterangi said Mangu wanted to be included in the list for Taumatamahoe as he was related to Whanganui. Te Kaponga said there was a meeting in the square, at Whanganui, and the people did not agree to include Mangu as he had no right in Taumatamahoe.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, Sheridan, file note, 5 December 1888

¹⁰² Ibid, Sheridan to W Davis, 8 September 1886

¹⁰³ Whanganui Appellate Court minute book 4, 18 October 1895, fols. 135, 136 and 141

Mangu said he was the chief of Ngati Maru and denied he had attended the Taumatamahoe hearing. He said that he first heard that Taumatamahoe was before the Court when people returned to Parihaka with money they had received from the sale of their shares in either that block or the Waimarino block. He named three occasions when he had been to Whanganui in the previous three years and none of them was for the hearing of the Taumatamahoe block.¹⁰⁴

Tuanini, another Ngati Maru leader, also denied that he had any notice of the Taumatamahoe hearing. He said if he had known of the hearing he would have claimed half the Taumatamahoe block for Ngati Maru and denied the right of Tamahaki in the block.¹⁰⁵ He claimed Tamahaki came to Ngati Maru with taonga to buy the land. Mangu also made this claim and said that Tamahaki came from the East Coast.¹⁰⁶

Mangu and Tuanini claimed that the Taumatamahoe block was part of the land of the descendants of Turi and the people of the Aotea canoe. The land was divided between the descendants, with the boundary between Ngati Maru and Whanganui being the Matemateaonga Range. Mangu said there had been fighting on the block between Whanganui, which was supported by its ally Ngati Maniapoto, and Ngati Maru, which was supported by Ngati Awa and Ngati Tama. The fighting had ended with a peace made by his great-grandfather Te Kapua.¹⁰⁷ The peace had left Ngati Maru in possession of the block. They had then sold the Whangamomona part of the block to the Whanganui iwi for a war horn and three greenstone meres. He said he had heard that these taonga belonged to Tamahaki. Tuanini gave a similar account, which was that after the last battle on the Taumatamahoe block, which he said was Maringiawai, Ngati Maru held the land, but that subsequently Tamahaki purchased the Whangamomona part. He maintained that both tribes were entitled to the Taumatamahoe block and that the boundary between them was the Matemateaonga Range.¹⁰⁸

It is also possible that some Ngati Maru did not attend the Native Land Court's 1886 Taumatamahoe hearing because they were at Parihaka, where, despite the dispersal of Te Whiti's followers from there in 1881, there was a renewed ploughing campaign in 1886.¹⁰⁹ There is some evidence that Te Whiti o Rongomai, who led passive resistance to the loss of Maori land in southern Taranaki, had a following among the owners of Taumatamahoe. In 1892 it was reported that Kahu Te Uia, one of the owners of Taumatamahoe, had wanted to sell her share of the block to the Crown before she died, and her sons, who were described as under the influence of Te Whiti, made no reply to the land purchase officer's letter. Also in 1920, two non-sellers in one of the sections of Taumatamahoe No.2B2B were living at Parihaka and one was a strong non-seller. In 1932 a woman named Hinewhiu said she had been at Parihaka

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 23 October 1895, fols. 193 and 198

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 22 October 1895, fol. 184

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 23 October 1895, fol. 184 and fol. 193

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 23 October 1895, fol. 204

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 21 October 1895, fol. 171

¹⁰⁹ D Keenan. 'Te Whiti-o-Rongomai III, Erueti', in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol 2, 1870 - 1900, Bridget Williams Books; Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1993, p.532

and was unaware of when her share in Taumatamahoe had been sold.¹¹⁰ She was listed as a seller but it is possible that her share was sold by an impersonator. However, Mangu, the Ngati Maru chief who gave evidence at the Whitianga rehearing in 1895, sometimes lived at Parihaka. Tuanini's father was living at Parihaka and would not attend the 1895 Court. However an allegiance to Te Whiti o Rongomai and his community at Parihaka did not prevent either Tuanini, or Mangu, from attending Court hearings. They claimed they had not attended the Taumatamahoe hearing because they did not know about it.

The interrelationship of the Ngati Maru and the Whanganui iwi was recognised in the ownership of Taumatamahoe as Te Rangihuatau admitted some Ngati Maru to the ownership list, but only those who could show descent from Tamahaki.¹¹¹ Tuanini, however, believed Ngati Maru and Whanganui were equally entitled in the block as they were related. Both Ngati Maru and the Whanganui iwi are descended from Turi, the captain of the Aotea canoe. Turi took possession of all the land from Patea and Oeo, on the coast, to Whakaihuwaka (Mount Humphries). Part of the boundary of Ngati Maru was claimed by Tuanini to be the Matemateonga Range, although he also claimed their territory extended to Mataiwhetu on the Whanganui River.¹¹² He also maintained, however, that both tribes were entitled in Taumatamahoe as they were related, and said that Tamahaki had no right in the land. Rights in Taumatamahoe, according to him, derived from Turi. The interrelationship of Ngati Maru and the Whanganui iwi is shown by a Native Land Purchase Department official's description in 1892 of the sons of Te Kahu Te Uia, as being members of both tribes.¹¹³

Other reasons for the non-attendance of Ngati Maru at the hearing of the ownership of Taumatamahoe may have been dispersal from their tribal lands. The valley of the upper Whangamomona, near the confiscation line, was Ngati Maru land, but is said to have been uninhabited in 1895, when European settlement began. Ngati Maru had been driven from their tribal lands in the upper Waitara area, and also from Whangamomona, during the musket wars, and some still lived at Otaki. Others had joined Titokowaru in fighting the Government in the late 1860s, and had later followed him to Parihaka in the 1870s. They did not settle at Purangi, on the upper Waitara River, and east of the Taumatamahoe block, until 1905. They, with Te Ati Awa, withdrew from Parihaka in 1910 and sought to live in self-sufficient communities in the area of the upper Waitara River.¹¹⁴ Ngati Maru were an inland people whose territory did not reach the coast and can never have been very numerous.¹¹⁵ They had also suffered depopulation and, in 1878, some were prepared to sell their lands as they had no children to leave them to. By 1886, many Ngati Maru were living away from their tribal lands in 1886, and their population may have been declining. However, the reason given by Tuanini and Mangu for their non-attendance at the 1886 hearing of the ownership of Taumatamahoe was that they were unaware of it.

¹¹⁰ MA-MLP1 1905/3, Registrar, Whanganui Native Land Court, to Under Secretary, 16 May 1932, Archives New Zealand, Wellington

¹¹¹ Whanganui Appellate Court minute book 4, 22 October 1895, fol 184

¹¹² Ibid, 23 October 1895, fol. 195

¹¹³ MA-MLP1 1892/53, C E Major to Minister of Lands, 21 March 1892, Archives New Zealand, Wellington

¹¹⁴ Church, pp.66-67

¹¹⁵ Smith, 'History and traditions of the Taranaki coast', vol. 17, 1908, p.19

The site of the Ngati Maru settlement at Tangarakau, which is north east of the Taumatamahoe block and in the Whitianga block, was visited by Thomas Kelly in March 1892. He travelled over the portage and down the Raekohu Stream to its junction with the Tangarakau River. He found the remains of a Maori settlement there, and also apple and pear trees, which were growing well, and peach trees, which were blighted. There were two whare and a storehouse at the clearing when Kelly camped there. There were then no Maori living there but Kelly believed the owner of the whare lived further down the river.¹¹⁶

In the 1894 title determination of the neighbouring Whitianga block the Native Land Court divided the block of 26,400 acres equally between Ngati Maru and the Whanganui iwi. A rehearing was requested by Te Rangihuatau. This was held in 1895 and the Court agreed with him that Ngati Maru had received more than it was entitled to in Whitianga. The Court found Ngati Maru had not lived on the Whitianga block, or in the northern part of Taumatamahoe, for four generations and that although some Ngati Maru had lived quite recently at Parinui they had done so as relations of the Whanganui iwi or as refugees. It was clear to the Court that Ngati Maru settlements were in the south-west of the Taumatamahoe block and in Pokokura and other blocks south and west of the Matemateaonga range.¹¹⁷ The Court ruled that the boundary between Ngati Maru and Whanganui was the Matemateaonga range. This meant that Whanganui was entitled to the whole Whitianga block but had been awarded land in Taumatamahoe that ought to have been awarded to Ngati Maru. The Court did not seek to alter the Taumatamahoe decision but asked the Whanganui representatives to agree to Ngati Maru receiving compensation in Whitianga. This was agreed to and Ngati Maru received 1200 acres in Whitianga, instead of the 13,200 they had originally been awarded.¹¹⁸

Ngati Maru should have received a substantial portion of the Taumatamahoe block. They were denied any part of the block as they were not present at the Native Land Court hearing in 1886. Ngati Maru succeeded in being awarded half the Whitianga block by the Native Land Court in 1894. However as this award was not based on the Court's usual criteria, the Whanganui iwi were successful in an appeal against it. The appeal led to a rehearing of the Whitianga block's title in 1896 which decided that the boundary of the two tribes was the Matemateaonga Range. This meant the Whanganui iwi were entitled to all of Whitianga but that Ngati Maru should have received part of Taumatamahoe. Rather than rehear the ownership of Taumatamahoe block, the Court arranged a compromise by which Ngati Maru received 1200 acres in Whitianga.

2.4 Hapu affiliations of the owners of Taumatamahoe

Tamahaki, the ancestor to whose descendants Taumatamahoe was awarded, was the son of Tamatuna. T. W. Downes recorded a tradition in which Tamatuna was a man who could live under water as well as on the land. He is said to have cut down a totara

¹¹⁶ T Kelly, *Narrative of a journey through the upper Waitara Valley and across the Tangarakau country to the Wanganui River and a canoe voyage down the river*, Taranaki Herald Office, New Plymouth, 1892, pp. 7-9

¹¹⁷ Whanganui Appellate Court minute book 4, 30 October 1895, fol. 232

¹¹⁸ Hamer, pp.11-13

tree for a canoe which fell into the river and became submerged. He then carved the canoe underwater. People knew when he was working on the canoe by the wood chips floating to the surface.¹¹⁹ Both Tamatuna and Tamahaki were contemporaries of the Whanganui ancestor Tamakehu.¹²⁰

An indication of the hapu affiliations of the 472 descendants of Tamahaki, to whom the Taumatamahoe block was awarded, can be obtained from the 1908 electoral roll. This was the first electoral roll of Maori voters drawn up. The Western Maori 1908 electoral roll contains the names of 26 Maori who were among the 472 descendants of Tamahaki listed in the title for Taumatamahoe. Although this is a small percentage of the total, a pattern emerges from it. The electoral roll gives one or two hapu affiliations for each enrolment.

1.1.1 Table 1: Hapu affiliations of registered owners of Taumatamahoe

Name	Iwi	Hapu	Residence
Ngareta Taumata	Whanganui	Ngati Ruru	Utapu
Whakarato Tuwharetoa	Whanganui	Ngati Hau, Ngati Uenuku	Raetihi
Ngata Mihipeka	Whanganui	Ngati Rongomai, Ngati Kahu	Utapu
Te Atakamari Whakaraki	Whanganui	Ngati Ruaka	Taumarunui
Toa Rangitahi	Whanganui	Ngati Hine, Ngati Ruaka	Ranana
Rangiwhakataka Herewini	Whanganui	Ngati Kura	Paputupu
Tarate Riwai	Whanganui	Ngati Ruru	Parinui
Kopa Karauti	Whanganui	Ngati Hau, Ngati Turanga	Hiruharama
Mata Ihaka	Whanganui	Ngati Ruaka, Ngati Tuterangi	Putiki
Rena Patapu	Whanganui	Ngati Hine, Ngati Ruaka	Ranana
Merania Putapu	Whanganui	Ngati Ruaka, Ngati Raowhitiao	Hiruharama
Reweti Keepa	Whanganui	Ngati Kura	Pipiriki
Te Kahukete	Whanganui	Ngati Hauaroa, Ngati Ekewai	Taumarunui
Morehu Tumuaki	Whanganui	Ngati Rangitautahi, Ngati Kura	Pipiriki
Ngarino Reone	Whanganui	Ngati Kura	Pipiriki
Atiria Te Kahu	Whanganui	Ngati Kura	Pipiriki
Heremia Rawiri	Whanganui	Ngati Pamoana, N' Tamataira	Koriniti
Te Kuri Te Peke	Whanganui	Ngati Kura	Pipiriki
Te Oiroa Te Peke	Whanganui	N'Rongomai, N'Hekeawai	Te Eke (Tieke)
Paroto Whakaheirangi	Whanganui	Ngati Rangi, Ngati Taipoto	Karioi
Te Ngohi Te Ika Wairangi	Whanganui	Ngati Hauaroa, Ngati Rangi	Taumarunui
Tamatea Takarangi	Te Atiawa	Otaraua	Tikorangi
Te Taniwha Te Whaiti	Whanganui	Ngati Hau, Ngati Uenuku	Raetihi

¹¹⁹ T W Downes, *Old Whanganui*, W. A Parkinson and Co, Hawera, 1915, p.45

¹²⁰ *Ibid*, p.48

Henare Haeretuterangi	Whanganui	Ngati Ruaka, N'Rangipoutama	Putiki
Paora Kaitangata	Ngati Apa	Angawairiki, Ngati Rangi	Matatera
Ema Wiremu Hipango	Whanganui	Ngati Ruaka	Waitara

Source: Western Maori electoral roll, 1908

The 26 descendants of Tamahika listed as owners of Taumatamahoe in 1886 and on the 1908 electoral roll gave a total of 22 hapu affiliations. The two most frequently named hapu are Ngati Ruaka, with seven identifications, and Ngati Kura, with six identifications. This means that half the sample identified as either Ngati Ruaka or Ngati Kura. Of them, none identified with both hapu. There were three identifications of Ngati Hau and two identifications of Ngati Ruru, Ngati Uenuku, Ngati Rangi, Ngati Hine and Ngati Hauaroa. Hapu listed once were Ngati Rongomai, Ngati Kahu, Ngati Hekeawai, Ngati Taipoto, Ngati Turanga, Ngati Rangipoutama (probably Nga Poutama), Ngati Tuterangi, Ngati Raowhitiao, Ngati Ekewai (possibly Ngati Hekeawai), Ngati Rangitautahi, Ngati Pamoana, Ngati Tamataira and Ngati Rongomai. All the descendants of Tamahiki found on the 1908 electoral roll were of the Whanganui iwi, except one from Te Atiawa and one from Ngati Apa. The two people who were not of the Whanganui iwi were probably descended from Tamahiki from inter-marriage with neighbouring tribes.

Most owners lived in the central Whanganui River district at Pipiriki, Hiruharama, Utapu (Parinui), Koroniti and Ranana. Ema Hipango lived outside the Whanganui iwi area at Waitara. Two other owners lived at Putiki and five lived in the upper Whanganui district, at Raetihi and Taumarunui. Topine Turoa is listed among the 1886 owners of Taumatamahoe but is not on the 1908 electoral roll.

Some of the hapu descended from Tamahiki were named at a meeting held at Pipiriki in April 1995. They were Ngati Hauaroa, Ngati Reremai, Ngati Parekitai and Ngati Taumatamahoe.¹²¹

2.5 Surveying and survey issues

In January 1886 W. J. Butler, a land purchase officer, sent a sketch map of the Taumatamahoe block, which was then being advertised for a Court hearing of its ownership title, to T. W. Lewis, the Under Secretary of the Native Department. Butler stated that the hearing could not proceed for want of a plan 'sufficiently accurate for the purpose of the Court'.¹²² He added that the sketch map contained enough detail for the Survey Department to furnish a fairly accurate map. The block, however, went to the Native Land Court for title determination on the basis of the sketch map.

¹²¹ Linz file 6925/3709-1-DNO, Minutes of meeting held at Pipiriki on 6 April 1995, National Office, Wellington

¹²² MA-MLP1 1905/3, Butler to Lewis, 26 January 1886, Archives New Zealand, Wellington

1.1.1.1.1 Map 4: Sketch map



Source: MA-MLP 1 1905/3 Archives New Zealand.

The sketch map is reasonably accurate. It shows the Whanganui River and the confiscation line, and the boundaries of the blocks to the south of Taumatamahoe, as well as the Tangarakau, Whangamomona and Heao rivers, and the Taumatamahoe track. It does not show the northern border, which was later formed by the boundary with the Whitianga block. Tuanini later stated, at the Native Land Court hearing of ownership of the Whitianga block, that the Taumatamahoe block included Whitianga.¹²³ Also, in regard to the northern boundary, when Butler sent the sketch map to Lewis his note said that the boundaries of Taumatamahoe overlapped with those of Maraekowhai, the block north of Whitianga.¹²⁴ It seems that in 1886 the northern boundary of Taumatamahoe was not defined, and that the Whitianga block was formed later, from the border land between Taumatamahoe and Maraekowhai.

In its 1886 title determination of the Taumatamahoe block the Native Land Court directed that a proper survey of the block was to be carried out. This was to produce a surveyed plan of the block to replace the sketch map of the block, which the Court then held, in accordance with the requirements of the Native Land Court Act 1880.

When the block went to the Native Land Court in February 1886 the Act of Parliament governing surveying requirements was the Native Land Court Act 1880.

¹²³ Wanganui Appellate Court minute book 4, 22 October 1895, fol. 174

¹²⁴ MA-MLP1 1905/3, Butler to Lewis, 26 January 1886, Archives New Zealand, Wellington

Section 26 of this Act says that if a survey has been made of the block being heard by the Court before the hearing, then the Court can issue a certificate of title as soon as the ownership of the block is determined. Section 27 of the Act says that if a plan of the block is not held by the Court then the Court shall require a survey to be made. Section 33 says that when a plan is deposited with the Court then it shall issue a certificate of title for the order made at the original hearing. No survey, required by the Court in accordance with the Native Land Court Act 1880, was made to replace the sketch map of the Taumatamahoe block held by the Court at the 1886 investigation of its title, although a compiled survey map was prepared and certified by the Chief Surveyor on 20 February 1892.¹²⁵

Instead of making a specific survey of the block, the Government purchased individual undivided shares in the Taumatamahoe block from the 472 owners recognised by the Court on 6 March 1886, under section 25 of the Native Land Court Act 1880. Under this section, if the Court is satisfied as to the title of the applicants to the land of which the title is being determined, then the Court shall place the names of those entitled on a register as owners and issue a certificate of title. Section 27 requires a survey of the block before the certificate of title can be issued but a register of owners can be determined without one. The Act does not state that the shares in a land block held by recognised owners may not be sold prior to a proper survey being carried out, only that a certificate of title can not be issued to them without a survey. Section 39 of the Act says the survey required by the Court must be made by surveyors employed for this purpose by the Surveyor General and must be certified, or signed, by the Surveyor General, but section 27 anticipates that ownership titles will be determined by the Court without proper, or complete, surveys. The section states that a survey must be made subsequently and before the issue of a certificate of title. The register of owners made by the Native Land Court on 8 March 1886 is sometimes referred to as a certificate of title. An example of this is the 1897 petition of Tarewa Heremaia.¹²⁶

However, there may have been a breach of section 28 of the Native Land Court Act 1880, which requires the advertising of a survey plan for inspection prior to a hearing, as the survey plan drawn up for the Court hearing lacked a defined boundary with the Whitianga block.

The order for a certificate of title has a hand written note saying that the order was cancelled on partition. This presumably refers to the partition of the block made in 1893 to identify the first Crown award, but the minutes of the Native Land Court hearing of the award do not mention the matter. The note is signed by the Chief Judge.¹²⁷

When the ownership title of Taumatamahoe was determined in 1886, some of its boundaries had already been established. The western boundary of the block was defined by the Taranaki confiscation line and the eastern boundary by the Whanganui River. Part of the southern boundary was defined by surveys already made of

¹²⁵ His signature, with this date, and that of Judge O'Brien, dated 19.4.92, is on Map ML 249

¹²⁶ MA-MLP1 1905/3, Petition of Tarewa Heremaia, January 1897

¹²⁷ ABWN, 8910, w5278, box 35, deed 4719, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, and Linz file 6925/3709-1-DNO, Chief Judge note on Certificate of Title order

adjoining blocks. These were the surveys made by Coleridge and Sewell in 1880, who surveyed the Mangamingi and Tangahoe streams to define the boundary of the adjoining Aratawa block, and their survey of the Raoraomouka block, which defined the Taumatamahoe block's boundary inland from the Whanganui River. The boundary of the Pohokura block was made in 1884 by Palmerston and Scott and defined the Taranaki side of the southern boundary. The Pahautuhia block was surveyed in 1890 by J. Skinner. Its boundary with the Taumatamahoe block is known as Skinner's Traverse. A calculation by line based on connections between central points on the Whakaihuwaka and Mangamingi streams, completed the southern boundary.¹²⁸ The northern boundary was established by the survey of the adjoining Whitianga block in 1891-92.¹²⁹ This completed the survey of Taumatamahoe.

A survey plan of Taumatamahoe was compiled from the surveys of the surrounding blocks, and from the position of the confiscation line and the Whanganui River. The survey plan was signed by the Taranaki Chief Surveyor in February 1892 and forwarded to Judge O'Brien for approval.¹³⁰ O'Brien signed by compiled map on 19 March 1892. The map is numbered ML 249. The production of a compiled survey map of Taumatamahoe from information held by the survey office saved the block's owners the cost of an actual or physical survey of the block's boundaries, which would have been charged to them as a survey lien had one been carried out. However it could also be seen as unjust that claimants should have had to pay to establish title to their ancestral lands.

The position of the block and surveying was summarised in a letter of 1904 from the Chief Surveyor to the General Surveyor:

The Court plan of Block was completed in the year 1892 in this office from surrounding survey; no actual survey of the block itself ever having been made.¹³¹

The lack of a survey plan based on an actual survey of the block, rather than a compilation from a number of surveys of surrounding areas, remains controversial. In October 1993 Mark Koro Cribb, a descendant of Tamahaki, wrote to Douglas Graham, the Minister of Maori Affairs, alleging procedural irregularities in the survey of the Taumatamahoe block, in terms of the Native Land Court Act 1880, sections 27-33. The Minister replied by agreeing that the 1880 Act required a survey plan to be made and stating that a survey plan of Taumatamahoe was made in 1892. The plan was approved by the Chief Surveyor of the Taranaki Land District on 20 February 1892. Judge O'Brien, of the Native Land Court, approved the plan on 19 April 1892, after it had been made available for inspection and no objection had been made. The Minister, Douglas Graham, stated in his letter to Mark Cribb, that the plan was compiled from data obtained from the survey of surrounding blocks and that no actual survey of the block itself was made. He added that:

¹²⁸ Linz file, 20/8-7-SNP, Land Information New Zealand, Hamilton office, File note, unsigned, in preparation for a reply to R Holley letter of 25 November 1992

¹²⁹ Church, *The Stratford inheritance*, p.23

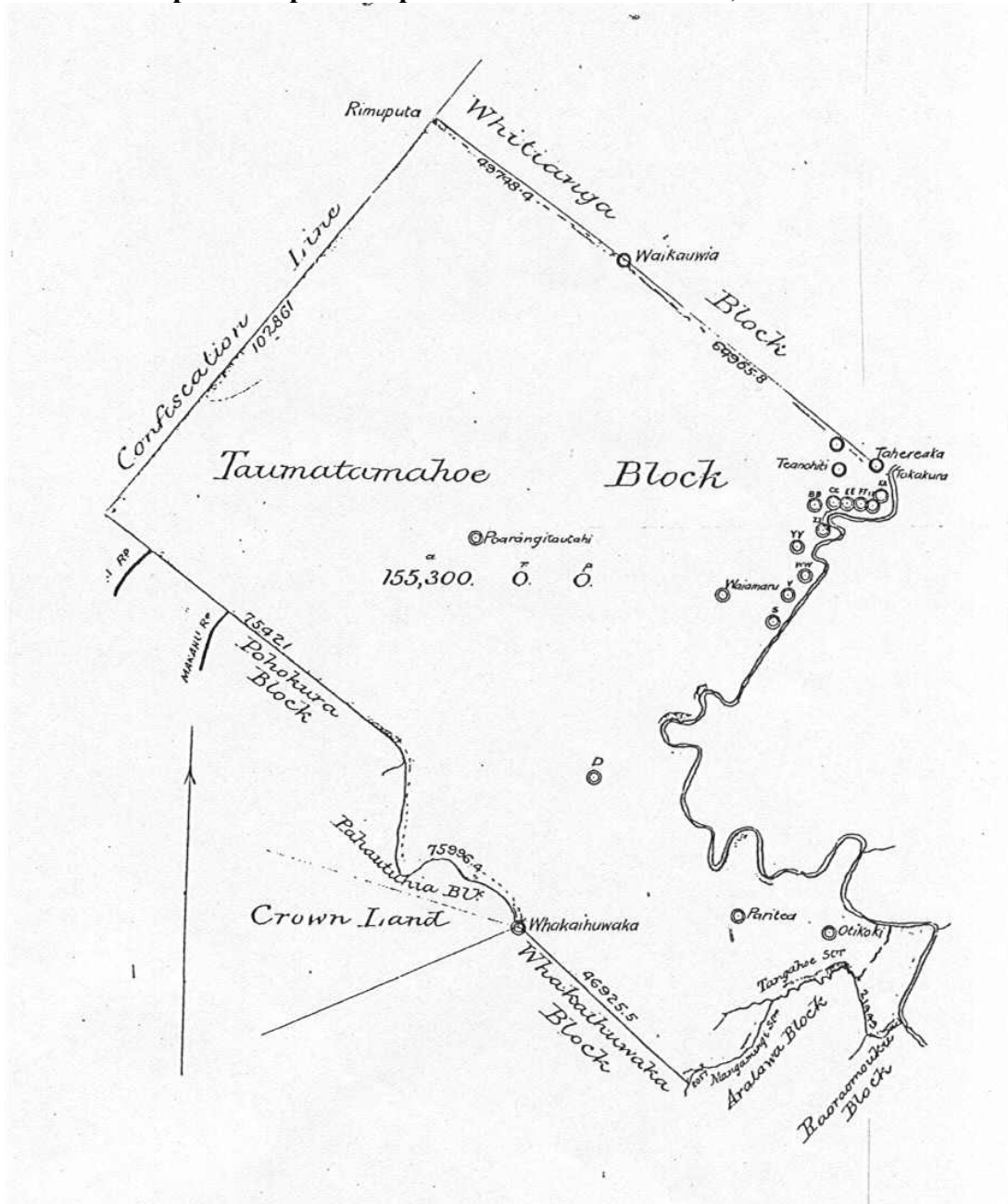
¹³⁰ MA-MLP1 1905/3, W J Butler to P Sheridan, 9 April 1892, Archives New Zealand, Wellington

¹³¹ Ibid, Chief Surveyor to General Surveyor, 27 October 1904

the Acting Surveyor General says compiled plans were and continue to be regularly made for the purpose of depiction of a particular area of land on a survey plan. Surveys of boundaries of surrounding blocks are considered satisfactory survey for the block in question.¹³²

The Minister concluded this part of his letter by saying that the Acting Surveyor General had advised him that the lack of an actual, specific survey was not a contravention of the Native Land Court Act 1880.

1.1.1.1.2 Map 5: Compiled map of Taumatamahoe block, 1892



Source: LINZ 6925/3709-1-DNO.

¹³² Linz file 20/8-7-SNP, D Graham, Minister of Maori Affairs, to Mark Koro Cribb, 2 December 1992

In 1995, despite the reply from the Minister, Mark Koro Cribb and Larry Ngakoata Ponga made a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal, (Wai 555), which concerned land adjacent to the Whanganui River, particularly the Taumatamahoe block. The claim was made for the descendants of Tamahaki, who had been recognised by the Native Land Court as the owners of Taumatamahoe and a number of other land blocks bordering the Whanganui River. The claim states:

No survey of the Taumatamahoe Block has ever been completed for the purpose(s) of the issue of a title as is required by sections 27-33 of the Native Land Court Act 1880. Therefore until such time as title is issued the Block remains Maori multiply owned free-hold land. Despite this, a number of settlers, with the support of the Crown, have taken up farmlands and in remaining sections of the Block, the Department of Conservation has established a national park and other conservation areas.¹³³

The claim from Mark Koro Cribb and Larry Ngakoata Ponga is for the return of the Taumatamahoe block of 155,300 acres to the ownership of the descendants of Tamahaki on the grounds that a proper survey of the block was never carried out and a certificate of title was not issued.

2.6 Conclusion

Little investigation of the claims to ownership of the Taumatamahoe block was undertaken by the 1886 Native Land Court hearing to determine the block's title. The block was claimed for the descendants of Tamahaki. As there was no objection, the Court ordered the drawing up of name lists and awarded the block to 472 of Tamahaki's descendants. No application for a rehearing was made by Whanganui Maori, which suggests that they considered the award correct. The Court declared Taumatamahoe inalienable, except by lease. This may indicate that the owners thought the block would be a reserve for them.

The descendants of Tamahaki, to whom Taumatamahoe was awarded, belonged to numerous hapu of the Whanganui iwi. The only group which had a claim to Taumatamahoe and was left out of the award was Ngati Maru, a Taranaki iwi. Their spokesmen later said they were unaware of the Taumatamahoe hearing and would have claimed half the block had they known the block's ownership was being heard. The Ngati Maru claim to have occupied part of Taumatamahoe was accepted by the Whanganui Appellate Court at the rehearing of the ownership of the Whitianga block in 1895, and Ngati Maru was awarded compensation in the Whitianga block.

The Wai 555 statement of claim alleges that no survey of the Taumatamahoe block has ever been completed for the purposes of the issue of a certificate of title, as required by sections 27-33 of the Native Land Court Act 1880. The ownership of the Taumatamahoe block was heard by the Court with its boundaries shown by a sketch map, and, in accordance with section 27 of the 1880 Act, the Court did require that a survey map be made before certificates of title were issued. A survey plan of

¹³³ Linz file 6925/3709-1-DNO, M K Cribb and L N Ponga, Waitangi Tribunal Claim Application, 15 September 1995, National Office, Wellington

Taumatamahoe was compiled in 1892 from the surveys of surrounding blocks, and approved by the Chief Surveyor of the Taranaki Land District.

The accuracy of the compiled survey map is not in dispute; the boundaries it shows are the Whanganui River, the Taranaki confiscation line, and the surveyed boundaries of the surrounding blocks. Wai 555 claims the law was not carried out in that it required a specific survey of the block followed by the issue of a certificate of title to the owners. Instead of carrying out a survey of the block the Crown commenced the purchasing shares in the block from the 472 owners to whom the Court had awarded the land. These were the owners of the land, registered under section 25 of the Native Land Court Act 1880, and the purchasing of shares from them was not illegal. Section 27 required a survey before the issuing of a certificate of title, but it did not prevent registered owners from selling their shares without a certificate of title. Wai 555 seeks to invalidate all Crown purchasing in the Taumatamahoe block as it took place without the issue of a certificate of title although the course followed by the Crown in the survey of Taumatamahoe was, according to advice received by the Minister of Maori Affairs in 1992, the same as it followed in many other Maori land blocks.

Chapter 3. The Crown purchase of Taumatamahoe to 1899

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the Crown's purchase of undivided, individual shares in the Taumatamahoe block from some of the block's owners. The purchases followed the Native Land Court title determination of 1886 and were authorised by the Native Minister in 1889. There was considerable protest against the Crown's purchase of undivided, individual shares in the block. The chapter includes a section on the Kotahitanga, a Maori political movement associated with boycotts of the Native Land Court and which from 1892 sought a separate Maori Parliament. The use of finance from the railway loan legislation in the acquisition of shares in Taumatamahoe is also described.

The chapter discusses the 1893 determination of the Crown award in the Taumatamahoe block by the Native Land Court and the boycott of the hearing by the owners of the block who had not sold their shares. The Crown received the Taumatamahoe No.1 block from the 1893 determination of its interest in the Taumatamahoe block. In 1896 a second definition of the Crown award took place and at this hearing the claim was made that the Court ought to have determined the relative interests in the block before Crown purchasing commenced. A petition followed that opposed the Crown's assumption that each of the 472 shares in the block were of equal value. These claims were considered by the Government but had no effect. Crown purchasing on undivided, individual interests continued and a third determination of the Crown's interest was made in 1899. The three awards placed most of the block in Crown ownership.

3.2 The commencement of Crown purchase

The Crown purchase of Taumatamahoe began with the purchase of Tangarakau, the land between the Whanganui, Tangarakau and Ohura rivers. The Tangarakau block was never taken to the Native Land Court for the determination of its ownership title, and it ceased to exist after the cancellation of its survey in 1880. The downstream part of the Tangarakau block, from the junction of the Tangarakau and Whanganui rivers to Tahereake on the Whanganui River, became part of the later Taumatamahoe block. The advance payments made on the Tangarakau block, which had been made before its ownership was determined, became part of the Crown interest in the Taumatamahoe block.¹³⁴

The determination of the ownership title of the Taumatamahoe block was carried out by the Native Land Court in February and March 1886. Sheridan advised Lewis in May that shares were being purchased in a block adjoining Taumatamahoe for 1s 6d per acre and recommended this as the purchase price for Taumatamahoe. In September Sheridan calculated that at that price, and taking into account the previous advance of £2000 made for shares in Tangarakau, each share in Taumatamahoe was

¹³⁴ MA-MLP1 1905/3, P Sheridan, file note, 5 December 1888, Archives New Zealand, Wellington

worth £18.¹³⁵ This suggests that the advances made by the Crown in Tangarakau were recovered from the purchase price paid for Taumatamahoe, although the defunct Tangarakau block was only partly included in the Taumatamahoe block.

In November 1886, Eruini Rangihau offered to sell his share in Taumatamahoe.¹³⁶ The following year Sheridan asked Butler if there had been any offers to sell shares in Taumatamahoe and how the purchase should be completed as an advance had been made on the block. Butler replied that although there had been no offers to sell recently he had no doubt many owners would sell at the proposed price. He added that the advance money was paid on the upper part of the block.¹³⁷ This was part of the old Tangarakau block.

Butler informed Lewis on 3 February 1889 that Te Keepa and others were trying to persuade owners not to sell their shares in Taumatamahoe. He thought, however, that at the proposed price the Government could acquire as many shares as the land purchase officers had money for. He added that although a small advance might be necessary to tempt some of the principal owners, the average price need not exceed 2s per acre. The purchase by the Crown of further interests in Taumatamahoe block was approved by the Native Minister in early February 1889.¹³⁸ Lewis informed Sheridan that the Minister wanted the price to be kept as low as possible and not to exceed 2s per acre. Sheridan then told Butler to purchase as many shares as possible at £23 each, and not to exceed £30 per share. The reopening of the Crown purchase of Taumatamahoe was opposed by a petition in 1889 from Topia Turoa and a number of the block's owners and by Te Rangihuatau.¹³⁹ The first shares in the block were sold on 12 February 1889.¹⁴⁰ A full share in the block was held by each of the 472 owners to whom the block had been awarded. Part shares in the block were held by their successors. As Taumatamahoe was then considered to contain 146,000 acres, each full share equalled 309 acres 1 rood 13 perches.

A comparison of the owners of Taumatamahoe with the ownership list for the Waimarino block found 15% of the names on both lists, and about 20% if similar names are used. A comparison with other neighbouring blocks would probably produce a similar result. The owners of Taumatamahoe had interests in other blocks. Some, such as Ema Hipango and Topine Topia, probably had wide ranging interests. This may also be the case with the members of the Tuwharetoa family found on both lists. The total land interests of the owners of Taumatamahoe is not known but it seems likely that most of those who sold their interests in Taumatamahoe had interests in other areas. The Ngati Maru on the list, for example, probably had other interests in the upper-Waitara River district.

¹³⁵ Ibid, Sheridan to Davis, 8 September 1886

¹³⁶ Ibid, Eruini Rangihau to Lewis, 5 November 1886

¹³⁷ Ibid, Butler to Sheridan, 29 September 1887

¹³⁸ Ibid, T W Lewis, Under Secretary, Native Land Purchase Department, to P Sheridan, 7 February 1889

¹³⁹ Ibid, Te Rangihuatau to Native Minister, 8 March 1889

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, 'Taumatamahoe (about 146,000 acres). Alphabetical list of owners' p.3

3.3 Topia Turoa's petition

Topia Turoa and 126 others' petition to the Native Minister in February 1889 stated that when Taumatamahoe was before the Court it had been agreed the block would be restricted from sale until the Court had subdivided it among the hapu included in its title. Instead of waiting for the Court to carry this out, the Crown had commenced the purchase of undivided, individual interests from some of the owners. The petitioners said they were deeply grieved that Crown purchasing had commenced before the shares or portions of the respective hapu had been awarded. They asked the Minister for a subdivision of the block and for the cessation of the purchasing of shares in the block.¹⁴¹ A division of a land block could be made by the Native Land Court, on the application of tribe or hapu or individuals to whom the land had been granted, under the Native Land Division Act 1882.¹⁴² It does not appear that an application was made for a division of Taumatamahoe before the commencement of Crown purchasing, but according to the petitioners this had been agreed to at the Native Land Court hearing in 1886.

Sheridan asked Butler to look through the petition's signatures to see if they were owners and if they had sold their shares for past advances. He suggested that the petition had been organised by a European and asked if the handwriting could be identified. Butler replied, identifying some of the signatures as those of owners, and saying that although the handwriting could not be identified the letter was addressed by W. W. Hipango. He was an owner of Taumatamahoe and an interpreter. Sheridan noted in May 1889 that Topia Turoa was not an owner of Taumatamahoe and that many of the signatories to the petition had already sold their shares in the block to the Government.¹⁴³

In March 1889, Te Rangihuatau wrote to the Native Minister asking why he had not been informed that Taumatamahoe had been opened for sale. He claimed it had been understood by the Native Land Court that Taumatamahoe was 'to be reserved for the benefit of the future Maori race'.¹⁴⁴ He was informed in reply that the owners of the block were free to dispose of their interests individually and that therefore there was no need to inform him that purchasing of shares had commenced. This meant the ownership of the land had been individualised and was no longer in tribal estate, nor was there any tribal authority over the block.

In August 1889, Heremaia Te Whero and others petitioned the Native Minister over the price of shares in Taumatamahoe. They stated they were afraid to sell their shares in the block in case the price was to increase later. This, the petitioners said, had happened in the Waimarino block, where some owners had sold their shares for £35 each and others had received much larger amounts. The petition also noted that in Waimarino reserves were provided for the sellers, but this was not being done in Taumatamahoe. In many cases, when the Crown purchased land, part of the block was set aside from the sale and remained to the former owners of the block. In response to

¹⁴¹ Ibid, Topia Turoa and 126 others to the Native Minister, 26 February 1889

¹⁴² D V Williams, *Te Kooti Tango Whenua*, p. 289

¹⁴³ Ibid, P Sheridan, file note, 10 May 1889

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, Te Rangihuatau to Native Minister, 8 March 1889

the petition, Sheridan advised Lewis that Heremaia was not an owner and commented that he was 'well aware of the price'.¹⁴⁵ No reply appears to have been made to the question of the lack of reserves in the Taumatamahoe block, raised by the petitioners.

Another matter in connection with the question of reserves in the Taumatamahoe block, was the claim made, in 1900, to a block of land named Te Rautawhiri, which was made by Te Rangihuatau in a letter to the Premier.¹⁴⁶ He claimed that Te Rautawhiri had been taken from him and included in the Taumatamahoe block. Te Rangihuatau said the land had been purposefully left out of the sale of Raoraomouku, Aratawa and Taumatamahoe blocks to provide support for his younger brothers, sisters, and cousins. He said Judge Ward, of the Native Land Court, had decided against the claim, on 20 December of the previous year. A report was made by a Native Land Purchase official named Jones. He reported that the Native Land Court had sat at Pipiriki and that this case had been mentioned. In the absence of a survey map of Te Rautawhiri a description of the land was given by Te Rangihuatau and sent to a survey office. This was probably the survey office in New Plymouth. Jones continued that the survey office had said that as far as they could see the land in question was part of the Taumatamahoe block.¹⁴⁷ On receiving this information the Native Land Court told Te Rangihuatau that the land he claimed was part of Taumatamahoe and decided against his claim. The case does not appear in the Native Land Court minute book, but the Court did sit at Pipiriki on 20 December 1899.¹⁴⁸ Sheridan noted that 'Ruatawhiri is a portion of Taumatamahoe in which block the writer (Te Rangihuatau) has sold his interest'.¹⁴⁹ The land that Te Rangihuatau was claiming, was a block of land in southern Taumatamahoe, along the Whanganui River, and in the neighbouring Aratawa and Raoraomouku blocks. The land was near Parinui and was in the area where most Maori non-sellers lived, and in the most fertile part of the Taumatamahoe block. Te Rangihuatau approved the boundaries of the Taumatamahoe block on the application for the determination of the title to the block by the Court in 1886.¹⁵⁰ He claimed he had left out land for the support of his relatives but his claim was not supported by maps of the block held by the Lands and Survey Department.. It is not clear how extensive the land block Te Ruatawhiri was.

3.4 The 1893 determination of the Crown interest

Topia Turoa's 1889 petition, and Te Rangihuatau's protest against the purchase of undivided individual shares, were among numerous protests and petitions against the Native land laws, the operation of the Native Land Court and its decisions, and dubious alienations, sent to the Government each year by Maori.¹⁵¹ When the Native Minister, John Ballance, toured marae in 1884 and 1885 he heard many requests for Maori to be able to control the remaining lands they had, without being subject to the authority of the Native Land Court. In 1888 meetings were held at Waiomatatini, Omaahu and Waitangi following which a meeting of chiefs and tribes at Putiki in

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, Sheridan to Lewis, 4 September 1889

¹⁴⁶ MA-MLP1 1905/3, Te Rangihuatau to the Premier, 6 January 1900

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, Jones, file note, 22 December 1900

¹⁴⁸ Whanganui Native Land Court minute book 42, 20 December 1899, fol. 269 and fol. 326

¹⁴⁹ MA-MLP1 1905/3, Sheridan, file note, 3 January 1900

¹⁵⁰ Whanganui Native Land Court minute book 9, 22 February 1886, fol. 189

¹⁵¹ D V Williams, *Te Kooti Tango Whenua*, p.96

Whanganui drew up and sent to Parliament a draft bill to empower the Native committees, set up in 1883, to act as a Native Land Court.¹⁵² The meetings showed a developing unity among Maori and a belief that as Europeans had failed to make good laws Maori should be able to instead.

Crown purchasing of shares in Taumatamahoe began in February 1889 and by the early 1890s the Crown had purchased sufficient shares to claim more than half the block. There was now pressure on the Government to purchase Taumatamahoe to allow the expansion of settlement in Taranaki. In 1891 the Stratford settlers held a public meeting to urge the Government to complete the purchase.¹⁵³ The Native Minister, A.D. Cadman, replied that shares were being purchased but that this was time consuming as there were numerous shares in the block. Taumatamahoe (spelt Taumatamahoe) was listed in a report on Maori land in 1891 as unproductive land, with none of its 146,000 acres used for pastoral or agricultural purposes. The block was described in the report as being under negotiation.¹⁵⁴

A request for a separate Maori Parliament, with limited powers, was sent to Queen Victoria by Maori in 1891 and in the same year a delegation of 30 chiefs went to Wellington to ask that Maori district committees be given the power to adjudicate land titles. The Native Land Laws Commission of 1891 made the same recommendation.¹⁵⁵ The Government, however, remained under pressure to obtain land for settlement. An example of this was a public meeting held in Stratford, which urged the Government to complete the purchase of Taumatamahoe.

In January 1892, Sheridan gave instructions that liens, or debts held against the Taumatamahoe block, and the cost of any Government surveys affecting the block, should be lodged against the block and its adjoining blocks. This was a step towards taking Taumatamahoe to the Native Land Court for award to the Crown of land in the block equivalent to the shares it had purchased. S. Percy Smith, the Surveyor General, believed that 200 settlers could be found immediately to take the land there and wanted the purchase completed before railway completion increased its value. The Stratford Small Farms Association sent a delegation to Wellington to ask for the opening for settlement of the Whangamomona basin, which was in the Taumatamahoe block.¹⁵⁶

Butler informed Sheridan in April 1892 that some of the remaining owners of Taumatamahoe were holding out for a higher price and asked if he could offer £30 per share. He added that McDonnell, who was acting as an agent for some of the owners, was asking for £35 per acre.¹⁵⁷ Sheridan replied that the price per share was not to exceed £30.

Crown pre-emption, or the establishing of a Crown monopoly of purchasing over a Maori land block was reintroduced by section 16 of the Native Land Purchases Act

¹⁵² 'Native views on Native Land legislation', AJHR, 1888, G-7, p.1

¹⁵³ Ibid, Marchant to Native Minister, 15 October 1891

¹⁵⁴ 'Native Land in the Colony (particulars respecting the)', AJHR, 1891, G-10, p.49

¹⁵⁵ V O'Malley, *Agents of autonomy. Maori committees in the nineteenth century*, Huia Publishers, Wellington, 1998, p.210

¹⁵⁶ Church, *The Stratford inheritance*, p.82 and p.140

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, Butler to Sheridan, 8 April 1892, Archives New Zealand, Wellington

1892.¹⁵⁸ This legislation, however, was not used by the Crown in the purchase of shares in the Taumatamahoe block.

The petition to the Queen failed to produce any result. Maori then began to attempt to establish a separate political system, and to withdraw from the Native Land Court. At a meeting at Parekino, in the lower Whanganui district, in January 1892, Major Kemp stated that it was of no use to send letters to the Government as they would be replied to by deceit. The meeting then agreed to put no more land through the Native Land Court and to abstain from land sales.¹⁵⁹ Kemp's scepticism towards the Government was confirmed later that year when an amendment by James Carroll, Member of Parliament for Eastern Maori, to give effect to the recommendation of the 1891 commission failed to gain a second reading.¹⁶⁰ The Kotahitanga movement, a union for a separate Maori Parliament, was formed in April 1892, at a meeting at Waitangi.¹⁶¹

The determination of the Crown award in Taumatamahoe was made in 1893, in a context of political agitation for independence, or at least autonomy, and a boycott of the Native Land Court. Butler later wrote that he had tried to persuade the non-sellers to attend the Court but they would not as 'their chiefs did not recognise the Court'.¹⁶² An owner named Rewai Te Pokaitara, who later petitioned against the Crown's purchase of individual, undivided interests in the block, stayed away from the 1893 Court hearing, as did other non-sellers.¹⁶³ His 1896 petition, against the Crown's assumption that all 472 shares in the block were of equal value and for a rehearing of relative interests in the block, is discussed in section 3.7.

Despite the boycott, the Native Land Court heard the Crown's application for the determination of its interest in the Taumatamahoe block on 22 March 1893. The block was then estimated to contain 155,300 acres. W. J. Butler, the land purchase officer for the Whanganui district, asked the Court for a Crown award, cut off from the block by a line running parallel to the confiscation line, and thereby giving the Crown the Taranaki side of the block. He said that as far as he knew the non-sellers agreed to this as it left them their settlements on the Whanganui and Tangarakau rivers.¹⁶⁴ However, the non-sellers and their interests were not represented at the Court hearing. Judge R. Ward acted entirely on the evidence of W. J. Butler, and no other witnesses addressed the Court. Ward divided the block on the basis of each share being of equal value. This meant the petition of Topia Turoa and 126 others for the subdivision of the block between the owning hapu before purchasing was disregarded. Butler, however, later wrote that he had informally met the non-sellers in Whanganui and they had agreed to the division of the block. He also stated that the part of the block awarded to the

¹⁵⁸ T Brooking, ' "Bursting up" the greatest estate of all', in *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. 26, no. 1, April 1992, p.85

¹⁵⁹ J A Williams, *Politics of the New Zealand Maori, protest and co-operation, 1891-1909*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, p.51

¹⁶⁰ O'Malley, p.210

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, p.52

¹⁶² MA-MLP1 1905/3, Butler to Chief Judge, 12 October 1896

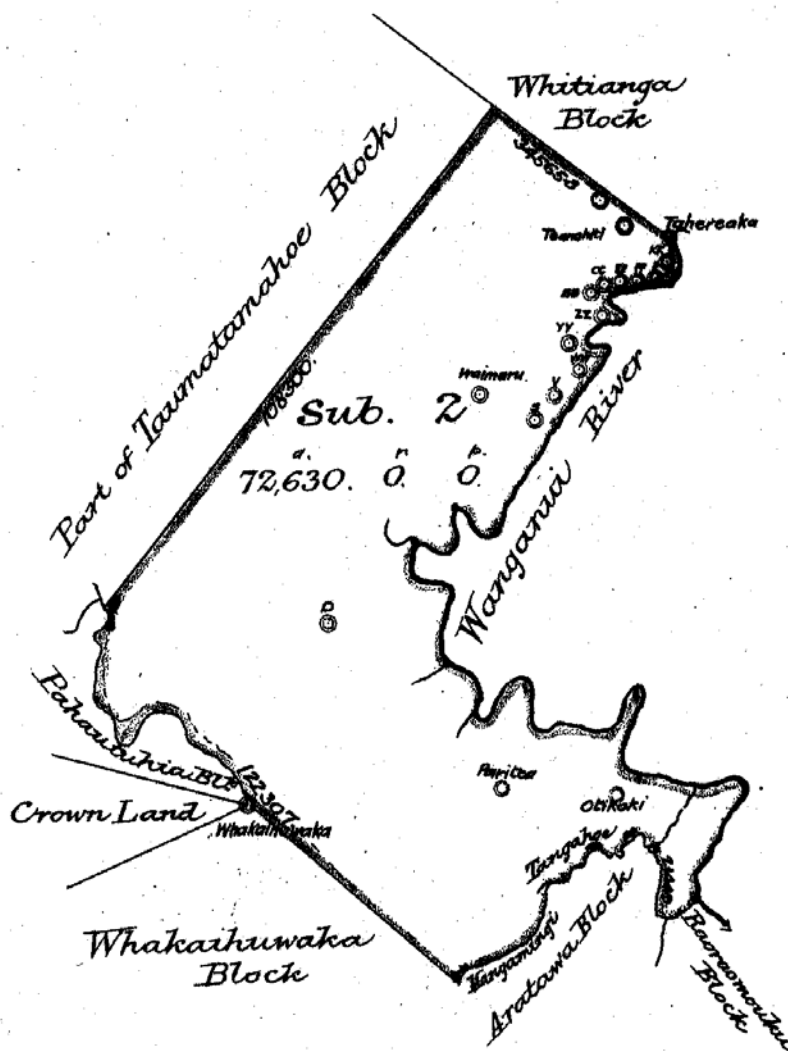
¹⁶³ *Ibid*, Ward to Chief Judge, 6 April 1897

¹⁶⁴ Judge Ward Native Land Court minute book 17, 23 March 1893, fol. 287

Crown had not been occupied by Maori for several generations and most of it was unsuitable for them.¹⁶⁵

The Crown held 247 shares and was awarded 82,670 acres in the block. Each share now equalled 334 acres. The Crown Award became Taumatamahoe No.1 block and was on the Waitara, or Taranaki, side of the block, away from the Whanganui River. The remainder of the block, amounting to 72,630 acres, was awarded to the non-sellers in the block and became Taumatamahoe No.2 block. There were 232 non-sellers and they owned the 217 and 27/28 shares that comprised the Taumatamahoe No.2 block.¹⁶⁶ No reserves were set aside for the sellers in the Crown award lands of the Taumatamahoe block.

Map 6 Taumatamahoe No.2 block (Non-sellers' award 1893)



Source: Taumatamahoe Block Order- Aotea Maori Land Court Whanganui. WH330/ File 1

¹⁶⁵ MA-MLP1 1905/3, Judge W J Butler, report on petition 475/96, 12 October 1896

¹⁶⁶ Wanganui Native Land Court minute book 29, 22 June 1896, fol. 338

The 1893 Crown award of 82,670 acres in Taumatamahoe was purchased for 2s per acre and cost £8,738 1s 9d. All of this amount came from the North Island Main Trunk Railway Loan.¹⁶⁷

The Crown purchase of shares in Taumatamahoe was regulated by, among other Acts, the Native Lands Frauds Prevention Act 1881, and the subsequent Amendment Act 1888. These Acts appointed a trust commissioner to ensure that Maori selling land had sufficient land left for their support. The Trust Commission minute books for Taumatamahoe have not been located.

3.5 The Railway Loan Legislation

In August 1886, the Government passed the North Island Main Trunk Railway Loan Application Act 1886. This Act authorised the expenditure of £1,000,000 on construction of the main trunk railway line. From this amount £100,000 could be spent on the purchase of Maori and other land within the area reserved for Crown pre-emption by the Native Land Alienation Restriction Act 1884. By this Act, the Government established a monopoly on the purchase of all the land, which was Maori owned and comprised 4,500,000 acres, which was likely to be increased in value by the construction of the railway.¹⁶⁸ The purpose of this legislation was to ensure that the Government gained the profit from the increased value of land, resulting from the railway, which the Government had constructed.

The area of Crown pre-emption defined in the schedule to the 1884 Act enclosed an area which began near Pirongia, at the junction of the Waipa and Punui rivers; went to the Waikato River; then to Oruaiwi, east of Taumarunui; then to the Whanganui River; then north-east to Lake Rotoaira, a lake south of Lake Taupo; then to the Rangitikei and Turakina rivers. The boundary then went to the Whanganui River, and along the Whanganui River to the Whangamomona River. It then went to the Taranaki confiscation line and from there to the coast, along the coast to the Mokau River and returned to the Pirongia area.¹⁶⁹

The schedule to the Act partly included part of the Taumatamahoe block as the boundary of the Act's area went along the Whanganui River to the Whangamomona River and then to the confiscation line. This included approximately the northern two-thirds of the Taumatamahoe block in the area reserved for Crown pre-emption. An anomaly exists, however, as Tangarakau, the earlier block which comprised the northern part of Taumatamahoe, is listed as a block outside the boundaries of section 4, subsection 5 of the 1886 Act in a report of 1888.¹⁷⁰ The report describes the Tangarakau block as comprising 70,000 acres and says the Government had spent £2,028 on the purchase of shares in the block up to 1884. Despite this inconsistency, it appears that most of the Taumatamahoe block was included in the area of the 1884 Act.

¹⁶⁷ 'Lands purchased and leased from Natives in North Island to 31 March 1893', AJHR, 1893, G-4, p.2

¹⁶⁸ *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Volume 53, 28 August 1885, pp.354-5

¹⁶⁹ Native Land Alienation Restriction Act, 1884, schedule, *New Zealand Statutes*, 1884, p. 256

¹⁷⁰ 'Native Land Purchases in the North Island', AJHR, 1888, G-2, p.4

The North Island Main Trunk Railway Loan Application Amendment Act 1892 had a schedule with the same boundaries as the 1884 Act, as regards the Whanganui and Whangamomona rivers and the Taumatamahoe block. In 1893, the officer-in-charge of the Native Land Purchase Office reported that, up to 31 March 1892, £7,719 7s 11d had been spent by the Crown on the purchase of the 82,670 acre Taumatamahoe No.1 block. A further £1,018 13s 10d had been expended in the current year and the block had been fully acquired for a total of £8,738 1s 9d. All money spent on purchasing the Taumatamahoe No.1 block came from the North Island Main Trunk Railway Loan.¹⁷¹ Subsequent expenditure by the Crown made in the purchase of interests in the Taumatamahoe No.2 block were made with funds authorised under the Native Land Purchase Act 1892.¹⁷²

The land obtained by the Crown in Taumatamahoe using finance from the North Island Main Trunk Railway Loan, Taumatamahoe No.1 block, was land through which one of the proposed routes for the North Island Main Trunk Railway Line passed.¹⁷³ In 1884, the Government decided to build the main trunk railway line from Marton to Te Awamutu, which bypassed Taranaki. Another railway line, built from New Plymouth, had reached Stratford in 1879. This line was connected to Foxton in 1885, and to Wellington in 1886. Constructing a line to connect Stratford with Auckland, by the main trunk line, and along the line of the earlier proposed route for the main trunk line, was the subject of four petitions to Parliament between 1886 and 1889, and was promoted by a vigilance committee, or lobby group.¹⁷⁴

The route of the proposed railway from Stratford passed through the Taumatamahoe block, and was once called the Ngaire Railway route.¹⁷⁵ Construction on this railway line, which ran north east from Stratford, began after the Government authorised expenditure of £10,000, for a line to Toko, east of Stratford, in 1900. The line reached Toko in 1902, Douglas in 1903, Huiroa in 1908, and had reached the Taumatamahoe block by 1910. After reaching Whangamomona in 1914, the line left the Taumatamahoe block before Tahora. The line was connected to the main truck line at Ongaruhe in 1933.¹⁷⁶

In 1987, Joan Akapita of the Whanganui hapu Tamaupoko, requested an inquiry by the Waitangi Tribunal into the Crown purchasing of Maori land in terms of the North Island Main Trunk Railway Loan Appropriation Act 1886. Akapita claimed that the 1886 Act authorised £100,000 for the purchase of land within the schedule of the Native Land Alienation Restriction Act 1884, but that money from that amount was used to purchase land outside the boundaries of the 1884 Act. She claimed that as no money was authorised to purchase land outside these boundaries Tamaupoko required the return of its part of these lands.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷¹ 'Native Land Purchases in the North Island', AJHR, 1893, G-4, p.2 and p.9

¹⁷² 'Native Land Purchases in the North Island', AJHR, 1894, G-3, p6 and AJHR, 1895, G-2, p.10

¹⁷³ "Map of the North Island of New Zealand showing explorations for railway routes between Auckland and Wellington", 'Public Works Statement', AJHR, 1884, D-1

¹⁷⁴ Church, *The Stratford Inheritance*, p.233

¹⁷⁵ 'Public Works Statement', AJHR, 1889, D-1, p.3

¹⁷⁶ 'Public Works Statement', AJHR, 1934-35, D-1, p.xii

¹⁷⁷ WR 12/4, vol. 1, Waitangi Tribunal claims, 1988-89, Department of Conservation, Whanganui office, Whanganui

The Crown purchase of Taumatamahoe No.1 block fall under this claim issue as part of the block is south of the Whangamomona River and therefore outside the area of the 1884 Act.

3.6 The 1896 determination of the Crown interest

Following the 1893 definition of the Crown interest in Taumatamahoe the non-sellers were left with the Taumatamahoe No.2 block, which was along the Whanganui River. The Government proceeded to purchase further shares in the Taumatamahoe No.2 block and in 1893-94 purchased shares equal to 3665 acres in the block. This is equal to less than 12 of the original 472 full shares in the block. The sellers probably did not live on the block. Not all absentee owners would have sold their shares before 1893, and some who were then resident may have left. No particular event or circumstance appears to have caused owners who had not sold before 1893 to do so afterwards. There was a steady purchase of shares that became available, which continued into the twentieth century.

The Government again paid 2s per acre and total expenditure, including incidental expenses, amounted to £245 16s 8d. None of this expenditure came from the railway loan but was financed under section 3 of the Native Land Purchases Act 1892.¹⁷⁸ Shares equal to 6519 acres were acquired in the year to 31 March 1895 and to a further 25,292 acres up to 31 March 1896. The expenditure for this, of over £1100, came from the Native Land Purchase Account.¹⁷⁹

On 22 June 1896, the Native Land Court made a determination of the Crown's interest in Taumatamahoe No.2 block. The Crown had purchased just under 59 and 1/3 shares and claimed 19,765 acres. The Court's proceedings were objected to by Te Huhu Ruwai, who said that there had been no investigation of the relative interests of the owners. He had applied for a rehearing of the ownership of the block but it had not been granted.¹⁸⁰ He also stated that he and many other owners had not been present at the 1886 Court hearing that determined the ownership of Taumatamahoe. The Court's minute book does not have a reply to Te Huhu Ruwai's objection. Possibly it was not recorded, or the Court may have noted that his application for a rehearing of the block's title had been dismissed. The Court then awarded the Crown the 19,765 acres it had claimed. This became Taumatamahoe No.2A block.¹⁸¹ The new Crown award block was a strip of land parallel to, and adjoining Taumatamahoe No.1, the first Crown award. This area was an inland area, away from the settlements of the non-sellers on the Whanganui River. The Crown had paid £5525 for Taumatamahoe No.2A block.¹⁸² The remainder of Taumatamahoe amounted to 52,865 acres and became Taumatamahoe No.2B block. It was owned by 165 non-sellers.

¹⁷⁸ 'Lands purchased and leased from Natives in the North Island to 31 March 1894', AJHR, 1894, G-3, p.6

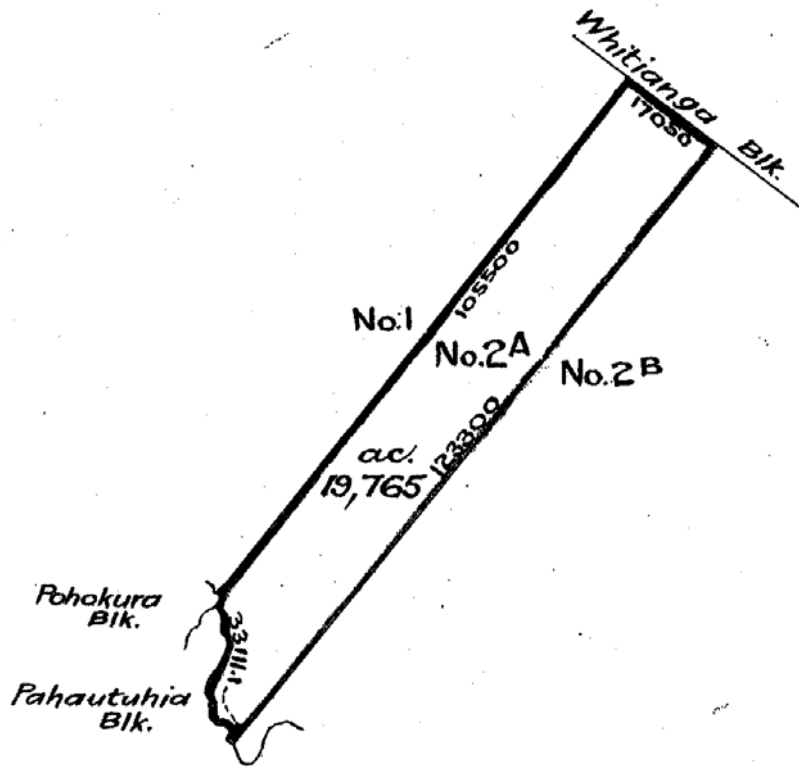
¹⁷⁹ 'Lands purchased and leased from Natives in the North Island to 31 March 1895', AJHR, 1895, G-2, p.10 and AJHR, 1896, G-2, p.11

¹⁸⁰ Wanganui Native Land Court minute book 29, 22 June 1896, fol. 338

¹⁸¹ 'Lands purchased and leased from Natives in the North Island to 31 March 1897', AJHR, 1897, G-3, p.4

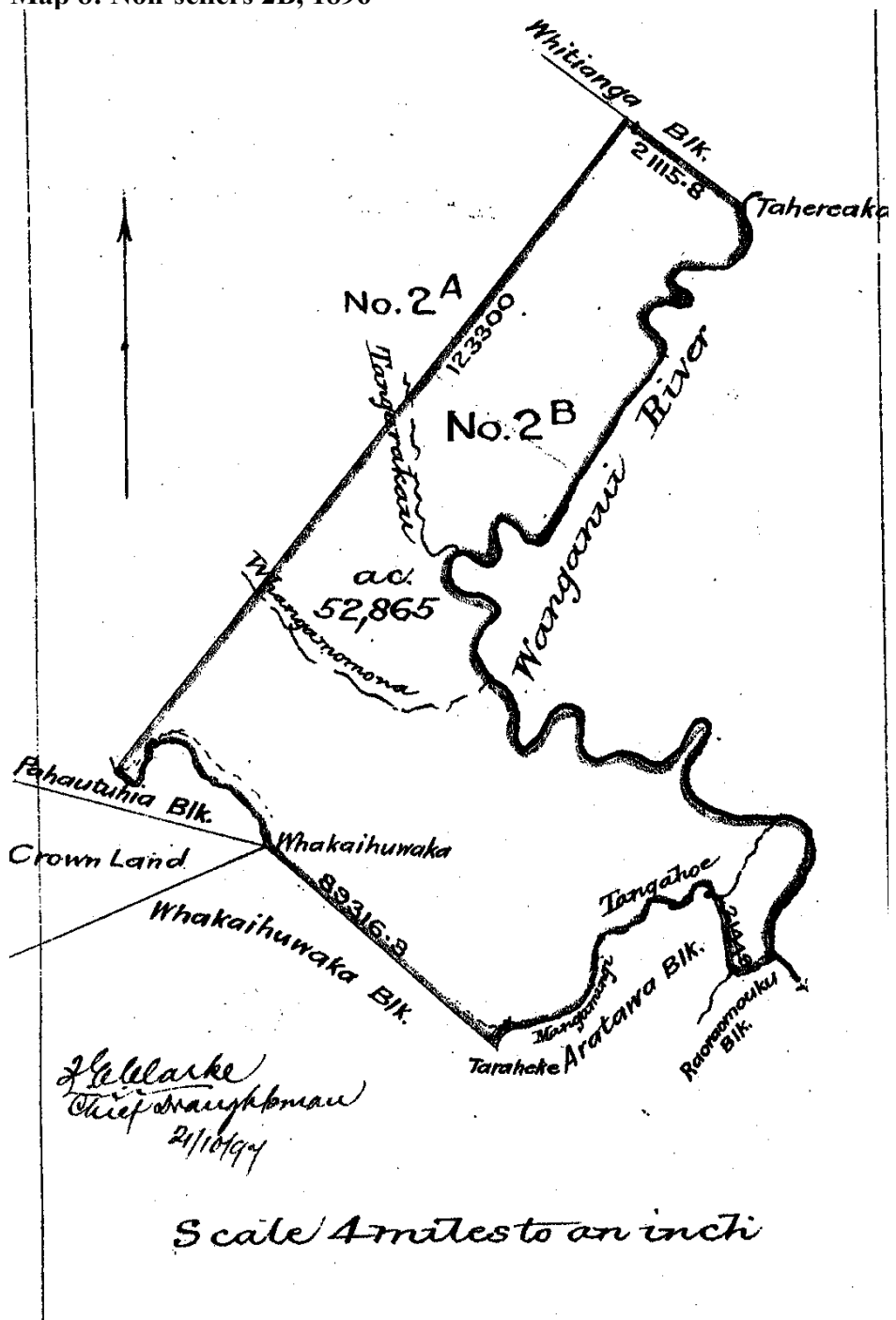
¹⁸² *Crown land acquisitions, Wanganui River Region, 1881-1916*, Department of Lands and Survey,

Map 7: Crown award 2A, 1896



Source: Taumatamahoe Block Order- Aotea Maori Land Court Whanganui. WH330/File 1.

Map 8: Non-sellers 2B, 1896



Source: Taumatamahoe Block Order- Aotea Maori Land Court Whanganui. WH330/ File 2.3.7 Rewai Te Pokaitara's petition

Te Huhu Ruwai, who applied for a rehearing of the ownership of the Taumatamahoe block, may be the same person as Rewai Te Pokaitara, who, with 43 others, petitioned the Government in 1896 for a readjustment of the relative interests in the block. His petition objected to equal shares in the block and said that the owners who had sold their shares knew that if relative interests in the block were heard by the Court, their shares would be very small. This was, according to Rewai, because they were people with little entitlement in the block, such as half-castes. The petitioners, who were still

occupying the land, asked how the Land Purchase Commissioner and the Native Land Court had the power to decide the shares of each person in the block, as no application for this had been made by the block's owners. Rewai was objecting to the assumption by Government officials and the Court that each owner held equal shares in the block, when this had never been determined by the Court. The petitioners stated they had objected to the determination of the Crown's interest in 1893, which was made on the basis of each owner holding equal shares, and did so again when the Crown applied to identify and cut out further interests it had acquired in 1896. They requested a rehearing in regard to the relative interests in the block. The petition also stated that some of the petitioners had applied to the Native Land Court for the block to be subdivided, and that when the land went through the Court in 1886, it was restricted from sale and only available for leasing.

The Native Land Court purportedly determined the ownership of Maori land in accordance with Maori custom. However, no Maori custom existed to define relative interests in land. The Court therefore, in cases where it determined relative interests, applied analogies from custom. Larger shares were accordingly awarded for mana, greater occupancy, stronger ancestral claims, or greater responsibility for the land in question.¹⁸³ There was provision in the Native Land Act 1873 for proportionate shares to be determined by the Court, if this was requested by a majority of owners.¹⁸⁴ This was altered by the Native Land Court Act 1880, which allowed any Maori owner in a land block to apply for a share and for the Court to determine this. There does not appear to have been a request for proportionate shares in the Taumatamahoe block at the time of the determination of its title. In the absence of such a request the Crown proceeded to purchase shares in the block on the assumption that all shares were equal.

Rewai Te Pokaitara's petition was referred by the House of Representative's Native Affairs Committee to the Government for consideration.¹⁸⁵ W. J. Butler, a native land purchase officer in 1893 and now a Judge of the Native Land Court, wrote a report on the petition. He stated that when the Crown's claim for the interests it had acquired in Taumatamahoe had been made in 1893, he had tried to get the non-sellers to attend the Court. They had declined to do so as their chiefs did not recognise the Court's authority. This had followed an inter-tribal meeting at Parekino, in 1892, at which it had been resolved to withdraw from the Native Land Court. The non-sellers were supporters of the Kotahitanga movement, which wanted, among other things, to free Maori from the need to use the Native Land Court to determine their land titles and to empower them to do so by their own tribal committees.¹⁸⁶ Kotahitanga did not declare a boycott of the Court until 1895 but the 1893 Whanganui boycott was one of numerous local boycotts of the Court in the 1890s.¹⁸⁷

Butler stated that he had spoken to the non-sellers out of Court and they had agreed that the Crown should take as its share of Taumatamahoe the part of the block away from the Whanganui River, where they had their settlements. They had, Butler

¹⁸³ N Smith, *Maori land law*, A H and A W Reed, Wellington, 1960, p.107

¹⁸⁴ D V Williams, *Te Kooti Tango Whenua*, p342

¹⁸⁵ 'Native Affairs Committee (the report of)', AJHR, 1896, I-3, p.25

¹⁸⁶ D V Williams, *Te Kooti Tango Whenua*, pp. 95-96

¹⁸⁷ J A Williams, *Politics of the New Zealand Maori*.p.72 and O'Malley, p.211

declared, also agreed that W. W. Hipango, an interpreter, would represent them at the 1893 Court hearing. Hipango informed him that the owners did not hold equal shares in the block. However, Hipango made no objection to an award of the Crown interest being made on the basis of each share being equal provided the Crown award would be a portion of the block between the confiscation line and a line parallel to it.¹⁸⁸ He may have adopted this position as the Court was not intending to define relative, and unequal, shares in the block.

Robert Ward, the Judge of the 1893 Court hearing, also reported on the matters raised in the petition. He informed the Chief Judge that efforts had been made to get the non-sellers to attend the hearing. In their absence Ward relied on Butler's evidence and assumed that as the land before the Court was tribal land all its owners would hold equal shares. Rewai had attended the 1896 Court, to object to the lack of a determination of interests in the block, but he had not attended the Court in 1893. Ward considered that he did not have the power to redefine the interests of the non-sellers.¹⁸⁹ This reflects the defining of the shares in the block as equal during the purchase of shares from February 1889. A redefinition of the interests of the non-sellers would have had to be applied to a block already partitioned. Ward did not think he had the authority to do this.

3.8 The 1899 determination of the Crown interest

In April 1899, the Native Land Court placed a charging order for surveying of £76 8s 6d on the Taumatamahoe block. The survey charge was requested by W. Skinner, who appeared for the Chief Surveyor of the Taranaki district. He requested charging orders for a number of blocks and stated that the surveys had been made on the ground.¹⁹⁰ The charging order was made against the Taumatamahoe block, but probably means it was charged against the Taumatamahoe No.2B block and was probably for half the cost of the surveying of its boundary with the Crown award block, Taumatamahoe No.2A.

A further Crown award was made on 30 May 1899. The Crown had by then purchased over 36 shares (the minute book says 36 and part shares) in Taumatamahoe No.2B. This was equal to 12,161 acres. The Native Land Court directed that an area of this size be cut off from the north east boundary of Taumatamahoe No.2B to the Whanganui River for the Crown interest. This became Taumatamahoe 2B No.1. The residue of the block remaining to the non-sellers amounted to 40,704 acres. It became Taumatamahoe 2B No.2 block.¹⁹¹ The boundary line between 2B No.1 and 2B No.2 began at Pakiaka, by the junction of the Heao Stream and the Tangarakau River and went to the Whanganui River between the Komuriwaka and Pakorua streams. The Crown thus acquired the northern section of the Whanganui River part of the Taumatamahoe block. The Crown paid £5,286 10s for the Taumatamahoe 2B1 block.¹⁹² This part of the Taumatamahoe block, although on the Whanganui River,

¹⁸⁸ MA-MLP1 1905/3, Butler to Chief Judge, Native Land Court, 12 October 1896

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, R Ward to Chief Judge, Native Land Court, 6 April 1897

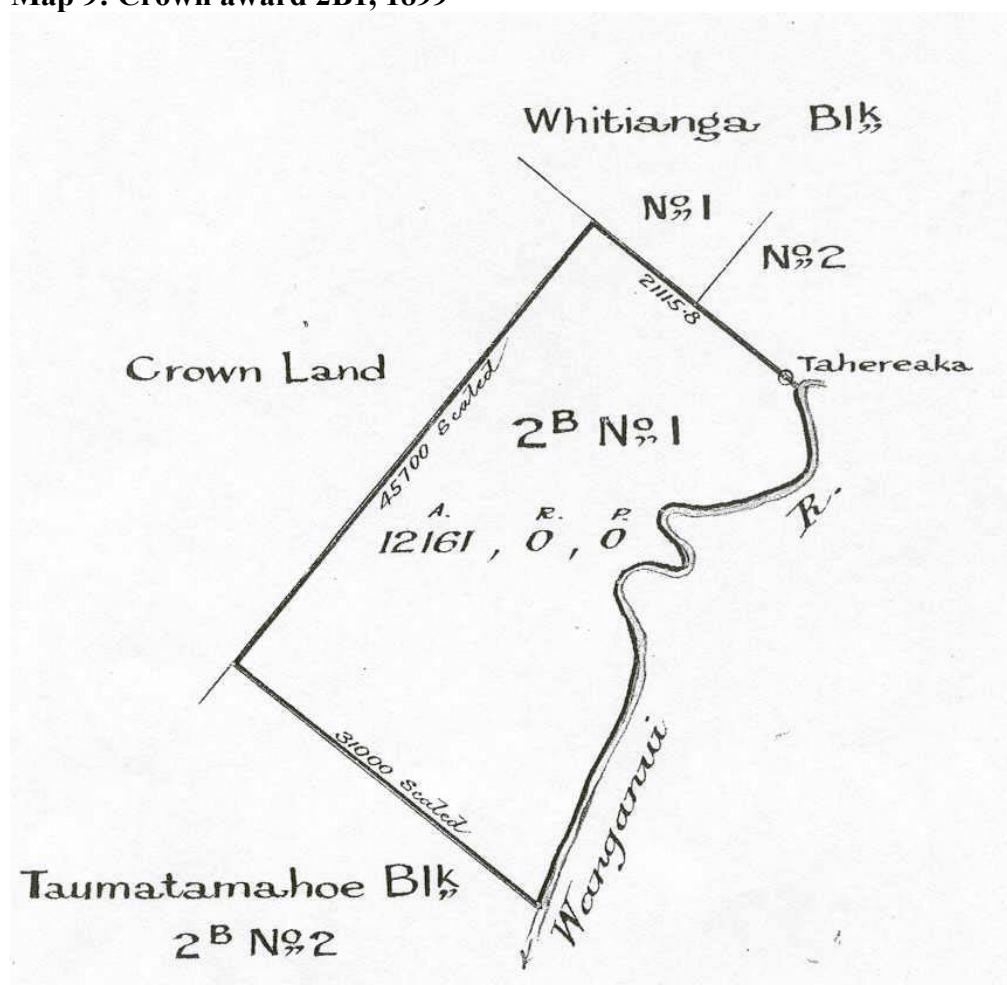
¹⁹⁰ Taranaki Native Land Court minute book 1A, 10 April 1899, fols. 79-80

¹⁹¹ Whanganui Native Land Court minute book 41, 30 May 1899, fol. 27

¹⁹² *Crown land acquisitions, Whanganui River Region, 1881-1916*, Department of Lands and Survey,

was less inhabited by the Maori non-sellers than the downstream part of the block around Parinui.

Map 9: Crown award 2B1, 1899



Source: Taumatamahoe Block Order- Aotea Maori Land Court Whanganui. WH330/ File 2.

Table 2: The Crown Awards in the Taumatamahoe block

Date	Block	Crown Award	Non-Sellers Award
1893	Taumatamahoe (155,300 acres)	Taumatamahoe No.1 (82,670 acres)	Taumatamahoe No.2 (72,630 acres)
1896	Taumatamahoe No.2 (72,630 acres)	Taumatamahoe No.2A (19,765 acres)	Taumatamahoe No.2B (52,865 acres)
1899	Taumatamahoe No.2B (52,865 acres)	Taumatamahoe No.2B1 (12,161 acres)	Taumatamahoe No.2B2 (40,704 acres)
1907	Taumatamahoe No.2B2 (40,704 acres)	Taumatamahoe No.2B2A (17,402 acres)	Taumatamahoe No.2B2B (25,163 acres)

Source: Compiled from Native Land Court minute books 1893, 1896, 1899, and 1907

3.9 Conclusion

Crown purchasing of undivided, individual shares in the Taumatamahoe block commenced in February 1889. Crown officials had no doubt that many owners would sell their shares at the proposed price, which was 2s per acre. There does not appear to have been any further inducement offered to the sellers. There was, for example, no offer to provide reserves. The only mention found of reserves was the claim made by Te Rangihuatau that it was his understanding when the block went to the Native Land Court that all of the block would be a reserve. However, it does appear that the Crown paid a reduced amount for shares in Taumatamahoe to recover advances it had made for the purchase of the Tangarakau block. As the Tangarakau block extended to the Ohura River and was only partly in the Taumatamahoe block, the Crown should have recovered only part of the advances made on Tangarakau.

The purchase of shares in the Taumatamahoe block from 1889 to 1893 was financed from the North Island Main Trunk Railway Loan. Most of the Taumatamahoe block was included in the area in which the Government could use finance from the North Island Main Trunk Railway Loan Act 1886. This area was defined by the schedule to the Native Land Alienation Restriction Act 1884, which established Crown pre-emption over the part of the North Island through which the main trunk railway was to be constructed. This included the Taumatamahoe block upriver from the junction of the Whanganui and Whangamomona rivers. The purchase of the shares from which the Crown received the Crown award block Taumatamahoe No.1 was financed from the railway loan. However, only the part of Taumatamahoe No.1 block above the Whangamomona River was inside the area of the railway loan legislation. The remainder, about 1/3rd of the Taumatamahoe No.1 block, was outside the area of the Act's schedule. One of the proposed routes for the main trunk line passed through the Taumatamahoe block, and through the part of the block which became the Taumatamahoe No.1 block. This route later became the railway line linking Stratford and the main trunk line at Ongarue.

There was considerable opposition to the purchasing by the Crown of undivided, individual interests in Taumatamahoe. In the same month that purchasing commenced Topia Turoa and 126 others petitioned for the determination of the shares of the hapu to whom the owners belonged before any purchasing took place. Te Rangihuatau objected to the purchase of individual shares and thought it had been agreed that the whole block would be a reserve. Non-sellers boycotted the 1893 determination of the Crown award in the block. Huhu Te Ruwai appeared at the 1896 determination wanting a determination of the relative interests in the block.

A similar request was made by the 1896 petition of Rewai Te Pokaitara, which objected to equal shares being held in the block and wanted a rehearing to determine relative, or individual, shares. Neither of these petitions had any effect. Rewai boycotted the 1893 determination of the Crown award in Taumatamahoe, as did other non-sellers. This was in line with protest adopted by many Maori through the Kotahitanga movement. However Rewai's presence would probably only have prolonged the 1893 Court hearing, rather than stopping its award to the Crown of the interest it claimed in the block. The original title determination of the ownership of Taumatamahoe in 1886 had not divided the block between the hapu, or decided the shares in the block held by each owner. It had only drawn up a list of owners. This enabled the Crown to purchase undivided, individual interests in the block, which

broke down tribal ownership and frustrated attempts by the non-sellers to keep the land as they did not know which part of the block was theirs. No rehearing of the Taumatamahoe block, or hearing of relative interests, was held.

The 1893 definition of the Crown award in Taumatamahoe gave the Crown the Taumatamahoe No.1 block, which contained the western and central parts of the block. This was the area wanted by the Stratford settlers for the extension of European settlement in eastern Taranaki. The Maori non-sellers were awarded the part of the block along the Whanganui River, which lessened the effect of the loss of land on them as their settlements and cultivations were in that part of the block, largely at Parinui. The part of the Taumatamahoe block which remained in Maori ownership became the Taumatamahoe No.2 block. The Crown's conduct in making purchases after 1893 of shares in the Taumatamahoe No.2 block, which resulted in the awards of 1896 and 1899, were a continuation of the earlier purchases and the resulting Crown awards also left the main areas of Maori settlement to the non-sellers. In 1900 Te Rangihuatau claimed that he had left a block of land named Te Rautawhiri out of the Taumatamahoe block, and the neighbouring Aratawa and Rouroumouku blocks. His attempt to have this land restored to him failed as the area was included in Survey Offices' map of the Taumatamahoe block.

The Crown purchase of shares in the Taumatamahoe block from 1889 to 1893 was financed from the North Island Main Trunk Railway Loan. The expenditure amounted to £8,738 1s 9d and purchased the 82,670 acres awarded to the Crown by the Native Land Court in 1893 as the Taumatamahoe No.1 block. The subsequent purchase of shares in Taumatamahoe No.2 block, after 1893, were made with finance authorised by the Native Land Purchases Act 1892.

Chapter 4 The Taumatamahoe No.1 block

4.1 Introduction

In 1893 the Crown obtained the 82,670 acre Taumatamahoe No.1 block. The block was gazetted as land acquired by the Queen from Maori owners and subject to the provisions of the North Island Main Trunk Railway Loan Application Act 1886 in February 1894.¹⁹³ The Crown used the area for European settlement. This was done through closer settlement under the improved farm settlement programmes of the Liberal Government of the 1890s, which sought to establish people on farms by providing land and subsidised employment on road and bridge construction. Taumatamahoe No.1 block, which included the Taranaki side of the original Taumatamahoe block, was a major area for Government subsidised European settlement. This chapter gives a brief outline of European settlement in the Taumatamahoe block.

4.2 The beginning of European settlement

The Taumatamahoe No.1 block comprised the western and central parts of the block and bordered the Taranaki confiscation line. The north-western corner of the block is marked by the mountain Rimuputa. The block's boundary runs from there south west along the confiscation line, and included in the block the districts which became the settlements of Kohuratahi, Whangamomona and Pohokura. The land in that part of the block became part of the European settlement of eastern Taranaki. The main town of eastern Taranaki was Stratford. Settlement expanded from there into the hill country of the interior, along the East Road, which was also known as Ohura Road. It is now State Highway 43, the road from Stratford to the central North Island (see map 2). The surveying of the road then called the East Road reached the Taranaki confiscation line at the Pohokura block in 1889.¹⁹⁴ The Pohokura block was on the border of the Taumatamahoe block.¹⁹⁵ Despite having the same name as the block, the Pohokura district is in the Taumatamahoe block.

In the early 1890s, the Liberal Government was encouraging the settlement of small farmers where land was available. As part of this policy it passed the Lands Improvement and Native Lands Acquisitions Act 1894. Under this Act, landless people could form associations to settle on Crown land, and money was made available for the construction of roads and bridges in settlement areas. The Act led to the Improved Farm Settlement scheme, under which settlers were allotted sections and were employed on public works construction. The Act also established the Native Land Purchase Account. One of the settlements of the Improved Farm Settlement scheme was established on 1900 acres of the south-west corner of the Taumatamahoe No.1 block, near Pohokura. It was known as the Ross settlement and comprised 12 surveyed farms. The farms were balloted for in November 1894 and were settled over

¹⁹³ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1894, no. 8, 1 February 1894, p.170

¹⁹⁴ Garcia, p.12

¹⁹⁵ Church, *The Stratford inheritance*, p.80

the next two years. It was proclaimed a special settlement in May 1895, under section 121 of the Land Act 1892.¹⁹⁶ The proclamation described the settlement as being in the Ngati Maru survey district, which was on the road from Stratford to Whangamomona. The Ross settlers were employed on the extension of the East Road over the Pohokura Saddle to Whangamomona.¹⁹⁷

4.3 Whangamomona and the western settlements

Whangamomona was known as the valley of plenty and was in the Taumatamahoe No.1 block.¹⁹⁸ The area from Whangamomona to Tahora was set aside for a farm settlement scheme and was opened for settlement in 1894 as the Whangamomona Small Farm Settlement. Over 10,500 acres were surveyed into around 100 sections, which were taken for settlement from June 1895. The settlement's area included much of the Taranaki side of the Taumatamahoe No.1 block. The Whangamomona settlement had 62 settlers within a few years. Bush felling commenced, cattle and sheep farming began and in 1897 a rearrangement of sections was made to allow for larger farm units. This was possible as some of the units had not been occupied. Settlement continued to expand with the Tahora area, which is outside the Taumatamahoe block, being settled by northern members of the Whangamomona Farm Settlement. Town sections in Whangamomona were offered from 1898. By then Whangamomona had 67 farm sections, 639 cattle, 195 sheep, 53 horses and 580 hectares in grass. The settlement had two schools, stockyards and a dairy factory. A hotel was opened in 1902 and a hall in 1903. The town became the centre of the Whangamomona County in 1908, which had the Whanganui River as its eastern border and which included the Taumatamahoe block. The railway from Stratford reached Whangamomona in 1914.¹⁹⁹

The district was affected by flooding in 1903 and 1904, probably caused by the felling of the bush on the hill country of the district. In 1924, a great flood closed the railway for months and blocked access to the outlying farms of the upper Waitara Valley and, in the Taumatamahoe block, the farms along the Whangamomona Road. Agricultural decline began with rougher country reverting to scrub and, with the fall in prices for farm prices in the 1920s and 1930s, farms were abandoned. In 1933, the railway line was connected to the main trunk line north of Taumarunui. Whangamomona became a refreshment stop but the settlement's connection to the main railway line did not stop a general decline. The County Council could not maintain the roads, as its rating base was too low, and the main road was taken over by the Public Works Department. In 1945 the district had 61 residences, of which 14 were farms.²⁰⁰ Whangamomona rejoined Stratford County in 1955. By the 1980s, all that remained at Whangamomona, which had once been a county town, was a hotel, a garage and a few residents.

¹⁹⁶ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1895, no 34, 9 May 1895, p.760

¹⁹⁷ Church, *The Stratford Inheritance*, p.80

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid*, p.82

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p85

²⁰⁰ *Stone's Wellington, Hawkes Bay and Taranaki Directory, 1945*, Stone, Son and Co. Ltd, Wellington, 1944, pp. 877-8

West of the road from Stratford, which is now State Highway 43, a settlement was established on Marco Road. This was within the Taumatamahoe block and was a central part of the Whangamomona farm settlement. The first school in the district was opened there in 1898 and it was the site of a dairy factory, the district's sheep dip and of a number of small sawmills. After the First World War, three mixed dairy and sheep farms were established for returned servicemen. Marco Road became a permanently settled district and in 1979 its school remained open when the school at Whangamomona closed. By contrast the settlement at Ashwood, west of the main road, had a school by 1915, and was settled by returned soldiers in 1921, but by the 1930s had only one family left.

Kohuratahi, north of Whangamomona, on State Highway 43, was surveyed into large farms in the late 1890s, for which there was considerable demand, there being 70 selectors for one balloted section. A post office opened in the town in 1900 and a dairy factory in 1902. Despite being on the road to Stratford, supplies were brought to the settlement along the Kohuratahi Road, which went to Kohuratahi landing on the Tangarakau River. This central part of the river was cleared for transport canoes and light draught steamers by 1903, but was then blocked by flooding in 1904. The railway from Stratford reached Kohuratahi in 1916.

After the First World War the Government established the Kohura soldier settlement on the Kohuratahi and Whitianga roads. In the early 1930s, unemployed men from the Waipuna Relief Camp metalled the Kohuratahi, Whitianga and Putikituna roads. Kohuratahi, and the settlements around it, declined in population but it remains a farming district. In 1945 there were 47 residences in the Kohuratahi district, of which 24 were farms.²⁰¹

In the western, or Taranaki, part of the Taumatamahoe block, all of which was the Crown Award block Taumatamahoe No.1 block, farm settlements were successfully established. The towns declined in population, but the area remains a farming district. There is currently some promotion of the district for tourism and recreation.

4.4 The central Taumatamahoe districts

Settlement of the Whangamomona valley was extended down the Whangamomona River, into the centre of the Taumatamahoe block, in 1898, when sections down to the Arnold Stream were offered for selection. The Poarangi valley was opened for settlement in 1900, and by 1905 the Whangamomona valley was opened for settlement as far as the Taumata Stream and Tui Domain. In 1910 sections on the Okara Road were available for selection and Tahunaroa, Kohi and Round Hill districts were opened in 1913. The settlements progressed well and the land initially produced excellent pasture. In 1919, 1921 and 1925 the Whangamomona County Council raised loans to metal the roads of the Whangamomona valley.

After about 20 years of settlement, however, the pastures began to deteriorate, with bracken, fern and secondary growth taking over. This reduced the stock-carrying capacity of the land. Some discharged soldiers were unable to pay rates as early as

²⁰¹ Ibid, p.735

1922 and in 1926-27 four farms on the Whangamomona Road were forfeited to the Crown. Most settlers along the Whangamomona River left the district after the economic depression in the early 1930s. After severe damage from a torrential downpour in 1942, the Government decided not to reopen the Whangamomona Road. The remaining settlers were released from their mortgages to the State Advances Corporation. Some continued to farm the area under temporary grazing licenses.²⁰² By the early 1950s the Whangamomona Road, which went to Aotuhia, was almost completely uninhabited.

The Kohuratahi, Whitianga and Putikituna roads led into the central Taumatamahoe block from the Stratford road. The Kohuratahi Road crossed the Tangarakau River to the Marangae valley, a remote part of the Taumatamahoe block, near the mountain Waikauwia, which marks the boundary with the Whitianga block. There were at least five farms in the valley until it was abandoned in the 1930s, due to land reversion and uneconomic returns. The Marangae valley was the scene of a tragedy in 1946 when a farmer threatened to shoot the field officer of the Department of Lands and Survey and then shot his cattle, burnt his house down and shot himself. His wife's fate was never established. The Whitianga Road, despite its name, is in the Taumatamahoe block. Putikituna Road led to Putikituna, which had been the largest Maori settlement on the Tangarakau River. Hatrick's steamer service reached Putikituna in 1901 but ceased the service after the flood of 1904.²⁰³

In the central part of the Taumatamahoe block, roads were surveyed to connect the Whangamomona settlement with the Whanganui River. In 1916 the Crown land in the Taumatamahoe block was described by the Commissioner of Crown Lands as containing 15,000 acres which was clear of a proposed scenery reservation along the Whanganui River. Of this 1800 acres had been surveyed and roaded. This appears to refer to land on the Taranaki side of the Taumatamahoe block, where subdivision had taken place at Whangamomona. The Commissioner considered the land the Crown had acquired east of Mt. Whakaihuwaka, in the Taumatamahoe block towards the Whanganui River, to be rough country, but suitable for sheep and possibly cattle.²⁰⁴ The intention of the Lands Department was that when the central part of the block was opened up the main road through the block would connect Parinui landing on the Whanganui River with Whangamomona Railway station.²⁰⁵ There were also plans for a bridge across the Whanganui River at Parinui, to connect Whangamomona and Raetahi. If the road and bridge system had been constructed it would have become the main road between Wellington and Taranaki.

By October 1915 a dray road had been built from Whangamomona Road to Kiwi Saddle, which is towards Mt. Humphries, near the settlement of Aotuhia. A bridle track from the saddle to Parinui was then under construction. Roads had been surveyed down the Whangamomona Stream and the Mangawai-iti Stream to the Whanganui River but they would both have been expensive to construct.²⁰⁶ It appears that the road to Kiwi Saddle and the bridle track to Parinui was all that was

²⁰² Linz file 6/1-SNP, Commissioner of Crown Lands, New Plymouth, memo, 6 October 1944

²⁰³ Church, p.91

²⁰⁴ Linz file 20/8-1, Commissioner of Crown Lands, New Plymouth, to Under Secretary of Lands, 19 April 1916

²⁰⁵ Linz file 20/8-2, Chief Surveyor to Surveyor General, 24 March 1916

²⁰⁶ Ibid, G H Bullard to Chief Surveyor, Wellington, 16 October 1915

constructed of a main road through the Taumatamahoe block, although the Whangamomona road, as it was known, was important in the early development of Whangamomona township.²⁰⁷

Pahautuhia, a block bordering the central part of the Taumatamahoe block, was settled in 1900. A post office opened in 1912 and the Mangarewa Road was formed in 1915. The road was badly damaged by floods in 1918. In the same year the post office closed. After the First World War, ex-soldiers settled in the district but faced low prices for farm products, poor roading, isolation and the reversion of land to scrub. The area was largely abandoned after floods in the 1930s although a remaining farm was running 1,700 sheep in 1979.²⁰⁸ The road into the area has been improved to give access to Aotuhia and to the Matemateonga walkway.

Farming was attempted from 1917 in the Mount Humphries area. A thousand acre bush block was taken up in that year, free of rent or rates for four years. Several hundred acres were cleared but high rainfall, poor soil, erosion and difficult access caused the abandonment of the farm before rent was due. In the same area the Kurapeete Road was extended to Pouri hut in 1921 but the new road was swept away by a cloud burst the following year.²⁰⁹

In the central part of the block farming largely failed. Good prices for farm products during the First World War inflated land prices. Returned servicemen and other farmers after the War were consequently under capitalised, as they had high repayments to make, and could not fully stock or fence their holdings. This allowed secondary growth to take over, as the farms had insufficient cattle to trample the fern which grew on the cleared land. After the fern wineberry, tutu and other scrub took over and thousands of acres went back to secondary growth. In addition, heavy rainfall, soil depletion, erosion and low prices for farm products all contributed to the failure of farming over much of the central part of Taumatamahoe block. Much of the central part of the original Taumatamahoe block, which became the eastern part of the Taumatamahoe No.1 block, was never developed for farming. The area between the Tangarakau and Heao rivers was one of the parts of the central region of the original block remains unsettled.²¹⁰

4.5 The Aotuhia settlement

Aotuhia is in the south-east of the central part of the Taumatamahoe block and was a more successful settlement than the rest of the central region. The Aotuhia district is on the lower Whangamomona River and was settled from Whangamomona in the early 1900s. The dray road from Whangamomona that went towards the Whanganui River, reached Aotuhia, but became a bridle path from Mt. Humphries. Aotuhia was at the end of the Whangamomona Road, which passed through a narrow river valley until reaching Aotuhia, after which the valley broadens out. The land then becomes more suited in contour and quality for farming and it has been estimated the land

²⁰⁷ Garcia, p.29

²⁰⁸ Church, *The Stratford Inheritance*, p.74

²⁰⁹ Ibid, p.89

²¹⁰ Ibid, p.144

south of Aotuhia could carry up to 10,000 sheep.²¹¹ The district is, however, very isolated and the road to Whangamomona was subject to landslips, as the area has high rainfall.²¹²

The main route to and from Aotuhia in the early twentieth century was the nearby Tangarakau River. This river was cleared for shipping by 1896 and a landing place was made at Tahunaroa. The Tahunaroa Road was built from the landing place over the hills to Aotuhia. Supplies were brought up the Tangarakau River by the Hatrick's riverboat service from Whanganui. Farm produce was carried by Hatrick's but the service placed tourism before the farm settlements and was unreliable. Settlers preferred to use the railway, once it reached Whangamomona. Aotuhia had a telephone office and a school from 1917 and a saw mill in the early 1920s. Returned soldiers purchased farms in the district after the First World War. In the 1920s there were 30 to 40 families living in the district. The Government provided a £1500 subsidy which metalled the road to Whangamomona and for some years the settlement had an all-season road. The Mangapurua Settlers Association, who were returned servicemen settled across the Whanganui River unsuccessfully requested a bridge to link Raetihi with the Whangamomona Road in the early 1920s.²¹³

The Aotuhia settlement was afflicted by low prices and the reversion of land to scrub. By 1926, some ex-soldiers had left their farms and others followed. The post office closed in 1932 and after flooding severely damaged the Whangamomona Road in 1942, the Government decided it would not be reopened. There then remained six Crown tenants and a few farmers with freehold title. The lessees were invited to surrender their leases in return for temporary grazing licences, on the understanding no scrub was to be burned and no public money would be spent on the roads.²¹⁴ The abandoned farms were then used for grazing stock on the remains of what had been a relatively extensive development network.

In the 1980s, Aotuhia was managed as a farm development block by the Department of Lands and Survey. The unit provided grazing for over 5,000 sheep, over 500 cattle and around 100 goats. Poarangi, the area north of Aotuhia, towards Whangamomona, was also managed by the Department. The Department intended creating 12 ballot farms at Aotuhia, but reduced the number to seven. Its development work encountered some difficulties with the Department of Conservation over the clearance of forest. A bridge known as the Bridge to Somewhere was constructed to improve access to the farm block. The Aotuhia land was handed over to a State Owned Enterprise, the Lands Corporation in the late 1980s. In 1996, the Corporation sold the Aotuhia farm land to private interests. The land then became the Aotuhia Station. This comprised 5,500 acres with 1,200 cattle and over 10,000 sheep. The station was sold again in March 2003.²¹⁵

²¹¹ Linz file 6/1-SNP, District Field Officer to Commissioner of Crown Lands, New Plymouth, 25 March 1952

²¹² *Aotuhia Regional Land-use Study*, pp. 30-31

²¹³ Church, p.87

²¹⁴ WR 35/4, vol. 1, 'Aotuhia farm settlement draft management plan' p.2, Department of Conservation, Whanganui office, Whanganui

²¹⁵ Information of Frank Vosseller, Aotuhia Station former part owner, telephone conversation, 25 March 2003

4.6 Conclusion

The settlement of Taumatamahoe No.1 block took place along the Ohura Road, which is now State Highway 43, and was an extension of the settlement of eastern Taranaki. The Liberal Government of the 1890s subsidised the settlement of the area under its policy of encouraging closer land settlement. Whangamomona and Kohuratahi, and other settlements in the west of the Taumatamahoe block, achieved an initial prosperity. Kohuratahi, and Aotuhia in the central part of the block, were used for soldier settlement after the First World War. The settlements were affected by flooding, soil erosion and soil depletion, low prices for farm products in the early 1920s, debt and lack of capital, and the depression of the 1930s. Farms were abandoned over much of the Taumatamahoe No.1 block, particularly in the central part of the block, and the towns declined with the main town, Whangamomona, becoming almost a ghost town by the 1980s. However the area remains a farming district with privately-owned farms and properties.

Chapter 5. The Taumatamahoe No.2 block, 1893 - 1907

5.1 Introduction

The Taumatamahoe No.2 block was the part of the Taumatamahoe block which remained in the ownership of the non-sellers after the definition of the Crown interest in the block in 1893. Taumatamahoe No.2 block was the part of the Taumatamahoe block which bordered the Whanganui River. This was the part of Taumatamahoe where the Maori owners, or non-sellers, who lived on the block had their settlements and cultivations. Crown purchasing of shares continued. In 1896, a determination of the Crown interest in the Taumatamahoe No.2 block divided the block and gave the Crown the Taumatamahoe No.2A block, an inland strip of land adjoining Taumatamahoe No.1 block. The land along the Whanganui River was left to the non-sellers and was called the Taumatamahoe No.2B block.

After further Crown purchasing, the Crown interest in the Taumatamahoe No.2B block was determined in 1899. This gave the Crown the Taumatamahoe No.2B1 block, which was the upriver part of the Taumatamahoe No.2B block. The 1899 award left the non-sellers with the downstream part of the Taumatamahoe No.2B block. This was called the 2B2 block. It was the more arable part of the block and was where the non-sellers lived. This chapter considers developments in the Taumatamahoe No.2 block, and its sub-divisions 2B and 2B1, up to 1907. These include: Maori settlement in the block; a number of individual petitions resulting from Crown purchasing; the cessation of Crown purchasing in 1900 and its resumption in 1906; and the Stout-Ngata Commission of 1907 and its recommendations for Taumatamahoe.

5.2 The Maori settlement in the Taumatamahoe No.2 block

By 1900, the Government had acquired 114,596 acres of the Taumatamahoe block. There is some information available on Maori settlements and cultivations on the block from European accounts.

The Ngati Tai and Ngati Ruku hapu of Te Ati Haunui-a-Paparangi lived at Waikauwia, which is by the Tangarakau River, and at Otamakaiwaewae and Haumapu, which are in the same area, until the 1890s. A map of the Tangarakau River was made by J.T. Stewart in 1897, which shows a number of villages, some of which may have been temporary eeling settlements.²¹⁶

When the ownership of the Taumatamahoe block was determined by the Native Land Court in 1886, the main spokesman for the claimants was Te Rangihuatau. He lived at Tieke. This was a village, and it is now a marae, on the Whanganui River, 113 kilometres from Whanganui, in the Waimarino block, opposite the southern part of the Taumatamahoe block. Tieke was a kainga with a carved meeting house and many fruit trees and the place at which agreement was reached for a major Taumatamahoe land

²¹⁶ Church, 'Maori life on the Tangarakau River', p.19

sale in 1907. When Te Rangihuatau died in 1906, he was buried at Okirihau pa, which overlooks the kainga. After his death the community at Tieke dispersed. T.W. Downes, however, said that Tieke was already deserted when Te Rangihuatau was buried. This is not entirely correct, however, as Materita Rangihuatau and Te Oiroa Te Peke are listed in the 1908 Western Maori electoral roll as living at Tieke, and other people almost certainly lived there as well.²¹⁷ The main places of residence given for identified owners of the Taumatamahoe block in the 1908 electoral roll are Pipiriki and Utapu (Parinui).²¹⁸

Downes described the Whanganui River in a book published in 1921. He said there was still 'a fair scattered population' at Parinui, and a landing place at Mangatiti, 116 kilometres upstream from Whanganui. Downes recounts a supernatural event which occurred at Mangapurua, 125 kilometres upstream, in 1904 and which involved eeling and the catching of kiwi. He mentions the soldiers' settlement at Mangapurua and another at Otumango.²¹⁹ These settlements were on the true left bank of the river, and were in the Waimarino block.

Downes says that there was formerly a large village on the Waimarino side of the river above the junction with the Tangarakau River. This village was on the other side of the river from the Taumatamahoe block but Downes also says that formerly there were several large villages on the Tangarakau River, the largest at Putiki-tuna, about 20 kilometres upstream.²²⁰ Most of these villages, including Putiki-tuna, were in the Taumatamahoe block. Upriver from the junction with the Tangarakau River, on the Whanganui River, there was a village at Manga-papapa, opposite Puketapu. There were also old villages further upriver at Ohauora, Opakua and Te Maai. There had been quite a large village at Kirikiriroa, 166 kilometres upriver and outside the Taumatamahoe block, 25 years before, but by 1921 it was deserted and its numerous whare had disappeared. All that remained of the settlement was fruit trees and wild pigs. By contrast, the Stout-Ngata Commission found in 1907 that new clearings had been made at Utapu, Otikoki and Tangarakau and that Utapu was a considerable settlement.²²¹ Downes said in 1921 there was still a fairly large but scattered population at Parinui.²²²

European accounts of Maori settlement in the Taumatamahoe area in the early twentieth century, which is after the major land sales, describe deserted villages and abandoned settlements. There are probably a number of reasons for the decline of the previously numerous Maori population of the central Whanganui River district but among them must be the alienation of land. Other reasons include that the Maori population throughout New Zealand was reduced by disease and the break-down of traditional society. Also the introduction of new crops and animals allowed the concentration of the population in favourable areas and the abandonment of less productive land, and a reduction in the gathering of traditional resources from the forest. However, some land development would almost certainly have been underway

²¹⁷ Western Maori electoral roll, 1908, Government Printer, Wellington, 1908

²¹⁸ See table 1

²¹⁹ Downes, *History of and guide to the Whanganui River*, p.38

²²⁰ *Ibid*, p.36

²²¹ Stout-Ngata Commission, 'Interim report on Native Lands in the Whanganui District', AJHR 1907 G-1, p.3

²²² Downes, p.40

by 1920 had the district still been in Maori ownership. The gathering of traditional foods from the bush and the rivers and streams continued in the area, and still does, but a withdrawal from permanent residence by Maori on the Taumatamahoe block, apart from the Parinui area, seems to have generally occurred by about 1920.

5.3 Individual petitions resulting from Crown purchasing

There were several petitions from individuals resulting from Crown purchasing of shares in the Taumatamahoe block. These were petitions about individual complaints, rather than general issues, but one, and possibly another, derive from the boycott of the 1893 Native Land Court hearing of the Crown award. Tarewa Heremaia, who was not present at the 1893 hearing, petitioned that her share in the block had been included in the award to the Crown, although she had not sold her interest.²²³ She claimed to have been wrongly deprived of her interest by an error of the Court. The Native Land Purchase Department recorded that she had sold her share on 4 June 1890 for £23. The claim was investigated by Judge Ward of the Native Land Court in 1897. He found that Tarewa did not sell her share and that the sale was a case of impersonation. The Chief Judge then placed her name in the list of owners of Taumatamahoe 2B and reduced the Crown Award by 334 acres.²²⁴

Mata Ihaka petitioned in March 1899 that a ¼ share in the block that he ought to have inherited from Hera Taewa had been wrongly awarded to her in 1896, although she was dead by then. It is not clear what became of this petition.²²⁵ Another petition was received in 1932 from an elderly woman named Hinewhiu. She claimed that she had never sold her share in Taumatamahoe, as she was living at Parihaka for some years before 1893, but her name did not appear on the list of non-sellers. She inquired as to the date she sold her share and was told she sold on 12 June 1889, for £23.²²⁶

Te Rangiwhakaatea was unsuccessful in claiming that his sister-in-law Hineone Tawhi had been living at Parihaka and had not sold her share.²²⁷ Butler had no doubt she sold and wrote that she had gone from Parihaka to Whanganui and sold her share without the knowledge of her relations. Te Rangiwhakaatea had himself attempted to impersonate owners and sell their shares, according to Butler. There was, however, a refund made to another woman, Heni Ngatangi, of £25, by people who wrongly sold her share.²²⁸

5.4 The 1900 cessation of Crown purchasing of Maori land

²²³ MA-MLP1 1905/3, Petition of Tarewa Heremaia, 4 February 1897, Archives New Zealand, Wellington

²²⁴ Whanganui Native Land Court minute book 35, 15 September 1897, fol. 287

²²⁵ MA-MLP1 1905/3, Mata Ihaka to Sheridan, 20 March 1899

²²⁶ Ibid, Registrar, Whanganui Native Land Court, to Under Secretary, Native Department, 16 May 1932

²²⁷ Ibid, Te Rangiwhakaatea to Native Minister, 22 November 1889

²²⁸ Ibid, A W Thomson, file note, 13 December 1895

During the 1890s, the Liberal Government actively sought to purchase Maori land as part of its policy of making land available for small scale intensive European farming. Crown pre-emption in Maori land purchase was partly re-introduced in 1892 and fully re-introduced in 1894.²²⁹ The Government acquired 2.7 million acres of Maori land in the 1890s and private interests purchased another 400,000 acres.²³⁰ Increased land purchasing led Kotahitanga, a movement for Maori land rights and a Maori Parliament, to organise a boycott of the Native Land Court in 1895.²³¹

In 1897, Kotahitanga, the Young Maori Party and the Kingitanga, sent a petition to Queen Victoria asking for an end to land purchasing in New Zealand. Leasing was proposed as an alternative. By the end of the 1890s the Liberal Government was inclined to agree to an end to the purchasing of Maori land, provided land continued to be become available for European settlement through leasing.²³² This change in policy resulted in the Maori Land Administration Act 1900. The Act established six land districts, each with a Maori land council. Some of the council members were to be elected by Maori of the district and the councils were given some powers over Maori land administration.²³³ The Whanganui district, including Taumatamahoe, became part of the Aotea district. The Act did not end the sale of Maori land but the Crown ceased making purchases on the understanding that land would instead be available for leasing.²³⁴ Following the passing of the Act there was a cessation of the Government purchase of the shares of owners of Maori land in Taumatamahoe, and elsewhere, for a number of years.

5.5 The Taumatamahoe 2B2 block

The Taumatamahoe 2B2 block was the part of Taumatamahoe belonging to the non-sellers after the 1899 determination of the Crown interest. The block was on the Whanganui River and included Parinui. Crown purchasing of shares in the Taumatamahoe 2B2 block ceased in 1900 following the change in Government policy from the purchasing of Maori land to encouraging Maori to lease their land.

In June 1903, Te Rangitohitu, of Ngati Taipoto, claimed that his share in Taumatamahoe had been sold by another person, without his knowledge, and without his receiving the proceeds.²³⁵ His claim was heard by Judge Johnson in the Whanganui Native Land Court in 1904. Te Rangitohitu said he had been living at Te Aute for some years when the title to Taumatamahoe was determined. He heard from his sister that he had been listed as an owner of the block but when he returned to Whanganui he was told that his share had been sold. Te Rangihuatau, who had conducted the claimants case for Taumatamahoe, supported Te Rangitohitu's claim and said that he had been told the name of the man who had wrongly sold the land, who was now dead. The Court directed that a report on the matter should be sent to

²²⁹ Brooking, pp. 85-86 and D V Williams, *Te Kooti Tango Whenua*, pp. 334-335

²³⁰ Brooking, p.82

²³¹ J A Williams, *Politics of the New Zealand Maori*, p.72

²³² T Walzl, 'Whanganui land 1900 - 1970', draft, June 2002, pp. 15-16

²³³ Ibid, pp. 17-18

²³⁴ Ibid, p.19

²³⁵ MA-MLP1 1905/3, Te Rangitohitu to P. Sheridan, 28 June 1903

the Chief Judge of the Native Land Court. The Chief Judge decided his share had been wrongly sold and ordered that it be returned to him.²³⁶

The surveying of the boundary between Taumatamahoe 2B1, the Crown award, and 2B2, was in progress in 1904. The district surveyor, G.H. Bullard, was instructed by the Chief Surveyor to leave 330 acres for Rangitohitu within the Crown award block but on the boundary of Taumatamahoe 2B2.²³⁷ This was to be done in such a way as to interfere as little as possible with the subdivisions then being made. However, instead of taking the land Te Rangitohitu accepted £60 in settlement of his claim.²³⁸

The suspension of Crown purchasing of Maori land following the Maori Land Administration Act 1900 was made in the expectation that Maori would voluntarily vest land in the Maori Land Councils for leasing to Europeans. When voluntary leasing did not occur at the desired level the Government passed the Maori Land Settlement Act 1905.²³⁹ This Act introduced compulsory vesting of some Maori lands for leasing and re-enabled Crown purchasing.²⁴⁰ The vesting of lands for lease, either voluntarily or by compulsion, does not appear to have occurred in the Taumatamahoe No.2B2 block.

Crown purchasing of ownership shares in Taumatamahoe No.2B2 recommenced in 1906.²⁴¹ In addition to a lack of land being offered by Maori for leasing, good prices for wool were being received by farmers in 1906. This led to an increased demand for good grazing land. In the Taranaki district, and the area around it, little additional grazing land was available. Two possible areas for expansion were the land between the Tangarakau and Heao rivers in the Taumatamahoe No.1 block, which was a remote area, and over 6000 acres of Maori land in the Whakaihūwaka and Taumatamahoe 2B2B blocks, adjoining the Whanganui River.²⁴²

The Government's agent in the recommenced land purchasing was W. W. Hipango. He wrote to James Carroll, the Native Minister, that the Ngati Ruru, one of the owning hapu of Taumatamahoe, were 'grumbling at the smallness of the price for Taumatamahoe inasmuch as the land is much superior in quality to Whakaihūwaka'.²⁴³ Later the same day he informed the Minister £5000 had been paid out to Ngati Ruru, and that he was going to see Taitoko.²⁴⁴ This suggests that having reached agreement with one hapu he was going to meet another to negotiate for the sale of their shares.

5.6 The Stout-Ngata Commission, 1907

²³⁶ Whanganui Native Land Court minute book 52, 3 August 1904, fol. 48

²³⁷ Linz file 20/8-1-SNP, Land Information New Zealand, Hamilton, J MacKenzie, Chief Surveyor, to G.H. Bullard, district surveyor, 19 January 1904

²³⁸ MA-MLP1 1905/3, file note, 9 January 1905, Archives New Zealand, Wellington

²³⁹ Walzl, p.54 and p.94

²⁴⁰ Ibid, p.95

²⁴¹ Ibid, p.122

²⁴² Church, *The Stratford inheritance*, p.144

²⁴³ MA-MLP1 1905/3, W Hipango to J Carroll, 23 May 1906, Archives New Zealand, Wellington

²⁴⁴ Ibid, Hipango to Carroll, 23 May 1906 (2nd telegram)

Following the resumption of Crown purchasing of Maori land, the Government appointed Sir Robert Stout and Apirana Ngata in 1907 as a commission of inquiry into Maori land. The Commission was to inquire into the best methods to improve Maori lands, some of which were unoccupied and others partially or unprofitably occupied, for the advantage of Maori and European settlement. In their report on the Taumatamahoe block, the Commissioners found that of the original 155,300 acres in the block the Government had purchased 104,596 up to 1900. A further 18,048 acres had been purchased in the block by the Government over the proceeding year. The recent purchases were of undefined interests, or shares, in the Taumatamahoe No.2B2 block, which remained in Maori ownership. The Crown now held over 120,000 acres of the 155,300 acres of the original Taumatamahoe block.

The Commission found that the owners of Taumatamahoe No.2B2B wanted an end to Crown purchasing in the block. They said they had agreed to sell the land at a meeting with the Native Minister at which a demand was made for land for general settlement. The Commission's report does not give the date of this meeting but it appears to have been recent, probably in 1906. The owners told the Commission that they considered the price the Crown was offering, which was 10s per acre, to be inadequate and wanted the part of the block remaining in their ownership to be reserved for them. They wanted papakainga reserves to be established around four existing kainga on the block at Te Ramanui, Parinui (Utapu), Mataiwhetu and Puketapu.²⁴⁵

The Commission made a number of recommendations regarding the Taumatamahoe block. Firstly it recommended a cessation of Crown purchasing in the block and that the Native Land Court define the Crown interests. It recommended that the Court define the papakainga requested by the owners and that the block be partitioned between its owners. The Commission drew a distinction between groups of owners who wanted to farm their lands and those who wanted to lease land to Europeans. The Commission wanted the owners consulted by Government officials and then grouped according to the owners' wishes. The Commission thought 890 acres should be placed in papakainga reserves, 5000 acres reserved for Maori farming, and the remainder of the block leased to the general public.²⁴⁶ The Commission noted that there were new clearings at Utapu, Otikoki and Tangarakau and thought Utapu could become the nucleus of Maori farming in that part of the Whanganui district. The Commission's recommendations and observations referred to Taumatamahoe No.2B2, the part of the block remaining in Maori ownership.

In the Whanganui district generally, the Commission found that the Crown had purchased nearly 1,273,000 acres since 1881 for £273,340. Nearly half of the land had been acquired with expenditure from the North Island Main Trunk Railway loan. After deducting expenses Maori had received an average of 4s per acre. The Commission thought that except for the cessation of Crown purchasing between 1901 and 1905 the Crown would have acquired another quarter of a million acres in the Whanganui district.²⁴⁷ The Commission considered Maori had sold the land for well below its value. This, the Commission thought, was partly because of the monopoly on land

²⁴⁵ Stout Commission, 'Native Lands in the Whanganui District (Interim Report on)', AJHR, 1907

G-1A, p.4

²⁴⁶ Ibid, p.5

²⁴⁷ Ibid, p.15

purchasing held by the Crown. As Maori had to pay Native Land Court fees, agents' fees and survey charges they had no alternative but to sell at the price offered by the Crown. The Commission also thought there was a squandering by Maori of the purchase money paid and an excessive use of litigation. Tribes, it said, would recklessly throw away land already won to substantiate claims in another area. The Commission found a lack of enthusiasm for farming among Whanganui Maori which is attributed to a preference for the leasing of land to Europeans among some of the leaders. The Commission recommended the promotion of Maori farming in some areas of the district and leasing in other areas.

5.7 Conclusion

By the 1890s and the early twentieth century, Maori settlement of the Taumatamahoe block was largely located in the south-east of the block, around Parinui. This was on the Whanganui River and was the most productive part of the block. This became the part of the block remaining in Maori ownership after the Crown purchasing, and the determination of its awards, in the 1890s. There is no evidence that Crown officials considered making the area a reserve but there is some evidence that the Crown sought to take as its awards the parts of the block away from the settlements and cultivations of the non-sellers. The Crown ceased purchasing shares in Taumatamahoe in 1900 under a Government policy which sought to replace the purchasing of Maori land with an emphasis on the leasing of Maori land. Crown purchasing resumed in Taumatamahoe in 1906. The Stout Commission of 1907, an inquiry into the utilisation of Maori land, recommended that Crown purchasing in Taumatamahoe 2B2 cease, that the Crown interest be defined, and that the block be partitioned between groups of its owners. The owners could then either farm their lands or lease them. The Commission also wanted some land set aside as papakainga, or village, settlements. The extent to which the Commission's recommendations were carried out by the Government is discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 6 The Taumatamahoe No. 2B2B block

6.1 Introduction

The recommendations made by the Stout Commission in 1907 for Taumatamahoe No.2B2 block were partly carried out. These were: the identification of the Crown interest in the block resulting from the renewal of purchasing in 1906; the division of the block between groups of owners; and the establishment of two papakainga. The identification of the Crown interest in the Taumatamahoe 2B2 block, in May 1897, left the non-sellers with the Taumatamahoe 2B2B block and gave the Crown the 2B2A block. The cessation of Crown purchasing in the land remaining to the non-sellers, which was recommended by the Commission, was not followed by the Crown, although purchasing did not resume for four years. This chapter discusses the issues of the burial grounds on the block; the partitioning of the block into 20 sections in 1909; the exchange of land on one of the block's boundaries; the creation of the block's first reserve; the surveying of the block; soldier settlement; and Maori agriculture and reasons Maori may have had for selling their shares in the block.

6.2 The Taumatamahoe 2B2B block from 1907

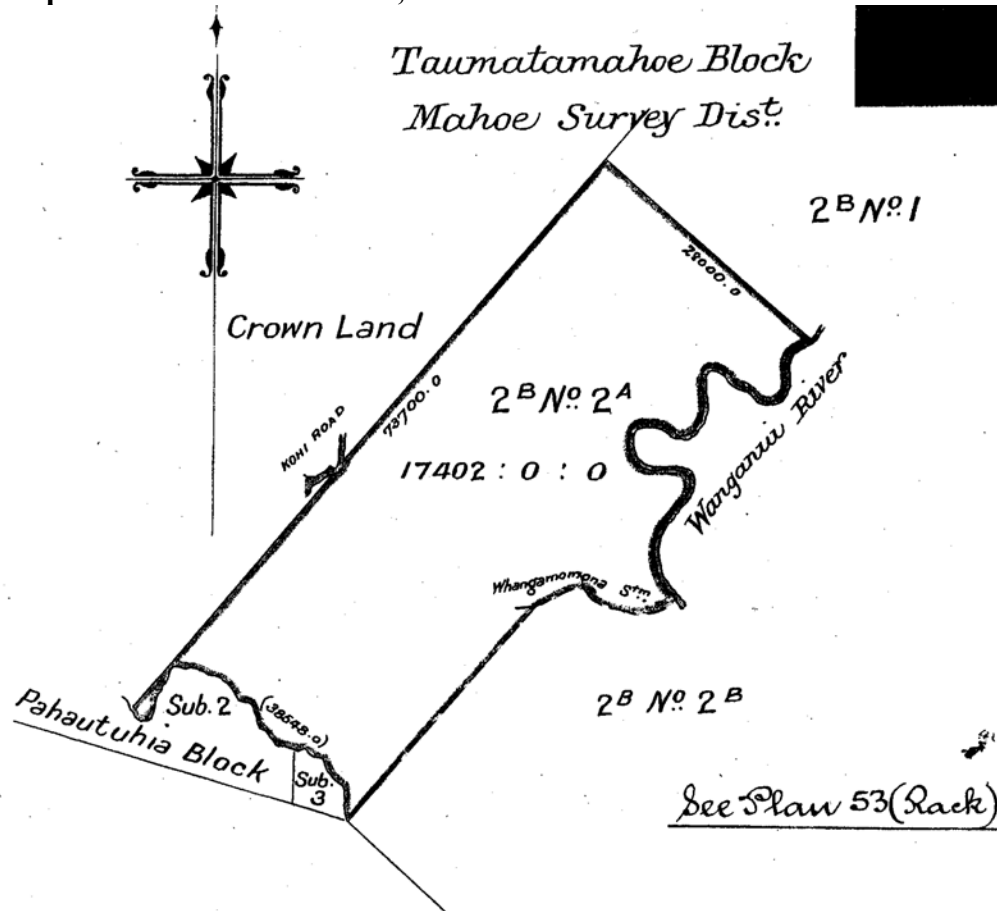
On 28 May 1907 the Native Land Court divided Taumatamahoe No.2B2 block to award the Crown its interest in the block. The Crown received 17,402 acres as the equivalent of the shares it had purchased. This became the Taumatamahoe No.2B2A block. This was the north-western part of the 2B2 block, with part of the new block's boundary being formed by the Whangamomona River. The Crown paid £21,282 10s for the Taumatamahoe No.2B2A block.²⁴⁸

The land remaining in Maori ownership, 25,163 acres, became the Taumatamahoe No.2B2B block. The amount of this remaining block was larger than it should have been calculating from an area of 155,300 acres in the original block. The area of No.2B2 block is given by the Court's minute book as 42,565 acres.²⁴⁹ This made 2B2 larger than it should have been as the original partition of the block in 1893 left 72,630 acres to the non-sellers. In 1896 the Crown received another 19,765 acres. This left 52, 865 acres in Maori ownership. The partition of 1899 gave the Crown a further 12,161 acres. This left 40,704 acres in the block known as Taumatamahoe 2B2 and the partition of 1907 should have left 23,302 acres in the new block Taumatamahoe 2B2B.

²⁴⁸ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1907, no.67, 1 August 1907, p.2307

²⁴⁹ Wanganui Native Land Court minute book 55, 28 May 1907, fol. 234

Map 10: Crown award 2B2A, 1907



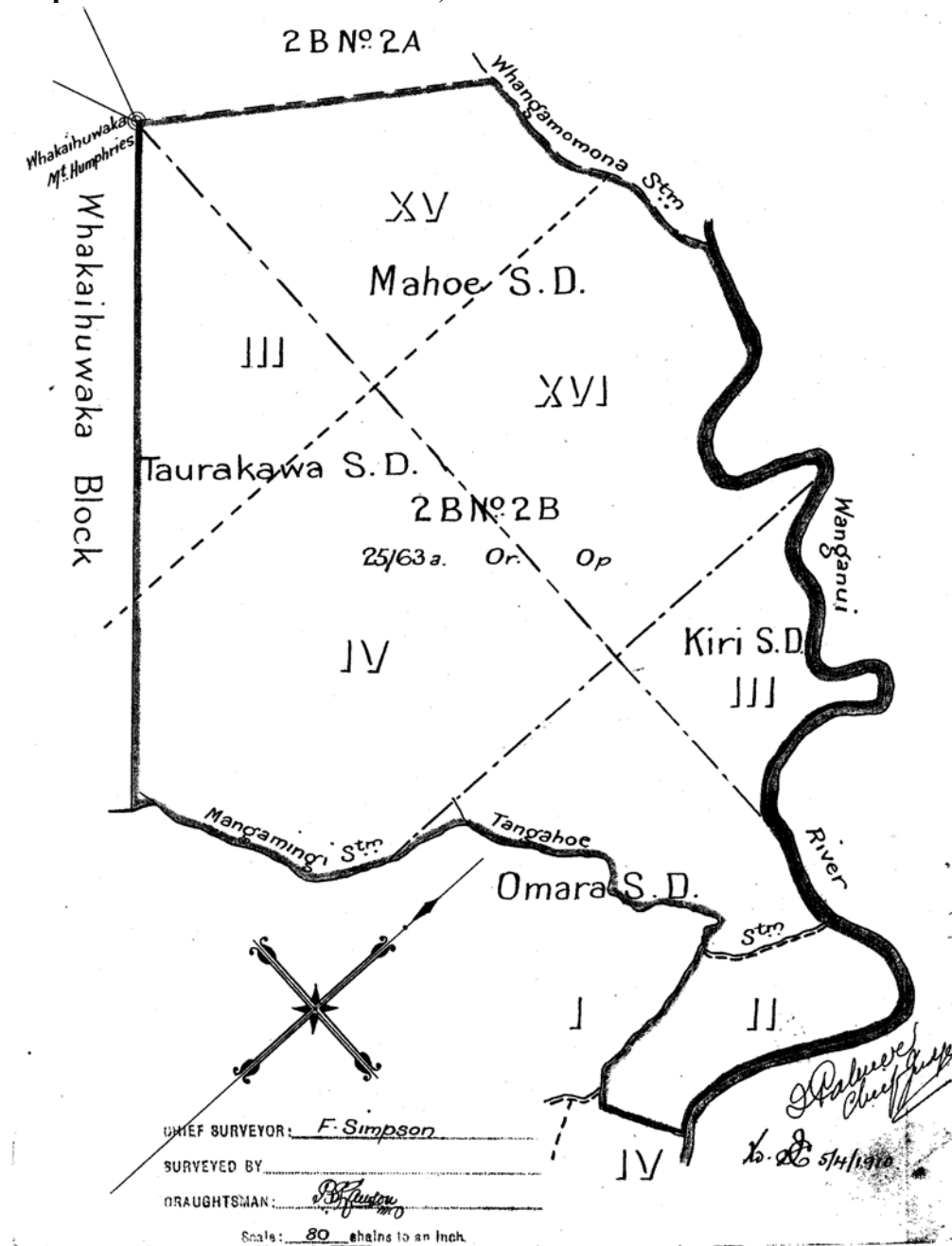
Source: Taumatamahoe Block Order- Aotea Maori Land Court Whanganui. WH330/ File 2.

The discrepancy is partly explained by a discovery made by Mr G.H. Bullard, while surveying the boundary between 2B2B and the Crown owned 2B2A, in 1904. He found, by computation, that the area of Taumatamahoe No.1 block, the original Crown award of 1893, was 1719 acres less than the area of 82,670 acres which the Crown had purchased. He found by a more correct definition of the Whanganui River that after the Crown awards in the Taumatamahoe blocks No.1 (1893), No.2A (1896) and No.2B1 (1899) there was a surplus of about 1200 acres in the area remaining to the non-sellers, Taumatamahoe No.2B2.²⁵⁰ He found 2B2 to be 41,900 acres instead of the 40,704 acres it had previously been thought to comprise. By 1907, block 2B2 was held by the Native Land Court to contain 42,565 acres. The additional increase was probably due to further surveying leading to a more accurate calculation. The acreage of Taumatamahoe 2B2B was subsequently recorded by the Native Land Court as 25,163 acres.²⁵¹

²⁵⁰ MA-MLP1 1905/3, Chief Surveyor to General Surveyor, 27 October 1904, Archives New Zealand, Wellington

²⁵¹ Whanganui Native Land Court minute book 59, 23 March 1909, fol. 151

Map 11: Non-sellers award 2B2B, 1907



Source: Taumatamahoe Block Order- Aotea Maoril Land Court Whanganui. WH330/ File 2.

6.3 The Mataiwhetu and Puketapu burial grounds

The Native Land Court's Crown award of 1907 included an order that sufficient land was to be reserved to preserve any graves in the area from desecration.²⁵² There were two areas in the block with burial grounds, one at the mouth of the Tangarakau River (Mataiwhetu) and the other at Puketapu. When the Court stated its agreement to the preservation of the burial grounds, Te Haereterangi, a representative of the non-sellers, stated that he wished to 'explain as to the 100 acres required for the burial places'. Patrick Sheridan, the land purchase officer, then stated that 100 acres at the

²⁵² Linz file 20/8-1-SNP, Bullard to Chief Surveyor, New Plymouth, 4 June 1907

mouth of the Tangarakau could not be given but all burial places could be reserved, regardless of the area required for this. Te Haereterangi then repeated that it had been stated that the non-sellers should receive 100 acres and said that Waata Hipango had stated this. Hipango was one of the non-sellers, but also worked as a native interpreter and appears to have been involved in arranging the sale. Te Haereterangi added that the arrangement by which all burial places were reserved was satisfactory.²⁵³

Sheridan later said that a 100 acres reserve at the mouth of the Tangarakau was not set aside as a reserve as he believed the area might be needed for buildings and stores in connection of the navigation of both rivers, and possibly a township.²⁵⁴ Plans of the graves at Mataiwhetu and of the position of the urupa at Puketapu were drawn up.²⁵⁵ Surveying of the Taumatamahoe No.2B2A block began in October 1907 and was expected to be completed by August the following year.²⁵⁶ It was expected that with further subdivision the river frontage of the block would be reserved for scenic purposes and the land at the back of the block would be disposed of. By April 1910, the graves at Puketapu had been marked off and it was expected by the Commissioner of Crown Lands that the same would be done at Mataiwhetu when settlement surveys had advanced that far.²⁵⁷

A dispute occurred in the late 1980s between Whanganui Maori and the Department of Lands and Survey when the Department built a hut by or on the urupa area at Puketapu. It was removed but later the Department of Conservation built toilets on or near the graves. This was objected to by Whanganui iwi and the toilets were thrown into a gorge. The issue of the 100 acre reserve at Mataiwhetu, and the Crown's failure to grant it, was raised by the Whanganui Whare Wananga Trust in 1992. The Trust suggested that the sale of Taumatamahoe 2B2A may have been conditional on the granting of the reserve and that the failure of the Crown to grant the 100 acre reserve may negate the contracts by which the block was sold to the Crown as without the fulfilment of this condition the sale process was incomplete.²⁵⁸ However, it appears that the statement that 100 acres would be reserved was made by Waata Hipango. He may have had some involvement in the sale negotiations but he was not a representative of the Government, although other Maori may have thought that he was. The Crown, represented by Sheridan did not consider that a promise of 100 acres had been made but that the burial sites would be preserved. Te Haereterangi then stated that this was satisfactory.

²⁵³ Whanganui Native Land Court minute book 55, 28 May 1907, fol. 234

²⁵⁴ Linz file 20/8-1-SNP, P Sheridan to J Kensington, Under Secretary, Lands Department, 13 August 1907

²⁵⁵ Ibid, J Kensington, Under Secretary, Lands Department, to Chief Surveyor, New Plymouth, 15 August 1907

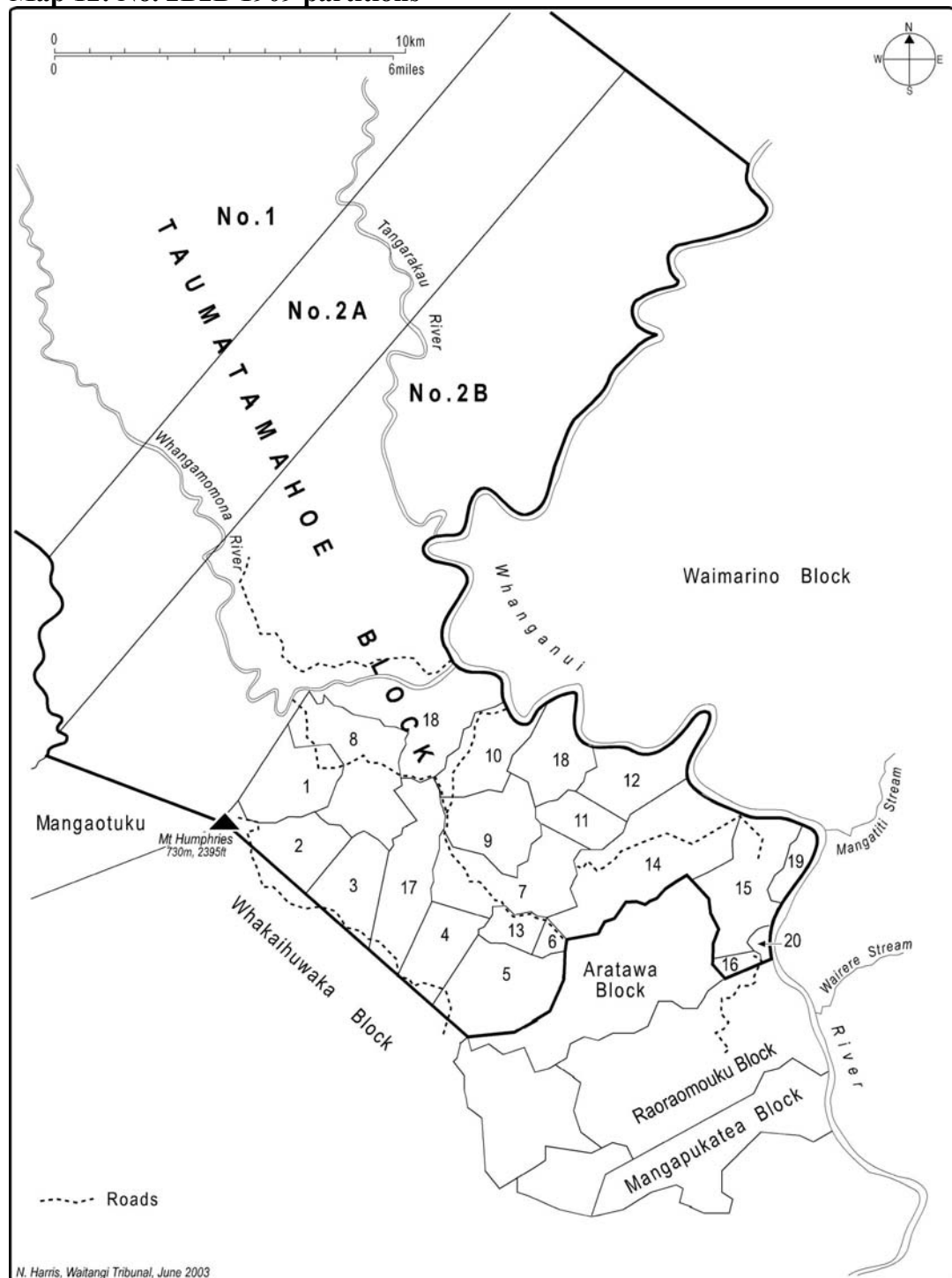
²⁵⁶ Ibid, Chief Surveyor, New Plymouth, to P Sheridan, Native Land Purchase Officer, 24 June 1908

²⁵⁷ Ibid, Chief Surveyor, New Plymouth, to Under Secretary, Lands Department, 12 April 1910

²⁵⁸ Linz file 20/8-8-SNP, P N O'Sullivan, secretary, Whanganui Whare Wananga Trust Inc. to The Secretary, Maori Affairs, 28 January 1992

6.4 The 1909 partition of Taumatamahoe 2B2B

Map 12: No. 2B2B 1909 partitions



N. Harris, Waitangi Tribunal, June 2003
 Source: Crown Land Acquisitions Whanganui River Region 1881-1916 LINZ National Office and LINZ 20/8-3-SNP, Hamilton Office.

6.5 The 1910 surveys of Taumatamahoe 2B2A and 2B2B

A partitioning of the Taumatamahoe 2B2B block was arranged by its Maori owners and taken to the Native Land Court in March 1909. The partition was in accordance with the proposals of the Stout-Ngata Commission. The agreement was presented to the Court by Wiremu Waata Hipango and divided the block into 20 subdivisions, which included two papakainga. The 191 owners had each placed their shares in the 2B2B block into the sections. The size of a section depended on the number of shares in the 2B2B block held by the owners. One share equalled 347 acres 3 roods and 16 ¼ perches. The smallest section was 127 acres and the largest 3172 acres. Each section was to eventually have road access to the Whanganui River. The two papakainga were of 100 acres and 300 acres. The plan was approved by the Court on 23 March 1909.²⁵⁹ This produced subdivisions named Taumatamahoe 2B2B1 to 2B2B20. Each of the 18 groups had a leader who headed the list for the partition. By September 1911 a tracing showing the partitions had been produced.²⁶⁰

Table 3: The 1909 subdivisions of Taumatamahoe No. 2B2B

Group leader	Block No.	Shares	Acreage	Hapu of group leader
Te Oiroa Hinerua	2B2B1	4	1381a 1r 05p	
Taurerewa Tuwharetoa	2B2B2	4.6	1541a 1r 7p	Ngati Hau, Ngati Uenuku
Taipoto	2B2B3	3.29	1144a 1r 30p	Ngati Hau, Ngati Taipoto
Rongonui Te Whiti	2B2B4	2.6776	921a 1r 37p	Ngati Matakaha
Maikuku Haumapu	2B2B5	5	1739a 1r 5p	
Whiriki Te Hiaki	2B2B6	.5388	178a 1r 27p	
Tawhi Tuaropaki	2B2B7	4.6581	1570a 1r 12p	
Ngarirena Hikaka	2B2B8	6.29	2178a 3r 37p	
Taumatamahoe Te Hai	2B2B9	3.5789	1214a 3r 19p	
Te Keepa	2B2B10	3.29	1124a 1r 28p	
Te Riwai	2B2B11	2.2113	759a 0r 32p	Nga Poutama, Ngati Tane
Pare Te Uira	2B2B12	3.3343	1132a 3r 14p	
Ema Hipango	2B2B13	1.2709	422a 0r 1p	Ngati Ruaka
Huka Huriana	2B2B14	8.3711	2836a 3r 21p	
Turahui Whiu	2B2B15	4.7969	1659a 1r 14p	
Rangiwhakarurua	2B2B16	.4444	127a 2r 16p	
Maara Mihipeka	2B2B17	4.8913	1663a 1r 31p	Ngati Rongomai, Ngati Kahu
Wairaka Meriana	2B2B18	9.2347	3172a 3r 24p	
Papakainga (Parinui)	2B2B19		300	
Papakainga	2B2B20		100	

Source: Linz file 20/8-2-SNP

Not all groups intended to farm their sections or live on them. Taurewarewa Tuwharetoa, one of the group leaders, applied to the Native Land Court in Raetihi in September 1910 to exchange shares he held in Taumatamahoe 2B2B for shares in

²⁵⁹ Whanganui Native Land Court minute book 59, 23 March 1909, fol. 153

²⁶⁰ Linz file 20/8-1-SNP, Chief Surveyor to Registrar, Whanganui Native Land Court, 28 September 1911

Waimarino 3A block, held by Mihi Ngaraho. He stated then that he lived at Waimarino. The exchange was authorised by the Native Land Court in Whanganui in December 1910.²⁶¹ It was then stated that he was exchanging half his shares in Taumatamahoe. Another group leader, Taumatamahoe Te Hai, died at Utapu in April 1910 and his shares in the block were divided between five successors.²⁶²

Several of the partition group leaders were enrolled on the 1908 Western Maori electoral roll. The roll gives their hapu affiliations and residence. Taurerewa Tuwharetoa and Taipoto Te Huatare lived at Manganuiateao; Rongonui Te Whitu lived at Parinui; Ema Hipango lived at Waitara. Maara Mihipeka was probably the same person as Mihipeka, who is on the electoral roll with no other name. She was lived at Utapu. Riwai is probably Riwai Himi Matiaha. He lived at Ranana. Of these hapu, Ngati Hau, Nga Poutama, Ngati Ruaka and Ngati Uenuku can be identified as hapu of Te Ati Haunui-a-Paparangi.²⁶³

The plan of the boundaries of the Taumatamahoe No.2B2A block, the Crown award, was made by G. H. Bullard. A subdivisional map was produced in March 1910.²⁶⁴ The boundary between the blocks Nos.2B2A and 2B2B went for several kilometres along the Whangamomona Stream and then to Mt. Whakaihuwaka. The area south of this line was the Maori owned Taumatamahoe No.2B2B block, an area of 25,161 acres. A survey plan of Taumatamahoe No. 2B2B was also made. A survey lien, or debt, of £43 9s 8d was placed on the block.²⁶⁵

The plans of Taumatamahoe 2B2A and 2B2B, and of a number of other blocks in the area recently acquired by the Crown, were described as incomplete by the Chief Surveyor at New Plymouth. The plans were attached to the Court Orders for the blocks but certificates of title for them could not be issued under the Land Transfer Act. This was because the information from which the plans were compiled was not sufficient to meet the requirements of the Act.²⁶⁶ The Under Secretary of Lands replied that there was a difference between plans placed on orders for the Crown and those required by the Land Transfer Act. He said that the land on the Court's Orders for the Crown would be properly surveyed when they were disposed of (or sold). He said 'the surveys are absolutely correct for the purpose of placing plans on Orders of the Court when those Orders are in favour of the Crown' and that the surveys that had been done were not incomplete for that purpose.²⁶⁷ From this correspondence it appears surveying had been done but was incomplete for the purpose of issuing certificates of title. The survey charge placed on the owners of the 2B2B block appears to have been for half the cost of the survey of the block's boundary with the Crown award block, 2B2A.

²⁶¹ Whanganui Native Land Court minute book 61, 19 December 1910, fol. 47

²⁶² Whanganui Native Land Court minute book 62, 13 December 1911, fol. 155-156

²⁶³ *Te Tira Ahu Iwi*, Iwi Transition Agency, July 1991, pp. 26-7

²⁶⁴ Linz file 20/8-1-SNP, Chief Surveyor, New Plymouth, to Registrar, Native Land Court, Wanganui, 2 March 1910, Taumatamahoe 2B2A map (attached)

²⁶⁵ Linz file 20/8-2-SNP, Chief Surveyor, New Plymouth, to President, Aotea Maori Land Board, 29 May 1912

²⁶⁶ *Ibid*, Chief Surveyor, New Plymouth, to Under Secretary, Lands Department, 28 April 1910

²⁶⁷ *Ibid*, Under Secretary, Lands Department, to Chief Surveyor, New Plymouth, 11 May 1910

6.6 The exchange of land with the Whakaihuwaka block

Bullard proposed in April 1912 an exchange of land between the Maori owned Taumatamahoe 2B2B and the Crown owned Whakaihuwaka block. This was to make the boundary of the blocks the watershed, or ridge line between them.²⁶⁸ Subsequent partitioning could then follow the natural topography of the area. This was agreed to by the Maori owners in April 1913. The Native Land Court heard the matter on 11 November 1913 and decided that the boundaries of the Taumatamahoe block should be altered to make the ridge road its south western boundary with the Whakaihuwaka block. The Court ordered that new partitions were to replace those made in 1909 and were to use the road as the external boundary. Natural features were to be adopted as far as possible for the sub-divisions boundaries, although they were to be located as nearly as possible to the original boundaries.²⁶⁹

By November a line had been cut along the boundary of the Crown owned block 2B2A and the Maori owned 2B2B from Mt. Humphries to the Whangamomona Stream, which gave the Maori owners of 2B2B 204 acres more than they had received from the original Court order. This was to compensate them for the land they gave up along the boundary of the Crown owned Whakaihuwaka block.²⁷⁰ The consent of the Native Land Purchase Board, required for exchanges of land under Part XIX of the Native Land Act 1909, was gazetted in August 1914.²⁷¹ Under the agreement two portions of Taumatamahoe 2B2B, one of 540 acres and the other of 70 acres, on the boundary with the Whakaihuwaka block, became Crown land.²⁷² In exchange a total of 646 acres of Crown land in four portions became Maori land.²⁷³ A road, known as the Whakaihuwaka Road was surveyed through the area but never constructed, except as a bridle track, which today is part of the Matemateonga track. Finalising the exchange would have required the deduction of some of the area of the Taumatamahoe 2B2B sections 3, 4 and 5 and the addition to the block of the Crown land from Whakaihuwaka. It is not known if this ever carried out.²⁷⁴ In fact, it appears the exchange of land between the two blocks lapsed, as the boundary between them remains a straight line from Mount Humphries to the Mangamingi Stream.

²⁶⁸ Ibid, Chief Surveyor to Under Secretary, Lands Department, 9 April 1912

²⁶⁹ Whanganui Native Land Court minute book 65, 11 November 1913, fol 52

²⁷⁰ Linz file 20/8-2-SNP, Chief Surveyor to District Surveyor, 14 June 1913 and reply 7 November 1913

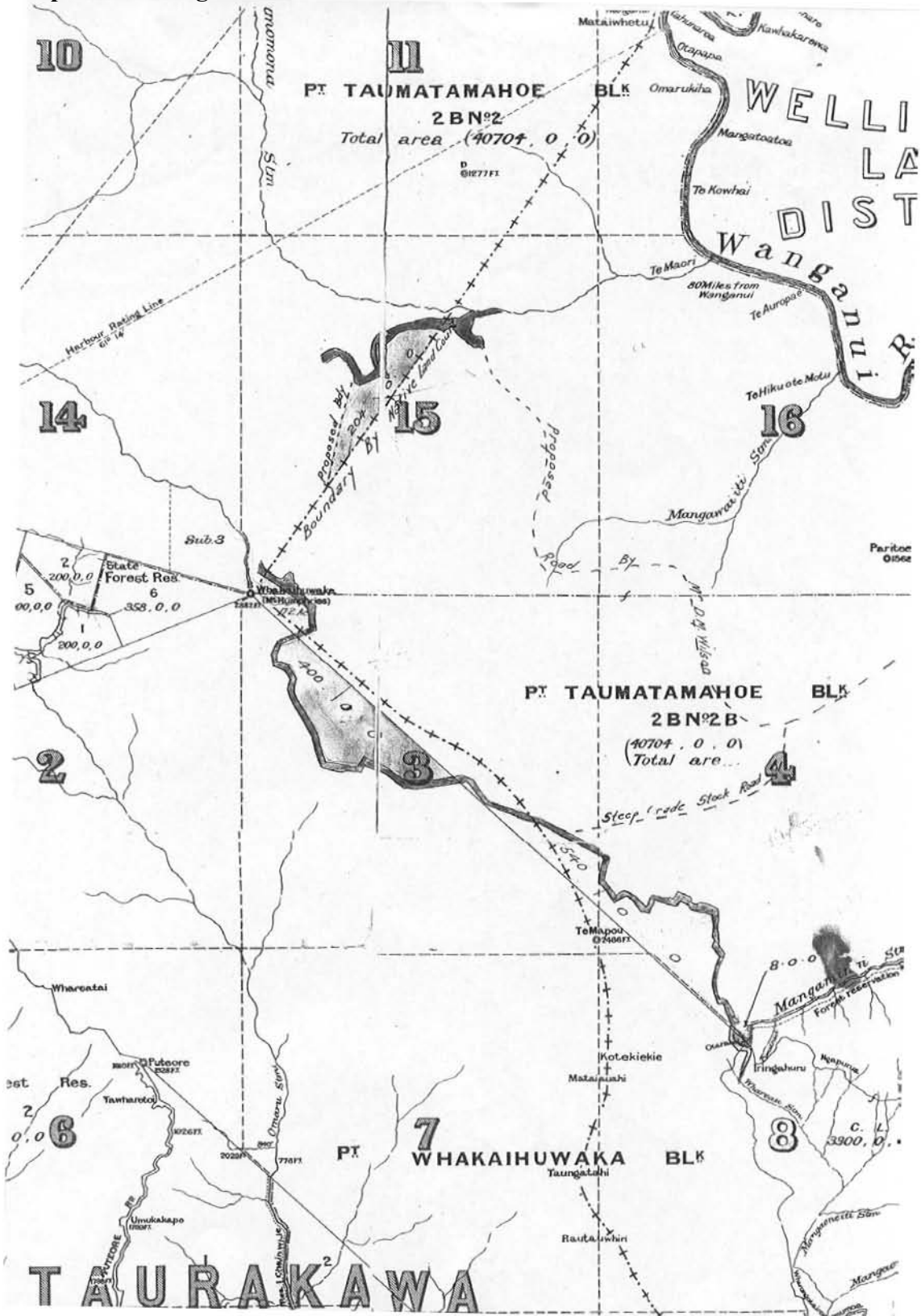
²⁷¹ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1914, no 89, 20 August 1914, p.3194

²⁷² *New Zealand Gazette*, no 102, 17 September 1914, p.3552

²⁷³ Linz file 20/8-2-SNP, Chief Surveyor to Under Secretary, Native Department, 3 July 1915

²⁷⁴ MA-MLP1 1913/69, Under Secretary, Native Department, to Judge Jack, Whanganui Native Land Court, 15 July 1915, Archives New Zealand, Wellington

Map 13: Exchange land 1914



Source: MA-MLP 1905/3, Archives New Zealand Wellington.

6.7 The Dix and Bogle survey, 1914-15

In September 1914 the surveying firm of Dix and Bogle of Whanganui was authorised under section 396 of the Native Land Act 1909 to survey the Taumatamahoe No.2B2B block.²⁷⁵ Bogle was instructed by Bullard that the road line from the Whangamomona Road, which came south from Whangamomona to about three miles east of Mount Humphries, was to be surveyed to Parinui. A road or stock track was also to be surveyed from the Whakaihuwaka road line to the Mangapawa Stream. To complete the periphery survey, Bullard wrote, it was necessary to traverse the Whanganui River from the Parinui bridge site to the south east boundary of the block and to peg a line at the Whangamomona Road end of the north west boundary of about 54 chains. When the periphery survey had been completed it would be possible to ascertain the total area of the block. After a deduction for road access from the Whanganui River to each partition, provided for by the 1909 partition, the balance of the block could be apportioned to the partitions. The sectional boundaries were to follow the best fencing lines. This meant it was necessary to locate the main ridges of the block before deciding on a scheme of partition. Bullard also mentioned a proposed road from Otikoki ridge to Parinui.²⁷⁶ Bogle must have begun by surveying the exchange lands along the boundary of Taumatamahoe 2B2B and Whakaihuwaka as in January 1915 warrants were forwarded for the issue of certificates of title to Te Oiroa Hineru (Te Oiroa Te Peke) and others for land exchanged for parts of the Taumatamahoe block.²⁷⁷ By May 1915 roads had been laid off in the block giving access to Crown land in the Whakaihuwaka, Raoraomouku and Aratawa blocks.

In late 1915 the block's surveyor, A. H. Bogle, enlisted in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force and as his partner was now working for the Waimarino County Council the survey of Taumatamahoe No.2B2B ceased. The plans, field books and traverse and triangulation sheets of the unfinished survey were sent to the Chief Surveyor in New Plymouth. In mid-1916 the Surveyor General authorised the Chief Surveyor to take over the survey of the block.²⁷⁸ Shortly before this two of the Maori owners, Tuharekai and Parekitai Te Hore, wrote to the Chief Surveyor asking how they were to farm the land without it being surveyed and also when a surveyor would be sent. They were told in reply that there was a lot of work to be done before their boundaries could be fixed and that it was unlikely to be done that year.²⁷⁹

The surveying of the partitions in 2B2B was completed in 1922.²⁸⁰ There is no evidence that Crown officials promised roading or surveying to Maori when purchasing shares in the Taumatamahoe block. The sellers probably lived away from the block. However, the Crown had some obligation to survey the partition ordered by the Native Land Court, and, in addition, the access roads laid out in the partition. The

²⁷⁵ Linz file 20/8-2-SNP, Authorisation form, 30 September 1914

²⁷⁶ Ibid, Chief Surveyor to Dix and Bogle Ltd, 3 October 1914

²⁷⁷ Ibid, Commissioner of Crown Lands, New Plymouth, to Under Secretary of Lands, 22 January 1915

²⁷⁸ Ibid, Chief Surveyor, New Plymouth, to A H Bogle, 28 July 1916

²⁷⁹ Ibid, Tuharekai Te Hore and Parekitai Te Hore to Chief Surveyor, 2 July 1916 and reply 19 July 1916

²⁸⁰ Linz file 20/8-5-SNP, Under Secretary, Native Department, to Commissioner of Crown Lands, 6 February 1931

Crown was slow to survey the partitions and never constructed the roads. By the time the partition surveys were made the Crown purchase of the shares in most of the partitions had been completed and consideration was being given to the re-surveying of the land into blocks for European settlement.

6.8 The scenic reserve in section 2B2B14

Section 14 of the Taumatamahoe block was leased to Ashwell and Clark in 1912 for 42 years. They sold the lease to J. A. and E. Galpin the following year. In 1916 the Government decided to take part of the section, which bordered the Whanganui River, for a scenic reserve. The Galpins' lawyer asked for a refund of part of their rent as the exact area taken had not been determined and they were paying rent on the whole section. The rent was paid to the Aotea Maori Land Board, which acted on behalf of the owners. The Under Secretary of the Native Department decided that the Board could not reduce the rent until the land for the scenic reserve was taken by proclamation.²⁸¹ Although the Taumatamahoe sections were not vested in the Board it was sometimes involved in the administration of the sections.

In August 1916, an intention by the Government to take 478 acres for a scenic reserve was gazetted.²⁸² Mrs Galpin's lawyer objected to this as she had spent money to obtain the lease and make improvements and the loss of the land would interfere with the working of the remainder of the section. The 1916 land taking was replaced by a 1917 gazette notice which reduced the amount of land being taken for a scenic reserve by slightly over 7 ½ acres, land which had been intended for a road. This left 470a 1r 20p. The land taken in section 14 became a scenic reserve.²⁸³

In October 1919 the lawyers for the owners of section 14, the only section in Taumatamahoe 2B2B which was leased, wrote to the Chief Surveyor requesting the completion of the surveying of the section. They wrote:

In 1912 we obtained confirmation of a lease of this section and have been waiting since to have the title completed by the endorsement of the plans. The Crown has been buying up various interests of the natives in the adjoining sections and we understand the Crown does not want the survey completed until it has acquired all the rest of the land and then the Crown land can be surveyed off to suit the Crown requirements. Our clients have been waiting seven years for this to be done but they feel they must insist on urging the completion of the plans of this section. The surveyors who were at work surveying the road line through the block and the scenic reserve inform us that all the boundaries of this section have been surveyed, and that a plan could easily be prepared of this section to enable the title to be registered.²⁸⁴

The Chief Surveyor sent a letter on the subject to the Registrar of the Whanganui Native Land Court, and presumably sent a similar letter in reply to the lawyers. He

²⁸¹ MA1 1916/2152, Under Secretary, Native Department, to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey Department, 26 June 1916

²⁸² *New Zealand Gazette*, 1916, no 93, 31 August 1916, p.2897

²⁸³ Linz file 20/8-3-SNP, Armstrong, Craig and Barton, to Chief Surveyor, Wellington, 3 October 1919

²⁸⁴ Linz file 20/8-3-SNP, Armstrong Craig and Barton to Chief Surveyor, 3 October 1919

said that a survey of Taumatamahoe 2B2B had been authorised in September 1914 but not completed as the surveyor had volunteered for active service. Since then the Crown had purchased many interests in the block from the Maori owners and consequently completing the survey at the present stage would be a needless expenditure from which no purpose would be gained. It was intended to apply to the Native Land Court to consolidate the Crown's interest. The Native Land Purchase officer was expected in New Plymouth and he would be asked when purchase operations in the block would cease and a survey could commence.²⁸⁵ The Chief Surveyor was linking the completion of the survey of the block with the completion of Crown purchasing there.

Compensation for the land taken for the scenic reserve was determined by the Native Land Court in 1919. The Court assessed compensation at £412 and appears to have divided this between the owners and the lessees, with £54 being paid to the owners and £358 to the lessors.²⁸⁶ While the Native Land Court minute book record is difficult to read a transcript of it says it was subsequently decided that the leases had no interest in the scenic reserve land and that the Court ordered that all the compensation of £412 be paid to the 25 Maori owners.²⁸⁷

An attempt was made to lease the non-reserve part of section 14, an area of over 2000 acres, in 1998. This followed a meeting of the owners on 12 November where they agreed to lease the land for \$2000 and appointed the Maori Trustee as their agent in the matter. The arrangement, however, did not proceed.²⁸⁸ The reason for this was probably the difficulty of farming the section, which is accessible only by jet boat or helicopter.

6.9 The question of soldier settlement

With the end of the First World War the settlement of returned soldiers on farms became Government policy. Under the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act 1915, land was made available for settlement by returned servicemen. The land could be purchased, either outright or on a deferred purchase license, or leased for 66 years, with compulsory residence and improvements to be made as required by the Land Board. There were a number of returned soldier settlements on the Taumatamahoe No.1 block. These were mentioned in this report in the section on that block.

There does not appear to have been soldier settlement on the Taumatamahoe 2B blocks, although there has been some suggestion that there was. In early 1920 the private secretary of Dr Maui Pomare, Member of Parliament for Western Maori, asked the Commissioner of Crown Land which areas of Taumatamahoe were being allocated for this purpose.²⁸⁹ He was informed that none of Taumatamahoe had been allocated for the settlement of returned servicemen as the survey of the block, meaning

²⁸⁵ Ibid, Chief Surveyor to Registrar, Whanganui Native Land Court, 29 October 1919

²⁸⁶ R Hodge, 'The Scenic Reserves of the Whanganui River 1891- 1986', 2002, p.154

²⁸⁷ Whanganui Native Land Court minute book 72, 2 May 1919, fols 43-44, transcript in Taumatamahoe land block order file 4, WH 330, Aotea Maori Land Court, Whanganui

²⁸⁸ Aotea Maori Land Court minute book 34, 20 August 1999, fol. 93

²⁸⁹ Ibid, S Foster to Commissioner of Crown Lands, New Plymouth, 16 February 1920

Taumatamahoe No.2B2B, had not yet made. However a letter was sent by the Clerk of Waimarino County in May 1920 saying that soldier settlers in the Taumatamahoe and Mangapukitea blocks had requested a punt on the Whanganui River to give them access to the stock market at Raetihi.²⁹⁰ The Commissioner again replied that no soldiers had been settled on these blocks and that he did not know of any soldiers being present on them.

As there were soldier settlements on the Taranaki and central parts of the Taumatamahoe block, at Whangamomona, Kohuratahi and Aotuhia, the Commissioner was probably referring to soldier settlement on Taumatamahoe No.2 block. The only settler on the Taumatamahoe No.2 block who could be seen as a soldier settler was J. F. Nolan. He applied in 1922 to lease the land between Hamilton's farm and Parinui. This was the sections 15A, 15B and 16 and was mostly Crown-owned. Nolan was a returned soldier who had been badly wounded in the foot and was unable to farm the land he had been allotted in the Wellington district as it was too rough.²⁹¹ Nolan had paid back all money advanced to him on his allotment in the Wellington district and was given the lease of the land between Hamilton's farm and Parinui. He also farmed at the Mangapurua soldier settlement across the river. The settlement of the Mangapurua Valley by returned soldiers began in 1917.²⁹² It was the main returned soldier's settlement on the Whanganui River and the site of the 'bridge to nowhere'.

Nolan had left Taumatamahoe by 1927 as Hekenui Whakarake applied to lease or buy the land Nolan had farmed. Hekenui thought Nolan had applied for the land under the settlement of returned soldiers scheme. This does not appear to be correct. Nolan appears to have leased land near Parinui after giving up a returned soldier scheme allotment, but he may be the basis of the belief that returned servicemen were settled on Taumatamahoe land by the Whanganui River.

The use of the Taumatamahoe 2B2B block for soldier settlement may have been considered by Government officials as the block was placed under the provisions of section 363 of the Native Land Act 1909, which prohibited private alienation, in May 1915, five months before the passing of the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act. The area would have been suitable for soldier settlement as the construction a road from Raetihi to Whangamomona with a bridge at Parinui was still considered likely by Government officials.

6.10 Maori agriculture, and owners' reasons for selling shares

Although servicemen were not being settled on the block there was settler interest in Taumatamahoe 2B2B. In February 1920, Mr A. Allan wrote to the Commissioner of Crown Lands in New Plymouth saying that he was seeking land and was considering taking land at Parinui, 16 miles above Pipiriki. The land he was considering was very steep and could not be worked without taking section 20, one of the papakainga

²⁹⁰ Ibid, Waimarino County Clerk to Commissioner of Crown Lands, 18 May 1920

²⁹¹ Ibid, Chief Surveyor to Under Secretary, Lands Department, 29 November 1922

²⁹² Bates, p32, and AJHR, 1918, C-9, 'Discharged Soldiers Settlement. Report for the year ended 31 March 1918

sections of Taumatamahoe 2B2B. He thought the land available for settlement at Parinui could only be made an economic unit if the Crown took over the papakainga section, which was then owned by ten Maori. In addition, he stated that the Maori-owned sections 15A2 and 15A3 were overrun with scrub, gorse, ragwort, and briar. He said he was the manager of lands adjoining these sections and that it was difficult to keep the land free of weeds. By implication he believed this was due to the weeds on the Maori-owned land. He considered the Maori land should be taken over and was prepared to take over the sections, if only to keep them free of weeds. He also referred to land between what he called the new road and the Tangahoe Stream and said it was unfit for settlement, and fit only for a scenic reserve.²⁹³ This was probably because of its steepness.

Mr Allan's comments on the Maori-owned land in section 15A suggest that the Maori farming on the section had come to an end, or at least was in decline. The owners may have been overwhelmed by ragwort, a notoriously invasive weed, but the failure of the Crown to complete the survey of the block and thereby complete the ownership title must also have been a factor. The owners knew that until they had a clear title to part of the section they were exposed to the alienation of land they had improved. The refusal of the Chief Surveyor to proceed with finalising the survey of Taumatamahoe 2B2B, mentioned in section 6.8, probably reduced the incentive for Maori agricultural development in the block. A lack of title also prevented Maori owners from raising mortgage finance for development. In an area like Taumatamahoe No.2B2B, which was difficult country to farm, this could have a disastrous and debilitating effect. The reason for this was that land which had been cleared had to be grassed, fenced and stocked quickly, or it would revert to secondary growth. This may have been what had happened to the Maori farming on section 15A. The Maori farmers there lacked the capital to complete and stock their pastures and the land was overrun with weeds. Had they clear title, from a completed subdivisional survey, and consequently access to possible bank loans, the result might have been different.

The farming at Parinui was not entirely unsuccessful and Allan may have been exaggerating the extent of the reversion to weeds and secondary growth. In the 1920s Jack Ward, a settler at Mangapurua, described the land around the pa at Parinui as comprising hundreds of acres of good, ploughable farm land. He said the table land at Tangahoe was used to grow wheat which was milled at Pipiriki. G. C. Hamilton, who Ward was visiting, thought Parinui was then used only for subsistence farming, whereas it had been a really large Maori pa in the past.²⁹⁴

However, some farming was continued by the Hore or Hori family, and probably others, on the land remaining to Maori non-sellers in Taumatamahoe No.2B2B. The lease of sections 15A2, 15A3A, 15A3B, and the four partitions of section 19, was handed over in 1970 by Rangi Te Hori to his adoptive son Thomas Treanor. Mr Treanor farmed the land by boat from Pipiriki and by 1976 had 700 ewes on the approximately 1000 acres he was leasing.²⁹⁵ He faced a difficulty in farming the land, however, as improvements he made to the land, such as fencing, could not be

²⁹³ Ibid, A Allan to Commissioner of Crown Lands, 20 February 1920

²⁹⁴ Bates, p.72

²⁹⁵ ABJZ, 869, 47/2/80, part 1, minutes of the Maori Land Advisory Committee, Whanganui, 19 August 1976, Archives New Zealand, Wellington

compensated for under the lease. He continued farming on these sections, which include Parinui, until at least the mid-1980s.²⁹⁶

Several offers to sell shares in the Taumatamahoe 2B2B block to the Crown were made soon after the partition of 1909. These offers give an indication of the reasons owners had for selling their shares. In March 1910 of that year a minor named Te Maupitangi asked the Native Minister for an advance on his share of the block. He probably intended selling his shares on attaining his majority and gave as his reason for the request that he was in difficulties. The Under Secretary replied that although the request had been referred to a state lending agency, he doubted if a loan would be granted as Te Maupitangi's interest in the block had not been located on partition and he was one of a number of owners in common.²⁹⁷

Another reason for selling was given by Ue Keepa who wrote to the Native Minister in April 1910 wanting to have his interest in Taumatamahoe 2B2 handed over to the Aotea Maori Land Board for leasing. He stated he lived permanently in Taranaki and that the land was lying idle and unproductive and was of no use to him or to the Dominion.²⁹⁸ Similar letters were written on the same day by Paretauhinga Rewai and Te Hue Riwai. The Under Secretary of the Native Department instructed an official to reply separately to each request saying that as they only owned small, undivided interests in the block, it was not of any advantage to vest their land in the Board. He wrote that 'to do any good the whole block should be vested'.²⁹⁹

Generally, Whanganui Maori suffered from poor health and poor living conditions through out the period in which the Government purchased interests in the Taumatamahoe No. 2 block. There was, for example, a typhoid epidemic at Hiruharama in 1910.³⁰⁰ Poverty would have tended to prevent land development and would have made the sale of interest in land more likely.

6.11 Conclusion

Crown purchasing resumed in Taumatamahoe 2B2B, the land remaining to the non-sellers in the Taumatamahoe block, in 1906, after six years during which purchasing was halted by a move to the leasing of Maori land in Government policy nationally. The purchasing of shares resumed in Taumatamahoe 2B2B, and though-out the country, in 1906 as insufficient leasehold land was being obtained for European settlement. In 1906, at the commencement of renewed Crown purchasing, the Maori owned 2B2 block comprised 40,704 acres. The renewal of purchasing was followed in 1907 by the Stout Commission, which made a number of recommendations for the Taumatamahoe 2B2 block. One of these was for the identification of the Crown interest in the block. This was carried out the same year by the Native Land Court and gave the Crown 17,402 acres. The partition left the Taumatamahoe 2B2B block, of

²⁹⁶ ABJZ, 869, 47/2/80, part 1, Farm financial statement to March 1984, Archives New Zealand, Wellington

²⁹⁷ MA1, 1910/4191, H C Williamson to Native Minister, 2 March 1910 (and reply), Archives New Zealand, Wellington

²⁹⁸ MA-MLP1, 1910/4359, U Keepa to Native Minister, 26 April 1910, Archives New Zealand, Wellington

²⁹⁹ Ibid, T Fisher to Mr Grace, 26 May 1910

³⁰⁰ T Walzl, 'Whanganui land 1900-1970', Report for the Waitangi Tribunal, June 2002, (draft), p150

25,163 acres, to the non-sellers. The Court ordered the preservation of burial grounds in the Taumatamahoe 2B2A block, awarded to the Crown, but declined a Maori request for a 100 acre burial ground reserve. Another of the Commissions recommendations, that the land remaining to the non-sellers be divided between groups of owners, was carried out by the Court in 1909. This created 20 sections in Taumatamahoe 2B2B, of which two were papakainga sections. The Commission also recommended a cessation of Crown purchasing in the Taumatamahoe 2B2B. This was ignored by the Crown and the Crown purchasing of interests in the 2B2B sections commenced in 1911.

Surveying of Taumatamahoe 2B2B was carried out by the Crown in 1910 and 1914-15, but was not completed to the standard required for the issue of certificates of title to the 18 Maori owed sections until 1922. The delay in the completion of the survey was probably due to the First World War. Crown purchasing commenced in the Taumatamahoe 2B2B sections, in 1911 to 1912. This, combined with the lack of completed surveys and clear land titles, acted to undermine the attempts by Maori to develop their lands and contributed to the sale of the land. The land was in multiple ownership and other reasons that led owners to sell their shares included poverty and that they lived elsewhere.

Chapter 7 Crown purchasing in the Taumatamahoe 2B2B sections

7.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the Crown's purchase of most of the shares in the 18 sections which the Taumatamahoe 2B2B block was divided into by the Native Land Court in 1909. Crown purchasing had definitely begun by 1912, and probably began in late 1911. Crown pre-emption was introduced in 1915 and by 1920 the Crown had purchased most of the shares in the block's sections. The chapter considers the Crown's reasons for purchasing shares in the block, and the use made by the Crown of Taumatamahoe 2B2B after it had acquired most of the block. The chapter includes a section on roading in the block and on the school site.

7.2 The commencement of Crown purchasing

The central Whanganui district's first white settlers, G. C. Hamilton and his wife Annie, arrived in 1910. They acquired land in the Aratawa block, near Parinui, which was separated from the Whanganui River by part of Taumatamahoe 2B2B section 15. They settled there in the belief that a road would be built between Raetihi and Taranaki and would cross the Whanganui River by a bridge at Parinui. The road from Parinui to Whangamomona, known as the Whakaihuwaka Road, would have passed their farm, had it been built. The bridge at Parinui had been surveyed by 1910 and it, and the road to Whangamomona, would probably have been built had the First World War not begun in 1914.³⁰¹ The early twentieth century intention to build a major highway through Taumatamahoe 2B2B block was probably a major reason for Government purchasing in the block.

In October 1911, the Commissioner of Crown Lands in New Plymouth wrote to the Under Secretary of Lands to advocate the purchasing of the Taumatamahoe 2B2B block, as it was entirely surrounded by Crown land. The Crown land to the south was the Whakaihuwaka A and Raoraomouku blocks, to the north was Taumatamahoe 2B2A block. A map attached to his letter showed Taumatamahoe No.2B2B as native land to be acquired and Taumatamahoe No.2B2A as Crown land under survey. He wrote that Taumatamahoe No.2B2B should be purchased as:

In a very short time the Government will be spending thousands of pounds to give access to the Crown Lands and also on roading through the same. A glance at the litho (attached map) will shew you the desirability of acquiring these lands in the interests of settlement before the roads are constructed, which construction will considerably enhance the value of the Native Lands.³⁰²

On the accompanying map, the Raoraomouku block and one of the Whakaihuwaka blocks are shown as surveyed Crown land that was ready to be opened for settlement.

³⁰¹ Bates, p.71

³⁰² Linz file 20/8-2-SNP, Commissioner of Crown Lands, New Plymouth, to Under Secretary of Lands, 30 October 1911

Crown purchasing of shares in Taumatamahoe No.2B2B commenced probably before the end of 1911. By April 1912 the subdivision 2B2B section 12 had been fully purchased. It was declared Crown land under section 368 of the Native Land Act 1909 that month.³⁰³ The Aotea Maori Land Board deducted from the purchase money the sum of £1 19s as the proportion of the cost of the survey of Taumatamahoe 2B2B owed by the owners of section 12. This deduction appears to be a share of the cost of the 1910 survey of the boundary between the 2B2A and 2B2B blocks, and also a share of the survey lien of 1899. Cheques were also sent by the Board for the purchase of shares in sections 10 and 11. The purchase of section 11 was completed by the end of 1913 and it was gazetted.³⁰⁴ Section 11 was purchased for £854 7s 6d. In November 1913 the papakainga section 19 was partitioned into four parts, known as A,B,C and D.³⁰⁵

In May 1914, section 14 was leased and the Board sent the owners' share of the survey lien to the New Plymouth Chief Surveyor. The lawyers for the lessor wrote to the Registrar of the Native Land Court asking that section 14 be surveyed so the title to the section could be completed. In July G.H. Bullard, now Chief Surveyor, informed the Registrar that he did not consider it advisable to proceed with subdivisional surveying until a periphery survey of the whole of 2B2B could be made. This had been held over as he was unable to obtain a guarantee of payment and because the Government was negotiating land purchases in the block. He thought it useless to survey subdivisional lines laid out by the Court as most of the lines could not be fenced.³⁰⁶ The Maori owners of the Taumatamahoe 2B2B were being charged for a survey which was not a periphery survey, or at least not a complete one, and from which ownership titles could not be completed.

7.3 Crown purchasing in Taumatamahoe 2B2B from 1915

Crown purchasing in Taumatamahoe 2B2B continued and in May 1915 a prohibition on private alienation in the block was issued under section 363 of the Native Land Act 1909.³⁰⁷ This section stated that when a contract had been made for the purchase by the Crown of Native land, or when negotiations for this purpose are contemplated or in progress, the Governor could, on the recommendation of the Native Land Purchase Board, prohibit all alienation except in favour of the Crown. The prohibition lasted one year but could be renewed for a further six months and applied to all the sections in the block, apart from sections 11 and 12, which had already been purchased by the Crown. In Taumatamahoe 2B2B, the prohibition was renewed in 1916, re-issued in 1918 and 1920, extended in 1921, re-issued in 1923 and extended in 1924.³⁰⁸

³⁰³ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1912, no. 32, 4 April 1912, p.1216

³⁰⁴ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1913, no. 86, 4 December 1913, p.3577

³⁰⁵ Linz file 20/8-2-SNP, H Lowe for Chief Surveyor to A H Bogle, 7 May 1915

³⁰⁶ *Ibid*, Chief Surveyor to Registrar, Wanganui Native Land Court, 20 June 1912

³⁰⁷ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1915, no. 104, 13 May 1915, p.1755

³⁰⁸ *New Zealand Gazettes*, 1916, no. 48, 27 April, 1916, p. 1210; 1918, no. 85, 13 June 1918, p. 2175; 1920, no. 1, 8 January 1920, p. 33; 1921, no. 51, 26 May 1921, p. 1353; 1923, no. 45, 17 May 1923; 1924, no. 30, 8 May 1924, p. 1095

By 1915, the Native Land Purchase Board had decided to acquire as much as possible of the Taumatamahoe 2B2B block.³⁰⁹ This may have been due to the intention to build a road from Raetihi to Whangamomona, with bridge at Parinui, which would have become the main road from Wellington to Taranaki. The Board's decision to acquire further land in the block may also have been influenced by the high prices for farm products obtained during the First World War. The Board may also have been seeking land for farms for returned soldiers in accordance with the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act, which was passed in 1915. It had, however, been Crown policy throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries to seek to obtain from Maori the maximum possible amount of land, either for European settlement or for conservation purposes.³¹⁰ Crown purchasing in Taumatamahoe 2B2B after 1911 may also have been motivated by a continuation of this policy.

An application was made for the partition of section 15 in July 1915. This was agreed to by the Court. The section then formed sections 15A and 15B. Partitions of this sort were usually made when a significant number of owners were considered by the land purchase officer to be unlikely to sell their interests. In this case section 15B was sold soon after partition but part of section 15A was farmed by Maori and remains in Maori ownership.³¹¹

In November 1915 section 18, the largest of the Taumatamahoe 2B2B subdivisions, was purchased by the Crown. It was sold for £3173, or a pound per acre. The Aotea Maori Land Board deducted £5 9s 10d from the purchase money for the original survey lien on the 2B2B block and a proportion of the estimated cost of the recent subdivisional survey. This was objected to by the Maori sellers of section 18 as they had understood in agreeing to sell for one pound per acre that the section was clear of deductions.³¹² They thought this had also been the case with the earlier sales of sections 11 and 12, both of which had survey lien deductions made from them. The Board deducted £226 from the purchase money paid for section 18 for the proportion of the subdivisional survey due from the section.

The Surveyor General estimated in April 1916 that the Crown had acquired 7000 acres in Taumatamahoe No.2B2B. This was about a quarter of the land under survey contract. The Crown was seeking to obtain interests in the block so that a compact acreage could be acquired.³¹³ Purchases of shares were made in 1916 in sections 1,2,4,5,9 and 15B.³¹⁴ Section 17, of 1663 acres, was fully purchased and declared Crown land in March 1916.³¹⁵ The Government paid £1247 for the section and a charge for the survey lien was deducted from the payment. Purchasing was also completed in section 15B and it was declared Crown land in September 1916.³¹⁶ In

³⁰⁹ Linz file 20/8-2-SNP, Under Secretary, Native Department, to Commissioner, Crown Lands, 30 June 1915

³¹⁰ D V Williams, *Te Kooti Tango Whenua*, p.63

³¹¹ Linz file 20/8-7-SNP, List of outstanding survey liens, 1974

³¹² Linz file 20/8-2-SNP, Under Secretary, Native Department, to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey, 7 December 1915

³¹³ Ibid, Surveyor General, to Chief Surveyor, New Plymouth, 20 April 1916

³¹⁴ Ibid, Chief Surveyor, New Plymouth, to Registrar, Aotea Maori Land Board, 21 September 1916

³¹⁵ *New Zealand Gazette*, no. 35, 30 March 1916, p.901

³¹⁶ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1916, no. 99, 7 September 1916, p.2948

November 1916 the purchasing of section 2 was also completed and it was declared Crown land.³¹⁷

Purchases continued in 1917, with shares purchased sections 1,6,8 and 13. In July Ema Hipango, the group leader in section 13, sold her interests in the section, and in September Te Oiroa Te Peke (Hinerau) sold his interests in section 1, the section of which he had been group leader. The Native Department Under Secretary drew up a summary of Crown purchasing to September 1917.

Table 4: Crown purchasing in Taumatamahoe No. 2B2B to September 1917

Section	Acreage	Acreage acquired	Expenditure
Section 1	1381 acres	230 acres acquired	£173 14s
Section 3	1144 acres	Fully acquired	£994
Section 4	921 acres	516 acquired	£393 4s 6d
Section 5	1739 acres	1043 acquired	£910 16s
Section 6	179 acres	4 acquired	£41 5s 7d
Section 8	2178 acres	1385 acquired	£1211 13s 4d
Section 9	1215 acres	745 acquired	£745 3s
Section 10	1124 acres	950 acquired	£1069 5s 4d
Section 13	422 acres	316 acquired	£316 10s

Source: Linz file 20/8-3-SNP

In addition to section 3, the sections 2,11,12,15B,17,18 had been purchased by the Crown. It was considered by the Surveyor General that no further shares could be purchased in sections 5 and 13 and consideration was given to partitioning the Crown interest there. The Crown then owned 14,765 acres out of the 25,161 acre Taumatamahoe 2B2B block and the Commissioner of Crown Lands thought the Crown interest in it should be consolidated to enable the land to be subdivided efficiently.³¹⁸ There had been no Crown purchasing in the Papakainga sections 19 and 20 or in section 14, which was leased.

7.4 Crown acquisitions 1917-1920

In late 1917 an application was lodged in the Native Land Court in Whanganui for the definition of the Crown's interests in sections 5 and 13. This appears to have been made by the Commissioner of Crown Lands. The Registrar of the Court forwarded partition orders for sections 1 to 20 to the Chief Surveyor in New Plymouth. He replied that it was not advisable to complete the surveying of the partitions until the prohibition on the alienation of land in the block was removed. This would be when Crown purchasing there was complete. He said that the consolidation of interests would cancel some of the partitions and further charges on the sections of the block could be avoided by not completing the survey.³¹⁹

³¹⁷ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1916, no. 131, 23 November 1916, p.3622

³¹⁸ Linz file 20/8-3-SNP, Commissioner of Crown Lands to Under Secretary, Lands Department, 1 November 1917

³¹⁹ *Ibid*, Chief Surveyor to Registrar, Whanganui Native Land Court, 22 April 1918

The prohibition on private alienation in Taumatamahoe 2B2B was renewed under section 363 of the Native Land Act 1909 in June 1918. The sections then remaining in Maori ownership, or partly acquired by the Crown, were sections 1, 4-10, 13, 15A, 16, 19 and 20. In the same month an offer to sell was made by one of the owners of section 15A. This section of 1165 acres, with a river frontage, was farmed by members of the Hore family. The offer to sell came from an Turahui Whiu, as owner of shares equivalent to 58 acres of the section. He was not involved in the farming of the section and was prepared to accept an unimproved value for his shares as he had done no work to improve the section. His lawyer suggested cutting off the corner of section 15, where it bordered section 14, as this was away from the road and the river where the other owners had made their improvements.³²⁰ An application for the partition of the Crown's interest in section 15A was lodged in October. The Crown's interest in the section comprised 5 of the 96 shares in the block. The 5 shares had been purchased from Turahui Whiu.³²¹

The Native Land Act 1909 made provision for groups of owners of Maori land to vote on the sale of land blocks, and to decide to sell the entire block by majority decision. No evidence had been found for this occurring in the Taumatamahoe 2B2B block; the purchase of individual shares in the sections by the Government continued.

Purchasing in section 9 was completed by mid-1918 and it was declared Crown land.³²² The shares in the section were acquired between March 1916 and June 1918. The application for the partitioning of the Crown's interest in sections 5 and 13 was taken to the Native Land Court in August but was stood down pending the arrival of a representative of the Lands Department and the attendance of the Maori non-sellers. A letter was sent to the Minister of Lands two months later saying that Mrs McGregor, the owner of the only remaining shares in section 5, wished to exchange them for a block nearer to roads.³²³ The Commissioner of Crown Lands had no objection to such an exchange although her interests in section 5 had not been defined by survey.³²⁴

All interests in section 16 were purchased by the Crown in January and February 1919. The section was proclaimed Crown land in March 1919.³²⁵ A scheme or plan for the partition of sections 5 and 13 was sent to the Native Land Court in May 1919. By then the Crown had completed the purchase of nine of the sections of Taumatamahoe 2B2B. A summary was made of the remaining sections by the Under Secretary of the Native Department. In section 1 there were 32 shares outstanding, or held by non-sellers, out of a total of 1381 shares. In section 4 there were 267 shares outstanding, out of a total of 921 shares. The Under Secretary thought that the remaining owners would sell shortly. Purchasing had only begun recently in section 7, where 225 shares out of the total 1570 shares had been purchased. He expected that several large interests could be acquired there soon and the balance of the section when successors were appointed to deceased owners. In section 8 there were 521 shares outstanding of 2179 shares. Two of the non-sellers lived as Parihaka and one was considered a strong non-seller. A partition of this section was thought

³²⁰ Ibid, Under Secretary, Native Department, to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey, 15 June 1918

³²¹ Ibid, Under Secretary, Native Department, to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey, 18 October 1918

³²² *New Zealand Gazette*, 1918, no. 100, 18 July 1918, p.2608

³²³ Linz file 20/8-3-SNP, George McGregor to Minister of Lands, 3 October 1918

³²⁴ Ibid, Commissioner, Crown Lands, to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey, undated

³²⁵ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1919, no. 31, 3 March 1919, p.707

advisable. Partitioning was pending in sections 5, 13 and 15A. In section 13 this was because under the terms of the will of a deceased owner, the trustees of the small remaining unpurchased portion did not have the power to sell. In sections 6 and 10 it was thought that the remaining unpurchased shares could be acquired when successors were appointed.³²⁶

In summary, in May 1919, 11,258 acres had been proclaimed Crown land, a further 6,382 acres had been purchased but not yet proclaimed, and 4,297 acres remained held by non-sellers.

A further application for the partition of the Crown's interest in a section, this time of section 8, was made in July 1919. This appears to have prompted a letter from the Chief Surveyor to the Under Secretary of Lands saying that as many outstanding shares in Taumatamahoe 2B2B should be purchased as soon as possible. This would allow a cancellation of the partition orders and a consolidation of the Crown's purchases. Survey operations could then commence as soon as surveyors were available.³²⁷ The Chief Surveyor's opinion was that surveying was not necessary until the block was purchased by the Crown. By contrast Mana Tume, one of the Maori owners of section 15A, wrote to the Chief Surveyor in August 1919 to say that the Maori owners of the section were anxious to have their interests in the section surveyed and were prepared to advance the cost of the survey.³²⁸ The Chief Surveyor replied that the survey of section 15A had not been requisitioned by the Native Land Court and could not be authorised.

Purchasing was completed in section 10 by mid-1919 and it was proclaimed Crown Land in August 1919.³²⁹ Section 15A had been partitioned by the Native Land Court into three sections. The shares in section 15A1 were purchased by the Crown between July 1918 and June 1919. The section was also proclaimed Crown land in August 1919 and amounted to 242 acres.³³⁰ This left 916 acres in the Maori owned partitions 15A2 and 15A3.

Crown purchasing continued in sections 1,4,6,7,8 and 9 in late 1919. The Crown was not purchasing in the two papakainga, known as sections 19 and 20. In November the Registrar of the Court notified the Chief Surveyor that a requisition had been made by the Native Land Court for the survey of the papakainga sections. He stated that the Under Secretary of the Native Department saw the survey of the papakainga sections as being in the interests of the Maori owners. However the Under Secretary accepted that, as the Crown had not finished purchasing in the other sections of the block, it was not desirable to survey them until the Crown's interest had been consolidated.³³¹

³²⁶ Linz file 20/8-3-SNP, Under Secretary, Native Department, to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey, 2 May 1919

³²⁷ Ibid, Chief Surveyor to Under Secretary, Lands Department, 17 July 1919

³²⁸ Ibid, Mana Tume to Chief Surveyor, New Plymouth, 6 August 1919

³²⁹ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1919, no. 99, 14 August 1919, p.2611

³³⁰ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1919, no. 107, 28 August 1919, p.2706

³³¹ Linz file 20/8-3-SNP, Registrar, Whanganui Native Land Court, to Chief Surveyor, 14 November 1919

7.5 The near completion of Crown purchasing of Taumatamahoe 2B2B

By 1920, Crown purchasing in the Taumatamahoe No.2B2B block was nearing completion. Some interest was being expressed by settlers in acquiring the land. One inquiry was from Mr Allan. He was informed that although the Crown did have land in the area he had enquired about, and it was proposed to offer the land for selection, the surveys were incomplete and there was no road access. It was not known when the land would be ready as there were no staff available to make the surveys.³³² The surveys now being referred to were subdivisional surveys which would divide the purchased land into farms for settlement. These surveys were distinct from the incomplete subdivisional surveys needed to define the partitions made by the Native Land Court in 1909.

The completion of the partitions of Taumatamahoe 2B2B section 1 to 20 ordered by the Native Land Court on 23 March 1909 was authorised in October 1920. A.H. Bogle, and a new partner, were to carry out the survey required. They were instructed by the Chief Surveyor that all the land north of the Tangahoe Stream was Crown land and that there was therefore no need to survey partition boundaries which remained unsurveyed. South of the Tangahoe Stream partitions were to be pegged for sections 15, 16, 19 and 20 but the boundaries of sections 10, 12, 18 and between 15 and 19 did not need surveying as sufficient data was already held for compilation.³³³

During 1920 George McGregor, the last non-seller in section 5, agreed to sell his shares in the section for £1 per acre. This completed the purchase of section 5.³³⁴ The purchase of section 4 was completed a month later.³³⁵ The Crown applied for a partition of section 13 in May 1921. In July Mr Hamilton applied for land which had recently been surveyed by Mr Bogle and which bordered his farm. He was informed that the Crown had thousands of acres in Taumatamahoe and that a surveyor would soon be sent to prepare the area for sale. This was in addition to Mr Bogle who had commenced surveying the partitions in the block. In April Winiata Temaruariki sent payment for the survey of section 14 to the Department of Lands and Survey.³³⁶

In early 1922 Hekenui Whakarake, of Hekenui landing, Pipiriki, wrote to Dr Pomare asking if a Maori could purchase Crown sections in Taumatamahoe. He wanted to buy the section at the back of the one he occupied to make his holding large enough for a sheep farm. The Commissioner of Crown Lands expressed his opposition to Hekenui obtaining land in the block as his existing farm was mostly in manuka scrub. In early 1927, Hekenui Whakarake again applied to purchase land in the block but was declined when it was found that although he was supplying cream to a Whanganui dairy company, the company held a bill of sale over his herd.³³⁷ This suggests he would have purchased the 611 acres of Crown land he wanted in sections 15A and 20 with credit from the Government and his existing debt precluded a further loan.

³³² Ibid, Commissioner of Crown Lands to Mr A Allan, 3 March 1920

³³³ Ibid, Chief Surveyor to Wall and Bogle, 13 October 1920

³³⁴ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1920, no. 68, 22 July 1920, p.2192-3

³³⁵ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1920, no. 77, 26 August 1920, p.2536

³³⁶ Linz file 20/8-4-SNP, file note, 8 April 1921

³³⁷ Linz file 20/8-6-SNP, Commissioner, Crown Lands, to Hekenui, 16 February 1927

Table 5: Crown acquisitions in Taumatamahoe No.2B2B to 1924

Section number	Gazetted as Crown land	Purchase price	Survey lien
Section 1	NZG 1923 p720	£1,035 and £255 17s 1d interest	£25 17s 6d
Section 2	NZG 1916 p3622	£1,247	£65 0s 4d
Section 3	NZG 1917 p4277	£994	£44 18s
Section 4	NZG 1920 p2536	£690	
Section 5	NZG 1920 p2192	£1,518	
Section 6	NZG 1923 p2984	£178 and £36 3s interest	£4 9s
Section 7	NZG 1923 p610	£1,570 and £188 16s interest	£39 15s
Section 8B	NZG 1923 p1240	£1,782 14s 2d and £421 3s 6d interest	£44 11s 9d
Section 9	NZG 1918 p2608	£1,215	£90
Section 10	NZG 1919 p2611	£1,265	
Section 11	NZG 1913 p3794	£854 7s 6d	
Section 12	NZG 1912 p1216	£1,274 15s 7d	£1 19s
Section 13B	NZG 1923 p1240	£316 10s and £90 12s 2d interest	£15 16s 6d
Section 14	Leased May 1912, part Scenic reserve 1916-17		£29 3s 11d
Section 15A1	NZG 1919 p2706	£271 1s 8d	£19 1s 8d
Section 15B	NZG 1916 p2948		
Section 16	NZG 1919 p707	£143 13s 8d	
Section 17	NZG 1916 p901	£1,247	
Section 18	NZG 1915 p3757	£3,173	£5 9s 10d
Section 19	Papakainga	Not purchased	
Section 20	Papakainga	Not purchased	£40 13s 7d

The earlier survey liens were a proportional payment for the survey lien of 1899, and for half the cost of the survey of the boundary of Taumatamahoe No.2B2A and 2B2B block. These cost £76 8s 6d and £43 8s 6d, respectively. The later survey liens include also a proportional cost per section of the subdivisional surveying done by A.H. Bogle. The sections remaining in Maori ownership are sections 8A, 13A, 15A2, 15A3, 19, 20, and the part of section 14 which did not become a reserve.³³⁸

Source: Linz files 20/8-4-SNP and 20/8-5-SNP

An inquiry about the opening of the block was received in October 1922 by the Commissioner of Crown Lands from the Secretary of the Aotuhia Settlers Association. The land, however, had not yet been surveyed into farms for settlement.

Section 1 was gazetted Crown land in March 1923.³³⁹ The Native Land Court partitioned sections 8 and 13 on 7 February 1923. Sections 8B and 13B were gazetted as Crown land in May.³⁴⁰ Section 8A, of 164 acres, and 13A, of 106 acres, were

³³⁸ Linz file 20/8-2-SNP, Chief Surveyor, New Plymouth, to President, Aotea Maori Land Board, 29 May 1912, and Taranaki Native Land Court minute book 1A, 10 April 1899, fols. 79-80

³³⁹ *New Zealand Gazette*, no. 24, 15 March 1923, p.720

³⁴⁰ *New Zealand Gazette*, no. 40, 3 May 1923, p.1240

awarded to the non-sellers. The non-sellers in section 13A were the trustees of the will of Waata Wiremu Hipango, under which his share in section 13 could not be sold. The prohibition on the private alienation of land in sections 6, 8A, 15A2, 15A3, 19 and 20 was renewed in May 1923. Crown purchasing was subsequently completed in section 6 and it was declared Crown land in December 1923.³⁴¹ This left sections 8A, 13A, 15A2 and 15A3 in Maori ownership and section 14, which had been leased for 42 years in 1912. The papakainga sections 19 and 20 also remained in Maori ownership.

The survey of the partitions of Taumatamahoe No.2B2B, ordered by the Native Land Court in 1909, was completed in 1922. The surveyors prepared a plan of 2B2B which showed the block's topography and a scheme of the partitions.³⁴² From November 1915 to September 1920 the sum of £756 5s 6d was received by the Department of Lands as payment for the surveying of the partitions ordered by the Native Land Court. To June 1923 a further £142 9s was received. The survey had taken from 30 September 1914 to 15 June 1922.³⁴³

Section 15A3 was partitioned in 1928 into three parts. The owners were mostly members of the Hore family. Crown purchasing of remaining interests in the block was continuing and in January 1930 the successors of Mere Kapene Rore were willing to sell their interest in section 8A. Their interest amounted to 160 acres of rough and isolated country but was valued at 17s per acre. The Commissioner of Crown Lands wanted a new, and lower, valuation and the Maori owners were offered £4 for the 160 acres, or ten shillings per acre. The Under Secretary of the Native Department wrote on their behalf that the non-sellers in section 8 had received the poorest part of the block and should have received a larger area. He stated that in fairness they should be given 17s per acre.³⁴⁴

An additional survey was made of section 14 in 1927 and of section 15A3A in 1929. The partitions of section 19, and sections 15A2, 13A and 8A were surveyed in 1931.³⁴⁵ Survey liens were still outstanding in 1974 on sections 15A2; 15A3A, B and C; and 19A, B, C and D, although part payments were made that year.

7.6 The proposed settlement of the Crown land in Taumatamahoe 2B2B

In November 1922, the Commissioner of Crown Lands inspected the 25,163 acres Taumatamahoe No.2B2B block. The block was now Crown owned apart from 2366 acres in section 14, which was leased, the papakainga sections, and about 1200 acres of non-seller land else where in the block. He found the land rougher and less valuable than he had hoped. He thought it would have to be settled in blocks of 1000 or 1500 acres by farmers of means and experience. The block was too remote and not productive enough for small farmers or men without capital. There was currently a dray road from Raetihi to Mangaiti on the Whanganui River and from Parinui to

³⁴¹ *New Zealand Gazette*, no. 87, 20 December 1923, p.2984

³⁴² Linz file 20/8-4-SNP, Chief Surveyor to Registrar, Native Land Court, 16 June 1923

³⁴³ *Ibid*, Chief Surveyor to Under Secretary, Lands Department, 13 December 1923

³⁴⁴ Linz file 20/8-5-SNP, Under Secretary, Native Department, to Commissioner of Crown Lands, 6 February 1931

³⁴⁵ Taumatamahoe block order file 5, WH 330, Aotea Maori Land Court

Hamilton's farm. From there a three foot track, or bridle path, went over the Whakaihuwaka range to join the dray road from Whangamomona, which came south through the block to a point three miles east of Mount Humphries. The Commissioner recommended widening this road and believed it could become the main road from Wellington to Taranaki.³⁴⁶

In 1924 the chief draughtsman of the Taranaki Land District reported on the Taumatamahoe 2B2B block. He described the block as mixed forest on papa and sandstone, with sandstone cliffs and creeks cut to deep ravines and gorges. He considered the land suitable for pastoral purposes in lots of 1500 acres and stated:

Matter of placing this land on the market should be given careful thought in view of what is happening in the district nearer the railway line (at Whangamomona). Along the Whangamomona Road from the railway downstream there are several farms abandoned with land of better average quality than the Taumatamahoe country. Until these farms are in profitable occupation it would appear useless to go on with an expensive roading scheme which must precede the opening of these bush areas.³⁴⁷

The chief draughtsman went on to report that part of a dray road, called Kuraeeti Road, which ran from Whangamomona, was falling into disrepair and that part of the pack track which connected the dray road to Parinui was also in a bad state of repair. In the south of the block he thought it might be possible to cut out several sections by the Whakaihuwaka Road but that generally forestry should be considered there, due to the difficulty of access. The completion of Crown purchasing on the Whanganui River side of the Taumatamahoe block had occurred after land settlement had either failed or had variable results on the Taranaki side of the block. Forestry, rather than settlement, was increasingly considered by Government officials as the best use for relatively remote bush blocks with high rainfall and thin soil.

The Commissioner of Crown Lands, however, stated that there was no milling value of the timber on the block and that the only effect of the State Forest Service assuming control of the land would be to increase the area in reserves. He thought that although there was currently no demand for that sort of country, the situation might change with improved communications and what he described as a good type of settler with sufficient capital. He considered that the demand of land like the Taumatamahoe 2B2B block might change in the future and said that the block should be held for settlement purposes for the present.³⁴⁸

In February 1924, B.C McCabe, the Lands and Survey Department's staff surveyor at Whangamomona, was instructed to begin a subdivisional survey of Taumatamahoe 2B2B. This was distinct from the earlier surveying of the Native Land Court partition order of 1909, and was to divide the block into farm units for settlement. He was instructed to use the boundaries of the Native Land Court partitions, already determined by Bogle, as much as possible. By May, McCabe had decided that

³⁴⁶ Linz file 20/8-4-SNP, Commissioner of Crown Lands to Under Secretary, Lands Department, 29 November 1922

³⁴⁷ Ibid, Chief Draughtsman to Chief Surveyor, New Plymouth, 5 February 1924

³⁴⁸ Linz file 20/8-5-SNP, Commissioner of Crown Lands, file note, undated

approximately 18,000 acres in the block was suitable for settlement.³⁴⁹ His scheme of settlement was approved by the Chief Surveyor in June, provided the proposed road down the Mangawai-iti Stream was retained as this was thought to lead to a landing place on the Whanganui River, which could serve the whole block. The surveyor was told not to proceed with locating a road down the Tangahoe Stream as there were numerous tributary ravines along its south side. Instead the area along the Tangahoe Stream was to be reserved and the main road for the block was to be a road from Otikoki.³⁵⁰

7.7 Roading issues

The settlement of a district required the construction of the roads, the expense of which had been referred to by the chief draughtsman. The roads on Taumatamahoe 2B2B had been surveyed but the land involved had not been taken for the purpose and the roads had not been legalised.³⁵¹ The road lines had been laid off by the Native Land Court in Whanganui on 23 March 1909. The position regarding the legalisation of roads in the block was summarised in a letter from the Registrar of the Whanganui Native Land Court to the Chief Surveyor in 1926:

this block was partitioned by Judge Mair on the 23rd March 1909, under the Native Land Court Act, 1894. The only reference in the minutes on this day to access is as follows: “ It is agreed that there be a right of road giving access to each section from the Wanganui River to the back”.

On 11 November 1913 (a month prior to the coming into operation of the 1913 Act) Judge Jack cancelled these partition orders and made fresh partition orders to take effect as from the date of the original orders. In conjunction with this certain roadlines were adopted as shown on a sketch before the Court.

I am now directed to inform you that Judge Browne considers the roadlines to have been definitely laid off on the 11th November 1913 and the roadlines must, therefore, be taken as being laid off under the provisions of section 10 of the Act of 1912. Orders are now being prepared under this section for proclamation purposes in accordance with sub-section 2 of section 10 of the Native Land Court Amendment Act, 1912³⁵²

The road lines for the Taumatamahoe 2B2B block were sanctioned by Judge Browne of the New Plymouth Native Land Court on 18 December 1926.³⁵³ The road lines were proclaimed under section 10 of the Native Land Court Amendment Act 1921.³⁵⁴ Several additional connecting roads were approved by Judge Browne in May 1926. These roads were in the Maori owned sections 15A2 and 3 and in the papakainga section 19. The roadlines of Taumatamahoe 2B2B were in three survey districts, Mahoe, Taurakawa and Omara.³⁵⁵ Although there was no intention of opening the land for selection the Chief Surveyor thought the roads should be legalised as the prospects for settlement might improve and the proposed Whangamomona to Raetihi road ran

³⁴⁹ Ibid, B C McCabe to Chief Surveyor, 22 May 1924

³⁵⁰ Ibid, Chief Surveyor to McCabe, 2 June 1924

³⁵¹ Ibid, District Engineer to Chief Surveyor, 15 August 1925

³⁵² Ibid, Registrar, Whanganui Native Land Court, to Chief Surveyor, New Plymouth, 11 May 1926

³⁵³ Ibid, Chief Surveyor to Registrar, Whanganui Native Land Court, 8 January 1926

³⁵⁴ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1927, no. 20, 7 April 1927, p.884

³⁵⁵ MA1 1927/131, Judge Browne, file note, 2 June 1926

through the block and might one day be a major road. He expected the Waitotara County Council, which was then the area's local body Government, to oppose legalisation because of the expense of maintaining roads through an area with a small rating base.³⁵⁶ The Waitotara County Council did object to the legalisation of the roads in the Taumatamahoe 2B2B block but withdrew its objection in February 1927. The roads laid off by the Native Land Court in 1909 were proclaimed road lines in April 1927.³⁵⁷ The additional roads laid off by the Court in 1926 were gazetted in December 1927.³⁵⁸ They were not, however, constructed.

In 1926, John Ward, who sub-leased section 14 from Galpin Bros, the lease holders, wrote to the Prime Minister complaining about the lack of access to his section. He said he could not lead a pack horse on to his farm and only had access by Hatrick's river boat service. In response to his letter, the Commissioner of Crown Lands advised the Under Secretary of Lands that the Waitotara County Council was to improve access to the property.

7.8 The school site

In September 1926, the intention by the Government to take one acre of land in section 15A2 and 4 acres and 8 perches in section 15A3 for a Native School was gazetted.³⁵⁹

The land was not needed for this purpose and in 1954 an application was made to the Maori Land Court by George Walker, a land purchase officer for the Public Works Department, for the land to revert to the Maori owners. He informed the Court that he understood that the land had been a gift from the Maori owners and had been made without compensation. He asked that the land be returned to the owners, also without compensation. There were no objections to this. The Court vested the land in the owners of sections 15A2 and 15A3 'without any payment'.³⁶⁰

7.9 Conclusion

The Crown's reasons for acquiring land in Taumatamahoe 2B2B probably derived from the general policy it held of acquiring Maori land. In addition, however, from 1910 there was a plan to construct a bridge across the Whanganui River at Parinui and a road, which would pass over it, from Raetihi to Whangamomona. If built this road would have been the main road from Wellington to Taranaki and would have increased the value of Taumatamahoe and all the central Whanganui lands for European settlement. In addition, by 1910 Taumatamahoe 2B2B was an enclave of Maori land completely surrounded by Crown land. Providing access to open the Crown land for settlement would add to the value of the Maori-owned land. The planned development of the area appears to have motivated the resumption of Crown purchasing in 1911. The first Taumatamahoe 2B2B section in which the Crown

³⁵⁶ Linz file 20/8-5-SNP, Chief Surveyor to General Surveyor, 27 September 1926

³⁵⁷ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1927, no. 20, 7 April 1927, p.884

³⁵⁸ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1927, no. 84, 8 December 1927, p.3605

³⁵⁹ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1926, no. 81, 16 December 1926, p. 3411

³⁶⁰ Whanganui Maori Land Court minute book 111, 3 February 1954, p. 122-123

purchase of shares was completed was section 12. It was gazetted Crown land in April 1912.

In 1915, the Taumatamahoe 2B2B was placed under the provisions of section 363 of the Native Land Act 1909. This was the first use of Crown pre-emption, or monopoly of purchasing, in the acquisition of any part of the Taumatamahoe block. As pre-emption was placed on the block at the time the Government was considering acquiring land for the settlement of returned soldiers from the First World War, there may have been consideration of using land in the Taumatamahoe 2B2B block for this purpose. There were, however, no soldier settlements established on Taumatamahoe 2B2B, although there were soldier settlements on the Taumatamahoe No.1 block, and at Mangapurua, across the Whanganui River, in the Waimarino block.

The purchase by the Crown of shares in the Taumatamahoe 2B2B sections took place quite rapidly. Several sections were partitioned to enable the Crown award to be established. By 1922 the land remaining in Maori ownership in the block comprised 1,956 acres in section 14, which was leased, the papakainga land in sections 19 and 20, which comprised 400 acres, and sections 8A, 13A, 15A2, and 15A3. Section 8A was of 164 ½ acres, section 13A was of 105 ½ acres and sections 15A2 and 3 amounted to 915 acres. The area remaining in Maori ownership was approximately 3540 acres. This remains the total in Maori ownership.

The Crown's purchase of individual interests in the Taumatamahoe 2B2B sections, its slowness to survey the sections, and its use of preemption, served to undermine attempts by Maori to develop the sections. Attempts at farming the sections took place in a context in which one, or more, of the owners, might sell land which other owners had developed for farmland. This can be described as prejudicial to Maori interests.

Having acquired most of the block, Crown officials discovered the land was rougher than expected, and also more remote than anticipated, probably as the road through the district with a bridge at Parinui had not been constructed. The near completion of Crown purchasing in the early 1920s occurred only shortly before farmers in the attempted settlements in the central part of the Taumatamahoe block began abandoning their farms. There was little demand from settlers for the land the Crown had acquired in the Taumatamahoe 2B2B block and consideration was given to using the land for forestry. However the Crown lands in Taumatamahoe 2B2B did not contain millable timber and became Whanganui River reserve land.

Chapter 8. Reserves, State Forests, and the National Park

8.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the uses the Crown made of the land it had acquired in the Taumatamahoe block, apart from the land which became private land as a result of the land settlement policy of the 1890s. Of the land which remained in Crown ownership on the Taranaki and central parts of the block, some small areas became scenic reserves, but most became state forest land. The state forest land later mostly became forest conservation land. On the Whanganui River side of the block, the land the Crown obtained became river reserve land. Most river reserve land later became part of the Whanganui National Park. The chapter includes a section on the formation of the Whanganui National Park and identifies which parts of the Taumatamahoe block became part of the park.

8.2 Reserves in the Taranaki and central parts of the Taumatamahoe block

The first reserves proclaimed in the Taumatamahoe block were in the original Crown award land, the Taumatamahoe No.1 block. These reserves were originally declared state forest land, but later became reserves or conservation areas. The first of these areas appears to have been the Kohura reserve, which was declared a State Forest under the New Zealand State Forests Act 1885, in 1898. The area was subsequently referred to as a reserve by the Under-Secretary of the Lands and Survey Department, in 1935 when the Whangamomona County Council had asked for 30 acres at the junction of the Kohuratahi and Whitianga Roads to be made into a domain.³⁶¹ The request was declined as it involved clearing part of the area, which was of considerable scenic value, for a sports ground. In 1952 the area proposed for a domain was reserved under the Scenery Preservation Act 1908 and became the Kohura Scenic Reserve. In August 1979, the reserve was classified as a reserve for scenic purposes under the Reserves Act 1977.³⁶²

One of the largest state forests in the Taumatamahoe No.1 block was the Whangamomona State Forest. The original land taking for what became the Whangamomona State Forest was the proclamation in 1905 of 1040 acres as a reserve for the growth and preservation of timber.³⁶³ The Te Wera State Forest is also partly within the boundaries of the Taumatamahoe block. Other reserves were established in the Taumatamahoe No.1 block in 1911. These were for the growth and preservation of trees and for an unidentified purpose called papa burning.³⁶⁴ In addition there are also scenic reserves on, or partly on, land that was in the Taumatamahoe No.1 block at Aotuhia, Whangamomona, Putikituna, Tangarakau, Awahou, Toi, Mangapaka and

³⁶¹ WR 13/157, Under Secretary, Lands and Survey Department, to Commissioner, Crown Lands, 20 June 1935, Whanganui Department of Conservation office, Whanganui

³⁶² *New Zealand Gazette*, 1979, no. 82, 30 August 1979, p. 2582

³⁶³ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1905, no.27, 23 March 1905, p.782

³⁶⁴ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1911, no.16, 2 March 1911, p.820

Matirangi.³⁶⁵ Toi was also a state forest, in which most of the land was indigenous forest and the remainder was leased, probably for grazing.³⁶⁶ The Whangamomona and Putikituna scenic reserves were gazetted in 1979.³⁶⁷

In 1985, the Government decided to restructure state forestry and to establish the Department of Conservation to control all state forests not used for wood production.³⁶⁸ The New Zealand Forest Service, which had administered the state forests, was subsequently abolished and its functions divided between the New Zealand Forestry Corporation, the Department of Conservation and the Ministry of Forestry. Te Wera was the only state forest with land in the Taumatamahoe block to be allocated to the Forestry Corporation.³⁶⁹ It is now the only state forest, and the only commercial forest, in Taranaki, and it is the largest supplier of logs in the province. It contains plantations of *pinus radiata* and *eucalyptus*.³⁷⁰

In the Taumatamahoe No.2A and 2B blocks, the Okara and Koruru state forests were established in 1911, under the State Forests Act 1905. Also in 1911 a gravel reserve was proclaimed by Okara Road and a small piece of land on the western side of the Tangarakau River was made a reserve for the growth and preservation of trees. This piece of land, and two small pieces of land west of the Tangarakau River, one taken in 1911 for state forest purposes and the other in 1915, for the growth and preservation of trees, became part of the Whanganui National Park.³⁷¹ Koruru State Forest consisted entirely of indigenous forest.³⁷² Apart from Te Wera State Forest, the state forests and reserves of the Taranaki and central parts of the Taumatamahoe block came under the administration of the Department of Conservation. There are numerous scenic reserves and conservation areas within the boundaries of the Taumatamahoe block administered by the Department.³⁷³ The two largest are the Whangamomona Conservation Area, of 34,235 acres (13,694 hectares) and the Tangarakau Conservation Area, of 15,702 acres (6,281 hectares). The Department recognises either Te Ati Haunui-a-Paparangi (the Whanganui iwi) or Ngati Maru, or sometimes both, as the iwi for consulting with over issues concerning specific reserves or conservation areas that it administers.

8.3 Reserves on the Whanganui River side of the Taumatamahoe block

Almost all of the Whanganui River part of the Taumatamahoe block became part of the Whanganui National Park. This included the land along the Whanganui River, and

³⁶⁵ WR 13/177, N. Z. Cadastral map 'Whangamomona', Department of Conservation, Whanganui office, Whanganui

³⁶⁶ ABUA, 6904, 6/2/11, State Forest 11, Toi, 1980, Archives New Zealand, Wellington

³⁶⁷ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1979, no. 82, 30 August 1979, p. 2582

³⁶⁸ 'Report of the Director-General of Forests for the year that ended 31 March 1986', AJHR, 1986-87, C-3, p.5

³⁶⁹ New Zealand Forestry Corporation Ltd, 'Sale of State owned forests in New Zealand: resource description, southern North Island', Wellington, 1989, p.6

³⁷⁰ AANI, 6904, 30/116/8, Te Wera, Archives New Zealand, Wellington

³⁷¹ WR 13/177, N.Z Cadastral map 'Whangamomona', Department of Conservation, Whanganui office, Whanganui

³⁷² ABUA, 6904, 6/2/6, State Forest 6, Koruru, 1982, Archives New Zealand, Wellington

³⁷³ 'Conservation Management Strategy. Whanganui Conservancy, 1997-2007', volume 2, Department of Conservation, Whanganui, 1997, maps R19 and R20

the hill country behind it. The Crown land in this part of the block mostly became reserve land. By 1980 nearly half of No.2B2A block was reserve land, as was almost all of 2B1 and several small parts of 2A block.³⁷⁴ In addition all the land the Crown had purchased in the Taumatamahoe 2B2B block had become Whanganui River scenic reserve land.

The reserve land was originally administered by the Wanganui River Trust Board, which had been established in 1891. The first part of Taumatamahoe 2B2B block to become scenic reserve and was part of section 14. It was gazetted a reserve in 1916 and placed under the administration of the Trust Board. This part of section 14 became reserve number 82 and for many years was the only part of the Taumatamahoe block on the Whanganui River to be a reserve. The rest of the block along the river was unleased Crown land.

In 1958, the Trust Board was replaced by the Wanganui River Scenic Board. When the Scenic Board was established, the Government intended that some Crown land adjoining the Whanganui River should be made reserve land and added to the area under the Board's control. In 1959 it was proposed that the area from the mouth of the Tangarakau River to its junction with the Heao Stream should be made a reserve.³⁷⁵ The Commissioner for Crown Lands agreed to this but he noted a need to protect the Maori burial grounds at the junction of the Whanganui and Tangarakau rivers.³⁷⁶

In 1962 John Coull, the chairman of the Scenic Board, stated that a decision on adding the Crown land along the Whanganui River to the Board's reserves had not been made, as there were proposals for the development of hydro-electrical projects on the river. It was also necessary under section 55 (2) of the Reserves and Domains Act 1953 to ascertain if an area under consideration as a reserve contained coal. In 1963 the Inspector of Mines determined that there was no workable coal in the area between the Heao Stream and the Whanganui River and that there was unlikely to be oil. The area was, however, affected by a proposed electrical power development although it was not known when the scheme was likely to be undertaken or how much of the proposed reserve would be flooded.³⁷⁷

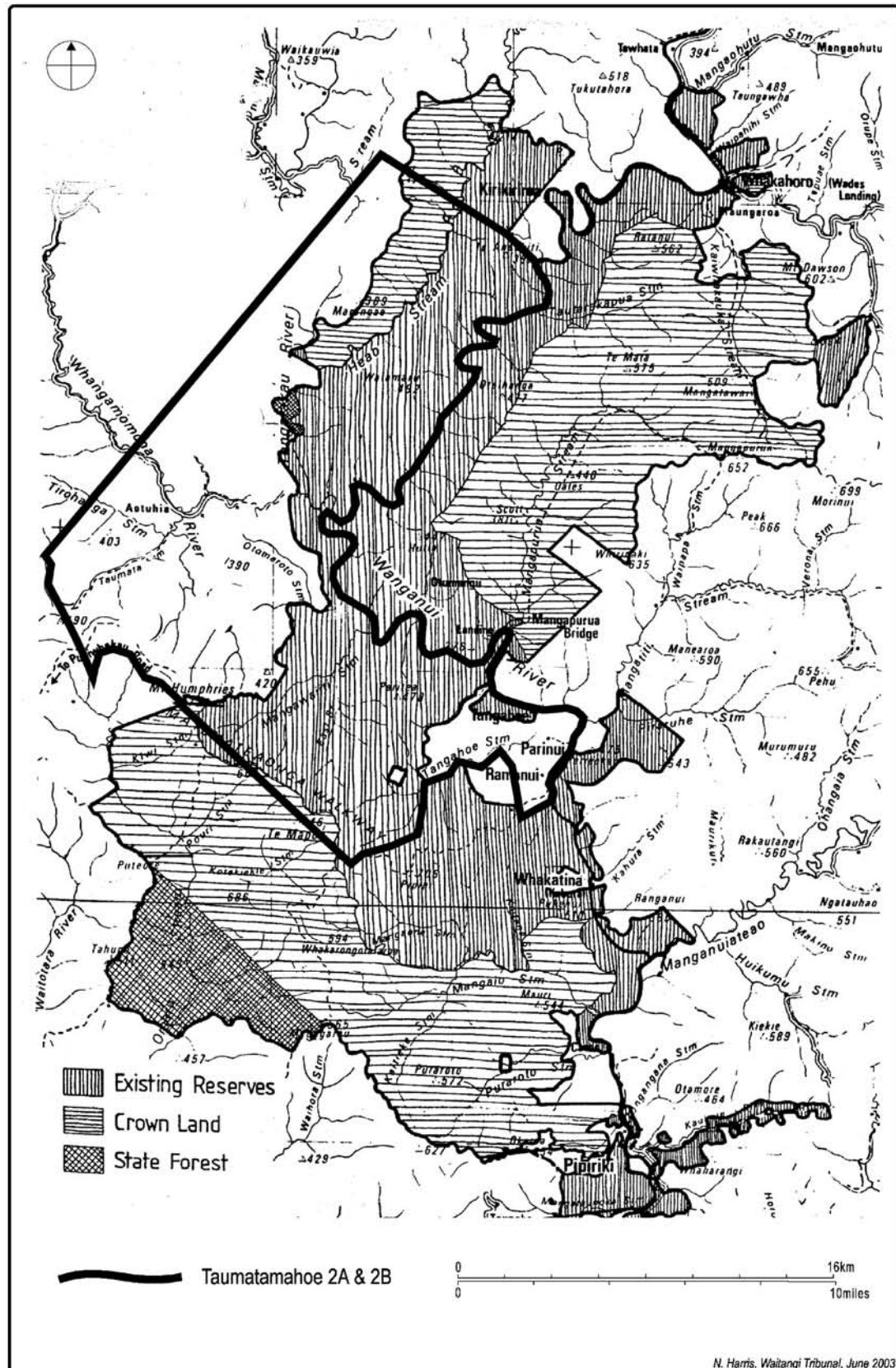
³⁷⁴ *Crown Land Acquisitions. Wanganui River region 1881-1916*, Department of Lands and Survey, June 1983, map 3 and G A Turner (et al) 'Whanganui River Basin identification and preliminary assessment for National Park report', November 1980, tenure map 3

³⁷⁵ WR 13/177, vol. 1, John Coull Memorial Reserve, 1962-1979, Assistant Commissioner to Commissioner, Crown Lands, New Plymouth, 25 August 1959, Whanganui Department of Conservation office, Whanganui

³⁷⁶ *Ibid*, Commissioner, Crown Lands, to Assistant Commissioner, 7 October 1959

³⁷⁷ *Ibid*, District Commissioner of Works to Commissioner of Crown Lands, 10 June 1963

Map 14: River Reserve Lands in the Taumatamahoe 2A and 2B blocks



Source: NP 1/4/7/14 pt. 3., Department of Conservation, National Office.

While waiting a decision on the proposed dam, the Scenic Board commissioned a report on the proposed reserve area. Its status was unleased Crown land, and it comprised steep hills with dense bush. The area was considered unsuitable for farming and the report recommended the land be reserved. In 1964 the John Coull Memorial Reserve was created from the area between the Heao Stream and the Whanganui River.³⁷⁸ The memorial reserve was bordered in the north by the Whitianga block and on the south-west by the Tangarakau River. It comprised 14,037 acres and included almost all of what had been Taumatamahoe 2B1 block. Approval had been given to the creation of the reserve by the Lands Department on the condition that part of the reserve could be resumed, if it was found to be needed for electric power development. In 1965 an area in the Whitianga block, bordered by Heao Road and Camp Road, was added to the reserve. The John Coull Memorial Reserve was also known as reserve 107.³⁷⁹

All of the land which the Crown had purchased in the Taumatamahoe 2B2B block became Whanganui River reserve land. The Crown had purchased nearly all the sections, which became Whanganui river reserves numbered 82, 83, 84, 85, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122 and 123.³⁸⁰ The sections of Taumatamahoe 2B2B which became the reserves numbered from 116 to 122 were gazetted as reserves in 1975.³⁸¹ The parts of the block which became the reserves numbered from 111 to 115 did not have gazette notices issued proclaiming them reserves.³⁸² It appears these sections were informally included as reserves by agreement between the Scenic Board and the Lands Department, which administered the sections as Crown lands.

The whole of the Taumatamahoe block's land along the Whanganui River became river reserve land, except for the land in the Parinui area. The land at Parinui comprised sections 15A2, 15A3, 19, 20 and part of section 14 and is the only part of the Taumatamahoe block to remain in Maori ownership.

8.4 The Whanganui National Park

In 1975 the district offices of the Department of Lands and Survey were asked to report on areas in their districts which had national park potential. The office for the Wellington district, which included Whanganui, suggested the existing scenic reserves, and also some Crown land, and Maori and European private land, on the Whanganui River should be considered for the purpose of a national park. The Director General of the Department suggested considering the addition of areas of standing bush and reverted country to the west in addition.³⁸³ A land use study of

³⁷⁸ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1964, no.35, 11 June 1964, p.964

³⁷⁹ Whanganui Reserves card index, Whanganui Department of Conservation office, Whanganui

³⁸⁰ WR 13/223/1, Whanganui Reserves, Plan of scenic reserves along the Whanganui River (map), Whanganui Department of Conservation office, Whanganui

³⁸¹ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1975, no.36, 1 May 1975, p.963

³⁸² Whanganui Reserves card index, Whanganui Department of Conservation office, Whanganui

³⁸³ NP1/4/7/14 part 1, Director General, Department of Lands and Survey, to Commissioner of Crown Lands, 12 November 1975, Department of Conservation, National Office, Wellington

Aotuhia, part of central Taumatamahoe No.1 block was carried out in 1975. This found a small part of the area suitable for farm development and the rest suitable for inclusion in a national park. Aotuhia was not included in the Whanganui National Park, which does not extend far into the central part of the Taumatamahoe block.³⁸⁴

A report assessing the potential of the Whanganui River lands for use as a national park was carried out in 1980. It found there was mature indigenous forest in the Matemateonga Ranges, which are on the southern boundary of the Taumatamahoe block, but that elsewhere through out the area there was much land which had been cleared and had now reverted to bracken and scrub.³⁸⁵

In 1983 the Director General of the Department of Lands and Survey was requested by the National Parks and Reserves Authority to investigate and report on the proposal that scenic reserves, unalienated Crown land, and some state forest land, centred on the Whanganui River be declared a national park.³⁸⁶ As part of Aotuhia had been considered suitable for farming, the whole area was excluded from the proposed national park, to avoid the need for a survey. Consideration was to be given to the inclusion of other areas of Crown land, such as Aotuhia, after the national park had been established.³⁸⁷ However the following month the Land Settlement Board decided to release all land in Aotuhia recommended by the 1975 land use survey for inclusion in a national park, and to work with the National Parks and Reserves Authority to determine the final park boundary.³⁸⁸ In the same month, the Authority recommended to Koro Wetere, the Minister of Lands and of Maori Affairs, that a Whanganui national park be established.

The proposed Whanganui national park comprised 35,809 hectares (89,522 acres) of existing reserves, 40,148 hectares (100,370 acres) of unalienated Crown land, and 3,071 hectares (7,677 acres) of state forest. No private land, either Maori or European, was in the area proposed as the Whanganui National Park. The establishment of the national park was approved by the Government in November 1985. The national park was to include 150 previously separate reserves.³⁸⁹ Over 20 of the reserves were in the Taumatamahoe No.2 block. The partitions of block 2B2B had mostly become separate reserves. The Order in Council creating the national park was signed in November 1986 and the Whanganui National Park was established on 7 December 1986. The opening ceremony was held on 7 February 1987.

The Whanganui National Park includes all of the Taumatamahoe block along the Whanganui River and a comparatively small part of the block's inland area. In the north, along the river, the park includes the land between the Whanganui and Tangarakau rivers and the Heao Stream, which had been the John Coull Memorial Scenic Reserve. In addition, in the northern part of the block, the Whanganui National Park includes the watershed of the Heao Stream. This includes in the park the land to

³⁸⁴ WR 5/5/2, vol. 2, 'Whanganui National Park Management Plan, 1988, and WR 13/1/18, vol. 1,

³⁸⁵ Ibid, G A Turner et al, *National Park assessment. Wanganui River basin identification and preliminary assessment for a national park*, Department of Lands and Survey, 1980

³⁸⁶ Ibid, extract from *Taranaki Daily News*, 20 July 1983

³⁸⁷ Ibid, Director General, Department of Lands and Survey, to Chairman, National Parks and Reserves Authority, 2 April 1984

³⁸⁸ Ibid, Minutes of the meeting of the National Parks and Reserves Authority, 3 May 1984

³⁸⁹ NP1/4/7/14 part 4, extract *Wanganui Chronicle*, 8 November 1985

the ridge line west of, and parallel to, the Heao Stream. Most of Taumatamahoe 2B1 and more than half of Taumatamahoe 2B2A are therefore included in the park. In addition several small pieces of land to the west of the Tangarakau River are also in the park. These were part of Taumatamahoe 2B2A block. The park includes a narrow section of land, which was part of the Taumatamahoe block, around the junction of Tangarakau and Whanganui rivers. Downstream from the junction area is the land which was the reserve lands of Taumatamahoe 2B2B. Most, but not all, of the reserve lands of 2B2B were included in the Whanganui National Park. The park does not include 2B2B section 8A, because it is Maori owned. Nor does the park include the part of 2B2B to the west of section 8A, which are parts of sections 1, 8B and 18. The park does, however, include section 2, which is south-west of section 8A. Another Maori owned section in Taumatamahoe 2B2B, section 13A, forms an enclave within the park. It is near the Maori owned lands of Paranui, which are also outside the park. These are sections 15A2, 15A3, 19, 20 and part of section 14. All the remaining sections of Taumatamahoe 2B2B are part of the Whanganui National Park.³⁹⁰ Approximately 41,500 acres of the Taumatamahoe block, consisting of parts of the subdivisions 2A, 2B1, 2B2A and 2B2B, is included in the national park. This estimate is based upon the inclusion in the park of 10,000 acres from blocks 2B1 and 2B2A, about 21,000 acres from 2B2B, and approximately 500 acres from 2A. Over a quarter of the Taumatamahoe block of 155,300 acres, or 26.72%, is part of the Whanganui National Park.

8.5 Conclusion

Much of the Taumatamahoe block is in private ownership although with the failure of farming in many parts of the block, some land returned to Crown ownership. Land found unsuitable for farming, or land in which farming was never attempted, due to remoteness or lack of access, became state forest land, the first in 1898. It does not, however, appear that commercial forestry was developed on the block, except in the Te Wera State Forest, which is partly in the Taumatamahoe block. Instead, in the western and central parts of the block, state forest land became forest conservation land, under the control of the Department of Conservation, and along the Whanganui River the land the Crown had acquired became river reserve land.

Most of the Whanganui River reserve land in the Taumatamahoe block became part of the Whanganui National Park. The river reserve land, which became part of the park, comprised the land between the ridge line above the Heao Stream to the Whanganui River, the land around the junction of the Whanganui and Tangarakau rivers, and the Crown-owned sections in Taumatamahoe 2B2B, excluding the area to the west of the Maori-owned section 8A. As this area includes almost all of Taumatamahoe 2B1, the larger part of Taumatamahoe 2B2A, most of Taumatamahoe 2B2B and several small parts of Taumatamahoe 2A approximately 41,500 acres of the original Taumatamahoe block of 155,300 acres is included in the Whanganui National Park. This includes all the river frontage, except that remaining in Maori ownership at Parinui.

³⁹⁰ Boundaries calculated from maps in WR 13/1/18, vol. 1; 'Crown Lands Acquisitions. Wanganui River Region 1881 - 1916', Department of Lands and Survey, National Office, June 1983, map 3; and digital map at the Whanganui Department of Conservation office, Whanganui

Chapter 9 Report Summary and Conclusion

Taumatamahoe is a land block of 155,300 acres between the central Whanganui River and the Taranaki confiscation line. It is a large block and is part of numerous survey districts but is not part of the Taumatamahoe survey district. The block was inhabited by Whanganui iwi and Ngati Maru in pre-European times and became a place of refuge for Ngati Maru during the musket wars of the 1830s, and for Whanganui iwi during the colonial wars of the 1860s and early 1870s. After the colonial wars, Taumatamahoe and the central Whanganui district were within the aukati of the King movement, which sought to exclude the Crown, and Europeans generally, from its area. The breaking down of the King movement aukati was one reason for the Crown's interest in acquiring land in the area that became the Taumatamahoe block. Other reasons were the possible presence of gold and the completion of the main trunk railway line.

Crown purchasing in the land that became the Taumatamahoe block began before the block existed, with purchases by the Crown in a block known as Tangarakau. This was the area between the Whanganui, Tangarakau and Ohura rivers, part of which was later in the Taumatamahoe block. The Tangarakau block was never taken to the Native Land Court for the determination of its ownership. Negotiations for its purchase commenced in January 1879 and a Crown monopoly on the purchase of shares in the Tangarakau block was proclaimed in February 1879, under the Government Native Land Purchase Act 1877. In that month advances were made to some of the Maori owners for their shares in the block. This was followed by the claim of one owner, Paiaka, that the sale had involved fraud and a payment to the wrong person. In September 1879, there was opposition by some Maori to the survey of the area. After the magistrate for the upper Whanganui River advised caution, the Native Minister, John Bryce, cancelled the survey of Tangarakau in January 1880. The Government had advanced £2028 on the purchase of shares in the Tangarakau block, but did not proceed with the purchase.

In the early 1880s the completion of the North Island main trunk line became a major issue. The main impediment to this was the opposition of the King movement tribes of the central North Island to the construction of the railway through their territory, which had remained self-governing after the end of the colonial wars in the 1860s. The King movement adherents opposed the railway as it could bring Government authority, and the Native Land Court, to their lands. There had been a King movement aukati on the Whanganui River, which had included the Taumatamahoe block. In addition, in 1880, Te Keepa Te Rangihwinui (Major Kemp) set up a trust to control Maori land and to keep the land in tribal ownership. The trust he established began on the Whanganui River near the junction of the Whanganui and Tangarakau rivers, and therefore included the upper part of the area which became the Taumatamahoe block. Both the King movement aukati and Kemp's Trust opposed the acquisition of land by the Crown in an area which included one of the four proposed routes for the main trunk line. This route was one of the two proposed Taranaki routes, and went through the Taranaki side of the Taumatamahoe block. In 1884 the Government decided to construct the main trunk line along the central route, which went from Marton to Te Awamutu and bypassed Taranaki. The proposed route through the Taumatamahoe

block was eventually constructed after 1900 and connected Stratford to the main trunk line.

In February 1886, the Taumatamahoe block was taken to the Native Land Court for the determination of its ownership. The block included some of the area that had been the Tangarakau block, but also land below the junction of the Whanganui and Tangarakau rivers. The boundaries given by the applicants, who were of the Whanganui iwi, extended beyond the Taranaki confiscation line, and beyond the boundaries on neighbouring blocks which had already been through the Native Land Court. A sketch map was prepared for the Court which used the confiscation line, and the boundaries of other blocks where they had been determined, as the boundaries of the Taumatamahoe block. The main boundary of the Taumatamahoe block which had not been determined in 1886 was the boundary with the Whitianga block.

The applicants who took the Taumatamahoe block to the Native Land Court were represented at the Court by Te Rangihuatau, a Whanganui iwi leader. He claimed the block from the Whanganui ancestor Tamahaki. As no objection was made to this claim, the Court ordered drawing up of name lists on 23 February. This awarded the Taumatamahoe block to the descendants of Tamahaki. A register of owners was finalised by the Court on 8 March 1886. There were 474 names on the Taumatamahoe register of owners approved by the Court, but the block is usually considered to have had 472 owners, suggesting there was a duplication of two names. The 472 owners belonged to at least 20 hapu of the Whanganui iwi and constitute a significant proportion of the Whanganui Maori population, which numbered 1051 in the 1891 census. The only major inadequacy in the Court's investigations of the block's title was the exclusion of Ngati Maru.

Subsequently, at a rehearing of the ownership of the Whitianga block in 1895, two leaders of Ngati Maru, Manga and Tuanini, said they had not known of the 1886 Court hearing into the ownership of Taumatamahoe. If they had known of the Court hearing they would have attended and denied the claim to Taumatamahoe from Tamahaki. Their claim that Ngati Maru occupied the south-west of the Taumatamahoe block was accepted by the Court. Rather than rehear the ownership of the Taumatamahoe block, the Court granted Ngati Maru compensation in the Whitianga block.

Crown purchasing of the shares in the Taumatamahoe block, from the owners registered by the Native Land Court in 1886, began in February 1889. The Crown paid a reduced amount for the shares it purchased, to recover the advances made on the Tangarakau block. The Crown appears to have usually paid £23 per share, although more may have been paid in some cases. The Crown was purchasing undivided, individual shares in the block. This was opposed in February 1889 by a petition of Topia Turoa and 126 others. Their petition claimed that when the Taumatamahoe block went through the Court in 1886, it had been agreed that the block would be restricted from sale until it had been divided among the hapu who were its owners. Te Rangihuatau also opposed the purchase of shares by the Crown. He claimed the Native Land Court had agreed that Taumatamahoe would be reserved for its Maori owners. In this Te Rangihuatau may have been referring to the Court's declaration of Taumatamahoe as inalienable, although this could be set aside by the Governor. No

reserves were established in the Taumatamahoe block for Maori who sold their shares in the block. Neither Topia Turoa's petition nor Te Rangihuatau's protest prevented the purchase by the Crown of undivided, individual interests in Taumatamahoe. Opposition to Crown purchase of shares in Taumatamahoe led to a boycott of the 1893 Native Land Court hearing which determined the first Crown award in Taumatamahoe.

The Native Land Court's determination of the ownership of the Taumatamahoe block in 1886 included a direction that a survey was to be made of the block, as one had not been carried out. It ordered that survey plan of the block was to be made to replace the sketch map used for the Court hearing. This was in accordance with sections 27-33 of the Native Land Court Act 1880. No specific survey of the boundaries of the Taumatamahoe block was made. Instead, in 1892, a map of the Taumatamahoe block was compiled from the surveyed boundaries of surrounding blocks, and from the confiscation line. The survey of the surrounding blocks had been completed with the survey of the Pahautuhia block in 1890, and the survey of the Whitianga block in 1891 and 1892. The compiled map was signed by the Chief Surveyor of the Taranaki Land District in February 1892, and after public exhibition, by Judge O'Brien of the Native Land Court in April 1892. The compilation of the survey map preceded the first determination of the Crown award in Taumatamahoe in 1893.

The Crown's purchase of shares in the Taumatamahoe block, prior to 1893, were made with finance authorised by the North Island Main Trunk Railway Line Application Act 1886. This Act authorised the expenditure of £100,000 to purchase Maori and other land in the area reserved for Crown pre-emption by the schedule to the Native Land Alienation Act 1884. This was an area of 4 ½ million acres which would be increased in value by the construction of the main trunk line. Part of the Taumatamahoe block was included in the area of the 1884 Act as the boundary of the area includes the Whanganui River and the Whangamomona River, which runs through the Taumatamahoe block. A total of £8,738 1s 9d from the North Island Main Trunk Railway Loan was spent by the Crown on the purchase of shares in the Taumatamahoe block.

Up to 1893 the Crown purchased of the shares of 247 of the registered owners of the Taumatamahoe block. In 1893 the Native Land Court heard the Crown's application for the identification of its interest in Taumatamahoe. The Court awarded the Crown 82,670 acres, or over half the block, for the shares it had purchased in the block. The Crown's share of the block became the Taumatamahoe No.1 block. The Court's 1893 division of the Taumatamahoe block left the non-selling Maori owners the Taumatamahoe No.2 block as their share of the block. This part of the block was along the Whanganui River, which was where Maori living on the block had their settlements and cultivations. The Crown received the Taranaki side of the block and the central part. This allowed the expansion of European settlement from Taranaki, for which there had been some demand from settlers in the Stratford area. Although the 1893 Native Land Court hearing was boycotted by the non-sellers, Crown officials claimed they had received the informal agreement of the non-sellers to the division made of the block as it left the non-sellers the part of the block they lived on.

After its acquisition by the Crown in 1893, the Taumatamahoe No.1 block was opened for European settlement under the Lands Improvement and Native Lands Acquisitions Act 1894. This Act established the Improved Farm Settlement scheme, under which settlers were allotted farms and given employment on public works schemes. The Ross settlement was established in the south west of the Taumatamahoe block in late 1894. The Ross settlement was on the East Road, which came from Stratford, and its settlers were employed extending the road over the Pohokura Saddle to the Whangamomona Valley. The settlement of Whangamomona had been requested by Stratford settlers in 1891 and commenced in 1895. Whangamomona became the largest settlement of the Liberal Government era in Taranaki.

After 1893 the Crown purchased shares in the Taumatamahoe No.2 block, using finance authorised by the Native Land Purchase Act 1892. The Crown applied to the Native Land Court for a definition of its interest in Taumatamahoe No.2 in 1896. The hearing was attended by Te Huhu Rewai. He opposed the identification of the Crown's interest as there had been no investigation of the relative interests of the owners. The same objection was made in a petition that year from Rewai Te Pokaitara and 43 others. The petitioners wanted a rehearing of the block's ownership to determine the relative interests of the owners, and objected to the Crown's assumption that the 472 owners held equal interests. This assumption had been the basis of the 1893 identification of the Crown's interest in the block and the division of the block between the Crown and the non-sellers.

Te Pokaitara's petition was commented on by W. J. Butler, a native land purchase officer who had attended the 1893 hearing. He referred to the boycott of the Court by the non-sellers but said they had a representative, named W. Hipango, who had not objected to an award to the Crown on the basis that the original 472 owners held equal shares in the block, provided the Crown received land on the side of the block away from the Whanganui River. Robert Ward, the judge at the 1893 Native Land Court hearing, was also asked to comment on the petition. He said he had assumed that shares in the land would be equal as the land was tribally owned. Te Pokaitara's petition had no effect on the 1896 definition of the Crown's interest in the Taumatamahoe No.2 block. The Court divided the block into Taumatamahoe No.2A block, a block of 19,765 acres, which became the Crown award, and Taumatamahoe No.2B block, which was owned by the non-sellers.

No reserves were set aside for the owners in the Taumatamahoe block. No reason for this has been found although the lack of reserves was mentioned in a petition by Heremaia Te Wheo, and others, in 1889. The lack of provision of reserves for non-sellers in Taumatamahoe contrasts with surrounding blocks, particularly Waimarino, where reserves were provided. The only reserves provided for the Taumatamahoe non-sellers was the burial sites reserves at Mataiwhetu and Puketapu ordered by the Native Land Court at the 1907 identification of the Crown's interest.

Crown purchasing continued in the Taumatamahoe No. 2B block and in 1899 a further definition of the Crown interest in the block was made by the Native Land Court. This award divided Taumatamahoe No.2B into the 2B1 and 2B2 blocks. The Crown received the 2B1 block as its award. This block amounted to 12,161 acres and was the upper part of the 2B block. The non-sellers were awarded the 2B2 block,

which was the more arable part of the block and included the area where the non-sellers lived.

The Crown did not purchase shares in the Taumatamahoe 2B2 block initially, as in 1900 its policy changed nationally from purchasing Maori land to encouraging the leasing of Maori land. This policy was replaced in 1906 by a return to the purchasing by the Crown of Maori land and with this came a resumption of Crown purchasing in the Taumatamahoe No.2B2 block. In addition to the change in Government policy, the resumption of Crown purchasing in the Taumatamahoe 2B2 block may have been influenced by the receipt by farmers nationally of good prices for dairy products in 1906. The Taumatamahoe block, and the neighbouring Whakaihuwaka block, was an area where additional grazing land could be obtained for the expansion of dairying.

Following the resumption of Crown purchasing of Maori land the Government appointed Sir Robert Stout and Apirana Ngata as a commission to inquire into the utilisation of Maori land in 1907. The Stout-Ngata Commission reported on the Taumatamahoe block, among other matters. The Commission found that of the original 155,300 acres a total of 104,596 acres had been purchased by the Crown up to 1900. In addition shares in the 2B2 block, equal to 18,048 acres had been purchased since 1906. The Commission recommended a definition of the Crown interest in the 2B2 block, the partitioning of the block between groups of its owners, and an end to Crown purchasing.

A definition of the Crown interest in Taumatamahoe No.2B2 was made by the Native Land Court in May 1907. This divided the block into the Taumatamahoe No.2B2A block, of 17,402 acres, which became the Crown award, and the Taumatamahoe No.2B2B block, of 25,163 acres, which remained to the non-sellers. The area awarded to the non-sellers included Parinui (Utapu), which was the non-sellers' main settlement.

The 1907 Court decision included an order that land was to be set aside for the burial grounds in the Crown award block. This resulted in the reserving of land for the burial grounds at Mataiwhetu and Puketapu. The issue of the burial grounds remains controversial as at the 1907 Court hearing a representative of the non-sellers stated that the non-sellers had been told they would receive 100 acres for the burial ground at Mataiwhetu. The area reserved was much smaller than 100 acres, partly as Crown officials thought the area at the junction of the Whanganui and Tangarakau rivers, which includes Mataiwhetu, might be used for storage facilities for the steam ship service, and might become the site of a town.

In 1909 the Taumatamahoe No.2B2B block was partitioned among its owners by the Native Land Court. The Court divided the block into 20 sections, 18 of which were owned by groups of owners, and two of which were papakainga sections. A survey plan of the Taumatamahoe 2B2A and 2B2B blocks was made in 1910, but the boundaries of the Maori-owned sections were not surveyed.

European settlers had been successfully established on the Taumatamahoe No.1 block and Whangamomona, the main settlement on the block, had become the centre of a county which extended to the Whanganui River. The railway from Stratford reached

Whangamomona in 1914. A major road connecting Whangamomona to Raetihi, which would have gone through the Taumatamahoe block and included a bridge across the Whanganui River at Parinui, had been surveyed by 1910. The road would have been the main road between Wellington and Taranaki and would probably have been constructed if the First World War not intervened.

In 1911 the Commissioner of Crown Land in New Plymouth advocated the purchase of the Taumatamahoe No.2B2B block, as it was surrounded by Crown land. Access roads to open the Crown lands for settlement, such as the road from Raetihi, were planned, and the construction of the roads, the Commissioner commented, would increase the value of the Maori-owned land. Crown purchasing in the 2B2B sections began in either late 1911 or early 1912, as by April 1912 section 12 had been fully purchased.

An exchange of land was made in 1912 between the Taumatamahoe No.2B2B and the Whakaihuwaka blocks. This made the boundary between them the ridge line of the Matemateonga Range and was done so that future partitions could follow the natural topography of the land. The survey of Taumatamahoe No.2B2B was authorised in 1914. Roadlines were laid off, but surveying stopped in late 1915, before the Maori-owned sections were surveyed, as one of the surveyors enlisted for the First World War.

By 1915, the Native Land Purchasing Board had decided to acquire as much of Taumatamahoe No.2B2B as possible. The Crown purchasing of shares in the block continued and in May 1915 an order prohibiting the private alienation of land in the block, under section 363 of the Native Land Act 1909, was issued. The order gave the Crown a monopoly of purchase in the block and was continued up to 1924. The intention of the Board to acquire land in the block, and the use of Crown pre-emption, may have been caused by the need to find land for the settlement of discharged soldiers. The Taumatamahoe 2B2B block was not used for soldier settlement but there was considerable soldier settlement on the Taumatamahoe No.1 block, and across the Whanganui River in the Mangapurua Valley.

By April 1916 about 7000 acres of the Taumatamahoe 2B2B block had been acquired by the Crown. The reasons for the Maori owners selling included minors selling assets as they had little other means of support, sales by absentee owners, and, probably, the difficulty of farming isolated land, which was unsurveyed, and was in multiple ownership. Crown purchasing was completed in 1916 in sections 2, 15B, and 17. By September 1917 over 14,000 acres of the 25,168 acres of the Taumatamahoe 2B2B block had been purchased by the Crown. Where a limit was reached to the purchase of interests in a section, due to some owners not wishing to sell, the Crown had its interests defined by the Native Land Court and the block partitioned. By 1923 the Crown had purchased all of the sections of the Taumatamahoe 2B2B block, except sections 8A, 13A, 14 (which was partly leased and partly a scenic reserve), 15A2, 15A3, and the papakainga sections 19 and 20.

Consideration was then given by Crown officials to the use which was to be made of the land the Crown had acquired in the Taumatamahoe 2B2B, and also of the 2B2A and 2B1 blocks which the Crown had acquired earlier. The Commissioner of Crown

Lands had reported in 1922 that the land was rougher than he had expected and that it would have to be settled in large blocks by farmers with capital. Sufficient finance was necessary as bush land had to be grassed, fenced and stocked quickly so that grazing stock could prevent bush regeneration. Delays in completing the conversion of bush land to pasture resulted in deterioration of the land and weed infestation, problems which affected both Maori and European farming in bush districts.

In considering the future of the Crown land in the Taumatamahoe block, along the Whanganui River, the chief draughtsman of the Taranaki Land District noted in 1924 that better land along the Whangamomona Road was being abandoned by farmers. By the 1920s the initial prosperity of the farming settlements established on the Taumatamahoe No.1 block had been affected by erosion, isolation, and low prices for farm products. Discharged soldier settlements had been established at Koratahi and Aotuhia and in other parts of the block, and by the mid-1920s these and other settlers were beginning to abandon their farms. The decline of farming in the settled part of the Taumatamahoe block, which became almost complete in the economic depression after 1929, caused the chief draughtsman to recommend that the Crown land along the Whanganui River should be used for forestry. An exception to this was the area near the Whakaihuwaka block, where he thought several farms could be established. He also noted that expensive roads would have to be constructed if the area was to be opened for settlement. Despite his report a sub-divisional survey of the Taumatamahoe 2B2B block was made in 1924, to divide the land into farm units for settlement. Road lines in the block were proclaimed in 1927. The land was held for possible settlement, although with the collapse of prices for farm products from 1929 there was no demand for it.

All of the land the Crown purchased in the Taumatamahoe block adjacent to the Whanganui River became river reserve land. The area between the Heao Stream and the Whanganui River became the John Coull Memorial Reserve in 1964. Some of the 2B2B blocks were proclaimed reserves in 1975, others were reserves but may not have been proclaimed. The river reserves, and some adjacent, inland parts of the Taumatamahoe block, became part of the Whanganui National Park in 1986. Approximately 41,500 acres of the Taumatamahoe block is included in the Whanganui National Park.

Much of the central and Taranaki parts of the Taumatamahoe block became State Forest land, partly due to the failure of farming in the area and the return to Crown ownership of land that had been farmed on mortgages from the Government. Following the restructuring of forestry in 1985 the state forest land on the Taumatamahoe block mostly became forestry conservation areas, administered by the Department of Conservation. The exception to this was Te Wera State Forest, a commercial forest under the control of the Forestry Corporation, and which is partly on the Taumatamahoe block. The two largest conservation areas on the Taumatamahoe block are the Whangamomona and Tangarakau conservation areas. These two conservation areas are separated by the Aotuhia Station. This station is the largest of the privately owned farms on the Taumatamahoe block. Around 3500 acres at Parinui, on the Whanganui River, remain in Maori ownership.

The main issue resulting from the history of the Taumatamahoe block is the purchase by the Crown of undivided, individual interests in the block, without identifying which parts of the block were owned by the hapu and individual owners. This practice was objected to by the non-sellers and took the land out of tribal or hapu control. The non-sellers objections were disregarded by the Crown, except that Crown officials noted that the divisions of the block, from the identification of the Crown's interests, had left the non-sellers with the part of the block where their settlements were located. Non-sellers also objected to the assumption made by the Native Land Court in its identification of the Crown's interest, that the interests of the 472 registered owners were equal. The Crown purchased the interests of registered owners without a specific survey of the block, or the issue of a certificate of title, which is the basis of claim Wai 555 for the return of the block to Maori multiple ownership. However, the purchase of the shares of registered owners does not appear to have been illegal and a compiled survey map was made before the first identification of the Crown's interest in 1893. The Crown's actions may, however, constitute a breach of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The four Crown awards in the Taumatamahoe block, which were in 1893, 1896, 1899 and 1907, all took for the Crown the part of the block being divided which was less inhabited by Maori non-sellers. In 1909 the part of the block remaining to the non-sellers, Taumatamahoe 2B2B, was subdivided into 20 sections, owned by groups of Maori. Taumatamahoe 2B2B contained the major Maori settlements on the Taumatamahoe block. The Crown purchased interests in the sections, against the recommendations of the Stout-Ngata Commission. In doing so, any prospect of the development of agriculture by the Maori owners in the Taumatamahoe 2B2B sections was undermined. The Crown was motivated in purchasing shares in the sections by an intention to develop the central Whanganui lands, where there were already extensive Crown lands, by the construction on roads into the area. A major road was planned by 1910 from Raetihi to Whangamomona, with a bridge across the Whanganui River at Parinui. The construction of this road would have greatly changed the nature of the Taumatamahoe block, which today, on the Whanganui River side of the block, remains an area without road access. This has resulted in land for a national park, but has left the remaining Maori owners of land in the Taumatamahoe 2B2B block with land that is difficult to utilise.

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